

## Resilience of Muslims Minority and Islamic Education in Cambodia

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### Article History :

Submission : September  
20, 2023  
Revised : September 28,  
2023  
Accepted : October 15,  
2023  
Published : October 30,  
2023

**Keyword :** Resilience,  
Muslim Minority, Islamic  
Education

**Kata Kunci :** Resiliensi,  
Muslim Minoritas,  
Pendidikan Islam

### Abstract

This research aims to reveal how the resilience of Muslim minority communities and Islamic education in Cambodia. Through various stages of this study, literature sources were used as the main source of research data. Initially, look for information in books, journals, articles, and other papers that are relevant to the subject being discussed. Secondly, a content analysis approach is used to analyze the data. The outcomes demonstrated that the social capital that the Muslim community in Cambodia possesses includes a sense of identification with and attachment to others who share that identity. Related to Islamic education institutions in Cambodia, lacks standardized norms, especially in the aspects of curriculum, teaching staff, learning resources, and educational facilities. Cambodian Muslims are able to coexist with other religious communities in harmony and peace due to the support of the government and society. The relationship between the Cambodian Muslim community and the government is also harmonious. The Cambodian government also pays strong attention to the existence of Islamic Education. Based on the results of the research, it is concluded that the Cambodian Muslim community has been able to build social connections after the fall of the Polpot regime through social bonding, social bridging and social linking.

### Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengungkap bagaimana resiliensi komunitas minoritas muslim dan pendidikan Islam di Kamboja. Penelitian ini memanfaatkan sumber-sumber kepustakaan sebagai sumber data penelitian melalui beberapa tahapan. Pertama, mencari data yang bersumber dari buku-buku, jurnal, artikel dan dokumen lainnya yang terkait dengan topic bahasan. Kedua, melakukan analisis data dengan menggunakan metode analisis isi. Hasil Penelitian menunjukkan bahwa modal social yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat muslim di Kamboja adalah adanya rasa memiliki dan solidaritas serta keterikatan dengan orang-orang yang sama identitas. Sementara itu, lembaga pendidikan Islam yang ada di Kamboja belum memiliki standar baku, terutama pada aspek kurikulum, tenaga pendidik, bahan ajar, serta sarana-prasarana pendidikannya. Muslim Kamboja mampu hidup berdampingan dengan ummat beragama lainnya dengan rukun dan damai karena adanya dukungan dari pemerintah dan masyarakat. Hubungan komunitas muslim Kamboja dengan pemerintah juga terlihat harmonis. Pemerintah Kamboja juga menaruh perhatian yang kuat terhadap eksistensi Pendidikan Islam. Berdasarkan hasil penelitian disimpulkan bahwa komunitas muslim Kamboja telah mampu membangun koneksitas social pasca jatuhnya rezim Polpot melalui social bonding, social bridging dan social linking.

## INTRODUCTION

Cambodia, known as Kamboja in English, is a country in Southeast Asia that borders Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. The capital of Cambodia is Phnom Penh, and the official language is Khmer. Cambodia has a rich history, including the famous Angkor civilization, and it is currently a rapidly developing country. Islam first entered Cambodia in the 13th century through trade and diplomatic relations with the Malay Sultanate and the Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East. At that time, Cambodia was still ruled by the Hindu-Buddhist Khmer Empire.



One of the famous Islamic figures in Cambodia at that time was Sheikh Ahmad Al Qomi, a Persian scholar who came to Cambodia in 1585 and opened a madrasah in the capital, Phnom Penh. In the 17th century, many Muslim traders from Malay and Arab settled in Cambodia and helped spread Islam. Other sources mention that Islam entered Cambodia in the 9th century. Islam was embraced by the Cham people after Vijaya, the capital of the Cham state, fell to Vietnam in 1471. Afterward, the Hindu-Buddhist culture was replaced by Islam (Cabaton 1981). However, the spread of Islam in Cambodia was not as rapid as in neighboring countries such as Thailand and Malaysia. Until today, the Muslim population in Cambodia is relatively small, accounting for 3% of the total population. The majority of Muslims in Cambodia are from the Cham ethnic group, who have embraced Islam since the 17th century.

