CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

For the purpose of this study, background of Islam in Thailand, background of the southern border provinces problems, a number of previous studies and researches, theoretical frameworks, were reviewed. The information was categorized under the following topics

1. Islam

Islam is the second largest religion in the world and its adherents are called Muslims. The word 'Muslim' means one who submits to the Will of the One God. The fundamental concept of Islam is the belief in the Oneness of God (*Allah Subhanahu wa ta'aala*) and the prophethood of Muhammad (*peace be upon him*). The viewpoint of Islam is that this universe is the creation of God Who is the One. The faith of Islam is to reveal and confirm the existence of the One and the True God.

Every Muslim is supposed to carry out the Islamic way of life based on the particular concept of man's place in the universe. The way of life in Islam requires that its followers model their lives according to the Holy Qur'an and the Tradition of the Prophet in every aspect. It regulates their lives on all levels: individual, social, economic, political and spiritual.

The five pillars of Islam provide a foundation of Muslim life.

1. The first pillar is the belief in the Oneness of God and in the finality of the prophethood of Muhammad through a solemn vow that "There is no true God except Allah, and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah". This is a testimony to the belief that all other deities are false, are not capable of either harming or benefiting, and, thus, not deserving to be worshipped.

2.   The second Pillar is the establishment of the daily prayer.   It begins with the purification of the body and ends with the purification of the soul. It is performed five times each day: at dawn, mid-day, late-afternoon, sunset and nightfall. Each of these five prescribed prayers contains verses from the Qur'an, and is said in Arabic, the language of the Revelation. Personal supplications, however, can be offered in one's own language at any time.

3. The third pillar of Islam is almsgiving to the needy "Zakat". It is a financial act of worship which is due on the wealth kept in possession for one year. A certain percentage is taken from every kind of property to be given out to the poor to enable them to meet their needs. The Zakat fulfills the needs of the poor, and purifies the donors from selfishness, a natural tendency in people.

4. The fourth pillar is self-purification through fasting. This is done every year during the month of Ramadan (the tenth lunar month), when all Muslims fast from dawn until sundown--abstaining from food, drink, and sexual relations. Those who are sick, elderly, or on a journey, and women who are menstruating, pregnant or nursing, are permitted to break the fast and make up an equal number of days later in

the year if they are then healthy and able. Children begin to fast and to observe prayers from puberty, although many start earlier.

5.   The fifth pillar is the Islam pilgrimage to Mecca (the Hajj). This pillar has the same objective as the others, namely to honor God. The annual Hajj begins in the twelfth lunar month of the Islamic year. Pilgrims wear special clothes: simple garments that strip away distinctions of class and culture, so that all stand equal before God. The Hajj trains self-restraint, endurance, hunger resistance, patient endurance of the hardship of the journey, leaving the family and other desirable things behind. The Hajj, in its general manifestation, is a convention that comprises all groups of Muslims who come from different countries and from different descents to attend and participate in this great beneficial function. The Hajj is an obligation only for those who are physically and financially able to do so. Nevertheless, over two million people go to Mecca each year from every corner of the globe, providing a unique opportunity for those of different nations to meet one another. (Ishaq Zahid, n.d.; Eidul-Fitr Mubarak., Abdur Rahman R. S., Daniel Master, Isma'il Kaka., n.d.; Umar Faruq Abd-Allah, 2004.)

The traditional definition of worship in Islam is a comprehensive definition that includes almost everything in any individual's activities. Everything a person does with the intention of pleasing God is considered an act of worship. Kindness to members of one's family is an act of worship. Similarly, whatever one spends for one's family is a type of charity and will be rewarded for it. In contrast, there are things that God has prohibited because of the harm they engender to individuals and society.   These include lying, stealing, disrespecting one's parents, extra-marital affairs, drugs, alcohol, gambling, and other destructive or unethical behavior. The guidelines for these commands and prohibitions are found in the Shari'ah, or Sacred Law, which is derived from the Qur'an and the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. (Eidul-Fitr Mubarak, Abdur Rahman R. S., Daniel Master, Isma'il Kaka, n.d.; Umar Faruq Abd-Allah, 2004 and World Assembly of Muslim Youth, n.d.).

