

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS AND RESULT OF THE RESEARCH

1. Impact of the Ratthaniyom Policy

The Ratthaniyom proclamations of the Phibun government in all its dimensions – national stability, national unity, economic stability, and cultural development – had an impact on the Thai people in various ways. Though the policy was not aimed at any specific ethnic group, the Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand who strongly adhered to their ethnic identity and the Chinese were most adversely affected.

It was the main problem that created the separatist sentiment among the Muslim people in the southern part of Thailand. It had a deep impact on the mind of Malayu-Muslims who were the habitants of that area. This was in the line of paper of an international crisis group (2004) which indicated that the cultural mandates (Ratthaniyom proclamation) during the period of Phibunsongkhram tried to impose uniformity on the whole country. This cultural policy banned the use of Malay in government offices, forced the government employees who were Muslims to take Thai names, forbade men and women to wear traditional Muslim-Malay dress in public and restricted almost every aspect of their daily life. Islamic law, which King Rama VI had recognized for family and inheritance matters, was rescinded.

Although the Ratthaniyom proclamation No.1 would stimulate the alienation among the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand, the proclamations that had the strongest impacts the Muslim people in this region were the Ratthaniyom proclamations Nos. 1, 3 and 9.

Ratthaniyom proclamation No.3

This proclamation indicated that all citizens living in Thailand had to call themselves Thai people. There were no classifications for calling oneself Thai together with one's ethnic origin, such as Northeastern-Thai, Southern-Thai, Chinese-Thai, and Thai-Muslim. As a result of this proclamation, all members of the different ethnic communities became Thai. Piyanart Bunnak mentioned the purpose of the government with regard to this agenda: this involved the prevention of the separatist

sentiment among Thai people and the government aimed to create the harmony among all Thai people.

The Muslim people in southern Thailand did not perceive themselves as Thai. They recognized themselves as Malay People. Geographically, traditionally and culturally they were closer to the Malay people who lived in Malaysia than to the Thai.

The indication in the proclamation that all people in Thailand had to call themselves Thai seemed to have an implication that the Thai people had to be Buddhist. This was obviously opposed to the Islamic doctrines of the Muslim people in southern Thailand. Some scholars indicated that this proclamation represented an attempt to eradicate the Muslim identity of the people in this region. (Uthai Dulyakasem: 1988: 219)

Given the sentiment of the Muslims in southern Thailand who were characteristically ethnocentric – that is, a strong sense of belonging to their ethnic identity – this proclamation was a threat to their identity. The loss of identity would be a serious sacrifice; this was thus one of the main factors that created the conflict between the people and the government.

Ratthaniyom Proclamation No.9

This proclamation involved the citizenship duties including the requirement to learn the Thai language and to feel honoured to speak the language. This represented another threat to the Muslim identity. Given the fact that Muslim culture and the Malayu-language had much influence on the Muslim people in the southern Thailand, such requirements were strongly resisted. Especially clause 1 of the proclamation, which indicated that “all Thai must respect, show esteem, and venerate the Thai language, and must feel honored to speak or to use the Thai language”, was strongly resisted.

Moreover, its clause 3 even strengthened the opposition by the Muslims in this region: “Thais must not regard the place of birth, domicile, residence or local dialects which vary locally as marks of differences (rift). Everyone must consider that being born as a Thai means that he has Thai blood and speaks the same language. There is no (inherent) conflict in being born in different localities or speaking the Thai language in different dialects.”(Ratthaniyom proclamation no.9)

The Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand were bounded with the Malayu language. For them it was not a local dialect but the root of their culture and tradition. The declaration of this agenda thus strongly clashed with the Malayu-Muslim culture. It decreased the role of the Malayu-Patani language and threatened to eradicate this identity.

We can conclude that the purpose of the government was to integrate the diverse ethnic communities in Thailand into a unified nation. The use of the national language that was considered the greatest Thai cultural asset was aimed to create the sense of pride sentiment in being Thai people. But the people in southern Thailand were different from other people because they did not participate in the Thai historical background. Neither did they share the language or any other cultural heritage. The people in the southern part of Thailand regarded themselves as Malay who had to use and have a sense of pride in their Malay language which was also their religious language.

