

## ETHNIC STRATEGIC MOVEMENTS IN POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: EXPLORING SOME KEY CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

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**Abstract.** This study discusses some key concepts and theoretical considerations pertaining to ethnic strategic movements in political representation. It begins by elaborating the concepts of ethnic minority groups, nationalism, and modernization. Ethnic plurality has occurred throughout human history. Frequently, it has been a consequence of request. Analyzing the sovereign states suggests that only few can be considered ethnically homogeneous while others do not fall under such category. Majority of the countries in the world are not homogenous people. Therefore, migrants have been supported in some countries whereas they have been rejected and treated badly and even inhumanly in some other countries like the treatment of the ethnic minority in Myanmar who have withstood a systemic genocide purely due to their religious affiliation. This paper views that ethnicity should not be the focal point of mistreatment or used to fuel conflict in society. United States of America is a good example of a multicultural society, although there is still genuine discrimination against minorities but they still accommodate them. In addressing this issue the authors feel that ethnic communities be separated into three classifications such as minority migrant populaces, indigenous minority gatherings and geographical groups which constitute the majority of ethnic minority groupings with the view of incorporating these hitherto autonomous peoples under and “alien” authority. Without a proper recognition of these ethnic minorities nations claiming to honor human dignity are violating the basic human rights.

### Introduction

Ethnic communities can be separated into three classifications. To begin with, minority migrant populaces are regularly the aftereffect of work enlisting strategies amid the pilgrim time frame. Illustration incorporates the Afro-Americans in the United States, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, and the Africans in Guyana. Such populaces more often than not have no connection to particular topographical regions; they were scattered throughout the territories of the new countries, and their sense of common identity is often weak. More significantly, immigrant minorities have no real separatist alternative; their predominant concern is with acknowledgment by the bigger society (Smith, 1982:32).

Second, indigenous minority gatherings, for example, the Aborigines in Australia, the American Indians in the United States, and The Inuit in Canada. These are indigenous individuals who, accordingly of pioneer settlement, have been decreased to minority status temples. It is contended that these altars have been put there by the Chinese who worship them, along with Buddhist icons. There are twenty monasteries in Kelantan, most of them long established and concentrated in the areas which have the largest numbers of Thais. Several larger Thai settlements have two *Wat* (Buddhist Temples) and there is one with three. Demographically, it is not surprising to find the concentration of the Thai families in areas close to existing monasteries. And finally, the Thais in Kelantan have always felt discriminated against economically as the feel that the Malay government makes it difficult for them, to engage in land transactions.

Ethnic Minority Groups is characterized as a gathering of individuals who, on account of their physical or social attributes, are singled out from the others in the general public in which they live for differential and unequal treatment and who thusly regards in their own lands. In many cases, the impact of colonial settlements has resulted in a decrease in population and has also driven them into isolation. Some of the indigenous communities are fighting for survival. But while demands for land rights and homelands may be regarded as a form of separatism, their real purpose is to limit outside encroachment on their traditional society.

Third, geographical group which constitute the majority of ethnic minority groupings and results from the incorporation of hitherto autonomous peoples under and “alien” authority. Thus, the authority of local and regional groups is interfered and put under a policy of unification and centralization of a national government (Oberschall, 1973). Examples include the Basques in Spain, the separatists’ movement in the Philippines, and the separatists’ movement in Southern Thailand, but it is different from the Thai Buddhists’ movement in Northern Malaysia. Such groups normally identity strongly with a specific region and under certain conditions, which will be elaborated later, often regard separation or if not, representative as a viable political action.

This study is interesting in the ethno-religious survival of the minorities within the structure of the majorities: a comparative and critical study of Malay Muslims in Southern Thailand and the Siam Buddhists in northern Malaysia. Thus, this Chapter will discuss the concepts and theoretical consideration of ethnic strategic movements in political representative. It begins by discussing the concepts of ethnic minority groups, nationalism, and modernization, political religion, ethnic representative, strategies of ethnic demands, and strategies to reduce the ethnic problem.

### Ethnic Minority Groups

An ethnic group refers to get-together which differentiates in one or a couple parts of its composed, socially-transmitted way of life, or in the totality of that way of life or culture from other groups. Such a group is deemed to have, or is still enjoying a separate political- national identity as well. The term “ethnic group” thus denotes a special bunch which, inside a bigger social and social framework, asserts or is concurred uncommon status as far as a complex of characteristics (ethnic attributes) which it displays or is accepted to show. Such qualities are different, and there is much assortment in the buildings that they shape. Unmistakable among them are those drawn from the religious and semantic qualities, particular skin-pigmentation of its individuals, and the national or geological sources or those of their progenitors.

In sociology, Louis Wird elaborated an alternative assembly as an assemblage of populace who are corporeal or traditional uniqueness; they are solitaires out from the people in the universal community in which they live for discrepancy and inconsistent action. Consequently they look upon themselves as substance of communal injustice (Linton, 1945). This meaning comprises jointly purpose and objective principles: attachment of an ethnic minority group is dispassionately credited by people founded on a person’s corporeal or attitude characteristics; it is also individually used by its constituents who may apply their position as the foundation of clusters characteristics or society. In any case, tribal marginal category is absolute in scenery: an entity that exhibits mental or behavioral distinctiveness of a specified underground crowd will be allowed the condition of that set to be focused on the same handling as other elements of that people.

