

## ***Islam In Modern Thailand***

Since January 2004, a violent separatist insurgency has raged in southern Thailand, resulting in more than three thousand deaths. Though largely unnoticed outside Southeast Asia, the rebellion in Pattani and neighboring provinces and the Thai government's harsh crackdown have resulted in a full-scale crisis. *Tearing Apart the Land* by Duncan McCargo, one of the world's leading scholars of contemporary Thai politics, is the first fieldwork-based book about this conflict. Drawing on his extensive knowledge of the region, hundreds of interviews conducted during a year's research in the troubled area, and unpublished Thai-language sources that range from anonymous leaflets to confessions extracted by Thai security forces, McCargo locates the roots of the conflict in the context of the troubled power relations between Bangkok and the Muslim-majority "deep South." McCargo describes how Bangkok tried to establish legitimacy by co-opting local religious and political elites. This successful strategy was upset when Thaksin Shinawatra became prime minister in 2001 and set out to reorganize power in the region. Before Thaksin was overthrown in a 2006 military coup, his repressive policies had exposed the precariousness of the Bangkok government's influence. A rejuvenated militant movement had emerged, invoking Islamic rhetoric to challenge the authority of local leaders obedient to Bangkok. For readers interested in contemporary Southeast Asia, insurgency and counterinsurgency, Islam, politics, and questions of political violence, *Tearing Apart the Land* is a powerful account of the changing nature of Islam on the Malay peninsula, the legitimacy of the

central Thai government and the failures of its security policy, the composition of the militant movement, and the conflict's disastrous impact on daily life in the deep South. Carefully distinguishing the uprising in southern Thailand from other Muslim rebellions, McCargo suggests that the conflict can be ended only if a more participatory mode of governance is adopted in the region.

This book addresses the complexity of Islam in Thailand, by focusing on Islamic charities and institutions affiliated to the mosque. By extrapolating through Islam and the waqf (Islamic charity) in different regions of Thailand the diversity in races and institutions, it demonstrates the regional contrasts within Thai Islam. The book also underlines the importance of the internal histories of these separate spaces, and the processes by which institutions and ideologies become entrenched. It goes on to look at the socio economic transformation that is taking place within the context of trading networks through Islamic institutions and civil networks linked to mosques, madrasahs and regional power brokers. Brown casts this study of private Islamic welfare as strengthening rather than weakening relations with the secular Thai state. The current regime's effectiveness in coopting these Muslim elites, including Lutfi and Wisoot, into state bureaucracies assists in widening their popular base in the south, in the north-east, and in Bangkok. Such appointments were efficacious in reinforcing the elite's Islamic identity within a modern, secular, literate, and cosmopolitan Thai culture. In challenging existing studies of Thai Muslims as furtive protest minorities, this book diverts our attention to how Islamic philanthropy provides the logic and dynamism behind the creation of autonomous spaces for

these independent groups, affording unusual insights into their economic, political and social histories.

Although more than half of the world's Muslims live in Asia, most books on contemporary Islam focus on the Middle East, giving short shift to the dynamic and diverse presence of Asian Islam in regional and global politics. The Muslims of Asia constitute the largest Muslim communities in the world - Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India and Central Asia. In recent years, terrorist bombings in Bali, separatist conflicts in Thailand and the Philippines, and opposition politics in Central Asia, all point to the strategic importance of Asian Islam. In *Asian Islam in the 21st Century*, terrorism and its effects are placed within the broader context of Muslim politics and how Islamic ideals and movements, mainstream and extremist, have shaped Asian Muslim societies. Democratization experiments -- successful and unsuccessful -- are examined. The rise of radical militant movements is analyzed and placed in historical perspective. The result is an insightful portrait of the rich diversity of Muslim politics and discourse that continue to affect Asian Muslim majority and minority countries. Specialists and students of Islamic studies, religion and international affairs, and comparative politics as well as general readers will benefit from this sorely needed comprehensive analysis of a part of the world that has become increasingly important in the 21st century.

When students from a Muslim boarding school were convicted for the 2002 terrorist bombings in Bali, Islamic schools in Southeast Asia became the focus of intense international scrutiny. Some analysts have warned that these schools are being turned into platforms for violent

jihadism. *Making Modern Muslims* is the first book to look comparatively at Islamic education and politics in Southeast Asia. Based on a two-year research project by leading scholars of Southeast Asian Islam, the book examines Islamic schooling in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, Cambodia, and the southern Philippines. The studies demonstrate that the great majority of schools have nothing to do with violence but are undergoing changes that have far-reaching implications for democracy, gender relations, pluralism, and citizenship. *Making Modern Muslims* offers an important reassessment of Muslim culture and politics in Southeast Asia and provides insights into the changing nature of state-society relations from the late colonial period to the present. It allows us to better appreciate the astonishing dynamism of Islamization in Southeast Asia and the struggle for Muslim hearts and minds taking place today. Timely and readable, this volume will be of great interest to teachers and specialists of Islam and Southeast Asia as well as the general reader seeking to understand the great transformations at work in the Muslim world. Contributors: Esmael A. Abdula, Bjørn Atle Blengsli, Joseph Chinyong Liow, Robert W. Hefner, Richard G. Kraince, Thomas M. McKenna.