To achieve this goal, the government prohibited the use of the Malay language in public places and government offices. To enhance the awareness of being Thai by encouraging the citizens to disregard their birthplaces, domiciles, residences or local dialects created the alienation among the Muslims because for the Muslim people this amounted to disregarding their ethnic identity. It was also a sin and was opposed to their religion and culture. Hence, this proclamation gave rise to resistance by the people in that area. (Chaloemkiat Khunthongpetch: 2004: p.35)

Ratthaniyom Proclamation No.10

This proclamation emphasized that all Thai dress in the western style. The people had to change their old forms of clothes and had to change some behavior which was regarded as inappropriate.

Trousers, shirts, blouses, skirts, hats were to be used instead of the old traditional and religious clothes. The hat became the national sign which would lead the country to prosperity: there was the slogan “Mala Num Thai”. (มาลาหมาไทย). We could say that this proclamation was meant to bring important changes to the people and their traditions. The people in southern Thailand who were mostly Muslim had to stop wearing their clothes which were actually right in their culture and tradition. They were prohibited to follow the lifestyle that represented their ethnic identity.

There were cases of the government resorting to use of violence in controlling these people. For example, there was the case of a couple who did not follow the dress requirement. That is, the husband did not wear suit and the women did not wear a hat; both of them were arrested by the government authorities. The incident finally led to the strike by the local people. (Piyant Bunnak: 2004: 106)

These were the Ratthaniyom proclamations that had an impact on the Malayu-Muslim identity of the people in the southernmost part of Thailand. Of course, there were admittely both positive and negative impacts among the Malayu-Muslim people in the region. Whether the impact was positive or negative depended on the opinions of both Thai government and the Malayu Muslim people in that area.

1.1 Positive Impacts The Thai government tended to point to the positive impacts of this proclamation. Education was often cited as one of the good impacts of the policy. This was because normally the Muslims in southern Thailand did not give much value to the Thai curriculum. They usually studied in the religious school such as Pondok or were educated in the Middle East. For these people, religious studies were more important than secular. After the declaration of the Ratthaniyom No.9 which indicated that all Thais had to learn Thai curriculum and speak Thai, it opened an opportunity for the people in southern Thailand to learn the Thai language and other subjects in the Thai curriculum. Those who studied in Thai schools were of great help to the government officials who mostly could not communicate in Malayu. It also opened the opportunity for the the Muslims to be employed, especially in the government sector.

During that time, a greater number of Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand enrolled in Thai schools than in the past. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview) These people were promoted to better positions and gained more benefits. (Piyant Bunnak: 2003) Some parents in region encourage their children to study Thai and sent their children to study in Bangkok. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview) The promotion of Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 was thus an important contribution to the Muslim community in this part of country.

The Thai language campaign was also believed to produce positive results. The campaign mobilized the Malayu Muslims to speak more Thai. It assisted the government to communicate with the people in that area. Moreover the people

could communicate with the government officials. The Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 actually accepted that language was the problem for the government and the people in this part of Thailand. It created a gap between the government and the people, and this gap was an important source of conflict between the government and the people because they could not communicate.

Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 which mobilized the Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand to learn the Thai language and Thai literature assisted the people in this region to communicate with the government and could make contact with the government officials. It was the expansion of Thai culture to the Muslim people in that region.

Even in terms of the way of life, the requirement for proper dresses might not be totally negative. During that time the Muslim in the southernmost part of Thailand wore Sarong, which might seem improper in the eye of a civilized nation. The change of the clothes to be the same as the western style assisted in creating a proper environment and greater discipline than in the past. The Muslims in this part of Thailand, especially the government officials who were the Muslim people, changed their dressing style. They wore hats instead of the Kopea or Kapiya which represented the Muslim identity. (Chaloemkiat Khunthongpetch: 2003:p.31) Moreover, to indicate their Thai nationality, the Muslims in this region changed their Muslim names to Thai names.

These so-called positive impacts were not invariably accepted by the people in the southernmost part of Thailand. For local people and the strict Malayu-Muslim people in this area, this proclamation rather had negative impacts on their identity.