Ethnic gatherings or ethnicity has developed at various periods since the early third thousand years BC, and has stayed as socio-social model for human association and correspondence to the present day (Smith, 1987). Therefore, an ethnic gathering may likewise be characterized as “a self-saw gathering of individuals who hold in like manner an arrangement of customs not imparted by the others to whom they are in contact” (De Vos, 1975). This definition expect that for an ethnic gathering to develop there must be some “primordial” binds around to manufacture a feeling of group. These primordial ties incorporate conventions as normal convictions of drop or place of beginning, feeling of verifiable coherence, and particular social practices.

Advocates of primordial’s records of ethnic clash show that ethnic gatherings and nationalities survive on the grounds that there are conventions of conviction and activity towards primordial questions, for example, natural facial appearance and particularly regional area. The primordial record depends on view of family relationship between individuals from an ethnic minority assemble.

Horowitz (1985) shows that this connection makes it as a reality of potential for minority ethnic gatherings to think as far as family resemblance, and it is not surprisingly that every one of the domestic ethnic and the majority of the inside anti-government struggles had a tribal constituent to them. Many definitions of ethnicity emphasize a common cultural pattern which separates the ethnic group from other immediate groups. Some definitions which are used by political theorists to designate a population differently which has the following characteristics: firstly, an ethnic group has four steps of shared sense and sameness (Francis & Narroll, et al., 1947). They share fundamental cultural values of daily practices in social structures, make up a field of correspondence and participation; are to a great extent naturally self-sustaining; and have an enrollment which is recognized as constituting a class discernable from different classifications of a similar request. Besides, an ethnic gathering has brains of “Human hood” which is framed by customary challenge, confidence, record, or a blend of these. Thirdly, an ethnic minority gathering is a gathering with a typical social custom, a feeling of character which exists as a subgroup of a bigger group. The individuals from an ethnic gathering vary as to certain social attributes from alternate individuals from their general public. Finally, a racial assembly has also an individual culture from its own regular traditional model.

Although these definitions make passing references to the subjective elements of ethnicity such as sense of “peoplehood” or “identity” it is fair to say that the central emphasis is the sharing of a common culture. Furthermore, ethnic minority people groups don’t just feel themselves bound together by race, nationality, culture, regular history, yet share a typical destiny, and normal encounters of separation and social weakness all of which serve to reinforce in-gathering cohesiveness and solidarity and to improve reluctance of their minority aggregate enrollment. Wagley and Harris have recommended five definitive components which depict the embodiment of minority gathering participation. They are as per the following: minorities are subordinate fragments of complex state groups; minorities have exceptional physical or social characteristics which are held in low regard by the overwhelming portions of society; minorities are hesitant units bound together by uncommon qualities which their individuals share and by the extraordinary handicaps these attributes

bring; enrollment in a minority is transmitted by control of drop which is fit for affiliating taking after eras even without promptly clear unique social and physical characteristics; and minority people by decision or need have a tendency to wed inside the gathering (Wagley, 1958).

The essential difference between definitions of ethnic groups and minority groups lies in the implication of a serious imbalance in power and prestige: minorities are subordinate fragments of complex state social orders; they are bound together by normal encounters of bias and social segregation; they have exceptional physical or social attributes which are held in low regard by the prevailing portions of society by definition, then participation in a minority aggregate involves the numerous social outcomes of being generally insufficient in power and assets (Hutnik, 1991). This suggests individuals from a minority gathering are avoided from taking a full partake in the life of the general public since they vary in certain routes from the main gatherings. Frequently, this has a tendency to create mentalities of partiality and haughtiness against individuals from the ethnic minority, which thusly serves to develop the inner robustness and structure of the minority assembly.

Thus, history upgrades the cognizance of ethnicity and extends the feeling of shared character. A distinctive shared culture, real or imagined, is another bond that helps to bind members of an ethnic group together and to separate them from outsiders. Religion and language are among the common shared cultural phenomena. Other cultural traits such as customs, institutions, laws, architecture, music, dress, and food, reflect and reinforce the differences. The greater numbers of differentiate cultural ties; the more intense senses of ethnic identities and the greater prospects of ethnic persistence (Smith, 1987). Finally, an ethnic gathering has its association with a particular area or “nation” which transforms into a run of the mill topographical concentration and a strategy for keeping up social occasion union. Members of an ethnic community do not cease to identify themselves with their own group when they have lost their homeland and are scattered around the world, for ethnicity is a matter of belief, memory, and symbol. Some ethnic groups maintain themselves by sustaining a hope for political independence or for the recapturing of a lost homeland.

