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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Re-prints of foreign media contributions that aid understanding of the conflict

Date and Title	Contributor	Details
<p>29 Oct 2004</p> <p>“Sensitivity needed in the South”</p>	<p>The Star, Bunn Nagara</p>	<p>The edgy situation in Thailand’s southern provinces continued to be aggravated with no sign of resolution.</p> <p>Just six months, Thai forces stormed Pattani’s 16th century Krue Se mosque, supposedly to flush out troublemakers.That occasion prompted Thai ‘s deputy prime minister to tour the South for a first-hand look at the situation. He discovered that local anxieties were caused by <u>official neglect, high-handed bullying and corruption among local officials</u>. Yet since then, little more than the predictable formula of chastisement and pummeling has come from Bangkok.</p> <p>Malaysia has every right to be concerned at the deteriorating situation in Thailand’s South. Muslims identity is a common denominator, the location is of great proximity to Malaysia and family links have long been established across the borders. There is always the risk of spill-overs of violence, sentiments or refugees.</p> <p>Much of the recent discontent in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat still rests on the people’s relatively modest demands for <u>due respect and fair representation</u> that have been frustrated.</p>
<p>29 Oct 2004</p> <p>“Muslim Press hammers PM”</p>	<p>Agencies : Indonesia’s Republika; Kompas, Jakarta Post</p>	<p>The English language Jakarta Post : “Thai PM Thaksin’s remarks blaming the high death toll on detainees conducting the obligatory Ramadan fasting, drug use among protestors or that there were too few trucks due to a public holiday is simply unacceptable”.</p> <p>The Republika pointed out that the unrest in southern Thailand stemmed from <u>discrimination</u> suffered by the minority Muslim community there.</p>

		The Kompas said the scandalous events were the result of the “recklessness and foolishness” of the <u>security forces</u> .
10 Nov 2004 “SE Asian academics call for sensitively”	33 scholars from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Vietnam, Spain and Thailand.	These scholars, led by Thai academicians, urge the government to resort to peaceful means and to ensure <u>people’s participation</u> in the process of finding a solution to the crisis.
10 Dec 2004 “Pulo gets Malaysian Muslim welfare money : lawmaker”	Agence France-Presse (AFP) Kuala Lumpur	A Malaysian government lawmaker, Annuar Musa, has told the state assembly in Kelantan that money from a Muslim welfare organization in Malaysia has been channeled to the rebel group, Pulo in Southern Thailand. He alleged that Pulo was given 120,000 ringgit. He urged the state government to investigate the Malaysian Islamic Welfare Organization.
16 Nov 2004 “Bangkok’s imperious attitude is a worry”	The Star, Malaysia	<p>Different theories abound for the recent spate of violence in Thailand’s southern provinces : poverty, destitution, racial or religious discrimination, Bangkok colonialism, police-military rivalry for control and separatist agitation.</p> <p>To these, another may be added : regional factionalism within Thailand, with discrimination against southerners. PM Thaksin Shinawatra is a northerner, holding positions in four associations or clubs of northern Thais since the 1990s.</p> <p>Bangkok does not lord it over southern Thais alone, much less victimizing only Muslim or Malay communities. The logic of <u>colonialism</u> is to dominate everywhere possible, including across national borders where communities are perceived to be weak and susceptible to power plays.</p>

		<p>These different theories or factors may all be correct, with each helping to explain a part of the problem. But the central issue is how these come together to explain the whole, and for this there is no better explanation than the age-old Thai <u>colonial</u> impulse.</p> <p>Some 90 per cent of southern Thais are Muslim, many of them ethnic Malays. The Narathiwat Islamic Religious Council recently stumbled on a new problem – the extreme Wahhabi sect is being spread by some people, which if nothing else would divide Thai Muslims.</p> <p>Still another tragedy besides the needless bloodshed is Bangkok’s failure to recognize the rich human resources in the southern provinces. Pattani, for example, has produced not just spirited rebels but also renowned Islamic scholars – but if such energies are not properly utilized, they may be diverted and exploited.</p>
<p>17 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Promoting pluralism through education”</p>	<p>The Jakarta Post</p>	<p>Under a democratic regime, <u>education</u> too can be effectively used to promote genuine pluralism, albeit in a different atmosphere. The strategic utilization of <u>education</u> is due to the fact that <u>education</u> functions as an agent of change within society. Moreover, schools are places where student learn to socially construct realities of their surrounding society in which they live in.</p> <p>First, <u>teachers</u> play significant roles in promoting pluralism in class that all citizens should adhere to democratic principles : liberty, justice, equality and tolerance. In this case, teachers instead of teaching <i>bhinneka tunggal ika</i> (unity in diversity) by rote memorization, should internalize and implement the motto into their own behavior in class.</p> <p><u>Teachers</u> should set examples by showing that they do not favor a certain ethnic or religious group at the expense of others. Without undermining local identity, <u>teachers</u> should give students a proper understanding of the diverse society that in which they live.</p>

		<p>Second, <u>teacher</u>'s role should change to become more like facilitators and should treat students more as friends. Without jeopardizing the authority of <u>teachers</u>, egalitarianism should be nurtured as part of learning process.</p> <p>Third, the values of pluralism should be contained in every lesson.</p> <p>Fourth, <u>teachers</u> and parents should collaborate to lay out a common perception of how to teach their students and children to live in a pluralistic society.</p>
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APPENDIX B

Theme/Concept : Perpetrators and their supporters		
Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context (KIC)	Meanings & Messages
<p>3 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Analysis : Some worrying parallels with Krue Se”</p>	<p>The Krue Se and Tak Bai episodes have a number of worrying similarities in the way those involved were organized and in how events unfolded.</p> <p>Firstly, both incidents were instigated by small cells operating independently after seeping into close-knit rural Muslim communities.</p> <p>Members of the cells are isolated and only know their own group. Some Muslims, mostly youngsters, consciously join the movement; others simply follow the herd or are unknowingly pulled into it.</p> <p>One phone call is enough to mobilize the villagers in these close-knit communities. Villagers said letters were sent to mosques in some areas and imams distributed the news to other village members.</p> <p>The second similarity is that religious language was used in both incidents to rally fellow Muslims against “injustice” suffered by minority Muslims in the Buddhist-dominated country.</p> <p>Lastly, both incidents ended with heavy-handed suppression by security forces that resulted in a high death toll. Militant movements gain more support and sympathy from Malay Muslims each time an incident like this occurs. The loss of one life may be used to incite hundreds to rise up.</p> <p>The majority of Malay Muslims believe the government did not treat their fellow Muslims with human decency.</p>	<p>Operations are carried out by small cells in close-knit Muslim communities.</p> <p>Modern communications enabled mobilization and connections.</p> <p>Religion was invoked to rally against injustice.</p> <p>Militancy gains support from more state violence against community.</p>

Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Meanings
5 Nov 2004 “Many roadmaps, but no clear path to peace”	<p>The PM claims to know the root cause of the problem, saying that a number of separatists are behind the violence and wrongly use Islam to justify their fight. He said Islamic boarding schools and their religious teachers, or ustad, had inculcated uneducated and unemployed youths with wrong ideology to turn them into Islamic militants opposed to the Thai state.</p> <p>The authorities might be right about the existence of separatists in the region, but the poor intelligence network has been unable to identify exactly who the militants are unless they surface to kill officials or call a rally against the government. The militants’ “hit-and-run” tactic has proved to be a big headache for the authorities.</p>	<p>Islam is used to justify the militants’ fight. Militants are opposed to the Thai state.</p> <p>Militants use “hit-and-run” tactics. The state has poor intelligence that eased militants’ operations.</p>
8 Nov 2004 “Opinion : Knowing and yet not knowing the South”	<p>When Deputy Supreme Commander Sirichai Thanyasir took over the Southern Border Province Peace-Building Command one month ago, he said : “I admit that I don’t know who the enemy are, but I will try my best to get them.” His ignorance must now have disappeared. Arrayed against him is virtually the entire Muslim population of the deep South and large numbers in Islamic communities across the world.</p> <p>Thaksin complained that he received conflicting intelligence from the different agencies involved. Later he said he had to develop his own sources and make up his own mind.Thaksin’s view has been filtered through his own preconceptions. He seems to have a narrow view of man as an animal interested only in wealth and power, and he has difficulty understanding someone whose worldview differs from his own, be it a Pak Mool fisherman who values a river for itself or a Pattani Muslim who values his religious beliefs and cultural heritage.</p>	<p>The opposing force is virtually the entire Muslim population in the south and large numbers in Islamic communities across the world.</p> <p>The Muslims in the deep South has different worldview from Bangkok.</p>

	<p>On brief occasions over the past year, he has opened up to the idea that the southern problem has cultural, religious, historical and social aspects. But increasingly he clings to the view that only two things matter : first there are economic problems resulting from a long-standing lack of development funds; second a small group of conspirators takes advantage of these economic problems because of their “bad intentions”. The first problem must be solved with money, the second through force.</p> <p>The incidents at Krue Se Mosque and Tak Bai share a tragic pattern. In both cases there are clear traces that some people were trying to manufacture a case of martyrdom. In both cases, the military performed its role in the tragedy exactly according to the script. Whoever was writing this script knew it would work, because they knew the Thai military.</p>	<p>The conflict has many facets: economics, religious, cultural, historical and social.</p> <p>Martyrdom is being manufactured.</p>
<p>11 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Anwar’s words ring clear”</p>	<p>The latest criticism (of PM Thaksin) came from Anwar Ibrahim, a prominent Malaysian politician who has maintained strong ties with ethnic Malays in Thailand. The former leader of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia and former deputy PM said Thailand risk inviting a “mushrooming of terrorist cells” if political solutions to the problem continue to be overlooked.</p> <p>Anwar’s statement is likely to have a serious impact on the local community here, given the long history between Malays on both sides of the border. They not only see themselves as brothers and sisters, but as an “umma”, a classical definition of an Islamic community.</p> <p>Analysts said the Malaysian government, which operates in the context of a nation-state, has never been comfortable with the notion of an “umma”, while Thailand has never taken the time to understand what Muslims view as a very important notion.</p>	<p>Cell-like structures.</p> <p>A call to understand the Islamic concept of “ummah”.</p>

Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	KIC :	Meanings & Messages :
12 Nov 2004 “Thirayuth speaks out : Critic says unrest in South is too big for Thaksin”	Senator Sophon Suphaphong said he saw no way out of the violence unless Thaksin gets out of power. “Official operations in the region could boost the number of militants as ordinary people cannot tolerate injustice. Innocent people get killed while brutal and bad officials go on living,” he said. Sophon said the group of 144 academics should not talk to Thaksin since he alone could not solve the problems in the southern border provinces. Only His Majesty the King and the people could improve the situation.	The militancy would be boosted by ordinary people who have suffered injustice.
15 Nov 2004 “Why Thailand needs outside help in the South”	Better still, a few weeks later Hambali, or Riduan Isamudin, chief of operations in SEA for al-Qaeda, was arrested in Ayutthaya in August 2003. Suddenly, Thailand’s position in the global war against terrorism was elevated. Although it is difficult to gather evidence of foreign involvement at the moment, the Thai intelligence community, including Thaksin himself has concluded that foreign militant Muslims have penetrated the South and established links with regional militant groups.	Militants have forged or established links with regional militant groups although the nature is unknown (maybe by inter-marriages so that kith and kin ties are established).
19 Nov 2004 “South free of foreign terror groups : Pulo”	A man claiming to be one of the leaders of the banned Pulo has told Swedish newspaper, Aftonbladet, that no foreign terrorist groups were behind the latest wave of violence in the South. “We have no contact with al Qaeda or Jemaah Islamiah,” said the man, who is in his 50s and has been living in Sweden since he was given asylum in 1982. The man, who was not identified in the story, said fewer than 100 Pulo members were living in Sweden, and many sympathizers. “Pulo is not identified by the UN as a terrorist organization,” Jesper Lidholm, spokesman for the Swedish Foreign Ministry told the Nation by phone.	Pulo claimed that no foreign terrorist group is behind violence. It would seemed that older Pulo members have no links to current militant movement. Interestingly, Pulo is not named by the UN as a terrorist group.

Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	KIC	Meanings and Messages
22 Nov 2004 “PM seeks help from Muslim countries”	PM Thaksin has called for cooperation from Muslim countries that take in foreign students to prevent any distortion of the teachings of the Holy Quran and misuse their educational funding. A large number of Thai Muslim students receive funding to study in the Middle Eastern countries. The government believes that some of them have been lured into joining terrorist movements through distorted interpretations of Islam’s Holy Book. It also believes the grants provided to the students by these countries were also being misused for terrorism . The government however dismisses the idea that foreign terrorist groups are behind the violence plaguing the South.	The government thinks that Malay Muslim students who studied abroad in the Middle Eastern countries deserve some attention. Foreign terrorist direct participation is discounted.
24 Nov 2004 “Jailed separatist offer to help”	Three prominent Muslim separatist serving life sentences for treason said yesterday they were ready to work with authorities to help bring peace to the restive south. Yesterday’s visit (by journalists to the three) was arranged in what appeared to be an attempt by the government to seek out new avenues to bring an end to the violence. The three were arrested in Malaysia seven years ago and secretly handed over to the Thai police on the border. Moreover, the precise role the government has in mind for them was not clear, although the three understood that they would be permitted to return to their homes in Pattani where they would carry out a public relations campaign to bridge the gap between ethnic Malays and the predominantly Buddhist state. They were leading members of PULO when they were caught.	It seemed that the latest wave of militancy is not directed by older organizations like Pulo.
27 Nov 2004 “Southern Violence : Jigsaw nearly complete :PM”	PM Thaksin dismissed speculation that the militants might have received financial assistance from foreign governments or organizations. “I believe terror attacks were not financed from abroad but funds destined for Muslim charities, such as those for the education of underprivileged children, might be misappropriated to instigate violence,” he said. In Yala yesterday, police released two out of five religious teachers apprehended on Thursday. Investigators found no evidence that the three were directly involved in an act of terror but security officials suspected that they provided spiritual guidance to militants.	The Thai government has indications of how these militant operations are funded. Religious teachers are deemed directly involved by providing spiritual guidance.

Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	KIC	Meanings and Messages
30 Nov 2004 “Suspect insurgent shot dead”	<p>Police yesterday shot dead a suspected insurgent and seized weapons from his pickup truck after an extended car chase and gun battle.</p> <p>Mukata Puleng, an alleged member of Gerakan Mujihideen Islam Pattani (GMIP) was killed in the early hours of the morning.</p> <p>Police said a warrant had been issued for Mukata’s arrest and a reward of Bt500,000 offered for information leading to his capture.</p> <p>Mukata was believed to be working under the command of Nasori Saeseng, a GMIP field commander with combat experience in Afganistan.</p> <p>General Kitti Rattanachiya, an adviser to the PM, said yesterday the government should negotiate with Muslim separatists such as Bersatu leader Wan Kadir Che Man. They should be given political space to decide if they wanted to be part of the country’s political system, he said.</p>	<p>A group, newer than Pulo, named the GMIP is involved. GMIP leader has combat experience in Afganistan.</p> <p>Bersatu, a Muslim separatist group is deemed involved.</p>
Govt : 4 Dec 2004 “14 arrested as suspected militants”	<p>Fourteen Muslims were rounded up yesterday in Yala and Pattani on suspicion of being separatist militants. Six of the detainees were arrested in a remote village after they were found gathering a remote mountain spot. A military source said initial interrogation indicated the six detainees might belong to the New Pulo (Pattani United Liberation Organization).</p> <p>Eight individuals were detained in Pattani’s Kapho district. One of the suspects is Abdulahman Jehleh, a former teacher and a board member of the Islamic Committee of Pattani.</p>	<p>New Pulo has been identified as a militant organization active in the south.</p>
Govt : 16 Dec 2004 “PM buoyed by arrest of key suspect”	<p>PM Thaksin said yesterday that the security situation in the South would improve following the capture the day before of a former Islamic school teacher suspected of being the key operative behind the spate of violence.</p>	<p>Arrests did not stop violence.</p>

Keyword : Militants/insurgents/operatives/separatists/terrorists/community/enemy/masterminds/agitators		
Source :	KIC	Meanings and Messages
<p>Govt : 17 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Noose tightens on ‘masterminds’”</p>	<p>In what the government describes as a major breakthrough in the investigation into the identity of the masterminds behind the ongoing violence in the South, security agencies are searching for about 100 people suspected of belonging to the separatist hard core.</p> <p>“Our target is some 100 leaders and several more accomplices who operate in small cells,” PM Thaksin told reporters yesterday.</p> <p>On Tuesday night, 4 Islamic teachers were rounded up on suspicion that they served as spiritual agitators for the separatist movement in the south.</p>	<p>Once again, the militants are deemed to operate in small cells.</p>
<p>SID : 24 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Evidence against ‘masterminds’ is strong, says SID”</p>	<p>The Special Intelligence Department said yesterday that it has solid evidence implicating five religious teachers in connection with the violence in the deep South. SID director said officials searched a house in Yala belong to Yusof Waedurame and found a number of documents that showed he has strong links with a separatist movement. One of the documents, in Malay, says that Yusof is the commander of the so-called “Pattani State”.</p>	<p>The uztad (religious teachers) are high commanders of the separatist movement.</p>

APPENDIX C

Theme/Concept : Oppression		
Keyword : oppression/oppressive/suppression		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
30 Oct 2004 “Violence in the south : Muslims leaders blame PM”	<p>Muslims leaders yesterday blamed PM Thaksin’s hard-line stance for growing violence in the deep South. They said Thaksin’s provocative comments about Muslims and his government’s violent suppression of protestors would only aggravate the situation in the restive region.</p> <p>The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand yesterday sent a letter to the PM suggesting ways to solve the unrest in the southernmost provinces. It called on the government to allow more participation of Muslim organizations in efforts to solve the region’s problems.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity : Stated explicitly</p>
1 Dec 2004 “Opinion : Empty gestures will get us nowhere”	<p>Here’s the big question : what will Thai society do after 62 million origami peace birds are dropped on the 3 southernmost provinces on Dec 5?</p> <p>Once this ceremony fails to deliver the promised peace, the government could simply announce with impunity a crackdown or even all-out war.</p> <p>Not since the mid-1970s has the threat of social polarization been so great. Human rights activists and some pro-democracy academics and civil-society members feel that all the trouble in the South, which so far has led to 500 or so deaths, is the result of the government’s oppressive policy of <u>abduction, extrajudicial killings and heavy-handed handling of protests</u>, such as the one at Tak Bai.</p>	<p>Sign is +. States explicitly that oppressive policy of lack of adjudicative justice is a root cause.</p>

	<p>As the rebel attacks and killings in the South become more cruel and anger more Thais, we are once again seeing the emergence of efforts to paint the insurgents there as being un-Thai. The process of transforming the insurgents into outsiders who deserve to be treated differently from the rest of society is being carried out through the media, both broadcast and print.</p> <p>How can some people be so simplistic as to expect peace without change? How can there be peace without greater socio-economic and political change? Without greater equality for Thai-Malay Muslims in the deep South?</p> <p>The Thai people should seek remedies that will change the oppressive pre-conditions of violence that persist in the troubled region. What will it take for people to realize that for peace to have a chance in the deep South, decentralization and social and economic opportunities for Thai-Malay Muslims must be pursued? Such ideas may be tough for some to stomach, but they are much better than folding pieces of paper.</p>	<p>Political and social-economic causes are stated explicitly but not emphasized. Strength is emphasized by the use of the word “pre-conditions”.</p>
<p>5 Dec 2004 “Fear of attacks restricts drop zones for paper birds”</p>	<p>The Pulo, a separatist group whose leaders are in exile, criticized the airdrop. “Even if you used Bht 500 banknotes to fold 100 million paper birds and dropped them into the Pattaniit would not stop the suffering of those who have been severely oppressed,” said the group in a statement released on its website.</p>	<p>Oppression is stated explicitly. Relation between oppression and violence is definitive.</p>

