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“The Creation of the Modern States” , Conflicts, and the Escape from the “Imagined Communities” : A Comparative Analysis of “Three Southern Border Provinces,Thailand” and “Okinawa, Japan”

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【研究論文】

“The Creation of the Modern States”, Conflicts, and the Escape  
from the “Imagined Communities”:

A Comparative Analysis of “Three Southern Border Provinces, Thailand”  
and “Okinawa, Japan”

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**Abstract**

For millennia, competing ethnic groups have been both the source and target of many conflicts. In particular, discrimination of and among competing ethnic groups resulting from the rise of nation-states has caused social unrest and disruption, at times, leading to uneasy, long-standing disputes, at other times, to armed conflict, even anarchy. To illustrate this hypothesis, the ethnic disputes in the Three Southern Border Provinces (SBP), in Thailand, and Okinawa Prefecture, in Japan, are examined, since both regions have ethnic groups either locked in armed conflict and insurgency, in the case of Thailand, or stalled in litigation, referenda, and popular protests, in the case of Okinawa Prefecture.

The ethnically distinct groups of SBP and the archipelago of Okinawa view their respective identities in ways other than by affinity to a nation. The “imagined communities” of a national identity and expressions of ethnic consciousness found within ‘Patani Melayu’ and ‘Uchinanchu’ groups have become more distinct, crystalized and, in turn, have themselves become sources of conflict.

Throughout the article, standard documentation and quantitative research methods are used.

**Introduction**

The following article represents results from research completed for the dissertation for the doctoral degree in Comparative Culture and Area Studies at the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Ryukyus, in Okinawa Prefecture, Japan. My interest in the topic of research is both academic and personal, since 2009, when a conflict due to a violent insurgency in SBP (Yala, Pattani and Narathiwat), erupted in my hometown, in Thailand. The situation became more violent, and the target of violence changed from government officials to citizens. The SBP region has had active independence movements since 1959, in the form of periodic insurgencies, leading to shootings, bombings, arson, injuries, armed robberies, and general social unrest. To

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explain the history of the conflict, some scholars<sup>1)</sup> have mentioned the “Melayu Muslim” identity and discrimination against them by the Thai majority. Coming to Okinawa, Japan, in September 2009, as an exchange student of the University of the Ryukyus, I have learned more, at close hand, about the ongoing disagreements about US military presence, the Anti-US military base movements, and the “Uchinanchu” identity of the Okinawan people. I noticed various and relevant parallels between the situations in SBP and Okinawa Prefecture, particularly in how disagreements have been shaped and exacerbated by the crystallization of images of ethnic and national identities.

First, geographically, both SBP and Okinawa Prefecture are located in the southernmost regions of their respective countries, Thailand and Japan. Second, historically, in the 16th and 17th centuries, both regions were independent kingdoms, namely the Patani Kingdom, in the case of the SBP, and the Ryukyu Kingdom, in the case of Okinawa Prefecture, each with active trading centers. Both kingdoms had a tributary relationship with another more powerful kingdom, and both were eventually annexed, nearly at the same time, SBP to Siam (Thailand) and the Ryukyus to Japan, both having emerged as modern nation-states, by the second half of the 19th century.

The socio-structural similarities of both SBP and Okinawa Prefecture, especially the conflicts catalyzed by disagreements between competing ethnic groups with asymmetrical influence and power, seem more than mere coincidence. The rise of the modern nation-states, in this case, Thailand and Japan, have catalyzed conflicts among ethnic groups of SBP and Okinawa Prefecture. As well, as members of the “Patani Melayu” and the “Uchinanchu” have, over time, developed a deeper consciousness of their ethnicity, ethnic groups’ “escape from the imagined communities” of the nations of Thailand and Japan have in turn exacerbated the conflicts in both regions.

## 1. Theoretical terms

The concept of “imagined communities” was coined by political scientist Benedict Anderson, (2016:6)<sup>2)</sup> in his book by the same title, in 1983. Anderson defines a ‘nation’ as “...an imagined political community-and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”

If “nation is an imagined community” as Anderson asserts, a nation needs some binding elements or attributes to describe such a community. To discover how such an imagined community is constructed is to discover how the concept of a nation is born and maintained.

However, what would happen if differing images of the same nation arise within various ethnic groups within a given nation? Would such differing images necessarily lead to conflict or make conflict more likely?

Second, the term “escape from an imagined community” originates from the writing of American political scientist and anthropologist James C. Scott (2009)<sup>3)</sup>. Scott asserts that in nation-building, the Southeast Asian wet-rice premodern states were “the centripetal population machine” integrating manpower from slavery, conscription, *corvée* labor and warfare. Men conscripted for such labor who could not be assimilated into the formative state’s culture had been fleeing and escaping from the formative nation-states to the upper mountain-lands of Southeast Asia, called figuratively Zomia, which is not a country but an area overlapping several nations whose diverse patchwork of ethnic groups still resist domination by any nation-states.

In this article, I argue that modern nation-states are, in effect, annexation machines, incorporating and absorbing not only lands, but also the people who live there. People who could not be assimilated to a nation's framework often find it difficult to escape from the state territory because physical boundaries have been built and laws have been established, while the power and sovereignty of the nation-state projects to every hectare, to every square meter, technically, within the established boundary. Nation-states may control people physically, but not mentally. People's ideas, their thinking, their feelings and their consciousness or self-identification can act as forms of escape or distancing from the imagination that nation-states create and project, especially during the formative years of a nation's development. Even while residing within a nation-state, a person can still find refuge in such "escape[s] from the imagined community".

Third, the term "the creation of the modern states" in this research focuses on the establishment of the national boundaries of Thailand and Japan and the annexation of the tributary states by Siam and Japan, during the reigns of King Chulalongkorn of Siam and Emperor Meiji of Japan, respectively. These transformations from feudal societies to modern nation-states required enormous changes in ideology and political geography, such as the annexation of outlying regions into the national boundaries of contemporary Thailand and Japan, and the resulting power relationships that developed between Bangkok and Patani, in the case of Siam, and Tokyo and Ryukyu, in the case of Japan.

