

Traces of Modern Islam in Southeast Asia: Malaysia, Pattani and Mindanao

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Abstract

This study talks about the ethnicity of the Southeast Asian community known as Malay Muslims. However, in the trail of peregrination there are social gaps that are influenced by mindsets and politics that cause Muslims to be divided so that they are marginalized in certain countries, especially in Asian countries. Islamic historians argue that Southeast Asian Islam is categorized as a cultural area that is quite influential from the seven regions of Islamic culture in the world, such as Malaysia, Pattani and the Philippines. The focus in this discussion is how the traces of modern Islam in Malaysia, Pattani (Thailand) and in Mindanao (Philippines)?. The method used in this study is a qualitative type of literature while the approach used in this study is a historical approach. The results of this study are the occurrence of tensions between Malay Muslims in Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines is caused by religious, ethnic, cultural and political issues brought into the state so that the conflict is getting hotter and until now there is no solution for peace for Asian countries that conflicted.

Keywords: *thought, modern Islam, Malaysia, pattani, Mindanao.*

Abstrak

Penelitian ini berbicara tentang etnik masyarakat Asia Tenggara yang dikenal sebagai muslim Melayu. Dalam jejak perjalanannya, ada kesenjangan-kesenjangan sosial yang dipengaruhi oleh pola pikir dan politik yang menyebabkan umat Islam terpecah belah sehingga terpinggirkan di negara tertentu khususnya di Asia. Para pakar sejarah Islam berpendapat bahwa Islam Asia Tenggara dikategorikan sebagai wilayah kebudayaan yang cukup berpengaruh dari tujuh wilayah kebudayaan Islam yang ada di dunia, Seperti Islam Malaysia, Pattani dan Philipina. Fokus dalam pembahasan ini adalah bagaimana jejak Islam Modern di Malaysia, Pattani (Thailand) dan di Mindanao (Filipina)?. Metode yang digunakan dalam penelitian ini adalah jenis kualitatif kepustakaan sedangkan pendekatan yang digunakan pada penelitian ini adalah pendekatan historis. Hasil dari penelitian ini adalah jejak Islam Modern

di Asia Tenggara banyak terjadi ketegangan pada Muslim Melayu di Malaysia, Thailand dan Filipina adalah disebabkan oleh adanya isu-isu agama, etnis, budaya dan politik yang dibawa dalam bernegara sehingga menjadikan konflik semakin memanas dan sampai saat ini belum ada solusi untuk perdamaian bagi negara Asia yang berkonflik.

Kata Kunci: *pemikiran, islam modern, Malaysia, pattani, Mindanao.*

Introduction

One of the most serious obstacles in developing an understanding of Islam in Southeast Asia is the fact that the topic of the study of Southeast Asian Islam has long been marginalized in the field of Islamic studies. This is because in Islamic studies, Western and Middle Eastern scholars have a tendency to place Southeast Asia on the outskirts of intellectual currents in the Islamic world.¹ Various writings on the history and civilization of Islam but Islam in Southeast Asia are discussed briefly or not at all. In fact, Southeast Asia has almost 200 million Muslims, observers and even some intellectuals are not used to identifying Southeast Asian Islam with Islam in the Middle East and regard Southeast Asia intellectually and institutionally as the development of Islam from the Middle East.²

The people of Southeast Asia are known as Malay Muslims. Azyumardi Azra argues that Southeast Asian Islam is categorized as a cultural area that is quite influential from the seven regions of Islamic culture in the world, such as Malaysia, Pattani (Thailand) and the Philippines (Mindanao).³ Islam was first entered in Malaysia under Gujarat traders around the ninth century with a bottom-up pattern of acceptance which then developed through a top-down pattern process. After entering the 15th century, Islam in Malaysia experienced significant development, marked by the number of mosque buildings and even the Madrasah Al-Mursyidiyah educational institution was built.⁴ In the early 20th century characterized by the development of

¹Firdaus, "Muslim Minoritas Di Negara Non Muslim," in *UNES Journal Of Social and Economics research* 4, no. 1 (30 Juni 2019): 22-33, <https://ojs.ekasakti.org/index.php/UJSCR/article/view/6>.

²Ali Geno Berutu, "Sea Muslim Minoritas: South Thailand/Pattani, South Philippines/Mindanao And Thailand," in *OSF Preprints* (15 December 2019): 1-17, <https://doi:10.31219/osf.io/cfwvp>.

³Azyumardi Azra, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam, Asia Tenggara*, (Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2002), 466.

⁴Syamruddin Nasution, and Abd Ghofur, "Perkembangan Islam Di Sabah Malaysia (Perspektif Sosio-Historis)," in *TOLERANSI: Media Ilmiah Komunikasi Umat Beragama* 9, no. 2 (30 Desember 2017): 152-183, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/trs.v9i2.4329>

Islam with the coordination of the sultans in each state in enforcing Islamic law.⁵

Thailand's southern region has been under tension since the early 1990s. The tension that occurs is between the Muslim-Malay ethnic who are the majority residents of the Southern Thailand region and the Thai Government.⁶ This happened because of ethnic Malay-Muslim dissatisfaction with the policies issued by the Thai government which were considered to be impartial and discriminatory. This long-standing and protracted problem in the Southern Thailand region forced the Malay-Muslim ethnic groups to carry out a number of rebellions.⁷

The Moro conflict in Mindanao in the southern Philippines is a long and unresolved conflict.⁸ The efforts made for the peace process continue to be carried out in tandem with the independence efforts that are continuously echoed by the moro separatist groups to form a state of its own which is independent and free from the intervention of the Philippine government. The religious issues brought into this conflict made this conflict even more heated. This conflict will continue so that, the Muslim minority in the Philippines, continue to receive political pressure from the central government. The one word they demand is independence.⁹

The development of Islam in Southeast Asia experienced ups and downs caused by several factors such as educational, social and political conditions. Growth in every country is not the same, there are regions that are experiencing very rapid growth, even Islam has become part of the country in various aspects of life. The focus in

⁵*Ibid*

⁶Yurisa Irawan, "Fragmentasi Pemberontak Dan Durasi Perang Sipil: Thailand Selatan Pasca Dimediasi Organisasi Kerjasama Islam," in *Andalus Journal of International Studies (AJIS)* 8, no. 2 (30 November 2019): 154-166, <https://doi.org/10.25077/ajis.8.2.152-164.2019>.

