Enhancing the Southeast Asian Muslim Competitiveness through The Regional Scholarship Program for ASEAN Society
(A Case Study: The Muhammadiyah Scholarship Program for the Student of Pattani, Thailand at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta 2009-2011)

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Abstract

This paper aims to describe the importance of the scholarship program to strengthen multilateral ties among the regional countries in the Southeast Asia in case Indonesia-Thailand relationship as well as to develop the academic capacity of those are minority Muslims living in the Pattani, Southern Thailand, in which there is a domestic political barrier to access the university. Scholarship program is either commonly offered by the modern-industrial countries to the third world or the oil producer Middle East countries. This leads to advantages for the third world countries such as knowledge and experience improvement, international networking and carrier opportunity. However, it remains a serious problem on penetrating the values of the donor countries to the participants for instance secularism and religious radicalism. This is dealing with the asymmetric relations between the donor and the recipient. Therefore, it is necessary to have the scholarship program involving the symmetric relations among the Southeast Asian countries to enhance ASEAN Society without the soft power tendency. This paper uses Regionalism theory of the International Relations to explain why Muhammadiyah as the biggest Islamic movement of Indonesia should initiate to provide the scholarship program for the Pattani students studying at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and other appointed Muhammadiyahs' universities. In addition, Soft Diplomacy concept is also a tool needed to explain the West and Middle East scholarship programs. To have understanding on benefit of the program, this paper shows the analyzed result of the interview to the authorities of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta and the student of Pattani, Thailand.

Keywords: Regionalism, Soft Diplomacy, Pattani, Scholarship and Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta

Introduction

Pattani is a province of southern Thailand where Thai Muslim community lives. There are two more Muslims provinces in southern Thailand namely Narathiwat and Yala and those are well known as the "deep south".[1] It, historically, was part of Malay Peninsula. Nonetheless, since Thai had ceded neighboring Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu to the British, Pattani was under Thai rule in 1902 when conflict between Pattani people and the ruler began with.[2] In 1957, this conflict emerged because General Sarit Thanarat attempted to strengthen assimilationist policies for controlling over Islamic schools.[3]

Dealing with Thai government regulation on the Islamic schools in Pattani, Gross writes,

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[1] Jhon Funston, "Thailand" in Greg Fealy and Virginia Hooker (ed.), *Voices of Islam in Southeast Asia; A*
[2] Ibid., p. 78
[3] Ibid., p. 79

> "Beginning in 1960, Thai government undertook steps to bring the *pondok*
> schools under state supervision as well. A key aspect of the program was a
> requirement that all *pondoks* be registered with Ministry of Education and add
> to their curricula certain secular subject required all of Thai schools"[4]

As a result, the policy stimulates unrest and separatist of Pattani people. There are several liberating movements led by the Islamic scholars such as Barisan Nasional Pembebasan Patani (BNPP, National Liberation Front of Patani), Barisan Revolusi Nasional (BRN, National Revolutionary Front) and Pertubuhan Pembebasan Patani Bersatu (PULO, Patani United Liberation Organization). Then, in 1980s, a number of BNPP member formed Barisan Bersatu Mujahideen Patani (BBMP, United Mujahideen Front of Patani) and it might become or joined in with Gerakan Mujahideen Islam Patani (GMIP, Pattani Islamic Mujahideen Movement). The separatist groups received foreign assistance such as Libya, Syria and Afghanistan by providing military training.[5] The terrible conflict had shown series of bombing in Bangkok's international airport (June, 4th, 1977), a bombing attempt during royal visit to the south (September, 22nd, 1977) and the bombing of Had Yai train station (February, 8th, 1980).

Unlike the armed separatist, a group of Thai student namely Thai Muslim Student Association (TMSA) sought to avoid conflict with government and instead to win the respect of Thai authorities for Malay culture as part of divers nature of Thai society. It organizes leadership training through seminars, workshops and student camps particularly in rural areas to seek Thai liberal trend response prepared to accept Islam as a component of Thai culture and to permit the Malay Muslim the maximum degree of self-government. Gross says,

> "Many products of this organization did indeed emerge as successful
> politicians, university professors, executives, senior government officials, and
> businessmen, including the former Thai foreign minister, Dr. Surin Pitsuwan,
> and President of the Thai National Assembly, Wan Muhammad Noor Matha"[6]

TMSA's work needs to be appreciated, while overall Muslims Pattani remain unsafe and face "state-terrorism". For years, Muslims Pattani has faced genocide and discrimination of Thai government for example Thai military had killed them when they were praying in the mosque.[7] Like colonialized other Muslims people worldwide, it is, obviously, a serious humanity problem. Unfortunately, a few Muslims aware and pay more attention to solve the problem. According to Lili Yulyadi Anarkim's research on Muslim perception regarding the Pattani conflict shows that 70 percent respondents containing of collage students, researchers and academicians have no idea of the conflict. Meanwhile, of 30 percent respondents think that the conflict is part of Thai internal affairs. Although Malaysian