## **2. Research Methodology**

Two research methods were used for this research. First, documentary research methods were utilized to explain how the creation of the modern nation-state of Siam (Thailand) and Japan led to conflicts in the SBP and Okinawa Prefecture. Second, quantitative research methods were utilized, employing questionnaire surveys to examine the consciousness of the Melayu and the Uchinanchu, to help in describing how these ethnic groups "escaped the from imagined communities" of the Thai and Japanese nation-states.

## **3. Documentary research results**

### **3-1 From the creation of the modern nation-state to the areas of conflict**

To analyze how the creation of the modern nation-state of Siam (Thailand) and Japan led to the present conflicts in SBP and Okinawa Prefecture, this article considers the historical similarities of both countries and the annexed territories described.

Starting from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, Siam and Japan were pressured by the western countries, namely British and the USA, to open trade with their countries, to revoke monopoly of trade, and to accept western notions of free trade. The British government signed the Bowring Treaty with Siam, in 1855, liberalizing trade practices with Great Britain and other western countries, while the American government, following the confrontational entry of Commodore Perry into Japanese waters, signed with Japan the Kanagawa Treaty of 1854, ending 215 years of Japan's virtual seclusion from the outside world, opening some ports to trade with other countries.

Following these treaties, both Siam and Japan strove to modernize quickly, in order to develop

clearly defined modern nation-states, capable of adapting to and contending with western economic pressure and colonization. Siam’s transformation during this period is called the Chakri Reform, a series of trade reforms that opened the doors of Siam to trade with western countries, implemented during the reign of King Chulalongkorn (1868-1910) while the Meiji Restoration opened the gates to many forms of western technology, science, and culture, during the reign of Emperor Meiji (1867-1912).

In order to create the modern nation-state, Siam and Japan needed to reform governmental administration as well, re-adjusting political relations with tributary states and clearly establishing territorial borders and spheres of influence. Siam annexed the Patani Kingdom, in 1909, under the Anglo-Siamese Treaty, while Japan claimed the Ryukyu Kingdom as a domain (藩 *Han*) of Japan, since 1872, under the disposition of the Ryukyu policy. Japan then renamed the Ryukyu Kingdom to Ryukyu Han and then ultimately to Okinawa Prefecture, in 1879.

The subsequent annexations of SBP by Siam and the Ryukyus by Japan laid the basis for an assimilation policy to the Patani territories (SBP) and Okinawa Prefecture. In the case of Siam, the assimilation policy for Patani lasted only five years, from 1939 to 1944, under the Thai Cultural Mandates, but in the case of Japan, the assimilation policy in the Ryukyus started immediately after 1879 until the end of the Second World War, in 1945, approximately 66 years.

In the aftermath of the Second World War, independence and resistance movements emerged in both territories. The effects of the war catalyzed existing but dormant ethnic divisions, namely the southern insurgency in the case of