⁷Ilham Nuereng, "Dinamika Bernegara Masyarakat Muslim Thailand Selatan dalam Perspektif Sosiologi Politik Islam," in *IN RIGHT: Jurnal Agama dan Hak Azazi Manusia* 5, no. 2 (2017): 298-351, <http://ejournal.uin-suka.ac.id/syariah/inright/article/view/1438>.

⁸Al Chaidar, M. Akmal, Saifullah Ali, Nanda Amalia, & Dara Quthni Effida. "Mindanao, Konflik dan Terorisme: Kajian Pendahuluan atas Ketegangan di Filipina Selatan," in *SIASAT* 4, no. 1 (15 Januari 2019): 1-12, <https://doi.org/10.33258/siasat.v4i1.1>.

⁹Novriest Umbu Walangara Nau and Jet Sahertian, "Efektivitas Pembentukan Asean Institute For Peace And Reconciliation Dalam Menangani Konflik Di Kawasan Asia Tenggara," in *Frequency of International Relations (FETRIAN)* 3, no. 1 (9 November 2021): 1-33, <https://doi.org/10.25077/fetrian.3.1.1-33.2021>.

this discussion is How is Modern Islam Tracing in Malaysia, Pattani (Thailand) and in Mindanao (Philippines)? While the method in this research is to use descriptive qualitative research or literature and the approach in this research is to use a historical approach

A. Traces and Modern Islamic Thought in Malaysia

Islam is the official religion of the federation of Malaysia. Nearly 50% of its 13 million population is Muslim and most of them are Malays living in Peninsular Malaysia. The contents consist of minority ethnic groups, including the Chinese, who make up about 38% of the Malaysian population and the others Indians and Arabs.¹⁰ Such a large diversity of society brings the impact of tensions and conflicts that tend to add to the identity of the Malays, especially the Chinese who are more educated and economically educated than the more rural Muslims.

S. Q Fatimi, in his book *Islam Comes To Malaysia*, explains that Islam entered Malaysia around the 8th century AH (14 AD). He holds to the discovery of inscribed stones in the Trengganu area which is dated 702 H (1303 AD). The practice of Islam became more evident after the rise of Islam in Malaysia that occurred in the 1970s and reached its peak in the 1980s.¹¹ The revival of Islam in Malaysia is clearly seen in the efforts of Malaysian Muslims to practice Islam more seriously, such as actively praying in congregation in the mosque, attending wirid recitations, doing a lot of good deeds, saying greetings when they meet, be careful in buying food so as not to eat what is haram, wearing Muslim clothing such as robes, headscarves or clothes brackets and telekung for women, wearing sarongs, turbans and caps or other clothing that clearly characterizes obedience as a Muslim.¹²

The Muslim community in Malaysia is mostly of rural background and the majority of them work as farmers. They tend to be in the life of the village community. Malaysian villagers practice

¹⁰Mohammad Abu Bakar, "Islam dan Nasionalisme pada Masyarakat Melayu Dewasa ini", in Taufik Abdullah & Sharon Siddique (Eds), *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara* (Jakarta: LP3S, 1988), 167.

¹¹S. Q. Fatimi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia*, (Singapore: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute, 1963), 11.

¹²Abdul Aqmar Ahmad Tajudin, Muhamad Nadzri Mohamed Noor, and Hussain Yusri Zawawi, "Dari Federalisme Terpusat ke Federalisme Multi-etnik: Pengaruh Etnisiti dalam Persekutuan Malaysia", in *Malaysian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities (MJSSH)* 6, no. 11 (12 Desember 2021): 26-37, <https://doi.org/10.47405/mjssh.v6i11.1139>.

religious practices, believe in holy spirits, holy places, and believe in saints who are sacred to both Muslims and non-Muslims.¹³

Between Muslims and non-Muslims can live in harmony without any hostility so that the people there are peaceful. The development of Islam in Malaysia has brought new civilizations recognized by the Islamic world.¹⁴ Until now, Malaysian Muslims are known as Muslims who are obedient in their worship, strongly adhere to Islamic law and also have a peaceful religious life and reflect their Islamic religion both in the village and in the government.¹⁵ The role of a cleric there is very important both in terms of da'wah and in the management of schools.

Regarding the results of Islamic history in Malaysia, it is also not inferior to other Islamic countries, such as:¹⁶

1. The existence of magnificent mosque buildings such as the Ubaidiyah Mosque in Kuala Kancong.
2. The number of Islamic school buildings.
3. The application of Islamic law to the Malaysian government (Islamic law there has a special position because it is made state law).

Another important factor that contributed to the strong image and nuance of Islam in Malaysian society and politics was the attitude and response of UMNO and the government to the strengthening of Islamic ethos and awareness in Malay society by showing attitudes and policies that were more Islamic oriented. The government's pro-Islamic policy has a broad spectrum.¹⁷ In this case, the government has clearly demonstrated accommodative and pro-Islamic policies not only of an infrastructural nature, but also of a structural and cultural nature. This found momentum during the reign of Mahathir, and continued into the reign of Abdullah Ahmad Badawi.