Asian Islam in the 21st Century

The Thai Way of Counterinsurgency

Understanding the Conflict's Evolving Dynamic

Bodily Practices and Medical Identities in Southern Thailand

Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand

Faith, Philanthropy and Politics

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This study analyzes the ongoing conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines between indigenous Muslim minorities and their respective central governments. In particular, it investigates and interrogates the ideological context and content of conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines insofar as they pertain to Islam and radicalism in order to assess the extent to which these conflicts have taken on a greater religious character and the implications this might have on our understanding of them. In the main, the monograph argues that while conflicts in southern Thailand and southern Philippines have taken on religious hues as a consequence of both local and external factors, on present evidence they share little with broader radical global Islamist and Jihadist ideologies and movements, and their contents and contexts remain primarily political, reflected in the key objective of some measure of self-determination, and local, in terms of the territorial and ideational boundaries of activism and agitation. Furthermore, though both conflicts appear on the surface to be driven by similar dynamics and mirror each other, they are different in several fundamental ways.

This book examines the lives of the Malay and Cham Muslims in Thailand, Cambodia and Vietnam and examines how they co-exist and live in societies that are dominated by an alternative consensus and are illiberal and non-democratic in nature. Focusing on two major Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, both of whom live as minorities in societies that are not democratic and have a history of hostility and repression towards non-conforming ideas, the book explains their circumstances, the choices and life decisions they have to make, and how minorities can thrive in an unfriendly, monocultural environment. Based on original field work and research, the author analyses how people live, and how they adapt to societies which are not motivated by Western liberal ideals of multiculturalism. The book also offers a unique perspective on how Islam develops in an environment where it is seen as alien and disloyal. A useful contribution analyzing historical and post-colonial experiences of Muslim minorities and how they survive and evolve over the

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course of state monopoly in mainland Southeast Asia, this book will be of interest to academics working on Muslim minorities, Asian Religion and Southeast Asian Studies.

This study investigates the historical continuity of Islamic tradition of *tajdid* (revival) and *islah* (reform) in the Muslim majority region of the southernmost provinces of Thailand. The focus is on the *islah* movement led by Shaykh Dr. Ismail Lutfi Chapakia al-Fatani (1950-), the Saudi trained 'ulim who graduated from the Haramayn (Mecca and Madinah). Shaykh Dr. Ismail Lutfi along with others Patani 'ulam of his time began to advocate for Islamic reformism in 1986 in Patani, which is the modern day of Pattani, Yala, and Narathiwat provinces of Southern Thailand until it evolved into a loose Salafist reformist movement which culminated in their establishment of Yala Islamic University in 2002. Calling themselves Salafist, the followers of the Salaf (early Companion of the Prophet), this movement has believed that the problems of the Malay Muslims society in the Deep South was primarily caused by the deviation from the true faith prescribed by the two sacred sources, namely, 1) the Qur'an and the Sunnah (Prophet Tradition) and, 2) the way the Salaf's understanding of Islam. The Salafists urged Patani Muslim fellows to return to, and strictly follow the sacred sources, and purify Islamic ideas and practices from later innovation (*bid'ah*) and accretion of the past Indic ideas and cultures. The Salafist movement has advocated for a social change through *tarbiyyah* (education) by working within the Thai constitutional framework. The study examines three main areas of Islamic reformism proposed by the Salafist reformist movement, namely, 1) theological reform of Sunnah and *bid'ah*, 2) the reform of the Patani Muslim society regarding the political status of Patani in the modern time - the issue inextricably links to religious pluralism in modern Thai nation-state, and 3) the reform of inter-religious relations and coexistence between, particularly, Islam and Buddhism in Patani. Three methods of data collection employed in this study are, 1) documentary including both primary and secondary, 2) participatory observations, and unstructured in-depth interviews. The study finds that the Salafist Islamic

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reformist movement has made a transforming impact on the Malay Muslims society in Southern Thailand owing much to their intellectualism which has been adjusted to suit the unique circumstances and realities of the society they seek to reform. Their intellectual flexibility has enabled them to be able to revive Sunnah of the Prophet in the Hadith-form when the concept of the Sunnah was enlarged to mean Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jam'iah (Mainstream-Middle-Path Community). Second, the Patani political status was placed in the larger, pluralist concept of Ummah (community of nations) instead of sectarianist, the century old concepts of Dar al-Islam (the abode of Islam) and Dar al-Harb (the abode of war). These changes also lead to, third, the reform of inter-religious relations of Islam and Buddhism to which the Salaf movement has provided a proactive principle called 'principle of amiability towards religious others (lak maitripab kab chon tang sasanig)' in comparison with the previous norm of 'live and let live'.