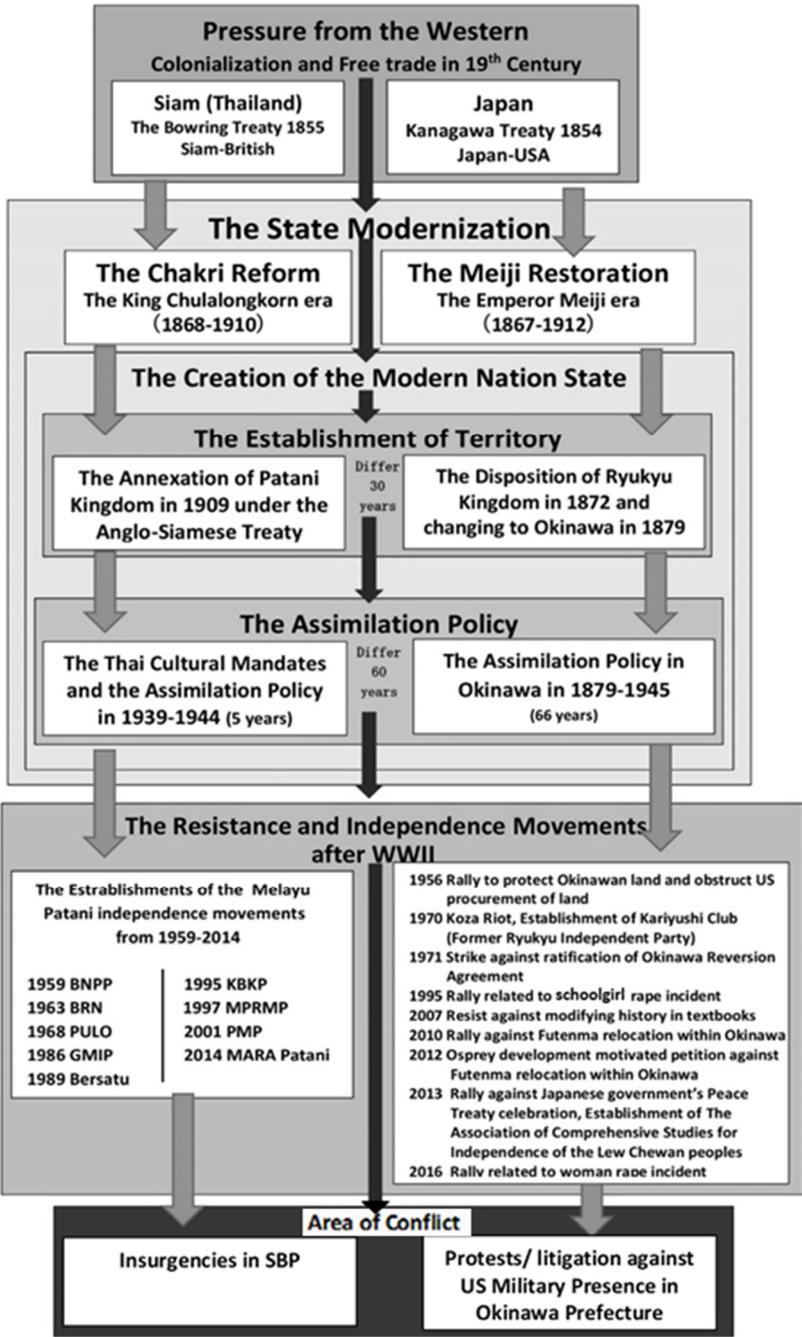


Figure 1: Historic similarities of Siam and Japan

SBP, and protests and legal battles as expressions of anti-U.S. military base movements, in the case of Okinawa Prefecture. <sup>4)</sup>(See figure 1 below)

### **3-2 Ethnic Conflicts in SBP and Okinawa Prefecture**

This research considers the ethnic conflicts in the SBP and Okinawa Prefecture, by using American economist and philosopher Kenneth Ewart Boulding's definition of conflict, found reprinted in Yuji Uesugi and Susumu Hasegawa's article, "An Introduction to Dispute Settlement: Analysis Viewpoint and Thinking Method Connecting Theory and Practice" (2015). According to Boulding, a conflict is "a situation of competition in which the parties are aware of the incompatibility of potential future positions, and in which each party wishes to occupy a position that is incompatible with the wishes of the other."<sup>5)</sup> Both the insurgencies in SBP and Okinawan anti-base protests against government-sanctioned US military presence represent conflicts, under Boulding's definition, since both areas have different positions of at least two parties, one side, a government, the other side, a resistance movement.

SBP has had independence movements since 1960, along with insurgencies. In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, anti-US military base movements in the form of resistance and independence movements have also developed, since the end of the Second World War.

In the case of SBP, in 1948, the rebellion of Dusungor occurred in Narathiwat Province, marking a bloody start of the insurgency, where more than 100 people died after clashes between anti-government and police forces. During the mayhem, 200 robberies occurred in SBP, and a school was set afire. In 1959, the Patani National Liberation Front BNPP (Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani) was established, and, in 1963, the independence Movement "BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani)" began. On January 4, 2004, approximately 100 cylinder firearms were stolen from an armory at the Narathiwat military base, and afterward, the insurgency erupted again, with 8,043 shootings occurring between 2004 and 2016. Also, during this 12-year period, Narathiwat Province experienced 3,328 violent disturbances, as well as 3,026 bombings, 1,647 cases of arson, 342 injuries, 259 shootings, 172 armed robberies, 102 murders, 65 related incidents. In 2004 alone, 6,543 people were killed, and in the ensuing 11 years, culminating in 2016, 11,919 were injured.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, there were resistance movements against US military bases starting about a decade after the end of the Second World War, in 1956, with a rally composed of a wide coalition of local political and business organizations, school groups, and individuals, to protect Okinawan land and obstruct US procurement of land; the Establishment of Kariyushi Club (Former Ryukyu Independent Party), in June of 1970; the Koza Riot of December of 1970; the Strike against ratification of Okinawa Reversion Agreement, in 1971; the rally related to a schoolgirl raped by US service personnel, in 1995; resistance against modifying history in textbooks, in 2007; the rally against Marine Corps Air Station Futenma relocation to Henoko, Okinawa, in 2010; the Osprey development-motivated petition against Futenma relocation within Okinawa Prefecture, in 2012; the rally against Japanese government's Peace Treaty celebration; establishment of The Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewan people, in 2013; and a rally protesting

the rape and murder of a 20-year old woman from Uruma City, Okinawa, by a US military base contractor, a former US Marine and resident of Okinawa.

#### **4. Sampling Method and Results of Quantitative Survey: Survey on the Consciousness of Residents in the SBP and Okinawa territories**

In order to support the hypothesis that the “Melayu” of SBP and the “Uchinanchu” of Okinawa Prefecture have found ways of “escap[ing] from the imagined community” of their respective nation-states, questionnaire surveys to examine residents' perceived views of consciousness or self-identification were conducted. The survey period was from June to September 2016. The questions and summary results are listed below.

##### **4-1 Survey questions**

###### **4-1-1 Basic data of the survey target**

The basic data of the survey target are "sex", "age", "place of birth", "current place of residence", "Residence Experience Outside SBP/ Okinawa", "experience of traveling outside the provinces/prefecture", "experience of traveling abroad", "educational background" and "occupation".

###### **4-1-2 Identity of residents in both territories**

The questions concerning the identity of residents ask the following: "Religion?", "How do you call yourself?/ Which people do you think you are?", "What kind of person, do you think, is a Melayu/ Uchinanchu?", "How do you call the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa?", "How do you call Thailand/ Japan?", "How do you call people outside the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa?"

###### **4-1-3 Image of the both territories**

The questions “What is your "Image of the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa?", "What is the difference between the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa and other areas, do you think?", "Comparing the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa with other areas, what is different, do you think?" .

###### **4-1-4 The consciousness toward politics and area problems**

The questions are the following: "What is the impact of insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ the presence of US military bases in Okinawa?", "What do you think about insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ the presence of US military bases in Okinawa?", "What do you think about resolving the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces, with the use of the Royal Thai Armed Forces?/ What do you think about Japanese Self-Defense Force?", "What do you think about resolving the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces by security law and martial law?/ What do you think about the Japan-US Security Treaty?", "What do you think about the cause of the insurgency in the Three Southern Border

Provinces?", "What do you think about the relocation the Marine Corps Air Station Futenma to Henoko?", "Do you know of any independence movements in the Three Southern Border Provinces/Okinawa?".