¹³Suhaimi, *Cahaya Islam di Ufuk Asia Tenggara* (Pekanbaru: Suska Pers. 2006), 83

¹⁴Mohammad Hariz Shah Mohammad Hazim Shah and Ahmad Hidayat Buang, "Ahmad Ibrahim dan Sumbangannya dalam Perkembangan Islam di Malaysia: Ahmad Ibrahim and His Contribution in the Development of Islam in Malaysia," in *Journal of Al-Tamaddun* 16, no. 1 (29 Juni 2021): 81-98, <https://doi.org/10.22452/JAT.vol16no1.6>.

¹⁵Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, *Islam dalam Sejarah dan Kebudayaan Melayu*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2000), 68.

¹⁶Mohammad Abu Bakar, *Islam dan Nasionalisme pada Masyarakat Melayu Dewasa Ini*, (Jakarta : LP3ES, 2009), 165.

¹⁷Ira M Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam : Bagian Ketiga* diterjemahkan Ghufroon A Mas'adi dengan judul *A History of Islamic Societies*, (Jakarta: PT Raja Grafindo Persada, Cet. I, 1999), 357.

The government's accommodative attitude can be clearly demonstrated by various policies that convince the Malaysian people and Muslims that the government and UMNO are serious in supporting the role of Islam. The government even shows an attitude that supports Islam by carrying out "Islamization" and "implementation of Islamic values" programs which cost a relatively large amount of money.¹⁸ Of course Mahathir as Prime Minister has a big hand in this.

Structurally, the government's accommodative attitude can be seen, among others, in its policy of recruiting a number of Muslim activists to sit in the government system. This accommodative attitude can also be seen in the important event when Mahathir invited Anwar Ibrahim, a charismatic Islamic activist and figure, to join the government.¹⁹ In Malaysia, the Muslim population is no more than 55 percent of the total population. Although not all Muslims are Malays, constitutionally, Malays must be Muslims.

The role of Islam in politics was more pronounced in Malaysia, especially in the 1980s. It is now a crucial factor both at the national and local levels.²⁰ PAS declared in its campaign to establish an Islamic state. The party has considerable public support in Muslim-dominated countries such as Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah, and Perlis. Among other Islamic organizations, the Malaysian Islamic Youth Force (ABIM) is at the forefront of promoting a positive image of Islam to Muslims as well as non-Muslim communities. Darul Arqam on the other hand, formed a non-political movement aimed at realizing the lifestyle as practiced by the first Islamic community in the time of the Prophet Muhammad. Malays are intentional or not, but have good relations with fellow citizens who are non-Muslims.²¹

Islamic opposition parties have loudly called for sharia to replace Malaysia's British-based legal system and demanded that

¹⁸Abd Ghofur, "Partai Al-Islam Se-Malaysia (Pas) Dan Upaya Menerapkan Syariat Islam Di Kelantan," in *Nusantara; Journal for Southeast Asian Islamic Studies* 14, no. 1 (30 Juni 2020): 20-38, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/nusantara.v14i1.7135>.

¹⁹Luthfi Othman, *Selepas Mahathir Peluang PAS*, (Kuala Lumpur: Penerbitan Pemuda, 2002), 118.

²⁰Mohamed Anwar Omar Din, et al., "Peranan UMNO Menegakkan Islam dalam Perlembagaan Persekutuan: Satu Kajian Secara Kronogikal (The Roles of UMNO in Legislating Islam in The Federal Constitution)," in *Akademika* 87, no. 1 (30 April 2017), 91-109 <http://doi.org/10.17576/akad-2017-8701-07>.

²¹Gina Libra and Ikhwan Ikhwan, "Pola Interaksi Sosial Masyarakat Muslim dengan Masyarakat Non Muslim di Jorong Sentosa Nagari Panti Kecamatan Panti Kabupaten Pasaman," in *Culture & Society: Journal of Anthropological Research* 1, no. 1 (6 September 2019): 77-83, <https://doi.org/10.24036/culture/vol1-iss1/11>.

the Koran and Sunnah replace the man-made infidel constitution. The government has been running its own Islamization program to meet the new challenges. In Malaysia, as in many other Muslim countries, Islam has become the main ideology of the opposition. The Western model is no longer sought after for the cure of society's ills. For Islamic activists, a new ideological framework forms the basis of beliefs and ways of life. This belief includes:²²

1. Islam is a broad way of life. Religion is integrated in politics, state, law and society.
2. Muslim societies fail because they deviate from this understanding of Islam by following western secular materialistic values and ideologies.
3. Renewal demands an Islamic social and political revolution inspired by the Qur'an and Muhammad, the first leader of the Islamic movement.
4. Re-establishing God's regulations, civil laws inspired by the West must be replaced by Islamic laws which are the blueprint of Muslim society.
5. Westernization of society is condemned, while modernization is not. Science and technology are accepted, but subject to Islam to guard against the infiltration of western values.

The Islamic revival in Malaysia is not a monolithic movement. Islamic organizations and activists range from moderate to radical, from pro to anti-government. Their ideologies, strategies and activities are diverse. The moderate ABIM (Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia), while advocating the establishment of an Islamic state, emphasizes the Islamization of the ummah first.²³ The radical Islamic opposition party PAS (Partai Islam Se-Malaysia) demands the immediate establishment of an Islamic nation with the Qur'an and Sunnah as the country's constitution. The government and its supporters are branded infidels who have no legitimate right to rule.²⁴

²²Moh. Nizar, "Kekalahan Umno-Bn Menghadapi Oposisi Politik Dalam Pilihan Raya Ke-14," in *SOSIOLOGI: Jurnal Ilmiah Kajian Ilmu Sosial dan Budaya* 21, no. 2 (30 September 2019): 110-124, <https://doi.org/10.23960/jurnal%20sosiologi.v21i2.41>.