APPENDIX D

Theme/Concept : Injustice		
Keyword : Justice/Injustice/Fair/Unfair/Lawful/Unlawful/legal/illegal/Abuse		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context (KIC)	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated Explicitly/Emphatic)
28 Oct 2004 “Tak Bai Aftermath : Outrage, Concern, defiance”	Kaewsan Atibhodi – Senator from Bangkok What society needs most now is the truth and justice . Independent investigation into the causes of the deaths is urgently needed.	Sign is +. Intensity :- Stated explicitly that justice is needed.
29 Oct 2004 “Opinion : The current approach is not working”	On the night of October 12 and in the following days, many volunteers (who were issued with guns by the government) filed missing-run reports, presumably to avoid police action. Police carried out extensive searches of the homes of village defence volunteers. Police gave conflicting statements with regard to the searches. They initially said they were investigating the militants for stealing guns from volunteers. Later they claimed to be investigating the volunteers, whom they suspected of handing over guns to militants. While police detained volunteers pending the filing of charges, rumours spread around the Muslim community that the volunteers would be made scapegoats for the violent incidents. The resentment over the perceived injustice that was being inflicted on fellow Muslims was allowed to simmer until it came to a head on Monday.	Intensity : -Stated explicitly.
29 Oct 2004 The Star : “Sensitivity needed in the South”	Certainly there can be no compromise on violent rebellion and other disturbances of peace. But the security forces should never overstep their mark by provoking violent encounters. The police and military are always better trained and equipped than local youths. The security forces should always acts fairly and lawfully in discharging their duties, and can be seen by others to do so.	Sign is +. The relationship is implied.

Theme/concept : Injustice		
Keyword : Justice/Injustice/Fair/Unfair/Lawful/Unlawful		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated Explicitly/Emphatic)
2 Nov 2004 “Surayud : If we regard them as opponents, it’s over”	Do you think violence in the south can be stopped? It is going to take some time. The region has had numerous problems, such as injustice , insurgency, poor education and public health.	Sign is +. Intensity :- Stated explicitly.
5 Nov 2004 “Special Report on Southern Unrest : Many roadmaps, but no clear path to peace”	Since they (the authorities) can’t pinpoint the identity of the culprits, the security forces resort to unlawful means to deal with the suspects; kidnappings and secret killings are the most infamous methods employed, notably by the police. Many Muslims in the region have gone missing; even well-known Muslim lawyer Somchai Neelapaichit was abducted, allegedly by police officers. PM Thaksin should know very well that such secretive operations upset the Muslim locals and create an opening for militants to claim that there has been no justice for Malay Muslims since 1902 when the Kingdom annexed the Sultanate of Pattani, now the 3 southernmost provinces of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani. Injustice and ill treatment are good fuel for insurgency.	Sign is +. Intensity :- Emphatic. Direction :- Definitive as there is a prior relationship between “State Policy(police)” and “injustice”.
9 Nov 2004 “An historical perspective on the South”	Chidchanok Rahimmula, a lecturer at Prince of Songkla University in Pattani, wrote in a book on the topic in Thanom Kittakachon’s era that “Malay-Muslims were treated as second (class) citizens; they were exploited. Social ills and injustices were common. More significant to the point is the fact that killings and punishments of various form went <u>on and on</u> , <u>without</u> legal procedures.” The government would do well to try to reduce – if not dismantle – oppressive and discriminatory conditions that still exist, and serve as a <u>pre-condition</u> of further violence by insurgents. Decentralization is also needed in the South to enable residents to have more say in their life and future.	Sign is +. The relationship between “injustice” and “violent conflict” is emphatic. The relationship between “injustice” and “State Policy” is definitive.

Keyword : Justice/Injustice/Fair/Unfair/Lawful/Unlawful/Abuse		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated Explicitly/Emphatic)
11 Nov 2004 “Anwar’s words ring clear”	<p>The latest criticism (of PM Thaksin) came from Anwar Ibrahim, a prominent Malaysian politician who has maintained strong ties with ethnic Malays in Thailand. The former leader of the Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia and former deputy PM said Thailand risk inviting a “mushrooming of terrorist cells” if political solutions to the problem continue to be overlooked..</p> <p>Anwar’s statement is likely to have a serious impact on the local community here, given the long history between Malays on both sides of the border. They not only see themselves as brothers and sisters, but as an “umma”, a classical definition of an Islamic community.</p> <p>Analysts said the Malaysian government, which operates in the contest of a nation-state, has never been comfortable with the notion of an “umma”, while Thailand has never taken the time to understand what Muslims view as a very important notion.</p> <p>The fact that more Malaysians are speaking out against what is seen as injustice, is a testimony that this Islamic principle is alive and well.</p>	<p>Sign is +. The relationship is stated explicitly.</p>
12 Nov 2004 “Thirayuth speaks out : Critic says unrest in South is too big for Thaksin”	<p>Senator Sophon Suphaphong said he saw no way out of the violence unless Thaksin gets out of power. “Official operations in the region could boost the number of militants as ordinary people cannot tolerate injustice. Innocent people get killed while brutal and bad officials go on living,” he said. Sophon said the group of 144 academics should not talk to Thaksin since he alone could not solve the problems in the southern border provinces. Only His Majesty the King and the people could improve the situation.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity :- Emphatic (cannot tolerate).</p>

Theme/Concept : Injustice		
Keyword : Justice/Injustice/Fair/Unfair/Lawful/Unlawful		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated Explicitly/Emphatic)
14 Nov 2004 “Academics decry ‘law of the gun’ in meeting with PM	<p>20 Thai academics will today meet PM Thaksin to call on the government to stop using force in the strife-torn deep South and instead rely on political dialogue and local participation to restore peace.</p> <p>“We will ask the PM to first stop using force and use a softer approach as well as political means to solve problems, and second to ensure the widest local participation,” said Parinya Theewanaruemitkul, a lecturer in Thammasat University’s law faculty.</p> <p>Parinya said the government needed to guarantee the rule of law and ensure that the rights of all citizens were protected regardless of religion. “If the government oppresses its own people indiscriminately and innocent people continue to be brutalized, the sense of injustice they feel will drive them into the arms of insurgents,” he said.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity : Emphatic.</p> <p>Direction : The relationship between “State Policy” and “injustice” is definitive.</p>
15 Nov 2004 “PM weighs call for conciliatory body”	<p>PM Thaksin agreed yesterday to consider a proposal for a “national reconciliation committee” to find alternative ways of restoring peace in the restive southern regions, but declined to issue an apology for recent mishaps.</p> <p>He failed to make any commitment in regard to the academics’ demand to bring to justice those responsible for the massacre, during which 85 Muslims were killed.</p>	<p>Critics said “justice” is negatively co-related to “violent conflict”.</p>
17 Nov 2004 “Anand, Surayud urge peaceful resolution”	<p>Former PM Anand Panyarachun and ex-Army Chief Surayud Chulanont voiced strong opposition to the government’s use of force leading to the Tak Bai bloodbath, and called for a concerted national effort to restore peace in the troubled deep South. They were speaking at a press conference ahead of the second round of “Bridges : Dialogues Towards a Culture of Peace”, a series of speeches and forums</p>	

	<p>that will kick off on December 7.</p> <p>Anand insisted Thailand must not repeat the mistakes that occurred in the Middle East and between the British and the IRA in its handling of Muslim separatists in the deep South. Anand stressed that a culture of peace must be introduced and the government's heavy-handed measures would not help facilitate this.</p> <p>Surayud said all Thai people must accept responsibility for restoring a climate of peace. The former soldier underscored his belief that the Kingdom had more than its fair share of military abuse in the past.</p> <p>Society must be careful not to further polarize Thai Buddhist and Thai-Malay Muslims, said Assoc Professor Surichai Wun-gaew, a senior sociologist from Chulalongkorn University who led the group of 22 academics to meet with the PM on Sunday. He added that this would be difficult as long as the state tacitly condoned such religious segregation by abducting and killing Muslims there. "Social Injustice lies at the root of the problem and anything that could exacerbate the situation must be avoided," he said.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity :- Stated explicitly.</p> <p>Direction :- Definitive as injustice is state condoned.</p>
<p>20 Dec 2004 "Editorial : Drawing the curtain on Tak Bai"</p>	<p>This brutal and unfortunate part of what has now become Thai history must be remembered. The mistakes must be learnt from, and those responsible must be brought to justice through due process of the law so that the wounds begin to heal. If the government fails to come clean over the issue and punish those responsible for the deaths of the civilian protestors under their custody, new generations of Thai-Malay Muslims will grow up hating the state.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity : Emphatic.</p>
<p>Senate : 25 Dec 2004 "Senate : Tak Bai a crime"</p>	<p>The Senate's Social Development and Human Security Committee yesterday called on the government to compensate the victims of the Tak Bai tragedy and to bring to justice the officials responsible for the deaths of at least 85 unarmed protestors.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity :- Stated explicitly.</p>

	Senate Committee Chairman, Niran said that it was a must for the government to bring justice to the Muslim-majority South in order to build confidence in the national rule of law, saying “injustice” would only breed resentment and a negative attitude towards the authorities as a whole.	Direction :- Definitive. [Note: Govt announced compensation of Bht300,000 for the ones killed; Bht 80,000 for the disabled and Bht 30,000 for the injured.]
26 Dec 2004 “NHRC Human Rights : Tak Bai crime demands justice”	The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) yesterday joined the Senate in calling the government to bring to justice those officials who were responsible for the deaths of 85 Tak Bai demonstrators and compensate their families. NHRC Chairman Dr Saneh Chamarik also called on the government to start investigations over missing persons from the incident	Sign is +. Intensity : emphatic. Direction: The relationship between “injustice” and “State” is definitive.