## **4-2 The Survey Sampling Method**

The following survey sampling methods were used. First, to select the survey target areas, the Purposive Sampling Method was utilized. Second, to select the targets of the survey in the selected areas, the Accidental Sampling Method and Snowball Sampling Method was employed.

### **4-2-1 Purposive Sampling Method**

The Survey target areas were selected from the conflict territories in both SBP and Okinawa Prefecture. In the case of the SBP, the three districts with the ten most frequent 'Incidences'/ 'acts of violence', from 2014 to 2015, were selected from each of the three provinces.

The districts selected from Yala Province are 1. Mueang Yala, 2. Bannangsata and 3. Betong. Only Betong was not in the ten most frequent 'Incidences'/ 'acts of violence' areas, from 2014 to 2015, but the area was selected because it was a conflict area in the past, as Communist Malaya Troops were active in Betong, from 1949 to 1989. As well, there are many ethnic Chinese descendants residing in Betong.

In Pattani Province, 1. Mueang Pattani, 2. Sai Buri and 3. Yarang were selected. All of the districts were among the ten locations with the most frequent 'Incidences'/ 'acts of violence', from 2014 to 2015.

For Narathiwat Province, 1. Mueang Narathiwat, 2. Rueso and 3. Tak Bai were selected. Only Takbai was not in the ten locations with the most frequent 'Incidences'/ 'acts of violence', from 2014 to 2015, but there was the Tak Bai Incident on October 25, 2004. The incident resulted from a protest of the Tak Bai people against the detention of six men who were suspected of funneling military weapons to insurgents. The protest led to a clash between the protestors and policemen. The protestors were caught and transported by truck to Inkayut Army Camp, in Pattani Province. *En route*, 78 detainees died from suffocation or organ collapse. A total of 85 people died in the Tak Bai Incident. Also, on September 6, 2016, a motorcycle bomb attack occurred in front of a primary school in Tak Bai, killing a father and daughter and seriously injuring at least 10 others.

For Okinawa Prefecture, Ginowan City was chosen as the survey target area. In Ginowan City, a US military Futenma airport is situated in the epicenter of what is today a densely populated city of just under 100,000 residents; as well, 23 residents associations (Jichikai) are located nearby. Marine Corps Air Station Futenma in Ginowan is, according to then U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, "the most dangerous base in the world." According to the information of the Base Policy Department of Ginowan City Office, in 2015, Marine Corps Air Station Futenma is 480.6 hectares, located in the center of the city, accounting for about a quarter of the city's area (about 19.8 km<sup>2</sup>). As of the end of January 2016, the population density of Ginowan City was about 4,928 people / km<sup>2</sup>, which increases to 7,002 people/km<sup>2</sup> when the base area is excluded. On 15 August 2004, a US helicopter crashed on the campus of Okinawa International University. In 2014, Marine Corps Air

Station Futenma noise levels exceeded the environmental standard value set by the Japanese Ministry of the Environment. Dangerous noise levels occurred 12,487 times within 168 days, in the Ueojana area. The highest noise level was 120.5 dB (on June 6,2004, in Ueojana area) and the highest nighttime noise is 97.1 dB (measured on November 9,2015 at 22:50).

#### **4-2-2 Accidental Sampling Method and Snowball Sampling Method**

After selected survey target areas were conducted, the Accidental Sampling Method and Snowball Sampling Method were utilized in selected areas. In the case of SBP, since there have been insurgencies, for safety reasons and risk management, the author and research team conducted the questionnaire survey at mosques, associations, schools, universities, government offices, and village chief offices. In each district, 60 target persons were sampled randomly in each district. In 9 districts a total of 720 people were surveyed. In all, 596 questionnaire surveys were collected, and of those collected a total 403 questionnaires qualify as valid. In Okinawa Prefecture, the author visited each of the 23 residents associations in Ginowan City to request permission from each residents association, to conduct the questionnaire survey. Questionnaire distribution target samplings are derived from accidental sampling and snowball sampling. In each of the 22 residents associations (excluding Nodake 1), there are 30 sampling subjects for each. With the exception of Nodake 1, the number of sampling subjects is 60 persons because the author wanted to distribute the questionnaire to people who work in the Ginowan City Office, also situated in Nodake 1. The total number of survey subjects is 720. The total number of collections is 250, and a total number of valid questionnaire forms is 240.

### **4-3 Comparative Analysis of Residents' Consciousness Survey Results in the Three Southern Border Provinces and Okinawa Prefecture**

#### **4-3-1 Comparative Analysis of Basic Data of Target in Both Areas**

##### **4-3-1-1 The Survey Target**

In the 9 districts of SBP, 720 questionnaires were distributed, 596 were received, with 403 of the questionnaires in valid form. On the other hand, the number of questionnaires distributed in Okinawa Prefecture is 720 as well, but 250 questionnaires were received, with 240 of them in valid form.

The high collection rate in SBP is high because it is the location of the author's hometown. So, from a network of acquaintances residing in the area, it was not difficult to ask an ample number of assistants to request a questionnaire by the snowball sampling method. There were reasons to ask for assistants in SBP, first for reasons of safety and second for risk management.

In Okinawa Prefecture, the author himself visited each of Ginowan City's 23 residents associations to ask for permission to conduct the questionnaire.

##### **4-3-1-2 Sex**

The sex of 403 subjects in SBP break down to 175 (43.3%) men and 228 (56.6%) women, and the sex of the 240 subjects in Okinawa Prefecture break down to 95 (39.6%) men and 145 (60.4%) women. Women are the majority in both areas.

#### **4-3-1-3 Age**

Most of the targeted population in SBP are in their twenties, 190 people (47.1%), whereas the majority of those surveyed in Okinawa Prefecture are in their sixties, 87 (36.3%). When the survey was conducted, there were many young students from colleges and universities in SBP, and there were many elderly persons in Okinawa Prefecture who were participating in the 23 self-government associations.