1.2 Negative impacts: The negative impacts of this proclamation were in the opinion of local people who had to change their practical way of life. The impacts were shown in various dimensions. Most notable was the impact on the mind of Malayu people. Many Malayu Muslim scholars viewed this proclamation as being aimed to eradicate the Muslim identity of the people in the southernmost part of Thailand. Such an impact could be found in various respects:

Way of life: The Ratthaniyom No.10 had an important impact in this regard. The people in the southernmost part of Thailand must change their practical

way of life. Especially their traditional clothes which had to cover their whole bodies had to be changed to the western-style clothes: Men were required to wear trousers, coats, neckties, hats; women had to wear skirts, blouses, and hats. This was opposed to their identity. The prohibitions which indicated that they had to wear hats and that forced the people to take off their Kapiya, Sarong, Saruban (The piece of the fabric which the Muslim people used for wrapping their head, indicating that they just came back from the Hajj in Mecca) and other the Malayu-Muslim clothes which represented the religious sign had big impacts on the Malayu-Muslim identity. The requirement had the important effect of imposing limits on their rights. (Piyant Bunnak: 2004: p.101)

The government forced the people to wear western-style clothes. Ulama were forced to change their clothes; when the government officials found a Muslim wore the Saruban, they would catch him and took off the clothes in the public places. The street vendors who wore the Kabaya and the Hijab were also hit by the authorities. (Chaloemkiat Khunthongpetch: 2003:34)

The government also sent the people from other parts of Thailand to the Southernmost because it aimed to assimilate the culture. The problem was that these people who came to this area did not understand the Muslim identity. Hence it created the alienation and the distrust with the Malayu-Muslim in southern Thailand.

The Ratthaniyom No. 3 affected the Malayu consciousness because they were not Thai. This proclamation also forced the Muslim people to change their names into Thai names. It directly affected the Muslims who worked for the government because they had to change their names into Thai. This was opposed much more on the identity of the Muslim people in the deep southern part. To leave out their Malayu was the same as the cutting of their spirit and their identity.

Language: The Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 had a direct impact in this regard, because the Malayu Muslims in the southern part of Thailand could not speak Malayu in the public places. They had to speak Thai and learn Thai literature in the Thai government schools. The Malayu-Patani was prohibited in public places, such as the school, government offices, and etc. The government also imposed a ban on the Malayu language study in school. This policy finally caused the Pondok School

to close themselves. This was one of the Malayu identities which had to disappear as a result of Ratthaniyom proclamation.

Race: The impact in this regard came from the Ratthaniyom proclamation No.1 whose clause 1 stipulated that all people must have Thai nationality. It also came from the Ratthaniyom proclamation No.3 which indicated in the clauses 1 and 2 that the Thai people must call themselves Thai and use the word “Thai” for all the Thai without any exception. It made the Malayu in the southernmost part of Thailand think that they had to leave out their identity.

This was related to the ethnic identity. The people in the southern part of Thailand did not recognize themselves as Thai people; they regarded themselves as Malayu people who lived in this area for a long time. The Ratthaniyom proclamation No.3 had a direct impact on them. It destroyed their ethnic identity which could be traced back to a great kingdom in this region. Being Malayu for the people in deep southern Thailand, as we have seen, was also related to the Islamic religion. As Malayu people, they had to speak Malayu, be Muslim, follow the Malayu culture, be born in the Malay Peninsular – all this was part of their Malayu origin.

2. Cases of the Impacts of Ratthaniyom

Piyanart Bunnak (2003: p.102) viewed the Ratthaniyom proclamation during the period of Phibun Songkhram as opposed to the Islamic doctrine. The people in the southernmost part of Thailand experienced increased alienation and separatist sentiment. They were disappointed with the government. Ratthaniyom of the Phibun regime was raised as the key factor in arousing the ethno-nationalism among the Malayu-Muslim people in this region.

This thesis would like to raise the opinions of Muslim people and non-Muslim people in order to understand more fully the impact on the Muslim people in this part of Thailand. These were mostly findings from the paper of Professor Piyanart Bunnak (2003) who had interviewed many people.

Rewet Rachamukda indicated that the Ratthaniyom proclamation especially with regard to the use of hats, wearing trousers, and prohibition on carrying things on the head made the trouble.

He raised an example of a couple who were teachers. Both the husband and wife must go to the market to sell things. But the husband did not wear shirt and the women did not wear hat. Moreover, she carried things on her head. Finally they were arrested by the police and they must be punished by carrying the sand to the temple. This caused anger among the Malayu-Muslim people in southern Thailand because the Muslim people could not participate in any Buddhist ceremony. This was opposed to their religious identity.

The people who were Muslim showed their protest to this punishment because of it was opposed to their practical way of living.

Ibrahim Syukri in 1950 indicated that the government forced the Muslim people to wear the western clothes. The men had to wear slack with the hat and the women had to wear skirt and blouse which had the short sleeves. He also indicated that Ulama of the Muslims had to wear the same pattern of the western-style clothes. And if the police found someone who wore the "*Saruban*" (*the Muslim clothes*) the policemen would take it off and destroyed those clothes, it was the same as the street vendors in the market. She wore the *Kabaya* (the Muslim women clothes), as soon as the police found here she was slapped by the gun of the policeman.

