

The copyright © of this thesis belongs to its rightful author and/or other copyright owner. Copies can be accessed and downloaded for non-commercial or learning purposes without any charge and permission. The thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted as a whole without the permission from its rightful owner. No alteration or changes in format is allowed without permission from its rightful owner.



**THE THREAT OF TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF ISIS
IDEOLOGY IN MALAYSIA (2014 – 2019)**



**MASTER OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
UNIVERSITY UTARA MALAYSIA**

**THE THREAT OF TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF ISIS
IDEOLOGY IN MALAYSIA (2014-2019)**



**A thesis submitted to the
Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government
Universiti Utara Malaysia
in fulfillment of the requirements for the
Master of Arts in International Relations**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)
UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA

PERAKUAN KERJA TESIS / DISERTASI
(Certification of thesis / dissertation)

Kami, yang bertandatangan, memperakukan bahawa
(We, the undersigned, certify that)

MUGANTHINI A/P KUMARAN (818980)

calon untuk Ijazah **MASTER**
(candidate for the degree of)

telah mengemukakan tesis / disertasi yang bertajuk:
(has presented his/her thesis / dissertation of the following title):

THE THREAT OF TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF ISIS IDEOLOGY IN MALAYSIA (2014-2019)

seperti yang tercatat di muka surat tajuk dan kulit tesis / disertasi.
(as it appears on the title page and front cover of the thesis / dissertation).

Bahawa tesis/disertasi tersebut boleh diterima dari segi bentuk serta kandungan dan meliputi bidang ilmu dengan memuaskan, sebagaimana yang ditunjukkan oleh calon dalam ujian lisan yang diadakan pada **4 November 2019**

*That the said thesis/dissertation is acceptable in form and content and displays a satisfactory knowledge of the field of study as demonstrated by the candidate through an oral examination held on: **November 4, 2019***

Pengerusi Viva : **ASSOC. PROF. DR. MUHAMMAD BIN MUDA @ ADAM**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Luar : **ASSOC. PROF. DR. MOHD MIZAN ASLAM**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Pemeriksa Dalam : **DR. MOHAMAD FAISOL KELING**

Tandatangan
(Signature)

Tarikh : **4 November 2019**
Date

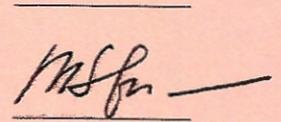
Nama Pelajar : MUGANTHINI A/P KUMARAN (818980)
(Name of Student)

Tajuk Tesis : THE THREAT OF TERRORISM: A CASE STUDY OF ISIS
(Title of the Thesis) IDEOLOGY IN MALAYSIA (2014-2019)

Program Pengajian : MASTER
(Programme of Study)

Penyelia Pertama : DR. R. SIVAPEREGASAM P. Tandatangan
(First Supervisor) RAJANTHIRAN (Signature)

Penyelia Kedua : ASSOC. PROF. DR. M. SYAFI'I Tandatangan
(Second Supervisor) ANWAR (Signature)



UUM
Universiti Utara Malaysia

PERMISSION TO USE

In presenting this thesis as a fulfillment of the requirement for a postgraduate degree from University Utara Malaysia (UUM), I hereby agree that the library may make it freely available for inspection on use. I also agree that permission to copy the thesis in any form, in whole or some parts or portions of it, for scholarly purpose, may be granted by my supervisors, Prof. Madya Dr Syafi'i Anwar and Dr. Sivaperegasam, or in their absence, by the Dean of the Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government to which this thesis is submitted.

It is also understood that any copying or publication or use of this thesis or part of it, therefore, for the purpose of financial gains, shall not be allowed without the prior notice or permission from the authorized persons or College. Similarly, due recognition shall be given to me and the University Utara Malaysia (UUM) for any scholarly use which may be made of any of the materials presented in this thesis. Request for permission to copy or to make use of materials in this thesis in whole or in part shall be addressed to:

Dean (Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government)



School of International Studies (SOIS)

Universiti Utara Malaysia,

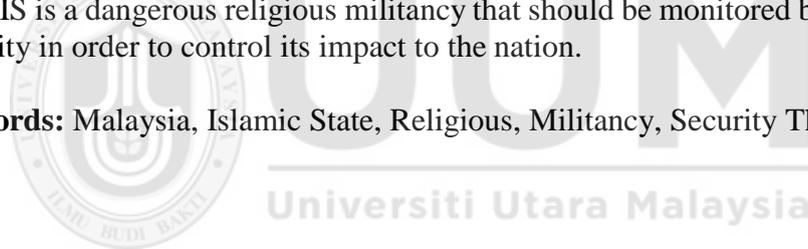
06010, Sintok, Kedah Darul Aman

Malaysia

ABSTRACT

This research paper discusses the renowned radical Islamic group known as the Islamic State (IS) that is centered in Syria and Iraq, or the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). They have now become a global terror network, and it has become stronger ever since the group managed to garner close ties among other members around the world, especially in the Southeast Asia region. Consequently, this has led to the perception that the region is now the center for terrorism and potentially poses a threat to the world. As ISIS goes globally, Malaysia is not spared from experiencing threat from the militant group. Till September 2019, at least 102 Malaysians are known to have left the country to live in ISIS territory. Thus, the purpose of this study is to examine the factors that may have contributed to the reasons of the rising involvement of the Malaysian in ISIS. The study's findings found that the vulnerable Malaysian tend to be attracted to the ISIS affiliated group due to its ideology, identity crisis problem, and several personal internal factors. The results indicated that despite the small number of Malaysians who were involved with the terrorist group, (and was actually fewer compared to the other Southeast Asian countries), the Malaysian level of commitment was high and the bond that they had inevitably forged was strong and difficult to break. This situation poses threat to the national security and the multi-cultural community in Malaysia. During the study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with the field expertise. These data were then analyzed qualitatively. The study concluded that ISIS is a dangerous religious militancy that should be monitored by the Malaysian authority in order to control its impact to the nation.

Keywords: Malaysia, Islamic State, Religious, Militancy, Security Threat.



ABSTRAK

Penyelidikan ini membincangkan tentang kumpulan Islam radikal terkenal yang dikenali sebagai Negara Islam atau Islamic State (IS) yang berpusat di Syria dan Iraq, atau Negara Islam di Iraq dan Syria (ISIS). Kini, kumpulan ini menjadi rangkaian penganas global, dan semakin kuat sejak kumpulan itu berjaya menjalinkan hubungan rapat antara ahli-ahli lain di seluruh dunia, terutama di rantau Asia Tenggara. Akibatnya, hal ini telah membawa kepada persepsi bahawa rantau ini kini menjadi pusat keganasan dan berpotensi menimbulkan ancaman kepada dunia. ISIS semakin berpengaruh di seluruh dunia, dan Malaysia tidak terlepas daripada ancaman mereka. Sehingga September 2019, kira-kira 102 rakyat Malaysia telah berhijrah ke negara ISIS. Oleh itu, tujuan kajian ini adalah untuk menyelidik faktor-faktor yang mungkin menyumbang kepada sebab-sebab peningkatan keterlibatan golongan belia dengan ISIS. Penemuan kajian mendapati bahawa golongan belia yang lemah di Malaysia mudah cenderung kepada kumpulan gabungan ISIS disebabkan oleh ideologinya, krisis identiti mereka, dan beberapa faktor dalaman. Dapatan juga menunjukkan bahawa walaupun hanya sebilangan kecil rakyat Malaysia yang terlibat dengan kumpulan penganas, (dan sebenarnya agak kurang berbanding dengan negara-negara Asia Tenggara yang lain), tahap komitmen rakyat Malaysia adalah tinggi, dan ikatan yang telah terjalin sesama mereka amat teguh dan sukar dipecahbelahkan. Keadaan ini menimbulkan ancaman kepada keselamatan negara dan masyarakat yang berbilang budaya di Malaysia. Kajian telah dibuat melalui temu bual mendalam separa struktur dengan ahli-ahli pakar bidang. Data ini kemudian dianalisis secara kualitatif. Kajian menyimpulkan bahawa ISIS adalah militan agama yang berbahaya dan harus dipantau oleh pihak berkuasa Malaysia untuk mengawal impaknya kepada negara.

Kata kunci: Malaysia, Negara Islam, Keagamaan Militan, Ancaman Keselamatan.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to so many wonderful people who helped and encourage me in my study.

First and foremost, I would like to humbly express my deepest gratitude to the Almighty God for his shower of blessings throughout my research work to complete the research successfully, and filled my life with lots of unconditional love, support and guidance from many respected individuals and loved ones throughout the journey. Secondly, I would like to express millions of thanks from the bottom of my heart to my family ; My father Kumaran, mother Krishnaveni, sister Yogananthini and brother Vishnu for their love, prayers, caring and sacrifices for educating and preparing me for my future. Thirdly, I cannot be more grateful and appreciative towards the guidance and support of my supervisor, Prof Madya Dr Syafi'i Anwar who has been so helpful and supportive throughout my time as his student. My deep and sincere gratitude to Prof, for the patient, guidance, encouragement, and advice he has provided throughout my studies. I have been extremely lucky to have a supervisor who cared so much about my work, and who responded to my questions and queries so promptly. He is indeed a dedicated supervisor who embodies a lot of wisdoms and integrity of a true scholar, and I truly hope that one day I might become as good as Prof by following his footsteps. His dynamism, vision, sincerity, and motivation have deeply inspired me. Next, I would also take this opportunity to thank my proposal defense panels, Dr.Samsuddin and Dr.Bakri Mat and Viva Voce panels, Dr. Faisal Keling and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mohd Mizan Aslam who had help me a lot by giving valuable suggestion which have contributed greatly to the improvement of the thesis. Besides that, I am also deeply thankful to my informants. Their names cannot be disclosed, but I want to acknowledge and appreciate their help and transparency during my research. Their information has helped me complete this thesis. Finally, I must express my very profound gratitude to also my friends; Ho Chin Chin, Thilagavathi, Hemalatha, Ruphajevani, HemaMalini and Dr. Linda for providing me with unfailing support and continuous encouragement throughout my years of study and through the process of researching and writing this thesis.

May the Almighty God richly bless all of you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-------------|
| PERMISSION TO USE | i |
| ABSTRACT | ii |
| ABSTRAK | iii |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | iv |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS | v |
| LIST OF DIAGRAM | viii |
| LIST OF CHART | ix |
| LIST OF TABLE | x |
| LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS | xi |
| | |
| CHAPTER ONE : INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| 1.1 Background | 1 |
| 1.2 Problem Statement | 5 |
| 1.3 Research Questions | 6 |
| 1.4 Research Objectives | 6 |
| 1.5 Significance of the Study | 6 |
| 1.6 The Limitation of Scope and Study | 7 |
| 1.7 Theoretical Framework | 7 |
| 1.7.1 Introduction | 7 |
| 1.7.2 Levels of Analysis | 8 |
| 1.8 Research Methods | 12 |
| 1.8.1 Source of Data | 13 |
| 1.8.2 Data Analysis | 14 |
| 1.9 Organization of the Study | 15 |
| | |
| CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW | 17 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 17 |
| 2.2 Previous Studies | 17 |
| 2.2.1 Studies on Ideology Factor. | 17 |
| 2.2.2 Studies on Identity Crisis Factor. | 21 |
| 2.2.3 Studies on Economic Deprivation Factor. | 24 |
| 2.2.4 Studies on Influence of Social Media. | 25 |
| 2.2.5 Studies on Security Measurement | 28 |

| | | |
|---|--|-----------|
| 2.3 | Concluding Remarks and Research Gap | 29 |
| CHAPTER THREE : BACKGROUND OF ISIS MILITANT GROUP | | 32 |
| 3.1 | A Brief History of ISIS | 32 |
| 3.2 | ISIS Ideology | 34 |
| 3.3 | ISIS Goals and Objectives | 37 |
| 3.3.1 | A Global Caliphate | 38 |
| 3.3.2 | Purifying Islam | 39 |
| 3.4 | ISIS Funding | 41 |
| 3.4.1 | Extortion | 41 |
| 3.4.2 | Kidnapping | 42 |
| 3.4.3 | Racketeering | 43 |
| 3.5 | ISIS Territory | 44 |
| 3.6 | ISIS Fighters | 44 |
| 3.7 | Concluding Remarks | 45 |
| CHAPTER FOUR : ISIS IN MALAYSIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF KATIBAH NUSANTARA | | 47 |
| 4.1 | Introduction | 47 |
| 4.2 | ISIS in Malaysia | 47 |
| 4.3 | Katibah Nusantara | 50 |
| 4.3.1 | The Root of Katibah Nusantara | 50 |
| 4.3.2 | Katibah Nusantara Goals and Objective. | 52 |
| 4.3.3 | Katibah Nusantara Funding | 53 |
| 4.4 | The Role of Katibah Nusantara in Promoting ISIS among Malaysian. | 55 |
| 4.5 | Conclusion | 56 |
| CHAPTER FIVE : THE MOTIVATION OF MALAYSIAN YOUTH TO JOIN ISIS | | 58 |
| 5.1 | Introduction | 58 |
| 5.2 | Individual Factor | 58 |
| 5.2.1 | Sense of Identity and Belonging | 58 |
| 5.2.2 | Peers Pressure Role. | 61 |
| 5.2.3 | Family Background | 63 |
| 5.3 | Poor Grasp in Islamic Faith | 65 |
| 5.3.1 | Level of Religious Knowledge | 65 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 5.3.2 Misinterpretation of Jihad and the Quran | 68 |
| 5.4 The Influence of Social Network | 69 |
| 5.5 Concluding Remarks | 73 |
| CHAPTER SIX : THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MAINTAINING ISIS THREAT: A CRITICAL ACCOUNT | 75 |
| 6.1 Introduction. | 75 |
| 6.2 ISIS Threat and the Role of Malaysian Royal Police. | 76 |
| 6.3 Malaysian Government General Policies on Maintaining ISIS Threat. | 80 |
| 6.3.1 Malaysia's Anti-Terrorism Legislations. | 80 |
| 6.3.2 Counter Messaging Center (CMC) | 81 |
| 6.3.3 Countering the Financing of Terrorism. | 83 |
| 6.4 A Critical Justification on Malaysian Counter Terrorism Approach. | 84 |
| 6.5 Conclusion. | 87 |
| CHAPTER SEVEN : CONCLUSION | 88 |
| REFERENCES | 93 |



LIST OF DIAGRAM

Diagram 5. 1 Prediction of Twitter User Location Map.