In Okinawa Prefecture, the analysis was conducted separately for each generation. The specific classifications are first, "the generation before WWII" (persons in age 70 to 90's years old who were born before 1945), second, "the generation before Okinawa was returned to Japan" (persons in age 50s and 60s years old who were born between 1945 and 1972), and third, "the generation after Okinawa was returned to Japan" (The age of respondents born after 1972 ranged from 10 to 40.).

In SBP, survey participants were classified according to religious affiliation, without classification by generation. The religious affiliations listed are Thai Buddhist, Chinese Thai Buddhist, and Melayu Muslims.

#### **4-3-1-4 Birthplace**

Most of the subjects in both areas are from the survey areas. In the case of SBP, the majority mark their birthplace in the area. Also, in the case of Okinawa Prefecture, 375 respondents (93.1%) are from Okinawa Prefecture and 150 respondents (62.5%) were born in Ginowan City.

#### **4-3-1-5 Current Residence**

Most of the subjects in both areas currently live within the survey areas. In the case of SBP, more than 99% of the subjects live in the area, and over 95% of the subjects in Okinawa Prefecture live in Ginowan City.

#### **4-3-1-6 Residence Experience outside the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa Prefecture**

Most of the subjects in both areas have never lived outside their place of birth.

In the case of SBP, 172 persons (42.7%) have lived outside of the area but 231 (57.3%) of the majority have never lived outside the area.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, subjects 111 persons (46.3%) have lived outside the prefecture, but the majority of 129 people (53.8%) have never lived outside Okinawa Prefecture.

#### **4-3-1-7 Experience of Traveling outside the Province/ Prefecture**

The majority of the subjects in both areas have traveled outside the Province/ Prefecture. In the case of SBP, the majority of 376 persons (93.3%) had traveled outside the area, 27 (6.7%) have never been outside the area. While, in Okinawa Prefecture, the majority of 234 persons (97.5%) have traveled outside the prefecture, and 6 persons (2.5%) have never been outside the area.

#### **4-3-1-8 Experience of Traveling Abroad**

Most of the subjects in both areas have gone overseas. In the case of SBP, the majority of 245 persons (60.8%) have gone abroad, and 158 persons (39.2%) have never been overseas.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the majority of 158 persons (65.8%) have gone abroad, 82 persons (34.2%) have never been overseas.

#### **4-3-1-9 Educational Background**

There are 47 kinds of the educational backgrounds comprising 403 subjects, in SBP. The reason for the great diversity in educational background is that the majority of the area's citizens are Muslims, and they study both ordinary school subjects (as part of the national unified compulsory education decreed by the Ministry of Education of Thailand) and Islamic school subjects.

The highest educational background in SBP is the university bachelor's degree (219 persons, 60.8%), but the highest percentage of respondents' educational background in Okinawa Prefecture is high school (110 persons, 45.8%) .

#### **4-3-1-10 Occupations**

There are 165 students (40.9%) of the subjects as majority in SBP while the majority of Okinawa's target occupation is full-time housewives (25.4%). The occupations of the subjects in SBP are the following: 165 students (40.9%), 59 government officers (14.6%), laborers 56 (13.9%), 48 company managers/ self-employed (11.9 %), 28 agricultural workers (6.9%), 22 unemployed (5.4%), 13 employees (3.2%), and 12 other occupations (2.7%).

The occupations of the subjects in Okinawa Prefecture are the following: 61 housewives (25.4%), 48 employees (20.0%), 47 non-employees (19.6%), 21 company managers/ self-employed (8.8%), 19 part-time job workers (7.9%), 18 government officers (7.5%), 9 students (3.8%), and 17 other occupations (7.0%).

### **4-3-2 Comparative Analysis of Identity of Residents in both Areas**

#### **4-3-2-1 Religious Affiliation**

In SBP, 321 (79.7%) of those surveyed are Muslim, while 82 (20.3%) are Buddhist. Christian affiliation was listed in the questionnaire, but no respondent chose this affiliation. In Okinawa Prefecture, the author did not asked questions about religion.

#### **4-3-2-2 How do you call yourself/ Which people do you think you are?**

The difference between SBP and Okinawa Prefecture is the self-identification of people classified by religious affiliation in the former case and by generation in the latter case. On the other hand, one similarity between members of the two territories is that self-proclaimed self-definitions differ from their designated nationality.

Muslims in SBP defined themselves as "Muslim" or "Melayu", that is, placing their religious affiliation above "Thai" national identity, but Chinese Thai Buddhists, whose ancestors are not Thai, define themselves as "Thai people".

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the proportion of people thinking that they are "Uchinanchu" is high for all generations, but the rate of considering oneself as "Japanese" is highest among "the generation after Okinawa was returned to Japan", while "the generation before Okinawa was returned to Japan" showed less of an affiliation with Japan, and "the generation before WWII" expressed the least affinity with Japan.

#### **4-3-2-3 What kind of person, do you think, is Melayu? /Uchinanchu?**

In the case of SBP, the majority of the population thinks that "Melayu" are "Muslims, descendants of Melayu", and "can speak Melayu language". In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the majority of the population surveyed think that "Uchinanchu" are people "born in Okinawa". The second most frequent answer given is that in the case of "the generation before WWII", "the ancestors are from Okinawa main island", while the majority of "the generation before Okinawa was returned to Japan" and "the generation before WWII" thinks that "Uchinanchu" comprise people who "live in Okinawa".

According to the survey results, in the case of "Melayu", religion, ethnicity and language are pre-conditions for membership as "Melayu", while the two pre-conditions for membership as "Uchinanchu" are to be "born in Okinawa" and to "live in Okinawa". The pre-conditions for membership as "Uchinanchu" are more dependent upon the land area, in contrast to "Melayu". In other words, accepting people from outside Okinawa as "Uchinanchu" appears easier, compared to "Melayu", where religion, ethnicity, and language are required pre-conditions.