APPENDIX E

Theme/Concept : State Policy		
Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context (KIC)	Sign (Postive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
28 Oct 2004 “Tak Bai Aftermath : Outrage, concern, defiance”	<p>Phra Sripariyatmoli – Vice Rector of foreign affairs (Maha Chulalongkorn Buddhist University) The conflict in the Deep South has become more severe than ever. Before this government, there were some tensions now and then, but there was never really any bloodshed. The root cause is government policy. Since January 4, there have been several reshuffles of high-ranking officials in the South, but to no avail. So the problem must stem from flawed policies. From the start, Thaksin resorted to heavy-handed tactics. He has justified violence by state officials. This is very un-Buddhist. Morality and mercy has never been part of Thaksin’s policy in addressing the conflict.</p> <p>Kaewsan Atibhodi – Senator from Bangkok What society needs most now is the truth and justice. Independent investigation into the causes of the deaths is urgently needed.</p> <p>Nimu Makajae – Dy Chairman, Yala Islamic Committee This incident has caused people, particularly the relatives, to mistrust state officials. The bandits’ plan will succeed because the state authorities have lost their senses.</p> <p>General Kitti Ratanachaya – former Southern Regional army commander The Narathiwat disturbance is one of the steps by which separatists are trying to establish a new state. The authorities underestimated the terrorists and are still mistaken about the cause of the problem in the South. Despite many months of unrest, the state authorities still don’t understand that the problem stems from separatists.</p>	<p>)Sign is +.</p> <p>)Intensity of relationship)between “State Policy”)and the “Southern)Conflict” is stated)explicitly.</p>

Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy/stance		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Postive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
29 Oct 2004 The Star : “Sensitivity needed in the South”	Just 6 months (ago), Thai forces stormed Pattani’s 16 th century Krue Se mosque, supposedly to flush out troublemakers. That occasion prompted the Thai deputy PM to tour the South for a first-hand look at the situation. He discovered that local anxieties were caused by official neglect, high-handed bullying and corruption among local officials .	Sign is +. States explicitly that official attitude and policy is co-related with the violent conflict.
30 Oct 2004 “Violence in the south : Muslims leaders blame PM”	Muslims leaders yesterday blamed PM Thaksin’s hard-line stance for growing violence in the deep South. They said Thaksin’s provocative comments about Muslims and his government’s violent suppression of protestors would only aggravate the situation in the restive region. The Central Islamic Committee of Thailand yesterday sent a letter to the PM suggesting ways to solve the unrest in the southernmost provinces. It called on the government to allow more participation of Muslim organizations in efforts to solve the region’s problems.	Sign is +. Government’s suppression is explicitly related to the conflict.
7 Nov 2004 “Dearth of spirituality blamed for failed southern policy”	Niran’s analysis seems to be supported by the Interior Ministry’s latest survey of more than 17,000 residents of Yala, Narathiwat, and Pattani..... In addition, 81 percent of respondents suggested that many government officials working in the three provinces were inefficient and unresponsive to local citizens’ needs, while 79 per cent indicated that local people were goaded by ‘ill-intentioned groups’.	Sign is +. Intensity is stated explicitly.

Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy/stance		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
8 Nov 2004 “Seminar probes gover failures”	<p>Panellists at a seminar “Peaceful Measures for sustainable Democracy”, held by an independent political think-tank at King Prajadhipok’s Institute concluded that the government has failed to solve the problems in the deep South because it lacked proper understanding of the culture and way of life of the southern Muslims. The academics that took part in the seminar said that the government should have tried to assist the communities in the southernmost provinces to become independent of government assistance. They said that most of the government’s projects violated the traditional way of live of the communities, leading to opposition and eventually violence. They also agreed that the government has overlooked the importance of community leaders, who are much respected by local people.</p>	<p>Sign is +.</p> <p>Relationship between “State Attitude” and “Conflict” is explicit because the government failed to understand local ways of life.</p>
11 Nov 2004 “Escalating southern violence : Call to set up no-kill zones”	<p>In a move to contain the growing violence in the deep South, academics yesterday urged local residents to establish “no-kill” zones to protect themselves, and called on the government to consider political means rather than military operations to restore peace. Peace champion, Chaiwat Satha-Anand said in a seminar yesterday that strong civil societies in the three southernmost provinces would have the ability to contain the violence by their own means, by declaring their living areas free from killings. Local residents in areas that saw little or no violence could unit to prevent killings, demanding no weapons be permitted in those areas, he said.</p> <p>Kasian Tejapira, a political scientist from Thammasat University, said there has been a “systematic state failure” in solving the crisis, since the government is willing to use force and permits security officials to employ unlawful tactics to “get rid” of suspected militants. In many cases, the authorities used the same methods as the militants, resulting in the creation of ‘state terrorism’”, he said.</p> <p>Kasian proposed that the government rely on political means rather than military means to pave the way for moderate Muslims to participate in governing the region.</p>	<p>Sign is +.</p> <p>Intensity is emphatic.</p>

	<p>“Don’t be afraid of separatists. The majority of ethnic-Malay Muslims want to live in Thailand if they are not terrorized and can exercise their way of way freely,” he said.</p> <p>Speaking at a separate seminar, Thammasat University rector Surapol Nitikraipot said the tragedy at Tak Bai reflected that the Kingdom is still some way from achieving rule of law, as the government tends to use force outside the legal framework.</p>	Sign is +.
<p>14 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Academics decry ‘law of the gun’ in meeting with PM</p>	<p>20 Thai academics will today meet PM Thaksin to call on the government to stop using force in the strife-torn deep South and instead rely on political dialogue and local participation to restore peace.</p> <p>“We will ask the PM to first stop using force and use a softer approach as well as political means to solve problems, and second to ensure the widest local participation,” said Parinya Theewanaruemitkul, a lecture in Thammasat University’s law faculty.</p> <p>Parinya said the government needed to guarantee the rule of law and ensure that the rights of all citizens were protected regardless of religion. “If the government oppresses its own people indiscriminately and innocent people continue to be brutalized, the sense of injustice they feel will drive them into the arms of insurgents,” he said.</p>	Sign is +. Relationship is emphatic.
<p>17 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Anand, Surayud urge peaceful resolution”</p>	<p>Former PM Anand Panyarachun and ex-Army Chief Surayud Chulanont voiced strong opposition to the government’s use of force leading to the Tak Bai bloodbath, and called for a concerted national effort to restore peace in the troubled deep South. They were speaking at a press conference ahead of the second round of “Bridges : Dialogues Towards a Culture of Peace”, a series of speeches and forums that will kick off on Dec 7. It is organized by the Vienna-based International Peace Foundation. Anand, who was the honorary chairman the first time around stressed that a culture of peace must be introduced and the government’s heavy-handed measures would not facilitate this.</p> <p>Peace, he said, depended on educating people to communicate better with others, particularly those who share conflicting opinions.</p> <p>Surayud, who is chairman of the advisory board for the second “Bridge” series, said</p>	Sign is +. “Use of force led to the trouble” reflects the explicit relationship.

	<p>all Thais must accept responsibility for restoring a climate of peace. The former soldier underscored his belief that the Kingdom had more than its fair share of military abuse in the past.</p> <p>Society must be careful not to further polarize Thai Buddhist and Thai-Malay Muslims, said Assoc Professor Surichai Wun-gaew, a senior sociologist from Chulalongkorn University who led the group of 22 academics to meet with the PM on Sunday. He added that this would be difficult as long as the state tacitly condoned such religious segregation by abducting and killing Muslims there. “Social Injustice lies at the root of the problem and anything that could exacerbate the situation must be avoided,” he said.</p>	<p>Sign is +. “State-condoned policies” are explicitly related to the violent conflict.</p>
<p>18 Nov 2004 “King : Bring back peace”</p>	<p>His Majesty’s call yesterday called on all officials to unite so that peace and order could be restored to the strife-torn deep South. Religious leaders in the region responded by saying they would work closely with the government and officials to contain the violence. Abdulrahman Abdulsamat, the Islamic leader of the Narathiwat Provincial Islamic Committee said everybody in the region was ready to confront the violence if the government was prepared to listen to Her Majesty the Queen and allow local participation. The government rarely mobilizes participation from local religious leaders, he said. Waeduramae Mamingji, chairman of the Pattani Islamic Committee, said now was a good time for all parties to come together to quickly end the carnage. “We are ready to cooperate with all religions and all concerned agencies, but the government should sincerely allow us to participate,” he said.</p>	<p>Sign is +. State policy of “not inviting local participation” is related to the conflict.</p>
<p>21 Nov 2004 “Royal call for peace echoed by Muslims”</p>	<p>Muslim leaders in the three southernmost provinces yesterday expressed hope that security agencies would heed the advice of His Majesty the King to work together for peace. In a recent statement to an audience of 78 military and policy officers, the King urged the military and police to work together to bring about peace in the restive region.</p> <p>Abdulrahamn Abdulsamat, Chairman of the Islamic Council of Narathiwat, said the lack of trust between local Muslims and government agencies stemmed from the use of force and from brutality like the Tak Bai crackdown.</p>	<p>Sign is +. Intensity of relationship is stated explicitly.</p>

Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy/stance		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
24 Nov 2004 “Money won’t end unrest : critics”	Commenting on the government’s Bt5 million reward for information leading to the arrest of militants, Yala Islamic Committee deputy chairman, Nimu Makajae said police should restore public trust instead of offering monetary incentives. “If police can keep peace and ensure our safety, then local residents will volunteer the information without having to pay them”, he said. Muslim non-violence advocate Ahmad Somboonbualuang said money would not solve the surge of violence. “Regardless of how much money the government pumps into the south, peace and normalcy will not be restored unless police can regain the public trust ,” he said.	Sign is +. Intensity is emphatic.
8 Dec 2004 “PM demands action after shock death””	A defence volunteer who denies involvement in the mysterious shooting of Pattani deputy governor has been charged with manslaughter. Abdul continued to protest his innocence and was later released. Abdul reported to Pattani police last month denying that his M16 rifle had gone off on Nov 26. Ballistic tests showed the gun to be clean and Abdul was not charged at the time.	Sign is +. This will be used to illustrate indiscriminate police scape-goating of locals.
Bersatu leader 9 Dec 2004 “Separatist wants to return”	The exiled leader of a Muslim separatist group wants to return to Thailand to take part in the peace-building in the violence-plagued southernmost province. The exiled Thai Muslim community “believe that the violence occurred largely because of misunderstandings between the two sides especially between the Thai government officials and the Muslims in general”, he said. “We need to bridge this gap of misunderstanding. It is important that both sides realize that the problem in Pattani cannot be solved by suppression or by a war of liberation”, Wan Kadir Che Man added.	Sign is +. The relationship between “State attitude” and “Violent Conflict” is explicit.

Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy/stance		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Postive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic
9 Dec 2004 Editorial: "A skewed police investigation"	<p>It looks like the entire police force has been subjected to the whims of PM Thaksin. On Nov 23, stepping down from his plan upon his return from the Apec summite in Chile, the PM ruled out assassination as a movie for the shooting of deputy Pattani governor, Soonthorn Rittipakdee.</p> <p>Thaksin emphatically stated the the most likely cause of the gunshot wound in the abdomen of the deputy governor was that the gun of one of his bodyguards had accidentally gone off.</p> <p>Assistant national police chief Lt-Gen Wongkot Maneerin rushed to the deep South yesterday to personally conduct an additional interrogation of Abdul Waedallah, the man being held as the suspected shooter.</p> <p>The police made a suspect of Waedallah because he was standing closest to the deputy governor. Abdul has persistently protested his innonence, saying no shots were fired from his M16 rifle during the incident. Forensic analysis showed the gun to be clean and Abdul was not charged at the time.</p> <p>So, the question on everyone's mind is : what actually happened? The PM and the Royal Thai Police owe the public as well as the family and loved ones of Soothorn a full explanation.</p>	<p>Sign is +. This editorial is to emphasize the police's unjust detention of locals.</p>
9 Dec 2004 Headline: "I've been set up by police : suspect"	<p>Pattani resident Abdul Waedallah was charged on Tuesday with manslaughter for accidentally shooting Soonthorn, an allegation he denies.</p> <p>Abdul told reporters he was innocent adding that senior police officers tried to talk him into taking the blame for the shooting.</p> <p>"I will not take the blame for something I did not do," he said.</p>	

<p>Pondok Headmaster 15 Dec 2004</p> <p>“School head : pondok not breeding grounds for terror”</p>	<p>The role of pondok religious schools in predominantly Muslim areas of the south needs to be properly understood as supporters of the state, not stereotyped as breeding grounds for separatists, the headmaster (Muhamad Adam) of one of the nation’s 260 pondok schools said yesterday at a seminar (organized to reveal the results of two recent studies on the plight of ordinary people in Pattani funded by the Thai Research Fund). The headmaster said that the state and its officials were responsible for the prevention of separatist teachings. But he claimed many of the officials assigned to the South were more inclined to work in their air-conditioned offices than visit remote villages.</p> <p>Participants also complained that the rich history of Pattani as a learning centre of Islam, or corridor to Mecca, is better preserved and honoured in Malaysia than Thailand. One museum in Kuala Lumpur includes exhibitions of Islamic scholars from Pattani. Dolah Jehte, a teacher from Tadika school in Pattani’s Ban Datoh, also revealed that local people are facing the threat of large commercial trawlers and factory pollution. “We used to have fish of all sorts. Now many species are gone, and the salt farm and chemicals are destroying everything. Many have to go to work in Malaysia as labourers</p>	<p>Sign is +. The state should learn from and listen to local people and not assume that they know what’s best for them.</p> <p>“State policy on cultural expression” was raised during a discussion of the southern conflict.</p>
<p>20 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Editorial : Drawing the curtain on Tak Bai”</p>	<p>The government’s recent attempts to ban the distribution of VCDs of the crackdown on protestors in Tak Bai do not bode well for transparency, human rights and democracy in Thailand. All Thai citizens have the right to be informed, especially in matters of national significance, such as the Tak Bai debacle, which has gone on to create much bitterness and mistrust among Thai-Malay Muslims in the deep South.</p> <p>This brutal and unfortunate part of what has now become Thai history must be remembered. The mistakes must be learnt from, and those responsible must be brought to justice through due process of law so that the wounds begin to heal.</p> <p>If the government fails to come clean over the issue and punish those responsible for the deaths of the civilian protestors under their custody, new generations of Thai-Malay Muslims will grow up hating the state.</p>	<p>Violent state policy and actions caused mistrust and hatred. Sign is +.</p>

Keyword : State officials/Governance/trust/security agencies/military and police abuse/government policy/stance		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
26 Dec 2004 “Human rights : Tak Bai ‘crime’ demands justice”	<p>The NHRC yesterday joined the Senate in calling the government to bring to justice those officials who were responsible for the deaths of 85 Tak Bai demonstrators and compensate their families.</p> <p>Dr Saneh Chamarik, Chairman of NHRC, said a review of policy for the South was needed, as well as a change in the attitudes of the officials sent to solve the problem.</p>	Sign is +. State officials’ attitudes are explicitly related to the southern conflict.

APPENDIX F

Theme/Concept : Cultural Alienation/Exclusion		
Keyword : Neglect/alienate/lack of understanding		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive or Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
29 Oct 2004 The Star : Sensitivity needed in the South”	Just 6 months (ago), Thai forces stormed Pattani’s 16 th century Krue Se mosque, supposedly to flush out troublemakers. That occasion prompted the Thai deputy PM to tour the South for a first-hand look at the situation. He discovered that local anxieties were caused by official neglect , high-handed bullying and corruption among local officials.	Sign is +. Relationship between “Alienation” and “Violent Conflict” is stated explicitly. Since the “neglect” is “official”, the relationship between “Alienation” and “State Policy” is definitive.
3 Nov 2004 “Tak Bai crackdown : Fourth Army Chief Pisarn transferred	Privy Councillor Gen Surayud Chulanont said several factors spurred violence in the region. Terrorists from outside are looking at the situation in the deep South closely, he said. “We need to establish a better understanding of the region in order for the authorities to gain the confidence of local residents,” he said. “Officials should also understand the habits and ways of life of local people.” Meanwhile, PM Thaksin yesterday said his government was the <u>first</u> in Thai history to foster a <u>positive attitude</u> toward the predominantly Muslim South.	Sign is +. “Failure to understand local habits and way of life presumably by previous governments” is emphatically underlined by Thaksin’s stance that his government was the first to adopt positive attitude. Relationships are emphatic and definitive.

Keyword : Neglect/alienate/lack of understanding		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive or Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
16 Nov 2004 “Defusing the south ‘Islamic affairs ministry’ needed”	<p>A senior education official yesterday urged the government to form a new ministry in charge of southern Islamic affairs in order to restore peace in the 3 southernmost provinces.</p> <p>“The new Ministry would dispel the feelings of being neglected among Thai Muslims of Malay ethnicity in Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat,” education inspector Chalermkiart Khunthongpet said. He was speaking at a government-sponsored seminar on education polices in the deep South. He said southern Thai Muslims felt alienated from mainstream society because of language and religious differences. “The government is obliged to reduce their isolation and improve their livelihoods,” he said.</p> <p>He also called for the certification of Islamic religious teachers who were trained locally and abroad. The professional certification should be supervised by the Office of the Chularatchamontri, the Islamic spiritual leader. Education Council member Sumon Amornwiwat, another seminar participant, suggested Islamic religious schools should offer a comprehensive curriculum covering religious studies, general education, local traditions and student physical development.</p> <p>Aree Wongaraya, deputy education minister said that he planned to amend relevant laws in order to make the general education available to Muslim students attending religious studies. “Many Muslim students want to study Thai and professional skills along with their religious studies but such courses are not presently available to them in local religious schools,’ he said.</p>	<p>Sign is +.</p> <p>“Alienation, neglect and isolation” to be addressed by formation of ‘Islamic Affairs Ministry’.</p> <p>Relationship between “Alienation” and “Violent Conflict” is stated explicitly.</p> <p>In respect of “education”, there is prior relationship between “State Policy” and “Alienation”, so the connection between the 2 is definitive.</p>

APPENDIX G

Theme/Concept : Cultural Alienation or Exclusion		
Keyword : Thai-ness, Thai identity, Thai nationalism, Thai race, Thai nationalism, non-Thai, un-Thai		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic) Direction (Definitive/Logical)
<p>12 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Thirayuth speaks out : Critics says unrest in South is too big for Thaksin”</p>	<p>Leading social critic, Thirayuth Boonmi (Thammasat University lecturer) said yesterday that the crisis in the turbulent South was beyond PM Thaksin’s ability to handle alone, suggesting the premier should seek participation from all groups in restoring peace to the region.....Government officials open their minds towards the South since nationalism would make other groups, including Malay Muslims, feel uncomfortable, he said, adding that Thaksin should champion Thailand as a nation, rather than a Thai race. The government should try political means such as allowing local participation in the governing of the region, rather than rely solely on military operations</p>	<p>Sign is +. “Thai nationalism” (based on race) contributes to exclusion of Malay Muslims. Intensity is stated explicitly. As “State attitude and policy” leads to “uncomfortableness”, the relationship between the 2 is definitive.</p>
<p>22 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Opinion : Thailand’s internal borders shift again”</p>	<p>PM Thakins has again wrapped himself in the flag. And you can bet that this adjusted form of “new nationalism” will be the undertone in Thai Rak Thai’s election campaign.</p> <p>All form of nationalism plays up foreign enemies. There is no easier political message than arousing fears that the nation is under threat from nasty outsiders. But Thailand has tradition of taking this one step further : the nation under threat from problematic insiders linked to nasty outsiders.</p>	