1.1 Islam in Thailand

Islam spread to Thailand from various directions: the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago, Yemen, Persia, India, Burma, China and Cambodia (Imtiyaz Yusuf, n.d.). Islam was introduced to Southeast Asia in the seventh century and the kingdom embraced Islam in the eleventh century. Sawanee Jitmuat (1988) stated that trade was the main factor in the spread of Islam. During the Sukothai dynasty, there were exchanged of trade, culture and religion among the neighboring sovereign states and the other countries such as China, India and Persia. Some passed through this region and some settled in the area.

In the city of Ayuthaya, there is a strong evidence of enormous Muslim migration as traders or settlers. These were of various ethnic origins such as Arab, Persian, Cambodian, Indonesian, and Malay. They engaged in different occupations according to their individual aptitude - farming, military service, provincial government administration.

Beginning with semi-independence under the rule of the kingdoms of Sukhothai and Ayuthaya, the Pattani Kingdom was annexed in 1909 by King Rama V, as part of a treaty negotiated with the British Empire. Both Yala and Narathiwat were originally part of Pattani, but were split off and became provinces of their own. Muslims who played the most significant roles from the beginning of the Rattanakosindra period to the present were the descendants of Shiekh Ahamd and Sultan Sulaiman, both of Persian origin. These Muslims attained important positions in the economic and political sectors and a number of them became related by marriage when their daughters married members of the hierarchy or royal households.

At present, there are over 2 million Muslim Thais of various ethnic origins. More than half of these are of Malay descent, most of whom live in the four southern provinces of Thailand: Pattani, Yala, Naratiwat and Satun. The rest of the Muslim Thais are scattered throughout the country: Muslims of Chinese and Pakistani origin settled in the North while those from Cambodia (who are called Champa), India,

Indonesia, Arabia and Persia, as well as some of the Malay 'Chawa', settled in Central Thailand in distinctive groups, each having a mosque as the nucleus, headed by an Imam.

1.2 Muslim Thais in Southern Border Provinces

The demographic surveys of Thailand, conducted by the National Statistical Office in 1999, show the population of Buddhists of 57,157,751 (93.83%), Muslims 2,777,542 (4.56%), Christians 486,840 (0.79%), and others 494,308 (0.82%). Considering the population of the country as a whole, Muslims are a minority group. Most Muslims live in the four southern provinces; Pattani 608,276 (80.16%), Yala 238,917 (70.69%), Naratiwat 549,286 (82%), and Satun 194,528 (75.23%) forming the majority group of the region. In 2003, the average per capita income of Pattani province was 57,621 baht, Yala 52,737 baht and Narathiwat 38,553 baht. Wattana Sugunnasil (2005) pointed out that the Muslims in these three southern border provinces have lower income than people in other regions of the country. They are dealing with many problems such as poverty, unemployment, lack of education, low quality of living standard and other economic-related problems.

Similarly, Siripen Supakankunti et al. (2005) found that the rate of Muslims in the southern border provinces with only primary school education is higher than Muslim in other regions. Likewise, the average household's income per person is lower than other regions. Muslims in the south, however, were described as religious and strict in following the Islamic doctrines. It was concluded that Islam has vigorously influenced the way of life, as well as the customs and traditions of the local residents.

Suraphong Sothanasathien (1988) investigated the social characteristics of Muslim Thais in southern border provinces in his study. He found that their social characteristics are related to religion. A tendency to accept or reject a new innovation depends on how it affects their religion. If it does not affect or go against their faith they tend to adopt the innovation into their life. Basically, members of Muslim communities are quite conservative and follow the Islam way of life. However, in

some cases the acceptance is allowed even against religious doctrine if the rationale is explained and it leaves them without blemish from society and their neighbors. Similarly, Nathapong Thepjaree (1991) found that Islamic commitments did not at all restrain any development, but on the contrary, they helped enhance all aspects of development.

1.3 Muslim Thais in Chiang Mai

The population of Chiang Mai surveyed in 1999 by the National Statistical Office was 1,600,850 with 1,147,804 (72.17 %) is Buddhists, 64,403 (4.05%) Christians, and 14,380 (0.90%) Muslims.   Muslims in Chiang Mai city are descendants of Pakistani and Yunanese (Suthep S. pp.32-53). They migrated from different places at different times (Gilquin, M., 2005). They married local women, and settled down in Chiang Mai city. They adopted the Thai way of life but retained their religious, cultural, and ethnic identity. There are four Muslim communities in Chiang Mai city: two Pakistani and two Yunanese. The first Pakistani community was established in the 1870's and was located at Tambon Chang Klan. The second community settled after World War II in Tambon Chang Puerk. The residents of these two Pakistani Muslim communities came from different places and ethnic backgrounds. Among Pakistanis there are also a number of Pathan Muslims. They migrated from Afghanistan, Pakistan or Burma into Chiang Mai city.   Some Muslims who came from India and Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) are also found within the communities, but their numbers are small. Their main occupations are cattle breeding and trade. (Suthep S.,1977).

