

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF RESEARCH BACKGROUND

A. BACKGROUND

The social conflict problem in three provinces southern of Thailand is a long history since the Patani Kingdom or Fatoni Darussalam is colonized by Siam (Thailand) or early of Rattanakosin era, the last era of Siam before changed the name to Thailand by prime minister Plaek Phibunsongkhram in 1939, the Malay-Muslims was under direct controlling by Siam in 1902. The conflict problem in three provinces southern of Thailand is a complicated conflict involving politics history, cultures, and social development. Thai Government had a strong policy to assimilate all ethnic minorities into Thai culture, but it was unsuccessful for Melayu ethnic.

Thailand is a state with the majority Thai ethnic and minority ethnic including Chinese Malay-Patani (Muslim people in southern border region) etc. There are Buddhist 95%, Islam 4%, Christian1%, and other 0.1%. The southern provinces conflict area of Thailand includes Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and four districts in part of Songkha Province, namely Thepha, Jana, Saba Yoi, and Natawee district the population majorities in these areas is Muslim. The issue of the conflict usually takes place in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and occasionally in

part of Thepha, Jana, Saba Yoi, and Natawee district which are near to Pattani and Yala provinces.¹

In 1939, Plaek Phibunsongkhram era, he did some efforts and clamp down to Melayu People to use Malay language, dress Malay and do religious activity like Friday praying, because those were inversed with Thai constitution in his era. However those things are resisted by Muslims people and religious leaders and then were to protect the culture by Muslim society. These were reasons of the conflict in three provinces southern of Thailand. The form of policy and operation of government officials were not understood by Thai Muslims and led to conflicts between the Thai government and Melayu ethnic. They did injustice to Thai Muslims, corruption, and lack of political participation. Those things made the Thai Muslims unsatisfied to Thai Government. In the early 1938 opposition was led by the ousted royal families and charismatic Islamic leaders. The frequency and intensity of the conflict varied with the extent to which governments in Bangkok. Moreover, it was sought to impose Thai cultural norms and social policies of the state on the region. The ultra-nationalistic policies of the first Plaek Phibunsongkhram government (Prime Minister, 1938 to 1944) caused bitter clashes, and thousands fled to neighboring Malaysia.²

In April 1947, the charismatic religious leader Haji Sulong bin Abdul Kadir, issued his famous seven demands (the government at that time did not

¹ “The conflict history of Three provinces southern Thailand”

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/asia/south-east-asia/thailand/241-thailand-the-evolving-conflict-in-the-south.aspx> (Access on 25-05-16)

² “Domestic policy system of Phibun songkram”

<http://news.trust.org//spotlight/Thailands-southern-violence/?tab=briefing> (Access on 25-05-16)

accept demand of Haji Sulong) regarding the devolution of power to Melayu-Muslims in the four southern provinces. The seven demands of Haji Sulong, were essentially a request to re-establish an autonomous region for the Muslim in four provinces southern Thailand, including Satun, Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat.

The contents of the demands:

1. The government of Siam should have a person of high rank possessing full power to govern the four provinces of Patani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Satul, and this person should be a Muslim born within one of the provinces and elected by the populace this person in this position should be retained without being replaced.
2. All of the taxes obtained within the four provinces should be spent only within the provinces.
3. The government should support education in the Malay medium up to the fourth grade in parish schools within the four provinces.
4. Eighty percent of the government officials within the four provinces should be Muslims born within the provinces.
5. The government should use the Malay language within government offices alongside the Siamese language.
6. The government should allow the Islamic Council to establish laws pertaining to the customs and ceremonies of Islam with the agreement of

the (above noted) high official.