70



LIST OF CHART

| | |
|--|----|
| Chart 5. 1 Malaysians Involvement in Syria/Iraq Conflicts. | 59 |
| Chart 5. 2 Fraction of Detainees by Gender | 62 |



LIST OF TABLE

| | |
|---|----|
| Table 4. 1 Militant Groups in Malaysia, 1967-2015. | 48 |
| Table 4. 2 ISIS Division Groups and Cells in Malaysia. | 50 |
| Table 6. 1 The Malaysian Royal Police Action against ISIS Threat. | 79 |



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------|--|
| ISIS | Islamic State of Iraq and Syria |
| KN | Katibah Nusantara |
| KMM | Kumpulan Mujahiddin Malaysia |
| JI | Jemaah Islamiah |
| IS | Islamic State |
| AQI | Al-Qaeda in Iraq |
| PAS | Pan Malaysian Islamic Party |
| SOSMA | The Security Offences (Special Measures) Act 2012 |
| POTA | The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2015 |
| POCA | The Prevention of Crime Act 1959 |
| SMATA | Special Measures against Terrorism in Foreign Countries 2015 |
| Prof | Professor |
| OPAC | Online Public Access Catalog |
| UUM | University Utara Malaysia |
| USM | University Sains Malaysia |
| PHD | Doctor of Philosophy |
| ISIL | Islamic State in Iran and the Levant |
| ISI | Islamic State of Iraq |
| US | United State of America |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Religious terrorism has been said to be one of the factors that supports political violence in this era of modernization. The current terrorists' environment has led to religion ideologist compared to past ideologies that have promoted class conflict, anticolonial liberation, and secular nationalism. Global community also has their focus on the religious extremism as it has increased its number, scale of cruelty and global reach (Martin, 2006, p. 10).

The terrorist attack of September 11, 2001 on American soil has drawn concern among various stakeholders such as the decision makers, media, academia, and the public towards religious-based terrorism. These acts have made the public realize of the important in dealing with terrorism not only within their country, but worldwide. The September 11 attack has also made Southeast Asia countries like the Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia under close monitoring of United States due to radical Islamist and terrorist groups. It is being alleged that Southeast Asia has become a base for terrorist operation (Vaughn, 2009, p.8).

As a moderate Muslim country with multiethnic population, Malaysia to a great extend has managed to spare from any major terrorism incidence since the signing of the peace agreement with the Malayan Communist Party after World War II. However, the fact

that Malaysia had experience with the terrorist movement from Jemaah Islamiah (JI), Kumpulan Mujahiddin Malaysia (KMM) and the Al-Ma'wah affairs are undeniable (Pasuni, Nawab, Osman & Noor, 2015, p.25). Surprisingly, those militant groups did not give a huge threat to the state as the threat face by the country in current year. Since 2014, Malaysia is facing a growing threat from International terrorist groups that known as the Islamic State (IS).

Islamic State (IS) or the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is a newly growing militant group lead by self-declared caliph who is also leader of ISIS, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi has formed colonies in part of Iraq and Syria. The militant group was officially developed in 2014 and their history is rooted back to the Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) (Saltman & Winter, 2014, p.5). ISIS does not signify a new method of terrorism as it redefined Islamist-inspired terrorism with global jihad ideology, although its Islamism theology is arguable. ISIS has a clear strategy that used by global jihad as their propaganda to give impact in their military successes, territorial conquest, and execution of 'Sharia'-based governance in their conquered territories.

ISIS is also known as world's richest jihadist group despites their profit streams has decreased due to the curtailing by the US-led coalition of income from the oil business in Syria and Iraq. Their source of income also gets affected by reason of reduction on the ransom returns from kidnappings. These situations have proven the competency of the institutional taxation and levies of Sharia justice. There is also official documented proof of payment from properties owned in ISIS conquered territories by the absentee landlords (Dorsey, 2015, p.23).

The IS or ISIS threat is more far reaching and destructive than ever before, with its capability to forge close ties among other Muslims around the world especially in Southeast Asia region. This has been verified by the formation of Katibah Nusantara (KN) which is also known as Malay Archipelago. This combat unit plays major role in establishing the local extremist network to internationalize ISIS threat through connection with local groups in the region. This action will guide IS to accomplish its jihad goal of establishing ISIS as part of the wider caliphate (Singh, 2015, p.8).

In addition, KN also was formed to help Indonesian and Malaysian ISIS militants to overcome the language barrier as unit speaking a common language which is Malay (Yasin, 2015, p.18). Over a year of establishment, KN unit manages to recruit over 450 people, including children and women from Indonesia and Malaysia (Liow, 2015, p.3). KN gain their followers and distribute their ideology through online social media platform. Although they exist in minority, but their influences have managed to gather online support.

In Malaysia, ISIS will approaching their potential member for recruitment through social media. The Malaysian Police has informed the existence of several numbers of websites in Malay language that are under the administration of the extremist and militants to seek support and sympathy. This fact has been proved by the presence of a Facebook account owned by a militant named Mohd Lothfi Ariffin who used to be the leader of the Pan Malaysian Islamic Party (PAS) and member of Kumpulan Militan Malaysia (KMM). This popular social media account has gathered more than 27,000 followers throughout the days he traveled to Syria to become a militant (Yasin, 2015, p.18). This shows how social media gives huge impact on influencing youngsters mentality. The existence of the tremendous number of followers on the

militant's Facebook account has created a threatening situation. This is because, the probability of the followers to get influence with the activity of militants and eventually spread the ideology to people around them is higher. Other than Mohd Lothfi Ariffin's Facebook account, the authority also found another blog belongs to an unemployed female aged 26 (Chan, 2015, p.5). She ran away from her home and placed herself in an arranged marriage to a militant in Syria. Her blog has provided dangerous sources of inspiration for other women to join her in a similar capacity.

Besides online recruitment, ISIS also trained the supporter from Southeast Asia in Islamic School. In Syria there is a special school named 'Maahad Abdullah Azzam' for the purpose of educating and indoctrinating the children in Malay language for these Malay and Indonesia – speaking recruits (Utusan Online, 2015, p.28). The source exerted that around eight Malaysian kids around the age of eight to twelve years old are being taught on religion study and skill of handling weapons in this school.

The issue of ISIS has been highlighted as one of top of the security agenda by Malaysian Authorities due to the number of Malaysian especially the youth who willing to travel, live and fight with the militant group increase unexpectedly every day. According to report done by ISIS Malaysia, around 457 suspected militants have been arrested in Malaysia till mid of 2019 and 102 Malaysians have migrated to Syria and Iraq (Times, New Straits). Although the number of Malaysian that have been poisoned with ISIS propaganda and decide to leave Malaysia for the conflict zones are not as big as other countries, but the commitment and the bonds between them are unquestionable.

Panusi et al, 2015 asserted in one of his articles that although Malaysia is less targeted country compared to its neighboring countries, the militants here are among the most suspected offenders in this region (p.2). This can be seen when 26 years old, Ahmad Tarmimi Maliki, who worked in Selangor has stolen the spotlight when he became the first suicide bomber from Malaysia. There is an alleged that he has killed 25 elite security officers in Iraqi Anbar province by hitting them with explosives vehicle. This is the first case of Malaysian suicide bomber, although there are plenty of them joining in oversea before.

The significance threat of ISIS comes from the battle with fresh combat skills, radical ideologies and extensive networks, which later post attacks and further radicalize and recruit other individuals in the home country. The danger can also be seen from Malaysian terrorist returns in April 2015, Malaysian police caught 12 Malaysian for testing explosive material at Nuang Mountain, Hulu Langat to carry out attacks in several strategic areas all over the country (Utusan Online, 2015, p.5).

The most questionable issue is when the message and the communication between the groups from other countries are found hovered within Malaysia. Although the majority of the violent incident connected to ISIS occurred abroad, there are also few cases based locally. Therefore, there is a need to do more studies on the reason behind rising number of Malaysian youths joining the ISIS militant group. The study will address the causes of terrorism by ISIS which may be from ideological factor, poverty factor, identity crisis, religion reason, cliques' factor or other relevant factor that attract youth in Malaysia.

1.2 Problem Statement

The increasing reported events of young Malaysians being associated with terrorism; some physically joining battles alongside ISIS members, and some being sympathizers to the terrorist organizations are a cause for concern. Malaysians being suicide-bombers is surprising to many as Malaysia has never experienced such phenomena in the past. According to the statistic gather by ISIS Malaysia, 40 Malaysian have been killed in Iraq and Syria and 24 terrorist plots have been thwarted till mid of 2019 (Times, News Straits). Though Malaysia was not a target for these suicide bombers but, the capabilities of these young men show the possibility of such an occurrence in Malaysia.

Thus, this research will examine and analyze the factors that led the young Malaysians joining the ISIS militant group and government policy in maintaining the threat. As ISIS goes global, Malaysia does not spare from experiencing threat from this militant group. According to Malaysia Counter Terrorism Branch, until Mid-year of 2019, around 457 Malaysian had been caught for their involvement in ISIS movement. Among those who being detained, the youth was found the majority detainees. It is surprising that, although the Malaysian government has taken several steps on securitizing policy like The Security Offenses (Special Measures) Act 2012 (SOSMA), The Prevention of Terrorism Act 2015 (POTA), The Prevention of Crime Act 1959 (POCA) and Special Measures against Terrorism in Foreign Countries 2015 (SMATA), yet we still have difficulties in handling the issue completely.

To better understand the new grown ISIS militant ideology in Malaysia, a research is needed on analyzing the factors influencing Malaysian joining ISIS and government policy on maintaining the threat. Though, there have been studies conducted on ISIS

widely, but the questions about the factors responsible for the persistent involvement of Malaysian still remain largely unexplored. Thus, this study demonstrates a new branch of study on Malaysian involvement in ISIS militancy.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What are the ISIS ideological factors that influence Malaysian?
2. Why do social media give significant impact to Malaysian in joining ISIS?
3. How the Malaysian government policy on maintaining ISIS threat in Malaysia?

1.4 Research Objectives

1. To identify the ISIS ideological factor involve in recruiting the Malaysian.
2. To analyze the impact of social media in promoting ISIS among Malaysian.
3. To study the Malaysian government policy on maintaining ISIS threat in Malaysia.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study are as follows:

- a) The study is significantly important from the theoretical perspective because it will help to extend the growing knowledge of literature in terrorism. Specifically, it will help to bridge the gap in literature by examining terrorism and counter terrorism through a more comprehensive approach. A major consequence of this situation has increased insecurity on several dimensions of socioeconomic and political life in Malaysia.
- b) The results of this study will be useful to the Legislative Authorities, Government Institutions, Non-Governmental Organization (NGOs), and

research centers, in understanding the phenomenon of ISIS militancy and the government prominent action to counter the issue.

- c) This study will provide supplementary information in the area regarding terrorism and counter terrorism. This is because, this study focuses towards youth involvement in the militancy and the Malaysia government critical account on countering the issue. For example, the study is expected to provide information on how Malaysia policy went on to maintain the threat faced by the nation.

1.6 The Limitation of Scope and Study

This study has certain scopes and limitations. From the aspect of the target group, this research will focus on youth from the age 15 - 40. The scope has limited to youth because of the statistic that shows youth in Malaysia joining ISIS is more than the other range groups. Next, from the aspect of geographical area, this research covers the whole Malaysia including Sabah and Sarawak. This limitation is done to study on Malaysian militancy issue first before broaden the scope. Next, the time limit for this research is from the year 2014 till 2019. This research chooses to observe ISIS movement from the year 2014 because it is the significant year where ISIS is officially announced to operate globally and till 2019 because it marks the fall of ISIS after the death of ISIS leader, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

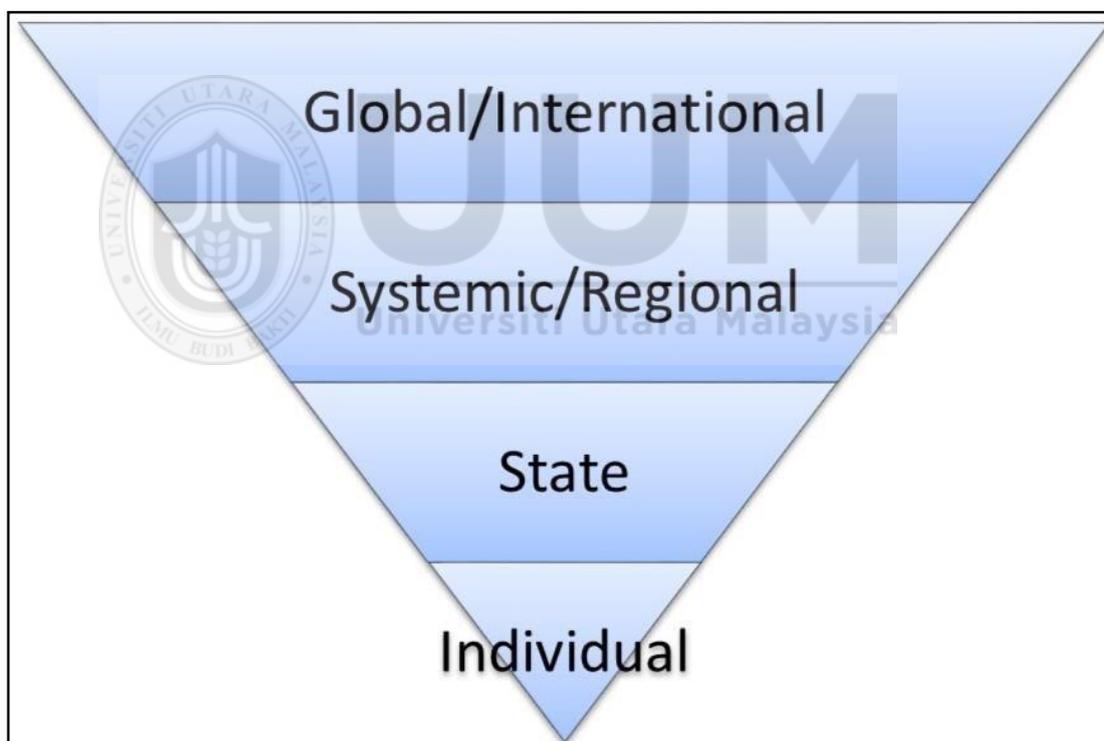
1.7.1 Introduction

As terrorism become the main concern of the nation, this social phenomenon can bring impact on the national security. Thus, it is expected to be solved through different angles and standpoints based on the objectives. The classification of terrorism is

complex and provocative, multiple variable can be characterized by the actor. One way scholars of International Relations have sorted out this multiplicity of influences, actors and processes is by categorize them into different level of analysis. The ‘levels of analysis’ is a framework for categorizing these influences and thus suggesting various explanations of international events. Hence, this study will adopt ‘Levels of Analysis’ as organizing device for this thesis.

