

ANALYSIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THAILAND'S POLICY AGAINST MALAY ISLAMIC MINORITIES IN SOUTHERN THAILAND: A REVIEW OF LILIWERI'S DISCRIMINATION THEORY

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Abstract

This study discusses the situation of Muslim minorities in southern Thailand and the various policies of the Thai government. Historically, Thai royal relations with Muslims in the south have had a rather complex dynamic. The study highlights the various policies of the Government of Thailand in regulating the enforcement of Islamic law and the education of prayerful Muslims in southern Thailand. This research uses the library research approach in the form of a literature review, i.e., gathering various pieces of literature related to the topics discussed from various sources such as books, journal articles, time media, etc., then the researchers will read one by one the work of the writer, which is then reviewed or analyzed descriptively using the basis of Liliweri's political theory of discrimination as a knife analysis. The results found that, as a state duty, the policy of the Government of Thailand in regulating the application of Islamic law and post-education runs in accordance with the state constitution and the purposes of national education. However, such a policy gives Muslims a loss of value on the part of the custody of religious originality, according to the analysis of the theory of indirect discrimination. This policy is designed with complex procedures that seem to benefit the material side but save the invisible disadvantage.

Keywords: Politics; Thailand; Muslims; Minorities; Discrimination.

INTRODUCTION

Thailand is one of the countries in Southeast Asia with a population of 62.5 million as of November 30, 2022. Among the Buddhists (87.2%), 54.5 million are Muslims (12%) or 7.5 million Christians (0.72%), or 0.45 million, and the rest are other religions (0.08%) or 0.05 million.

This dynamic of Islamic development in modern Thailand is not apart from the history of Islam's arrival in Pattani, a region in southern Thailand that was once an Islamic kingdom counted from its mighty side in Southeast Asia known as Pattaani Darussalaam. The kingdom later fell under the power of the kingdom of Siam, which has now changed its name to the state of Thailand in 1932 and adopted the form of a constitutional monarchy (Wiliyanto, 2021).

When the Government of Thailand annexed the Pattani territory, which is a Malay Muslim region in southern Thailand, the government also implemented an assimilation policy against the entire society under its rule with the ideology "nation, king, and religion" to create citizens with a strong mental nationalism (Sodiqin, 2016). The diversification of the entire region of Thailand under the rule of the king by obedience to the notable Thai culture was a manifestation of Buddhist teachings that threatened the existence of Islam and the sublime culture. This is why the Muslims in Pattani, whose majority are ethnic groups, have been engaged in insurrection and resistance against the Thai government until today because it is seen as an attempt to deculturalize the religion and culture of the Islamic people in Pattaani.

The assimilation policies implemented by the Thai government strengthen the identity of the Pattani Muslim community. Because the principle inherent in the life of the Pattani Muslim community is that "it is not enough just to be a Muslim; the perfection of being a Muslim is to be Malay". The Muslim character is basically not radical but rather friendly in terms of tolerance for

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different doctrines and cultures, but this character can turn militant when its religion and culture are disturbed (I. Yusuf, 2009).

Being a minority within the circles of Thai cultural power and Buddhism, it has been a serious threat to Muslims in the territory of southern Thailand to this day. In this study, we will discuss the influence of Thai government policy on the state of Islamic development in Thailand to this day, both from the social, political, legal, and educational sides, based on a review of the political theory of discrimination (Liliweri, 2005).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses the library research approach in the form of a literature review. The object of the study is the policy of the Thai government from 1902 until now on the application of Islamic law and the Islamic education system that affects the survival of Muslims in Thailand. Data is collected using literary techniques such as books, journal articles, and other media relevant to research topics. The collected data was then analyzed descriptively using Liliweri's political discrimination theory foundation as a knife analysis.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

