

APPENDIX I CHRONOLOGICAL GENEALOGY OF THE SHAH OF ARAKAN (1430 A.D.–1638 A.D.)

<i>Names of sovereign</i>		<i>Years of reign</i>
Sulaiman Shah	(Narameikhla)	1430–1434
Ali Khan (restored)	(Min Khari or Naranu)	1434–1459
Kalima Shah	(Ba Saw Pru or Basawpyu, Ali Khan's son)	1459–1482
Mathu Shah	(Doulya or Daulya, son of Kalima Shah)	1482–1492
Mohammed Shah	(Ba Saw Nyo)	1492–1493
Nori Shah	(Yan Aung or Ranoung, son of Mathu Shah)	1493–1494
Sheikh Modulla Shah	(Salimgathu or Tsalenggathu)	1494–1501
Ili Shah	(Min Yazar or Minraja, son of Modulla Shah)	1501–1523
Ilyas Shah	(Kasabadi or Gazabadi, son of Ili Shah)	1523–1525
Jalal Shah	(Min Zaw Oo or Mengbeng, son of Mathu Shah)	1525–
Ali Shah	(Thatsata or Thazada, son of Mathu Shah)	1525–1531
El Shah Azad	(Min Kong Yazar)	1531–
Zabuk Shah	(Minaba or Mengbeng or Min Byar Gyi, son of Ili Shah)	1531–1553
Daud Khan	(Min Dikha or Dikha, son of Zabuk Shah)	1553–1555
	(Tsaulah, son of Daud Khan)	1555–1564
	(Mintskeye, son of Daud Khan)	1564–1571
Sikandar Shah	(Min Palaung or Minphalong, son of Zabuk Shah)	1571–1593
Salim Shah	(Razagri or Min Razagyi, son of Sikandar Shah)	1593–1612
Husayn Shah	(Min Khamaung or Mengkhamoung, son of Salim Shah)	1612–1622
Salim Padshah	(Thiri Thud(h)amma, son of Husayn Shah)	1622–1638

Source: Jilani (1999, pp. 84–85), Phayre (1967, pp. 302–304)

APPENDIX 2 SOME BASIC FACTS ABOUT THE TEKNAF AREA

The table below shows some basic facts about the Teknaf area. It tells that in this remote area, the total population is 152,557 (excluding the refugee population). People's main occupations are farming, fishing, and local business. Female education is only 16%.

Land	388.68 sq. km.	Education rate	21.9% (male 28.16%; female 15.65%)
Population	152,557 (male: 51.81%; female: 48.19%) Population density per sq. km.: 601	Educational institution	Private college = 3; High school = 4; Junior high school = 5; Madrasa = 17; Government primary school = 34; Private primary school = 11
Administration	Union: 6 (Baharchara, Hnilla, Sabrang, Teknaf, St. Martins Dwip, and Whykong) Village: 133 (locally called as para)	People's main occupation	Farming = 20.21%; Forest = 3.21%; Fishing = 8.59%; Farming laborer = 16.32%; Daily labor = 8.21%; Business = 19.65%; Office work = 3.32%; Others = 20.49%
Religion	Muslim 96.93%; Hindu 1.19%; Buddhist 1.8%; Others 0.08% Mosque 183; Pagoda 7; Buddho Keyong 11	Main farm crop	Paddy; bettie; shupari; Potato

(continued)

(continued)

Health	Upogila health complex = 1; Upo-health center = 2; Family planning center = 3; Cholera hospital = 1	Main export items	Shupari; pan; salt; fish
Dak Banglo	2	Daily newspaper	The daily Cox's Bazar; Shoikot