1.7.2 Levels of Analysis

There are generally 4 levels of analysis scholars use to explain on international events and they are as below:



The first stage in the level of analysis is global stage. This stage concern on the international outcomes that transcend the interaction between the states. At this level we focus on issues from a global perspective. The evolution of technology and humans’ relationship to the natural environment are processes at the global level that

influence international relations. A global level approach to international relations would focus on climate, global warming, pollution, natural resources, ecological systems and pandemics.

The second stage of analysis is named as systemic or regional. This level concern centers on the influence of the global system on outcomes for states. The foreign policy behavior of a state is seen as a reaction to the external environment. This has historically been the most important level of analysis. According to structural realists there are two primary characteristics of the international system that shape state behavior. The most fundamental is international anarchy. Anarchy influences state behavior in various ways and one of them is the acquisition of military power. The second important characteristic of the international system is the distribution of power. Depending on how power is distributed in the whole system, individual state behavior will vary accordingly. The systemic level of analysis enables us to compare the economic and political capacities of states within regions and across regions. It also studies the dynamics structures, organizations and activities of IGOs and NGOs in various parts of the world in terms of their goals, functions and jurisdiction.

The next level of analysis is state. Domestic or state level concerns on the authoritative decision-making units governing states as well as the collections of individuals like interest groups, political organizations and government agencies within a country that help shape international events. In the view of many scholars, the individual level tells only part of the story. For a more complete view, it must be combined with factors at the domestic or state level of analysis. For example, economic sectors within the state can influence their governments to take actions in the international arena that are good for business. There are many variables at this level of analysis which might influence

state behavior and the most important are type of government, economic system and performance, national style, cultural identity and the final one are interest groups and public opinion.

The final level of analysis is individual level. Ultimately all behavior is individual behavior; individuals make decisions on whether to go to war or to remain at peace, national interests are defined and applied by individuals. The individual level of analysis concerns with the perceptions, choices and actions of individual human beings. This level is inspired to a large extent by the Great Man Theory of History which view that history is driven less by social, economic and political forces than by the beliefs and character of the individual men and women who rise to positions of influence. Belief system is the collection of beliefs, images, and understandings about both how the world should work and how the world does work to which the individual subscribers. This eventually link to personality attributes. Scholars also look at the personal attributes of an individual, whether an individual is by temperament, pragmatic or dogmatic, authoritarian or democratic, cautious or risk-taking. These attributes can have a great impact on the individual's decision making. At this stage, it does not only focus on individuals who hold public office such as presidents, generals, and ambassadors but, it even involve ordinary people to play a role in international relations.

In this thesis the global focus is on religious militancy ideology. The question is how this ideology is growing? In which kind of environment it grows? Ideally, an ideology need ecosystem to breed. For example, we cannot just plant longan fruit at our backyard because, it need cold weather and the soil type. This goes the same for ideology as well; it needs suitable ecosystem for it to grow. Although the ideology

grows in the ecosystem of west Asia but, it is also suitable to be grown in Southeast Asia context. Why the ecosystem in this Southeast Asia is suitable? It is because of age of globalization, access to information is very easy. We can find out what is going on in Middle East and over the world from our phone, from based of the internet. We can Google and check the news, we can exchange information with friends in overseas, in UK, in Middle East, in Syria and so on. People can know what exactly is happening, how the ideas spread. So, to answer why the ISIS militant's ideology spread in Southeast Asia, it is because Southeast Asia provide suitable ecosystem for the emergence of ideology.

Thus, the emergence of ISIS in Malaysia and its factor can be analyzed through the level of analysis concept. This is because; the interactions between global, regional and local factors are ingredients that have caused these extremist groups existed in this area. In global level, we have Syria while in Regional level we have for example Indonesia or Philippines. There are a lot of extremist groups in this Southeast Asia region here including Malaysia too. Interestingly, they are helping one another and whenever they are helping one another, they grew. They cannot just grow by themselves so, local element plays it role. They merge with the regional element by having contact with people in Indonesia and Philippines, or even in Syria, and then they triple the contacts. In nut shell, the groups exist by an individual combined with the events that have occurred at domestic levels and external whether regional or global. They become stronger by the factor of ideology, and when there is someone who can manage the group. Therefore, this thesis will use level of analysis approach to understand this case study.

1.8 Research Methods

In this study, qualitative method has been adopted to provide a proper answer to the research problems. This research used qualitative method because a qualitative study makes researcher easier to obtain data on human behavior, information on certain issues related to social science, opinion which is a bit difficult to be achieved through quantitative methods. Lodico et al. (2006) concluded that extensive research questions in qualitative study can be designed to explore, clarify and interpret the social context of random participants in realistic conditions in non-random ways (p. 30). Participants' behavior and understanding are the main goals for qualitative research. As this research focus on factors that cause youth engage with ISIS in Malaysia, it is believed that qualitative method is more appropriate to be adopted in this study.

Besides that, the researcher will ask several questions to the respondent in the middle of discussion by having some focus group discussion among youth in order to gain information regarding this study. Moreover, this qualitative research is conducted to study the psychology of the respondents and to analyze the social environment they live. On top of that, statement by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) showed that, "Qualitative research has many ways for collecting first-hand information in the field which clearly indicates that the approach study phenomenon within the context of its originalities, attempting to interpret data in a way how people consider them" (p. 20). Qualitative study also includes collections of various types of data and information concerning their characteristics, history why they are taken and interview or case study. This information will support this research which is on the ISIS terrorist group influence on Malaysian youth that will be done by using case study approach.

1.8.1 Source of Data

Essentially, this thesis is based on the collection of a large range of primary and secondary sources. Basically, the main source of information regarding terrorism can be identified by four types which are autobiographies, reports on the incident, hostage experiences by terrorist and policy execution by firsthand accounts. This information's are important to a case study to be more valid. This study will try to gather and utilized all the information on ISIS militant movement in Malaysia by carrying out one to one interview section with authorized people such as Bukit Aman Special Branch Counter Terrorism Unit Officer, Superintendent Ahmad Norisham B. Ma'arus, ISIS expert, Prof. Dr. Mohd Kamarulnizam and Dr. Ahmad El- Muhammady.

Though secondary data is not as accurate as the main source of information, this study will still review secondary data as there will be limited primary data to be gathered on biography of terrorist or hostage experience as it will be highly secured to be published or exposed. Generally, secondary qualitative studies on terrorism can be identified by five types; the terrorists' profiles, the administration case studies, terrorism types case studies, specific case studies on the terrorist and case studies of terrorism in certain provinces or countries. To gather this information's, the data will be obtained from dialogue forum, Government publications, gazette, speeches and journals. Written document such as textbook, newspapers, political speeches, and formal policy statement, publications of non – governmental organization and civil society organizations will also be studied. Besides that, information sources through university library such as OPAC system, academic journals, research papers, bibliographic databases and web search engines will be used to gather secondary data. The two libraries that will be utilized are Perpustakaan Sultanah Bahiyah, UUM and Perpustakaan Hamzad Sendut, USM.

1.8.2 Data Analysis

In the qualitative research, the gathered data rely on the researches' analytic and integrative ability and knowledge of the social context (Bhattacharjee, 2012, p.15). The main goal of data analysis in qualitative research is to extract meaning of the research finding and how it occurred. Therefore the content analysis is adopted as the best method in analyzing the data in this study. Furthermore, content analysis is a widely used method for quantifying qualitative data (Collis & Hussey, 2009, p. 4). This procedure is needed to classify verbal or behavioral data in order to group, summarize and tabulate them (Hancock, 2002 p.31). Thus, in this study cross sectional method is adopted.

Research that gathers data on related variables will be used cross-sectional design that will collect data per time or within a short period of timeframe from various types of people, subjects, or phenomena. The gathered data will be collected within the same period of time or specific time frame. Description of the variables that being used in this study is provided in cross-sectional design based on the selected period of time. This will show the relationship between those variables in the cross-section of a population. This research study, also based on an observation which no experimental procedure needs to be done and resulted to no manipulation of variables by the researcher. Rather than running the experiment, this research will record all the information gathered from the group undertaking the examinations. Thus, the behaviors and characteristics of the groups can be analyzed by using cross-sectional research study.

As this research tends to study on a phenomenon which is a terrorist movement among Malaysian within a short time frame (2014 till 2019) it is believed that the cross sectional method would be suitable to be adopted in this study.

1.9 Organization of the Study

This research consists of seven chapters. Chapter one will elaborate on the introduction of the chapter, which discusses on the research background, problem statement, research questions, the objectives of this research, significance of the study, scopes of the study, theoretical framework, research methods and the organization of the thesis. Chapter two will present the review of related literature. The chapter starts with the introduction of the chapter. After that, explanation of previous studies is presented and consist of: Studies on Ideology factor, Studies on Identity Crisis factor, Studies on Economic Deprivation factor and Studies on Influence of Social Media factor. The chapter ended with concluding remarks and research gap.

Chapter three comprises the background of the ISIS militant group which includes a brief history on ISIS, ISIS ideology, ISIS goals and objectives, ISIS funding, ISIS territory, ISIS fighters and the chapter ends with a brief conclusion. Chapter four specifies on ISIS movement in Malaysia. This chapter starts with the introduction of the chapter and followed by an in-depth analysis on Katibah Nusantara that includes root of Katibah Nusantara, goals and objective of Katibah Nusantara and funding. The chapter concluded with a brief conclusion.

Chapter five touches on the core discussion of this thesis, which is the motivation of Malaysian youth to join ISIS. This chapter has few subtopics named under individual factor, poor grasp of Islamic faith and social network. Chapter six discuss on a critical

account of Malaysia government policy in maintaining ISIS threat. This chapter started with a brief introduction of the chapter and followed by the government action on treating the issue together with its strength and weakness and concluded with a brief conclusion of the discussion. Chapter seven contains the conclusion and recommendations by providing a summary of the study findings, implications, and recommendation for practice and future research.



CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

As terrorism becomes complex and security threats in international security are widening, there are growing attention to fight terrorism in the world. Thus, there is much importance given to study the root cause of terrorism that threatens the global community as well. The literature reviewed in this chapter covers several literatures that previously done and to some extent relates to the problems and objectives of this study. These are the factors that responsible for the persistent occurrence of religious based terrorism in Malaysian peninsula. Discussions on this key subject become essential for a better understanding of terrorism as a global phenomenon.

2.2 Previous Studies

2.2.1 Studies on Ideology Factor.

The factors contributing to the upsurge of radicalism among young generation in Malaysia have been characterized as ideological factors. Although there are numerous reasons for an individual member to join Islamic States, the Islamic State's ideology has made the content to be a serious matter. According Bunzel (2015) in his article titled 'From Paper State to Caliphate: The ideology of the Islamic State', ISIS ideology can be understood from two levels:

The first level that identified by Bunzel is the school of Islamic political thought to which the groups belong and the second level is the ISIS hardline orientation within the political thought. The article identified that ISIS first level of ideology came from Jihadi-Salafism while its second level oriented from Salafi dimension. (p. 5)

Contrarily, in another article written by Wood (2015) titled 'What ISIS really want?' view ISIS political thought in different angle. Though the writer has the same perspective with Bunzel that ISIS is practicing Jihadism, but Wood views ISIS from religious nature. Wood (2015) point out that, ISIS consist of modern secular minded jihadists with modern political concern that wearing medieval religious disguise (p.4). Wood point of view is reasonable as the ISIS affiliated group is using the name of religion to hide behind its political agenda. Though it is true that ISIS is adopting a jihadi Salafism ideology, but in practice it seems that the militant group is going against the Islamic teaching.

As it is impossible to interview the members of ISIS or detainees, so the other way to understand the affiliated group is by studying its ideology. The Islamic State's brand of jihadi Salafism is a contribution of two Islamic thought known as Salafism and Jihadism. Jones (2014) in his article titled 'A Persistent Threat: The Evolution of Al Qa'ida and Other Salafi Jihadists', Salafi-jihadist evolve based on two criteria. The first criteria are to give back the purity of Islamic practice that being done by the pious ancestors and the second criteria is, 'jihad' as a private religious responsibility for the member of the group (p.8). Teplesky (2016) in his PHD thesis titled 'Salafi-Jihadism: A 1,400 Years Old Idea Rises Again' believes that Salafi jihad is an ideology that reward them an authorized and religious validation for defeating prejudicial and non-Muslim rulers (p.13); he explains that Salafi-jihadism ideology that adopted by the ISIS are more to jihad then Salafi. His idea is acceptable when we see the practice of

ISIS that kills all the non-Muslim as an enemy of Islam in the name of Jihad. This is because, ISIS members interpret and practicing Islam from their black and white interpretation of Al-Quran and believes that they are the only true practice of Islamism and it is acceptable to kill those who are not following the way they are.

ISIS separates its deadly ideology by choosing a certain age group. ISIS is also targeting young children because they can be inspired easily compare to the older generation to be an active militant or as 'lone wolves' to carry out terrorist acts. Reason such as Just War, living in Islamic system and welfare benefits has been used by the militant to motivate the youth according to a report done by United States agencies entitle "Indonesia and Malaysia Support for the Islamic State". Fealy & Funston (2016) in the reports have explained briefly on the motivations and drivers of support for Malaysian and Indonesian fighter (p.8). According to them, social media, prisons, mosques or Islamic school becomes the core mechanisms for spreading radical ideology. To support this argument, Jabbour (2016) in his article listed ten factors on the reason behind people joining ISIS and six out of it was propaganda (p.1-4). According to him, Ideology such as living in presence, purpose of living, hope for caliphate system and religious ideology attracted the Muslims to serve for Islam. The way Jabbour present his idea was interesting and easily understandable because he presented his view in a story narration way.