History of Islam in Thailand

In the 10th century B.C., when Arabs and Indians first entered the territory of Thailand, there were no more Islamic groups found, so many say that Islam first came into Thailand because it was brought by people from India and the Arabs (Azis et al., 2021). It is also reinforced by the fact that the Muslim community in Pattani (Thailand) frequently obtains stereotypical identification or stigma from ethnic Buddhists and the Thai government. The stigma issued by referring to the Pattani Muslims as Khaek, which can literally mean "guest" is also intended to identify people with tawny brown skin, especially those from South Asian regions, namely Pakistan, the Middle East, and India (Arismunandar, Afriantoni, & Asmuni, 2019). The term Khaek is slowly becoming a trigger for the rupture of Malay and Thai Muslim relations to become one of the causes of conflict in South Thailand because it is considered by the Muslims as an act of contempt that creates disgust and a social gap between different races and religious beliefs.

The arrival of Islam in Thailand by Arabs and Indians did not escape the trade routes; of these Muslim merchants, most are people from India (Michalopoulos, Naghavi, & Prarolo, 2018). Muslim merchants who have spread to various parts of Southeast Asia, such as the Malaya Peninsula, Aceh, and especially Southern Thailand (Siam), are the first to enter the territory of Muslim traders, specifically in Pattani, which was later known as Pattaani Darussalam. In its development in the 18th and 19th centuries, Pattani increasingly existed, so that Islam became more and more flourishing and could give rise to great influential scholars (C. F. Yusuf, 2013). Among the influential scholars in Pattani with a variety of roles that later also served as spears in the development of Islam in Pattaani, such as Sheikh Abdullah bin Abdul Mubin, Sheikh Wan Hasan bin Wan Ishak, and Dr. Jihad bin Muhammad Al-Pattani (Siregar, 2021).

In its development, when the nations of Europe had already begun to invade and dominate some of the territories previously occupied by the Muslims, such as the British, who succeeded in conquering India and Egypt, and then the French, who successfully subdued North Africa (Sanuardi, 2018).

Therefore, it is not surprising that Muslim immigrants are often found in different countries, such as England, America, Germany, Norway, Thailand, and so on, where Muslims become a minority. In Thailand itself, when we look at the development and dynamics of Islamic history there, it can be found that Muslims are often treated ill (discriminatory), so that the Muslims seem to be a separate group isolated in the country (Yuniarto, 2005).

Thailand is one of the countries in the region of Southeast Asia, which, if reviewed historically, can be seen as the state of Thailand never accepting colonization from European

countries. However, in the early period, Thailand had been attacked by Burma, whose attacks continued under the leadership of Islam (Pattani), because the king of Pattani at the time, King Ismail Syah (Pya Tu Nakpa), was humiliated by the Thai King, who then sparked an attack on the side of the King of Thailand (Aslan, Hifza, & Suhardi, 2020).

In Thailand, the dominant or majority of the religious angle is Buddhism, with a presentation of 90%, and the remaining 10% are followers of Hinduism, Catholicism, Kong Hu Tju, and Islam (Rahayu et al., 2022). Overall, Thailand is the majority, but in some areas, such as southern Thailand, there are some provinces where 80% of the population is Muslim, with an estimated 2.3 million inhabitants, specifically in the provinces of Yala, Narathiwat, and Pattani in particular.

Live and stay in a place where it exists as a minority. The Muslims in Thailand are regarded as a group without regard to their existence, and all forms of aspirations are also ignored and respected as the majority of the population (Ekawati, 2020).

Such huge differences between Buddhists and Muslims often lead to discrimination against Muslims, leading to conflict between Muslims (Melayu) and the government of Thailand. Among the attitudes and treatment of the government that provoked conflict was to force the language and culture to be abandoned and replaced with Thai language and cultures to be used in the daily lives of the Patani Muslims.

Furthermore, the roots of all the conflict that occurred between the Muslims of Pattani and the Government of Thailand began when the former Muslim Kingdom of Malaya was then integrated into the territory of Thailand and had to participate in the pattern of the national integration of the state of Thailand, so that forcibly the Muslim Territory of Pattaani should be a territory that is united with the nationality of Thailand (Yuniarto, 2005). Exactly in 1909, Thailand and Britain signed the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909, also known as the Bangkok Treaty of 1909. On March 10, 1909, this treaty was signed in Bangkok at the King's Palace of Thailand. Where in the agreement that the southern part of Siam (Thailand) became part of the Kingdom territory of Thailand. This change then made the Pattani Muslims, who were formerly independent and had power over their own territory, into subordinate territories or parts of Thailand, making them a minority in the national branch.