Yunnanese Muslims dwelling at Wieng-Ping are descendants of Yunnanese long-distance merchants (Suthep S.,1977). They had traveled for centuries between Yunnan province in Southwestern China and Burma, Laos, and Northern Thailand. The majority of the Yunanese in Chiang Mai city are Muslims who migrated from Yunnan and ultimately located in Chiang Mai during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They are localized in two major quarters-- in the Wieng Ping business area and in an area of Tambon San Pah Koy. Most of the Yunnanese Muslims engage in

various kinds of trade, mainly retail selling of fruits and vegetables in the city's markets.

2. Background of the Southern Border Provinces Problems

Reuter Alert Net Foundation (http://www./background of the south/ Reuters AlertNet - Thailand violence.htm., retrieved April 27, 2007) summarized the background situation and incidents of violence and resentment in the southern border provinces from 1902 to 2007 as follows:

1902 - Thailand (then called Siam) annexed the ancient Kingdom of Patani, a semi-autonomous Islamic Malay region.

1903 - The last sultan of Patani was charged and accused for opposing the Thai occupation. He was released three years later.

1909 - The Anglo-Siamese Treaty settled the borders between British Malaya and Siam. The British colonial administration in Malaya forced the King of Siam to cede sovereignty over the northern part of the Malay Peninsula, including the Malay Sultanates of Kedah, Kelantan, Perlis and Terengganu to Britain, while the British recognized Siamese sovereignty over Pattani, which became a region (monthon) of Siam.

1910 - Sufi sheiks led two further uprisings, which were put down by the army.

1922 - Residents of Namsai village in Pattani refused to pay land tax to the Thai government in protest of education reforms requiring all children to attend state primary schools to learn Thai.

1933 - The Pattani region was divided into the provinces of Narathiwat, Pattani and Yala.

1939 - The ethnically neutral name of Siam was changed to Thailand, and Buddhist Thai culture was imposed across the country. Plaek Phibun Songkhram banned Malay customs and language from government offices and repealed Islamic law.

1941 - Thailand allied with Japan in World War II but some southerners joined the resistance movement, hoping an Allied victory would bring independence to Pattani.

1944 - Pridi Phanomyong took power and revoked some of the strained assimilation policies of his predecessor.

1945 - British Malaya territories captured by Japan were returned and hopes of Pattani's accession to Malaya were thwarted. Pridi established new governance structures to include Malay Muslims in political life.

1947 - The chairman of the Pattani Provincial Islamic Council, Haji Sulong, established the Patani People's Movement to petition for self-rule, linguistic and cultural rights, and the implementation of Islamic law. Phibun mounted a coup and took office again.

1948 - The military government imprisoned Haji Sulong and other southern leaders. Some 250,000 Thai Malays petitioned the United Nations for accession to the new Federation of Malaya.. Many were arrested. Phibun made gradual and limited concessions. Riots erupted across the region.

1959 - The first organized armed group to call for Patani's independence was founded.

Late 1960s - Over sixty armed groups were active in the southern states, with some engaged in criminal operations. Internal rifts started to weaken the major groups.

1970s-early 1980s - Groups continued to wage campaigns of violence, mainly through attacks on police posts and government buildings. The government launched military operations.

1981 - The government initiated an overhaul of security and governance structures to pursue political accommodation, including initiatives on public participation and development.

1980s-early 90s - Hundreds of fighters accepted an amnesty, leading to optimism that the insurgency was over.

1990s - Low-level militant activity continued mostly targeting government symbols. On August 1, 1993 insurgents burned down thirty-four schools in four border provinces.

1997-1998 - Thai separatist leaders were caught by Malaysia in its northern states, following a request from the Thai government.

2001 - Thaksin Shinawatra was elected prime minister and attempted to re-establish top-down political authority over the southern provinces. In December, militants carried out coordinated attacked on police posts.