The Khmer Rouge regime, which ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, was a dark period for Muslims in Cambodia. During the Khmer Rouge government, Muslims faced intimidation, massacres, and discrimination. Many Islamic religious leaders were killed and slaughtered, such as Mufti Haji Abdullah bin Idres, Hadji Suleimane Sukri, and Sulaimane Fekri, who were the highest Muslim leaders in Cambodia (Ibrahim 1985). Mosques were destroyed or repurposed. The number of Muslims in Cambodia before the Khmer Rouge came to power reached 700,000 people (International Center for Ethnic Study, 1995), but different data presented by Michael Vickery stated that there were only 185,000 Muslims spread across all districts (Vickery 1986). During the rule of the Pol Pot regime, approximately 70% of the total Muslim population was killed and slaughtered in concentration camps and during forced labor. Many were also tortured in concentration camps and prisons.

Although the Khmer Rouge regime only lasted for 4 years (1975-1979), according to Mupiza, the Khmer Rouge committed extraordinary human rights violations in Cambodia. Under Pol Pot's regime, the Khmer Rouge became the bloodiest regime in Asian history. During his rule, the Khmer Rouge persecuted many religious and minority groups. One of the most persecuted and targeted groups was the Cham, an ethnic Muslim group. The Khmer Rouge started persecuting the Cham when they took power. They destroyed mosques, burned the holy book Quran, and prohibited the Cham from practicing their religion, resulting in significant changes to this ethnic group (Mupiza 2016).

According to Musa, the development of Islam in Cambodia is not only related to religious, economic, and political issues but also to educational issues, especially Islamic education. It is an important aspect for the development of Islam in Cambodia, and Cambodian Muslims are well aware that education is a key factor that can lift them out of poverty (Musa 2018). After the defeat of the Pol Pot regime, particularly after 1993, old suraus and mosques were repaired. New mosques and prayer rooms were also built in each Cam-Malay village. Islamic schools Religious schools are opened and the fundamentals of Islamic teachings are revived (Musa 2012).

After the fall of the Pol Pot regime, Cambodia underwent a process of recovery and reconstruction. In the late 1980s, religious freedom gradually began to be restored. Islam, along with other religions, was given space to be practiced. In the post-Pol Pot era, the Muslim community in Cambodia resumed their religious practices. Destroyed mosques were rebuilt, and religious activities were allowed. Muslims in Cambodia organized themselves into communities and religious groups.

This research examines the resilience of the Muslim minority community and Islamic education in Cambodia after the collapse of the Pol Pot regime. There have not been many books and studies conducted on the resilience of the Muslim minority community. Some relevant books related to Muslims in Cambodia include "Minority Muslims in Southeast Asia" by Imam Subchi. Existing research includes a study by Fawakih that examines the policies of the communist Khmer Rouge government from 1975 to 1979 towards the Muslim community in Cambodia, which tended to marginalize them and led to rebellion by Muslims in certain

regions (Fawakih 2016). Zain Musa conducted research on the development of Islam in Southeast Asia, with a focus on Islam in Cambodia (Musa 2012). Leb Manira conducted research titled "Cultural Identity and Adaptation of Muslim Minority in Cambodia," which shows that the practice of Islam in Cambodia has become more open and expressive (Leb Manira 2019). Bintar Mupiza's research found that during the Pol Pot regime, the Khmer Rouge persecuted many religious and minority groups, with one of the most persecuted being the Cham ethnic group, who are Muslims (Mupiza 2016).

This research aims to uncover how the ability of the Muslim minority community to establish relationships with the ruling government, the sense of belonging of Muslim individuals to their Muslim community, and the ability of the Muslim community to build horizontal connections with other communities, where Islam is a minority religion in the midst of other majority religions such as Buddhism and others.