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[4] Max L. Gross, *A Muslim Archipelago; Islam and Politics in Southeast Asia* (Washington D.C: National Defense Intelligent College, 2007) p. 85

[5] Jhon Funston, Op.Cit., p. 80

[6] Max L. Gross, Op.Cit., p. 71

[7] "Derita Muslim Pattani yang Terlupakan" (27/07/2009) www.eramuslim.com

government knows, it does not give assistance.[8] Both the United Nations and international Human Rights commission have minimum attention to the conflict.[9]

Furthermore, Thai government, as mentioned by Abu Jihad from Pattani United Liberation Organizations, uses not only physical violence but also mental abuse to attack Muslim Pattani. It brings 6-year-old children to military camp and gives them a drug. It would be imagined how dangerous future of young Pattani Muslim. It also forced young Muslim Pattani to be infidel (Buddhist). It prohibits the Islamic teaching of Jihad. There is a minimum allocation of scholarship provided for Muslim Pattani rather than Thai Buddhist. Hence, young Muslim Pattani waits for the Muslim neighbor state to give scholarship and Islamic teaching. Indonesia is a good destination.[10] Responding this circumstance, Muhammadiyah as the biggest Islamic movement in Indonesia, delivers the scholarship for young Muslim Pattani to study at certain the universities located in Jakarta (West Java), Surakarta, Yogyakarta (Central Java) and Malang (East Java).

The new elected Muhammadiyah Chairman (2010-2015), Din Syamsuddin, who chairs also World Conference on Religion for Peace (WCRP) and Asian Conference on Religions for Peace (ACRP), says that the religion is not the underlying factor of the conflict, while non-religious factors: socio-economics and socio-politics are important things to consider and the "soft-power"[11] method is useful to analyze. These factors reduce the Muslim Pattanis' competitiveness in finding out job and better education. Thai government prioritizes more the Thai Buddhist students than the Muslims in the scholarship and recruitment process of job seekers. To solve the problem, Muhammadiyah initiates the scholarship program for the Muslim Pattani. This scholarship, hopefully, equips the students the Islamic-based knowledge and international experience to compete in workplace.

This paper investigates the implementation of Muhammadiyah's scholarship as a balance power practice regarding education to assist young Muslim Patani studying at Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) started from 2009 to 2011.

Theoretical Framework

The domination of strong state over the weak one is much more effective by soft power than hard power. Hard power is a direct way to induce other state by both military and economics.[12] Since the WTC tragedy on September 11, 2001, the US has declared a policy of "carrot and stick" in which there is award for alliance and punishment for its enemy. The US military operation in Iraq and Afghanistan to combat terrorism is hard power for Middle East. The US sanction against nuclear program of Iran is how it uses hard power. In Indonesia, during Megawati period, the US embargo was

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[8] "Dilemma Muslim Pattani, Thailand" (07/07/2009) www.inpasonline.com

[9] www.voiceofal-islam.com

[10] "Nasib Generasi Muslim Patani: Dicekoki Narkoba hingga Dipaksa Menjadi Budha", (04/01/2012), www.eramuslim.com

[11] "Din Damaikan Konflik Patani" www.metanews.com (18/05/2009)

[12] Joseph S. Nye Jr, *The Paradox of American Power; Why The World's Only Superpower Can't Go It Alone* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002) p. 8

for the military weapon and spare parts. Those are how the US effort to coercive its policy over the state. Meanwhile, although Saudi Arabia and Bahrain have authoritarian regime, the US is behind them because of investment, oil distribution and military base.

On the other hand, soft power ignores security and economics approach. It is an indirect way to exercise power.[13] It co-opts people rather than coerces them.[14] Nye writes,

> "Soft power rest on ability to set the political agenda in a way that shapes the preference of others. The ability to establish preferences tends to be associated with intangible power resources such as an attractive culture, ideology and institutions. It is the ability to entice and attract; the attraction often leads to acquiescence or imitation. In short, the universality of a country's culture and its ability to establish a set of favorable rules and institutions that govern areas of international activity are critical source of power. The values of democracy, personal freedom, upward mobility and openness that are often expressed in America popular culture, higher education, and foreign policy contribute to American power in many areas"[15]

According to Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, the distinction between power behaviors and power resources is the crucial element in the Nye's concept of soft power.[16] Power behaviors are ways of exercising power. They state,

> "Different type of behaviors form a spectrum ranging from command power to co-optive power. Commands power is the ability to change what others do, while co-optive power is ability to shape what others want. Therefore, command power is manifested through acts of coercion and persuasion, and co-optive power can be seen in the attraction exerted by a given agent and his capacity to define political agendas".[17]