2002 – Prime Minister Thaksin abolished the Southern Border Provinces Administration Centre and the joint Civilian-Police-Military (CPM) task force, stoking tensions.

2003 - The Thai government launched a war on drugs, with the southern border provinces heavily affected. According to Human Rights Watch, more than 2,200 people were killed across Thailand and many were arbitrarily put on a blacklist; some were arrested and "disappeared. Three prominent Muslims were arrested on terrorist charges.

2004

Jan - The recent unrest started on January 4, 2004 when a group of militants attacked an army based in Narathiwat, stole 100 firearms, and killed four soldiers on guard duty.

Mar - Prominent human rights lawyer Somchai Neelaphaichit disappeared while defending alleged militants.

Apr - The violence and destructive incidents in this region became increasingly tensed when 108 people were killed including five authorities who were on duty on April 28.

Oct - On October 25, a demonstration in front of the police station in Narathiwat demanded the release of six local men who had been arrested, accused of having supplied weapons to insurgents. The police called in army reinforcements. Shooting started and seven men were killed. Hundreds of local people,

mostly young men were arrested. Their hands tied behind their backs while waiting for transportation to a detention center in the nearby province of Pattani. They were thrown by soldiers into trucks to be carried to an army camp. The detainees were stacked five or six deep in the trucks. By the time the trucks reached their destination three hours later, seventy-eight men had suffocated to death.

2005

Sept - At about 8 p.m. on September 20, 2005, there was a fatal shooting incident in which two villagers were killed and four others injured, at a teashop in a village of Tanyonglimor sub-district, Muang district, Narathiwat. Outraged villagers subsequently took two marines hostage, believing them to be responsible for the shooting. The two marines were Sub-Lieutenant Winai Naagabutr and Petty Officer Kamthorn Thong-iad, who were then brutally beaten to death at around 2 p.m. on September 21, by the villagers

Oct - The first direct attack on a Buddhist temple in Pattani province. The Phrom Prasit Temple was burned down and a Buddhist monk was killed.

2006

Jan - One of five policemen accused of "disappearing" human rights lawyer Somchai Neelaphaicht was jailed for three years. The others are acquitted.

Sept - On Setempber 16, three remote-controlled bombs were exploded in the southern tourist town of Hat Ye caused four people to death sixty-eight were injured. Three other bombs caused minor damage.

2007

Feb - On Lunar New Year, dozen of coordinated bombing were carried out. Arson and shooting targeted people of Thai-Chinese ancestry in urban areas across three southern

provinces. Eight people were killed and fifty people were
wounded.

Mar - Five militants were killed in a raid on a jungle training camp
in the south. The military said the men were members of a
group called BRN.

3. Policies and Measures Adopted by Thai Governments to Improve the Economic Growth and Solve the Unrest Problems

In order to stop the violence and protect life and property of the people in
the region, Thai governments have started to implement various measures to tackle
problems in the southern provinces since the rising of violence in 2004

3.1 Economic Measures

The government expected that the stepped-up security and safety of life
and property measures for local residents would help promote the economy of the
southern region. In response to the move, the Cabinet, during its meeting on February
17, 2004, approved a budget of 704 million baht to be used to carry out seventy-five
projects to tackle security problems and stop violence in the southern border
provinces. Additionally, on March 16, 2004, the Cabinet approved 12 billion baht for
strategies, 3 billion baht for security, and 9 billion baht for economic and social
development to improve the people's living conditions (Inside Thailand Review,
2004).

3.2 Psychological Measures

The strategies of building trust by exchanging opinions with local religious
leaders and people to create better understanding between Muslims and non-Muslims
have been adopted. An atmosphere of cooperation has been created to encourage
local villagers to build up peace in their community with the help and support of
officials. Emphasis is placed on education by setting up a budget to support Islamic
boarding schools as well as adding a basic curriculum that follows Islamic principles.
Moreover, the government called on Muslim leaders to create better understanding
among Muslims and to pledge close cooperation with the government in solving
southern problems and enhance the potential of the region. Moreover, the State