Some of the policies of the Thai government that touched the religious and social lives of Thai Muslims after the Anglo-Siamese Treaty of 1909 were:

1. Political aspects: legal reforms occurred in the Thai government system, i.e., the change from Islamic law to civil law.
2. Educational aspects: the existence of a compulsory schooling law at the primary school level for Muslim-Melayu Pattani children with the use of Thai and Buddhist teachings in it.
3. Cultural aspects: Muslim-Melayu communities are forced to wear Buddhist and Western clothing.
4. Economic aspects; the presence of tax pressure on Muslim-Melayu Pattani society.

The content of this agreement is an agreement to recognize each other's jurisdiction. However, the indigenous community owners of the occupied areas disagree with such actions, including Muslim-Melayu Patani. When the policies of the Siamese government that suppressed the forms of rejection of the agreement emerged, then the actions of rebellion by the Malay Muslim community that then occurred to the present day.

Application of Sharia law in Muslim minority territories

Pattani, as a territory of the kingdom of Thailand, whose inhabitants are dominated by Muslims, had a construction of Islamic law long before the territory became part of the Siamese kingdom (Thailand). The Muslim community of Pattani generally submitted to the teachings of Islam established by the Sultans. The establishment of Islamic law in the territory of the Pattani kingdom includes the Perdata Law (marriage and inheritance) and the Penal Law (criminal).

Although there is no special institution to judge religious issues, the Muslim community of Pattani resolves the problems by obeying the rulings of scholars who have scientific authority. The problem faced is related to the law, so the solution comes from some of Shafi'i's fictional books carried out by Judge Datoh and has binding power. Some of them are Fathul Mu'in, Mughni al-Muhtaj, Al-Bajuri 'Ala al-Syamsyuri, Ghayat al-Maqsud, Halal Musykilat, and Syarh al-'Arabiyyah (Dorloh, 2009).

When Pattani fell into the power of the Kingdom of Siam (Thailand) during the rule of King Chulalongkorn Rama V (in 1902 AD), the construction of Islamic law in Pattania focused only on matters of marriage and inheritance, while criminal matters were referred to the general courts. In order to be able to realize the application of religious law well to society, we formed an institution of religious justice that has jurisdiction in the trial of disputes of marriage and inheritance called Dato' Yuthitham in 1917. However, Dato Yuthitham exists only in Boriwen Cit Hua Muang provinces, including Patani Tuan Sulung, Teluban Nak Dir, Nongchik Tuan Nik, Jalor Tuan Yalor, Rangae Nik Dah, and Reman Tuan Mansur. In accordance with the King's Decree of 1902, concerning the conduct of government in the region, it is stipulated that "no law or regulation may be enforced without the prior consent of the King" (Pitsuwan & Basri, 1989).

Dato' Yuthitham's existence as an Islamic judiciary began to fade away and almost disappeared when there was a policy of forceful assimilation in the 1930s. Among its policies are the officialization of Thai as the national language, the prohibition of the use of other languages in government agencies, and the emphasis on Buddhism as a national religion, which affects the ban on religion and Islamic law in southern Thailand (Melvin, 2007).

As well as the concept of Thai Rathaniyum imposed by the Prime Minister Phibul Songgram, a nationalist who was in power, implemented a monarchy system in 1932, which only allowed Thai culture as a single model that was allowed to flourish in Thailand, which affected the prohibition of Islamic culture such as dressing up Muslims, using Arabic names, language, and Jawi script, and Islamic law when King Chulalongkorn Rama V was abolished and also fired the qadhi' so that the process of settlement of matters was all shifted to civil justice (Sodiqin, 2016).

