



PATTANI MUSLIM LIFE: IDENTITY, CONFLICT AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN 2004

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Abstract

This study aims to provide information to readers to know the life of Pattani Muslims: identity, conflict and social dynamics in 2004 in Thailand, by providing an in-depth picture of the life of Pattani Muslims in Southern Thailand where the focus of the discussion is, how the Malay identity of Muslims is maintained for sustainability, and also what factors drive the increasing tension between the Pattani community and the Thai government, and how social dynamics shifted due to a series of security incidents throughout 2004, and hopefully this reading can inform about the history that has occurred in order to encourage and motivate us. This research is a type of historical research, namely Kuntowijoyo's research in his book, namely 1. Topic selection 2. Source search 3. Source verification 4. Interpretation 5. Historiography. In addition, I also collected information from relevant sources by reading articles, online journals and reading books offline or online and so that it is useful and helps in writing this article. The results of the study show that the identity of Pattani Muslims is formed through a combination of Malay culture, Islamic teachings, local languages, and long historical memories; The escalation of the 2004 conflict was influenced by assimilationist policies, repressive actions by the security forces, and excessive use of military force. The social dynamics of that year were marked by heightened identity polarization, collective trauma, the militarization of public spaces, and changing social relations between the Muslim community, state officials, and the Buddhist community. These findings confirm that Pattani is not merely a security issue, but a historical problem rooted in identity, social inequality, and the state's failure to manage diversity.

Keywords: Pattani; Malay muslims; Conflict identity; Southern thailand.

Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan memberikan informasi kepada pembaca untuk mengetahui kehidupan muslim pattani: identitas, konflik dan dinamika sosial tahun 2004 di Thailand, dengan memberikan gambaran mendalam mengenai kehidupan Muslim Pattani di Thailand Selatan yang dimana fokus pembahasannya yaitu, identitas Melayu muslim yang dijaga keberlanjutannya, dan juga faktor-faktor apa yang mendorong meningkatnya ketegangan antara masyarakat Pattani dan pemerintah Thailand, serta bagaimana dinamika sosial bergeser akibat rangkaian insiden keamanan sepanjang 2004, dan semoga bacaan ini bisa memberitahu tentang sejarah yang telah terjadi agar bisa mendorong, dan memotivasi kita. Penelitian ini adalah jenis penelitian sejarah yaitu penelitian kuntowijoyo dalam bukunya yaitu 1. Pemilihan topik 2. Pencarian sumber 3. Verifikasi sumber 4. Interpretasi 5. Historiografi. Selain itu juga saya mengumpulkan informasi informasi dari sumber yang relevan dengan membaca artikel, jurnal online dan membaca buku secara offline ataupun online dan sehingga bermanfaat dan membantu penulisan artikel ini. Hasil penelitian memperlihatkan bahwa identitas Muslim Pattani terbentuk melalui kombinasi budaya Melayu, ajaran Islam, bahasa setempat, dan ingatan sejarah yang panjang; bahwa eskalasi konflik 2004 dipengaruhi kebijakan asimilasi, tindakan represif aparat, dan penggunaan kekuatan militer secara berlebihan; serta bahwa dinamika sosial pada tahun tersebut ditandai oleh menguatnya polarisasi identitas, trauma kolektif, militerisasi ruang publik, dan perubahan hubungan sosial antara komunitas Muslim, aparat negara, dan masyarakat Buddha. Temuan tersebut menegaskan bahwa Pattani tidak sekadar berkaitan dengan isu keamanan, tetapi merupakan problem historis yang berakar pada identitas, ketidaksetaraan sosial, dan kegagalan negara dalam mengelola keberagaman.

Kata Kunci: Pattani; Muslim melayu; Konflik identitas; Thailand selatan.