Between Integration and Secession asks whether Muslim minorities can co-exist with the majority and other cultures within non-Muslim states. Moshe Yegar's excellent new work examines the radicalization of Muslim communities during the nationalist fervor that swept southeast Asia in the aftermath of World War II. The book's grand historical scope traces the theological and political impact of the postwar Islamic renaissance on the creation of Muslim separatist tendencies and heightened religious consciousness. Drawing on a wealth of archival and secondary sources, Yegar examines three cases of rebellion in Muslim minorities: in the Philippines, in Thailand, and in Burma/Myanmar. He studies the communities' struggle to define their aims--be it for communal separation, autonomy, or independence--and the means each has at their disposal to achieve them.

Brunei – History, Islam, Society and Contemporary Issues

Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia

Contending Histories

A Journey into Thailand's Troubled South

Confronting Ghosts

Recruiting Militants in Southern Thailand

*This study explores contemporary practices concerning women's and children's bodies, with a special focus on postpartum practices, the treatment of the afterbirth and its cosmological dimensions, and male and female circumcision. At the intersection between traditional midwifery and modern medicine, Muslim women cross the boundaries between different cosmologies and medical systems. At the borders to Malaysia, the Muslim minority in Thailand upholds postpartum practices which have been abandoned by the Thai Buddhists in the region, making of the body a contested site of powers and identities. Traditional midwives are pressured to limit their practices to rituals and massage. The increasing use of medical technologies in the form of Caesarean section and modern contraceptives are perceived as leading to changes in the local ethnophysiology of female bodies. The fluidity once characterising pre-and postpartum bodily states, has turned into an infertile rigidity exemplified by metaphors of a hardened body. In official discourse a sharp line is drawn between*

*outdated tradition and medical modernity, at the same time as ethnic-religious borders between Malay Muslims and Thai Buddhists are erased with the disappearance of old practices and the emergence of new Muslim identities and rituals. Prodigious events and pregnancy losses led in the past to the formation of spirit cults managed by female mediums and represented a means of communication between Muslim and Buddhist lifeworlds. As these events vanish under medical scrutiny and intervention on the one hand, and a modernist reading of Islam on the other hand, local ethnophysiological conceptions are lost. Individual and social bodies are put under the medical dressage of biopolitics and a discourse on the Muslim minority is created to serve aims of internal colonialism.*

*Examines the ways in which religion and nationalism have interacted to provide a powerful impetus for mobilization in Southeast Asia. This study addresses the competing histories of Thailand and Patani beginning in the fourteenth century up to the mid-twentieth century. It provides an explanation of the causes of ongoing political conflict between the Malay Muslims in the three southernmost provinces of Thailand and the Thai government, against which "separatist"*

*movements fought in the 1960s. Even though January 2004 marked the beginning of the current violence that now plagues Thailand's south, most people in and outside the area still believe that the nature of such conflict is internal and could be resolved peacefully. The major contention in the competing histories of Siam and Patani revolves around national policies that resulted in discrimination and destruction of the Muslim's cultural identity and rights. In the early twentieth century under the rule of King Chulalongkorn, which was characterized by centralization and cultural suppression, Patani was reduced to a mere province. Further forced assimilation occurred under the Phibun government in the 1940s, at which time Islamic practices and the use of the Yawi language were curbed. The sources of political conflict—including the political status of Patani, ethnic identity, Bangkok politics, and bureaucratic misconduct in the south—have historical roots. Understanding and appreciation of each other's culture and ethno-religious identities could lead to positive political will on both sides for peaceful resolution of the conflict. In the mid 1980s, the Muslim separatist problem was eliminated in southern Thailand when the government took a two-fold approach:*

*first, to empower the military to oversee both the police and civil-service sectors; and later, based on recommendations from the military, to initiate new social and economic policies. This thesis examines, through both an anthropological analysis of the conflict and a theory of counterinsurgency, the re-emergence of the Muslim separatist groups in southern Thailand and provides both short and long term solutions for the Royal Thai government. It offers a background analysis of the historical relationship between the Thai government and Thai Muslims in order to highlight why the former separatist problem occurred in Thailand. Next, the current separatist problem is examined to determine why this issue has reoccurred and possible reasons for the government's underestimation of the situation. This thesis then addresses measures the Thai government may take to preclude a future Muslim separatist insurgency, and offers both an analysis of former measures that were successful and an appraisal of the current conditions conducive to an insurgency. Finally, the conditions necessary for a successful resolution of the Muslim separatist problem are delineated in short term and long term solutions.*

*A Study on the Relationship Between Traditional and Modern Subjects  
Tearing Apart the Land*

*A Different Path*

*Islam and Legitimacy in Southern Thailand*

*Political Economy of the Muslim Middle Class in Southeast Asia*

*A Muslim Archipelago: Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia*

In this Lowy Institute Paper, Joseph Chinyong Liow and Don Pathan examine the ongoing violence in the majority Muslim Malay provinces of Thailand's south. Through unprecedented fieldwork, the authors provide the deepest and most up-to-date analysis of the insurgency and problems the Thai Government faces in dealing with it.

The volume is the first comprehensive compilation of texts on gender constructions, normative gender orders and their religious legitimizations, as well as current gender policies in Islamic Southeast Asia and contributes on current debates on gender and Islam.