<p>22 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Opinion : Thailand’s internal borders shift again”</p>	<p>Right back to the time the Thai nation was invented a little over a century ago; Thai nationality has had a subtle confusion. Everybody born within the borders is a Thai, but somehow some are less Thai than others.</p> <p>At first this gradation depended on language and sophistication. The elite in Bangkok spoke the “right” language and were highly civilized. The less full members of the nation were told they could escape their disabilities by learning the central Thai dialect and hauling themselves up the socio-economic ladder. The government set up schools and talked a lot about progress.</p> <p>But very little was done for more than half a century, until the coming of the Cold War and the threat of communism. Then the need to educate people and bring “development” became muddled with ideas of national integration and national security. A whole industry appeared of studying and helping “minorities” who were imaged to be partially outside the national community and potentially a threat to it. In effect, new internal borders were being drawn, defining certain people as less national than others.</p> <p>Three main areas were marked off by these internal borders during the Cold War. They were identified using the old definition – not knowing the “right” language and not being sophisticated – but also by one vital new criterion : being connected and somehow to nasty outsiders, especially nasty communist outsiders. The biggest of these problematic areas was the Northeast.</p> <p>The fate of the internal border in the South has been more complex. The problem area is no longer “Muslim majority” but rather “Malay language speaking majority” (thereby excluding Saturn).</p> <p>From Bangkok’s perspective, the three provinces have refused to adopt the right language and have links, through Malaysia, to new external threats in the Islamic world. In their initial reaction to the Tak Bai tragedy, government officials explicitly blamed “leaders” from Malaysia. Thailand’s military leaders constantly talk about separatists based in Malaysia. The nationalists have whipped up resentment against the “interference” in Thailand’s internal affairs by Mahathir and other outsiders.</p>	<p>“Language” is used to exclude, make some less Thai than others.</p> <p>Sign is +.</p> <p>The Malay Muslims, being minorities, are made to be perceived as less loyal and less Thai.</p> <p>As nationalism is “State Policy” and it directs the division of society,</p>
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Keyword : Thai-ness, Thai identity, Thai nationalism, Thai race, Thai nationalism, non-Thai, un-Thai		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
22 Nov 2004 “Village Scouts Meeting : Rally for peace raises concern”	<p>Despite good intentions, scouts’ planned assembly sparks fears of a nationalist revival. Peace activists are less than enthusiastic about the village scouts’ mass involvement.</p> <p>Giles Ungpakorn, a political scientist at Chulalongkorn University said the village scouts’ past record showed they have never promoted peace and unit but only added violent overtures.</p> <p>The solution to unrest in the South is definitely not going to involve waking up the far right movement. He said, “We have to look back to the role of village scouts in 1976 and ask ourselves whether we still want these kinds of people to gather again”.</p> <p>Surichai Wankaew questioned what the meeting was expected to achieve. He urged the government to keep an eye on the event to ensure it increased understanding rather than just deepening prejudices.</p> <p>Human rights activist Gothorn Arya, Chairman of the Cultural Peace Foundation, also relayed his concern over the brewing nationalist sentiment, saying it would further divide the nation. “It is not right or appropriate for nationalism to play any role now,” said Gothorn, adding that the ideology was based on divisiveness rather than cohesion and was usually used to bully minority groups.</p>	<p>“Thai nationalism” adds to violent overtures and does not promote peace.</p> <p>“Thai nationalism” plays a divisive role and is not appropriate ideology for the South.</p> <p>“Alienation” based on nationalism leads to unrest in the South. Sign is +.</p>
1 Dec 2004 “Empty gestures will get us nowhere”	<p>Not since the mid-1970s has the threat of social polarization been so great. Human rights activists and some pro-democracy academics and civil-society members feel that all the trouble in the South, which so far has led to 500 or so deaths and shows no sign of letting up, is the result of the government’s oppressive policy of abduction, extrajudicial killings and heavy-handed handling of protests, such as the one at Tak Bai, during which 85 Thai-Malay Muslims died, mostly from suffocation while being</p>	

	<p>transported to military camp.</p> <p>As the rebel attacks and killings in the South become more cruel and anger more Thais, we are once again seeing the emergency of effort to paint the insurgents there as being un-Thai. For now at least mainstream Thai society seems to be focused on the façade of peace, and paper birds are being folded everywhere. But things could take an ugly turn if such superficial calls for peace continue to be made without regard for the conditions of life of Thai-Malay Muslims in the South and the rebels respond with further violence.</p> <p>How can some people be so simplistic as to expect peace without change? How can there be peace without greater socio-economic and political change? Without greater equality for Thai-Malay Muslims in the deep South?</p> <p>To this writer’s surprise, a Thai-Malay Muslim lawyer in Pattani recently welcomed the withdrawal of Buddhist students from the Pattani campus of Prince of Songkla University in response to fears of violence, saying more Thai-Malay Muslims would have the opportunity to be accepted and study there as a result. At present, only 5 percent of the students at the university are Thai-Malay Muslims, though this group represents more than 80 percent of the population in the deep South.</p> <p>What will it take for people to realize that for peace to have a chance in the deep South, decentralization and social and economic opportunities for Thai-Malay Muslims must be pursued? Such ideas may be tough for some to stomach, but they are much better than folding pieces of paper into birds. The public may think it is enough to get behind such campaigns, but the fact is nothing short of a full and open dialogue with our brothers in the South will change the volatile situation there.</p> <p>What society needs now is a national dialogue leading to real change and improvement in the South. The imposition of peace through wishful thinking will not get the job done.</p>	<p>Positive relationship between “Cultural alienation – being unThai” and the “violent conflict”.</p> <p>The relationship between “Cultural Alienation” and “Violent Conflict” is stated explicitly</p>
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Keyword : Thai-ness, Thai identity, Thai nationalism, Thai race, Thai nationalism, non-Thai, un-Thai		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic) Direction (Definitive/Logical)
<p>Thai academic named “Siamese Bohemian” 14 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Thai-ness being used to exclude”</p>	<p>But why have the Muslims in the South (unlike Thai-Chinese) failed to integrate with mainstream Thai society enough to avoid the “us” versus “them” mentality?</p> <p>Different facets of tolerance and their diverse interpretations represent parts of the problems in the South. Tolerance, in this case, is a one-way flow. The Muslim community was told to tolerate the inefficiency of the government. But the government makes it known that any opposing opinion of the Thai Muslims is intolerable.</p> <p>As for the Thai public, its outlook on tolerance reflects another set of meanings. The Thais are generally tolerance of minor infractions of the law.To them, tolerance creates a freewheeling space that leaves room for social refreshment and a breaking free of legal restrictions.</p> <p>But such freewheeling space also gives birth to ignorance. The Thais have become ignorant towards whatever is considered non-Thai, based on their supremacist mindset that whatever is “Thai” is best.</p> <p>And when that Thai best is contested by other, non-Thai elements, they seemed crippled in their handling of the situation, due to the intrinsic characteristics of ignorance. Hence, tolerance is transformed into temper.</p> <p>The current unrest in the South demonstrates the very conflicting natures of tolerance.</p>	<p>“Thai-ness” is being used to exclude. Sign is +.</p>

	<p>Thais often have wrong ideas about Islam and Christianity, placing Buddhism at the centre of their thinking and justification. The origami-bird campaign and the widespread suspicion of evangelical Christian’s proselytizing drive are good examples.</p> <p>Few Thais know that Islam strictly prohibits idol worship. Images of people and animals as sacred symbols are prohibited in mosques and Muslim homes.....The origami-birds are not a substitute for the need of a better understanding of Islam.</p> <p>In regard to the gospel campaign of the Christian community, misconceptions have mounted due to public ignorance. In Christianity, it is the duty of all Christians to spread the gospel to non-believers.....The Christian community is simply using modern marketing to promote its religious message, such as selecting high-profile societal members as gospel envoys and coaxing the mass media to spread the holy word more efficiently.</p> <p>The importance of religious reinvention has long been taken for granted by a public that firmly believes Buddhism is still dominant and unwavering in Thai society. All of sudden, religious defensiveness and intolerance are emerging as the latest manifestations of Thai identity.</p> <p>Continued indoctrination of a supremacist Thai and a proud sense of ignorance are the main factors powerfully obscuring the vision of Thai leaders, as well as the Thai public, from seeing clearly what is at the root of the conflict in the South of Thailand.</p>	<p>The relationship between “Alienation” and “State Policy” is not definitive. It is determined logically.</p> <p>“Supremacist Thai” is the root of the conflict.</p>
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APPENDIX H

Theme/Concept : Historical Anger		
Keyword : history/historical/past/lingering		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic Direction (Definitive/Logical)
5 Nov 2004 “Many roadmaps, but no clear path to peace”	Dy PM Chaturon Chaisang’s study found that militants in the region were inspired by lingering anger over the annexation of the Sultanate of Pattani and this anger was increased by the authorities’ actions following the January 4 raid. In their search for the culprits, the police rounded up a huge number of suspects who finally had to be released since the authorities had no evidence to link them with the incident.	Sign is +. Intensity is stated explicitly.
7 Nov 2004 “Dearth of spirituality blamed for failed southern policy”	Niran’s analysis (Professor Niran Pantharakit, Professor at Mahidol University and Director of Sheikhul Islam Office) seems to be supported by the Interior Ministry’s latest survey of 17,000 residents of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani, in which 91 per cent of respondents said that the single biggest factor contributing to the ongoing violence was the difference in ethnicity, religious belief, culture and historical background.	Sign is +. Intensity is emphatic.
9 Nov 2004 “Opinion: An historical perspective on the South”	The threat posted by the Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO) on its website, vowing that Muslim separatists would burn Bangkok “to the ground” in retaliation for the 85 protestors who died as a result of mistreatment by state troops, harked back to the South’s tortuous past. Instead of referring to the capital as Krunthep or even Bangkok, the website referred to Bangkok as “Phra Nakorn”, a term that refers to Siam at the time of the Ayutthaya era. While separatists have latched onto the history of the South, the majority of Thais	Sign is +. Intensity is emphatic.

seem ignorant about the **historical** perspective in the ongoing violence. Buddhist Thais have also latched onto a view of the **past** that Pattani was part of Siam and Thailand, yet they tend to be almost oblivious to Thailand's **past** aggressions.