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The Patronage of Islamic Act, passed in 1945 and applicable to all Muslims in Thailand, was the first legal creation by the Thai government. This law formed the basis for the establishment of the National Islamic Committee, which was formally established by the Government of Thailand in 1945. The tasks and functions of the Institution of the National Islamic Committee are in accordance with Article V of the Islamic Act, which states that "The National Muslim Committee serves as an adviser to the domestic government and the Ministry of Education in matters of Islamic religion" (Latif Fauzi, 2015). The National Islamic Committee is headed by a Chularajmontri appointed by the Thai government at the instruction of the Minister of the Interior to arrange and answer all questions of the Muslims in Thailand.

During the time of the absolute monarchy in Thailand, Chularajmontri was more dominated by the Shia Persian family. This created a gap between the fatwa issued by Chularajmontri and the scholars and the Muslim community in Pattani, who were notabene Sunni. Currently, the Islamic Committee has 28 committees at the provincial level that deal with and resolve the problems of Muslims.

The second legal product of the Thai government for Muslims is the Law of Implementation of the Islamic Family Law and the Legislation of Inheritance, which was passed a year after the Patronage of the Islamic Act in Thun 1946. The law only applies specifically to four Muslim-majority provinces in southern Thailand, namely Patani, Yala, Naratiwat, and Setun. The attempt to codify

this law as a single compilation of Islamic law has actually existed since 1929, designed by judges in southern Thailand led by Buddhist general court judges on the order of the king. The reason behind this codification is the inconsistency of judgments issued between the judges on the same issue due to different references to the fiqh books (Fauzi, 2015). For example, in deciding inheritance matters, religious court judges often take references from the fiqh book other than the *syafi'i*.

Along with the rapid development of the Islamic community in Southern Thailand, the material laws in the Compilation of Islamic Law, which was approved in 1946, are considered irrelevant to the problems and needs of the people of this contemporary era. Since it was designed in 1929 and approved in 1946, this compilation has not been revised and improved until now (Chantararat, 2020). As a result, Muslims in southern Thailand are less interested in settling their cases in religious courts. They prefer to settle marriage matters or inheritance matters with scholars who they believe have the ability and authority of science, even at the level of the mosque (Fauzi, 2015).

After the Islamic Law Compilation was approved in 1946, the third legal product issued by the Government of Thailand for the benefit of Muslims was the Mosque Administration Act, which was passed in 1947 and enforced for Muslims in Thailand as a whole.

Development of Islamic Education in Southern Thailand

Islamic education in Thailand is developing with the increase in the number of Islamic schools. The number of schools includes the pattern of the madrasah and also the decoration of the hostel, known by the term *cabin* or *ponoh* in the local dialect. These Islamic schools are relatively large, reaching more than 60 Muslim schools in southern Thailand.

In the eye of history, Islamic education, especially the nursery cottage, has played an important role in providing religious education and teaching as well as deepening the understanding of Muslim Islam in Southern Thailand. Besides, the hostel became a milestone in keeping the Malay language, history, and culture that reflect Islamic values. By the nineteenth century, the Southern Patani kingdom had become the best regional center for learning Islamic sciences. Many Muslim students from the islands and mainland of Southeast Asia (particularly Cambodia) travel to deepen religious studies in various gymnasiums before moving to the Middle East and North Africa for further Islamic education. The same is true of the Thai Muslim scholars, among whom are Sheikh Dawud al-Fatani, Sheikh Ahmad al-Phatani, and Sheikh Zainal Abidin al-Phatani, who succeeded in continuing their studies to the Middle Eastern religious centers (*al-Haramain*), until in the nineteenth century they successfully opened the halls (*halaqah*) in the Haram Mosque, which is also known as the "*Ulama Jawi*". While in Pattani, they have the title "*Tok Kadi*" (*guru agama pondok*). The scholars in Southern Thailand have proven capacity in Islamic sciences and are connected to the network of scholarships in the Malay world and the wider Muslim world because they have a strong influence on education.