The growth of Muslim middle class in the three Southeast Asian countries namely Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand are heavily influenced by each state's political development policy as well as the growing phenomenon of the Muslim market as part of the global market dynamics. This paper aims to describe the phenomenon of state

and society relations in regards to policies that influence the growth of the Muslim middle class and how the market contributes to their expansion. The research shows that Muslim middle class in Indonesia is a result of the ever-crisscrossing force between state-driven pro-market policies, market-driven mechanisms, and the development of information technology that creates the demands of modern lifestyles. In terms of the Malaysian context, the Muslim middle-class formation is closely linked to a state driven policy in the form of ethnicity-based policy: an affirmative policy to strengthen the Malays, which is identical with Islam. While for the case of Muslim middle class in Thailand, the formation is largely determined by the central government's political policy. The Thai government uses different political approaches, which varies depending on the level of the Muslim community's compromise in each region. In the end, the differences in the process of Muslim middle-class formation in these countries shaped their Muslim communities' religious expressions both economically and politically in the public sphere.

This volume of selected readings on Islam is a portrait of the Southeast Asian Islamic mosaic, with emphasis on the contemporary period. The collection of articles also serves to reflect the broad thematic interest of scholars – not only indigenous and foreign, but

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also Muslim and non-Muslim – who have contributed to an understanding of Islam in Southeast Asia.

Tradition & Transformation

The Malay-Muslim Insurgency in Southern Thailand

Just enough

Making Modern Muslims

Readings on Islam in Southeast Asia

***Just Enough travels inside the conflict zone of Thailand's southernmost provinces and gets under the surface of traditional Malay Muslim culture. Mira Lee Manickam, an adventurous American researcher, takes us with her as she settles into a small fishing village in troubled Pattani Province. Stepping uncertainly into this deeply traditional world, she gains privileged access to a side of Malay Muslim society rarely seen by outsiders and obscured by the violence featured in Thai newspapers. In a style that is humorous, honest, and moving, Manickam charts the southern Thai conflict through her travels in the region and tells the stories of her friends in the village: a gang of wild-haired teenage boys who observe conservative religious protocol by day and listen to heavy metal in back-street teashops by night; a group of young women too educated to find husbands in the village but too traditional to leave; an impoverished***

***fisherman with a Zen-like stance on impermanence; and a dropout who immerses himself in Western culture as a star rock-climber in a nearby beach resort. These stories illustrate the tension between the values of a traditional Malay Muslim community and the demands of an increasingly modern Thai society. Just Enough is a personal journey of growth, loss, and friendship, and reveals the colors of daily life that lie beneath the black and white of newspaper headlines. What others are saying “The author offers an informed and engaged perspective on the impact of the hundred-year-old conflict in southern Thailand. It focuses on the lives of the common people in the areas of education, economy, and religious development, and their effect on the present and the future of the country. In a warm, affectionate style it highlights the cultural diversities in Thailand as a whole and also in its widespread Muslim community.” —Dr. Imtiyaz Yusuf, Assumption University, Bangkok Highlights - Explores an often forgotten side of the southern Thai conflict - Describes the lives of Malay Muslim villagers with humor, warmth, and depth - Gives readers an insight into the people left behind by Thailand’s modernization - Includes sixteen black and white photographs Islam and Peacebuilding in the Asia-Pacific provides a unique backdrop of***

***how native or migrant Muslims interact with communities of other faiths have led to the contemporary treatment of Islam and the Muslim communities in these nations. This book is based on the theme of Islam's presence and development in the Asia-Pacific region, and the concerns faced by Muslims in the region. Section 1 details the current status of peace or conflict between Muslims and practitioners of other faiths in Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand and the Philippines, and the role of Muslim institutions in promoting peace in each nation. Section 2 features how Muslims living in cosmopolitan areas such as Australia, Indonesia and Japan engage with people of other faiths. Lastly, Section 3 explores the concerns with the interaction of the religion, state and society in Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore. A unique collection of the history of Islam in the region, Islam and Peacebuilding in the Asia-Pacific seeks to provide valuable insight for the global policy community by offering a comprehensive treatment of the issues highlighted.***

***Current unrest in the Malay-Muslim provinces of southern Thailand has captured growing national, regional, and international attention due to the heightened tempo and scale of rebel attacks, the increasingly jihadist undertone that has come to characterize insurgent actions, and the central***

***government's often brutal handling of the situation on the ground. This paper assesses the current situation and its probable direction. Southeast Asia continues to beckon policymakers and scholars alike to revisit its history in spite of the tomes of appraisals already written, deconstructive or otherwise. Because of a significant presence of Muslims in the region, and particularly in the wake of 9/11, it invariably attracts the attention of foreign powers drawn by the specter of terrorism and focused on rooting out radical Islamist groups said to be working with al-Qaeda. Dr. Max Gross has written an impressive account of the role of Islam in the politics of Southeast Asia, anchored by a strong historical perspective and a comprehensive treatment of current affairs. The result is very much a post-9/11 book. The origins of Jemaah Islamiyah and its connections with al-Qaeda are carefully detailed. Yet, unlike much of the post-9/11 analysis of the Muslim world, Dr. Gross's research has been successful in placing the phenomenon of terrorism within a larger perspective. While recognizing that al-Qaeda's influence on regional terror networks remains unclear, it behooves us to be reminded that, regardless of the nature and extent of the linkages, to dismiss terrorism as a serious threat to security would be naive to the point of recklessness. The Muslim Archipelago is a profoundly***