Cambodia was chosen for this study because it is a predominantly communist country. Additionally, Cambodia was selected because it has experienced a phase in history that has impacted the Muslim community, both politically and economically. The dominance of Muslims in trade and the vigorous efforts to spread Islam in the region have helped raise the profile of the Muslim group in the Kingdom of Kampuchea. In Kampuchea, the role and influence of Muslims are greater because several centuries earlier, there was a Muslim sultanate in Champa, which later merged with the Kingdom of Kampuchea. This means that in Cambodian history, Islam once prospered as a religion.

## Community Resilience

Community resilience refers to the ability of a community to withstand, adapt, and recover from pressures and disruptions that may occur, such as natural disasters, social conflicts, or significant social and economic changes. Community resilience involves various factors, including the ability to cooperate and communicate, build social networks, access appropriate resources, and maintain cultural identity and values.

Community resilience is crucial in helping communities cope with stress and trauma, as well as strengthening their capacity to face future challenges. Therefore, it is important for governments, non-governmental organizations, and community groups to collaborate in building strong and sustainable community resilience. In Adger's view, economic, political, spatial, institutional, and social aspects are dimensions of community resilience (W.Neil. Adger 2000). Reinforcing Adger's viewpoint, Maguire & Cartwright explain that a community can be considered resilient when it responds to changes or pressures in a positive way and maintains its core functions as a community even under pressure (Maguire, Brigit and Cartwright 2008). Meanwhile, according to VanBreda, community resilience is not just about preservation but also about the ability of a community to build, maintain, or regain the expected level of community capacity in facing difficulties and positive challenges (VanBreda 2001).

Community resilience is closely related to vulnerability and adaptive capacity (Aisyah K dan Nurmala 2018). This view is also supported by Norris, who states that community resilience is the process of connecting adaptive capacity networks after a disruption or difficulty. Resilience is achieved when the community's life system functions, which may have been dysfunctional during a natural disaster, can function again. In addition, the community feels comfortable with the functionality of the new community system (Norris et al 2008).

Social capital is part of the adaptive capacity that also influences community resilience. Ellis and Abdi argue that "social capital" and "community competence" parallel the social connectivity model, which can be categorized into three forms. The first form is social bonding, which involves a sense of ownership and attachment to individuals with the same identity. Social bonding is an ability possessed by a group that can serve as protection against social identity crisis. The second form is horizontal social bridging, which refers to the community's

ability to build connections across identities. Social bridging is useful in addressing issues of social marginalization. The third form is vertical social linking, which relates to the capacity to establish links with government institutions. Social linking is the ability to address issues of injustice and disparities in accessing economic and political resources (Ellis, B. H., & Abdi 2017).

Based on these factors, if social capital affects community resilience, then a community that has strong connections with the government, extensive networks, and others will be more capable of resiliently facing external threats, such as those from the majority communist society.

## **METHODS**

This research aims to examine the resilience of minority Muslims and Islamic educational institutions in the Communist country of Cambodia. The research method employed is library research, utilizing literature sources as the data for the study. This literature-based research is conducted in several stages. In the first stage, the researcher collects data from books, journals, articles, and other relevant documents related to the topic of discussion. The second stage involves data analysis, specifically using content analysis as the analytical method. Data is collected through documentation.

## **RESULT AND DISCUSSION**

### ***RESULT***

Community resilience refers to the ability of a community to withstand, recover, and even thrive after experiencing external stressors or pressures such as natural disasters, social conflicts, environmental changes, or economic crises. Community resilience involves collaboration among community members, government, non-governmental organizations, and other stakeholders to build community capacity in facing challenges and strengthening the social, economic, and environmental systems that support their livelihoods. It involves adaptation and innovation in ways of thinking and acting that enable communities to maintain ecological balance, protect natural resources, and strengthen social and economic systems. In the context of community resilience, diversity, active participation, and inclusivity are considered important factors in enhancing the community's ability to adapt and overcome stressors.