Meanwhile, to Liow (2015) point out, ISIS gains their support mainly by sympathy besides political ideology (p.6); he asserted a Pew Global Attitudes Survey done in year 2013, that quarter of Muslims in Malaysia take the view of attacks on civilians Muslims around the world as terrorism can be accepted if it is done on the enemies of Islam. Thus, it can be believed that ISIS used sympathy method to attract people who

believed they need to help the Islam people around the world to fight for justice. ISIS is believed to spread its ideology using social media as today's technology is savvy youth. There are jihadi news websites such as Shoutussalam.com, Al-Mustaqbal.net and Arrahmah.com that become the mainstream media's portrayal of ISIS to spread their ideology and assisting sympathizers who wish to join ISIS (Nuraniyah, 2015, p. 6).

Furthermore, Rabasa (2003) characterized the factors contributing to the upsurge of terrorism into two divisions: external source and domestic source (p.1); the author believes that external factor such as globalization and ideology have the same importance as domestic factor which is political disorder in motivating individuals in Southeast Asia to join a terrorism organization. The division between external and domestic source became the strength of Rabasa (2003) writing as it makes the readers to have a better understanding on the way used by militant groups to influence people. However, the author did not limit his finding only on factors, but he discusses on another aspect of terrorism as well that makes the writing to have some loop in specializing the root cause of radicalism in this issue.

Raj (2015) in his work also discusses on the social media and propaganda as the factors that influencing the young generation towards militancy (p.3). According to the author, in this technological world, social media have their own role as medium of spreading the ideology and get connected to each other at the same time. This statement is supported by Azizan (2016) in The Star newspaper article; she stated that social media become an important medium for the militant group to gain their support especially among the young generation (p. 11&12). Azizan (2016) exerted a Malaysian

police report that most of Malaysian who joining the ISIS militant group get instruction or influenced by an online network such as Facebook (p.20).

Meanwhile, Nathan (2007) characterized the emergence of militancy and radicalism in the world drive from globalization in term of political, social and culture (p.15); He argues that although globalization itself cannot be singled out as the root cause of terrorism, but we cannot deny that the technological and communications revolution has globalized the means by which we comprehend and respond to terror. The author attempts to signify the structural factor in global political economy; however, he tends to analyze the issue in single point of view which is globalization that makes the studies to be biased toward modernization.

2.2.2 Studies on Identity Crisis Factor.

Meanwhile, Samuel (2016), has a different view on the root cause of terrorism (p.1-34); the author done his analysis by looking at the youth perspective, as this category are the majority people who being easily trained to become militants. He exerted that the young generation are attracted to militant groups via factor of identity crisis where, a leader charismatic, status quo and in a way of finding meaning of life attracted the young generation towards militancy. This view is found reasoning facts among the youth. This is because younger generation always having conflict in finding themselves as they grow up, so they will be easily attracted to someone who are well known or popular among the society. Thus, they tend to make mistakes by choosing a wrong role model to be followed and leads most of them to end as a recruit to the militant's group. Despite a strong argument on youth perspective, Samuel in his writing did not focus on a specific militant organization. The specification is important

to notify as each terrorist organization has their strategy and it varies from one organization to another.

There is an analysis that supported Samuel theory which is from Dalgaard- Nielsen's writing. She referred a study done by Quintan Wiktorowicz's that the first step of youth to joining ISIS is due to personal crisis (as cited in Wheelans, p.10); The personal crisis is to the extent that they are questioning their previous belief and view (p.10). Hence, once the individual accepts the main message of the movement then they become closely relate to one another members and actively support the group.

On the other hand, Ramakrishna (2016) believed that identity crisis is cause by parental problem (p.3); He exerted a British psychiatrist Russelle Razzaque statement that, a good role model from family members will give impact on the youth because as they grow older, they will have a positive perspective on the world they are living in. This situation happens because a person's personality, character, thoughts and feeling are shaped during childhood experiences. Thus, a weak parental could cause a youth to find outside strangers that they can admire, flawless personalities and gives a sense of connection value to them. According to Ramakrishna (2016), youth who are experiencing this dilemma tend to be influenced easily by the militants (p.5).

However, Blaker (2015) has a different view on identity crisis (p.5-18); she believes that youth with no sense of purpose or belonging; aimless youth usually becomes the prey of ISIS. Blaker (2015) explained that militant organization will make promises to this youth to provide camaraderie, good morale and purposeful activity which eventually create a sense of heroism and boost their self-esteem (p.9); she has very pithy ideas on identity crisis, however her view was shortly explained which make it

as a weakness in her writing, compared to Ramakrishna (2016) who well explained his point with few example in each of his statement.

On the other hand, Samuel (2012) in his another article titled 'Reaching the Youth: Countering the Terrorist Narrative' had found more comprise and fill in the gap that leave by the above author (p.7). The article focuses on youth reason for joining extremist and one of the main factors that discussed was an identity crisis. Samuel (2012) believed that youth can involve in militancy when they admire the charismatic nature of a specific terrorist organization's leaders (p.15). The magnetic personalities and extremely skilled in the functioning of a militant leader become a role model and father figures of these young people to join the rank. Besides that, he exerts that the individualistic thinking that exercise by western people is also another reason for the youth to be radical as it enables them to express their frustration.

On top of that Crenshaw (1982), in her article on 'Causes of Terrorism' had discussed the same point as mention by Samuel (2016) and; however, she approaches it in a point of psychology. Crenshaw (1982) has a strong argument in analyzing why an individual engages in terrorism from psychological aspect to determine the relationship between an individual personality with the involvement in terrorist activities (p.44); in her article, she has explained a point that previous study did not touch on which is guilty. According to Crenshaw (1982), the feeling of guilt is also a part of identity crisis that leads to some main reason of an individual to join the terror act and also a strong force in binding members of the terrorist group together (p.32). This article had contributed an important idea towards identity crisis factor that can be used widely to explain on a terrorist behavior and motivation to join terrorism.

2.2.3 Studies on Economic Deprivation Factor.

In terms of economic factors that influencing the young people, Azra (2005) has his own view on the reason behind people joining terrorist group (p.12); he argued that the rise of radical Muslim groups in Southeast Asia is not solely due to religion reason or political system but also because of economic factor such as poverty, lack of employment and basic needs. By giving a constructive analysis and historical development of Islam in Southeast Asia, Azra (2005) had strengthened his argument on the realities of radical groups in the region. Leggiero (2015) had been also been discussed on the economic factor as one of the reasons for youth joining ISIS (p.25); in his writing, he explained that militant group provides employment, basic needs or political and religion goals to individual who participate in jihad. This action will indirectly give new hope to personnel that feels they are being separated in their society to build new lives outside their environment.

Coolsaet (2016) has the same idea of economic deprivation as the factor for young people joining radical activity (p.3); he believes that since 2010, due to high unemployment rate and unstable economy that make it hard to find a job, people dare to do anything for their life continuity even it would bring disturbance in social life. This economic crisis leads the youngsters to look for radical changes for the better appeared. The terrorist group utilized the frustration and depression feeling in young generation to attract them towards radical activities. The systematic division between push and pull factors of terrorism become the strength of Coolsaet (2016) writing besides his numerous argument to strengthen his point makes his work to be a quality publication.

Besides that, a report done by United States agencies also reveals that ISIS pays high salaries to their soldiers besides, providing low-cost accommodation, and offer of health and education packages for their families. There is also rumor that ISIS will allow the families of the defeats jihadis to be residing in the Islamic State district. This financial and welfare benefits attracted the young generation to join ISIS militant group besides the reason of having pride of being a soldier (United States Agency for International Development, 2016, p.17).

2.2.4 Studies on Influence of Social Media.

According to Fealy & Funston (2016), Social media has become an important medium to popularizing ISIS messages and to radicalizing young Muslim (p.7); their report reveals a number of prominent jihadist websites that run by Pro-ISIS activists, and all of these websites are well produced, with attractive graphics, frequent updates, and extensive archives on a wide range of topics, so that they become interested in joining the Islamic State. Fealy & Funston (2016), exerted Malaysia Former Home Affairs Minister, Dato' Seri Dr. Ahmad Zahid Hamidi statement that in Malaysia, about 75% of ISIS recruitment comes from social media and common social media that they are active are Facebook, Twitter and YouTube (p.9). This report from the United States Agency has become a vital means for this research as it has helped the researcher to understand the differences between factor motivating terrorism and mechanism drives to the issue.

Besides that, Berger & Morgan (2015) who studied on ISIS networking in his article explained that the intensity of radicalization manages to distribute rapidly via social networking through communication between radical members through this media stream (p.10); according to their research, there are about 46 000 Twitter accounts that

owned by ISIS supporters from September to December 2014. These ISIS supporters have manipulated various images as their identity markers on twitter. This can be seen when they used an ISIS's flag, used the image of Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda founder and the picture of members and leaders of ISIS, while their top used hashtags were 'Islamic State', 'Da'ish', 'Urgent', and 'Jihad'. Although Twitter is a secondary means of communication, ISIS supporter, mostly uses twitter because twitter allows them to use fake identity and distinguish as another person effectively compare to other social networking sites. If their account is suspended by Twitter, new account can be built to replace the previous account. The fast-growing technology had helped the militants to spread their wings globally and gain supporters all over the world. The journal had given a very brief explanation on Twitter usage by militant as one of a mechanism to spread their propaganda.

On the other side, Kyle (2016) in her research paper entitle 'ISIS: Trends in Terrorist Media and Propaganda' stated that terrorism and media does not have symbiotic relationship, but then, they can be used in many ways to complement each other in order to gain supporters and recruiting new members because when there are small acts of terrorism happen, it will easily spread throughout the social media (p.6). The author believes that it is another way of manipulating people's minds besides, being key motivation in the public's eyes. Kyle (2016) also supported Berger & Morgan (2015) view of social media as the new way of decentralized communication with plenty of propaganda regarding Islamic State are hovering on social media sites such as Facebook, YouTube and Instagram, Twitter (p. 13).

Meanwhile, to show on how social media pose threat to the youth, Taampubolon (2016) exerted a documentary entitle 'Jihad Selfie' that exposed on how two Indonesian students who studied in Turkey keen to join ISIS by the influence of social media (p.2); they are believed to be attracted to the militant group by looking at their friend picture holding an AK-7 rifle in the Facebook and though that is something tempting to be followed. The students also reveal that, there are one to one talk with the friend who had already joined ISIS in Facebook messenger was like a brain wash section as the idea brings by the militants was radicals and influencing to the youngster like them. Azizan (2016) also has the same view that youth is easily being trapped to the radical ideology in social media (p21); She takes few cases in Malaysia as an example and explained that all the cases in the region come from the influence of online media (Azizan, 2016, p.20). This proves that social media gives a serious threat to the youth and act as an influencing medium to join militant groups.

On top of that, Rapoport (2004) in his wave concept of terrorism characterized that transformation of terrorist ideology in communication and transportation pattern is the first wave of any terrorism organization (p.5). As mention by the authors in previous studies, ISIS networking via social media or newspaper is a way to inspire sympathies or create influence globally to attract people joining the terrorist group. According to Rapoport (2004), This first wave eventually can product to the major formulation of terror threats in the next stages of wave of terrorism (p.4); His articles clearly explained the revolution of modern terrorism that we can relate to this ISIS militant group organization tactics on gaining support of people around them.

2.2.5 Studies on Security Measurement

As we all know, ISIS has become the fastest growing threat to the nation. Legislation on foreign fighters plays an important role to curb the issue. Type of security measures and policies taken on militants will influence the numbers of recruitments. Wheelans exerted a report from The Center for Security Studies in Zurich that response of militants depends on type of measures whether it is repressive or soft (p.11). Repressive measures may limit and control on an individual's freedom. However, this measure will not stop the ideology or changed the individual perception on their current believe but will make the potential individual to be more radical. On the other hand, Soft measures have the objective of preventing individuals from becoming a militant. This measure will be effective to those who tend to become militants or potential candidate to get influenced by ISIS ideology. Wheelans idea was well explain but there is no solution stated to overcome the problem state by him.

Wheelan's idea was also supported by United Nations Development Programme Regional Bureau for Africa. The Report point out that counterproductive security driven trigger responses when conducted insensitively. It is believed that government action including traumatic incidents involving state security forces are one of the important reasons for militants to join the radical group. In another article Schmid (2013) to support the argument, he gives examples of militants in prison. The prisoners are more vulnerable because they find themselves in some sort of crisis and there is no support system like comradeship from fellow gang they used to have before (p. 34).

Another important area that security measures need to look is on foreign fighter. Returning fighters with potentially hostile intent can pose difference security threat.

They might be able to coordinate organized militants plot, carry out lone wolf attack or influence domestic extremist. Returning Fighters are likely to suffer from post-traumatic stress disorder such as emotional instability which later might lead them to more critical person crisis. This situation has led to many countries to adopt hard strategies to directly counter the threat which results to more worsen situation (Lister, 2015, p.4). In some cases, there is family members who hide about their militants son or daughter who returns back to avoid getting harsh punishment or being discriminate by the society.

Besides that, Militants recruitment through Internet appears to be the major instrument of radicalization. To counter this, authority implement solution by blocking and removing radicalizing material on the internet (Schmid, 2013, p.34). Yet, Schmid believe that this strategy can only reduce the radicalization but cannot stop permanently. Thus, he suggests the element of strategy should include deterring the producers of extremist materials; empowering online communities to self-regulate; reduce the appeal of extremist messages and promote more positive messages (pg.35).

2.3 Concluding Remarks and Research Gap

Based on the literature survey that have been done, there are many factors that contribute to the participation of young Malaysian in Islamic terrorism. These factors can be seen in a huge range of social, political and personal factors. From the literature, there is also an agreement from most researchers that radicalization among youth is not certainly due to the factor of religion, but mostly because of the feeling of isolation among the community.

In this research, exploratory studies are used to understand the factors that lead youth to become militants. Other factors despite feeling of isolation is the persuasive action from other extremists in social media, peer pressure and their state of the economy. Nevertheless, social media have been proven as the most effective ISIS recruiting agent among youth. The propaganda and inspirational quotes about ISIS floating in social media, the Internet gives a sharing platform that also makes it easy for them to reach potential new member. Diversity in member profile is another example that proves that ISIS does not have any specific group of youth they targeted. Hence, more study needs to be done, especially in exploring the circumstances that may happen because of the effect of radicalization to the young Muslims, the process of radicalization and what make them to leave Malaysia for Syria to join ISIS.