There are two patterns of thought that are widespread in most of the madrasas and gymnastics that exist in southern Thailand: traditional thinking and reformist thinking. This pattern was formed as a result of epistemological differences in the application of fiqh. The majority of traditional groups in southern Thailand have a legal hold on the *Shafi'i* mazhab. It is a characteristic of the hostel that is taken care of by the scholars with traditional characteristics to teach fiqh that is sourced from the classical books of the scholar's book of *syafi'iyah*, then contextualized on the lives of Muslims in the modern world (Helmiati, 2022).

But the reformist house and the madrasah are not bound to a single mazhab but refer to all the mazhabs that are closer to their understanding of the Qur'an and Sunnah. This reformist pattern is based on the belief that Islamic education should start with the teachings of Tauhid, whose source is the Quran and Sunna. Therefore, it is not surprising that, in general, reformists reject the existence of analogies in the formulation of Islamic law. Through this pattern, it has strengthened the perception among certain observers that they are Scripturalists, Literalists, and Puritans. In addition to being fundamentalist in their theological and epistemological orientation,

they are also reformists in their challenge to the traditionalist-traditionalist Islamic culture in southern Thailand.

Another distinction that marks the traditional and reformist pattern of the Islamic Education Institute in southern Thailand is its affiliation with the Thai government. This affiliation in itself supports some of the governmental systems and programs incorporated into the education system, such as the merger of religious curricula and the national curriculum to change the pattern from a mansion learning base to an Islamic school (*madrrasah*) (Helmiati, 2022).

These differences in thinking are also derived from the curriculum methods and reference sources used in the teaching and learning process in the gymnasium. For the traditional group, the reference is made to yellow books written and written directly by the Pattani scholars who studied in the Middle East in the 19th century. These books use a language written with Malay-Arabic characters because of the incompetence of the Pattaani children, who are generally not proficient in Arabic. In addition to the books of the writings of the original scholar Pattans, the guest house also uses books of great scholars such as Imam Al-Ghazali (1058–1111) and Sheikh Nawawi Al-Bantani (1230–1314), which are references in the teaching of fiqh, aqidah, tasawuf, and akhlak.

While the reformist *madrrasah* adopted the ideas of Jamaludin al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, popular in the 20th century, created by the Pattani scholars, for example Haji Sulong, who was heavily influenced by the teachings of Muhammad Abdullah, he supported the recent doctrine that selective adoption of Western innovation and technology for the advancement of the Muslim community is not contrary to Islam (Helmiati, 2022).

As explained earlier, there have been various separatist movements in Southern Thailand because one of them is the policy of assimilation or national integration, which also includes the world order of education for adolescents. Among the Malay Muslims, the more the project of assimilation for the expression of cultural identities such as language, culture, and national ideology for the entire population of the country is being carried out, the more the Malay identity is being revived and the Islamic awareness is increasingly enhanced through the training. To that end, as Madmarn insisted, it was the gymnasium that became the center of dissemination of the ideas of Pan-Melayu nationalism and the revival of Islam (Liow, 2009).

Since 1961, the government has forced all the cottages to register with the government agency. Forced registration of a cabin will affect the government's ease in regulating and minimizing the onset of rebellion. On the other hand, some houses have rejected this policy. For example, Ustaz Abdul Kassim Hasan, who served as the head of the religious school, founded the separatist organization National Revolutionary Line (BRN) in 1963 as a form of resistance to government policy. This organization fought for Patani independence and allegedly made the practitioner a militant caderization base other than the mosque (Helmiati, 2022).

The Government of Thailand considers that education plays a major role as a means of modernizing the nation and generating competent human resources that are integrated into the national system and the capital of economic development (Porath, 2014). Besides, the Thai government and the Thai Buddhist community regarded the practice as a basis for the cultivation of radical religious notions. Thus, after the insurgency in 2004, the reception house became the target of government and military suspicion. Military personnel tore apart a number of houses. A number of school leaders and teachers were interrogated and suspected of involvement in some subversive militant activities, some of whom were even arrested.