Power resources are divided into two things: tangible and intangible. In term of tangible resources in hard power are populations, territory, natural resources, economy, armed forces, and technological development. Intangible resources of soft power include culture, ideology and value and institutions are the most common examples. However, according to Zahran and Ramos, there is a problem to strictly articulate in power behaviors.[18] They notes,

> "Soft power resources tend to be associated with co-optive power behavior, whereas hard power resources are usually associated with command behavior. The logical consequence of the terminology used by Nye is that command power is related to hard power resources, and co-optive power to soft power resources. But these relations do not always hold true: it is possible for command behavior to utilize intangible soft power resources, in the same sense that co-optive power behavior can make use of tangible hard power resources. Actually, it is even possible that command power creates

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[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid.,p. 9

[15] Ibid., p.9-10

[16] Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, "From Hegemony to Soft Power; Implications of a Conceptual Change" in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy; Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2010) p. 17

[17] Ibid.

[18] Geraldo Zahran and Leonardo Ramos, Op.Cit., p. 17

soft power resources, or that co-optive power creates hard power resources. It is uncommon in the history of IR to see a state making use of an institution (a soft power resources) to coerce another state to adopt certain policies (a command power behavior). In an identical way, there are cases in which a strong economy or highs levels of technological development (hard power resources) are used to co-opt or attract other state to specific type of policies. [19]

The problem of articulating power behavior also explains why the Islamic World establishes a radical movement based on the religious value to counter the war of terrorism, individual freedom, pluralism and secularism. Thus, there is an Islamic political movement made from a religious one such as Egyptian al-Jama'a al-Islamiyya[20]. Nye says that the failure of the US to understand the Middle East culture is a factor for emerging the terrorist group.[21]

As quoted by Khatab and Bouma, Schacht explains that Islamic Law does not separate religion from daily life; it does not separate religion from politics; or politics from morals; or morals from the state.[22] In Islamic Law, they continue, activity of individual and their relation to the state had metaphysical and religious bases.[23] In contrast, Oliver Roy explains, Islamizing the society is similar to Islamize secular activities and motivation, which secular in essence: business, strategies of social advancement and entertainment such as a five-star hotel in Turkey. He writes,

> "The real secularists are the Islamists and fundamentalists, because they want to bridge the gap between religion and secularized society by exacerbating religious dimension, overstretching it to the extent that it cannot become a habitus by being embedded in a real culture"[24]

In term of tangibility, power resources of the Islamic values, cultures and ideology as intangible resource and economy, entertainment and social advancement as tangible one should be clearly identified.

Islam has no single face represented by Saudi Arabia or Iran. Islamic World as a concept has not longer referred to the geographical site. It, probably, involves both individual and social behavior, and power resources. It could have taken another face into account for instance Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam as the group of states in a particular region; it also includes people of Morro and Pattani in Southern Philippine and Thailand respectively. Islam, in the Southeast Asian region, had been resulted by international traders for centuries of east to west and vice versa. It brought Islamic Arabian traders to the region and they introduced Islam to the local people peacefully and inclusively.

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[19] Ibid., p. 18
[20] Roel Maijer, "Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong as a Principle of Social Action" in Global Salafism; Islam's New Religion Movement, Roel Maijer (ed.) (London: C. Hurst & Co., 2009) p. 190
[21] Joseph S. Nye Jr., "The Future of Soft Power in US Foreign Policy", in *Soft Power and US Foreign Policy; Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 2010). p. 6
[22] Sayed Khatab and Gary D. Bouma, *Democracy in Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2007) p. 8
[23] Ibid.
[24] Oliver Roy, *Globalized Islam; The Search for a New Ummah* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004) p. 40

Hence, it is a character of the Southeast Asian Islamic face differing from its patron in Saudi Arabia influenced by the Wahabism.

The member countries of the Southeast Asia have important role to perform the alternative of Islamic face that is more civilized in spirit of regionalism. According to Sudirman, regionalism can be explained by the constructivism. There are two variants of constructivism: 1) the characteristic interstate or inter-societal interaction is based on the sense of belonging, selfness, mutual respect, loyalty and identity, 2) the emerging of community is based on the core values and increasing quality and transaction among communities to strengthen the social communication. In short, the constructivist emphasizes on importance of knowledge, teaching, ideas, structure and institutional normative.[25]

Methodology

This is a qualitative research. As mentioned by Vanderstoep and Jhonston, the advantage of qualitative research is that it provides a richer and more in-depth understanding of the population under the study[26]. In this regard, the research takes a case study method of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) scholarship program to the Malay Muslims Pattani started from 2009 to 2011. Vanderstoep and Jhonston underline that case study is an integrated system in which people and programs clearly are prospective cases[27].