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INTRODUCTION

The conflict in Pattani, Southern Thailand, has long attracted academic attention as one of the most complex and protracted issues in Southeast Asia, rooted in issues of identity, historical social dynamics, and the state's failure to manage ethnic and cultural diversity. Pattani's Malay Muslim community, which adheres closely to Islamic traditions, speaks the Yawi language, and has a collective memory of the Pattani Sultanate, continues to strive to maintain its identity amidst Thailand's national policies, which since the early 20th century have emphasized a unifying identity based on the Thai language, Buddhism, and loyalty to the monarchy. Various previous studies have addressed related issues, ranging from the state's assimilation project, the development of separatist groups, to forms of marginalization of minority communities. However, most of these studies tend to concentrate on a security approach or explain the conflict through a macro-level political perspective, leaving the link between identity formation, escalating violence, and social dynamics during certain periods understudied¹.

This study argues that 2004 was a defining moment, not only giving rise to the largest outbreak of violence in Pattani's modern history but also reshaping social structures, public perceptions of the state, and the patterns of resistance that developed thereafter. The Krue-Se and Tak Bai incidents, for example, were not merely security incidents but also sources of collective identity formation, shared trauma, and internal community solidarity. Therefore, examining how Pattani Muslim identity was constructed and how social dynamics and conflict reached their peak in 2004 is crucial to address the shortcomings of studies that have not yet integrated these three aspects into a comprehensive analytical framework². While some previous researchers have focused solely on one element or isolated each aspect in separate readings, this study attempts to integrate them through a qualitative approach based on a literature review. The discussion is structured around three main focuses: first, the process of constructing Pattani Muslim identity; second, the dynamics and escalation of the conflict until it reached its climax in 2004; and third, the impact of social change that emerged as a direct consequence of this series of violence. Overall, this study is expected to enrich the literature on minority conflict, Malay Muslim identity, and the interaction between state and society in Southern Thailand³.

RESEARCH METHOD

This writing uses the research method formulated by Kuntowijoyo in his book 1. Selection of topic 2. Search for sources 3. Verification of sources 4. Interpretation 5. Historiographer. The research methods used in this writing, formulated by Kuntowijoyo in his book, are systematic and comprehensive enough to produce a valid and meaningful scientific work. The first step is the selection of topics. At this stage, the researcher must determine the research focus carefully and accurately. The choice of topics should not be made at random or based solely on personal interest, but should be based on relevance, availability of resources, and knowledge needs in a particular area. The chosen topic should be specific so that the research has clear limits and does not extend too widely, thus facilitating in data collection and analysis⁴.

The second stage is the search for sources. Once the topic is set, the researchers begin collecting various supporting data and information. These sources can be reference books, articles,

¹ Supriati H. Rahayu et al., "Problematika Integrasi Masyarakat Muslim-Thai Dalam Negara Thailand," *Uloomuddin : Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman* 12, no. 1 (April 11, 2022): 119–32, <https://doi.org/10.47200/uloomuddin.v12i1.1110>.

² Rahayu et al.

³ Arismunandar Arismunandar, Afriantoni Afriantoni, and Asmuni Asmuni, "Melayu Pattani Thailand: Muslim Minority Religion Expression In The Middle Of Non Muslim Majority," *Journal of Malay Islamic Studies* 3, no. 1 (November 28, 2019): 63–74, <https://doi.org/10.19109/jmis.v3i1.4576>.

⁴ Kuntowijoyo, *Metodologi Sejarah*, Kedua (Yogyakarta: Tiara Wacana, 2003).

scientific journals, research reports, archives, to digital documents. In this process, the researcher should do systematic and systematic in collecting the material to suit the research focus. Sources are also searched through various media, both offline such as traditional libraries and private collections, and online through journal databases, digital articles, and digital libraries. Next is source verification, which is a very important stage to maintain the credibility of the research. At this stage, researchers assess the accuracy and brightness of the information obtained. Not all sources can be used directly without evaluation, as there is likely to be biased, invalid, or outdated information. This verification includes verification of author authority, original data collection methods, date of publication, as well as compatibility with other similar sources. Thus, research can be based on credible and accountable data.