### **Social Bonding**

Social Bonding is an ability possessed by a group that can serve as protection against crises of social identity. The social capital possessed by the Muslim community, whether indigenous or immigrant, in Cambodia lies in their sense of ownership and connection with individuals who share the same identity, namely fellow Muslims. This becomes a strength for Muslims in the country, as it does not differentiate between native or immigrant Muslims. For example, the Muslim community in Cambodia consists not only of the Cham people (Cooperman 2009) but also includes ethnic Malays, Muslims from Malaysia, and Muslims from the Middle East and India. Moreover, there are also the Jamaat Tabligh, Ahmadiyya, and a majority of Sunni Muslims following the Shafi'i school of thought in Cambodia. These differences do not divide the Muslim population in Cambodia; instead, they serve as a unifying factor because they are bound by a common faith, Islam. As a result, they assist and support one another as fellow Muslims. The sense of ownership, shared experiences, and the connection through their faith unite Muslims in Cambodia. With a sense of togetherness and the ability to empathize with their fellow Muslims, Cambodian Muslims are able to avoid social identity crises.

Muslim communities in Cambodia are also known for their resilience, dynamism, and devotion to practicing Islam. According to the author, these are additional strengths of



Cambodian Muslims. The devotion of Cambodian Muslims to Islam can be seen in the abundance of mosques and madrasas in the Chrang Chomres area, known as the Muslim KM 7.8 and 9 districts. Women and children are also seen dressed in Muslim attire. There are 3 to 7 Islamic schools, following a pesantren concept, in each village. Additionally, there are approximately 1,200 to 1,500 Tsanawiyah Madrasas and suraus (Ibtidaiyah Madrasas), besides those privately conducted by individuals and specific families at their homes. The Muslim community in Cambodia is actively involved in developing education because they recognize that education is the key to progress and a better life.

For the Muslim community in Cambodia, learning about Islam, especially reading the Qur'an, is an obligation that cannot be neglected under any circumstances. Since 2005, there has been a National Islamic Movement for Cambodian Democracy in Cambodia, which has made efforts to translate the Qur'an into the Khmer language. These translations have been published and distributed to various mosques and madrasas, as well as suraus in the Muslim communities in Cambodia.

Another aspect of social capital possessed by Cambodian Muslims can be observed among those living on the outskirts of Phenom Penh, at the mouth of the Basah River, a tributary of the Mekong River. Approximately 50 Muslim Cham families, consisting of 4-6 individuals per family, reside in this area. They do not own land or permanent housing; their only place of residence is their boats. Their livelihood revolves around fishing. They live with their families on the boats, forming a "floating" settlement with boat houses. In the center of the boats, there is a floating mosque named Mushalla al A'la. It serves as a place for congregational prayers, teaching religion to their children, conducting religious gatherings for mothers and fathers, and serving as a meeting place. Despite their limited religious education, their enthusiasm for practicing and teaching Islam to their children deserves appreciation. Teachers are brought in to provide better religious education for their children, and Islamic organizations regularly schedule religious gatherings for them.

The sense of solidarity among Muslims in Cambodia can also be seen through the fundraising efforts carried out by the Muslim Tuktuk drivers in Cambodia. Muslim Tuktuk refers to Cambodian Muslims who work as Tuktuk drivers, which are three-wheeled public vehicles commonly used for transportation in Cambodia (Jack 2020). Each person is obligated to collect approximately two reels or IDR 8,000 per day. Although they do not refer to it as an organization, they have already built a network throughout major cities in Cambodia, especially in tourist cities like Siem Reap. The organization was formed with the following objectives: 1) to ensure that every Tuktuk driver receives assistance in case of illness or accidents, 2) to provide aid to poor Muslim families, and 3) to provide educational support to students who cannot afford school supplies. In its development, this Tuktuk driver organization has been able to provide book packages and learning materials to underprivileged students, as well as scholarships to 214 madrasahs in Cambodia.