To collect the data, this research uses type of semi-structured interview[28] to key figures of UMY and the student of Pattani, Thailand to find out specific information about the implementation of its scholarship. The data of interview result is classified and analyzed by what is well known as content analysis[29]. In addition, the analysis process includes two interpretations: soft power theory and regionalism. Soft power interpretation informs the position of two competing global power namely the West and the Islamism; this interpretation also determines Muhammadiyah as a moderate Islamic movement that is neither liberal nor radical one. Regionalism interpretation explains how Muhammadiyah role is in solving the problem of Pattani Muslims society. Both are entities living in the same region: the Southeast Asia. Thus, the regionalism is a way to observe that the regional scholarship is an alternative of the liberalist and the Islamic fundamentalist. Pattani is a conflict area that possibly receive those global ideologies either secularism or radicalism.

For secondary data, this research employees the textual resources such as books, journal, magazine that is relevant to the study. The resources are meaningful to obtain comprehensive understanding on this study.

[25] Nuraeni S, Deasy Silvya, Arif Sudirman, *Regionalisme dalam Studi Hubungan Internasional* (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2010) p. 58

[26] Scott W. Vanderstoep and Deirdre D. Jhonston, *Research Methods for Everyday Life; Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (San Fransisco: Jossey-Bass, 2009) p. 30

[27] Ibid., p. 209.

[28] Catherine Dawson, *Practical Research Method; A User Friendly Guide to Mastering Research* (Oxford: How To Book Ltd, 2002) p. 28-29

[29] Bruce L. Berg, *Qualitative Research Method for The Social Sciences* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2001) p. 103

Soft Power of Liberalism and Radicalism: Muhammadiyah and Pattani Experience

Having opportunity to access education is a fundamental part of human rights[30] recognized internationally in both The Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948[31] and one of the Islamic Law goals[32]. Historically, however, during colonial period, the formal education institutions provided by the colonialist restricted indigenous people living in the colonialized countries to join in. In Indonesia, the expensive and good quality Dutch schools had not welcomed to the low and middle economic level of Indonesian, while the nobles and expatriates had a privilege to take into account. It was aimed at avoiding possible Indonesian opposition movement of the enlightened student. Meanwhile, by controlling the noblemen, the Dutch colonialist was successful for alliance arrangement. It was such symbiotic mutualism in which the noblemen needed the colonialist for power and they also asked the noblemen for protecting natural resources exploration. In the classical imperialism, the education availability and rights for ordinary people was cut off. So, the "poor" Indonesians merely relied on the Islamic traditional seminary where they separately learnt the Islamic studies from science.

Responding as widely Islamic education backwardness as economic and political decline in the Islamic World, a number of Muslim thinkers suggested fighting the Muslims ignorance. Sayid Jamal al-Din al-Afghani stated that several factors led to the Islamic decline: 1) being static, 2) being fatalistic, 3) leaving the value of morality and 4) divorcing religious teaching from science and technology. Similar to al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh focused on educational and judicial reform, while Rashid Rida, as 'Abduh companion compiling his ideas in the book of the Manar, more interested in the political arena than the educational one.[33] Their activities and thoughts, then, inspired Ahmad Dahlan to establish the Islamic and social movement in Indonesia namely Muhammadiyah where he disseminated and implemented the idea of reform. There are two major goals of Muhammadiyah: 1) purifying the Islamic teaching from the "pagan" traditional values and 2) transforming the educational system of Indonesian Muslim from the conservative model to the modern one. Therefore, he combined it with the western system. In addition, it have concerned on the internal political circumstances.

According to Alfian, Muhammadiyah is a "political" expression of the Muslim middle class of Indonesia in which it has three roles: 1) religious reform, 2) agent of social and cultural change and 3) political forces.[34] As a political force, it is anti-colonialism. He found that key figures of Muhammadiyah in 1920s were the member of the Sarekat Islam (the Islamic Association, the Islamic political movement) that resisted to the Dutch. It also criticized the Dutch policy in which Muslim teachers were discriminated. However, it has been a moderate Islamic organization that particularly accepted the

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[30]H. Victor Conde, *A Handbook of International Human Rights Terminology* (London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004) p. 75

[31] Ibid., p. 280

[32] Ahmad Azhar Basyir, *Pokok-Pokok Persoalan Filsafat Hukum Islam* (Yogyakarta: UII-Press, 2000) p. 48

[33] Ana Belen Soage, "Rashid Rida's Legacy", The Muslim World Journal, January 2008: 98, p. 2

[34] Alfian, *Politik Kaum Modernitas; Perlawanan Muhammadiyah terhadap Kolinalisme Belanda* (Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989), p. 5

financial aid from the Dutch. This is a way to protect its modern school and the Islamic nationalism movement.[35] It would fight any kind of colonialism and traditional radicalism violating Islam and Muslim.