Source: Combined by author from various sources, July 2009

INDEX¹

A

abuse, 34, 88–90, 92, 103, 104, 108, 111, 120–3, 126, 129, 138, 168, 237, 239, 240
accommodation, 11, 66, 145
Action Against Hunger (ACF), 82n11, 150
Afghan refugees in Pakistan, 233
agricultural sector, 123
Akyab, 98, 102, 110, 206, 210
alienation, 7, 59, 81, 100, 110, 224
alternative narrative, 35, 141
amateur drawings, 210, 216
Amnesty International, 69, 76, 81n1, 82n6, 142n12, 147
announcement, announcements, 28, 107, 121, 196
Ansar, 125, 150
Anti-Fascist Peoples Freedom League (AFPFL), 46
Arakanese Liberation Movement (ALM), 70–1
Arakan Historical Society (AHS), 164

Arakan, Northern Arakan, 20, 41, 42, 49, 53, 55n11, 92, 147
arrest, arrested, 94, 96, 103, 112–15, 120–2, 124, 126, 133, 136, 163, 175, 234, 237
assimilation, 10, 11, 14, 19, 184
Australia, 65, 126, 183

B

Bangladesh Export Promotion Bureau Report, 79
Bangladeshi dalal (Bangladeshi broker), 125, 164
Bangladeshi local, 92, 128
Bangladesh Institute of International and Strategic Studies (BIISS), 53, 78
Bangladesh Red Crescent Society (BDRCS), 82n11, 150
Bangladesh Rifles, 149
beating, 92, 103, 108, 114, 121, 122, 124, 125, 136, 158, 211, 216

¹Note: Page number followed by ‘n’ refers to notes.

belief, 22, 34, 43, 47, 70, 87, 139,
 140, 188n17, 236, 240
 belongingness, 9, 14, 218, 235, 241,
 245
 Bengali, 2, 24, 30, 43, 60, 61, 64,
 82n8, 165, 176, 182, 186, 219,
 220, 244
 Border Guard Bangladesh (BGB),
 125, 149, 150
 borderlands, 1, 21, 27, 36n3, 45, 61,
 63, 70, 192, 223, 224, 242–5
 Border Trade Agreement, 78
 boundaries, 2, 3, 10, 11, 16, 21, 35,
 36n3, 41, 44–54, 54n3, 64, 67,
 75, 77, 78, 128, 129, 146, 149,
 151, 173, 183, 186, 192, 207,
 209, 237, 243
 British Burma, 60
 Buddhist Rakhines, 35, 105, 204, 242
 Buddhist settlers, 88, 96, 105
 bullying, 128
 Burma Citizenship Law, 50, 56n15
 Burma Independent Army (BIA), 45
 Burmaiya, 89, 137, 189n22
 Burma Socialist Program Party
 (BSPP), 48
 Buthidaung township, 30, 47, 97–9,
 175, 196, 203, 213

C

Cambodia, 212
 camp clinic, 134–5, 178
 camp-in-charge (CiC), 26, 32, 122,
 125, 129, 130, 142n8, 142n10,
 149–51, 162, 174, 176, 177,
 181, 186, 209, 218, 228n6, 239
 Chakma, 2, 63, 142n12
 chauvinism, 5
 checkpoints, 96, 149, 163
 childbirth, 94, 95
 childhood memories, 172
 Chittagong Hill Tracts, 212, 228n5

Chittagong Medical Hospital, 134
 Chittagonian, 60, 62, 65
 Chowdhuripara, 130, 131
 citizenship, 2, 4–10, 13, 14, 21, 34,
 47, 48, 50–3, 55n6, 55n7,
 56n15, 61–4, 67, 69, 70, 74–7,
 81, 89, 91, 92, 99, 108, 110,
 111, 116, 138, 233, 235
 cluster villages, 212
 community, 4, 6, 9, 13, 20, 24, 30–2,
 47, 50, 51, 54, 60, 65, 68, 71,
 76, 81, 108, 115, 126, 128–30,
 133, 138, 147, 150, 160, 163,
 173–5, 177, 180–6, 188n10,
 189n22, 192, 195, 197, 201,
 205, 208, 209, 217, 223–5, 227,
 233, 235, 236, 238–45
 community service, 71, 150
 conclusive evidence, 51, 52,
 56n42
 confiscation of land, 76, 96–7
 consciousness, 223, 225, 227, 235,
 238, 245
 consociational democracy, 12
 Constitution of the Union of Burma,
 41, 46, 47
 construction sites, 93
 corruption, 94, 174
 council of minister, 52
 counter insurgency activities, 48
 Cox's Bazar, 2, 22, 36n3, 36n5, 66,
 68, 71, 76, 93, 122, 126, 134–6,
 142n11, 145, 146, 149, 162,
 163, 176, 177, 244
 criminal activities, 127, 178
 crisis management, 71
 cross-border smuggling, 78