7. The government should separate the religious court from the civil court in the four provinces and permit (the former) full authority to conduct cases.³

These seven demands were published on 24th August 1947 by Haji Sulong to the government in that time. After Haji Sulong published and presented seven demands to the government, he and some of his compatriots were arrested by the Plaek Phibunsongkhram government and jailed for four years and eight month. Haji Sulong was released in 1952, but disappeared under police custody in August 1954. The popular belief related to histories of Haji Sulong, and a rallying point for Malayu Muslim grievances, is that Haji Sulong was drowned by Thai police.⁴

The coup led by Sarit Thanarat (Prime Minister) in 1957 offered no respite. Sarit continued with assimilations policies, trying particularly to assert state control over traditional Islamic learning institutions or Pondoks. In response, the Malayu-Muslims organized a number of covert separatist organizations with military units attached. Three major separatist groups were established namely First, Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, 1959). Second, Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN, 1963) and third, Patani United Liberation Organization (PULO, 1968) or is called Pertubuhan Pembebasan Patani Bersatu. Those

³ "The history of the Malay kingdom of Patani" By Ibrahim Syukri (Access on 15-05-2016)

⁴ "Ask for special treatment policy in three Southern provinces of Thailand by HJ. Sulong"
<http://kaekae.oas.psu.ac.th/rlej/include/getdoc.php?id=2079&article=745&mode=pdf> (Access on 30-05-16)

organizations looked forward all split and were re-organized.⁵ In the 1980 and 1990 in parallel with the expansion of democracy throughout Thailand and election of governments that showed greater sensitivity to Muslim cultural needs. As well as the appointment of some Muslim politicians from the region to the ministerial portfolios, conflicts in the region decreased considerably.

Prem Tinsulanonda era (prime minister) established Southern border Provinces Administrative Center (SBPAC) in 1981 to provide better communication between the restive minority region and the central government, and to improve intelligence gathering and coordination among security agencies. Therefore, there are three special security laws that had been done by Thai Government under counter-insurgency in the Southern provinces. First, Martial Law Act in 1914, second, Executive Decree on Government Administration in States of Emergency (or emergency decree) in 2005 and third, Internal Security Act (ISA) in 2008, Those enforce in all or parts of the conflict zone. Thus, in conclusion the past Thai Government attempted to resolve the conflict problem, but the method applied violence and military power and was not the point of conflict resolution.⁶

Yingluck Shinawatra era in 2011-2014, the Thai Government has determined the particular policies under the ministry of justice to solve the

⁵ “Active group in conflict” <https://books.google.co.id/books?id=cAE-bxSXayMC&pg=PA126&lpg=PA126&dq=pulo+brn+bnpp&source=bl&ots=o5hd5Q7-w5&sig=O4z00CQdzJA0BHQ6xP-mzHkqqS8&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwijztr9mpfNAhUGKJQKHZwaDrgQ6AEIKDAC#v=onepage&q=pulo%20brn%20bnpp&f=false> (Access on 30-05-16)

⁶ “center of government in southern Thailand” <http://www.sbpac.go.th/index.php/2014-11-27-03-45-40/2014-11-27-03-47-29> (Access on 02-06-16)

problem in three provinces southern of Thailand. First, to remedy those who got the impact from the violence situation such as the bombing, the clash between Thai military and separatist group at Krue Seh Mosque, the protesters arrest at Tak Bai district, Naratiwat provinces. Second, resolve the violence situation in three provinces southern of Thailand by using peaceful ways. Third, to support and develop education system in southern and improve the infrastructure such as communication in three provinces southern Thailand.

In the past it was clear that, the failure to resolve the southern border provinces as the result of the government's policies was not as clear and continuous. The resolution that involved many responsible agencies, caused confusion to solve the problem and the operations of each agency were not in the same direction. There was no consistency and relevance.

The social conflict problem in three provinces southern of Thailand is a political conflict related to history, cultures, economic and social development. There was exploitation from influential person and form of policy which was still inappropriate with lifestyle of Malay-Muslims. In conclusion, the religion and Malay Identity are not the main cause of conflict but just used as an excuse by some violence groups only. Thus, the peaceful ways become the main resolution to solve problem in three provinces southern of Thailand. It means that the resolution do not use violence but uses intellectual, reason, careful situation analysis without partiality, to get the point and factual problem and create strategy in term of policy and practice to get efficiency and effectiveness.



Picture 1.1: Map of Three Provinces Southern of Thailand⁷

Source: UCA NEWS

In brief, the picture is three provinces southern of Thailand map. The yellow area is three provinces southern Thailand including, Pattani, Yala Narathiwat and in part of some districts in Songkhla Province.

B. RESEARCH QUESTION

Based on the background of the problem mentioned above, the formulation of the research question is formulated below.

Why is the social conflict emerging in three provinces southern of Thailand?