Post-colonial era, colonialism has remained the economic domination and shifted into the cultural one. Modern imperialism, as Marxists' point of view, was established alongside capitalism in Western Europe.[36] It created a flow of human and natural resources between colonized and colonial country. The slaves and raw materials were transported to manufacture goods in the metropolis, or in other locations for metropolitan consumption, but the colonies also provided captive markets for European goods[37]. For example, Indonesia with large-scale population growth and deposit of natural resources is more attracting to be colonized. In fact, like the post-colonial state, Indonesia ratifying the international agreement on free trade suffers form a wave of neo-colonialism of the giant services and goods producers. Previously, there have been several multinational corporations exploiting the natural resources with a minimum profit sharing with Indonesia, for instance Freeport and Newmont. Those MNC (multinational corporations) are powerful because of their government support and Indonesia's dependency on the foreign investment.

In term of culture, there is a conspiracy of the global economic powers to penetrate and internalize their own values by the various educational programs aiming at assisting the economic and political interest. Neither neo-mercantilist of global economic power sponsoring the globalization nor western democracy can be implemented without liberalization and secularization. Promoting it to the non-western countries is a top priority mission of the Western block represented by the United States of America as the worlds' only superpower post Cold War.[38] In spite of raising Islam and China power recently, the attempt of the US for sustaining its superpower and position, as a world order producer, has been part of the foreign policy over the world. The regime of such countries in Africa, Asia and Middle East who allies and agrees with the US's political, economic and cultural policy would be protected by the US. Nevertheless, those who threat the US's interest and are not symmetric with the US would not be safe from any kind of its sanction.

Liberalization and secularization process of economic, political and cultural field are mainly targeting for the Islamic World member countries including the Muslim-populated state. For the West, Islam is not only a ritual religion but also an ideology of movement. Bernard Lewis states that

> "Islam, called as "the din" in Arabic, is not merely a system of belief and worship, a compartment of life, so to speak, distinct from other compartments which are the concern of non-religious authorities administering non-religious law. It is rather whole of life, and its rules include civil, criminal, and what we would call constitutional law. In classical Islamic history there could be no clash between pope and emperor, since the caliph, the titular head of the

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[35] Ibid., p. 389-390
[36] Ania Loomba, *Colonialism and Post-colonialism* (London: Routledge, 1998) p. 3
[37] Ibid.
[38] G. Jhon Ikenberry, "Power and Liberal Order: Americas' Postwar World Order in Transition", International Relations of the Asia-Pacific Vol. 5, 2005, p. 133

Islamic state and community, combined in himself both political and religious—though not spiritual—authority[39]."

The Islamic ideology of politics let Muslim "conquer" to the other. The history of Islamic conquest was obviously seen by the West as endeavor of spreading Islamic religion. Amin Saikal emphasizes that Islamic conquest was extremely different from the Christian Crusade and the Western colonialist. He writes,

"They (the Crusaders) not only brutalized and humiliated the Arab Muslim citizens of Jerusalem, but also made Jewish inhabitants of the city suffer to the extent that many of them felt they had more to fear from the Christians than from traditional Muslim ruler[40]"

Compared to the Crusaders and Colonialists, under rule of Islam, the Muslim government protects Jewish and Christian communities, although they have to pay a tax, and allows them to live free of any religious persecution.[41] The Islamic tolerance was started and taught firstly by Muhammad PBUH at Madinah Treaty in 622.[42] In modern time, after 9/11 attack, Islamism is alarming the West of rapidly flourishing the Islamic radical movement all around the world.

To prevent Islamic radicalism, the West should secularize initially education and the Islamic thought. In this regard, it allocates the scholarship fund for the Muslim prominent figures. For instance, in Indonesia, the US had invited Nurcholis Madjid, who was anti-US liberalism and secularism, to visit it. His 2-month journey in the US already altered his view on secularization for which he had disagreed before. He says that the Islamic rejuvenation should be released from the traditional values and sought to future-oriented values. Furthermore, he differs secularization from secularism in which it is the name for an ideology, a new closed worldview functions very much like a new religion. Otherwise, the secularization is a liberating development.[43] His opinion of secularization, according to Adnin Armas, is quoted from the book: The Secular City written by Harvey Cox (1965)[44]. Since then, a number of foundations have been funded to promote liberalization such as the Jaringan Islam Liberal (the Liberal Islamic Network), the Fahmina Institute and Lembaga Kajian Islam dan Sosial (Institute for Islamic and Social Studies).[45]