D

debilitating diseases, 156
 deportation, 26, 123
 derogatory words, 212, 218

destruction, 76, 88, 97–8, 174, 206, 235, 243
 detention, 91, 92, 119–25, 136, 183
 dhuk (sorrow), 103
 disappearance, 92, 107, 108, 116, 214, 234, 237
 discrimination, 44, 47, 48, 117, 192, 204, 205, 223, 226, 227, 241
 disease, 101, 109, 133, 156, 157
 displaced community, 50, 192, 195, 224, 227
 displacement, 3, 27, 33, 34, 41, 42, 50, 54n2, 63, 75, 97, 109, 116, 122, 127, 140, 168, 212, 244
 dispossession, 224
 disproportionate access to essential resources, 116
 documented, 2, 24, 26, 32, 62, 81, 118, 130, 137, 147, 193, 228n8, 235
 dominant image, 109
 dowry, 156, 182
 Dragon King Operation (Operation Nagamin), 49, 111, 245n1
 drugs, 55n10, 76, 79, 162
 dry-fish business, 162

E

education, 5, 7, 27, 46, 71, 76, 88, 109, 110, 123, 124, 136–7, 150, 151, 161, 163, 165, 170, 172, 175, 181, 188n19, 204, 226, 228n9
 employment, 43, 110, 180
 entertainment, 180–3, 209, 239
 entitlements, 1, 6–9, 108, 110, 119, 138, 155, 238
 ethnic cleansing, 11, 14, 16, 77, 111, 243
 ethnic minority, 44, 49, 245n2
 ethno-federalism, 11, 13, 19
 ethnonationalism, 6

evacuate, 98, 107
 everyday, 4, 17, 34, 49, 88, 108, 111–17, 141, 145–89, 191–229, 234, 236, 237, 239, 240
 eviction, 88, 98–102, 108, 124, 139, 206, 211, 212, 234
 examination, 109, 192
 exclusion, 9, 17, 35, 46, 50, 53, 74, 75, 116, 117, 216, 233
 exclusionary position, 53
 exile, 22, 27, 42, 96, 117, 118, 125, 128, 138, 175, 193, 198, 201, 209, 217, 219, 235, 236, 241, 242
 exit pass, 149
 exploitation, 11, 91, 123, 201, 225, 238
 expressions, 4, 47, 87, 120, 172, 193, 203, 212, 223–7, 237, 241
 extortion, 123, 125, 152, 185
 extra-territorial, 151, 184

F

family planning, 150
 farmland, 96
 fear, 11, 76, 77, 94, 96, 97, 103, 104, 106–8, 110, 114, 116–24, 133, 163, 168, 172, 180, 200, 202–4, 207, 219, 223, 228n8, 237, 242
 fearful, 108, 116, 122, 132, 168, 202, 223
 Federal Shan States, 44
 females, 24, 29, 97, 104, 107, 108, 111, 114, 128–9, 157, 159–62, 174, 179, 181, 197, 211, 212, 216, 217
 and children, 104
 firewood, 107, 124, 131–3, 154, 162, 197
 fishing, 95, 102, 123, 127, 153, 156, 161, 162, 178, 185, 189n22, 198
 floating people, 89, 97, 212