⁷ “Map of Three provinces Southern of” Thailand”https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Thailand_insurgency (Access on 22-07-16)

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Base on the emerging social conflict and situation in three provinces southern of Thailand, this paper will apply the Theory of Conflict.

In the idea of state, one could not forget is the idea of conflict as the part of the society. Conflicts are something usual in pluralist democratic society because all of the different interest, aim, and perception toward something could happen among societies⁸. As society and government, government and government and several issue of conflict such as the conflict of separatism, discrimination, religion, cultural etc. Conflicts are experienced at most levels of human activity and are complex processes which have certain elements. One way of conceptualizing the relationship between these elements is a Conflict Triangle

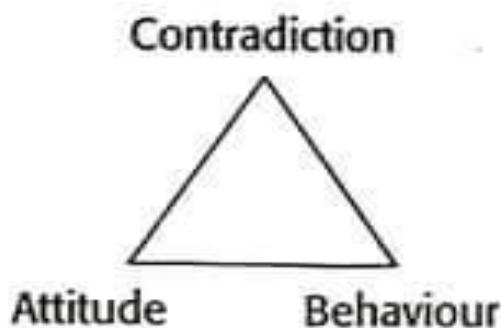
Conflict triangle or ABC triangle is the concept of Theory of Conflict that was published in the late 1960s by Johan Galtung. He proposed an influential model of conflict that encompasses both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts⁹. He suggested that conflict could be viewed as a triangle, with contradiction(C), attitude (A) and behavior (B) at its vertices.

A symmetric conflict, the contradiction is defined by the parties, their interests and the clash of interests between them. In an asymmetric conflict, it is defined by the parties, their relationship and the conflict of interests inherent in the relationship. Attitude includes the parties' perceptions and misperceptions of

⁸ “Conflict peace resolution studies” by Dietmar Kneitschel, 2000 (Access on 21-07-2016)

⁹ “Theories of conflict (ABC triangle)” by Johan Galtung, (Access on 21-07-2016)

each other and of themselves. These can be positive or negative, but in violent conflicts parties tend to develop demeaning stereotypes of the other, and attitudes are often influenced by emotions such as fear, anger, bitterness and hatred. Attitude covers emotive (feeling), cognitive (belief) and conative (desire, will) elements



Picture 1.2: Structure of ABC conflict triangle¹⁰

Source: Theory of Conflict book by Johan Galtung

Galtung argues that all three components have to be present together in a full conflict. A conflict structure without conflictual attitudes or behavior is a latent (or structural) one. Galtung sees conflict as a dynamic process in which structure, attitudes and behavior are constantly changing and influencing one another. As the dynamic develops, it becomes a manifest conflict formation, as parties' interests clash or the relationship they are in becomes oppressive. As

¹⁰ "Theories of conflict (ABC triangle)" by Johan Galtung, (Access on 21-07-2016)

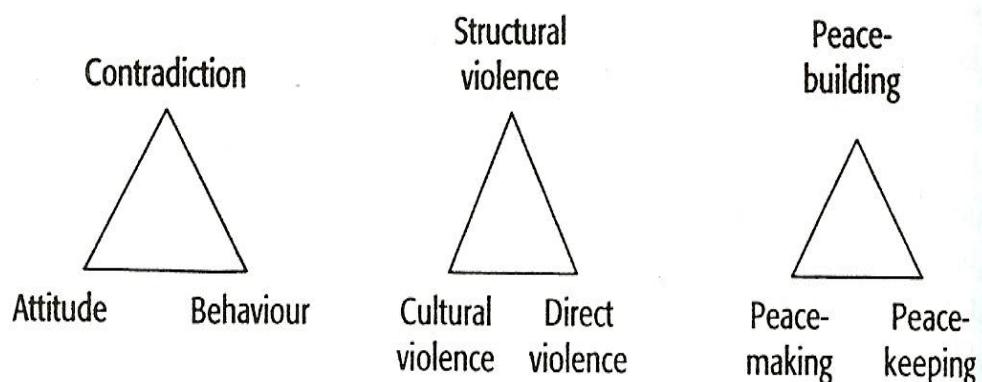
illustrated in the above definitions, each of the features triggering a conflict (attitudes, behaviors and contradictions) can also serve as possible gateways to influence the conflict peacefully and work toward a resolution. The above also suggests that each of these elements influence one another. While attitudes influence both behaviors and contradictions, the opposite can occur; behaviors and contradictions affect attitudes. Because of the interconnectedness among these three aspects of conflict, it is important to address each of them in order to reach a sustainable solution. Addressing attitudes is important as it helps people becoming aware of what and understands the contradictions better. The more profoundly a contradiction is understood, the easier it is to come up with creative solutions to overcome it. Addressing both attitudes and contradictions, in turn, influences changing behaviors. Finally, behaviors also affect attitudes.