This study attempted to focus on the gap in various factors that influencing a Malaysian towards religious based terrorism in the region. As previous studies show that there are varieties of reasons behind rising of militancy, this study will choose to analyze the most appropriate factors that may suit only to Malaysian peninsula and the young generation in it to join terrorism. Despite analyzing various factors on the issue, the study will focus mainly on the Malaysia region as the previous studies has lack in specializing on the region.

Besides that, the Islamic State militant group is being chosen in this case study in order to be more specific in encountering the strategies used by this new grown terrorist group. As this study will focus on the root cause of terrorism and how the factors are being influenced to recruit younger generation, it is expected to be more precise on analyzing the issue in order to fill the gap in previous studies and be a comparative study on ISIS in Malaysia.

On top of that, growing body of literature in security measures expose that rule of law-based state must find a balance between freedom and security in a way that balance of rules and laws weight on the level militant threat. It is believed that over-reaction to terrorism leads the cause to be more critical. So, this study will identify security measures used by Malaysia government to control the militant's ideology in the state. The previous study also reviews that the process of transitioning between political system has also been found to create conditions that are particularly conducive to the spread of violent extremist activity. Thus, this study will also identify is Malaysia politics influencing the radical ideology to emerge in the country.

Given at previous discussion, this research will significantly contribute to the body of knowledge of attraction of young generation towards militant's activities specifically in Malaysia geographical area. This research is believed to fill in the gap of previous studies by analyzing the factors used by the Islamic State to recruit Malaysian youth. Thus, this approach is believed to be the strength of this research work.

CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND OF ISIS MILITANT GROUP

3.1 A Brief History of ISIS

Islamic State (IS) or Islamic State in Iraq and Syria (ISIS) is also known as Islamic State in Iran and the Levant (ISIL), al-Dawlah, Da'ish or Daesh. ISIS could be traced back its origins from the year 2002 when it was initiated by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi from Jordan. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi has a very good relationship with the leader of al-Qaeda recruit. In the early stage the group founded by Zarqawi was known as Ansar al-Islam that later on changed into Al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI) and become one of al-Qaeda's most affiliates militant in that country. At first, Zarqawi was not complied with Al-Qaeda strategy to oppose the western countries, although the action does not get support from other Islamic leaders. However, later after the US invasion and the establishment of AQI in Iraq, Zarqawi has decided to cooperate with Al-Qaeda. The cooperation between Al-Qaeda and AQI have granted Zarqawi to have adequate resources and global recognition as they are now the main force in the Iraqi Insurgency. Regime lead by Zarqawi also have gotten global attention in 2004 to 2006 when they launched barbarous attack on Shi'ite Iraqi civilians and the officials (Bunzel, 2015, p.8). At present, ISIS is conducting an agenda to place the Sunni community under the administration of the Sunni jihadist group and this agenda has driven AQI to launch religious attack against Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims (Lister, 2016, p.10). This uncivilized action by AQI has made them to lose support from most members and has made Al-Qaeda members to oppose them.

In 2006, US break-in has killed Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and being replaced by Abu Ayyub al –Masri as the leader of the militant group and changed the organization name to Islamic State of Iraq (ISI) (Leggiero, 2015, p.14). Although Abu Ayyub Al-Masri gain strong support among its people, but the militant group faces difficulties to bring the organization into the next stage as there was political conflict among the Sunni’s people itself that cause Syrian war. The continuous war in Syria has distracted global view and make US army to conquer Iraq and establish administration under Sunni tribes that against the group killing agenda. This action reduces ISIS violation and break their attacks since it causes death of several ISI leaders in US airstrike’s attacks. However, in 2010, Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi took over group after the death of al-Masri and started to invade Iraq with several attacks. ISIS continues to do their ethnic cleansing murdering their rivals and the minorities. Meanwhile in Syria, the number of Baghdadi’s fighters has increased rapidly. Succeeding the conquer of the main territories in Iraq and Syria, Abu Bakar al Baghdadi has changed the militant group name into The Islamic State in Iraq and Levent (ISIL) in year 2013 and declared himself as the caliphate. Later on, in mid-year of 2014, al Baghdadi changed the affiliated group name into Islamic State (IS). In today’s world, the militant group is called as ISIL or ISIS to refer that the organization belongs to Iraq and Syria people. However, after the merge relationship with other militant groups globally like al-Qaeda and Boko Haram, the militant group generally refers as Islamic State (IS) or Daesh.

Generally, it is not suitable to label ISIS as new types of terrorism. It is not a surprise to see the act of violence, inhumanity action, torturing and barbaric punishment they have done. However, IS has put clear aims and perspectives that contribute to the rapid growth of the group have made its difference from the other terrorist group and jihadist.

There is some of al-Qaeda motivation that claimed to be insignificant by the ISIS, later has changed the perspective of Islamic terrorism which are the counterterrorism and counter extremism.

3.2 ISIS Ideology

The Islamic State thought is based on the Islamic political believed known as Salafi – Jihadism. According to Jacob Teplesky in a monograph titled ‘Salafi-Jihadism: A 1400 years old Idea Rises Again’, the Pan-Islamist movement that was active during the year 1960 to 1978 and three important events happened in 1979; the Iranian revolution, the blockaded of the Grand Mosque in Mecca and the soviet invasion in Afghanistan. These events play an important role in the evolution of Salafi-Jihadism. The Salafi-Jihadism thought in 2006 during the administration of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi has been adopted by ISIS in their ideology. The history of Salafi-Jihadism can be seen through its timeline in 740 A.D. during the era of the Abbasid Caliphate. In early Muslim era, Muslims that are together with Prophet Muhammad are called ‘salaf’. This is how the word Salafism comes from (Ali, 2015, p.5). This people is the one that received Islamic thought through the prophet himself. Hence, by making prophet Muhammad and his earlies followers’ approach as the benchmark, the Salafism has taken ‘a fundamentalist’ approach to their thought.

To imitate the Salafist principle of Tawhid which is the unity of God, the basic sources of Islam, such as learning the Quran and Hadith which are the action said and done by the prophet are stressed about. According to Salafist, Quran is God orders and should be taken accurately without changing any words from it. As stated by Tasgin & Cam (2016), ISIS has misunderstood the Quran and Hadith and they try to imitate the structure of administration during the era of Prophet Muhammad (p.3). The Salafist

believe that they are the true believer and want to retrieve the Islamic practice and Tawhid. This action has insulted the non-Salafist believers which actually the first Muslim based on the history. However, the non-Salafist believe that anything regarding religion, such as anti-Shia sentiment and Islamic principle should be rigid despite any obstacles or attacks given to them. For Salafist, they believe in Al-Quran and Sunna and they oppose any sentiment of self-interest or human biases. Thus, this will make them to hold their faith in the command of Allah, the one and only God. Any human perspective, man-made religion law and enhanced religious thought are not acceptable by Salafist because for them, it is against their Tawhid thought.

In Tawhid, there are three components that the Salafist holds as a true believer of Islam. Firstly, they believe there is only one God that created the universe. Secondly, God is the utmost of all and He is the one that created the law, which is the Sharia law. Any new law that being created by human being are said as objection and against Sharia law. Thirdly, there is no other God except for the only one God that the Muslim should worship. Salafist also believe that, human action and behavior should be equivalent to the practice of the Quran and Sunna, or else, it is not acceptable in Islam.

It is believed by the Salafi Muslim that they need to return back to the true Islamic belief, they can retain back the support of the people and the followers of Muhammad because they noted that the political issues happen through them is due to the common practice of faith that is incorrect but still practiced. The mutual understanding of religion and political viewpoints are already established between the Salafists, however, they fail to see the result of their fight. As stated by Wiktorowicz & Hegghammer (2006), there are three groups of Salafists existed; Purists, politico-Salafists, and Salafi-Jihadis:

Puritists are committed to protecting the purity of Islam in nonviolent fashion, promoting Salafist beliefs through propagation and religious education, and adopt a quietist posture by shunning politics. Politico-Salafists believe that due to their knowledge on current events, they are best suited to interpret Salafi belief and to use this influence to impose Islamic reforms upon a state structure. Finally, the Salafi-Jihadis are the most notorious of the three subgroups because they ‘call for violent action against the existing political order and for the establishment of a unitary state in the form of a caliphate’ (p.13).

Mutual understanding has been achieved between Salafists regarding Islamic belief as stated by Wiktorowicz (2006). However, the issues of using violence still are not agreed among them. In order to achieve their ISIS goals, some of the Salafist still use violence to assault their enemies because for them, it is Jihad.

Salafi-Jihadist thought that combines the conservative and conventional aspects including the act of violence has made the group diverse from the other two Salafist groups. Any Islamic administration that opposes the Islamic law is considered as illegal. Death penalty also will be given to any political party that is against the administration of Salafist. Additionally, the ‘total war’ approach has been adopted by Salafi-Jihadist despite the traditional approach of jihad, which stated that jihad can only be done if there is a risk to the Muslim and their belonging by the attackers. Compare to violence act of Salafi-Jihadist towards innocent people, the conservative jihadists show humanity, especially towards women, children, elderly, hermits, disable people, monk and the peacemaker.

As mentioned by Brachman (2004) in his article, jihadism means “the peripheral current of extremist Islamic thought whose adherents demand the use of violence in

order to oust non-Islamic influence from traditionally Muslim lands en route to establishing a true Islamic governance in accordance with God's law (sharia)" (p17).

In other words, jihad and jihadism have different meaning. Jihad can be described as strife in which it is more on defensive action and as a protection to Muslim from violence on their lives and properties. It is also justified as the act of preserving peace and safety to Muslims outside the Islamic territory.

Salafi-Jihadist will place themselves outside the community of other Muslims because for them, violence in jihad is a duty and responsibility for every individual. This action relates to the Ibn Taymiyya (1263-1328) thought on global jihad justification for deposing undeserved and non-Muslim leaders (Teplesky, 2016, p.20). Taymiyya has drove the act of jihad to be aggressive and defensive as for him, anyone who is not an Islamic believer should be opposed. Taymiyya's principles of jihad,' particularly the permissibility to defeated a ruler who is classified as an unbeliever due to a failure to adhere to Islamic law, the absolute division of the world into dar al-kufar (land of unbelief) and dar al-Islam (land of Islam), the labeling of anyone not adhering to one's particular interpretations of Islam as an unbeliever, and the call for the blanket warfare against non-Muslims, particularly Jews and Christians,' became the doctrine of Salafi-Jihadis during the Salafist Awakening movement. To make the allied militant groups to be recognized globally, ISIS is suspected misuse the term Salafi-Jihadi for their own purpose.

3.3 ISIS Goals and Objectives

The goals and objectives of a militant group are influenced by the ideology practiced by their organizations. This idea goes same to the ISIS militant group; as ISIS follows

Salafi-jihadism ideology, its goals and objectives were much Islamic oriented values. Unlike other Islamic militant group organizations, ISIS goals embrace a long term vision of the future to establish an Islamic state with the conception of a caliphate system and purifying Islam. To achieve these ultimate goals, the ISIS militant group has few objectives that the group drafts to make them achieve their target. The militant group believes that those goals can be achieved by them if their objectives and propaganda relies on distinct interpretation of the Quran and other religious text such as 'Sunnah' and 'Hadis'. Below are the two main goals of ISIS and its objectives.

3.3.1 A Global Caliphate

A Caliphate system is a political system that practiced by The Islamic state. Caliphate system had existed since Islam's earliest days. This system led by a caliph as a leader and ruled the political and religious issues in the state. The caliph that highly recognize by all Muslims are Prophet Muhammad four companions that had been chosen to be a leader after Prophet and they had been recognized as 'Rightly Guided Caliphs'. After the fourth Prophet's successor, the caliphate system collapsed as there is conflict between Sunni and Shia ideology between the Muslim community (Hedges, 2015, p.7). By time, caliphate system had demolished by the ruler of Islamic States when modernization hit them. Countries in Middle East and other countries in the world that practicing Islam as their official religion did not practice Islamic rules in their administration as they are adapting modern ruling system like democracy and republic.

This had led the militant groups that arise after the modernization period, such as al-Qaeda, has an aim to reestablish the caliphate system and this idea goes same to ISIS.

Their aim is to unite all global Islamic state and run the administration based on the caliphate system and enforced Shari's law. ISIS has announced the formation of their own caliphate system in June 2014 under the lead of Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi (McFate, 2015, p.9). This was ISIS first steps towards expanding its Caliphate system ideology in worldwide. Abu Bakar and its army conquered Iraq and the greater part of Syria then changed the organization name to Islamic State to prove that the group's geographical ambition has expanded. Al-Baghdadi declared himself as caliph and aim to control as much as territory as the Prophet Muhammad did when prophet governed in Madina (Barrett, 2014, p. 4). ISIS expands its ideology to countries that have many Muslim communities like Malaysia and Indonesia and minority Muslims population countries like Australia.

Besides that, ISIS also expands its ideology because ISIS does not recognize states boundaries that created from modernization. The organization believed that there is only one state which is Islam state, there is only one ruler who is the Caliph and there is only one religion which is Islam. This had made the ISIS to have an aim in breaking the nation states border. On top of that, ISIS tries to conquer as many as territories that they can because they can only establish a caliphate in the territory that they hold. ISIS militant group also believes that it is a sin to lose Islamic political administration system that being practiced by their ancestor and it is the organizational responsibility to bring it back. Thus, establishing a global caliphate is their first goal.

3.3.2 Purifying Islam

As Islamic State adopted Salafi-Jihadism ideology, the militant group believes that only salafism ideology is the true principle in Islam and any other religion is known as enemy to Islam. Therefore, ISIS has a goal to purifying Islam and spread monotheism.