#### **4-3-2-4 How do you call the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa?**

According to the survey results, in the case of SBP, the way residents call a territory differs between Muslims and Buddhists. The most commonly called name given SBP by Muslims is "Patani", followed in frequency by "Samchang Wat Shai Dan Pak Tai (SBP)", "Fatoni Patani Darussalam", and "Langkasuka", but in the case of Buddhists, the overwhelming number of responses mention "Samchang Wat Shai Dan Pak Tai", while a few answered "Patani" or "Langkasuka". No one surveyed used "Patani Darussalam" or "Fatoni".

"Langkasuka" was the name of the oldest Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms in the SBP area. "Patani Darussalam" was the kingdom of Muslims that came next, and another shortened name, "Patani", or its Arabic equivalent, "Fatoni", is used as another name. "Samchang Wat Shai Dan Pak Tai" is a designation used by the Thai government and the media in modern times since the insurgency began in the area.

Muslims in the area still routinely use the name of the former kingdom, but Buddhists use the name of the former kingdom but in the sense of a province in revolt. By using the name of the former kingdom, it can be said that Muslims inherit the memory of the former kingdom, in contrast to Buddhists.

On the other hand, in Okinawa Prefecture, there are a few people from all generations who still use the label of "Ryukyu", which is the name of the former kingdom. In other words, the memory of the former kingdom has not been entirely erased, though it is faintly present. The Japanese

government's policy of the disposition of 'Ryukyu' has been successful: "Okinawa" has largely replaced the term "Ryukyu".

#### **4-3-2-5 How do you call Thailand?/ Japan?**

Muslims and Buddhists in SBP commonly call Thailand as "Prathet Thai" (Thailand)", but in the case of Okinawa Prefecture, a high proportion of all generations call "Japan" the "mainland" or "Naichi (inner land)". This is because SBP are a geographical territory contiguous with the rest of Thailand, so when referring to "Thailand" in general, SBP are incorporated as the southernmost part of Thailand. Meanwhile, by calling "Japan" the "mainland" or "Naichi (inner land)", it seems that the residents themselves do not include "Okinawa" within "Japan". One reason for this may be that Okinawa Prefecture is an archipelago located geographically hundreds of kilometers distant from mainland Japan.

#### **4-3-2-6 How do you call people outside the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa?**

Both Muslims and Buddhists in SBP "call people based on province" affiliation are the most frequent answers, but the most frequent response from Muslims is "Kontai (Thai People)". For Buddhists, the most frequent responses are "call people based on province". This is because Muslims identify themselves first and foremost as "Muslims" or "Melayu/ Orgae Na yu (Melayu people)".

In Okinawa Prefecture, regardless of generation of the respondent, the most prevalent way of referring to people outside Okinawa Prefecture is "mainland people". In the case of "the generation before Okinawa was returned to Japan" and "the generation before WWII", most, regardless of generation of the respondent, call people outside Okinawa Prefecture the "Naicha (inner land people)".

"Naichi (Inner land)" was the word used in to define mainland Japan under the Constitution of the Japan Imperial Empire before the WWII, but the word "Naicha (inner land people)" is today considered a pejorative, created by adding "-er" in English to the word "Naichi ('innerlander')". 'Naichi' is new to Okinawan dialect. It seems that the 'Naichi' reference has increased in use among the generation born after Okinawa Prefecture reverted to Japan, in 1972.

### **4-3-3 Comparative Analysis of Area Image**

#### **4-3-3-1 Image of the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa Prefecture**

For Muslims, the most frequent answers concerning the image of SBP is "the area with many Muslims"; the second most is "the area with Melayu culture"; however, for Buddhists, the most frequent response is "the area with rebellion and insurgency". No one surveyed chose the "culture of Melayu". From these responses, we can see that Muslims and Buddhists have different images for SBP.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, all generations have the image of Okinawa Prefecture as "the islands with many sub-tropical nature and sightseeing spots" and "the area with Ryukyu culture". In addition, "the generation born before Okinawa was returned to Japan" has the image of "the area of US military base problem" and, as frequently, "the island with many sub-tropical nature and

sightseeing spots".

In summary, we can see that Muslims of SBP reference their territory according to religious affiliation, while Buddhists of SBP refer to the same territory as a place of social discord and conflict. Okinawan respondents born before reversion in 1972 reference their territory as a place with US-military bases issues, while respondents born after reversion refer to the same territory as a natural paradise with many sightseeing spots.

#### **4-3-3-2 What is difference between the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa and other areas, do you think?**

Most of the respondents surveyed in SBP found three distinguishing factors: "the history, culture, and tradition are different", "the ethnicity and the person's personality", and "The social situation is different".

In Okinawa Prefecture, the most prominent distinguishing factor is the perceived difference between Okinawa Prefecture and other prefectures. However, all respondents of both territories considered "geography and climate" as distinguishing factors.

The second and third most frequently given response from Okinawan respondents followed generational lines and travel experience outside of Okinawa Prefecture: "The generation before WWII" and "the populations who have no residence experience outside Okinawa" think that the differences between Okinawa Prefecture and other prefectures are "history, culture, and tradition is different" and "economic situation is different", whereas "the populations who have residence experience in mainland Japan" think that the "economic situation is different" and "history, culture, and tradition is different". Unlike other respondents surveyed, "the generation after Okinawa was returned to Japan" think that the "economic situation is different" and "social situation is different".