***Islamic region, and Jemaah Islamiyah is only a small portion of this reality. The attention Dr. Gross pays to ABIM in Malaysia, of which I was a part, and the civil Islam movement in Indonesia, of which the late Nurcholish Madjid was a principal spokesman, is greatly appreciated. Those unfamiliar with the background and role of the traditional Islamic PAS party in Malaysia, as well as the Darul Islam movement in Indonesia, will find the author's account highly beneficial. The MRLF, the MILF, and Abu Sayyaf in the Philippines, as well as the various Islamic movements in southern Thailand, are also carefully explained.***

***Thailand's Shapeless Southern Insurgency***

***A Proposal to Address the Emerging Muslim Separatist Problem in Thailand***

***Islam in Modern Thailand***

***Southern Thailand***

***Rebellion in Southern Thailand***

***Gender and Islam in Southeast Asia***

*The Middle East is the birthplace of ancient civilizations, but most of the modern states that occupy its territory today are of recent origin, as are many key concepts of*

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*communal and individual identity and loyalty that the peoples of the region now confront. In The Multiple Identities of the Middle East, eminent Middle East historian Bernard Lewis elucidates the critical role of identity in the domestic, regional, and international tensions and conflicts of the Middle East today. Examining religion, race and language, country, nation, and state, Lewis traces the rapid evolution of the identities of the Middle Eastern peoples, from the collapse of the centuries-old Ottoman Empire in 1918 to today's clash of old and new allegiances. He shows how, during the twentieth century, imported Western ideas such as liberalism, fascism, socialism, patriotism, and nationalism have transformed Middle Easterners' ancient notions of community, their self-perceptions, and their aspirations. To this fascinating historical portrait, Lewis brings an understanding of the region and its peoples, as well as a profound sympathy for the plight that the modern world has imposed on them. The result is an invaluable tool in our understanding of an area that is of increasing global*

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*importance and concern today.*

*This report examines the recent rise of anti-Islam sentiment or Islamophobia in Thailand. It covers the detailed phenomenon of Buddhist resistance against Muslims from 2015-2018. It is a result of a joint effort by a team of researchers, Buddhists and Muslims, who came together to shed light on this extremely sensitive issue that has been neglected by academic and policy circles.*

*This book brings together international scholars of Islamic philosophy, theology and politics to examine these current major questions: What is the place of pluralism in the Islamic founding texts? How have sacred and prophetic texts been interpreted throughout major Islamic intellectual history by the Sunnis and Shi'a? How does contemporary Islamic thought treat religious and political diversity in modern nation states and in societies in transition? How is pluralism dealt with in modern major and minor Islamic contexts? How does modern political Islam deal with pluralism in the public sphere? And what are the major*

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*internal and external challenges to pluralism in Islamic contexts? These questions that have become of paramount relevance in religious studies especially during the last three-four decades are answered as critically highlighted in Islamic founding sources, the formative classical sources and how it has been lived and practiced in past and present Islamic majority societies and communities around the world. Case studies cover Egypt, Turkey, Indonesia, and Thailand, besides various internal references to other contexts. The goal of this study is to ascertain how Thailand wages counterinsurgency (COIN). Thailand has waged two successful COINs in the past and is currently waging a third on its southern border. The lessons learned from Thailand's COIN campaigns could result in modern irregular warfare techniques valuable not only to Thailand and neighboring countries with similar security problems, but also to countries like the United States and the United Kingdom that are currently reshaping their irregular warfare doctrines in response to the situations in Afghanistan and Iraq. The*

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*first set of COIN lessons comes from Thailand's successful 1965-85 communist COIN. The second set comes from Bangkok's understudied 1980s-90s COIN against southern separatists. The third set comes from Thailand's current war against ethnic Malay separatists and radical Islamic insurgents attempting to secede and form a separate state called 'Patani Raya, ' among other names. Counterinsurgency is a difficult type of warfare for four reasons: (1) it can take years to succeed; (2) the battle space is poorly defined; (3) insurgents are not easily identifiable; and (4) war typically takes place among a civilian population that the guerrillas depend on for auxiliary support. Successful COINs include not only precise force application operations based on quality intelligence, but also lasting social and economic programs, political empowerment of the disenfranchised, and government acceptance of previously ignored cultural realities. Background: In 1965, communist insurgents, backed by the People's Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam), began waging*