Once the data source is verified, the next stage is interpretation, i.e. the process of analyzing and interpreting the data that has been collected. Here the researchers not only present the facts as they are, but also try to understand the meaning behind the data. Interpretation is done by forming findings with relevant theories or concepts, examining historical, social, or cultural contexts, and revealing cause-and-effect relationships or emerging patterns. This process is crucial because it forms the basis for formulating more in-depth conclusions and arguments. The final stage is historiography, which is a way of writing history or presenting research results in a systematic, chronological, and logical way. Here the researchers compile the narrative of the research by paying attention to continuity and consistency between parts so that the information presented is easy to understand and gives a complete picture of the problems studied. Historiography is also involved⁵.

In addition to running these five stages, I also gathered additional information from various relevant sources. I read articles and scientific journals online that allow quick and broad access to the latest research and diverse perspectives. In addition, I also read books offline and online for in-depth references and various critical points of view that may not be available in short articles. This approach helps to enrich and strengthen the theoretical basis and research data so that this writing becomes more comprehensive and has a solid scientific foundation. By combining Kuntowijoyo's research methods and the collection of diverse sources, this paper is expected to be able to provide valid, systematic, and useful results for the reader as well as the development of science in related fields.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Identity of Pattani Muslim life

Life is a colorful journey filled with experiences, challenges, and learning. Every day brings new opportunities to grow and find the meaning of life, just like Thailand, a country known as the land of the white elephant which is famous as a tourist destination for tourists from all over the world, with many things that can be visited as a holiday destination, and don't forget that this developing country must have stories and history that we must know, many Thai residents are non-Muslim, but there must be Muslims in this developing city, one of them is Muslim Pattani, and Patani is also nicknamed the birthplace of Islam in Southeast Asia and as the center of the spread of Islam in Southeast Asia⁶.

Initially, Patani was known as Langkasuka, it was a kingdom believed to be the Patani kingdom, Langkasuka was a Siamese Malay kingdom located in the Malaysian Peninsula and this

⁵ Kuntowijoyo, *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah* (Yogyakarta: Yayasan Bentang Budaya, 1995).

⁶ Setia Gumilar et al., "Unveiling Unity: How Thailand's Muslim Minorities Weave a Multicultural Society," *Cogent Arts & Humanities* 12, no. 1 (December 31, 2025), <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2025.2579170>.

kingdom may have been the earliest kingdom in Malaya. And according to historical figures, Islam had entered Patani much earlier, namely in the tenth or eleventh century AD, then Islam stood firm towards the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century AD, namely after the fall of the Islamic kingdom of Melaka, and its spread through Arab traders or merchants, who over time had many enthusiasts⁷. Patani's position on the Siamese peninsula is strategic in terms of geography, which caused this city to become the hope of traders to trade or to rest. And over time, Patani became an economically advanced kingdom and stable in terms of politics and government which made relations with its people good.

The religious diversity of the population in Thailand is large, many are non-Muslim, of course this is a challenge for Muslim life in Thailand, according to the population census in 2000, the majority of Thai citizens are Buddhist (94.6%), then Islam (4.6%), and the rest are Christian and Catholic. However, currently the number of Muslims exceeds 10%, or around 7.4 million of the 67 million population of Thailand and most of these Muslims live in southern Thailand, which are mostly in the provinces of Yala, Narathiwat, and Pattani⁸. They live and settle there who inhabit the southern region of Thailand, most of which are Muslim, religion and Malay culture also go hand in hand well in their lives⁹.

But the development of Pattani Islam is now a minority and a majority, these Pattani Muslims live in four southern provinces, namely Pattani, Yala, Narathiwat, and Satul. It is also part of Shongkla Province. Meraka also continued to use the Malay language in everyday life also known as kecek nayu, then there is the Jawi script (Malay Arabic characters) where the Pattani Malay Muslim community uses the Malay Arabic letters in writing activities, Jawi script is a culture that originated from the Malay language group, where the script is in Arabic form but the language uses the Malay language that is preserved until now. The legal system stems from the fiqh, if Islamic education in the west he believes that the cottage has an important role in maintaining Islamic identity as well as ethnic Malay identity and curriculum is not much different from other west. And also the Malay customs and traditions that are preserved are the main characteristic of the mother¹⁰.