Regarding Islamic educational institutions in Cambodia, they do not yet have standardized practices, particularly in terms of curriculum, teaching staff, teaching materials, and educational facilities. The absence of standardized practices, especially in the curriculum field, means that the condition of Islamic education in Cambodia lacks a common framework, particularly in terms of curriculum, teaching materials, and the standards of teaching staff. Furthermore, due to the openness of Islamic educational institutions in accepting donations from Muslim groups outside Cambodia or other countries, these institutions are vulnerable to the influence of transnational religious ideologies that advocate violence to achieve their goals. If transnational religious ideologies that tend to promote radicalism infiltrate Islamic educational institutions (madrasahs) in Cambodia, it would undoubtedly disrupt the stability of Cambodia as a country and even the ASEAN regional area (Habibullah 2018).

## **Social Bridging**

The second form is horizontal social connectivity or social bridging, which is the community's ability to build cross-identity connections. Social bridging is a useful capability in addressing social marginalization issues. In this section, the author explains how the Muslim community in Cambodia builds relationships with people outside their community, such as those who practice Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity, and other religions in Cambodia.

Quoting Sudirman's opinion, stating that the heavy experience of conflict has made the Cambodian government and people truly understand the meaning of peace and mutual respect. This enables them to live together harmoniously. People of different religions can live peacefully and harmoniously. The Muslim population in Cambodia is approximately 600,000 people out of the current population of around 15 million. The Cambodian government states that 2% are Muslims, 95% are Buddhists (Theravada and Mahayana), 3% are Catholic Christians, and there are followers of Hinduism. They are able to accept immigrants and actively promote tourism, with approximately 6.3 million tourists entering Cambodia each year (Azmi 2019).

Another piece of evidence that demonstrates the ability of the Muslim community to live alongside other religious communities is the support from the government and society for halal tourism programs and halal food. For Buddhist followers, halal tourism is not seen as a religious slogan. The general perception among the public is that halal tourism attracts many visitors, and that is beneficial as more guests bring more blessings. The attitude of the society is to welcome immigrants and not disturb them, possibly due to a belief in karma. This overall belief in Cambodia's society is that goodness begets goodness, and the same applies in reverse. Therefore, since halal tourism and halal food are considered good, they are believed to bring about positive outcomes.

## **Social Linking**

The third form is vertical interconnectedness or social linking, which refers to the capacity to build links with government institutions. Social linking is the ability to address issues of injustice and disparities in access to economic and political resources (Ellis, B. H., & Abdi 2017). Based on this, if social capital influences community resilience, then if a community has close relationships with the government, extensive networks, and others, it will be easier for the community to build resilience in the face of external threats, such as threats from the majority communist society. As ethnic Chinese in Indonesia did in 1932, the Indonesian Chinese Party (PTI) emerged to support relations between Indonesia and China. The party was founded as a form of ethnic Chinese pragmatism to protect ethnic Chinese by joining the independence movement to expel Dutch colonialism (Wirman 2022) .

In Cambodia, the Muslim community enjoys the freedom to practice their religion, build places of worship, and engage in Islamic education. The government has established a special department for Islamic affairs under the Ministry of Religion and Culture. The current government under PM Hun Sen shows greater attention to the Muslim community. This may be due, among other reasons, to Hun Sen's sense of gratitude towards the Muslim community for their assistance in his struggle against Pol Pot. Additionally, the Muslim community's support and victory for Hun Sen in the general elections, where the districts with a majority of Muslim followers saw a significant win for Hun Sen's party, also played a role. Hun Sen demonstrates his attention to the Muslim community by organizing a national iftar event during the month of Ramadan. In the recent Ramadan, Hun Sen's iftar event was attended by nearly 7,000 Muslims. Hun Sen frequently visits mosques, settlements, and Muslim schools, providing assistance and maintaining regular interactions on Islamic holidays. The Hun Sen government has established madrasah buildings in several districts across the 24 provinces (Haseng 2019)