²³Muhamad Helmy Sabtu, Amalin Sabiha Ismail, and Khairul Azman Mohamad Suhaimy, "UMNO-PAS Islamization Policy Under The Leadership of Abdullah Badawi and Najib Razak," in *Journal of Social Transformation and Regional Development* 2, no. 3 (25 Januari 2020): 82-91, <https://penerbit.uthm.edu.my/ojs/index.php/jstard/article/view/7703>.

²⁴Firfaus Haji Abdullah, *Radical Malay Politic: Its Origins and Early Development*, (Petaling Jaya: Pelanduk Publications, 2005), 126.

In response to the pressures of the Islamic revival, the government adhered to an Islamization policy of its own, a step-by-step process of instilling Islamic values and introducing Islamic versions of institutions such as banks, insurance and pawnshops. Because the revival of Islam is not a new phenomenon in Malaysia. Islam has always been a force in Malaysian politics. Traces of modern Islamic thought in Malaysia, the reforms taking place in Malaysia have their own form, nature and style which in certain respects differ from what is prevailing elsewhere in the Islamic world. This is what is called the Malaysian style as it applies in the political field with the concept of power sharing with other peoples, nations and religions based on the composition of the nation in Malaysia.

B. Traces and Modern Islamic Thought in Pattani (Thailand)

The arrival of Islam to Southeast Asia in general through the trade process. This is very possible when viewed from the geographical location of the countries in Southeast Asia in the form of maritime and at the same time as a busy trade route at that time. Theories about the entry of Islam into Southeast Asia include Arabic theory, Indian theory, Persian theory and Chinese theory.²⁵ The arrival of Islam in Thailand brought by Arab traders is estimated to have occurred in the 10th century AD. Islamic teachings were well received by the Thai people, especially southern Thailand.²⁶

The spread of Islam was carried out by wandering Sufi teachers and traders from Arabia and the Indian coast. One of the evidences that support this opinion is the discovery of an Arabic tombstone near Teluk Cik Munah Village, Pahang week dated 1028 AD in the notes of Emmanuel Gedinho d'Eredia, a Portuguese writer in the early 17th century, it is stated that Islam first came to Indonesia. Pattani and Pahang areas, then into Malacca.²⁷ Other sources, such as the writings of A. Bangnara, an expert on the history of the Pattani people in Thailand, say that Islam was initially spread among ordinary

²⁵Faizal Amin and Rifki Abror Ananda, "Kedatangan dan Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Telaah Teoritik tentang Proses Islamisasi Nusantara," in *Analisis: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 18, no. 2 (2 Desember 2018): 67-100, <https://doi.org/10.24042/ajsk.v18i2.3069>.

²⁶Haque, Marissa Grace, et al. "Islam Datang dan Menetap di Thailand," in *Didaktika: Jurnal Kependidikan* 8.3 (1 Agustus 2019): 131-144, <https://www.jurnaldidaktika.org/contents/article/view/75>.

²⁷Rahyu Zami, "Orang Melayu Pasti Islam: Analisis Perkembangan Peradaban Melayu," in *Jurnal Islamika* 2, no. 1 (9 Mei 2019): 66-81, <https://ejurnal.umri.ac.id/index.php/JSI/issue/view/59>.

people. However, there are also opinions that say that Islam was initially accepted by the ruling elite (elite), only then spread among the people.²⁸

The above opinion contradicts the opinion expressed by Azyumardi Azra in the Thematic Encyclopedia of the Islamic World Southeast Asia, that Islam entered Thailand in the 10th or 11th century in southern Thailand or precisely in the Pattani area.²⁹ Islam entered the territory of the Pattani kingdom through Muslim traders from Arabia and India³⁰ because the Pattani area is an advanced and strategic area to visit.³¹ Islam in Pattani was referred to as *khek Islam* or Muslims before the kingdom of Siam (Thailand) was formed. Because at first, Pattani was a separate area from Siam (currently Thailand), *Muslims have been in Thailand since before the formation of the Thai kingdoms in the ninth century.*³²

Thailand, which is part of Southeast Asia, is a country where Islam is a minority religion located in Southern Thailand. The differences in religion and ethnicity of Thai people, especially Southern Thai people often experience discrimination from the Thai government.³³ This has caused a lot of fighting between the two. In the range of 2004-2007 more than 2000 people have died in the conflict that occurred. Starting from the shooting at the Kru Se mosque to the Takbai incident.³⁴ These bloody conflicts are one of the things that arise from the various problems faced by the Thai Muslim community.

The southern border area of Thailand known as Changwad Chaiden Pak Thai is inhabited by a Muslim community of Malay descent. This region consists of four provinces; Yala, Narathiwat, Patani and Satun with Islam dominating the population in the region. In these four provinces the historical ties to Malay have a fairly

²⁸Taufik Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, (Jakarta: Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2005), 466.

²⁹*Ibid.*

³⁰Siti Maryam, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam Dari Masa Klasik Hingga Modern*, (Yogyakarta: Lesfi, 2004), 332.

³¹Thanet Aphornsuvan, *History and Politics of The Muslim in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Thammasat University: 2003), 3.

³²Thanet Aphornsuvan, *History and Politics of The Muslim in Thailand...*, 7.

³³Rangsikul, "Identitas Etnis Dan Proses Akulturasi Rohingya Di Bangkok, Thailand," in *Lakon: Jurnal Kajian Sastra dan Budaya* 8, no. 1 (30 Juni 2019), 1-13, <http://dx.doi.org/10.20473/lakon.v8i1.9331>.