- force, 1, 3, 14, 17, 19, 20, 26, 30, 33, 34, 42, 50, 54n3, 56n15, 61–3, 69, 71, 76, 80, 81, 88, 96, 97, 99–102, 108–11, 113, 114, 116–22, 129, 140, 141, 145, 146, 149, 150, 152, 158–60, 184, 193, 200, 203, 205, 210–14, 216–18, 223, 236–7, 243, 244, 245n1
- forced labor, 30, 43, 76, 88, 90, 92–4, 96, 111, 152, 167, 193, 213, 214, 234
- forced migration, 1, 3, 14, 20, 33, 34, 42, 50, 75, 116, 117, 138, 140, 141, 159, 187, 234–6, 239, 241, 242
- French Revolution, 4
- frustration, 32, 34, 92, 109, 130, 138, 202, 203, 205, 209, 224, 225, 227, 237, 240
- future generation, 109, 136–7
- G**
- gender specific identity, 237
- genocides, 11, 14, 212
- H**
- Handicap International, the, 175, 187n9
- harassment, 11, 103, 108, 114, 118, 119, 122–9, 136, 212, 228n8, 234
- healthcare, 7, 123, 134, 156, 181, 228n9
- heterogeneity, 5
- hierarchical relationship, 26, 160, 205
- hopelessness, 138
- humanitarian assistance, 146
- humanitarian crises, 22, 50, 71
- humanitarian needs, 146
- Human Rights Watch (HRW), 69, 76, 81, 92, 93, 121, 147, 214, 243
- human trafficking, 76, 163
- humiliation, 103, 107, 108, 111, 114, 125, 128, 159, 168, 197, 208, 211–13, 215, 217, 218, 237, 240
- hunger, 98, 109, 127, 150, 193, 204
- I**
- identity, 1–6, 10, 11, 13–22, 25, 33–5, 42–54, 60, 69, 74–7, 81, 81n1, 87, 91, 97, 108, 115–17, 130, 138–41, 147, 149, 181, 187, 191–229, 233–42, 245
- illegal immigration, 49
- imagination, 33, 107
- immunization program, 71, 150
- imprisonment, 95, 96, 101, 106, 128, 152
- India, 2, 14, 20, 42–4, 60, 61, 66, 70, 82n7, 82n8, 82n10, 188n10, 233
- indigenous people, 10, 212
- individual memory, 103, 138
- inequality, 8, 9, 35, 80, 116, 140, 234, 241
- infrastructure projects, 92
- inhuman, 123
- injustice, 35, 123, 159, 203, 212, 222, 223, 227, 228n9, 240
- institutionalized, 11, 17, 80, 110, 116
- institutional training, 210
- insurgency, 49, 63, 70, 71, 76
- insurgent operations, 70
- integration, 8, 11, 14, 67, 71, 186
- interviewee, 24, 26, 122
- intimidation, 212
- involuntary repatriation, 121, 122
- Islamic Relief, the, 131
- Islamic Relief Worldwide (IRW), 131
- J**
- jala-jontra (disturbance), 103
- Jaliapara (fishing village), 22, 27, 28, 94, 95, 102, 120, 128, 130, 137, 189n22, 198

jealous, 126, 127, 160, 209
 judicial institutions, 126
 justice, 7, 8, 10, 27, 47, 121, 125,
 126, 128, 221, 223

K

Kaladan Press Network, Khaladan
 Press, 76, 192
 Karen National Union (KNU),
 48
 Karenni National Progressive Party
 (KNPP), 48
 Karen Women's Organisation (KWO),
 20
 kidnap, kidnapped, 104, 220
 Kutupalong, 36n5, 122, 146,
 187n5

L

landslide(s), 53, 132, 133
 leaflet distribution, 107
 legal status, 89, 123
 legitimate ground, 100
 legitimized, 110, 212
 liberalism, 4–6, 8
 liberal nationalism, 5
 life-threatening risks, 124, 216
 livelihood, livelihood security, 76, 108,
 117, 216, 234
 local authority, 106, 110
 Lukole refugee camp, 173

