Notes

Notes to Introduction

1   The framework of the expanded public sphere has been provided by Habermas (1979). See Calhoun (1992) for a discussion of the public sphere in different historical contexts.
2   Many Thai scholars examine the question of why Malay speaking Muslims do not assimilate into Thai society (see Chaiwat 1992). Here, the prejoritive construction of Malay Muslim identity is used as a starting point of research. One imagines that the cooperation of Muslims is not very great.
3   The empirical study of borderlands and border identities is a fascinating field which has just begun to appear in Southeast Asia. See Donnan/Wilson (1999).
4   For a theoretical concept on cultural boundaries in the context of multi-cultural society and political arena, see Schlee/Werner (1996) and Horstmann/Schlee (2001).
5   For studies on Indonesia with a similar outlook, see Galizia (1996) and Prodolliet (1996).
6   The political role of the middle class in Thailand and in Southeast Asia has been after a hesitant start marked by an explosion of interest on the subject at hand (Embong 2001, Sungsidh/Pasuk (1993), Tanter/Young 1990, Ockey 1992/1999, Rüland 1999).
7   As Lee/Ackerman (1997:10) note, 'the opening up of religious markets on a global scale has been possible because of the rapidity of travel and the worldwide linkages of communication, but more signicantly these developments have been accompanied by an increasing process of individualization in which the quest for religious meaning is becoming more and more a personal affair.'

Notes to Chapter 1

1   See Ackerman/Lee (1988) for a detailed account of 'Migrants, Merchants, and Missionaries on the Golden Peninsula', pp. 10-33.

2   Hurgronje (1931) reports that the Patani *ulema* in Mecca established strong links with their communities back home via religious students who came on pilgrimages to study with them.

3   For a full translation, see the appendix in *The Story of Lady White Blood* in Gesick's wonderful study (1995: 84-86).

4   The importance of the Chao Mae Lim Ko Niew public event was addressed at the official opening ceremony by the deputy prime minister of the central government who addressed a Chinese dragon, asking: 'Do you speak Thai?' Opening his speech by saying: 'My fellow countrymen, brothers and sisters,' he remarked on the alignment of the Thai nation-state with Chinese business groups. In addition, he gave a stear warning to the Muslims and warned that the Thai government will not tolrate Islamic radicalism (author's own observations).

5   Television and radio are required by law to provide certain programmes that strengthen national identity and national unity. Audiences are required to stand still, leave off whatever they are doing, and respectfully observe the period during which the anthem is broadcast, while carefully chosen images of the King and country appear on the screen. These images comprise situations in which members of the royal family are shown among the 'plain folk', underscoring the epithets of a benevolent father and stressing his care and responsibility for the people. Through the influential medium of television, the monarch is staged in even the remotest parts of the country, including the hill tribes of the upper North and the Muslims of the Lower South. Just as the King and the royal family came to symbolize the nation, the monarchy has provided a means to overcome the ethnic divisions in Thai society and to integrate the minorities in the organic body of the nation (Hamilton 1991).

6   I am grateful to Michele Lamont whose study: *Money, Morals and Manners* has inspired the drawing of a portrait of middle class men. With a similar focus on cultural distinction, Lamont explores the subtle cultural boundaries of upper-middle class men in France and the United States (Lamont 1992).

7   The distinction of locals and cosmopolitans is developed by Hannerz in order to describe the positioning of people in world society (Hannerz 1992, 1996).

Notes to Chapter 2

1   See the introduction in: Sen/Stivens (1998).

2 As Purushotam writes, 'to be middle class is to do the work of making the relevant choices from within this vast arena. It is not just a matter of making choices per se; the choices must add up to a complex whole. This is because, third, choices must be balanced by a realistic appraisal of what is possible. This is underscored by the notion that the wrong choices can cause the loss of upward momentum, the stuff of middle classness' (Purushotam 1998: 129).

3 The illustrative vignettes of some families show that the women have been the more outspoken, much more articulate partners and that they have been much more reflexive about the processes of constructing a family.

Notes to Chapter 3

1 For a more detailed interpretation of the movement in a comparative perspective, see Chapter 5 on cultural politics.

2 See the brochure of *Songkla Forum*, No. 4, September/October 1997 for more details on the children's excursion and the painting.

3 The discourse on reviving local Thai communities and Thai values is to be found in the position of *Khun Pannipa Sotthibandhu* (see below) of Songkla Forum and in the accompanying print media. Communitarian values can be seen as being a crucial component in constructing the essential cultural identity of contemporary Thai intellectuals (Suchart 1999, Surin1999).