³⁴Thanet Aphornsuvan, *History and Politics of The Muslim in Thailand*, 7.

strong character compared to the Thai people.³⁵ This fact makes the Muslim community in Southern Thailand have different religions, customs, languages and ways of life that are different from the Thai people in general. The identity possessed by the Muslim community of Southern Thailand shows the collective entity of the Malays in the four provinces (“the four provinces”) as a manifestation of the ethnic identity of the Malays in Thailand.³⁶ The Thai community and government then refer to this community in the south as “Thai Muslim”.

Thai Muslims or better known as Patani Muslims are generally described as a Muslim community that sporadically often carries out armed resistance movements and opposes discriminatory attitudes and treatment by the Thai government.³⁷ Media reports also illustrate that violence often takes place and is colored by acts of revenge that cause many victims, both from the Muslim community and from the Thai Buddhist community. In addition, the image of the Muslim minority in Thailand is oppressed, mainly due to the attitude of the government that wants to win itself and is not willing to understand the aspirations that develop in the Patani Islamic community.³⁸

In the media from 2004 to 2007 more than 2000 people have died in the fighting that took place in Southern Thailand. Starting from the shooting at the Crew mosque to the Takbai incident.³⁹ These bloody conflicts are one of the things that arise from the various problems faced by the Thai Muslim community. The Thai government often refers to Pattani Muslims as “Thai Islam” a term that is actually inaccurate because they are closer to Malay ethnicity

³⁵Suryadi, “Islam In South Thailand: Acculturation Of Islam In The Malay Culture,” in *FALASIFA: Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 8, no. 1 (19 Maret 2017), 179-194, <https://doi.org/10.36835/falasifa.v8i1.46>.

³⁶Bayu Mitra Adhyatma Kusuma, “Masyarakat Muslim Thailand dan Dampak Psikologis Kebijakan Asimilasi Budaya,” in *Hisbah: Jurnal Bimbingan Konseling dan Dakwah Islam* 13, no. 1 (16 September 2016): 109-120, <https://doi.org/10.14421/hisbah.2016.131-06>.

³⁷Frisca Alexandra, “Analisis Pecahnya OMIP (Orang Melayu Islam Patani) dan Dampaknya terhadap Konflik Thailand Selatan,” in *Jurnal Hubungan Internasional Interdependence* 5, no. 3 (30 September 2018): 145-154, <http://e-journals.unmul.ac.id/index.php/JHII/article/view/1357>.

³⁸Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto, “Minoritas Muslim Thailand Asimilasi, Perlawanan Budaya Dan Akar Gerakan Separatisme” ..., 91.

³⁹Hardi Alunaza and Retno Riyanti Sastro Amijoyo. “Kebijakan Luar Negeri Najib Razak Terhadap Konsolidasi Thailand Dan Gerakan Aliansi Separatisme Etnis Melayu Di Thailand Selatan Di Tahun 2013-2016,” in *Mandala: Jurnal Ilmu Hubungan Internasional* 2, no. 1 (30 Desember 2019): 96-114, <http://dx.doi.org/10.33822/mjihi.v2i1.997>.

and culture than Thailand. They are an ethnic group separated from their mother world Malay Muslim Southeast Asia.⁴⁰ Muslims in Thailand are around 15% while Buddhists are around 80%. The majority of Muslims live in Southern Thailand, about 1.5 million people, or 80% of the total population, particularly in Patani, Yala and Narathiwat, the three provinces that greatly color the dynamics of Southern Thailand.⁴¹ The Muslim tradition in this region has its roots in the Srivijaya kingdom which controlled Southeast Asia, including Southern Thailand.

Southern Thailand consists of five provinces: Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, Satun and Songkhla, with a total population of 6,326,732. The majority of the Muslim population is in four provinces: Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat and Satun, which is about 71% in urban areas, and 86% in rural areas, while in Songkhla, Muslims are around 19%, minorities, and 76.6% Buddhists.⁴² While the majority of the population speak Malay, an average of 70% is in three provinces: Pattani, Yala and Narathiwat, while the Chinese-speaking population is in three provinces: Narathiwat, 0.3%, Pattani, 1.0%, and Yala, 3.0%.⁴³

The conflict that occurred in Southern Thailand was a conflict that occurred because of the struggle between Malay Muslims and Thai Buddhists. This cannot be separated from the facts. That most of the people in the Southern Thailand area, especially in the Pattani area, are Malay Muslims.⁴⁴ This has given rise to various kinds of problems that must be overcome by Thai Muslims. The conflict is motivated, as follows :

⁴⁰Surin Pitsuwan, *Islam di Muangthai Nasionalisme Melayu Masyarakat Patan*, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2009), 3.

⁴¹Dian Ekawati, "Migrasi dan Problematika Minoritas Muslim Thailand," in *Hikmah: Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 1 (30 April 2020): 51-79, <http://dx.doi.org/10.47466/hikmah.v15i1.125>.

⁴²Suwanlee, Savitri Ratanopad, and Jaturong Som-ard, "Spatial Interaction Effect of Population Density Patterns in Sub-Districts of Northeastern Thailand," in *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information* 9, no. 9 (19 September 2020): 556, <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijgi9090556>.

⁴³Brown, David Brown, *The State and Ethnic Politics in South-East Asia*, Terj. Irawan, (London dan New York: Routledge, 2004), 48.

⁴⁴Jamaludin, "Gerakan Pembebasan Islam Patani di Thailand Selatan Studi terhadap Patani United Liberation Organization (1968-1993)," in *Jurnal Intelektualita: Keislaman, Sosial dan Sains* 6, no. 1 (5 Juli 2017): 117-134, <https://doi.org/10.19109/intelektualita.v6i1.1304>.