counselor for all Islamic affairs, Mr. Sawat Sumalayasak, called for Muslim Thais not to become involved in creating unrest. Accompanied by leaders of the provincial Islamic committees of the five provinces, he met the Prime Minister to discuss ways to tackle the problems in the southern boarder provinces and work out guidelines for the development of the areas. Another great show of unity among Thai people is that over sixty schools in Bangkok donated tables, chairs, books, educational equipment and a combined donation of 720,000 baht by the Islamic Bank of Thailand and the general public to help students in the southern border province. Additionally, psychological strategies have been brought into action to win the hearts and minds of the local residents. The Development Institute in Narathiwat, with NGO operatives from around the country, organized a field visit to the three southernmost provinces to give moral support and encourage the exchange of opinions among villagers from every part of the country and to let residents in the South know they are "not alone". Chaiwat Thiraphan, chairman of the Civic Net Foundation, said in an interview with The Nation, "We do not think this trip will change the situation, but we would like to show our concern [for the plight of villagers there] and to show the government that suppression is not the way to solve problems (The Nation; Bangkok Post, 2005)

3.3 A Peaceful Reconciliation Panel

The National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) was appointed, in order to help ease problems in the unrest south. The NRC was responsible for suggestion policies, measures, mechanism, and methods to create reconciliation and bring peace to Thai society, especially the three southern border provinces. The NRC investigated the southern unrest and conducted research studies on southern problems. They were entrusted with developing the processed to prevent and ease conflicts and violence and make them known widely among the general public. They also educated the public on adverse effects of violence and hatred and the necessity to use peaceful means to stop violence. At the same time, it promoted social justice with respect for social and cultural diversity.

The National Reconciliation Commission Report described the causes of unrest in the southern border provinces, which were categorized into three stages, The

first stage, the most obviously noticed stage, is and agitated person or group from either militants or government officials who commits violent acts. The second stage is a structural condition stage. This structural condition that one experiences, such as family background, educational, economic and social status may influence on to become a pro-violence person. Finally, the third stage is a cultural stage. Somebody feels that slaughter or suppression of an opponent is legitimate. Thus, using force to is justified and acceptable which increases the action of violence from both sides.

The violence in the southern border provinces was analyzed by the NRC in order to understand the situation. The report concluded that the causes of violence are as follows: firstly, injustice in society, as well as the inabilities and lack of power of the local resident to access the justice process. Secondly, the government's policy was complicate and inconsistent. Thirdly, the deficiency of a proper education for youths in the region is an obstruction to gainful employment. Fourthly, the local residents are confronting and internal conflict due to globalization and modernization. Fifthly, a difference of ethnic groups and their culture play a significant role to divide the ethnic groups. In addition, a prominent of group's identity lessens an acceptance of boarder cultural connection. Sixthly, not all view cultural diversity as an important and significant creative power of social development and the solving of social problems.

The NRC anticipated that the violence in the southern border province will not end easily, if the government does not make enough sincere efforts to improve the economic growth and solve the unrest problems of this region. The NRC submitted the reconciliation measure to eliminate the violence in each stage. They advised establishing a peace panel to manage conflicts and create better understanding among agitators, insurgent group, and government officials. To ensure rights and justice policies and laws are to be enacted with support, participation and cooperation from local residents and communities based on their needs and beliefs.

4. Previous Studies

Various studies have been carried out regarding the policies and measures of counter-violence in the south by the government.

The Department of Community Development (1978) studied the attitudes of juveniles in the four southern border provinces. They found that education had an influence on the attitudes and beliefs of the juveniles. Those with less education had more difficulty identifying themselves as Thai. The study was supported by the works of Chakapan Wongburanawad (1980) and Winai Caruwanpad (1980) which suggested that the government place a high value on education by providing proper education to the local residents in order to improve the ability in speaking, reading and writing the Thai language.

Nathapong Thepjaree (1991) investigated the Islamic commitments of the rural Thai-Muslim in the southern border provinces and found that the Islamic commitments of the rural Thai-Muslims did not at all hinder any development. On the contrary, they helped enhance all aspects of development. That is to say, the greater the person's Islamic commitment, the greater was their support of development.

Prof. Dr. Piyanart Bunnag (2003) investigated the initial problem of the southern provinces and the government policy in her research "The Administrative Policy of the Government towards the Thai Muslims in the South". She found that the root of the problems in the southern provinces was based on five factors: the historical background, physical geography, religious and cultural differences, education, and economics. The researcher suggested that appropriate authorities be selected to work in the area and cooperation with the neighboring country be initiated to create understanding to tackle the problems.