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*an insurgency against Thailand in order to overthrow its government and install a Marxist regime. The Thai government struggled, both politically and militarily, to contain the movement for years, but eventually, it prevailed. Its success was based on a combination of effective strategy and coordination, plus well-designed and run security, political, and economic programs, the latter nowadays called the 'three pillars of COIN, ' a phrase developed by David Kilcullen, a modern COIN theorist and practitioner. One of Bangkok's most successful initiatives was the CPM program (civil-military-police), which used a linked chain of local forces, police, and the military to not only provide security for villages, but also economic aid and administrative training to rural peoples. State political programs that undercut communist political programs backed by masterful diplomacy and a constant barrage of rural works helped erode the communist position. The 1980s-90s COIN against southern separatists followed similar lines. The far South's four border provinces, comprised of 80 percent*

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*ethnic Malay Muslims, had been in revolt on and off for decades since Bangkok annexed the area in 1902. Bangkok had waged haphazard COIN campaigns against rebel groups there for decades with mixed results. But after the successful communist COIN was up and running in 1980, Bangkok decided to apply similar ways and means to tackle the southern issue. The government divided its COIN operations into two components: a security component run by a task force called CPM-43, and a political-economic component run by the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Center, or SB-PAC. SB-PAC also had a Special Branch investigative capacity. Combined, the 80s-90s southern COIN strategy relied on extensive military intelligence networks to curb violence, civilian administrators to execute local political reforms, and local politicians to apply traditional Malay and Muslim problem solving techniques to keep the peace. These programs worked well against the multitude of southern insurgent groups that conducted sporadic attacks against government and civilian targets while also running organized criminal*

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*syndicates. By the end of the 1990s, with a dose of Thailand's famed diplomacy and help from Malaysia's Special Branch, Bangkok defeated the southern separatists. In January 2004, however, a new separatist movement in southern Thailand emerged - one based on ethnic Malay separatism and radical Islam. It is a well-coordinated movement with effective operational expertise that attacks at a higher tempo than past southern rebel groups. It moreover strikes civilian targets on a regular basis, thereby making it a terrorist group. Overall, it dwarfs past southern movements regarding motivation and scale of violence. Thai officials think the Barisan Revolusi Nasional Coordinate, or BRN-C, leads the current rebellion, but there are several other groups that claim to also lead the fight. Members of the insurgency are nearly exclusively ethnic Malays and Muslims. The movement demonstrates radical Islamic tendencies through its propaganda, indoctrination, recruitment, and deeds. It is a takfiri group that kills other Muslims who do not share its religious beliefs, so it wrote in its spiritual rebel*

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*guidebook, Fight for the Liberation of Patani. BRN-C seeks to separate the four southernmost provinces of Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Songkhla from Thailand in order to establish an Islamic republic. The separatists base their revolt on perceived military, economic, cultural, and religious subjugation going back to the early 1900s. And they have a point. The central government has, at different times in the past, indeed treated southerners with tremendous disdain and sometimes violence - especially those considered insurgents. But Bangkok has also instituted scores of economic and social aid programs in the south - mosque building, college scholarships, and medical aid, for example - so it has not been a continual anti-Muslim 'blood fest' as government detractors have painted it. Still the maltreatment, certainly many times less than yesteryear, has provided today's insurgents with ideological fodder for a steady stream of recruits and supporters. Combined with radical Islam, it has bonded the insurgents to a significant degree. Statistically, in the 2005-07-time frame, insurgents*

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*assassinated 1.09 people a day, detonated 18.8 bombs a month, and staged 12.8 arson attacks a month. In 2005, they conducted 43 raids and 45 ambushes. The militants target security forces, government civilians, and the local population. They have killed fellow Muslims and beheaded numerous Buddhist villagers. The insurgents' actions have crippled the South's education system, justice system, and commerce, and also have maligned Buddhist-Muslim relations. Overall, the separatists pose a direct threat to Thailand's south and an indirect threat to the rest of the country. Moreover, their radical Islamic overtones have potential regional and global terrorist implications. The Thai Government spent much of 2004 attempting to ascertain whether the high level of violence was, in fact, an insurgency. To begin with, the government, led by PM Thaksin Shinawatra, was puzzled by the fact that the separatists had not published a manifesto or approached Bangkok with a list of demands. By mid-2004, however, the insurgents had staged a failed, region-wide revolt, and their prolific leaflet and*

*Internet propaganda campaign clearly demonstrated that a rebel movement was afoot. By fall 2005, the separatists had made political demands via the press, all of which centered on secession. By 2006, a coup against PM Thaksin succeeded and the military government that replaced him instituted a new COIN strategy for the south that by 2008 had reduced violence by about 40 percent. Some of the tenets of this new strategy were based on Thailand's past successful COIN strategies. Whether or not the government has concocted a winning strategy for the future, however, remains to be seen. This paper analyses these COIN campaigns through the COIN Pantheon, a conceptual model the author developed as an analytical tool. It is based on David Kilcullen's three pillars of COIN. The COIN Pantheon has as its base the concept of strategy, and then as the next edifice, coordination. Three pillars of security, politics, and economics rise from these to push against the insurgent edifice. The roof is the at-risk population. By researching the specifics of all these issues for the three COINs*

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*discussed here, the Thai way of COIN emerges. Then, by measuring these results against the tenets of COIN theorists David Galula, Sir Robert Thompson, and Kilcullen, the Thai Way of COIN is more clearly illuminated.*

*Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia*

*Understanding Anti-Islam Sentiment in Thailand*

*Family, Law, and Colonial Modernity in Thailand*

*Islam And Peacebuilding In The Asia-pacific*

*Community Dynamics and Change on the Andaman Coast*

*Religion and Nationalism in Southeast Asia*

Southeast Asia manifests some of the most interesting, non-violent as well as conflictual elements of Islamic social and political life in the world. This book examines the ways in which Muslim politics in Southeast Asia has greatly impacted democratic practice and contributed to its practical and discursive development. It addresses the majority and minority situations of Muslims within both democratic and authoritarian politics. It shows, for example, how in Muslim majority Indonesia and Malaysia, political Islam directly engages with procedural democracy; in Muslim minority Thailand and the Philippines, it has taken a violent route; and in Muslim minority Singapore, it has been successfully managed through civil and electoral politics. By exploring such nuances, variations,

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comparisons and linkages among Muslim majority and minority countries, this book deepens our understanding of the phenomenon of Muslim politics in the region as a whole.

This volume examines contemporary Thailand. It captures aspects of Thai society that have changed dramatically over the past years and that have turned Thailand into a society that is different from what most people outside the country know and expect. The social transition of Thailand has been marked by economic growth, population restructuring, social and cultural development, political movements, and many reforms including the national health care system. The book covers the social, cultural, and economic changes as well as political situations. It discusses both historical contexts and emerging issues. It includes chapters on social and public health concerns, and on ethnicity, gender, sexuality and social class. Most chapters use information from empirical-based and historical research. They describe real life experiences of the contributors and Thai people who participated in the research.

"This is a remarkable piece of scholarship that illuminates general and specific tendencies in Islamic education in South Thailand. Armed with an enormous amount of rich empirical detail and an elegant writing style, the author debunks the simplistic Orientalist conceptions of Wahhabi and Salafi influences on Islamic education in South Thailand. This work will be a state-of-the-art source for understanding the role of Islam and the ongoing conflict in this troubled region of Southeast Asia. The book is significant for those

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scholars who are attempting to understand Muslim communities in Southeast Asia, and also for those who want deep insights into Islamic education and its influence in any area of the Islamic world." - Raymond Scupin, Professor of Anthropology and International Studies Lindenwood University, USA "Few books address the sensitive issue of Islamic education with empathy as well as critical distance as Joseph C. Liow's Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand. He examines global networks of religious learning within a local Thai as well as regional Asian context by brilliantly revealing the intersections between religion, politics and modernity in an accessible and illuminating manner. Traditional educational institutions rarely receive such sensitive and balanced treatment. Liow's book is a tour de force and mandatory reading for policy-makers, academics and all of those interested in current affairs." - Ebrahim Moosa, Associate Professor of Islamic Studies, Department of Religion, Associate Director, Duke Islamic Studies Center (DISC), Duke University, USA "Islam, Education, and Reform in Southern Thailand is Joseph Chinyong Liow's critical attempt to map out the reflexive questioning, locations of authority, dynamics and contestations within the Muslim community over what constitutes Islamic knowledge and education. Through the optics of Islamic education in Southern Thailand, Liow manages to brilliantly portray the ways in which Muslim minority negotiate their lives in the local context of violence and the global context of crisis of modernity." - Chaiwat Satha-Anand, Senior Research Scholar, Thailand Research Fund, Author of The Life of this World: Negotiated Muslim Lives in Thai Society

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*The Politics of Islamic Education in Southeast Asia*

*Towards Integrated Curriculum in Islamic Private Schools in Southern Thailand*

*Between Integration and Secession*

*Islamic Reform and Revivalism in Southern Thailand*

*Religion, Ideology, and Politics*

*Aspects of Development*

**Author and former Dean of the School of Intelligence Studies at the Joint Military Intelligence College Dr. Max Gross's purpose is to use history to explain today's Islamic insurgencies in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and the Philippines and to offer perspectives for the future. Muslim Archipalego's unique contribution is that it brings together in one reference a mass of information on the insurgencies in Southeast Asia. The country accounts are detailed and thorough as to events, organizations, dates, and participants. This work is illuminated by the author's more than three decades of service within the national Intelligence Community.**

**His regional expertise often has been applied to special assessments for the Community. With a knowledge of Islam unparalleled among his peers and an unquenchable thirst for determining how the goals of this religion might play out in areas far from the focus of most policymakers' current attention, the author has made the most of this opportunity to acquaint the Intelligence Community and a broader readership with a strategic appreciation of a region in the throes of reconciling secular and religious forces.**

**The Islamic world, often regarded as an anathema to civil society, in fact has rich traditions of associational life pursuing “common good”. These religious resources have been reinterpreted for the enhancement of civic virtues and participatory politics in contemporary context, that is, democratization. Such pioneering efforts have been clearly observable in Muslim Southeast Asia. In November 1999, the Sasakawa Peace Foundation invited ten Muslim activists and scholars from the region to Japan for exchanging views and experiences among themselves and with Japanese participants. Here their papers and discussions are compiled into a book, Islam and Civil Society in Southeast Asia.**