Purifying Islam by ISIS means that's to demolish Shia Muslim ideology in its territory and makes every Muslim to obey to the Caliphate which is Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi. To achieve this aim, ISIS chooses to enslave the disbelievers. As ISIS follows jihadism ideology, they believe that genocide is the only way to defense its territory and ideology. ISIS militants carry out the extreme kind of cruel act towards Shiites and their hostage, which is by slaughtering, burn alive, torturing and some terror attack to kill the disbeliever of Salafism. For the militant group, to embrace in slavery and crucifixion is not a wrong did because they believe that they are doing it in the name of god and the disbeliever blood and money are permissible for them (Al-Ibrahim, 2014, p.6).

Besides that, what is important aim for ISIS is to disseminate monotheism. Monotheism is the idea of believing in the existence of one god. The Muslim believes that Allah has created mankind and bestowed upon them their means of living, gives life to them and can take it from them; thus Muslims believe that Allah is the Creator and the Superior of all which is known as Tawhid Ar-Rububiah in Arabic, which carrying the meaning of believing Allah Lordship as Islamic monotheism (en_Tawheed, n.d., p. 16). Besides believing Allah as the only Lordship to the religion, Muslims also must obey to Prophet Muhammad who is the messenger of Allah, Holy Book 'Quran' and Islamic Doctrine. As Muslims are taught to believe in Allah and his guidance only, like any other Salafi based organization, ISIS declared to demolish and remove all manifestations of polytheism by spreading the ideology of monotheism with the believe that Islam as the only truth religion.

3.4 ISIS Funding

Unlike other jihadi group, ISIS is known as the best funded terrorist group so far. ISIS is financially independent due to its successful criminal enterprise. Some of ISIS activities are extortion, kidnapping, robberies, counterfeiting, smuggling and racketeering (Dorsey, 2015,p.2). This militant group did not rely on state sponsors, major donors or abuse of charity like other terrorist group as it will not bring much and consistence fund to the organization. ISIS economic model surprises many people as it is richer than some small countries with self-sustaining and diversified economic system. Below are the reasons behind ISIS revenue that drawn to its adaptability.

3.4.1 Extortion

Extortion can be defined as the act that insist individual to perform something they not desire to do such as giving up their properties and assets, using violence in their actions, perform vandalisms, threatening the reputation of individual and put economic pressure to the opponents. Extortion will pressure the victims to give their cooperation without their will (Transcrime Report, 2008, p.10). In previous era of Islamic State, extortion is used generally. Therefore, ISIS believed to carry out this criminal act to sustain the organization.

One of ISIS extortion acts is via taxes. ISIS applies different types of taxes to people in its territory, such as transportation taxes, petrol taxes, land taxes, duties taxes, power and energy taxes, commercial transaction, taxes, wage taxes and 'Right to Live' taxes. According to an article written by Duhaime (2015), most of the ISIS source of income is through the collection of taxes and they even build a bank under the administration of ISIS to collect the taxes (p.14).

Other than taxes, ISIS captured and utilized existing assets and sources in its territory. Knowing the importance of natural resources, ISIS seeks to operate oil plantation. ISIS controls dozens of oil fields in both Iraq and Syria and several pumping stations in both countries (Levitt, 2014, p.3). This natural resource become the organization greatest sources of revenue and according to Peters (2015) in an article, ISIS obtained 1-2 million USD per day for oil revenue in year 2014 and 40 million USD monthly in year 2015 (p.5). ISIS did not find difficulties in selling their oil as they already have the connections to sell their oil illegally in several countries such as in Turkey, Iran, Kurdistan and Jordan. The oil is sold lower than the market prices (Levitt, 2014, p.6). On top of that, ISIS extortion also involves in taking control of utility infrastructure in its territory and then charged the people for providing basic needs of the area. Basic requirements such as water, electricity and phone facilities provided by individuals or companies need to pay to ISIS for the services. The militant group also seizes property that belonged to Christians, Shiites, and former government officials by killing or expels them (Duhaime, 2015, p.5). ISIS takes control over real estate and a hydroelectric dam and earns money from it (Levitt, 2014, p.5).

3.4.2 Kidnapping

Another activity that provides ISIS with good revenue is by human trafficking. ISIS kidnaps people, mostly women and children from minority community in Iraq and Syria, or journalists who covering news at the conflict zone from neighbor countries or even from Russia, United States and United Kingdom (Special report on The Islamic State, 2015, p.8). Insurance companies and foreign countries need to pay ransom money to ensure that the victim being released (Duhaime, 2015, p.4). Those victims whose ransoms are not paid are executed to kill or be slaves. If the victims were chosen to be murder, ISIS militant carry out a cruel murder against the victims such as being

slaughtered in public or burn to death, and the murder incident is recorded on video to be shown to the worldwide in order to threaten the public.

While, some victims who were chosen to be sex slave are sold to the people who can bargain the victim to the highest price. Most of the ISIS upper ranking militants will buy the victims before their being rotated to other militants and there are also cases that the victims being sold across the country through online selling. In a statistic shows by Levitt (2014) in his articles on Terrorist Financing and the Islamic State shows that ISIS gain 20% revenue from his human trafficking activities (p.5).

3.4.3 Racketeering

ISIS also gains financial support from some external donation. Although ISIS is not depending on the fund by external sources, but the donation from small sources also contributes to the group funding. ISIS keeps maintaining their source of donation because they still being recognized as al-Qaeda in Iraq. The funds were believed to come from both the governments and private donors, mostly from Middle East countries. The donation sometimes is laundered through feigned humanitarian aid organizations and unregistered charities (Peters, 2015, p.7).

Another ISIS illegal activity that enables the militant group to earn financially is by smuggling. ISIS smuggles cultural artifacts and drug through the black market. ISIS territories consist many important archaeological sites that has destroyed by the militant group. Although the sites were destroyed, but the ancient artifacts are being sold to fund the terrorists and these sales now represent ISIS second largest source of funding. According to Financial Action Task Force (FATF) Report, ISIS have two

sources of income previously which are from the sale of old artifacts and charge taxes to trader that goes through the trading routes of their territory.

3.5 ISIS Territory

According to BBC News on Middle East, (2017) ISIS jihadist group were in control of 60 400 square kilometers in December 2016, which is lesser than the area that had controlled by the militant group in its earlier stage of establishment (p.18). ISIS has started to seize over the territory in Syria and Iraq in 2013 and till now, ISIS territory did not expand beyond Iraq and Syria. However, its ideology has spread all around the world. With the proclamation of a Caliphate at the end of June 2014, ISIS signaled its intention to spread beyond Iraq and Syria; the militant group is now believed to be operating in 18 countries across the world including Malaysia (Samuel, 2016, p. 15). The idea of ISIS to go beyond Iraq and Syria is also to trigger the foreign fighters to join the jihadist group. In order to ensure the goals of ISIS which is to form global Caliphate, Katibah Nusantara is one of their agenda.

3.6 ISIS Fighters

ISIS's fighters, especially those from foreign countries are growing since June 2014. Fighters in Syria and Iraq are from over 100 countries globally and most of these foreign fighters come from Tunisia, Saudi Arabia, Russia, Turkey, and Jordan based on data given by the United States. Since the situation in Syria and Iraq have been known globally, the escalation of foreign fighters is not uniform and can only see the increase for certain countries and regions only. This can be seen with the evidences cited by Hanson (2015) in his article that at the early stage of ISIS establishment, there are more than 15 000 numbers of foreign fighters in Syria alone (Hanson, 2015, p.4).

While, the surge of foreign fighters from Western Europe, Former Republic of Soviet, Balkans, Middle East, North America and Maghreb have received a lot of attention. The number of fighters originated from Southeast Asia also has seen to be increasing in Syria. Until end of 2015, the official numbers of Southeast Asian fighters are at least 600 people and majority of them comes from Indonesia and Malaysia followed by small numbers of fighter from another region like Philippines, Singapore and India (Samuel, 2016, p.10).

Most of the Southeast Asians fighters that detected as jihadist by their government were students who already in the Middle East while people who are arrested in their countries before they leave to Syria consists of different background people from teenagers, elderly people, woman, children, educated scholar and drop out students. Personal issues despite political interest is the reason for them to join the Syrian and Iraqi extremist group. In the next chapter, it will discuss on the motivation for young Malaysians to join ISIS.

3.7 Concluding Remarks

This chapter discusses on the history of ISIS in brief by touching on the origins of the militant group, its ideology, ISIS territory, fighters, their operations and activities, and the source of funding for the militants.

From this chapter, it is found that ISIS militant group is a well-organized terrorist group as it has its own organization structure, vision and mission, ideology and funding. Though ISIS is a breakdown of Al-Qaeda militant group, but it managed to portray the group more significant and strong compare by other extremist militants. The mission and ideology of the ISIS group to be the global caliphate has expanded to

worldwide shows the success of the organization. The success of ISIS also can be seen by the origins of their fighters; ISIS managed to gather fighters not only from Muslims country but all over the world. The way ISIS managed its finance also shows the strategy of ISIS leader in maintaining the militant group.

This chapter is essential for this study as to analysis a militant group it is important to understand their nature of existence. Thus, this chapter works as eye opener to analyze the factors behind young Malaysian joining ISIS.



CHAPTER FOUR

ISIS IN MALAYSIA AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF KATIBAH NUSANTARA

4.1 Introduction

ISIS movement has been detected in Malaysia by Malaysian police since early year of 2012. According to Bukit Aman Counter terrorism Officer, Supt Ahmad (2017) there are 306 ISIS detainees in Malaysia and 95 identified individual in Syria, where 31 individual of them died and 56 still alive and fighting with ISIS until mid-year of 2017 (Personal Interview). This statistic proves that there are ISIS movements in the state, although their numbers are not huge. The idea of ISIS to go beyond Iraq and Syria is also to trigger the foreign fighters to join the jihadist group. To fulfill the goal of the IS and ISIS agenda which is to establish a global Caliphate system, Katibah Nusantara (KN) is established. This chapter will deeply analyze on Katibah Nusantara by looking through its root, goal, objectives, and its funding.

4.2 ISIS in Malaysia

Since 2011, it has been recorded that there is an increase of number of Malaysian goes to Syria and joined the revolutionary movements against the Syrian regime. To ensure that they are not being traced, most of them travelled using tourist visa and some manage to transit to other places before they reach Syria. However, this strategy has been caught after arrestment of Malaysians, Mohd Razif and Muhamad Razin Sharhn in Beirut on October 18th, 2012. They planned to join the allies' group in Syria, which is the Jabhah al-Nushrah. However, they have been confined by Lebanese authorities

while traveling there. They admitted that they have been appointed during an usrah (religious class) session with former JI members and his assistant, Yazit Sufaat and Muhamad Helmi. Halimah Hussin, a fugitive also responsible in the member selection during the usrah. Lebanese authorities have given a notice to the Malaysian authorities regarding the arrestment and resulted in detention of Yazit Sufaat, Muhammad Helmi and Halimah in February 2013. After the arrestment, the authorities have launched an operation to cope individuals that intents to join the militant group in Syria.

Ever since, Malaysian authorities have eradicated operation of Daesh-related group, starts with the arrestment of Yazid. Another arrestment of Razin and Razif in Lebanon also gives an impact to the Malaysian authorities. As discuss in chapter one, Malaysia still did not have any experience regarding global terrorism and extremist despites threat from previous communist revolution in 1940s. This can be seen in Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1
Militant Groups in Malaysia, 1967-2015.

| Created | Group |
|----------------|---|
| 1967 | Tentera Sabilullah |
| 1968 | Gerakan al-Arqam |
| 1971 | Golongan Rohaniah |
| 1974 | Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia |
| 1977 | Crypto |
| 1980 | Kumpulan Mohd Nasir Islam |
| 1985 | Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya |
| 1987 | Kumpulan Jundullah |
| 1988 | Kumpulan Mujahidin Kedah (KMK) |
| | Perjuangan Islam Perak (PIP) |
| 1993 | Jama'ah Islamiyyah (JI) |
| 2000 | Kumpulan al-Maunah |
| 2001 | Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) |
| 2005 | Darul Islam (DI) |
| | Tanzim al-Qaeda Bahagian Asia Tenggara |
| 2013 | Tanzim al-Qaeda Malaysia |
| 2014 | Briged Khalid al-Walid |
| | Darul Islam Malizia (DIM) |
| | Briged Daulah Islamiah |
| | Arakan Daulah Islamiah |

| | |
|------|--------------------------|
| 2015 | Fisabilillah |
| | Daulah Islamiah Malaysia |

Source: Ahmad El-Muhammady, Countering the Threats of Daesh: Malaysian Experience, 2016.

Table 4.1 shows that the Special Branch division has identified at least 22 local militant groups that active between 1967 to 2015. These groups have different objectives and ideology from one another. Since the demolition of local militant-based groups in Malaysia such as JI, DI and KKM, the authorities have taken serious security procedures and actions to ensure that they are imprisoned under the Internal Security Act (ISA) 1960. It is impossible to cope with the terrorist ideology from the roots. However, the action towards abolishment of their presence can be seen through the arrestment of the leaders from Jama'ah Islamiyyah (JI) and Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) which are Yazit Sufaat and Lotfi Ariffin, and their followers still actively recruiting new members. Most of the recruiters are previously the head of certain terrorist group.

Yazid Sufaat and Lofti Ariffin are examples of ex-militant of Jama'ah Islamiyyah (JI) and Kumpulan Mujahidin Malaysia (KMM) that join ISIS. Besides recruiter from ex-extremist, an individual tends to believe the ISIS propaganda and ideology on how struggling the Syrian to survive and how the war hits them badly. Some of them take advantage by raising donation, fund collection and recruiting new members to be sent to Syria and ending up, joining the militant group. There are at least four organized groups and small cells that have been identified by Malaysia authorities. The list can be seen in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 2
 ISIS Division Groups and Cells in Malaysia.

| Type | Name |
|-------|--|
| Group | Revo Group (RG) |
| Group | Kumpulan Briged Khalid al-Walid (KBKW) |
| Group | Daulah Islam Malizia (DIM) |
| Group | Kumpulan Fisabilillah (KF) |
| Cell | Daulah Islamiyah Malaysia |
| Cell | Al-Qubro Generation |
| Cell | Perintis |
| Cell | Follow the Sunnah |

Source: Special Branch, Counter-Terrorism Division E8, Royal Malaysia Police, 2017.

Table 4.2 shows groups and cells created by the local individuals in Malaysia after being influenced by ISIS propaganda. Most of the group members were detained by Malaysian police under Security Offences (Special Measures Act) (SOSMA). Besides these groups, there is also international founded group named Katibah Nusantara (KN). KN is founded by militants from Southeast Asia such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Philippines to take the leadership position in Syria and Iraq.