To comprehend that racial heterogeneity is the custom amongst the nation-states of the modern worldwide society, it supposes not be shocking that tribal has stagnated as an influential aspect in the home affairs of many states. The evidence on the extent of ethnic violence can be seen in the following studies. In the research of crisis in Africa taking place 1946-1976 classified 120 conflicts into three categories: domestic anti-government, domestic tribal, and border line conflicts. Kende institutes that 85 per cent of these disagreements were of the two domestic categories, that were not simply the mainly recurrent (120 violence) except the majority determined (97.7 per cent of the sum figure of “nation-years”). In the past twenty years enclosed by research (1956 to 1976), there was an augment in the percentage of every war which was within, and ethnic combat with overseas involvement was originated to be the outline rapidly growing in occurrence (Kende, 1978). It is because their homelands were divided and taken away by dominant powers in the era of colonialism. Political theories and actors have responded to this question with widely different strategies. Many have contended, often with the support of passionate and board nationalist movements that every national people should have a state of its own. In the nineteenth century, this led to the great European state building and nation-building projects, particularly in Bismark’s Germany and Cavour’s Italy, where various principalities and autonomous policies were forged into a common whole united by language and some sense of shared origin, experience, and culture (Diamond, 1994). Thus, it is not surprisingly that every one of the domestic tribe and most of the domestic anti-government was a tribal constituent to them. The independence movement in Guinea-Bissau, the Makone movement against Portugal in Mozambique, and the three rebel armies in Portuguese Angola are one of those exemplified as the ethnic violence for recapturing their lost lands (Horowitz, 1985).

Most ethnic groups live in autonomous and mainly homogeneous social environments prior to the emergence of the contemporary state. The beginning of the evolution to nation-state can be set-back to the steady confederacy of the territories of England and France and later to the emergence of incorporated Polish, Spanish, Swedish countries. In the Muslim world, there also existed some sort of “Centralized states” in Fatimid Egypt, Savarid Iran, and the Ottoman Empire. These unified territories gradually were transformed into “national States” through the impact of the revolutions (economic, social and culture) that occurred in the Western world and through the provision of equal legal rights to various strata of people and the growth of public education systems (Smith, 1987).

Frequently, an impression of ethnic divergence has never been limited to the preceding regal borders of the states under expansion. Basque separatism in Spain, south Tyrolean dismay with Italian mandate, resurgent Scottish and Welsh unwaveringness in the United Kingdom, the consistent animosity of Northern Ireland, Franco-Canadian Separatist notions in Quebec, the Walloon-Flemish competition in Belgium, maintained tribal difference in the United States and the presence of practically identical antagonistic vibe in Great Britain all make evident to the strength of ethnic loyalty as a base of error in the main post-modern majority rules systems of Western Europe and North America (Connors, 2003). Thus, whatever strategy that ethnic minority groups utilized, either in the form of resistance or struggle in achieving their goals against dominant powers, feeling of nationalism cannot be excluded.

With regard to the above, Wagley and Haris suggest five criteria to be used to explain the essence of ethnic minority group membership. These five criteria are being subordinate segments of complex state societies; having cultural traits different from dominant segments; being self-conscious units bound together by special traits; being transmitted by the rule of descent; and to marry with the group are what we found from both the Malay-Muslims in Southern Thailand and the Siam Buddhists in northern Malaysia. The total population of the Malay-Muslims in Thailand is around 6 per cent, three million out of sixty-five million people and they mainly live in the southernmost provinces of Thailand such as Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, Satun, and some portion of Songkla. They believe in Islam and Malay in their daily life. They have Majlis Agama Islam Wilayah or Khana Kammakarn Islam Procham changwad (Provincial Islamic Organization) in each of these provinces to conduct their religious affairs. Furthermore, Islam and Malay language are embraced to unify the identity of the ‘Malay-Muslims’. Children of the Malay-Muslims study Al-Qur’an and Malay Language as compulsory subjects. They mostly get married among their own community. We found very few instances of Malay-Muslims marrying into other ethnic groups except in cases where their spouses converted into Islam.

In contrast, the total number of Thai Buddhists in northern Malaysia is around sixty to eighty thousand people. They mainly live in Kelantan, Kedah, and Perlis. According to Ayuwatana, the Thai moved into Kelantan around 300 years ago and into Kedah and Perlis around 500 years ago. The Thais believe in Buddhism. They also worship the portraits of His Majesty King Bhumiphol and Her Majesty Queen Sirikit of Thailand, and speak Thai language in their daily life. Furthermore, they set up schools to teach the Thai language in the same places where the Buddhist temples are located. The teachers who teach Thai are mainly *Prosong* (Buddhist monks) from Thailand. The Thais tried many times to form associations to protect their identity and one of them was *Samakom Thai Kedah-Perlis* with 300 members in 1963, but it was dissolved in the same year due to lack of financial support. In 1998, *Samakom Thai Kelantan and Samakom Siam Malaysia* from Kedah was successful as associations in protecting the ethnic Siam Buddhists in Malaysia. Through these two associations, the Thais have reopened Thai schools and they have campaigned that they should get married among themselves to perceive their Thai identity (Ayuwattana, 2004).

It may be true as what Wagley and Haris have argued that membership in an ethnic minority assemble involves the numerous social results of being dissimilar to the greater part. Ethnic minority gathers typically experience issues as respect access to assets from their greater part partners. This infers individuals from a minority are avoided from taking a full partake in the life of the general public since they contrast in certain routes from the overwhelming gatherings. Under this condition there is a propensity to create demeanors of preference and oppression individuals from the ethnic minority, which thus serves to reinforce the interior attachment and structure of the minority assembly. The Malay-Muslims in Southern Thailand are controlled by Smart Cards and emergency laws. Meanwhile, the Thai Buddhists in northern Malaysia are unclear about their identity (Wagley & Harris, 1958).