Pidech Prangthong (2003) studied the governmental policy of Thai government and history and the background of the three southern border provinces of Thailand. He suggested that the government emphasize understanding of the history

of the southern border provinces. Additionally, the value of cultural diversity be accepted and promoted by the government. For the people in the area, the government should offer the opportunity to participate in the decision-making of setting the public policies so that they can use the knowledge to develop their own communities.

Smith (2004) explained that the violence in the south of Thailand has been an ongoing dissatisfaction with the Thai government in terms of lack of development, cultural identity, and human rights abuses. The relationship with the predominantly Muslim communities of the south has old origins. Resistance to and resentment of the Thai state began with the incorporation of these provinces into the Kingdom of Thailand in the early twentieth century, when the border was demarcated in agreement with British Malay. The colonial-era drawing of boundaries saw substantial Malay communities in the provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, Songkhla and Satun come under Thai rule. The majority of Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat are Malay speakers and continue to be "trapped" in the Kingdom of Thailand. In the 1930s and 1940s Thailand had attempted to transform the Malay minorities into Thai-speaking Muslims by using an assimilation strategy which clashed with the resistance from the Malay-speaking population. Alongside, and grounded in the root problems of underdevelopment and the long-standing issue of Malay/Islamic identity are several dissatisfactions with the state of Thailand. Furthermore, levels of education in the south are the lowest in the country. Intra-elite rivalry and criminality complicate the picture and contribute to the violence. The emergence of separatist-linked violence in Thailand's south is the result of complex social upheaval. It is premature to judge the violence to be the result of al-Qaida, or its regional affiliate *Jemaah Islamiyah* (JI). The separatist group, *Bersatu,* directs its anger at the Thai government on the grounds of perceptions of local injustice. Both government institutions and state schools have been vandalized by the separatists. Martial law was declared in Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat, and the government dispatched 3,000 troops under the command of the Fourth Army. In addition to the increase in action by the security forces, the Thai government has pushed forward new measures that include development funds and the closer monitoring of Islamic schools. These types of responses are not usually mounted by the government to deal

with bandits or organized criminals. In dealing with the unrest problem Thailand has faced blame and criticism from human rights groups. The Thai Ministry of the Interior, in admitting to past abuses, claims that it no longer engages in incorrect practices.

5. Theoretical Frameworks

5.1 Attitudinal Theories and Concepts

Attitudes are fundamental to the way we see and interact with the world. Attitudes have been defined in several ways. The definition of attitude given by Gordon W. Allport (1967) is a mental and neutral state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related. L. L. Thurstone (1967), defined attitude as a tendency towards or against a psychological object. Leonard W. Doob (1967) stated that attitude is a response representing individual feelings which are stimulated by situations. Fishbien and Ajzen (1967) maintained that attitude is a person's position on a two pole evaluative or affective dimension with respect to some object, action or event. A person's attitude toward the object is a function of his evaluations of these attributes.

Fishbien and Ajzen (1967), pointed out that attitude can be measured by considering a person's responses to a set of belief statements but not necessarily related to any specific intention with respect to the object. An attitude has three components. The *affective component* refers to the feelings of evaluation or the gut-level feelings toward an object. These result in either positive or negative emotions. The *cognitive component* refers to expression of belief and nonverbal reaction toward the characteristics of an object. The *behavioral component* manifests in behavioral intention and action. The relationship among the three attitude components does not require a necessary connection, but it does allow for a strong relationship under certain specified conditions. In other words, in the separate entities viewpoint of attitude structure, each component is considered independently and each is influenced by the others. Therefore, when one component is changed, frequently the other components are altered.

Attitudes are formed and organized through experience (G. W. Allport, 1967). This means that people are not born with attitudes; they are created continuously via the socialization process. People develop attitude because they are useful in governing the social environment and in expressing important connection with others (Smith & Mackie, 1999). Stuart Oskamp (1991) stated that there are various factors that lead to attitude formation and change such as school indoctrination, peer groups, conformity pressures in general, and reference group. Cultural differences also influence what function attitudes serve, and thus why particular attitudes form (Smith & Mackie, 1999). In recent decades media has become another factor that has led to shape attitude. Social scientists have become increasingly aware of the power of the mass media whether the media are fair or biased in how they present events and shape public opinion (Baron, 1987). Attitudes are fundamental to the way we see and interact with the world.