In the early Bangkok period, from the reign of King Rama I to King Rama III, Malay Muslim villagers were forcibly uprooted from Pattani to Bangkok after Siamese troops suppressed a rebellion, or invaded Pattani, depending on whose point of view one adopts. The biggest lot of captured villagers transported to Bangkok numbered up to 4,000. The largest number of troops dispatched from Bangkok was 300,000 during the reign of King Rama III, led by Dij Bunnang in 1832, after Sultan Ahmad Tajuddin tried to liberate his land from Siamese control.

Historian and anthropologist Srisakara Walliibhotama wrote in the book "Pattani in Srivijaya" that after each conflict, many Pattani people became the victims of severe and cruel punishment (pg 251).

Soon after the Anglo-Thai treaty of 1909, in which Britain formally acknowledged Pattani as part of Siam, Tengku Abdul Kadir, the last ruler of the Pattani state, led a revolt. But he was eventually captured and imprisoned in Phitsanulok for 10 years. He later lived in exile in Kelantan while his son fruitlessly carried the torch.

Chidchanok Rahimmula, a lecturer at Prince of Songkla University in Pattani, wrote in a book on the topic in Thanom Kittakachon's era that "Malay-Muslims were treated as second (class) citizens; they were exploited. Social ills and injustices were common. More significant to the point is the fact that killings and punishments of various form went on and on, without legal procedures."

The government would do well to try to reduce – if not dismantle – oppressive and discriminatory conditions that still exist, and serve as a pre-condition of further violence by insurgents. Decentralization is also needed in the South to enable residents to have more say in their life and future. Equally important is for the majority of Thais to become more aware of the baggage of **history** and its significance to the ongoing violence perpetrated by both sides.

The relationship between "State Policy" and "Historical Anger" is definitive.

APPENDIX I

Theme/Concept : Economic disadvantage		
Keyword : Economy/economics/money/work/employed		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
<p>2 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Surayud : If we regard them as opponents, it’s over”</p>	<p>Do you think violence in the South can be stopped? It is going to take some time. The region has had numerous problems, such as injustice, insurgency, poor education and public health.</p> <p>Is money a factor in solving the problem of violence? It is, but isn’t a major factor. What is more important is correct understanding and sincerity, which can lead to credibility among the locals. With those factors, we don’t need much money. His Majesty’s ideas about a self-sufficient economy can be adopted and there’s no need to wait for money alone.</p> <p>How can you improve understanding among local people now that they don’t want to listen to the government? We should rely on someone who they will listen to. First, we should approach community leaders and explain things to them so that they have a better understanding. The leader will then talk to the others in their communities. This process will take time. What should be done is to improve understanding and trust. This is an abstract issue, not a concrete one.</p>	<p>Positively co-related to “Violent conflict” but intensity is only implied.</p>
<p>5 Nov 2004</p> <p>“Many roadmaps, but no clear path to peace”</p>	<p>The PM claims to know the root cause of the problem, saying that a number of separatists are behind the violence and wrongly use Islam to justify their fight. He said Islamic boarding schools known locally as pondok, and their religious teachers, or ustad, had inculcated uneducated and unemployed youths with wrong ideology to turn them into Islamic militants opposed to the state.</p>	<p>Positive co-relationship but intensity of relationship is weak.</p>

Keyword : Economy/economics/money/work/employed		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
8 Nov 2004 Southern Economy : NESDB to work out strategies for region	PM Thaksin has enlisted the help of the National Economics and Social Development Board (NESDB) to create plans for bringing further economic development to the three southernmost provinces. The PM outlined 10 possible strategies which include the development of the agricultural sector, marketing possibilities that tap into the potential of globalization, cooperation with neighboring countries in the framework of the Ayeyawady-Chao Phra-Mekong Strategy and energy and budge provisions for the provinces.	Positive co-relationship but intensity is “implied”.
24 Nov 2004 “Money won’t end unrest : critics”	Commenting on the government’s Bt5 million reward for information leading to the arrest of militants, Yala Islamic Committee , deputy chairman Nimu Makaje said police should restore public trust instead of offering money. “If police can keep peace and ensure our safety, then local residents will volunteer the information without having to pay them”, he said. “Regardless of how much money the government pumps into the South, peace and normalcy will not be restored unless police can regain the public trust”, he said.	Sign is -.
15 Dec 2004 “School head : pondok not breeding grounds for terror.	[A seminar organized to reveal the results of an ethnographic study on the plight of ordinary people in Pattani] Dolah Jehte, a teacher from Tadika School in Pattani’s Ban Datoh, also revealed the results of a case study from his community. He said local people are facing the threat of large commercial trawlers and factory pollution. “We used to have fish of all sorts. Now many species are gone, and the salt farm and chemicals (waste from factories) are destroying everything. Many have to go to work in Malaysia as labourers,” he said.	Positive co-relationship but the strength of the relationship is weak.

	<p>“How will people live when resources are depleted?” asked Mahrong Salah, another teacher from the same school.</p> <p>They agreed that local people were forced to opt for working as employees in big factories from outside instead of continuing their traditional subsistence fishing, as the natural resources are being depleted.</p> <p>They said the message from the two studies is the same : the state should learn from and listen to local people and not assume that they know what’s best for them.</p>	
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APPENDIX J

Theme/Concept : Islamic radicalism/extremism		
Keyword : Islamic religious extremism/radicalism/distortion of religion/spirituality/foreign and international terrorist		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
<p>29 Oct 2004</p> <p>“Editorial: Getting a grip on the terror threat”</p>	<p>If the possibility of a terrorist attack on targets in Bangkok or other parts of Thailand outside the Muslim-majority southern provinces used to be taboo subject, then perhaps now is the time for society to shed its false sense of security and fatalistic complacency....</p> <p>The gruesome deaths (at Tak Bai), described callously by the Thaksin administration as an “unfortunate accident”, have attracted widespread condemnation by many governments, international human rights groups and Islamic organizations, as well as the wrath of Muslims everywhere.</p> <p>Suddenly, Thailand is repeatedly mentioned as a possible target for international terrorist groups bent on avenging what was described as the brutal and inhuman treatment of Muslims in the deep South.</p> <p>Thailand, which can be said to be at an advanced stage in its struggle against the home-grown terrorist threat, must not take lightly the possibility of international Islamic militant groups joining forces with their Thai counterparts to widen the conflict and take the fight to Bangkok and other cities outside the Muslim south.</p> <p>It’s time for the government and the public to get organized and improve the nation’s capabilities to deal with terrorism.</p> <p>The first step is for the government to tighten security, including stationing visibly armed and well-trained troopers at public places, from bus terminals, railway stations and the airport to government offices and public buildings.</p> <p>In order not to cause panic, members of the public must be educated about the clear and present danger of terrorism and how individuals can contribute to public safety by staying vigilant.</p>	<p>Revenge becomes a reason for violent retaliation.</p> <p>The possibility of involvement by international Islamic groups must be taken seriously. Sign is +. Intensity of relationship is implied.</p> <p>Forewarns that conflict might spill outside of the South.</p> <p>The newspaper forewarns the state to tighten security now.</p>

Keyword : Islamic religious extremism/radicalism/distortion of religion/spirituality/foreign and international terrorist		
Source :	Keyword-In-Context	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
3 Nov 2004 “Analysis : Some worrying parallels with Krue Se”	<p>The Krue Se and Tak Bai episodes have a number of worrying similarities in the way those involved were organized and in how events unfolded.</p> <p>Firstly, both incidents were instigated by small cells operating independently after seeping into close-knit rural Muslim communities.</p> <p>Members of the cells are isolated and only know their own group. Some Muslims, mostly youngsters, consciously join the movement; others simply follow the herd or are unknowingly pulled into it.</p> <p>One phone call is enough to mobilize the villagers in these close-knit communities. Villagers said letters were sent to mosques in some areas and imams distributed the news to other village members.</p> <p>The second similarity is that religious language was used in both incidents to rally fellow Muslims against “injustice” suffered by minority Muslims in the Buddhist-dominated country.</p>	<p>Operations are carried out by small cells in close-knit Muslim communities.</p> <p>Modern communications enabled mobilization and connections.</p> <p>Religion was invoked to rally against injustice. However, the intensity is “implied”.</p>
7 Nov 2004 “Dearth of spirituality blamed for failed southern policy”	<p>If you ask Professor Niran Pantharakit of Mahidol University, an expert on Muslim affairs in Thailand, what went wrong with the Thaksin government’s policy on southern Thailand, where daily violence seems relentless, he would probably say something like: “Too much materialism, politics and economics, but very little spirituality”.</p> <p>Niran, also director of the Sheikhu Islam Office, which groups together the highest Muslim bodies here, told me the other day that the government probably missed the mark because of its inability to perceive subtle issues that fundamentally affect the mindset of most Muslim compatriots.</p>	<p>Dearth of spirituality in dealing with the South</p> <p>The Government has missed the depth of the Islamic dimension in the conflict.</p>