M

madradas, 97
 Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group
 (MCRG), 81
majhee system, 122, 129, 142n9,
 142n10, 174, 184
 makeshift camps, 36n5, 66, 145
 Malaysia, 13, 35, 124, 125, 164, 183,
 243, 244

malnourishment, 97
 Mandalay, 19, 98
 marginalization, 11, 81, 138, 139
 massacres, 43, 104, 107, 113, 114
 Maungdaw township, 47, 53, 78, 92,
 93, 98, 102, 110, 111, 113–15,
 120, 152, 205, 206, 210–12,
 214, 216
 Mayu Party, 53
 medical treatment, 88, 109, 110, 133,
 134, 136, 157, 179
 medicines, 110, 133–6, 156
 Memorandum of Understanding
 (MoU), 68, 69, 72
 micro-credit, 155
 militarization, 35, 49–50, 55n11, 71,
 228n5
 military camps, 92, 97, 111
 Ministerial Burma, 17, 44
 Ministry of Health and Family Welfare
 (MOH), the, 150
 Ministry of Home and Religious
 Affairs, 49
 model villages, 88, 92, 97, 100,
 105, 108, 141n1, 211, 212,
 235, 236
 Mogs, the, 103–7, 109, 110,
 194, 196, 197, 202–4, 207,
 211
 multiculturalism, 4–5, 9–14, 21,
 233
 Muslim Aid, the, 126, 127, 131
 Muslim Arakanese, 21, 47, 50, 52,
 54n2, 61–4, 112
 Myanmar, 2–4, 14–22, 36n2, 36n4,
 41, 42, 44–6, 49–51, 53, 54,
 55n11, 59–71, 73–5, 77–9, 81,
 82n10, 82n17, 82n18, 87–90,
 92, 100, 109, 110, 113, 115–17,
 120–2, 127, 145, 159, 164, 165,
 168, 175, 188n13, 192, 194,
 207, 217, 223, 224, 228n1,
 228n5, 233, 234, 236, 244, 245,
 245n1, 245n2

N

Naff river, 22, 30, 36n1, 36n4, 41, 66, 78, 104, 117, 192, 215–18, 241
 Naitongpara, 22, 128, 198, 199, 203
 narratives, 21, 25, 27, 28, 31, 34, 35, 59, 77, 81, 87, 98, 99, 106, 107, 109, 111, 115, 117–19, 126, 128, 137–41, 146, 147, 153, 183, 184, 186, 211, 212, 214, 220, 222, 223, 234, 242, 245
 NaSaKa (border security force), 30, 88, 114
 National Democratic Party for Human Rights, the, 53
 nationalism, 4–6, 14, 18, 21, 207
 national languages, 51, 56n44
 national races, 51, 55n14, 61, 234
 National Registration Cards, the, 67
 naturalized citizens, 51, 52, 56n15
 natural resources, 78, 79
 Nayapara, 22, 122, 146, 165, 184, 209, 212
 Nayapara refugee camp, 148–50, 152, 157, 165, 216, 219, 228n8
 negotiation, 4, 17, 35, 66, 68, 74, 163, 172, 175, 185–7, 236, 239
 neighborhoods, 28, 132, 160
 Ne Win, General, 48, 50, 82n14
 non-citizen, 1, 2, 61, 63, 75, 81, 97, 105, 116, 212, 238, 240, 243
 non-conventional form of resistance, 191, 226, 227
 non-existence, 34, 139, 153, 222
 non-interference, 74, 75, 77
 non-Muslim migrants, 92
 non-recognized, 116, 137–9
 non-Western Societies, 9
 nostalgic, 201

O

official accounts, 53, 59–82, 115
 Operation Nagamin, 49, 50, 75, 103, 104, 111–13

opportunity, 26, 28, 32, 47, 101, 105, 136–7, 141, 175, 179, 180, 191, 240, 242
 oppression, 11, 17, 43, 103, 116, 140, 192, 195, 196, 202, 224, 225, 227, 241
 oral history, 87, 140
 otherness, 13, 187, 236
 overcrowded, 100