According to Fishbien (1967), attitude change will occur when an individual's beliefs about an object change and/or the evaluative aspect of beliefs about an object change. Attitudes are influenced by the people who play significant roles in one's life and can be changed by a number of sources including other people, family, media or the object itself. A person forms beliefs about an object automatically, and simultaneously acquires an attitude toward the object. Each belief links the object to some attribute. Attitudes change through the process of socialization. And finally, attitudes are behind all of our willful behaviors.

A mild form of influence on attitudes, which is often unintentional, is seen in reference groups. Oskamp (1991) described that the reference groups refer to social class, ethnic or nationality group, a religious group, a regional group or an occupation, etc. A person's standpoint demonstrates at least a basic type of political belief system based on his or her reference groups. The point which is central here is that reference groups often influence people's attitudes, even without intending to do so. The importance of reference groups is that they provide a basis for the belief systems of many people. Whatever people's political beliefs are, they tend to organize their ideas to fit the interests of their own most important reference group. Our

attitudes are influenced not only by the people who play significant roles in our lives, but also by the mere association of objects with emotional reactions of like and dislike. (Oskamp, 1991)

5.2 Political Attitude

A fascinating trend in measuring political attitudes is to develop standardized social indicators as indices of the quality of life in various spheres, analogous to the well-known economic indicators such as gross national product, unemployment rate, and the cost of living index. These data are used to explain problems for decision making in order to formulate policies or solutions. Public opinion is the highest form of collective attitude (Allport, 1967). Oskamp (1991) indicates that the political attitude area is most unique among areas of public opinion in having an easily measured behavioral concomitant, the vote. Therefore, voting behavior is frequently used as the criterion in political attitude surveys, or as the dependent variable of greatest interest.

5.3 Prejudice, Discrimination, and Stereotype

Attitudes are not always reflected in overt actions. Indeed, there is often a substantial gap between the views individuals hold and their actual behavior (Fishbien, p. 391 -397). In many cases, persons holding negative attitudes toward the members of various groups find that they cannot express these views directly. Laws, social pressure, and the fear of retaliation all serve to prevent them from engaging in openly negative actions against the targets of their dislike (Thurstone, 1967). Soroka & Bryjak (1995) suggested that understanding the dynamic group relations among majorities and minorities is necessary to understand the latent conceptual, attitudinal, and behavioral factors that form these groups. Prejudice is an attitude of usually negative perceptions towards the members of some group based solely on their membership in that group.   In other words, when we state that a given person is prejudiced against the members of some social group, it generally means that the person tends to evaluate the group's members in some characteristic manner merely because they belong to that group. Their individual traits or behavior play little role;

they are liked or disliked simply because they belong to a specific social group. Discrimination refers to the way members of certain groups, often majority groups, behave unfairly and show unequal treatment toward minority groups. Discrimination is prejudice in action. In many cases, prejudice entails stereotyped portrayals of the groups in question. Stereotypes are over-simplified and categorical beliefs in which all members of some particular group are assumed to possess specific traits that distinguish them from all members of other groups. All the members of one particular racial group may be perceived as being deficient in some particular mental or physical ability, whereas all members of a second group may be seen as excelling in that same ability. The particular stereotype is unique to a specific group, based on their specific inter-group relations, their history and political-social-economic condition groups form unique stereotype of other group (Bar-Tal, 1997). Once formed and in place, these beliefs tend to accentuate the importance of observations that confirm the stereotype and to discount or ignore altogether the importance of observations that challenge the stereotype.

By examining all of the studies cited in the literature review about attitude, the researcher made the following conclusion. An attitude is the result of a process in response to a stimulus as well as the corresponding analysis. Each attitude is made up of affective, cognitive, and behavioral components. People are not born with attitudes. These means attitude are a combination of beliefs, evaluations and analysis based on a person's experiences and knowledge. Attitudes are learned through direct and indirect knowledge and experience and are formed and organized continuously via the socialization process and are inclined towards major reference groups. Attitude change will occur when an individual's beliefs about an object change and/or the evaluative aspect of beliefs about an object change.

The researcher hopes that exploring the attitudes of Muslim Thais in Chiang Mai towards the situation in the south, the reason behind the attitudes, and the factors that influence these attitudes may help others to understand the perspective of Islamic adherents. This understanding may bring insight to the southern situation, leading to new perspectives and perhaps pointing the way towards a possible solution.