### Nationalism

The world ‘nationalism’ means the degree of love by a gathering of individuals who have a similar race, culture, dialect, and so on to frame a free nation. Here and there, this world likewise implies a sentiment cherish for and pride in one’s nation; an inclination that one’s nation is superior to whatever other (Wehmeler, 2005). Patriotism is a power creed that motivates the consistency of contemporary communities and authorizes their demand to legitimize. Chauvinism midpoints the complete faithfulness of the devastating bulks of the citizens ahead the motherland, moreover availabilities or needs. The fatherland is observed not only as the perfect, ‘natural’ or ‘normal’ from the influential organization but also as the essential structure for all communal, traditional, and financial motions. Yet nationalism and countries are moderately recent chronological improvements (Kuper, 1985).

Unequivocal representations of patriotism are hugely varying. The hypothesis of patriotism has dependably been muddled by this foundation, and by the interruption of patriot philosophy into the hypothesis. There are additionally national contrasts in the hypothesis of patriotism, since individuals characterize patriotism on the premise of their neighborhood encounter. Hypothesis (and media scope) may over highlight clashing patriot developments, and war-occupying consideration from general hypothetical issues; for example, the qualities of country states. He contends that countries are envisioned political groups, and are envisioned to be restricted and sovereign. Their advancement is identified with the decay of different sorts of envisioned group, particularly even with entrepreneur creation of print media (Anderson, 1991:250).

In the envisioned group despite entrepreneur creation of print media, patriotism developments are encompassed by other patriot developments and countries, and this may shading their variant of patriotism. It might concentrate absolutely on self-assurance, and disregard different countries. At the point when clashes emerge, in any case, ideological assaults upon the personality and authenticity of the “foe” patriotism may turn into the core interest. In the Israel-Palestinian clash, for example, both sides have guaranteed that the other is not a “genuine” country, and along these lines, has no privilege to a state. Patriotism and bullheadedness make misrepresented claims about the predominance of one country over another. National generalizations are likewise basic, and are normally annoying. This sort of negative patriotism, coordinated

at different countries, is absolutely a patriot wonder, yet not an adequate reason for a general hypothesis of patriotism. This work joins patriotism to homogenizing goals of mechanical society and the responses of minority societies to those objectives (Gellner, 1983:120).

Prior to the eighteenth century, when it started in northwestern Europe and North America, patriotism spread quickly over the world, and since the center of the twentieth century it has turned into a general thought and compel of transitory history. It conveys what needs be in the most changed and inverse belief systems in vote based system, dictatorship, and socialism and in the look for a “philosophy” be it African identity or Arab solidarity. The ninetieth century in Europe has been properly called the time of patriotism; the twentieth century, in which history has moved from a European to a worldwide premise, may get to be distinctly known as the period of pan-nationalism.

Albeit certain attributes are regular to all types of patriotism, every shape is adapted by the social structure, the scholarly conventions and social history, and the geographic area of the general public in which patriotism affirm itself. In this way, just a near recorded investigation of the different types of patriotism can do equity to any of them; and just an interdisciplinary approach will have the capacity to cover numerous aspects of exceptionally complex marvel. Be that as it may, a few qualities of patriotism can be seen through articulations of social self-assurance, racial virtue and national amusingness (Kuper, 1985).

Political confidence is only a solitary part of the solicitations characteristic in all patriotism; a for all intents and purposes square with part is the solicitations for social confidence. In nationalities that are gaining ground toward the development of a nation express, the mission for social confidence goes before the excursion for political confidence and prepares the ground for last said. This was the circumstance with most central and eastern European society in the nineteenth century. Patriotism, regardless of reasonably conviction history, has encountered a couple changes. It was a tip beat advancement in the essential century of its outstanding section; a typical improvement in the age of the move of the cushy classes; it has wound up, in its second century, a mass improvement in which the overall public wherever ask for an always amplifying support in the political, social and social presence of the nation. What remains enduring in patriotism through each one of its movements is the demand of the all inclusive community for a lawmaking body of a vague ethnic structure from the lion’s share.

Every individual blended to patriotism see political confidence as its destinations. To be apportioned, specific, and free from various nations, and identical to them, is the focal claim of loyalists for their kinfolk. The “individual” and prominence based decency’s of the insurrections of the enlightenment passed on what requirements be in these objectives. In the nineteenth century these solicitations were traded from the individual to the total social affair. Just thusly, said the nationalist, could the overall public get the chance to be unmistakably total social affair. Just in this way, said the loyalists, could the all inclusive community get the opportunity to be unmistakably free subjects, an end in themselves, as opposed to being a strategies for game plan of others (Ibid.,129).