So, in this perspective ABC triangle is a more effective tool to address conflict roots, structural relationship patterns and other factors. Also through this approach, it is a possible way to change dialectic nature of the conflict into more attitudinal, behavioral and contradictive manner.

Johan Galtung formulates the ABC Conflict Triangle in which he describes the key aspects within a conflict as: (A) attitudes, (B) behaviors and (C) contradictions. The model was originally meant to be applied to war situations, in which there are distinct conflicting parties. However, it can also be used to transcend other conflicts, such as family violence, racial discrimination and children's human rights abuses. In general, the method is used to deal with destructive or violent conflicts. ABC triangle not only helps to understand the

position from which each party is approaching conflict, the context within which conflict is taking place, and identifies key needs of each party but also ABC triangle helps to gain insight into motivations of conflict parties and the structures or systems in place that contribute to the conflict. ABC triangle is a way of peace making. So it concentrates about parties ‘individual attitudes, behaviors and contradictions.

Conflict triangle is used to deal with destructive or violent conflicts. So, in this point of view ABC triangle can be applied to this case study; conflict in three provinces southern of Thailand. It is because ABC triangle prominently focusing on violence deduction and peace building¹¹.



Picture 1.3: Peace triangle Johan concept¹²

Source: Omra Pongsapich

¹¹ “Comparative of Conflict tree & ABC triangle” web
http://www.academia.edu/7605160/Comparative_Essay_of_Conflict_Tree_and_ABC_Triangle
 (Access on 22-07-16)

¹² “Analyze Peace and Conflict ” By Omra Pongsapich (Access on 22-07-16)

D. HYPOTHESIS

Based on study case of emerging social conflict in three provinces Southern of Thailand, the social conflict emerging in three provinces southern of Thailand because:

1. The people in three provinces southern of Thailand need independence from Thai government.
2. The people in three provinces southern of Thailand don't trust the government in solving the conflict after a long history and many injustice cases done by government.

E. SCOPE OF RESEARCH

This undergraduate thesis is trying to analyze the basis of the real situation and the main cause of social conflict. The location of this research was taken place at three provinces southern of Thailand including Yala, Pattani, Narathiwat and some districts of Songkhla. The data were collected using documentation technique and some interviews with the people who are close to the situation in the conflict area.

F. METHOD OF RESEARCH

In conducting this article, the writer used qualitative research stated that qualitative research is research that produces descriptive data in the form of words written or orally of people and observed behavior. In the research used primary data is documentation technique and some is interview data. This article took place at Three Provinces Southern of Thailand and some district including Yala, Patani, Narathiwat provinces and Thepha, Ja-na, Saba Yoi, Natawee district to focused and analysis on the main cause of social conflict and conflict resolution in three provinces southern of Thailand.

G. OPERATIONAL DEFINITION

The operational definition of this research would like to measure the social conflict problem is not simple for conducting and implementation to find the solution of the conflict problem, because the conflict in three provinces southern of Thailand depends on the Thai Government and people in the conflict areas including the Insurgent Group, Separatist Group.

H. SYSTEM OF WRITING

The system of writing this research is arranged as:

- **Chapter I.** Introduction it contains Background, Research Question, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Scope of Research, Methodology of Research, Operational Definition, and System of Writing
- **Chapter II.** Description of General Condition in Three Provinces Southern of Thailand. Including Political history, geographically, the structure of Socio-culture, and the economic structure.
- **Chapter III.** Discuss the dynamic of emerging social conflict in three provinces southern of Thailand and the policy of Thai government to manage the conflict.
- **Chapter IV.** Discuss the factor of emerging social conflict in three provinces southern of Thailand.
- **Chapter V.** Conclusion from all chapter and give suggestion.