Although the Muslim population in Cambodia is small, they are given opportunities to thrive by the Cambodian government. Muslims in Cambodia are not limited to professions such as fishermen, farmers, or traders; some also work as government officials and entrepreneurs. Many have also joined political parties, although their roles have not yet been prominent. The support provided by the Cambodian government to the Muslim community includes the provision of Muslim places of worship in every business center and hotel in Cambodia. Hotel staff are allowed to wear Muslim attire, such as a Muslim outfit similar to the Malay baju kurung with a scarf over the shoulder. Even though there are no official religious holidays, they are allowed to take days off on major religious occasions without any restrictions. The Hun Sen government strongly supports halal tourism because it creates profitable opportunities for the Cambodian society in general.

The harmonious relationship between the Cambodian government and the Muslim community is also evident in the freedom of preaching. Preachers from various countries are given the freedom to preach without limitations. Another interesting aspect in Cambodia is that if there is assistance from mosques by Muslims from Malaysia or individuals, the mosque can be named as the Malaysian-Cambodian Mosque or named after the individual donor. The Cambodian government not only supports Islamic activities but also formulates policies that demonstrate significant attention to the Muslim community in Cambodia, such as appointing a mufti to oversee the lives of Muslims through the Department of Islamic Affairs. The Cambodian mufti is responsible for administering Islamic law, including matters related to marriage, inheritance, education, and issuing halal food certificates.

Regarding Islamic education, the government also places strong emphasis on the existence of Islamic education. This is evident in the allocation of budgets and providing assistance for the construction of permanent Tsanawiyah Islamic junior high school buildings. Until 2019, these buildings have been constructed in various districts across the 24 provinces. The government has also appointed 1,500 Islamic teachers who teach in madrasahs and surau, and they receive monthly salaries, including imams and khatibs. Currently, there are 1,500 Islamic religious teachers in Cambodia who are given a monthly salary ranging from 200 to 250 dollars, and this has been happening since 2005.

Based on the description above, it can be seen that even though Islam in Cambodia is a minority group, the Cambodian government pays serious attention to the Muslim community. This is evidenced by the existence of regulations or policies that govern the Muslim community, involving Muslims in the government, granting freedom to propagate Islam through preaching, providing financial assistance to both madrasahs and Islamic teachers, including imams and preachers. Of course, it is hoped that such conditions will continue so that the Muslim community can live peacefully, calmly, and thrive in this predominantly communist country.

The findings of this research indicate that the practice of Islam in Cambodia has become more open and expressive. Cambodian Muslims now enjoy more religious rights than before, similar to other residents, although some challenges still remain, especially in terms of openly practicing their beliefs in public places such as schools, etc. This is the first research that analyzes the cultural identification of Muslims in Cambodia and their adaptation to their cultural environment. Therefore, this research recommends greater religious tolerance for the Cham Muslims and other religious minorities worldwide to promote better coexistence and peaceful adaptation for all.

Furthermore, this research has limitations in certain aspects, such as the political intimidation of the Cham Muslims in Cambodia, as well as other concerns among non-Muslims and issues related to interactions with Muslims in Cambodia. I hope that my future research for my PhD or other studies will expand to delve into these issues and provide policy recommendations (Leb Manira 2019).

## **DISCUSSION**

Building attachments with people who share the same identity with a sense of belonging and solidarity and attachments with people who share the same identity (social bonding) is a way for Cambodian Muslim minority communities to survive. The care among fellow Muslims in Cambodia is the social capital for the Muslim minority to exist in the Communist country. This group of Muslims in Cambodia comes from various regions, not only native or indigenous people but also Malay Muslims and Middle Eastern Muslims. This difference does not cause them to be divided, instead it makes them stronger because they are bound by one bond, namely religion. This finding is relevant to the results of research conducted by Nurlaela and hasan, shows that Islamic society is a group of people who have habits, traditions, attitudes and feelings of unity bound by the common religion of Islam. Islamic society is a Rabbani society (adhering to divine values), humane and balanced (harmonious) and guided by the source of law the Qur'an and Hadith. The components that make up the Islamic society are the existence of individuals who form a jama'ah (association), the existence of ties or relationships between individuals, the system / rules that are enforced and the creed as the most important element.