P

pagodas, 97
 Palestinian refugees, 2, 233
 Panglong Agreement, 17, 47
 passive recipients, 147, 183, 184, 236
 passports, 163
 Peace and Development Council, the, 91, 214
 Pegu division, 97
 permission, 26, 27, 30, 32, 52, 91, 92, 94–6, 99, 106, 110, 122, 130, 135, 136, 149, 160, 162, 172, 173, 176, 177, 180, 181, 188n20, 209
 persecution, 1, 20, 30, 33, 76, 81, 91, 94, 97, 113, 117, 119, 120, 194, 196, 200, 203, 205, 216, 217, 226, 228n8, 240
 Philippines, 2, 82n14, 233
 physical abuse, 126, 168
 physical insecurity, 234
 political rights, 4, 7, 21, 60, 235
 Pol Pot's regime, 212
 population, 1, 2, 21, 22, 24, 46, 49, 54n3, 63, 66, 76, 77, 79, 82n18, 105, 108, 112, 113, 140, 148, 182, 186, 233, 234
 primary school, 109, 161, 175
 psychologically abnormal, 103
 psychological pressure, 105, 117, 222, 234, 240
 psychological torture, 104

psychological trauma, 93, 214, 222
 punishment, 122–3, 125, 128, 177,
 193, 202
Pyi Thaya (Prosperous Country), 53

Q

quarrel among refugees, 119
 Quick Facts of Nayapara Refugee
 Camp, 150, 157, 165

R

racism, 5
 Rakhines, 2, 22, 24, 35, 36n1, 36n2,
 41, 42, 47, 51, 55n8, 78, 88, 92,
 96, 97, 100, 101, 104, 105, 107,
 109, 110, 117, 139, 194, 196,
 198, 201–5, 207, 210, 211, 214,
 216, 228n8, 242–5
 rape, 103, 104, 107, 113, 116, 128,
 182, 211, 216, 219, 220, 222,
 234, 242
 Rathidaung, 53
 ration(s), 120–2, 126, 129, 130, 136,
 149, 150, 153–7, 160–2, 177,
 178, 180, 181, 197, 237
 recognition, 10, 19, 47, 53, 139, 181,
 226, 245
 reconstruct, reconstructed, 115, 234
 refugee(s), 1, 2, 24, 50, 59, 71, 87,
 145, 192, 233
 refugee camps, 2, 14, 21, 22, 27, 29,
 81, 104, 119, 120, 122, 125,
 129, 134, 141, 145, 198,
 215–17, 236, 237, 239, 241
 refugeehood, 81
 Refugee Repatriation and Relief
 Commissioner (RRRC), 149
 registered refugees, 2, 104, 119, 123,
 129, 131, 134, 136, 146, 149,
 151, 156, 177, 179, 197, 198,
 238
 Registration Certificate, 52

registration paper, 98
 relief operation, 68, 72
 religious freedom, 119
 religious institutions, 76
 relocation, 88, 100, 108, 109, 116,
 122, 212, 223
 remuneration, 108, 176
 repatriation, 25, 28, 29, 63, 65, 67,
 71–4, 77, 79, 80, 118, 119,
 125–7, 142n7, 142n10, 145,
 146, 150, 151, 158, 159, 163,
 168, 172, 185, 237
 representation, 11–13, 18, 115, 139,
 174, 239, 241
 representatives, 52, 72, 129–31, 134,
 135, 142n8, 150, 151, 174, 182,
 209, 218, 239
 Research, Training and Management
 (RTM) International, 82n11,
 150, 165, 171, 188n16
 resentments, 163, 195, 203, 205, 208,
 209, 222, 223, 240
 resettlement, 25, 69, 71, 73, 74, 105,
 124, 129, 150, 163–5, 185, 212,
 228n1
 resistance, 2, 4, 17, 34, 54n3, 76, 127,
 178, 191, 241
 respondent(s), 24–9, 88, 89, 96,
 103, 105, 108, 109, 113, 114,
 118, 119, 184, 185, 188n13,
 193
 restriction(s), 29, 30, 35, 62, 68, 91,
 95, 100, 108, 110, 118, 123,
 125, 127, 146, 151, 152, 161,
 163, 169, 173, 181–3, 186,
 202, 210, 216, 234, 236,
 238, 239
right-consciousness, 10
 River Naff, 22, 30, 36n1, 36n4, 66,
 78, 104, 107, 117, 139, 192,
 215–18, 241
 Rohang or Mrohaung, 42, 43
Robingya Hotao (Expel the
 Rohingyas), 127, 178