By patriotism, the rise of the new countries of Africa and Asia offered ascend to an unfathomable and variegated writing on what has turned out to be known as political modernization and improvement, country building, and political incorporation. Normal for these works is the view that ethnic and primordial estimations are brief obstacles to the advancement of current society, and the supposition that ethnic dedication will blur away and be supplanted by cleavages in light of class and word related status (Weber, 1947). So also, there is the thing that sociologists call the “diffusionist” hypothesis of social combination, connected with recognized researchers as Persons and Smelser (1956) who opined that the way of life and estimations of the center gathering in a general public are steadily diffused all through the fringe regions. For Marxists, as well, ethnic and social clashes have dependably been viewed as a transitional period of entrepreneur society, which throughout occasions will be overpowered by class battle. Class, as per them should definitely turn into the primary premise of division between individuals, supplanting such prior as tribe, religion, dialect, and national beginning (Birch and Nielsen, 1978).

Coleman (1960) contended that the procedure of modernization through patriotism that in the new states were generally an issue of building up more successful channels of correspondence and transportation so all fragments of the general public can turn out to be all the more firmly required with each other. A comparable supposition was made by their examination of the relationship between social structures and assembling system. They formed: the national Revolution compelled constantly expanding circles of the territorial people to pick sides in conflicts over qualities and social characters. The cutting edge Revolution moreover set off a variety of social counter-improvements, yet as time goes on tended to cut over the regard assembles inside the nation and to drive the liberated citizenry to pick sides similar to their money related focal points, their shares in the extended wealth made through the spread of the new advances and the expanding markets (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967).

In Western Europe and North America, patriotism has had solid against foreigner hints. It might be on the grounds that the inundation of people groups from the third world, particularly to nations that were one their provincial overlords. Hatred

of these new tenants has been a method for political control, particularly among common laborers individuals from the prevailing ethnic gatherings. In 1991, the Soviet Union was isolated into fifteen free republics, all of which contained populaces of ethnic Russians. Ethnic clashes soon emitted, similar to the separatism of Abkhazians and Ossetians in Georgia, and the outfitted clash over enclaves of Armenians and Azeris in each other’ domain (Magill, 1996). What’s more, when Yugoslavia separated in 1992, the world was shocked at the following ethnic savagery. The Serb minorities in Croatia and Bosnia begat the term ‘ethnic purging’ to portray their battle of dread to remove non-Serb inhabitants keeping in mind the end goal to make a more prominent Serbia in the long run. Despite the fact that the United Nations forced assents, they were just inexactly upheld and peacekeeping strengths were frail to stop the shared responses (Krieger, 2001).

Consequently, patriotism might be a prime vehicle for an ethnic political development procedure. Smith trusts that the ethnic political developments that work to accomplish their objective will reach out inside racial procedures, from a lower degree to a higher level of radicalization (Smith, 1981). In any case, Huntington in his Third Wave contended that adjustments in the arrangements of outside performing artists, worldwide financial development, and the change of culture from guards of business as usual to rivals of totalitarianism have added to event of moves to balance. These advancement speculations tended to view ethnicity as a vital source to the very presence of the state (Huntington, 1991:42-121). Rousseau refers to with respect to the imperative of patriotism in diminishing the degrees of radicalization among ethnic minority bunches in his work entitled *The Radical Vice* that “expansiveness of countries” is the key wellspring of human disasters. He goes ahead to advocate a decentralized government framework, yet makes it clear that the elected units must stay subordinate to “the body of the Republic” and that every one of the nationals must be given as a matter of first importance to Poland as a major country. In handy terms then, Rousseau recognizes the trust of transforming and democratizing expansive states (Rousseau, 1947).

Rousseau’s enthusiastic support of well known power and republican self-government obviously has flourished in the advanced world, while the little city-state has been entrusted to a past that appears to be hopelessly lost. Be that as it may, how might one accomplish in a huge cutting edge express the sort of political cohesiveness required for famous self-run the show? The answer that Rousseau reluctantly embraces in his recommendation to the Poles and that was all the more eagerly taken up by his devotees amid the French Revolution-is patriotism. The latent subjects of a ruler or head or despot may incorporate a wide range of people groups who recognize no other regular security. However, individuals who are unsurprising fight to death for their state ought to way to deal with regard themselves as component of single national, regardless of the possibility that they exist massive separations beginning each other and have never met once in their lives. Hence, patriotism is in some shape would appear to be an essential backup to prevalent self-government and in this way to cutting edge popular government or modernization. From this viewpoint, the primary concentration of this review is on the Malay-Muslims as an ethnic minority assemble in Southern Thailand who frame their radical fronts and direct associations to speak to their gathering in a bigger society from one perspective, and the Siam Buddhists as tribal minority aggregate in Northern Malaysia to shape their direct associations to speak to their gathering in a bigger society on the other.

In this study, we define nationalism as feeling of love for the same race, culture, language, religion, and way of life which ethnic groups believe that they have the rights to be treated equally under a decentralization of dominant powers in the multi-cultural system. Having discussed the above, it is clear that nationalism has undergone several transformations in the ethnic elite movements in its historic role. Furthermore, the middle classes such as mass development in which the general population everywhere request a constantly broadening cooperation in the political, social, and social existence of the country were critical. The request of the general population for an administration of an indistinguishable ethnic complex from the greater part is basic.