But as time passed, the government's efforts eventually grew. According to Nidae Waba, President of the Association of Private Islamic Schools, the number of traditional cottages in southern Thailand actually increased in registration with government agencies, from 270 cottages at the end of 2004 to almost 330 at the beginning of 2006. Of them, sixty-two were in Yalah, two hundred two hundred in Pattani, forty-seven in Narathiwat, and two in Satun (Liow, 2009). The Factor causing the increase is;

1. The government has introduced a full funding policy for the cottage that is registered and then converted to Islamic private schools. The government has also funded up to 60 percent of the budget for traditional cottages that choose to maintain their traditional status after registration. Previously, government funds were allocated only to registered Islamic private schools, while the cottage was financed through wakaf, zakat, and the proceeds of small-scale local commercial activities such as the sale of agricultural produce harvested from the residential complex.
2. Some of the teachers expressed their reluctance to turn their cottage into a private Islamic school by insulting concerns about excessive government interference in the highly respected education system in southern Thailand.
3. Not a few teachers and the Malay-Muslim community in general also argued that the cottage still played a vital role precisely because it felt necessary to balance the fixation of Thai society with modern secular education, which, in their view, has opened the way for social disease to infiltrate into society.
4. The government has introduced policy funding for listed cottages and then switched to Islamic private schools. The government has to fund up to 60 percent of the budget for cottage traditional choices to maintain their traditional status after registration. Previously, government funds were allocated only for school private Islamic registration, temporarily financed cottages through waqf and zakat, and results from activities on a local scale, like sale results harvested from agriculture in complex housing school.
5. Part of the reluctance among teachers and tutors for change, they become Islamic private schools with a touch of worry about mix-hand excessive government in a highly respected education system in southern Thailand.
6. No, A few teachers and Malay-Muslims in general believe that cottages continue to play an important role. They believe that there is a need to balance Thai society with modern secular education and that they provide an open door for disease to infiltrate society.

A number of cottages have been registered with the government, including 212 that have received some form of funding from the Thai government, namely 43 cottages in Narathiwat, 33 cottages at Yala, and 136 at Pattani, with other cases delayed. Around 100 other cottages or madrasas refuse to sign up and affiliate with the government. When asked about their reluctance to enroll, the most common reason quoted by teachers from these schools was their concern that the emphasis on religion would be reduced if they accepted it. curriculum established by the state. One might suspect that this teacher felt the responsibility to preserve the Islamic tradition of the hut, which remained important to the history and identity of the Malay-Muslim province.

Despite its historic reputation and the fact that the number of hostels has increased in recent years despite the government's efforts to ensure otherwise, But the interesting thing is that today only about five percent of the Malay Muslim student population continues education in traditional cottages. Most Malay-Muslim students have chosen to attend private Islamic schools. Some of the reasons are:

1. Houses are constantly under pressure from the central government to change their educational structure so as to adopt more systematic and bureaucratic governance and administrative models, as well as to introduce vocational and academic subjects to their students. The recalibration of Islamic education was carried out to align the curriculum in Islamic schools with the needs of schools in the National Education System.
2. Awareness has emerged within the Muslim community as a whole that traditional cottages are not equipped at all to prepare Muslim youth for the challenges of modernity. As Madmarn observed, "in the village, there is no preparation for religious education amongst the community, and parents do not encourage their children to study in self-employed cottages. Because many of the inhabitants of this village are poor farmers and fishermen, their economic problems can deter them from the Islamic obligation to educate their children (in self-catering huts)".

The government's transformation of the preschool into an Islamic school refers to the ultimate goal of Thailand's national education, among other things, to be able to live in harmony with other citizens regardless of tribe, religion, and race, as stated in the Thai National Education Act:

“Education shall aim at the full development of the Thai people in all aspects: physical and mental health; intellect; knowledge; morality; integrity; and desirable way of life so as to be able to live in harmony with other people.

Education should be aimed at developing Thai citizens integrally in all aspects: physical and mental health; intellectual knowledge; morality; integrity; and the desired way of life to be able to live in harmony with others.