#### **4-3-3-3 Comparing the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa Prefecture with other areas, what is different, do you think?**

In the case of SBP, the majority of Buddhist respondents, excluding Muslims, think that there is "rebellion and insurgency in SBP compared to other provinces", but, the most frequent answer of Muslim respondents is "There are no equal rights and freedom in SBP, compared to other provinces", followed in frequency by "rebellion and insurgency in SBP, compared to other provinces". There is a small percentage difference between the most frequent answer and the second most frequent answer given.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, most all generations think that "Okinawa is carrying the US military base problem compared to the mainland", and excepting respondents born after reversion in 1972, all other respondents think that "compared with mainland Japan, Okinawa experienced more suffering during WWII".

To summarize, the presence of a conflict was the most distinguishing factor in both groups surveyed. In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, there is no difference of opinion depending on generations, with the exception of those born after reversion, but in the case of SBP, there is a difference in view, depending on a respondent's religious affiliation.

#### **4-3-4 Comparative Analysis of the Consciousness toward Politics and Area Problems**

##### **4-3-4-1 What is the impact of the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ the presence of US military bases in Okinawa?**

In the case of SBP, most respondents in all groups surveyed believe that trying "to solve insurgency in the area is a waste public budget". The second and third most frequent answers differ between Muslims and Buddhists. Muslims think that "because of insurgency in the area, there is no security of the residents' lives and property" and "transportation and travel are inconvenient and unsafe", while Buddhists think that "because of insurgency in the area, there is a distrust among residents", followed by "because of insurgency in the area, there is no security of the residents' lives and property" and "there are bad influences on the economy and residents' lives and work". From these results, we can see that Muslims and Buddhists emphasize different concerns about the effects of the insurgency. For Buddhists, there is "distrust among residents" but for Muslims, "...there is no security of the residents' lives and property" and "transportation and travel are inconvenient and unsafe".

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, "noise (night flight training, etc.)" is the most frequent concern, of all generations surveyed, relating to the presence of US military bases. Respondents of "the generation before WWII" are concerned about the "impact of land use (the land inside the base is not used freely)". Respondents born after reversion in 1972 think that "crime (rape, murder, car accident, etc.)", related to US military presence, is the primary concern.

##### **4-3-4-2 What do you think about the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ the presence of US military bases in Okinawa?**

In the case of SBP, all groups surveyed thought that the insurgency in the area "should be ended as soon as possible" and "should be ended immediately". In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the most frequent answers for all generations concerning the presence of US military bases is "it should be organized and reduced as soon as possible to mainland Japan." Secondly, US military bases should "be completely removed as soon as possible". However, "the generation after Okinawa return to Japan" are either undecided ("I do not know") or think that US military bases should be "immediately [and] completely removed".

##### **4-3-4-3 What do you think about resolving the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces, with the use of the Royal Thai Armed Forces? / What do you think about the Japanese Self-Defense Force?**

In SBP, most of respondents think that resolving the insurgency by military means "...worsen[s] the problem". However, while Muslims generally agree, many Buddhists think use of military force is necessary. In addition, most Chinese Buddhists surveyed think that military force is necessary to resolve the insurgency.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, all generations think that the Japanese Self-Defense Force (JSDF) is an "unavoidable existence for Japan's security" and "a necessary existence for Japan's security".

#### **4-3-4-4 What do you think about resolving the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces by security law and martial law?/ What do you think about the Japan-US Security Treaty?**

In the case of SBP, most of the Muslim respondents think that the security law and martial law would "...exacerbate the problem", while Buddhists and Chinese Buddhists are the most likely to think that "security law and martial law are necessary for solving the insurgencies."

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, among "the generation before WWII", most respondents think that the Japan-US Security Treaty is "necessary for Japan's security", and that the Japan-US Security Treaty is "unavoidable for Japan's security". "The generation before Okinawa was returned to Japan" and "the generation after Okinawa was returned to Japan" think that the Japanese-US security treaty is "unavoidable for Japan's security" and also think that the Japanese-US security treaty is "necessary".

#### **4-3-4-5 What is the cause of the insurgency in the Three Southern Border Provinces?**

From the survey result, each group, based on Muslim or Buddhist religious affiliation, think differently about the cause of the insurgency in SBP. Muslims think that the cause of the insurgency is a "battle for justice by those who are discriminated and oppressed by government officers", but the whole of Buddhist and the Chinese Thai Buddhists think that the causes of the insurgency are "acts of illegal business (illegal oil trade, human trafficking, drug trafficking, etc.)" and "acts of independent [*sic*] movements".

#### **4-3-4-6 What do you think about the relocation of Marine Corps Air Station Futenma to Henoko?**

Respondents of all generations surveyed think that Marine Corps Air Station Futenma should not be relocated to Henoko and that "it should be moved to a foreign country". It should be noted that relocating Marine Corps Air Station Futenma to a country outside of Japan would contradict provisions in the current Japan-US Security Treaty.

#### **4-3-4-7 Do you know of any independence movements in the Three Southern Border Provinces?/ Okinawa?**

In the case of SBP, concerning the independence movement, the best known among respondents surveyed are the "BRN (Barisan Revolusi Nasional Melayu Patani)", "PULO (Pattani United Liberation Organization)" and "Bersatu (The United Front for the Independence of Pattani)". It is noteworthy that "MARA Patani Surah Patani Meeting)" is well known among Muslims, but not well known among Buddhists. "MARA Patani (Surah Patani Meeting)" was emerged from groups from multiple independent movements, and since it is currently negotiating with the Thai government, it frequently appears in Thai media. The survey results here show that there is a difference in awareness between Muslims and Buddhists, as Muslims express more interested in news about independence than do Buddhists.

In the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the presence of "movement against the US military bases" is overwhelmingly well-known among all generations surveyed, but few respondents know of a "Ryukyu independence movement" and "the Association of Comprehensive Studies for Independence of the Lew Chewans: ACSILs". As for reasons why respondents do not know much about the two independence movements, it is conceivable that the independence movements have not exerted much influence on Okinawan society and that those surveyed are not interested in the movements.