4 A return to national Thai values and a culture based on family, kinship, and community is advocated by communitarian intellectuals. Among the most prominent are Chai-Anan (1997), Chatthip (1994) and Prawes Wasi (1999).

5 See Chapter 4 on community media for an elaboration of the importance of locally-produced media.

6 Anand Panyarachun was held in high regard and seen as representing all the important Thai values for his reform-mindedness, anti-bureaucratic orientation, incorruptibility and honesty. He played an important role in the constitutional reform of 1995, 1997. He personifies the values for a modernising and globalising society (Surin 1999).

7 See Chapter 4 on the media as a springboard for political careers and the Concluding Remarks for an outlook on vision and political inclusion.

8 The weakness of the movement to challenge traditional society has been referred to in the report by Vichai Kanchanasuwon (Vichai 1999).

9   In the following section, 'Patani' is used with one "t" to name the Islamic locality as a whole, whereas 'Pattani' with two "tt" I used to designate the small town of Pattani in *Changwat* Pattani.

10 In the following section, 'Malay' is used to name the Malays in Thailand. The great majority of the Malays are Muslims.

11 The history of Patani is a sensitive issue which is rarely addressed by the Thai government. The Tourist authority of Thailand promotes the 'Deep South' as a region 'where Thai Buddhists and Thai Muslims harmoniously co-exist.'

12 This middle-class segment achieved its new status through tertiary education. I argue that this segment of local intellectuals is critical in forming and transforming the Islamic public space and in setting the standards.

13 This special relationship is described in Roff's reader on Kelantan: Religion, Society and Politics in a Malay state (Roff 1974). in particular, see the Chapter by Haji Salleh on the life and influence of guru To Kenali, the Chapter by Roff on the Kelantan *ulema* and the Chapter by Kessler (1978) on Muslim identity and political behaviour.

14 In the previous Thai government led by the Democrats, the Foreign Minister was Dr Surin Pitsuwan, a prominent Muslim member of the Democrat party and author of *Islam and Malay Nationalism* (Pitsuwan, 1985).

15 In accordance with Geertz (1968), the new religious style is called 'scriptural Islam' here.

16 The reintroduction of Islam into the mass media is an interesting development. Esposito notes, 'ironically, the technological tools of modernisation have often served to reinforce traditional belief and practice as religious leaders who initially opposed modernisation now use radio, television and print to preach and disseminate, to educate and to proselytise. The message of Islam is not simply available from a preacher at a local mosque. Sermons and religious education from leading preachers and writers can be transmitted to every village' (Esposito 1983: 212).

17 In his essay on Muslim personalities in Malaysia and Indonesia, Stauth (2002) stresses the complexity of knowledge exchanges, the creativity of Muslim intellectuals, and the intercultural translation of 'Middle Eastern Islamic discourse'.

18 For a sound comparative perspective, see Stauth (2002) especially pp. 13-43.

Notes to Chapter 4

1   Her essays on Thai media will appear in a volume and will also contain her material on cults and rituals of the coastal Chinese in multicultural Southern Thailand. For a survey article see Hamilton (1992).

2   See Eickelman and Anderson (1999).

3   For a very detailed analysis of a Muslim newspaper in Indonesia, see Hefner (1997) on *Media Dakwah.*

4   For a more comprehensive discussion on mass media and Islam, see the papers that were presented at the conference, Mass Media and the Transformation of Islamic Discourse' (ISEAS, Leiden, 24 March 1997.)

5   For a focus on radio in Indonesia see Lindsay (1997).

6   Chang (1996: 57) writes that 'historical memory is not necessarily based upon the common experience of a particular historical event, it can also be recognised through the emotional participation in any ceremonial activities ... The focus is not on social interaction in conformity with an established historical memory but on individual choice. It refers to the dynamic feature of social solidarity.'

7   The pained historical consciousness is reflected throughout Ibrahim Syukri's (pseudonym) Sejarah Kerajaan Melayu Patani [History of the Malay Kingdom of Patani (1949)]. His historical anger is illuminating as a story of Pattani told by an educated and politically conscious Pattani Muslim. His position is described at the end of the book. He writes, 'If studied in depth, since the fall of Patani in the eighteenth century until this day, it is clear that the government of Siam has misgoverned during this whole period of time. No progress has been made in Patani to provide well-being for the Malays. In matters of health, education, association, and economy, Patani has lagged far behind the progress of its neighbours in Malaya. The actions of the Siamese government, which allow the Malays to live in backwardness, definitely gives a large profit to them, but this has grieved the hearts of the Malays' (Syukri 1985, pp. 75-76). The book was banned in Thailand and Malaysia, but was widely circulated in Patani at the time of my fieldwork.