Regarding Malay-Muslims movement in Southern Thailand, Smith believes that the ethnic political movements that work to achieve their goals will be extending within radical forms of strategies. The Malay-Muslims in Southern Thailand who formed radical movements such as Barisan Revolusi Nasioanl (BRN), People United Liberation Organization (PULO), and Bersatu have been struggling for a separate Patani state since the 1960s may be the case in point. These groups used any tools to achieve their goals. In addition, the resistance became stronger when *Al-Wahdah*, a Malay-Muslim moderate organization, was discredited by the Thai nationalists in 2004. The citizens stimulate to patriotism see authority of independence as its objective. In this case study, nationalism is important as factor leading the movements in achieving political self-determination (Smith, 1981:11).

This is in line with Lipset and Rokkan argument that nationalism had strong anti-immigrant overtones in Western Europe and North America. This can be applied as well in Southern Thailand in that, the Malay-Muslims struggle to resist the dominant Thais and perceive the dominant Thais as immigrants in Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Satun provinces. In contrast to the Malay-Muslims in Southern Thailand, the Siam Buddhists in Northern Malaysia formed only moderate organization, not radical movements. It may be so since Malaysia is more open to ethnic minority groups. The members of *SamakomThai Kelantan* and *Samakom Siam Malaysia* were never fought secretly each other. Regarding the case of the

ethnic Siam Buddhists in northern Malaysia, Huntington's argues (1991) that may be revert. Democratization of a system could change the strategies of ethnic minority groups from radical to moderate forms (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967).

### Modernization

To modernize something such as an organization or a industrial unit as to transform it by returning mature apparatus or techniques with novel ones. Thus, the word 'modernization' may be fine here as to change from the system of traditional living style to the system of modern living style. The changing of identities of people by force may probably cause a conflict among the ethnic groups. The determination of tribal divergence in the highly developed manufacturing states of Europe and America is also described by innovation theory or communalism. Together disciplines hypothesize the disarticulation of 'primordial' individuality as custom by supplementary worldwide, contemporary uniqueness as group and other distinctiveness supported on communal financial importance. The actuality of society as a power in sophisticated people poses an irregularity of definitive trade in for equally collectives and reconstruction theories (Rogowski & Wasserspring, 1971).

The impression of modernization originates from a perception of social orders as having a standard transformative example, as clarified in the social evolutionism speculations. As indicated by this every general public would grow inflexibly from brutality to ever more prominent levels of advancement and human progress. The more present day states would be in an ideal situation and more persuasive, and their subjects free and having a higher expectation for everyday life. This was the standard view in the sociologies for a long time with its principal supporters had being. This hypothesis centered the significance of social orders being detach to change and saw reactionary powers as hampering advancement. Keeping up convention for custom's purpose was thought to be hurtful to the headway and change (Parsons, 1951:125). In reviewing the explanations of modernization, Rogowski and Wasserspring have argued that larger relation does not enhance to possess difficulty of inserting populace by specific decisive factor; certainly, it may give out to multitude every one but inscriptive standard or dominant criteria. In the midst of the possess surplus which unavoidably escorts the change as of custom to current; contest and tribal frequently turn out to be extra famous as engagements of people's behavior since they are classification instruments which have a little cost in sequence. Thus, the escalating complication of a modern culture, and the supplementary obscurity of distinctive possible associates as of latent competitors in the rivalries which distinguish it, strengthen the propensity towards tribal unity as it is not difficult to differentiate associates as of opponents on the foundation of background than on the less understandable principle of profession, group, favorites, or other absence of inscriptive measure or non-dominant criteria (Rogowski & Wasserspring, 1971).

A foremost structure significance of these inclinations in modernization is which tribal cohesion and the racial classification is non-breakable because the remunerations of the transformations are not evenly (or at slightest justifiably) dispersed transversely tribal assembly (Horowitz, 1985:103). If the interests of innovation are disseminated fairly to tribal criterion, then the organizational affiliation among diverse racial assembly suits important for elucidating tribal dissimilarities in the giving out community expenses and interests, the degree to which these distinctions guide to tribal disaster and structure quarrel will assume. The essential peculiarity between shapes of racial separations is between erect and parallel separations, or flanked by 'ranked' and 'unranked' systems. In a perpendicularly included or 'ranked' scheme of inter racial affairs, classifications is identical with mores in the sagacity that the community organization is distinguished by single tribal assembly being lesser to the other. Therefore, customs and categories coincide; mobility is limited by decisive factor or leading principles (Horowitz, 1971).

Generally, the distinction of tribal factions is miscellaneous in nature so that interface amid affiliates of the diverse racial assembly is a habit characteristic of on a daily basis of community existence. Though, the dealings among clusters are administrated by obviously documented standards of super-standard and substandard position. Human model overriding social dealings in categorizing schemes typically have spiritualized approaches of articulating the inferior grouping's admiration and the dominant assembly's supremacy and relations fairly accurate the good manners of a social order method (Horowitz, 1985). Although, the inflexibility of classified methods between super-ordinate and secondary tribal assembly in contemporary world are generally distinguished by various determines of public solidity and mutual prospects in adding up to the compulsion and disagreement which safeguard the position. The leading ethics of relations among the associates of inferior and super-ordinate group is that of a clientele's haggle: affiliates of the subordinate and super-ordinate collection look for defense from their bosses in the super-ordinate faction in swap over as long as those bosses with duties, good and allegiance (Popkin, 1979). Horowitz and Popkin highlighted (although from diverse viewpoints), example an intense danger is not assumed calmly.