#### **4-3-5 Summary of Comparative Analysis of Residents' Consciousness and Survey Results in the Three Southern Border Provinces/ Okinawa Prefecture**

From the above survey results, the following similarities and differences between SBP and Okinawa Prefecture can be summarized. (It should be noted, however, that in the case of SBP, Muslims represent about 80% of those surveyed, so the responses of SBP as a whole strongly reflect the opinions of Muslims. There are, however, major and relevant differences in responses between Muslims and Buddhists (non-Chinese and Chinese).

The first point of similarity is that Muslims surveyed in SBP call themselves as "Melayu", and all generations of Okinawans surveyed call themselves "Uchinanchu."

The second point of similarity relates to the identification of a conflict in each territory: "rebellion and insurgency in SBP" and "Okinawa is carrying the US military base problem, compared to the mainland".

On the other hand, how respondents reference their respective territory differs. In the case of SBP, "Patani", the name of the former kingdom, is prevalent, but in Okinawa Prefecture, few people surveyed use "Ryukyu", which is the name of the former kingdom.

The second difference is the pre-conditions of membership in the "Melayu" of SBP. The pre-conditions are based on ethnicity, religious affiliation, and linguistic competence, in the case of Muslim respondents: "Muslims and descendants of Melayu" and ability to "speak [the] Melayu language". In Okinawa Prefecture, on the other hand, the two pre-conditions for membership to "Uchinanchu" are to be "born in Okinawa" and "living in Okinawa", showing some openness to people who might not otherwise be ethnically Okinawan. The third difference is how to reference their own nation. In the case of SBP, "Prathet Thai" (Thailand) is used to refer to Thailand, also typical in greater Thailand, whereas referring to Japan as the "mainland" or "Naichi (inner land)" implies that Okinawa lies outside of Japan, perhaps because of its physical distance from mainland Japan.

The fourth difference is the opinion toward the presence or use of military forces. In SBP, using the Royal Thai Armed Forces to solve the insurgency is thought to "exacerbate the problem", while in Okinawa Prefecture the Japanese Self Defense Force (JSDF) is considered unavoidable for Japan's security. Also, use of security law and martial law to resolve the insurgency is thought "to worsen the problem", but in Okinawa Prefecture, the Japan-US Security Treaty is considered "necessary for Japan's security".

## Conclusions

It can be said that the creation and assimilation policies of modern nation-states in Thailand and Japan initially caused conflict, later exacerbated by the rise in self-identification by ethnicity, in both areas. Also, the ethnicity of the people of these territories and the ensuing conflicts are intimately intertwined. While the differences between the "imagined community" (of a nation-state) and self-identification of ethnicities have helped to bring about the conflict, the existence of the conflict itself has compelled those involved to crystalize their views of self-identification by ethnicity. The conflict in each territory has become an essential element of "our consciousness".

Survey results relating to residents' sense of consciousness or self-identification reveal that respondents in both areas regard their area as a conflict area, more so than other areas. In the case of SBP, most of the respondents thought that "rebellion and insurgency in SBP, compared to other provinces" is greater, and in the case of Okinawa Prefecture, the majority of respondents think that "Okinawa is carrying the US military base problem, compared to the mainland".

However, in SBP, respondents' opinions about the cause of the insurgency differ, depending on religious affiliation and ethnicity. While many Muslim respondents perceive the rebellion and insurgency as "a battle for justice by those who are discriminated and oppressed by government officers", Buddhist respondents qualify the insurgency as "acts of illegal business (illegal oil trade, human trafficking, drug trafficking, etc.)" and "acts of independent movements". It can be said that ethnicity and religion are deeply related to the viewpoint of the cause of the insurgency.

From the above, it can be said that the "imagined community" and "consciousness" differ among respondents from SBP. Muslims think of themselves as "Melayu" and "Muslim", rather than "Melayu Thai" or "Muslim Thai". Also, in referencing SBP, the names of the old Islamic kingdom "Patani", "Samchang Wat Shai Dan Pak Tai (SBP)", Arabic name of "Fatoni", the old Islamic kingdom "Patani Darussalam" and the old kingdom names "Lankasuka" are used.

On the other hand, both non-Chinese and Chinese Buddhist respondents consider themselves as "Thai people" or "Chao Thai Put (Buddhist Thai people)". Even among Chinese descendants surveyed, most consider themselves as "Kontai (Thai people)" or "Chao Thai Put (Buddhist Thai people)", rather than "Konchin (Chinese people)" or "Chinese Thai people". The names of SBP also use "Samchang Wat Shai Dan Pak Tai (SBP)", which is also used among Thai people. Buddhists, who are minorities in SBP, share the consciousness of the "imagined community" (of Thailand), as do the majority of Buddhist Thai people in the rest of Thailand.

All generations of respondents from Okinawa Prefecture define themselves as "Uchinanchu" first and then as "Japanese". As well, the manner of referencing Japan as "mainland" or "Naichi (inner land)", implying that Okinawa is outside of Japan proper, indicates that the Okinawan respondents are aware of a "conscious" ethnic difference from the Japanese majority. However, the proportion of respondents who think of themselves as "Japanese" is higher among the younger generation, and most respondents do not use "Ryukyus" as a reference to their territory. Many respondents seem to agree with the government regarding the Japan-US Security Treaty. It can be said that Japan's assimilation policy for Okinawa Prefecture has largely succeeded, contrasted with Thailand's brief assimilation policy for SBP. Regarding the burden of the US military bases in

Okinawa Prefecture, however, we can see that a high proportion of those surveyed think of the Japanese mainland and Okinawa Prefecture as unequal partners, unfairly treated, and dissatisfied with the attitude of the Japanese government toward Okinawa Prefecture since the end of the Second World War. More expressed consciousness of the "Ryukyu" people as well as nascent Ryukyu independence movements can be viewed as partial attempts "escape" from Japan's "imaginary community".

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