4.3 Katibah Nusantara

4.3.1 The Root of Katibah Nusantara

Katibah Nusantara or *Majmuah Al Arkhabiliy* was officially established on 26 September 2014 as the Southeast Asia fighting unit of ISIS (Yasin et al, 2015, p.1). KN was formed in Syria through the network between militants from Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. KN acts as the control center of ISIS that covers Southeast Asia countries and it also facilitates Malay-language communication among the members. Thus, the formation of KN in Southeast Asia is important to ISIS. ISIS raise importance in waging Malay Archipelago fighters after the presence of Southeast Asian fighter in ISIS organization was encouraging and well-known noticed. Besides

that, the coalition of ISIS in Southeast Asia was established to achieve its goal to be as a worldwide caliphate system.

ISIS has made Southeast Asia as its war zone since the influence of Katibah Nusantara increases due to the increase of IS influence. There are three geographical leadership regions under the administration of KN. Firstly, central Katibah Nusantara, which is under administration of Bahrumisyah, secondly, east region Katibah Masyariq, under the lead of Salim Mubarak At-Tamimi@Abu Jandal and lastly, west region Katibah Aleppo which is under Abu Abdillah. Though this Malay Archipelago Unit is divided into three regions, but the unit is command by a leader who is known as Bahrumisyah. Additionally, there are also several sub-units under KN such as manage the combat fighter unit, snipers, weapons unit, strategy plan unit and military administration (Singh, 2015, p. 3). Those who are the leader and having position in Katibah Nusantara are believed mostly from Indonesians and Malaysians.

ISIS gain much support from the Southeast Asia region through Katibah Nusantara as the region consists of a large number of Sunni Muslims. Katibah Nusantara significant success to ISIS can be seen when the Southeast Asia recruits managed to capture five Kurdish-held locations in Syria. Reports indicate that since the establishment of Katibah Nusantara, numbers of fighter from Southeast Asia regions to the conflict region increased and they are mostly from Indonesia and Malaysia (Samuel, 2016, p.7).

4.3.2 Katibah Nusantara Goals and Objective.

The Katibah Nusantara primary objective is to assist ISIS in achieving its jihad goals which is to establish Islamic State and wider its Caliphate into all the Islamic countries (Singh, 2015, p.3). This statement is supported by Gunaratna (2015) in his article on 'The Islamic State's Eastward Expansion' that ISIS is claiming authority and mobilizing its support into 11 countries all over the worlds that result to the declaration of 34 territories including KN under the militant group (p.6). Hence, ISIS aims for global expansion is marked by its expended territories that consist of local individual or groups who pledge support by taking their oath of devotion onto Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi, the self-selected Caliph. ISIS has the plan of establishing an alternative control center in Southeast Asia if they lost their base in Syria and Iraq.

Besides that, to unite the terrorist from the same region, KN as a Malay-based combat unit plays a major role in it. KN also believed to be created to facilitate communication among Malay speaking recruits from the Southeast Asia region who are not fluent in Arabic or English language, to avoid communication barrier when communicating with foreign jihadists. Other than that, Katibah Nusantara was established by Abu Bakar with a plan to influence the Sunni Muslims in Southeast Asia region to migrate to Syria and join the holy fight together with the jihadist militant (Liow, 2015, p.3).

According to Gunaratna (2015), in order to assault alliance and the government attacking their mainland, ISIS tends to recruit more members throughout the globes including Malaysia to become their militants (p.4). The recruited militants will execute attacks from their origin with the supports of ISIS funds. Thus, this will lead the militants to create a significant attack compared to the structural organize attack that cause problem in transmitting command or mobilize.

From the above finding, it is clear that Katibah Nusantara is one of the ISIS backbone in supplying fighter and spreading its ideology in Southeast Asia; besides plays an important role in achieving the militant group's mission to globalize ISIS. Katibah Nusantara also has developed into a recruiting center for the Malay speaking recruiter which causes a threat to the Southeast Asia region countries as the recruiter can easily influence the people around them.

4.3.3 Katibah Nusantara Funding

KN gets its financial support from three different sources as below; Support from ISIS headquarters, donations and criminal activity.

4.3.3.1 Headquarter Support

Huge amounts of money have been spent by ISIS to recruit new members and to maintain their systems. ISIS got this money from payment made through associated costs or personal funding. The distribution of ISIS's ideology, new militant enrollment and assist running activities are the main attention of the recruitment networks under the support of ISIS.

There is also payment for recruiting new recruits as an ISIS's member and it is another form of support shows by ISIS. ISIS recruited new members in Southeast Asia by promising assistance such as entering the conflict zone with fake passports, travelling expenses was covered, travel guidance and supply connection at the conflict zone. Hence, ISIS will give reward to the new recruiter that holds their oath through their prison.

4.3.3.2 Donation

The most common source of income of a militant group is by donation and self-funding. To fascinate more followers, social media, which is the most common application is used to attract sympathies and collect money. Thus, ISIS not only distribute their ideology through social media, but also relies on it to seek for financial aid. By using social media, it is easier to make a transaction for donation and can make the donor to contribute and generating more fund to the organization as well as to distribute their ideology at the same time.

Crowdfunding and crowd-leading are two types of methods used by ISIS to collect donation over the Internet. Donors can reach the militant group directly or using middle software if the donor intends to contact with them. The militant groups will merge the fund-raising activity with member recruitment by taking advantage by exploiting religious centers, parlors, restaurants or shops specializing in goods consumed by communities.

4.3.3.3 Criminal Activity

Katibah Nusantara also gains its financial support by involving in criminal activities. They have done criminal acts to support their training and other activities related to the group as they already got to recruit individuals with past criminal activities. In Malaysia itself, there are cases of kidnapping for ransom by the terrorist. ISIS or KN militants have linked into at least seven kidnap cases in Sabah and attempt other nine kidnappings but foiled by Malaysian armed security. All the kidnapping cases not committed by KN members alone, but with the support of other organized crime group that pledged its loyalty to ISIS. Besides kidnapping, they did also involve in smuggling activities including smuggling of humans, firearms, cigarettes, diesel and other

consumer goods. For all the crime that KN militants commit, they will admit it as a way of showing their power.

Given to the above evidence, it is safe to argue that KN militant have a lot of technic in sourcing and supporting the group financially. As the fighter of ISIS are from a verity of background it is not a doubt that they can manage the KN just like any other well organized organization.

4.4 The Role of Katibah Nusantara in Promoting ISIS among Malaysian.

KN as Southeast Asia Archipelago Unit plays an important role to promote ISIS among Malaysian youth. To Malaysian, the Abdullah Azzam Academy has been built to give education as well as military training. This shows that KN taking care of Malaysian fighter's welfare. Abdullah Azzam Academy assists their members which their mother tongue is Malay-language to enable communication among them. Since their working environment uses Arabic-language, the academy serves as the solution of communication barrier between them as well as for other languages. Thus, we can understand that KN playing role in assisting Malaysian fighters to avoid the language barrier.

Besides overcoming the language barrier, Abdullah Azzam Academy also provide education to assist the fighter's children. The Academy teaches students on Islamic religion and military training. Their students consist of children as young as 8 years and the reason behind the training is to prepare them as next generation fighters. It is part of the KN mission to cultivate ISIS ideology to younger generation of Malay militants. This shows us how committed is KN to attract Malaysian by providing training and education to the future generation fighter.

On top of that, KN also assisting Malaysian militants in guiding how to fly to conflict zone and serve for them as a fighter. KN paid their ticket money and also teach them to transit at few other places before reach Syria to avoid being caught by the authority. In addition, KN also supply weapons to Malaysian militants who did not join as foreign fighter to be active cells in the country and carry out attacks when instructed or recruiting other potential individual to be militants.

The above scenario shows how important is the KN role in promoting ISIS to Malaysian. KN aiding the fighter in welfare benefit, assisting the fighter in traveling security and providing weapons to the in house fighters. This unfortunately attracts the Malaysian who already influenced by ISIS ideology.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter discuss on the ISIS movement in Malaysian and the development of Katibah Nusantara. It's important to link ISIS in Malaysia and KN as KN play role as a Malay Archipelago unit of Southeast Asia. KN are the factor for influencing and multiplying Malaysian factor.

From the previous discussion, the establishment of KN as a Malay Archipelago will assist ISIS to wider their global caliphate goal besides as the medium to unite local extremist and lead to the globalization of ISIS within the region. The role of KN is understood as to help Indonesian and Malaysian ISIS militants to overcome the language barrier as unit speaking a common language which is Malay and to recruits Southeast Asia fighters including children and women.

Thus, this chapter has helped to understand that KN has played a role as a mechanism to drive the fighters into the ISIS militant group.



CHAPTER FIVE

THE MOTIVATION OF MALAYSIAN YOUTH TO JOIN ISIS

5.1 Introduction

In four years of ISIS establishment, there are citizens from all around the world involved in the militant movement and day by day the numbers of people joining ISIS has been increasing. The danger that poses by this militant group went to the youth generation as ISIS targeted individual ranging in age from early teens to young adults to join their ranks as militant. This issue becomes highlighted in Malaysian as 80 percent of the militants that joining ISIS so far from this country are youth. Malaysian policy on Youth Societies and Youth Development Act 668 (2007), defines the age range of Malaysian youth is between 15 to 40 years old. Using these definitions, the term 'youth' would not only encompass young people in schools, but also undergraduates in universities and working class adult. The pertinent question that needs to ask is indeed why this age range people are targeted by militant groups especially ISIS. Below are the underlying themes that emerged under the factors motivating Malaysian Youth to join ISIS.

5.2 Individual Factor

5.2.1 Sense of Identity and Belonging

ISIS tends to aim youth since the younger generation is still unable to decide their future and their life purpose (El-Muhhamady, 2017, Personal interview). Malaysian youth are exposed to the ISIS ideology since majority of them thought that they have

been isolated and segregated from the community. According to Blaker (2015), youth who are experiencing above dilemmas are categories as identity crisis (p.9). Youth whose age range within 15 to 40 are known as middle age individual who experiences these conflicts within them in the way of finding their selves (See chart 5.1).

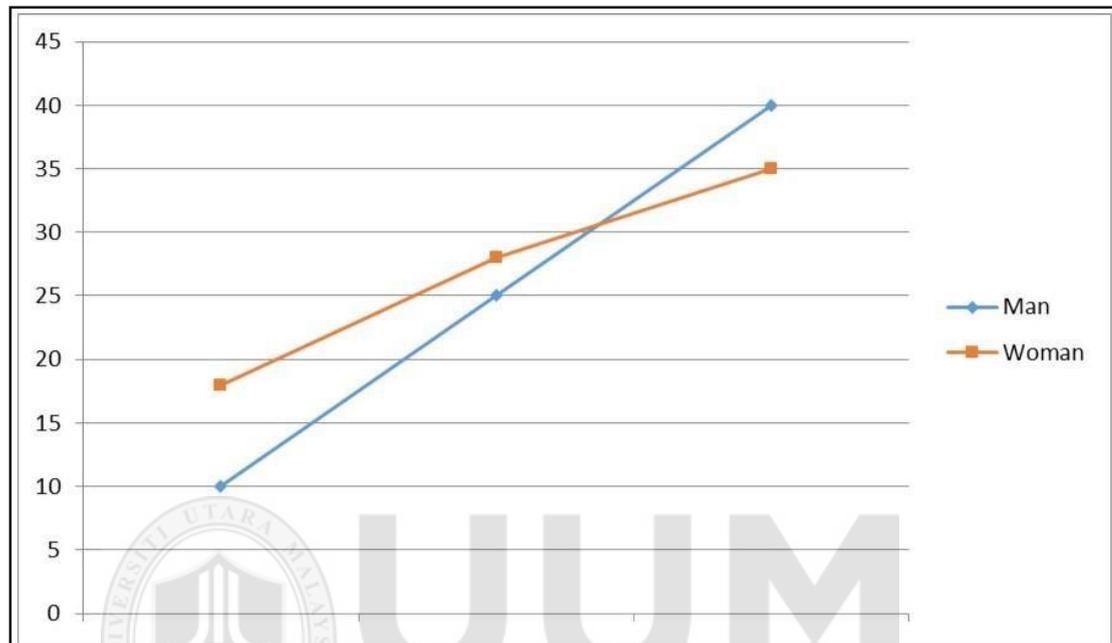


Chart 5. 1
Malaysians Involvement in Syria/Iraq Conflicts.

Source: *The Threat of Daesh in Universities: Malaysia's Experience* by Aslam, M (2017).

Line chart above shows categories of Malaysian involvement in conflict zone according to the age range and gender. It shows that most of them are in age range of early 10th to late 20th. The militants consist of male , female and also kids.

In an interview with the ISIS expert in Malaysia, he explained that most of the youth that detained in Malaysia are mostly experiencing an identity crisis (Ahmad, 2017, Personal Interview). Youth who are aimless found vulnerable by ISIS because aimless youth usually have a high desire to show their ability or strength in order to be appreciated by people (Ahmad, 2017, Personal Interview). This emotional state is used

by the terrorist group. These youth are pointed out by ISIS because they can be easily influenced by promising to provide camaraderie, good morale and purposeful activity. This resulted to youth involvement in ISIS because of their desire to create a sense of heroism and boost their self-esteem as they believe activity of the militants can be a platform for them to build up themselves. This statement has been supported by Crenshaw in her article on Causes of terrorism, that individual joining terrorist group as a way of finding out themselves. The youth found militancy as a basement for them to find their identity as they were propagandized by militant that individual who join the rank will experience a lot of adventurous activity that proves masculinity and distinctive identity. As the militants share their experience of handling heavy weapons and go down to the war zone, it makes the youth to be excited and attracted.

Many researchers agree that the majority of youth are not mentally ill, but they are vulnerable person and they still searching for their own identity (Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman, 2011, p.13). This supports the finding that stated that young terrorist are actually people searching for identity and struggling with themselves (Fischer, Haslam & Smith, 2010, p.5). This situation happened when someone feels they are more religious than other identity and the tendency of them to give aggressive response against religious threats are higher than normal individuals. Empirical support for this theory was provided Ysseldyk, Matheson & Anisman (2011) found that individual that recognized religion as their identity has the tendency to give irritation response to situation that they believe will endanger their religion. However, they tend to deny that their social identity is religion (p.9).