Besides, Coleman (1960:345) argued that the process of modernization through nationalism that in the new states were largely a problem of establishing more effective channels of communication. Consequently, we witnessed the determination of racially status of societal arrangement in most of the Third World states, regardless of the to a certain extent understandable inequalities which exemplify them. Nevertheless, organizations are subjected to corrosion by conditions that the dispersal of worldwide customs that escorts innovation. The swap over rapport amid racial clusters ruptures

behind as a consequence of transforming in the domestic financial system. This process alters the domestic marketplace for ground, employment and asset as a method that privileges in the super-ordinate cluster locate it cost-effective to redirect capital away from invention for home utilization and towards manufacture for globe bazaars. Accordingly, they start shifting customers from terrain and dropping their fortification alongside the threat of continuation catastrophe, the underlying principle for sustained high esteem to the super-ordinate faction corrodes, and the ample of the less important collection are subjected to enlistment for cooperative accomplishment (Horowitz, 1971).

In modernization, the substitute to status schemes is the 'uncategorized' or parallel integrated scheme. Here, each tribal crowd has its personal classification method inside to the grouping and separate from another assembly. Unlike racial factions continue living together as the same shared chain of command, with each assembly structured successfully as an embryonic entire community. In numerous issues they were previously comprised as supplementary or fewer self-directed entire community (Horowitz, 1985). Unclassified scheme, kindred amid affiliates of diverse tribal collections is far fewer projected. There is frequently deficient of arbitrating countrywide supremacy to institute an elevated level of sum zero game asserted on identical chance in connections between constituents of dissimilar assembly. In this reverence dealings among clusters acquire on the disposition of intercontinental dealings (Ibid, 234).

Modernization can be perceived as procedures and progressives. The previous prospect is normally predictable by law makers. It put forward that it is expansions, such as novel information expertise or out dated rules, which create innovation essential or favorable. This vision constructs analysis of modernization tricky; since it involves that it is these advances which manage the restrictions of creature relations, and not opposite. The later outlook of modernization as progressive highlighted that in cooperation the improvements and the vary chances fulfilled available by these growths are fashioned and proscribed by individual instruments. The analysis of modernization as efficiencies and sees it as an invention of creature preparation and achievement, a vigorous procedure competent of individuals changed and criticized. It is the majority expected of the powerful actions in states (Latham, 2000). However, Horowitz highlights that unclassified scheme have additional skills to endure the transforms and displacements that escorts innovation and enlargement since surrounded by each racial cluster, there are occasions for moving forwards advancements, and the utilization of these prospects does crop up in an unclassified scheme; it regularly intends not as community alteration but as the leaving out from influence of tribal assemblage by someone and craving to relapse to some culturally homogeneous ranked (Horowitz, 1971). Enhance, aggressive tribal groups divergence in an unclassified scheme is extra liable to catch the appearance of a rebellion than a communal uprising.

Therefore, the Malay-Muslims in Southern Thailand, the Thai government attempted to modernize the Thai nation by utilizing assimilation policies. It can be seen that Thailand, formerly 'Siam' renamed itself to 'Thailand' as one of the mechanisms to uplift the living standards and political rights of all Thai citizens in the nation. To succeed in this process, the policy of *Rathaniyom* or state-ism was declared in the reign of Prime Minister Phibulsongkram (1940-1950s). Unfortunately, *Rathaniyom* ignored the importance of values of all racial marginal groups in the country. The ethnic minority languages, cultures, and identities were forbidden. Chinese schools and Malay-Muslim *Pondok* schools were not allowed to operate. Comparatively, in Malaysia, the government launched a program of modernization to modernize the ethnic Thai Buddhists in northern Malaysia. The ethnic Thai schools formerly taught Thai language in the morning and Malay language in the afternoon, but subsequent to the modernization program, the schedule of teaching languages in these Thai schools changed. Thai language was only taught for one hour per day (Ayuwattana, 2004:273).

This leads us to ask whether ethnic parties or groups in the process of modernization might be of meticulous noticeable where group enlistment or the amalgamation of countrywide political schemes is apprehensive. The enlistment of ample of populace has characteristically been linked with particular revelry schemes in together urbanized and upward states (Friedrich & Brzezinski, 1966). This is clearly a too thin analysis. As multifaceted institutes ambitious by personnel with immense objectives to work out authority and influence, social gathering incline to be a good guesture ubiquitously. Thus, if they (tribal structures) are not competent to have their method throughout the standard and arranged measures of lawmaking institutions, they may effortlessly change to throng mobilization practices.

In the Europe, social gathering have no uncertainty to apply their connected deal amalgamation or adolescence associations to transport large number of people into the boulevard and open area. Likewise, influential people apply method of accumulation enlistment as one of the armaments to achieve their goals and objectives. Certainly, as the system is extended to comprise previous non-anticipations, the procedure (with the revelry located characteristically at the very heart) whereby these people are included itself and explained as 'movement of the people' and 'power advancement (Huntington, 1968:32).