With Pattani Muslims maintaining their Malay identity, it is clear that they refuse to be called Thai, preferring terms such as "Siamese" or "Thai" to distinguish themselves as ethnic Malay Muslims, as they maintain their identity as "Pattani Malays" because the Pattani region was formerly the Islamic Kingdom of Pattani Darussalam since the 14th century, before being annexed by the Kingdom of Siam (now Thailand) in the 19th century. Thailand's assimilationist policies, such as compulsory Thai language in schools and government and the emphasis on Buddhism as a national religion, triggered this agreement as a form of preservation of Malay-Islamic culture¹¹.

Pattani Conflict

In the early 20th century, the Thai government established a national identity through the slogan "nation king religion," which placed Thai culture and Buddhism as the primary elements of nation-building. This policy explicitly marginalized other ethnic and religious identities, including Malay-Muslim ones. For the Pattani people, this policy not only marginalized their culture but also

⁷ Nasiyoh Karasa, *Sejarah Perkembangan Islam Nusantara Di Patani Thailand Selatan (Studi Pemimpin Empat Sulthanah Abad 16-17 M)* (Jakarta: Omah Aksoro, 2017).

⁸ Abubakar Kabakoran, *Kajian Historis Gerakan Islam Di Pattani, Thailand Selatan* (Ambon: Deepublish, 2017).

⁹ Siti Aisah and Mawi Khusni Albar, "Budaya Melayu Pattani Dalam Kajian Profetik," *IBDA` : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 18, no. 1 (April 28, 2020): 1–14, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v18i1.3492>.

¹⁰ Mohammad Taufiq Rahman et al., *Multikulturalisme, Moderasi Beragama, Dan Tantangan Identitas Di Thailand Selatan* (Bandung: Gunung Djati Publishing, 2024).

¹¹ Marte Nilsen and Shintaro Hara, "Religious Motivation In Political Struggles," *Journal of Religion and Violence* 5, no. 3 (2017): 291–311, <https://doi.org/10.5840/jrv20184546>.

erased the legitimacy of the traditional socio-political structure long rooted in Patani history¹². The Malay leadership structure, which previously involved religious scholars, traditional leaders, and an Islamic government system, was replaced by loyal state administrators¹³. As a result, the Pattani people no longer had a political space consistent with their identity. The loss of local status became the starting point for a sense of injustice deeply embedded in the memories of Pattani Muslims. The emergence of this new ideology further alienated Pattani Malay Muslims from the central government, leading to the Pattani conflict, which is inextricably linked to the long history of interaction between the Thai state and Malay-Muslim communities. This conflict gave rise to identity tensions between the state and local communities. The beginning of the Pattani Muslim conflict was caused by the threat to their identity, which gave rise to a separatist movement in Pattani, which was a form of cultural resistance due to discriminatory attitudes, which grew from there¹⁴.

By 2004, a number of socio-political factors worsened relations between the state and the Pattani community. Asia-Pacific security reports pointed to the Pattani region's economic backwardness, administrative injustice, invasive military operations, tight surveillance of pondoks, and suspicious civil-military relations. The government under Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra implemented repressive security policies, dismantling administrative structures that had previously accommodated local culture, and replacing them with a militaristic approach. This exacerbated the crisis of public trust in the state. The conflict caused by the lack of attention to tolerance for Pattani Muslims led to a large and prolonged separatist movement. This movement demanded several things that the Thai government should have been able to grant: first, everyone in the border region has the right to a happy life with their religious and cultural identity. It was clear that Pattani Muslims as a minority have the right to live according to their religious beliefs in Thailand without any interference. Second, everyone must be able to appreciate cultural differences that can be a strength and intelligence for political stability, security, and national development. Third, local communities must be given opportunities and roles in the problem-solving process¹⁵.

Then the height of the January 2004 conflict, Krue-Se, and Tak Bai, the January 2004 Attack and the Military Emergency, attacks on military posts and police stations in January 2004 triggered a harsh response from the government. A military emergency was imposed, and security operations intensified. However, the public sees this response as a justification for the repressive actions of the state. In the most controversial incident, more than 100 young Muslim men were killed after government forces stormed the Krue-Se Mosque, where the youths had taken refuge. For the Pattani people, the mosque raid was a visible symbol of the state's disrespect for Islamic sacred spaces and its excessive use of force. Then, during a major demonstration in Tak Bai, nine residents were shot on sight, and more than 80 young Muslim men died of asphyxiation after being forced into a military truck. These events became a collective trauma for the Pattani community and are considered the most visible evidence of state violence against Muslims in the South. In Krue-Se, more than 100 young men were killed in the mosque raid, while in Tak Bai, more than 80

¹² Ali Sodikin, "Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Di Masyarakat Muslim Pattani Thailand (Integrasi, Konflik Dan Dinamikanya)," *IBDA : Jurnal Kajian Islam Dan Budaya* 14, no. 1 (May 30, 2016): 31–50, <https://doi.org/10.24090/ibda.v14i1.524>.

¹³ Herizal Apriyandi and R. Siti Zuhro, "Gerakan Separatis Muslim Pattani Di Thailand Selatan" (Universitas Indonesia, 2010), uri: <https://lib.ui.ac.id/detail?id=20342120&lokasi=lokal>.

¹⁴ Rahayu et al., "Problematisasi Integrasi Masyarakat Muslim-Thai Dalam Negara Thailand."

¹⁵ Rahman et al., *Multikulturalisme, Moderasi Beragama, Dan Tantangan Identitas Di Thailand Selatan*.

died from inhumane treatment in a military truck. These incidents created social trauma, deepened collective anger, and became a visible manifestation of the Pattani conflict¹⁶.

Social Dynamics of Pattani in 2004

Massive violence throughout 2004 deepened the divide between the Malay Muslim community and the Thai government. Sentiments that the state was hostile to Malay Islamic identity grew stronger. Many Thai Buddhist officials did not understand Pattani Islamic customs, and the Pattani community increasingly felt oppressed. Internal solidarity among Pattani Muslims increased, but at the same time, fragmentation emerged between moderate and militant groups. Youth became the group most susceptible to radicalization due to trauma, discrimination, and lack of economic access. Militarization of Public Space and Changes in Civil Relations With the imposition of martial law, public spaces in Pattani were filled with checkpoints, raids, and armed patrols. Daily life became tense, and the social impacts were, Residents are afraid to go out at night, social and religious activities are restricted, detention without due process triggers trauma, and relations between citizens and authorities are filled with suspicion¹⁷.

Since the imposition of martial law, the lives of Pattani residents have been marked by a strong sense of anxiety, especially when conducting activities at night. The presence of checkpoints, armed patrols, and frequent surprise raids have created psychological stress and a sense of insecurity in public spaces. Consequently, many residents have chosen to limit their nighttime activities, both for work and socializing, for fear of being questioned or misidentified by security forces. This situation has gradually shaped new habits in daily life and limited residents' freedom of movement and social interaction.

Restrictions on social spaces and religious practices are a direct consequence of the implementation of security policies in Pattani. Activities such as religious studies, community meetings, and mosque activities are often under the supervision of authorities or their implementation time is limited under the pretext of maintaining security stability. This situation not only disrupts the continuity of the religious routines of Pattani Muslims but also erodes the role of mosques and prayer rooms as central spaces for community social life. (Ali Sodiqin, 2016) shows that these conditions have implications for reducing the intensity of social relations and weakening the communal solidarity that was previously a strong character of Pattani society.

Detentions carried out without transparent legal mechanisms have triggered prolonged trauma within the Pattani community. In emergency situations, security forces are granted extensive authority to detain individuals without clear legal charges for specified periods. This practice fosters legal uncertainty and collective fear, especially since many detained individuals lack adequate legal representation. The impact is felt not only by those directly detained but also by the families left behind, leaving a profound psychological burden and reinforcing perceptions of structural injustice affecting the Pattani community¹⁸.

Interactions between the community and security forces are increasingly characterized by mutual distrust. In the eyes of residents, the authorities are no longer understood as those tasked with protecting them, but rather as an extension of oppressive state power. Conversely, the

¹⁶ Novi Andika Putri and Arum Lestari, "Islam as a Minority in Patani: Historical Roots and Contemporary Dimensions of Conflict with the Thai State in 2004," *OOSTHAVEN: Journal of Islamic History and Cultural Research* 1, no. 1 (2025), <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.24042/oosthaven.v1i1.26908>; Indah Puspita Sari, "Local Traditions as Guardians of Malay Identity among Pattani Muslims in Thailand," *At-Tarbawi: Jurnal Pendidikan, Sosial Dan Kebudayaan* 11, no. 2 (December 29, 2024): 326–47, <https://doi.org/10.32505/tarbawi.v11i2.9360>.

¹⁷ Rahayu et al., "Problematika Integrasi Masyarakat Muslim-Thai Dalam Negara Thailand."

¹⁸ Sodiqin, "Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Di Masyarakat Muslim Pattani Thailand (Integrasi, Konflik Dan Dinamikanya)."

authorities often view local residents as a group suspected of links to resistance activities. This strained relationship erodes social trust and hinders constructive communication between the two parties, creating a climate of mutual suspicion that exacerbates the conflict and poses a serious obstacle to a peaceful resolution in Southern Thailand¹⁹. The central government's internal migration policy of moving Thai-Buddhist residents to Pattani has changed the population proportion. This has given rise to several things; economic competition, changes in land ownership structures, increasingly sharp tensions in the Muslim-Buddhist community, markets closing earlier, transportation being unsafe, tourism collapsing, victims' families losing trust in the state, communities strengthening internal solidarity, and narratives of identity struggles becoming stronger in social memory.

The implementation of internal migration policies has resulted in increasingly intense economic competition between Thai-Buddhist immigrants and the Muslim community in Pattani. Immigrants tend to have easier access to formal sector employment and access to various government facilities, while local residents remain more likely to remain in the informal economy. This disparity in opportunities deepens inequality and reinforces feelings of economic marginalization among Pattani Muslims²⁰.

This migration has also resulted in shifts in land ownership patterns in Pattani. The land conversion process and the direction of development policies have resulted in some local Muslims losing their rights to agricultural land and inherited family land. The impact of these changes extends beyond the economic aspect and also creates deep disappointment, given the land's strong historical and cultural significance for the Pattani community.

The shift in population composition driven by internal migration has further intensified tensions between Muslim and Buddhist communities. Cultural disparities, coupled with perceptions that migrants receive preferential treatment, have fostered social distance and mutual distrust among residents. This situation has exacerbated horizontal conflicts at the community level and further complicated social integration in southern Thailand²¹.

The armed conflict situation has directly impacted the economic activities of Pattani's communities, particularly in traditional markets that often close earlier than usual. Both traders and buyers tend to avoid transactions in the late afternoon and evening due to fears of security raids or potential violence. Consequently, local trade dynamics have declined sharply, weakening the local economic cycle (Kevin T Conlon, 2012).

The worsening security situation has also disrupted transportation due to intensified checks on main roads and the threat of violence. This situation has restricted the movement of residents, hampered the distribution of goods, and made access to centers of economic activity difficult. The impact is felt most acutely by small businesses, as these limited mobility directly impact the continuity of their businesses and the livelihoods of the Pattani community (Kevin T Conlon, 2012). The tourism sector has experienced a sharp decline because Pattani is perceived as a conflict-prone area. The decline in tourist visits has resulted in the loss of income sources for communities dependent on services, trade, and tourism-supporting sectors.

In education, traditional Islamic boarding schools have come under intense scrutiny due to suspicions of being centers for militant recruitment. This has left religious scholars and students living in a state of uncertainty and fear, which has had a far-reaching impact on the structure of

¹⁹ Sodiqin.

²⁰ Puspita Sari, "Local Traditions as Guardians of Malay Identity among Pattani Muslims in Thailand."

²¹ Sodiqin, "Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Di Masyarakat Muslim Pattani Thailand (Integrasi, Konflik Dan Dinamikanya)."

Islamic education in Pattani. And also caused trauma and social transformation, the Krue-Se and Tak Bai incidents created fear in society. The Krue Se and Tak Bai tragedies left collective psychological scars, particularly for the families of the victims who lost family members or were subjected to violence. These events fostered prolonged trauma and eroded public trust in the state and security forces, who were then perceived as failing to protect civilians²².

In response to the trauma experienced, the Pattani community strengthened its internal cohesion by strengthening family ties and religious networks. Solidarity among fellow citizens, along with the increasing role of religious scholars and religious institutions, became the main pillars, providing moral protection and social support for the community. Overall, this situation reshaped the Pattani community's perspective on their future and their relationship with the government. The state was increasingly viewed as a distant and absent entity, while the Malay-Muslim identity strengthened as the primary foundation of social resilience and a reference point for the community's future direction. This situation transformed the way the Pattani community viewed the future, its relationship with the government, and its identity as Malay-Muslims²³.

CONCLUSION

Thailand is a country where most of the inhabitants are Hindu-Buddhist, but not only Hindu-Buddhist, there are several religions that they follow as beliefs such as Islam and Confucianism where only a small part of the community has these beliefs. The largest Muslim population in Thailand is located in the Pattani region where there are 4 provinces, namely: Yala, Narathiwat, Pattani, and Satun. The Muslim community in Thailand is usually called Pattani Malay Muslims, where the culture they use is still very strong with the Malay culture. These cultures include: the Malay language (kecek nayu); the Kampong and Tengoh languages; Jawi writing (Jawi script); law comes from the book of fiqh; abangan and santri; education: anubban, raudhoh, tadikayang schools; Islamic boarding schools; baju kurung.

In 2004, Pattani's Muslim life was in its most tense phase in contemporary history. The strong Malay-Muslim identity clashes with the country's assimilation-oriented policy. That year's escalation of violence deepened alienation and mistrust, creating a social dynamic fraught with tension, collective trauma, and religious ethnic polarization. This resistance led to a protracted conflict from the 19th century to the present. The Thai government should be aware of the differences between the Pattani people and those in other regions. A policy of assimilation or integration will only create new conflicts to the detriment of both sides. The main issue is not the issue of religion, but the issue of ethnicity, namely maintaining the Malay-Muslim identity from the Thai-Buddhist threat. Appreciating two different identities then an attitude of tolerance is the key to resolving conflicts.

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²² Sodikin; Dian Ekawati, "Migrasi Dan Problematika Minoritas Muslim Thailand," *Hikmah Journal of Islamic Studies* 15, no. 1 (April 4, 2020): 51, <https://doi.org/10.47466/hikmah.v15i1.125>.

²³ Sodikin, "Hukum Islam Dan Budaya Lokal Di Masyarakat Muslim Pattani Thailand (Integrasi, Konflik Dan Dinamikanya)"; Ilham Ramadan Siregar, "Kontribusi Ulama Patani Terhadap Perkembangan Hadis," *Al-Mu'tabar* 1, no. 1 (March 19, 2021): 1–29, <https://doi.org/10.56874/almutabar.v1i1.383>.

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