Related to Islamic education in Cambodia , although Muslims are able to carry out their daily activities and have started establishing several madrasas, mosques, and foundations, they face constraints in terms of funding due to their impoverished lives. The salaries of teachers are insufficient to meet their family's needs. The curriculum is also not standardized as existing schools have been operating based on their individual interpretations (ijtihad). Each school is managed by a teacher who creates their own curriculum, which is generally weak and lacking. In fact, some schools have been closed down because the teachers have turned to other jobs to support their livelihoods. They also require translations of the Noble Qur'an and Islamic books, especially those related to faith and Islamic laws (Hidayat 2014)

Islamic educational institutions in Cambodia do not yet have standardized criteria, especially in terms of curriculum, teaching staff, teaching materials, and educational facilities. Without standardized criteria, particularly in the areas of curriculum and teaching staff, and with the openness of Islamic educational institutions to receiving donations from Muslim groups outside of Cambodia or other countries, these institutions are highly vulnerable to the influence of transnational religious ideologies that promote violence to achieve their goals. If transnational religious ideologies that tend to bring radicalism in their ideologies infiltrate Islamic educational institutions (madrasas) in Cambodia, it will undoubtedly disrupt the stability of Cambodia as a nation and even the ASEAN regional area(Habibullah 2018).

In addition to having social bonding, Cambodian Muslims also have social bridging, namely the ability to build cross-identity connections with non-Muslim communities with social capital owned by Muslim communities in Cambodia, namely a sense of respect, mutual respect between Cambodian Muslims and other non-Muslim communities so that they can coexist and no one feels disturbed. Cambodian Muslims are able to coexist with other religious ummah in harmony and peace because of the support of the government and society. As Ernas Saidin's findings state, religion and culture have become determinant factors that strengthen social integration in pluralistic societies. Social integration is formed from acculturation between religious and cultural values that give birth to values of tolerance and harmony between people of different religions, ethnicities and cultures (Ernas, Nugoro, and Qodir 2014; Tohari, Amin and Raya 2021).

The good relationship between the Muslim community and the Cambodian government also adds to the resilience of the Muslim minority in Cambodia. The Cambodian government pays strong attention to the existence of Islamic education. This is evidenced by the increasing number of schools throughout Cambodia reaching 1200 to 1500 Madrasah Tsanawiyah and surau (madrasah Ibtidaiyah) in addition to those organized by certain individuals and families



in homes. Many non-governmental organizations from various countries such as Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates, the Islamic Development Bank, the World Muslim League (Rabithah Alam Islamiy) and a number of organizations in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait provide financial assistance and direct assistance to foster and develop Islamic education in Cambodia. The government also pays strong attention to the existence of Islamic education. The government also appointed 1500 Islamic religious teachers who teach in Madrasahs and surau and who teach in various places are given a monthly salary. Currently, 1500 Islamic teachers are given a salary of between 200 and 250 dollars per month and this has been going on since 14 years 2005. Honor or salary is also given to the Imam and Katib (Azmi 2019)

Non-hostility with the Cambodian government is positive for the Muslim community and for the development of Islamic education. In Karlberg's view, a non-hostile approach can prevent minority groups from violent oppression (Karlberg 2010). It is therefore important to provide awareness to authorities about the importance of and ways to support minorities in society for the betterment of all. Learning how to be resilient will provide a closer look at the process of how resilience is built and not what builds resilience (Honn Yu 2022)

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