To realize the ultimate goal of Thai national education, its implementation is done by the government through the diversification of curricula and learning methods. The curriculum changes to produce graduates of Thai citizens who have high nationalism, love of nation, religion, and kingdom, honesty and integrity, self-discipline, the love of science, dedication, a commitment to work, and an open attitude.

The curriculum of the internship, which has been transformed into Islamic schools, is now not only focused on the religious sciences but also equipped with academics, social competences, and life skills. For example, there are a number of Islamic schools in southern Thailand, such as Bamrung Islam in Thai or Madrasah Arrohmaniyah in Arabic, Ansor al Sunnah, Narathiwatt, and Chatiyatham Suksa Foundation School. Its current curriculum compares to eight religious sciences, or the equivalent of 30% and 70% academic sciences (Helmiati, 2022). Religious teachings include the Quran, Tafsir, Hadith, Akidah, Fiqih, Islamic History, Akhlak, Arabic, and Malay. Academic sciences include Thai, mathematics, science, foreign languages, social sciences, religion and culture, occupation and technology, art, health, and physical education.

There are several Islamic schools that formulate additional curricula and gain recognition from the government. For example, in the Bamrung Islamic School and the Ansor as-Sunnah Islamic School, which also implement extracurricular activities such as the study of the yellow book and the Qur'an hafalan because they are supported by a shelter center for the students, Then students who graduate will get two degrees at once.

The integration of national education into the hostel is slowly becoming one of the alternatives to instilling the values and culture of peace in the societies and generations of Muslims in southern Thailand. For example, the application of Thai as an introductory language in learning Eventually, the Muslim students began to feel equality in social matters, which indirectly removed the stereotype that Muslim-Melayu had Khaek (*pendatang*). As a result of an interview with a teacher in Narathiwat province.

“The Thai language is the national language of Thailand, which enables students to gain a sense of national unity and strengthen their nationalism. The Thai language becomes a means of communication that can create mutual understanding as well as a pleasant relationship between citizens of different races and cultures, such as between Thai and Malay ethnic groups. Once upon a time, between Malay and Thai people feel strange to each other so there is little social involvement between them. Now, with a language that can understand each other, it's easy to communicate and even collaborate.”

In addition to using Thai as the national language of all educational institutions, the government also subsidizes the cost of education for madrasas and Islamic schools that have been affiliated, thus enabling this Islamic educational institution to acquire adequate buildings, laboratories, pre-facilities, and adequate learning equipment, as well as pay incentives to teachers according to the standards set by the government. In addition, students also receive a subsidy on

education costs every year. Even in Islamic Bamrung, students are exempt from any cost given the entire operating costs incurred by the government, including to pay the teacher's salary.

In addition, students can apply for a capital loan from the government for the cost of living in the amount of 3,000 baths a month until they complete their education at the school level, which can be extended if they continue their studies in college. Submission of loan proposals to the government is facilitated by the school. The loan fund was repaid after two years of completion of his studies with an amount of basic money plus 1% interest. Technically, it was by sending a letter to the government stating its desire to pay the debt. The debt can be deducted according to the amount borrowed. This can take a long time because payments are made once a year. This policy is a link and a strengthening of the emotional ties between Malay Muslims and the government, given that one of the factors affecting the conflict is the existence of socio-economic disparities and the level of well-being of citizens in the South compared to other Thai citizens.

Analysis of the Government of Thailand's Policy Against the Malay Muslim Minority in View of the Political Theory of Discrimination

Political discrimination is the distinction between the political treatment of individuals or groups categorized on the basis of characteristic attributes that include differences in color, tribe, group, economy, or religion of any social class. According to Liliweri, discrimination is generally divided into two patterns: direct discrimination and indirect discrimination (Liliweri, 2005).