- Rohingyas, 20, 21, 30–2, 35, 60, 64, 65, 67, 69–72, 74–7, 87, 89–92, 94–8, 100, 101, 105, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113–17, 120–4, 126, 127, 129–31, 138, 140, 142n11, 145, 147, 160, 163–5, 175–8, 186, 189n23, 192, 194, 196–202, 204, 207–12, 216, 217, 223–7, 235, 236, 238–43, 245
- Rohingya Solidarity Organization (RSO), 70
- rules and regulations, 5, 131, 146, 170, 236, 237
- S**
- St. Martin Island, 176
- scarce resources, 76, 101
- secondary education, 27, 76, 165, 170
- security, 13, 17, 30, 49, 63, 68, 71, 76, 88, 102, 108, 109, 112, 114, 116, 117, 122, 126, 128, 149, 150, 174, 177, 179, 186, 192, 194, 210–12, 216, 217, 223, 226, 243, 244
- security officers, security guards, 158, 161, 166–9, 172, 213, 237
- security post, 149
- self-autonomy, 13
- self-determination, 12, 16
- self-settled refugees, 119
- sexual harassment, 108, 212
- sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), 157
- shelter, 50, 66, 70, 98, 99, 118, 122, 125, 130, 131, 133, 145–7, 150, 172, 183
- sleepless nights, 108, 207
- social alienation, 7
- socialism, 4
- social memory(ies), 24, 33–4, 81, 87–142, 146, 188n13, 193, 214, 234–6, 239–42, 245
- social segregation, 100
- social texture, 235, 240
- soldiers, 5, 96, 103, 104, 214
- Somobay Samity (cooperative), 155
- South Asia, 192, 212
- Southeast Asia, 42, 192, 212
- sovereignty, 1, 36n3, 49, 74–7, 151, 173, 233
- Sri Lanka, Sri Lankan Tamil, 2, 233
- stateless community, 195, 201, 240, 241
- stateless/statelessness, 1, 21, 22, 27, 34, 35, 50–2, 76, 81, 81n1, 109, 115–17, 123, 138–40, 172, 187, 195, 200, 201, 205, 207, 211, 224, 226–7, 233–42
- state of exception, 151, 173, 186, 236, 239
- State Peace and Development Committee (SPDC), 92, 141n3
- state-run schools, 109
- structural violence, 116, 117, 140, 235
- struggle, 16, 87–117, 130, 133, 139, 146, 187, 200, 212, 214, 222, 224–6, 240
- submissive, 122
- subordination, subordinate, 54, 122, 212, 224, 225
- sufferings, 1, 20, 89, 137, 138, 175, 179, 194, 199, 200, 206–8, 224, 235, 240
- suicide, 105, 206, 207
- survival, 71, 101, 108, 177, 182, 209, 237, 241
- Survivors' Rights International (SRI), 122
- Suspect Form, 91
- Suu Kyi, Aung Sun, 90, 91, 193
- symbolic, 22, 87, 139, 209, 226, 227, 237, 241
- T**
- Tamil, 2, 233
- tangible improvements, 71