Worawit Baru (2007: interview) indicated that Malayu-Muslim in the southernmost of Thailand had to change their clothes. The clothes which represented the ideology of the Islamic doctrine must change to the western-style clothes which were sometimes opposed to the religious doctrine.

Forcing women to wear skirts and blouses was in the contrast with the Muslim culture in which the women must hide their bodies from other people. The Muslims in the southernmost part of Thailand had to stop wearing Sarongs because there were not the stores that sold these clothes. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: Interview)

The people who insisted on wearing the Muslim clothes such as the brother of Taunku Yala Naze which this thesis has mentioned above must be punished by the government. This was in the line with the evidence that the research found in the paper of Chaloeangkit which indicated that the people who did not wear hats, and skirts must be forced to take off their sarong and the government officials sometimes

took the Hijab from the Muslim women and threw it away.(Chaloemkiat Khunthongpetch: 2003: p.33)

After the promotion of Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 which required the learning of the Thai language and alphabet, the Muslim people in the southernmost part of Thailand were forced to study them. The Malayu-Language was prohibited among the Muslim people. It created the alienation among the Muslim because Malayu was the language which was used in their religious scripture. Muslim people could not study Malayu in their school and also could not use it in the public places such as the government offices and others. Muslim children were forced to study Thai curriculum in order to learn the Thai language and Thai culture. In 1941 there were the translations of the Qu-Ran from the Malayu and Arabic languages into Thai. The government banned the use of Qu-Ran which was written by the Malayu and Arabic languages. This was regarded by the people in the southernmost part of Thailand recognized as opposed to their religious way. (Ibrahim Shukri: 1950: p.65)

Although there was no direct order to close the Pondok School, the regulations that Thais must learn and study Thai literature required the people to learn in the government system. The people in southern Thailand had to leave the Pondok School and the religious studies. Instead, they had to study Thai literature and the Thai identity education. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview) Many Pondok school could not provide the religious education because there was no support from the government. Hence this identity was disappeared.

The people who could not study Islam in Thailand moved to the neighboring countries and the Middle East because they did not want to be punished by the government. The status of the Pondok in the southernmost part of Thailand gradually decreased and was replaced by the Thai education. The Malayu-Muslim in this region must turn to Thai curriculum education. They must participate in Thai government school. Most of Pondok schools must close because there was no budget to support them. Most of Toh Gurus migrated to other countries. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview)

This research found that some Malayu cultures were lost after the declaration of the Ratthaniyom proclamation. The Ratthaniyom proclamation No.9 required such cultural traits as the scripts of the Manorah and Likae Hulu to be

changed from the Malayu-Language to the Thai language because of the government would like to get rid of other cultural influences. (Paitoon Jaehae: 2007: interview)

The same was true of other traits of the Malayu-Muslim identity. The name of the Malayu-Muslim people must be eradicated from the Malayu identity. It was due to the proclamation No. 3. To demonstrate being Thai people, the government forced the people to change their names in accordance with Thai identity. The first impact happened to the Malayu-Muslim civil servants; they must change their name from the Malayu language to Thai. Then the ordinary people had also to stop using their old names. People in the southernmost part of Thailand must have Thai names the same was as the people in other regions. Paitoon Jaehae viewed that changing the name of the Malayu-Muslim people in the Southernmost of Thailand during the declaration of the Ratthaniyom proclamation the Muslim people had to use their father first names as their surnames.(2007: Interview) The declaration of the Ratthaniyom forced the Malayu names of the Malayu-Muslim people in this part of Thailand to disappear.

3. Conclusion

The Ratthaniyom proclamation had a direct impact on the Muslim identity among the Malayu people in the southernmost part of Thailand. It affected not only the ways of life but also their tradition and culture which had evolved for many centuries. (Pok-Krong Jindapol: Piyanart Bunnak: 2003: p.109)

The Ratthaniyom which mentioned the Buddhist principles and the Thai culture created discontent among the Malayu Muslims especially the government prohibition on the study the Qu-Ran in Malayu and Arabic. The people regarded this as opposed to their religious practice. Hence it could be concluded that the period of Phibunsongkhram and his statism policy was the start of the conflict in the southernmost. It was hard for the people to erase the negative feeling towards the governments and all civil servants who acted in the contradiction with their identity.