1. Direct discrimination is a form of restriction of a particular territory, such as residence, type of employment, or access to public facilities, resulting in prejudice against a particular group.
2. Indirect discrimination is a form of discrimination that is carried out through the implementation of policies that prevent certain races or ethnic groups from freely interacting with other racial or ethnic groups. This pattern of discrimination is packed with complex procedures and does not seem to be harmful to a particular group of society.
3. The various causes of discrimination, according to Unsriana, are; (Linda Unsriana, 2011)
4. History: the existence of important events in the past.
5. Competition and exploitation. Societies are now more materialistic and live in competition. Individuals or groups compete among themselves for wealth, luxury, and power.
6. The pattern of socialization also causes discrimination because it is passed from one generation to another through socialization interactions. Eventually, stereotypes are formed from one group to another as a result of negative inheritance.

The Thai government's policy of paying attention and exhortation to the Muslims in pursuing the doctrine and religious norms is recognized as worthy in the order of the consensus of the material law, which has been proved by the existence of several of the above laws that regulate the diversity of Muslims comprehensively. However, legally formal or procedural authority to execute and enact laws in order to obtain legal force and certainty is still under discussion in the absence of independence in a legal institution such as Dato Yuthitham.

In constitutional terms, Dato Yuthitham is not part of the jurisdictional grouping like other jurisdictions, such as the Labour Tribunal, the Tax Court, the Intellectual Property and International Trade Court, and the Insolvency Court. This is to ensure that the Shariah Court has access to the central government's authority in terms of budget, salary, resources, and operational.

According to the hierarchical structure of the jurisdiction of the courts, the Thai religious courts (Dato Yuhitham) are still under the authority of the General Court. This policy is seen as an attempt to restrict the autonomy of the region of Pattani to be able to regulate the system of local government. This is one of the seven points of the demand of the scholar Pattini to the government of Thailand to develop and separate the religious courts from the general courts for regulating the crimes of the Muslims. But this claim was rejected by the king (Fauzi, 2015).

The same thing happened with the appointment of Tok Kadi (Judge Dato Yuthitham), which is different from the appointments of judges in other courts. (Pasal 192, 193) In other words, Dato' Yuthitham's position as a judge is unconstitutionally justified and has no guarantee of office. These two types of judges have very different kinds of status in the court hierarchy (Samah, Abdullah, Hussin, & Ferdousi, 2023).

The Thai government's policy of regulating education is in line with the goal of national education to meet the challenges of modernity. The policy implemented in the change of curriculum and the form of the madrasah to become a true Islamic school in terms of policy and human rights is not contradictory. But if we go deeper into Liliweri's theory of indirect discrimination (Liliweri, 2005). Then there is a loss of value from the policy of the Thai government, both in matters of the enforcement of Islamic law and Islamic education against Muslims. But the disadvantage of these values is not apparent because they are united in complex procedures.

CONCLUSION

After we have looked at the history of Islam in Thailand and the conflict that has taken place there, it can be understood that Malay Islamic history in Pattani has lasted about 1000 years and continues to show its development to this day. Initially, Islam entered Thailand and was introduced by traders from India and the Arabs in the 10th century AD. It continues to develop to this day through the efforts of Muslim figures and scholars in Pattani, Thailand. In dealing with such conflicts, a comprehensive approach is often adopted, taking into account the ethnic, religious, political, and economic issues associated with the conflict. Nevertheless, the history of Islam in Pattani, Thailand, indicates that Islam has become an integral part of the lives of the Thai people and has made important contributions to the history, culture, and economy of the country. Nor should we ignore our view that the Islamic separatist conflict in southern Thailand shows the differences and tensions between Muslim and Buddhist communities in the country.

Islamic development in Thailand has increased in several sectors, including the implementation of Shariah law and the development of Islamic education. The assimilation project initially restricted and even outlawed the use of Islamic law, but it is now stronger and more prevalent in the South. However, it still has weaknesses in institutional independence and authority. Islamic education is undergoing rapid progress due to the policy of national integration, which has transformed a number of nursing homes into Islamic schools. However, if traced deeper with the theory of indirect discrimination against Liliweri, then there is a loss of value to the policy of the Thai government in matters of the enforcement of Islamic law and Islamic education against Muslims. But the disadvantage of these values is not apparent because they are united in complex procedures.

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