1. Political, Security and Social Conflict

Political, security and social dynamics have fostered local-level movements in Southern Thailand, particularly in three provinces: Narathiwat, Yala and Pattani. Among them are the National Revolutionary Front (BRN), the Pattani United Liberation Organization (PULO), and the Pattani Islamic Mujahideen Movement (GMIP). BRN demanded secession using socialist ideology, and cooperated with the Malay Communist Party on the border in the 1950s.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, PULO is a separatist movement that demands the Patani region to designate the three provinces of Narathiwat, Yala and Pattani as an independent region. They initially chose to join Malaysia. The exiled Vice President of PULO, Haji Lukman Bin Lima, proclaims '*Jihad*' as a movement against the 'Kafir Thai-Buddhist Government', aimed at ending their dominance over the Malay-Islamic region of Patani. Although it does not have a role to control the active PULO members, the older generation of PULO in Europe is offering negotiations with the Thai government. In July 2002, Thaksin ordered his nephew General Chaisit Shinawatra to negotiate with elements of PULO and BRN.⁴⁶ This explains that the strength of the separatist group still needs to be reckoned with.

Even though the leading commander has been captured or killed, other guerrillas still carry out some violence. In addition, the Religious Councils, Islamic boarding schools and madrasas in principle support reconciliation and peace efforts. Their strong will is not matched by the government's policy on security, and weak support for the advancement of education broadly, and job opportunities in Southern Thailand.

2. Economic Conflict

The emergence of mining and rubber plantation businesses with non-Muslim capital since the early 20th century did not change the local economic structure much. The Muslim community of Pattani must be satisfied as lowly workers, such as rubber tappers and unskilled laborers. In fact, emerging economic opportunities also

⁴⁵Peter Riddell, *Islam And The Malay-Indonesian World*, Terj. M. Noor S, (Singapore: Horizon Book, 2001), 200.

⁴⁶Joseph Chinyong Liow, *Muslim Resistance in Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines: Religion, ideology and politics*, (Washington: East-West Center, 2006), 35.

continue to put them in a disadvantaged and low-income position, such as janitors in offices and construction workers.⁴⁷

The Thai government and non-Muslim businessmen have been successful in cultivating crops in both plantations and mining, which most Muslims cannot do. By the late 1970s, more than 12 material mines had been made, 10 of which were open pit mines in the south and a third of Thailand's government revenue came from the south.⁴⁸ However, what the Thai government did did not get a good response from the majority of the Muslim community. Because, they think that the Thai imperialist government has robbed the natural products of the Thai Muslim community. This is because there is a reciprocal relationship to the people of the southern region.

3. Educational Conflict

Most of the Muslim community in Thailand are more familiar with the Islamic boarding school education system, such as those found in Java, as an educational institution for their children.⁴⁹ This education system was first introduced by a student from Sunan Ampel in Java, namely Wan Husein. Ia adalah one of the influential scholars in the development of Islam in Pattani. Until the beginning of the 20th century, all over Patani there were more than 500 huts.⁵⁰

In 1921, the Thai government enacted the Low Education Regulation. They require Muslim children to attend Thai public schools. The children were required to use Thai, and Malay began to lose its users. Various circles of the Muslim community suspect this "siamization" policy as an attempt by the Thai government to undermine the ethnic and Malay culture of Islam.⁵¹

In the following years, several cases of tension occurred regarding the implementation of education in accordance with the wishes of the government. Until finally, in the mid-1960s, several

⁴⁷Taufik Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam...*, 466.

⁴⁸Novita Delima Putri, Mima Nizma, and Syahid Syahid, "Determinasi Wisata Thailand Berdasarkan Persepsi Wisatawan Outbond Asal Indonesia," in *Jurnal Industri Pariwisata* 2, no. 2 (20 Januari 2020): 88-95, <https://doi.org/10.36441/pariwisata.v2i2.35>.

⁴⁹Aslan, Hifza and Muhammad Suhardi, "Dinamika Pendidikan Islam Di Thailand Pada Abad 19-20," in *Nazhruna: Jurnal Pendidikan Islam* 3, no. 1 (7 Februari 2020): 38-54, <https://doi.org/10.31538/nzh.v3i1.476>.

⁵⁰Ilham Ramadan Siregar, "Kontribusi Ulama Patani Terhadap Perkembangan Hadis," in *Al-Mu'tabar* 1, no. 1 (19 Maret 2021): 1-29, <https://jurnal.stain-madina.ac.id/index.php/almutabar/article/view/383>.

⁵¹Taufil Abdullah, *Ensiklopedi Tematis Dunia Islam*, 467.

improvements were made, including the Thai language teaching system, the use of the Malay language, Muslim teachers, and the inclusion of a syllabus that highlighted Islamic history, and Malay culture.⁵² It turns out that these things bring progress and attract the interest of Muslims to join formal school programs. In the 20th century there were several policies, one of which was regarding the elements of education found in Patani, including: (1) the language of instruction in religious schools and Islamic boarding schools which used to be in Arabic and Malay was forced to change into Thai instead; and (2) religious books translated into Thai, as well as the rules and learning to follow the basics of Thai Education.