8   The story of a curse is told by Ibrahim Syukri (1985: 31): 'With a broken heart she hanged herself from a cashew tree. Before taking her life, she issued a curse that the construction of *Kru Se* mosque would never be completed. The Chinese of Patani took her corpse and buried it according to the customs of their religion. They took the cashew tree and made an image of *Lim Gor Niew* which was then prayed to as a respected holy idol.'

9 'Communities of Practice' refer to the communal spaces in-between the domestic and the wider social institutions. 'Communities of Memory' refer to the same frame, in which the past can be re-enacted.

10 Dress is a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication; as such, dress includes visual as well as other sensory modifications (taste, smell, sound and touch) and supplements to the body which sets off cognitive and affective processes that result in recognition by the viewer (cf. Eicher 1995).

11 As Mulder (1998) shows, the Thai educational system teaches the place of people in society, teaches loyalty towards the nation and endorses a national imagined past. The educational system has a major role not only in disseminating the Thai language, but also an official version of the past. This is incribed into the Thai educational system.

12 The author of the book told me that he spent many months collecting materials in the archives of the old houses and the University. In addition, he carried out many interviews with older relatives. He also returned to China to collect material for a second volume.

13 The first international conference on Islamic Studies in ASEAN was held at Prince of Songkla University, Pattani Campus, July 1998.

14 Lewis (1975) notes that both festivals have at least some ostensible historical reference. The annual pilgrimage to Mekka evokes the memory of Muhammad. And Ramadan was selected because of its explicit historic references; it was in this month, the fifth of the Muslim year, that the Qur'an was sent down as a guide for the people. On appropriation of Muslim history see, Lewis (1975).

15 Connerton (1989: 58) writes: 'A curse seeks to bring its object under the sway of its power; once pronounced a curse continues to consign its object to the fate it has summoned up and is thought to continue in effect until its potency is exhausted'.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 Clues to a differentiation of a religious sphere are found in a sudden increase of new periodicals, whose titles and subtitles declare a specifically religious inspiration.

2 The transformation of Chinese spaces of representation and belonging are taken up again in the concluding remarks, relying partly

on fieldwork carried out by others (Hamilton 1999). However, the book focuses on Buddhist Muslim relationships.

3   Compare with Chapter 3: 'Alternative Organisation', in Callahan (1998).

4   Bourdieu (1979, 1991) argues that academics acquire a pedagogical authority in the field of education, allowing them to engage in symbolic forms of power.

Notes to Conclusion

1   I find myself in accordance with sociologists who study everyday life by means of qualitative methodologies (Amann/ Hirschauer 1997).

2   On the resurgence of moral discourse, see Eder's (2000) study on social movements.

3   One thinks here of Foucault's analysis of the body, discipline, sexuality, social control and bio-politics.

4   The leaders are very much aware of this incorporation; however, the organizations are dependent on the financial support of business corporations. Likewise, they want to overcome their isolation and participate in formal political institutions (Interview with Dr. Vichai Kanchanasuwon).

5   The mayor gave his address after a seminar of the sister organizations *Songkla Forum* and Bangkok Forum in May 1996.

6   I am grateful to Hamilton for pointing out the rise of the *Kwan Im* cult and the *Nine Emperor God* festivals in the south to me. Hamilton has done extensive research on the Chinese spirits and the accompanying media (Hamilton 1999).

7   On the interactions between the Middle East and Southeast Asia, see von der Mehden (1993) Riddell (2001) and Stauth (1999, 2002).

8   I am grateful to Suchira (1991: 249-250), who gives a detailed description of Bhudhadhasa's reinterpretation of Buddhism as well as a fine analysis of Buddhism as a way of life. The part on Bhuddhadasa's organization relies on her thesis.

9   The schedule of Phra Santikaro, the writings of Bhudhadhasa, and a user's list are available online: the address: www.suanmokkh.org (last visited on 22.02.2000). Cf. Chapter 4 on community media for details on the role of the accompanying media.

10 See Mannheim (1976), p. 36.