On the issue of ethnic mobilization, Elliott (1994) observes that while national and different limits may hold on, they are progressively permeable. Preparation and universal globalization have built the formation of a worldwide engineering of force, in which generation, dissemination and correspondence are progressively organized by worldwide systems and procedures. This thusly has provoked a large portion of the operators of preparation (counting transnational partnerships,

proficient affiliations, and various social and political developments) to create destinations, structures, approaches, and examples of socialization that are deliberately universal in degree and ethos. Such internationalization is facilitated by the progress and advancement of modern technologies which are mostly controlled by western democratic powers. Thus it is their ideology and worldview that permeate our world today, to the exclusion of all theirs, a situation similar to Darwin's theory of the evolution of animal species. As a result of this worldwide integration of economies and means of communications, it is virtually impossible to isolate a society from modernizing, or is influenced by foreign cultural and technological developments, including political religion (Bagrow, 1964).

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that some implications, such as the attempts at integration and assimilation of the Malay-Muslims by the central government through the processes of modernization. The expansion of modern education, the expansion of bureaucratic organizations and increased control over the Malay-Muslim communities in Southern Thailand, and the modernization of economic activities have intensified, if not created, more political conflict between the Malay-Muslims and the central government.

This is by no means to suggest, that modernization processes alone are solely responsible for the emergence and the escalation of the ethnic political conflict, or to imply that without modernization processes, the ethnic political conflict would not have emerged. Rather, this study simply suggests that the policy and implementation of the programs aimed at integrating and assimilating the Malay-Muslims in these communities have been largely unsuccessful. It also suggests that, perhaps, forced assimilation of the ethnic groups may not be the best strategy for national development. If a national development program involves the modernization of the educational, political, and economic structures in the predominantly Malay-Muslim communities, it must be carried out with great care, with respect and sensitivity of the indigenous cultures.

This study also implies that the type of political system, for example, democratic or authoritarian, may determine the form and the magnitude of the ethnic political actions. We suspect that under a democratic system where the sub-national population could participate fully in the decision-making process, a violent form of collective actions would be much less likely to occur. Therefore, if the central government of each country, Thailand and Malaysia, is sincere in its desire to improve the quality of life of their ethnic groups within the nations, there is a serious need for a careful re-evaluation of the present policy from the Thai government towards the Malay-Muslim communities in Southern Thailand and from the Malaysian government towards the Thai Buddhist communities in northern Malaysia.

### Conclusion

The term resolving the ethnic problem here may be defined as finding an acceptable solution, a firm decision, and formal vote in order to have a fruitful approach to reduce a misunderstanding arising from conflicts between an ethnic group and the government in power or between the ethnic groups themselves. In reviewing ethnic problems, Fukuyama sees the very heart of liberalism is that "people who don't have a place with the prevailing nationality *ipso facto* have their respect perceived in a second rate route to the individuals who do have a place a level inconsistency of the standard of widespread and equivalent acknowledgment." In the post-communist East, where most states are forming irregular racial crazy-quilts, the difficulty of the privileges of tribal inferior will pretend a long-lasting intimidation to the consolidation of liberal democracy. As far as a solution based on the principle of group rights is concerned, he points to the sad experience of Lebanon as an example of the terrible practical difficulties that this entails, and concludes that the only secure basis for liberal democracy is the Kantian principle that recognizes people as individual human beings rather than as members of particular national groups (Fukuyama, 1992:266).

Regularly connected with ethnicity and fundamental it are fears concerning shamefulness, mistreatment, and disparity in relations among ethnic gatherings (Krieger, 2001) such ethnic apprehensions incorporate those in regards to foul play in the support of peace, nepotistic conveyance of occupations, social administrations, gets, the sitting of open enterprises and different ventures, and the conceivable burden of the way of life of one ethnic gathering on the other. In this way, there is a popularity based side to ethnicity. It might concern the privilege of individuals from every ethnic gathering to be secured in their lives and appropriately secure from discretionary capture and discipline, tutoring, and the pleasure in social courtesies. It energizes the acknowledgment of the equivalent privileges of every single ethnic gathering, and is an apparatus in the battle against benefit and nepotism. Ethnicity must be weakened by the predictable utilization of popularity based standards, standards, qualities, and systems in financial and political life. The approach which the government of Indonesia adopted in 2005 to accept the movement of Acehnese, that previously was outlawed to become lawful, is one of the characteristics to resolve or reduce the ethnic problem.

Therefore, only a policy that is based on clear, consistent, and democratic principles is realistic in the search for solutions to the ethnic problem. Such a policy must appraise each concrete ethnic demand from the perspective of removing all inequality, all privileges, and all exclusiveness. In concrete terms, for example, such a policy means that the socioeconomic imbalance between ethnic groups should be corrected by extending employment facilities, educational institutions, and

other welfare services on a disproportionate basis to the areas occupied by the disadvantaged ethnic groups. Nevertheless, all citizens of the country residing in the areas and not just the indigenes of these areas must be equally eligible to benefit from activities. Furthermore, such programs must include a built-in mechanism for fading themselves out as soon as their mission is fulfilled- otherwise the benefiting ethnic groups may become the privileged communities of the future. Democracy or ethnic political representation is vital for inter-ethnic harmony.

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