**"The twelve articles making up this volume examine a wide range of social, political, and economic issues in southern Thailand, focusing on particular questions such as: Is Islam compatible with Thai nationalism and the ideals of the Thai state? What features make southern Thai politics unique? What are**

**some social consequences of top-down development projects in the South? How has subregional development affected southern Thailand? To what extent are women involved in community development in the South? Other articles investigate the consumption practices in a rural border community, the nang talung shadow puppet theater, the Hat Yai Vegetarian Festival, the feminization of nora spirit mediumship, a Dhamma walk around Lake Songkhla to highlight ecological concerns, the social relationship network of the Baba Chinese business community in Phuket, and the cultural construction of a Thai community across the border in Kelantan." "The wide range of issues and ideas presented in this collection reveal the unique character of the region and the variety of cultures that contribute to its dynamic diversity."--BOOK JACKET. Brunei, although a relatively small state, is disproportionately important on account of its rich resource base. In addition, in recent years the country has endeavoured to play a greater role in regional affairs, especially through ASEAN, holding the chair of the organisation in 2013, and also beyond the region, fostering diplomatic, political, economic and educational ties with many nations. This book presents much new research and new thinking on a wide range of issues concerning Brunei largely drawn from Bruneian academics. Subjects covered include Brunei's rich history – the sultanate formerly had much more extensive territories and was a key player in regional affairs; the country's**

economy, politics, society and ethnicities; and resource issues and international relations.

The Oxford Handbook of Islamic Law

A Muslim Archipelago

Mapping Thai Muslims

Subject Siam

Contemporary Socio-Cultural and Political Perspectives in Thailand

Muslim Resistance in Southern Thailand and Southern Philippines

*Islam in Modern Thailand Faith, Philanthropy and Politics Routledge*

*Unlike its Southeast Asian neighbors, Thailand was never colonized by an imperial power. However, Siam (as Thailand was called until 1939) shared a great deal in common with both colonized states and imperial powers: its sovereignty was qualified by imperial nations while domestically its leaders pursued European colonial strategies of juridical control in the Muslim south. The creation of family law and courts in that region and in Siam proper most clearly manifests Siam's dualistic position. Demonstrating the centrality of gender relations, law, and Siam's Malay Muslims to the history of modern Thailand, Subject Siam examines the structures and social history of*

***jurisprudence to gain insight into Siam's unique position within Southeast Asian history. Tamara Loos elaborates on the processes of modernity through an in-depth study of hundreds of court cases involving polygyny, marriage, divorce, rape, and inheritance adjudicated between the 1850s and 1930s. Most important, this study of Siam offers a novel approach to the question of modernity precisely because Siam was not colonized yet was subject to transnational discourses and symbols of modernity. In Siam, Loos finds, the language of modernity was not associated with a foreign, colonial overlord, so it could be deployed both by elites who favored continuation of existing domestic hierarchies and by those advocating political and social change.***

***This volume provides a comprehensive survey of the contemporary study of Islamic law and a critical analysis of its deficiencies. Written by outstanding senior and emerging scholars in their fields, it offers an innovative historiographical examination of the field of Islamic law and an ideal introduction to key personalities and concepts. While capturing the state of contemporary Islamic legal studies by chronicling how far the field has come, the Handbook also explains***

***why certain debates recur and indicates fundamental gaps in our knowledge. Each chapter presents bold new avenues for research and will help readers appreciate the contested nature of key concepts and topics in Islamic law. This Handbook will be a major reference work for scholars and students of Islam and Islamic law for years to come. This longitudinal, anthropological study challenges the single, dominant narrative of Muslim discourse in Thailand. it focuses on Thai Muslims in the Nipa Island (pseudonym) community on the Andaman coast, whose economic and education aspirations, social relationships and ethnic identity have been significantly altered through globalization And The religio-political unrest on the southeastern coast of Thailand. Nipa islanders seek to define themselves on their own terms as both Thai and Muslim. Their Muslim identity is uniquely interwoven with the particularities of time, locality and specific ethno-cultural history that links them To The Andaman coast.Mapping Thai Muslimsalso traces Muslim socio-religious changes from two centuries ago To The 1980s and through To The present. The ongoing redrawing of Islamic religiosity allows unique insight into Nipa islanders as local actors and agents with their own individual viewpoints and consequent***

***life decisions. Based as it is on extensive fieldwork, this study will be of great appeal to anthropologists, historians, Southeast Asian and Asian scholars, and readers interested in Islam and Muslim identity. Wannu W. Anderson is Professor of Research in the Department of Anthropology at Brown University. She is the author of Displacements and Diasporas: Asians in the Americas and In Two Worlds: Thai-American Trajectory.***

***Religious Expression Trajectories in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Thailand  
Women's Rights Movements, Religious Resurgence and Local Traditions***

***The Minority Muslim Experience in Mainland Southeast Asia***

***The Muslim Communities of the Southern Philippines, Southern Thailand, and Western Burma/Myanmar***

***The Multiple Identities of the Middle East***

***Dynamic Diversity in Southern Thailand***