C. Traces and Modern Islamic Thought in Mindanao (Philippines)

The genealogical history of the struggle for the existence of the Moro can be seen from the start of the infiltration or entry of Islam into the Philippines in 1210 AD, which coincided at the beginning of the 13th century AD brought by Arab traders and preachers from Indonesia and Malaysia. After that, Islamic sultanates were established which had government and sovereignty, including the Sultanate of Sulu and the Sultanate of Mindanao.⁵³ Muslims in the Philippines consist of 13 ethnolinguistic groups, respectively Iranun, Magindanaon, Maranao, Tao-Sung, Sama, Yakan, Jama Mapun, Ka'agan, Kalibugan, Sangil, Molbok, Palawani, and Badjao.⁵⁴ As for Muslims from the indigenous population in Mindanao, such as, Teduray, Manobo, Blaan, Higaonon, Subanen, T'boli and others.⁵⁵ In addition, the Muslim population can also be found in Luzon and Pisayas, although on a small scale. The Muslims who inhabited Mindanao, Basilan Island, Palawan, Sulu and the Tawi-tawi Archipelago were then referred to as the Moro Nation.⁵⁶

The arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines in the 16th

⁵²Surin Pitsuwan, *Islam di Muangthai Nasionalisme Melayu Masyarakat Patan*, 89.

⁵³Abu Ibrahim Muhammad Daud, *The Secret of Jihad Moro: Fakta-Fakta Perlawanan Kaum Tertindas Moro*, (Solo: Media Islamika, 2008), 66.

⁵⁴Fabian Fadhlly, "Pemahaman Keagamaan Islam di Asia Tenggara Abad XIII-XX," in *Millah: Jurnal Studi Agama* 18, no. 1 (1 Agustus 2018): 51-78, <https://doi.org/10.20885/millah.vol18.iss1.art4>.

⁵⁵Celia M. Reyes, Christian D. Mina, and Ronina D. Asis, *Inequality of opportunities among ethnic groups in the Philippines*. No. 2017-42, in PIDS Discussion Paper Series, 2017. <https://www.econstor.eu/handle/10419/211002>.

⁵⁶Heru Susetyo, *The journal of a Muslim traveler: sebuah jurnal perjalananmelintasi Asia, Amerika, Eropa, & Australia*, (Bandung: Mizan Publika, 2009), 6.

century aimed at establishing colonies and Christianizing Muslims, especially the indigenous people in the Philippines. When the Spaniards succeeded in converting the natives to their religion, the natives became allies as soldiers or spear throwers in battle, to attack Islamic villages and forts.⁵⁷ The long history of war between the Spaniards and Islam is called the Moro War. As a result of the Moro War there was tension and conflict between Filipino Christians and Muslims. Spanish colonials called Muslims "Moro", while indigenous people who converted to Christianity were called "Indio".⁵⁸ From this incident the Spaniards and indigenous Christians were considered the eternal enemies of Islam.

In 1898, the United States (US) won the US-Spain war. Finally, the bloody battle between the Muslims of Mindanao and the US invaders which ended with the treaty between the sultan of Mindanao and the US known as the "Treaty Bates" on August 22, 1899. In 1940, the US abolished the sultanate and the Mindanao region was included in the Philippine administrative system.⁵⁹ In 1946, the Philippines became independent, but it was conveyed before independence by the Moros that the Moro's disappointment with the US government was conveyed in a memorandum of Mindanao and Sulu would not want to be included in independence because their island would not be given to people who are not our nation (Moro), even according to them. It is inappropriate if in one country there are two parties who are hostile to each other. However, the US did not accept the proposal.⁶⁰

The conflict between the Mindanao Muslim community and the Visayas or Filipino ethnic communities who carry out the politics of migration to the south. This migration became a serious problem when a group of Filipino ethnic groups, assisted by Filipino troops, carried out genocide politics in the early 1970s.⁶¹ This conflict also

⁵⁷Khairu Roojiqien Sobandi, "Separatisme di Asia Tenggara: Antara penguasa dan gerakan nasionalis kelompok minoritas," in *Jurnal Kajian Wilayah* 2, no. 1(30 Juli 2016), 35-55, <https://doi.org/10.14203/jkw.v2i1.320>.

⁵⁸Cesar A. Majul, *Dinamika Islam Filipina*, Terj. Eddy Zainurrry, (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2009), 9-11.

⁵⁹Muhamad Murtadlo, "Islam dan Pendidikan Madrasah di Filipina," in *EDUKASI: Jurnal Penelitian Pendidikan Agama dan Keagamaan* 13, on. 1 (1 April 2015), 45-60, <https://doi.org/10.32729/edukasi.v13i1.233>.

⁶⁰Syed Sirajul Islam, *The Politics of Islamic Identity in Southeast Asia*, (Singapore: Thomson Learning, 2005), 30.

⁶¹Endah Setyowati, "Beberapa Pendekatan Teori Kekerasan Politik Untuk

still puts forward the pattern of ethnic conflict. Filipino Ethic and the Philippine government view that the Moro people in Mindanao are identified as rude, ignorant, uncivilized and like to commit acts of violence. Likewise, the Moro people also have a negative view of the Filipino group and the Philippine government. They identify the group as an evangelical group that will uproot diversity as the Spanish colonial regime once did.⁶²

As a result of the discrimination attitude accepted by the Moros as a Muslim minority in the Philippines, Muslim separatist movements emerged in the Southern Philippines starting from a small group of students and intellectuals in the 1960s. The problems faced by separatist movements are discrimination, economic decline (poverty) and government injustice, especially with regard to the expulsion of the Moro Muslim community from their own land by Christians.⁶³ Therefore, to realize the thoughts of the Moro Nation to be free from the hegemony and domination of the PRF (Government of the Republic of the Philippines). In the southern Philippines there are separatist movements as a form of actualization of the thought of the struggle for the existence of the Moro Muslim minority, these movements include: Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and the Abu Sayyaf group.⁶⁴

Before the MNLF movement was established there was another movement, namely the Islamic Independence Movement/ Muslim Independent Movement (MIM). The MIM movement was founded by Datuk Udtog Matalam on May 1, 1968. The goal of the MIM movement was to fight for independence for Mindanao and Sulu. Encouraging the MIM movement to be established due to the declining economic conditions among the Moro Muslim community and the massacre case in Jubaidah.⁶⁵

Memahami Gerakan Nirkekerasan Di Filipina," *Gema Teologi* 36, no. 1 (22 Maret 2013), 1-12, <http://journal-theo.ukdw.ac.id/index.php/gema/article/view/136>.