- Tanzania, 173
taranas (songs), 160, 181, 192, 193, 196, 197, 209
tatmadaw (Myanmar Army), 49, 61, 62, 113, 196
 teasing, 128
 Technical Assistance Inc. (TAI), 82n11, 150
 Teknaf, 2, 22, 23, 36n3, 36n6, 71, 102, 115, 123, 126, 127, 130, 131, 145, 146, 152, 163, 178, 187n2, 188n21, 198, 200, 216, 221
 temporary residents, 64, 69, 77
 temporary shelter, 66, 125, 146
 terrifying, 106, 114
 territorial control, 35, 74, 75
 territoriality, 75, 173
 testimonies, 27, 29, 137–9
 Thailand, 14, 20, 45, 63, 124, 125, 164, 183, 243
 third country resettlement, 25, 69, 73, 74, 124, 129, 163, 164, 185, 228n1
 threats, 1, 46, 70, 76, 88, 100, 107, 108, 125, 127, 149, 151, 178, 182, 183, 201, 217, 237, 238
 Tibetans, 2, 233
 torture, 76, 88, 94, 103–5, 107, 108, 113, 114, 116, 120–3, 125, 128, 177, 195, 197, 199, 200, 203, 204, 206, 207, 211, 213–17, 235
 totalitarianism, 4, 5
 trauma, traumatized, 26, 27, 93, 103, 112, 140, 159, 214, 222, 239
- U**
 Ukhia, 2, 36n5, 71
 unaffordable, 110
 unbearable, 96, 105
 uncertainty, uncertain future, 21, 108, 124, 137–9, 164, 165, 172, 224
 UN Convention, 146, 1951
 unconventional, 32, 224, 227
 UN Convention on Rights of the Children, 172
 undocumented Rohingya, 22, 36n1, 124, 129, 130, 198, 206
 unemployed, 161, 162, 237
 UNESCO, 81n1
 UNICEF, 81n1, 150, 165, 175, 188n19
 Union Citizenship Act, 51, 56n15
 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 1, 22, 33, 36n1, 36n5, 59, 68, 69, 71–4, 79, 80, 81n1, 87, 110, 121, 124, 125, 128, 129, 131, 134–6, 146, 148–51, 153, 164, 173, 174, 177, 180–2, 185, 187n5, 187n6, 188n19, 197, 198, 218, 228n1, 239
 United Nations, the (UN), 59, 63, 71–4, 78, 79, 146, 150, 172, 212, 244
 unlivable environment, 108
 unofficial announcements, 196
 unregistered marriages, 94
 unstable, 80
- V**
 vaccination, 112
 vasha-manush (floating people), 89, 101
 verbal, 67, 87, 223, 224, 241
 verbal abuse, 126
 victims, 36n4, 104, 163, 202, 212, 213, 222
 Vietnam, Vietnamese, 2, 233
 village authority(ies), 119, 123, 124, 126–7
 violating refugee rights, 80
 violence, 1, 11, 27, 35, 76, 87–117, 123, 128, 139, 140, 146, 159, 168, 222–4, 228n9, 234, 235, 242–4, 245n1

visual, 30, 32, 223, 224, 240–2
 vocabulary of exploitation, 225
 vocational training, 71, 150
 voiceless, 138, 241
 volunteer, volunteers, 122, 174
 vulnerable, 25, 52, 63, 80, 122, 124,
 128–9, 157, 228n10
 vulnerable to exploitation, 123

W

welfare state, 7–9
 West-Bengal Muslims, 70
 Western societies, 9
 Westphalian sovereignty, 75
 witness, 30, 97, 103, 104, 107, 121,
 159
 women, 6, 7, 11, 30, 88, 103, 104,
 107, 113, 122, 126, 128, 129,

150, 155–61, 163, 180, 209,
 212–15, 237
 World Food Program (WFP), 71, 150,
 174
 World Health Organization (WHO),
 71, 150

Y

Yangon, 98, 243
 young Mogs, 104
 young refugees, 120

Z

zulm (oppression), 30, 91, 94, 103,
 107, 194, 203, 213, 216