Similarly, as dangerous as liberalization and secularization, the radical Muslims that are easily met particularly in Indonesia have relationship to Middle East transnational movement such as Wahaby, the Islamic Brotherhood and the Hizb at-Tahrir. A two-year research on the infiltration of radical Islamic associations conducted by LibforAll Foundation—a non-profit organization aims to promote peace, freedom and tolerance around the world inspired by cultural heritage of Indonesia—

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[39] Bernard Lewis, *Islam and The* West (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc, 1993) p. 4

[40] Amin Saikal, *Islam and The West; Conflict or Cooperation?* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) p. 31

[41] Ibid., p. 30

[42] Adian Husaini, "Piagam Madinah dan Toleransi Beragama", http:// www.insistnet.com p. 1

[43] Adnin Armas, "Menelusuri Gagasan Sekularisasi Nurcholis Madjid", http:// www.insistnet.com p. 4

[44] Ibid., p. 5

[45] Adian Husaini, "Liberalisasi Islam di Indonesia", www.alislamu.com

proves that there is a scholarship awarded to outstanding students studying at Centers for Islamic and Arabic Studies sponsored by Saudi Arabia and organized by members of the Islamic Brotherhood. Those centers are located in the universities owned by Muhammadiyah.[46] In addition, Khaled Abou el Fadl says that Ibn Saud University network is proposed to spread the Wahaby school of thought to Indonesia and other Muslim countries and subsidized by the Saudi Arabia[47]. Of three radical Islamic movements in Indonesia: the Moslem Brotherhood, the Hizb at-Tahrir and Wahaby, the Wahaby is the strongest one because of Saudi's mining and funding.[48]

The conflict dynamics in Pattani of politics, identity and ideology has extremely serious for Muslim education. Thai authorities, then, secularize the Islamic seminary in Pattani and transform it from independent private school to Thai-public school in which it reduces the religious role into rural Muslim society of Pattani. It threats also the cultural conservation of Malay culture of Pattani. This Thai government policy, thus, increases the separatist activity in the area. In addition, there is a gap of economic policy for Thai-Buddhist and Muslim Malay-Pattani who are poorer than the others.[49]

Nationalism program of Thai government, since King Vajiravudh (1910-1925) announced Education Act 1921, has proclaimed the prohibition for establishing the Islamic traditional school. In addition, the "ultra-nationalism" or "Thaization" banned Malay language. The government apologizes that the nationalism policy aims to promote cultural heritage of Thailand although it should sacrifice the Malay-Pattani minority culture.[50]

Muhammadiyah Scholarship for Pattani: Implementing Regionalism

Muhammadiyah, as a well-organized Islamic movement of the utmost Muslim population of Indonesia, is on the crossroads of two competing powers: liberal and radical interest. It, founded in 1912, has several activities and it prefers to develop education and health services. In addition, its wing organization namely 'Aisyiyah takes part to extend kindergarten and pre-kindergarten school. Those institutions are the strategic site for both powers to influence. Since 1970s, the radical Islamic movement has come to the campuses of private and public university either Islamic or secular university to establish its supporter of the Muslim students. Unlike the radical Islam, liberalist has more advantages. Since the New Order, Indonesian governmental policy of education has been secular. Surely, this is an opportunity for Muhammadiyah to present the Islamic educational system in which it is compatible with modernity and tolerance.

Emerging the Radical Conservative Islam (RCI) in Indonesia of response to US policy toward the broader Muslim World does not only refer to political arena but also cultural and ideological aspect.

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[46] Abdurrahman Wahid (ed.), *Ilusi Negara Islam; Ekspansi Gerakan Islam Transnasional di Indonesia* (Jakarta: The Wahid Institute, 2009) p. 209
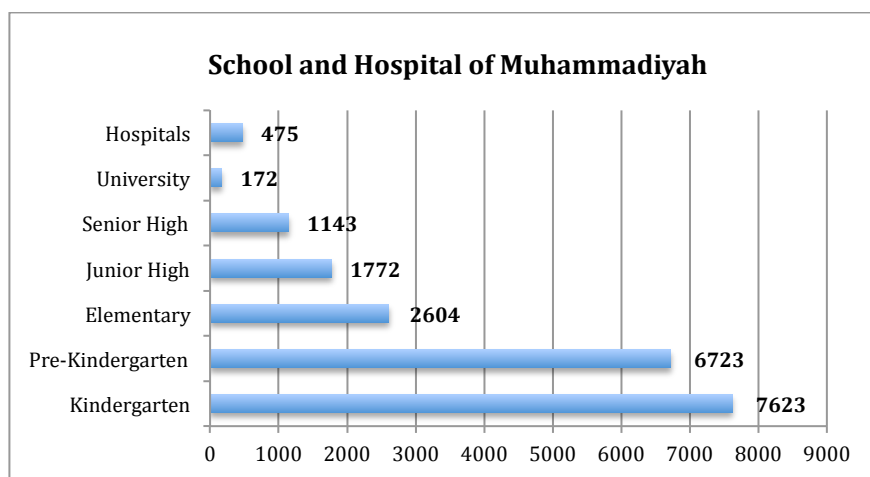
[47] Ibid., p. 201