<p>He was referring to subtleties in differences of history, culture, language and religion between the estimated 6 million Thai Muslims and the Kingdom's Buddhist population of more than 50 million. By failing to comprehend the depths of Muslims' historical background, their unique culture, language and religious beliefs, Bangkok has effectively 'ignored' the 'spiritual' elements that bond Muslims all over the world, resulting in misguided policies imposed by the central government at the provincial and local levels.</p> <p>Afterwards, the difference in religious beliefs between Muslims and those of other faiths has periodically been used to spur hatred and violent struggles in the South. These struggles seem to have been revived in the wake of the World Trade Centre attacks in New York three years ago, especially after Thailand adopted several tough measures along the lines of the US-led global movement against terrorism.</p> <p>In short, Bangkok has become overloaded with global geopolitical considerations while ignoring the subtle elements and sensitivity of its own people in the south. It has also turned to a security and economic development agenda</p> <p>However, it has become increasingly obvious that it does not work that way in the Muslim world, in which materialistic development and economic well-being are considered less important than spiritual well-being and understanding.</p> <p>Niran's analysis seems to be supported by the Interior Ministry's latest survey of 17,000 residents of Yala, Narathiwat and Pattani, in which 91 per cent of respondents said that the single biggest factor contributing to the ongoing violence, was the difference in ethnicity, religious belief, culture and historical background.</p> <p>In addition, 81 percent of respondents suggested that many government officials working in the three provinces were inefficient and unresponsive to local citizens' needs, while 79 per cent indicated that local people were goaded by 'ill-intentioned groups'.</p>	<p>The Government and militants (+sympathizers) are influenced by global geopolitical events.</p> <p>Surveys reaffirm that root causes are religious and ethnic differences.</p>
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Keyword : Islamic religious extremism/radicalism/distortion of religion/spirituality/foreign and international terrorist		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
15 Nov 2004 Opinion : Why Thailand needs outside help in the South	<p>Thailand needs help, especially from neighboring Islamic countries and beyond, to manage the conflict in Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala.</p> <p>Obviously, without cooperation and understanding from these neighbors, as well as from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the Thai-Muslim communities will remain restlessSo far Bangkok has requested that Kuala Lumpur help with the education in Thai pondoks, or religious schools. For decades, Malaysia and Indonesia have been helping Thailand in international forums like the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) whenever issues related to southern Thailand have been raised. Therefore it is pivotal that Thailand secure Malaysia's support, because it currently chairs the Non-Aligned Movement and the OIC. Indonesia, as the world's largest Muslim nation, is also in a good position to help.</p> <p>Although it is difficult to gather evidence of foreign involvement at the moment, the Thai intelligence community, including Thaksin himself, has concluded that foreign militant Muslims have penetrated the South and established links with regional militant groups.</p>	Thailand needs help from Islamic countries. Sign is +.
PM 17 Nov 2004 "Killings in Songkla raise fears violence is spreading	<p>Suspected militants killed a father and son in Songkla's Tephra district yesterday, raising fears that violence in the southernmost provinces could spill over into neighbouring areas, notably southern business hub of Hat Yai.</p> <p>PM Thaksin said yesterday that militants who fuelled the ongoing violence were local but could be receiving information from extremists abroad. "It's merely personal contacts, not organized networks....so there is no involvement by al-Qaeda or any other organization," he told reporters after a mobile Cabinet meeting in Ubon Ratchthani.</p>	

Keyword : religious extremism/radicalism/distortion of religion/spirituality/foreign and international terrorist		
Source :	KIC	Sign (Positive/Negative) Intensity (Implied/Stated explicitly/Emphatic)
PM 22 Nov 2004 “PM seeks help from Muslim countries”	PM Thaksin has called for cooperation from Muslim countries that take in foreign students to prevent any distortion of the teachings of the Holy Quran or misuse their educational funding. A large number of Thai Muslim students receive funding to study in Middle Eastern countries. The government believes that some of them have been lured into joining terrorist movements through distorted interpretations of Islam’s holy book. It believes the grants provided the students by these countries were also being misused for terrorism. The government however dismisses the idea that foreign terrorist groups are behind the violence plaguing the Muslim-majority South.	Hints at a connection between Malay Muslims who study overseas could be affected by perverted Islamic teachings.
22 Nov 2004 “Security units don’t understand their enemy”	The ongoing violence in the Muslim-majority South has Thailand’s intelligence community in above their heads as they try desperately to get a better understanding of this generation’s insurgents, who appear to be inspired by Islam as much as long-standing resentment towards the Buddhist state. But as they flip through the pages of books on Islam to see if there is any connectivity between the insurgency in the South and the religion that is embraced by 1 billion people worldwide, another Army or police unit is fired upon or a phone call goes off about a bomb threat.	The root causes are religious inspiration and long-standing ethnic grievances. Sign is +. Intensity is “explicit”.
8 Dec 2004 “Editorial : A welcome step by moderate Muslims”	The Office of the Chularatchamontri, Thailand’s top Muslim leader, should be commended for having published and distributed a white paper aimed at reversing the “ distortion ” of religious teachings that has been carried out by armed Islamic militants engaged in a campaign of terror in the Muslim-majority southern provinces. The first batch of about 100,000 copies of the 55-page booklet – entitled “Facts about the Struggle for Pattani (or Berjihad di Pattani) – will be distributed this week to mosques and religious schools throughout the country. The “Struggle for Pattani” is a	“Distortions” in Islamic teachings inspire the perpetrators. Muslim leader takes lead to correct deviationist teachings.

	<p>handbook, written in the Yawi dialect, that has been used by Islamic militants engaged in armed struggle and incitement for the secession of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat, to attract new recruits and train them to combat security forces and to conduct suicide attacks.</p> <p>The white paper contains 61 false teachings included in the militant handbook. The white paper also sensibly cautions the authorities against concentrating on the use of brute military force or repressive security measures in their effort to bring back peace and order in the restive region, while at the same time advising them to pursue political and peaceful means to promote better understanding and restore peace.</p> <p>All too often, the radicalization of Islam, particularly in SEA, which has a long tradition of religious tolerance and peaceful coexistence, is made possible because moderate Muslims have done little to make their voices heard.</p> <p>The booklet issued by the Office of the Chularatchamontri states clearly that its goal is to promote better understanding of Islam among Muslims and among the general public, and to reaffirm the commitment of Thai Muslims to not only a peaceful coexistence with people belonging to other religions, but also to their full participation as citizens of this country who enjoy equal rights and who are bound by a shared destiny to the rest of Thai society.</p>	<p>Moderate Muslims must have their voices heard.</p>
<p>14 Dec 2004</p> <p>“Editorial : Extremism is the root of all terrorism”</p>	<p>During his recent visit to Bangkok, Singapore’s PM-mentor, Lee Kuan Yew, went against the conventional wisdom of the current Thai government by dismissing the argument that ignorance and poverty were the root cause of global terrorism. Islamic extremism, said Lee, has also penetrated prosperous Muslim communities like those found in Malaysia and Singapore. Increased religious fundamentalism in the Muslim community worldwide, argued the elder statesman, has elicited different reactions in different locations. An incident in one Islamic community can easily excite the passions of another community in a different part of the world.</p> <p>The way out of this situation, argues Lee and many others, is to have the so-called “Moderate Muslims” – ones who believe in the modern world – play a part in setting</p>	<p>Sign is +. Islamic extremism is the root cause. Intensity is “explicit”.</p>

	<p>the record straight. They have to be convinced that they are on the winning side. And who are these moderate voices, and why are they not saying anything? Lee said the moderates are caught in a dilemma :sympathizing with the radicals because of their dislike of the West, but deep down not agreeing with their hideous tactics or twisted philosophy</p> <p>While Thailand continues to insist that the killings in the Muslim-majority South are a domestic problem, security experts and even some officials themselves say the violence is setting the stage for international terrorist organizations like Jemaah Islamiyah or al-Qaeda to intervene.</p> <p>What needs to be done is for all sectors of society – regardless of faith or political affiliation – to come together to put an end to the violence. In Thailand’s deep South, it was indeed regrettable that the helping hand of Muslims has gone largely unnoticed. For instance, they delivered food to Buddhist monks afraid to leave their temples following a spate of gruesome beheadings targeting monks.</p> <p>Elsewhere, the private and public sectors are coming together, as in Singapore, where the Taxi Drivers’ Association is cooperating with authorities to become an “eyes-and-ears apparatus” for the state. The idea was inspired by news reports from Russia that Chechen terrorists were leaving explosives in Moscow cabs, turning them into unwitting car bombs.</p>	<p>It is a domestic issue but the stage is set for international participation in the insurgency.</p>
<p>21 Dec 2004 “Indonesia demands proof of PM’s claims”</p>	<p>On Saturday, PM Thaksin charged that some of the insurgents fighting for an independent Muslim state had been brainwashed by Indonesian extremists. Thaksin also said he believed some Thais were being trained for the insurgency in camps in neighbouring Malaysia and at Islamic schools in southern Thailand.</p>	<p>Even the Government claims that there is a link with religion. Intensity is “stated explicitly”.</p>
<p>Govt : 23 Dec 2004 “Thaksin’s blame game backfires”</p>	<p>The government has again employed the classic tactic of blaming neighbours for its failure to contain the violence in the south. Thaksin offended Malaysia and Indonesia by saying southern militants had been trained in Malaysia and inspired by Indonesian extremists</p>	<p>Government claims that there is a positive link with Muslim neighbors.</p>



BIOGRAPHY

Ho Sook Yee is a retiree from Singapore. She graduated from the University of Singapore with a bachelor degree in accountancy in 1979. In 2004, she enrolled in the Masters program in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand.