# Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preface</th>
<th>page ix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgments</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Introduction 1

- Why Religion and Nationalism? 2
- The Argument at a Glance 9
- Why “Framing”? 12
- Organization of the Book 14

## 1 Faith and Flag 18

- Religion 18
- Nationalism 32
- What is Religious Nationalism? 42
- Religious Nationalism and Mobilization: The Use of Frames 51
- Conclusion 60

## 2 Southern Philippines: Reframing Moro Nationalism from (Bangsa) Moro to Bangsamoro 62

- Contours of the Bangsamoro Struggle 63
- Identity: Who is a Bangsamoro? 70
- History, Sovereignty, Landlessness 75
- Prognostic Frames: From Rebellion to Reconciliation 78
- The Motivational Frame of Islam 83
- Unpacking the Narrative of Bangsamoro “Unity” 90
- Conclusion 97

## 3 Thailand’s Southern Border Provinces: Constructing Narratives and Imagining Patani Darussalam 99

- Patani History as “Anti-Thai” History 101
- “Anak Patani” as Subject or Citizen? 105
- Prognostic Frames 116
- Religious Narratives in the Southern Thailand Struggle 120
- Conclusion 133
## Table of Contents

4 Malaysia: Religion, Ethno-Nationalism, and Turf-Guarding

- A Brief Note on the Religious Imperative in Malay(sian) Nationalism
- Christianity in Malaysia: History and Social Context
- Ethnicity as Presumed Destiny
- Prognostic Frames: Christian Mobilization and Legal Recourse?
- East Malaysia
- The Hindu Community
- Islamization and Ketuanan in Context and Retrospect
- Conclusion

5 Indonesia: Contesting Principles of Nationhood

- Religion, Nationalism, and Indonesia
- Christianity in Indonesia
- Negotiating the Bases of Nationhood and Statehood
- “Religious Conflict” in Eastern Indonesia
- Unpacking the Religious Master Frame
- What Lies Beneath the (Religious) Master Frames
- Subversive Narratives within the Indonesia Ummah: The Ahmadiyah Question
- Nationhood and Narratives
- Conclusion

Conclusion

- Religion, Nationalism, Modernity
- Competing Conceptions of Nationhood and Legitimacy
- Narratives, Contexts, and Contingencies
- So What Does It All Mean?

* Bibliography

* Index