[48] Ibid., p. 75

[49] Paulus Rudolf Yuniarto, "Minoritas Muslim Thailand; Asimilasi, Perlawanan Budaya dan Akar Gerakan Separatisme" Jurnal Masyarakat dan Budaya Vol VII No. I/2005 p. 104

[50] Ibid. 106-107

This transnational movement that is ideologically linked to Middle East has tended to impose the sharia based on literal, strict and exclusive interpretations of the Koran[51], for instance *Majelis Mujahidin Indonesian (MMI)*, *Hizbut Tahrir*, *Laskar Jihad*, *Laskar Jundullah*, *Laskar Hizbullah*, *Fron Pembela Islam* and *Ikhwanul Muslimin Hammas*. Of those transnational movements, the Ikhwanul Muslimin that starts from the Islamic studies group of the Islamic students to political institution is the most influential one for Muhammadiyah exponents.

Farid Setiawan, the former Chairperson of Muhammadiyah Student Association of Yogyakarta, underlines the statement of Munir Mulkhan written in the *Suara Muhammadiyah* on how fragile the ideology of Muhammadiyah member in Sendang Ayu village, Lampung, South Sumatera, faces the radical Islamic ideology. In this regard, Setiawan proposed a number of step: 1) creating the Islamic missionary of Muhammadiyah; 2) reforming the training center to have Muhammadiyah loyalists; 3) empowering the potential cadre of Muhammadiyah; 4) cleansing other radical ideology in both Muhammadiyah body and its wing business organization; 5) transforming the Islamic teaching method from behaviorism to constructivism (oral oriented to action oriented)[52]. Islamic radicalism comes from two ways: 1) fighting the US double standard for Islam and Middle East; 2) Islamic interpretation on the text. According to Hery Sucipto, if Muslim society had the plurality awareness, the exclusive religious understanding could have reduced to stop radicalism.[53]

To measure how potential educational institution of Muhammadiyah for infiltrating liberalism and Islamic radicalism, the following figure describes amount of schools, universities and hospitals. It is taken from the latest data of the Suara Muhammadiyah, the official magazine of Muhammadiyah, in 2011.

School and Hospital of Muhammadiyah

Category	Value
Hospitals	475
University	172
Senior High	1143
Junior High	1772
Elementary	2604
Pre-Kindergarten	6723
Kindergarten	7623

Source: *The Suara Muhammadiyah Magazine No. 24 16th -31st December 2011*

The graph shows that largest number group of school owned by Muhammadiyah is kindergarten, pre-kindergarten and elementary school. It means that the Islamic education consisting of teaching, learning

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[51] Mohammad Syafi'i Anwar, *The Interplay between US Foreign Policy and Political Islam in Post-Soeharto Indonesia*, Working Paper September 2008, p. 2

[52] Farid Setiawan, "Ahmad Dahlan Menangis", Suara Muhammadiyah, February, 20th, 2006

[53] http://muhammadiyahstudies.blogspot.com

and practicing is the most important for children, followed by teenagers. At university level, it provides a subject of the Islamic and Muhammadiyah studies interconnected to advance science and technology. Then, it results the civilized students with Islamic tenet and modernity.

Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), established on March 1981 by few key member of the Central Board of Muhammadiyah, has proclaimed a creed: the Islamic leading university. It is neither liberal nor Islamic radical university; it offers modern, moderate and progressive Islam in which Islam encourages cultural improvement and civilization. It also promotes a peaceful Islam respecting plurality, cultural diversity and human dignity. Nonetheless, it will criticize abuses, violations and deviations loosing Islam and Muslim wherever they are. This is the reason why UMY agrees to accept foreign students coming from the Pattani, Southern Thailand. They are minority Muslims who have as narrow access to university as the Mindanao people in Southern part of Philippine where it is a conflict area. Like other Muslim in Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam, the enlightened Muslims in the Pattani contribute to reinforce the Islamic power and competitiveness in the Southeast Asia. Todays, the Southeast Asia is a promising market for Confucianism, Liberalism and Radical Islamism. The Muslims of ASEAN member countries should tighten relationship culturally, economically and politically to face global force. To do so, UMY has developed the scholarship for the Pattani students since 2009 as agreement between Central Board of Muhammadiyah and the Southern Border Provinces Administrative Center.