⁶²Suwardono, *Manajemen Konflik Separatisme: Dinamika Negosiasi Dalam Penyelesaian Konflik Mindanao*, (Yogyakarta: Pusataka pelajar Offset, 2013), 75.

⁶³John Gershman, *Peta dan Prospek Gerakan Islam di Filipina*" dalam *Asia Tenggara Konsentrasi Baru Kebangkitan Islam*, ed. Moeflich Hasbullah (Bandung: Fokusmedia, 2003), 238.

⁶⁴A. Gafur, "Dinamika Muslim Moro Di Filipina Selatan Dan Gerakan Sparatis Abu Sayyaf," *Sosial Budaya* 13, no. 2 (30 Desember 2016), 175-188, <http://dx.doi.org/10.24014/sb.v13i2.3539>.

⁶⁵Asy'ari et.al, *Pengantar Studi Islam* (Surabaya: IAIN Sunan Ampel Press, 2008), 309.

The view of the MNLF radical movement is that it wants to initiate changes in the wider society. The Islamic Awakening is often associated with a militant interpretation. As stated in the MNLF manifesto, which calls for the importance of upholding the “Moro Nation”.⁶⁶ The manifesto or statement of the formation of the Moro Nation which aims to free themselves from the terror and oppression of the colonial rulers of the Philippines. They gained independence on March 18, 1974 in their homeland, which was spearheaded by Nur Misuari who was the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Moro National Liberation Front.⁶⁷

Thus, that this problem has actually prolonged internationalization of the conflict between the Philippine government and the MILF, thus making the beginning for the MILF to build a diplomatic struggle in international forums, especially in the OKI. The conflict resolution efforts are as follows:⁶⁸

1. Negotiations in the Tripoli Agreement 1976

This conflict resolution effort was initiated by the OIC in 1973 by forming a 4-country commission. The 4 members are Libya, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Somalia to investigate cases of violence by the Philippine government against Moro. However, it increased to 6 countries after Indonesia and Bangladesh as members.

2. Jeddah Accord Negotiations

Towards the 90s the power of the Philippine central government was disrupted, this made Moro Muslim factions again mobilize power to take advantage of this moment to declare the establishment of an Independent Moro State. The MNLF, which during its implementation of the Tripoli Agreement felt capitulated by Marcos' policy, chose to continue the armed struggle for the establishment of an independent state.

⁶⁶Taufik Abdullah dan Sharon Siddique, *Tradisi dan Kebangkitan Islam di Asia Tenggara*, terj. Rochman Achwan (Jakarta: LP3ES, 2008), 347.

⁶⁷Dikutip dari Mahardika, Vol. IX, No. 1, 2022. Dalam bukunya Cesar A. Majul, *Dinamika Islam Filipina*, lampiran II, 155-156.

⁶⁸Erni Budiwanti, *Tantangan Pembangunan Negara Bangsa di Filipina: Gerakan Separatisme Moro*, Pusat Penelitian Sumber Daya Regional (PSDR-LIPI) didalam katalog. pdii.lipi.go.id.

3. Final Peace Agreement Negotiation Range 1966

The peace process in southern Mindanao has continued after the replacement of President Aquino's regime with the more proactive Fidel Ramos. Over time, militant groups such as the Abu Sayyaf continue to carry out terror and attacks in Mindanao, including kidnappings for ransom.

Despite the ongoing violence President Ramos will continue peace efforts in southern Mindanao. The biggest renewal of the traces of modern Islam in Pattani is that the education system used there is the same as the education system held in Indonesia, although there are also differences, namely the formal, informal and non-formal education systems. The Islamic education curriculum used in Thailand is partly the same as the educational curriculum used in Indonesia, especially in Islamic boarding schools, such as the book *Fath al Wahab bi Sharh Manhaj al Tullah* by Abi Zakaria al Anzari.

Conclusion

The Islamic revival in Malaysia is not a monolithic movement. Islamic organizations and activists range from moderate to radical, from pro to anti-government. Their ideologies, strategies and activities are diverse. The moderate ABIM while advocating the establishment of an Islamic state, emphasizes the Islamization of the *ummah* first. In response to the pressures of the Islamic revival, the government adhered to a policy of Islamization of its own, a step-by-step process of instilling Islamic values and introducing Islamic versions of institutions such as banks, insurance and pawnshops. Because the revival of Islam is not a new phenomenon in Malaysia. Islam has always been a force in Malaysian politics. Thailand, which is part of Southeast Asia, is a country where Islam is a minority religion located in southern Thailand. The differences in religion and ethnicity of Thai people, especially the people of Southern Thailand, often experience discrimination from the Thai government. Thai Muslims or better known as Patani Muslims are generally described as a Muslim community that sporadically often carries out armed resistance movements and opposes discriminatory attitudes and treatment by the Thai government. The Moro conflict in Mindanao in the southern Philippines is a long and unresolved conflict. The efforts made for the peace process continue to be carried out in tandem with the independence efforts that are continuously echoed by the moro

separatist groups to form a state of its own which is independent and free from the intervention of the Philippine government. The religious issues brought into this conflict made this conflict even more heated. This conflict will continue to the Muslim minority in the Philippines, because it continues to receive political pressure from the central government. The one word they demand is independence..

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