According to the authorities of UMY, in 2009, UMY received two students. It declined in 2010; there was one student in UMY. In 2011, it rose thirteen students in UMY. They study mostly at International Relations Department of Political and Social Faculty. This department has successfully achieved best accreditation (A) from The Directorate of Higher Education of Indonesian Government. It has two programs: 1) International program called as The International Program of International Relations (IPIREL) offers English-speaking programs such as student and lecturer exchange, tutorial and international field work; 2) Regular program offers international studies with Indonesian-speaking instruction; it also facilitates the students to join in the international events for student like the international English debate and student exchange. Those Pattani students are allocated to the IPIREL where they can more explore their capacity and maximize the opportunity.

In term of regionalism, there are several reasons why Muhammadiyah and UMY are interested to accept Malay-Pattani students. First is religion factor. They are Muslims who are as victims of the ultra-nationalism program of Thai government as Indonesian Muslims faced the authoritarian regime of the New Order that Soharto led three decades. There were cases of conflict between military and Muslims in Indonesia for examples, Military Operation Region in Aceh and Tanjung Priok case. At that time, Islam was banned to be a foundation of movement and replaced by Pancasila (the five pillars Indonesian state ideology). This historical similarity flourishes solidarity among Indonesian Muslims to Muslims Malay-Pattani, Thailand.

Second is cultural identity and geographical site. Muslims Pattani speaks Malay language as many as Malaysian; it is mother of Indonesian language spoken by Indonesian the most. Thus, culturally, Indonesian Muslims have close relationship with Pattani in language and ethnicity. It is responsible to other Malay ethnic to protect its identity including Malay society living in Pattani. Muhammadiyah, then, takes initiative to save people of illiteracy. Muhammadiyah has sent those student candidates to the leading universities. As mentioned in the Memorandum of Understanding signed by both Muhammadiyah and South Border Province and Administrative Center, Thailand, Muhammadiyah appoints five destination universities: Universitas Muhammadiyah Surakarta (UMS), Universitas Ahmad Dahlan (UAD), Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY), Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM) and Universitas Professor Dr. HAMKA (UHAMKA). Those universities are progressive institutions accelerating the international network to improve its quality in human resources and curricula. In addition, geographically, Pattani is in strategic location because it is at the north of both Indonesia and Malaysia having huge natural resources and advance technology respectively. This position should have encouraged three countries: Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand to bring conflict Pattani-Bangkok into ASEAN meeting. This conflict affects Pattani migration abroad particularly Malaysia and Indonesia.

Third is core value. Since the beginning, Muhammadiyah has more enjoyed to educate people. The main problem of colonialized countries including Pattani is education. Muhammadiyah designs an integrated educational system that combines the Islamic value and modern one; while colonialist introduces secular education. By integrating values, the student would not have missed from the Islamic fundamental value. Giving opportunity to Pattani students in the universities of Muhammadiyah is effort to strengthen the quality of Islamic community in ASEAN together with Malaysia and Brunei Darussalam. Education is long-term investment appearing in years and Muhammadiyah will be contributor for any better changing in Pattani.

According to Lutfee Abdulmani, studying at the International Relations Department of Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta, being a participant of Muhammadiyah Scholarship has language advantage compared to other Thai students who have not gone abroad. His cultural and political knowledge and experience about Indonesia are his "capital" for applying for state employee in Thai government, a journalist in the media, an interpreter for business group. He said that the Thai ambassador for Indonesia has not yet spoken the Indonesian language so far. Therefore, he has opportunity to work for Thai government at the embassy as a diplomat. In addition, the Thai businessman also needs him to be an interpreter. These are career opportunities for someone who has international experience like him. For example, one of Thai media that plans to feature Indonesia on ASEAN 2015 has contacted him. He is also a reference to know about Muhammadiyah of Indonesia in particular and Islam in general.

Muhammadiyah scholarship to the Pattani students as mentioned by Chairil Anwar, the Head of Higher Education Department of Muhammadiyah, is based on the Islamic solidarity for its brothers

who have narrow access for better education in the Southern Thailand. This scholarship is an official program in cooperation with the Thai government. In this regard, it is not aimed at radicalizing of the participant. Muhammadiyah, according to Anwar, was born in Indonesia but it is not only for Indonesian but also the Islamic world.

Conclusion

To summarize this paper, there are several points as follows:

1. Global power: liberalism and radicalism promoted by the West and the Middle East is part of their soft power to influence other countries including member of ASEAN countries. Their objective is to obtain advantages in economics and politics through disseminating their ideology.

2. Pattani as same as Indonesia is potential region for liberalism and radicalism. Liberalism is used by Bangkok having close relationship with the US and radicalism promoted by particular Middle East countries such as Libya and Syria.

3. Muhammadiyah as the moderate Islamic movement of Indonesia that pays education of Pattani more attention is based on the constructive regionalism: belonging (religion similarity), cultural identity and core value. This attention aims to enhance competitiveness of Pattani society in the workplace.

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