Through these findings, it can be seen why Malaysian youth have high tendency and expose themselves to terrorism. From the analysis, we can conclude that ISIS usually

aim younger generations that feel that their life is empty and worthless. The conflict underwent by the individual itself contribute to the major factor for them to get influence in terrorism. Thus, this subchapter emphasizes the crisis of identity among Malaysia young generation and the reasons they end up joining the ISIS militant group.

5.2.2 Peers Pressure Role.

There is no doubt that peers can persuade their friend easily and this has made young to join terrorist because of such influences. The assumption has been made to state that, youth might intentionally involve their peers since the day they decide to join ISIS. Besides friends, siblings are also a big influence too (Kamarulnizam, 2017, Personal interview); The respondents took an example from of a case in Malaysia to explain on this factor; Hamzah, a 19 years teenager has left his home secretly to catch a flight to Turkey, bringing along his younger brother and younger sister to the airport. They decide to go to Syria by land when they arrive in Istanbul. However, Malaysian authorities have already known their plan and has detained them at the airport. This show on how effective the sibling in playing role to influence the other sibling.

According to social learning theory, terrorist attitude and criminal attitude can be learned through the same sources (Akers & Silverman, 2004, p.7). Mental disorder often gets mistakenly relates to terrorism or natural tendency of being aggressive. However, social learning theory proves that terrorism happens because of the effect of the life experience of the individual (Schmid, 2005, p.13). Media and peers give a great impact on the individual because they tend to imitate their surrounding and might decide to go to Syria to commit terror attacks. This action can be seen when ISIS distributes its propaganda on women's involvement and contribution in ISIS (Peresin, 2015, p. 14; Majeed, 2016, p. 18).

This action has attracted young men to get involved in the ISIS terrorism act. Some of the respondents stated that the propaganda used by ISIS has made it attractive for youth and the men to join them as if they are protecting the country's dignity (El-Muhhamady, 2017, Personal Interview). For them, it is their role to protect Islam and they need to join forces with other men around the globe to fight for Islam. The respondents also respond that another factor that affect women's participation in ISIS is the glory of being a jihadi spouse in Syria. (see chart 5.2).

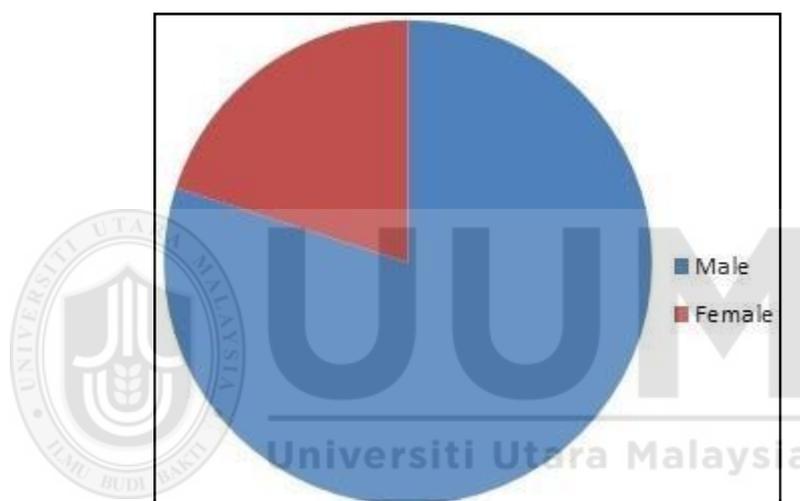


Chart 5. 2

Fraction of Detainees by Gender

Source: *The Threat of Daesh In Universities: Malaysia's Experience* By Aslam, M (2017).

Pie chart above shows a fraction of detainees by gender. It shows that the male has high involvement in the ISIS militant group compare to the female. The reason behind their involvement varies according to the gender as their role and contribution to the militant are different.

To attract the youth in joining the ISIS terrorism act, most respondents agree that social media is an effective mechanism that being used by the ISIS because most social media users are from the younger generation (El-Muhhamady, 2017, Personal Interview).

Despite distributing ISIS agenda and propaganda to attract new member from outside of Syria, the most beneficial method in recruiting new member especially the youth are peer pressure and real-life experience (McVeigh, 2014, p.7).

From the findings, clearly shows that peer are also playing an important role in influencing youth to join militancy. Youth is easily attracted to the people around them. As youth spend more time with friends, they tend to follow the interests and the steps of their peers. In this context, the peers pressure shows an important role in manipulating behavior and interest of youth. Thus, this sub-chapter shows that peers also play equal role in influencing the youth in Malaysia.

5.2.3 Family Background

Children often learned things regarding religion and belief through their family practices (Smither & Corsandi, 2009, p.16). Another anxiety regarding family background is when the parent or the family members are involved in the Islamic extremist might influence their other family members to join them, because the concept of children need to be obedient to their parent. This statement is supported by Petrosino, Derzon, Lavenber (2009) in which they believe that behavior of adult often gets persuaded by their parent and also will affect their children to commit juvenile delinquency (p.6). In Malaysia, there is no cases that parents who ask their children to join extremism, but there are parents who being supportive of their children's extremism activity (El-Muhammady, 2017, personal interview). The notion that crime runs in families is supported by Farrington, Barnes & Lambert, (1996) supported the statement that crimes would run through family background because of the research that have been done, they found that, after background search, boys that committed crime come from convicted family (p.3). The chances of sibling, especially male to get

influenced by older sibling will get higher if they are the from the same sex (Farrington, Barnes & Lambert, 1996, p.6). Most respondents stated that, youth that being raised up in under privilege or broken family are most likely exposing themselves to the ISIS ideology (El-Muhammady, 2017, Personal Interview).

Moreover, child psychology also can be influenced by the way type of parenting style they are being raised up by the parent (Bornstein, 2002, p.15). Some children, they grow up as an obedient and follows all the rules and orders from the parent without questioning or challenging them. This action will give impact to the child because they tend to emulate what they been taught during their childhood and will make them become abusive and commit criminal actions (Ahmad, 2017, Personal Interview). Parent expected their children to get more discipline with this kind of parenting approach. However, without their concern, it affected the children emotion and behavior and make them feel devastated (Botha, 2009, p.11). This will lead the children to be rebellious to the public and people around them.

Despite the way the children being raised up that affect the child's behavior, parent that neglected their children physically and emotionally also more likely to act rebellious towards the society (Middleton & Putney, 1963, p.15). This statement is supported when there are respondents stated that children that have a loose connection with their parent have high potential to join ISIS. Ignorant youth usually did not feel any attachment or commitment to their family and that make them easier to go to Syria. However, if they feel vice versa, they will realize that it is not a good decision (El-Muhammady, 2017, Personal Interview). This theory, however contradicted competing theories of crime. In this theory, it stated that crime can be learned and shaped since childhood (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990, p.20). However, it will not be

vanished immediately, but tendency for someone to do crime will be lessened as they get older.

This shows that family involvement gives great impact to the youth. From the above discussion, it is clearly stated that, a youth behavior and character started and influenced from their blood relations before the external factors come in. This factor did not stimulate an individual when they are youth, but it is built up within them since they was a child. Thus, it is believed that the family also plays an important factor in triggering the youth towards terrorism.

5.3 Poor Grasp in Islamic Faith

5.3.1 Level of Religious Knowledge

Another factor that contributes to youth involvement in ISIS is lack of religious knowledge. In an interview with the respondents, the youth thought that, “They think they’re going into a place that Allah thinks is right for them, so they think they’re going towards Islam, but they’re going a completely wrong way,” and they fail to understand the basis of Islam (Ahmad, 2017, personal interview), “They think it’s Islamic in fact, it’s not and because they’re young and naïve, they’re easily influenced” (Kamarulnizam, 2017, personal interview). The statement supports the findings in some researches that stated there are a misinterpretation of Islam that being done by the ISIS group, especially in their ideology (Neuman, 2013, p.8). This also can be seen in Malaysia as most of the youth that involves in ISIS extremist have little knowledge about Islam.

As stated by Ahmad (2017), level of knowledge regarding Islam for the majority of the terrorists is at a basic level (personal interview). Most of them even did not perform

the obligatory five times daily prayers and did not practice Islamic culture in their lifestyle. Despite having low Islamic knowledge, most of the terrorists come from a highly educated background. Some of them were graduated from universities. Thus, these statements contradict the assumption that religion is the main reason for terrorists to do terrorism.

A statement from a respondent that being interviewed stated that, “they are thinking they are doing a good thing, almost like a charity and they will be rewarded for it by God” (El- Muhammady, 2017, personal interview). For the youth, they believe that they are at the good side and fight for the truth. They also believe that they are the caliphate that responsible in doing religious matters (Perisin, 2015, p.2; Hoyle, Bradford, & Frenett, 2015, p.5). Recent studies also support the statement as the respondent stated that the involvement of youth in ISIS is more on seeking for spiritual reward. For them, the non-Muslims are the enemy of Islam and they need to assist the Muslim ummah from being suppressed by the non-Muslim. The respondents also specified terrorist that went to Syria have different agenda based on their gender. However, their desire and motives are the same (El-Muhammdy, 2017, personal interview).

This finding is supported by Esposito (2015) in his research highlights that involvement of youth in ISIS is usually because of their political desire and another way for them to learn Islam (p.7). Most of them believe that Muslim ummah are suffering and it is the youth responsibility to fix it (Tibi, 2007, p.13; Winter, 2015, p.4; Weenink, 2015, p.7). Nevertheless, rewards and recognitions also play important role in participation of terrorist in their terrorist acts despite other political factors (Horgan, 2008, p.4). Respondents also give some examples of how ISIS ideology attracted the

youth to join ISIS which are, for men, they will feel it is their role as they are strong enough in protecting the nation and women will responsible in taking care of the family and brought up future fighters for ISIS (Ahamad, 2017, personal interview).

The most common rewards that being promoted by ISIS as their propaganda is the reward of Jannah which is the heaven. Through this propaganda, youth especially those from Malaysia, willing to travel to Syria and become a jihadist because they believe that they have secure their place in Jannah. However, what they did not realize is that, the actions they commit are against Islamic practices and only make them further from Jannah (Kamarulnizam, 2017, personal interview). The response from the respondents mention that, terrorism act such as suicide bombing can be seen in social media because the youth are craving for attention and for them, getting involved as jihadist is a common action nowadays (Saltman & Winter, 2014, p.3). Based on the respondents, the goal for the Jihadist is to gain martyrdom or syahid which is believed to be the best type of death because they will be straight entering the Jannah or heaven (El-Muhammady, 2017, personal interview). As highlighted by Dawoody (2016) in his research, youth that involved themselves as jihadist are interested in the concept of martyrdom and, they believe, fighting against non-Muslim will purify their sins (p.2). This concept clearly contradicts with the concept of Islam and does not reflect Islamic culture. Another issue that makes terrorism hard to mitigate is, the recruiters are being paid to recruit more members and they are being bribed with an afterlife reward that they will receive. Additionally, reward of women and money also being used by the ISIS recruiters to attract more members to join ISIS especially the youth generations (Kamarulnizam, 2017, Personal Interview).

This finding enlightened us in another critical factor that causes the major trigger point for Malaysia youth. ISIS is believed to convince the youth by justifying that patriotism for the region that make them act violently. The findings also exposed how the militants use emotionally appealing methods of gaining the sympathy of the youth and installing anger by portraying disbeliever of Islam as enemy to the religion. This sub-chapter shows us another influencing factor for the youth to join the ISIS militant group is lack of religious knowledge.

5.3.2 Misinterpretation of Jihad and the Quran

Most researchers agree that the extremist taking advantage from Quran text and misinterpreted them to attract more followers and used it for their own interest (El-Saeed, 1996, p.2; Hafez, 2003, p.13; Loza, 2007, p.5). Respondents also stated that there are Islamic taught that being manipulate by ISIS to recruit the youth (Kamarulnizam, 2017, Personal Interview). However, Yilmaz & Ekici (2009) brought out another theory on how Islam often gets related to terrorism because of the use of some words from Quran such as ‘terrorism’, ‘radicalism’ and ‘extremism’ (p.4). Although there are some verses in Quran stated on attacking the enemies of Islam, there are other following verses that against violence. However, jihadist and the militants often ignore some verses in Quran, especially when it comes to attacking innocent people, oldies and children. Ideologies of ISIS have made their youth members to believe that they are doing the right things based on the Quranic text. Although, with their lack of knowledge, the text has been manipulated by the ISIS and expects also agreed that ISIS does not reflect the real Islam. Based on these scenarios, it is crucial to mitigate ISIS through understanding of how the misleading the words in Quran and how they interpret it towards violence action. However, the statement given by the respondents saying that, they realize some of the words used by the

extremist are not relevant to apply in the current situation. As stated by Yilmaz & Akici (2009), some interpretation by ISIS ruler's command them to follow the Salafi practice that being practiced since the ancient generation of Prophet Muhammad. However, by following the Salafist practice, they believe that, it is not crucial for them to know every verse of the Quran, however, to know the basic interpretation of the Quran is enough for them (p.11). Subsequently, the current situation happens nowadays are differ from the past situation during the Prophet Muhammad era and the Salafist still adapt the misinterpreted Quran verses to apply it to their political reformation. However, Yilmaz & Akici (2009) came out with a statement stating that Jihadist-Salafist are more prejudiced in misuse the Quranic verses in their political matters compare to the traditional Salafist that only interpret Quran literally to avoid more misinterpretation. (p.7).

The above discussion clarifies another factor of Malaysian youth joining the ISIS militant group. The finding shows that jihad and martyrdom appealing to the youth because they feel that die in the name of religion seems heroic and the glorifying martyrdom they will receive after their death is something worth to uphold with. These kinds of teenager are those who have less knowledge in religious education and easily trapped into ISIS propaganda. This subtopic clearly shows that misinterpretation of Jihad and The Quran also contributes to the youth involvement in militancy.

5.4 The Influence of Social Network

The Internet nowadays have been misused by the ISIS recruiters to be one of the platforms to groom youth to be their member. In Malaysia, ISIS has manipulated the use of Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp as the social media platform to manipulate the youth. As mentioned by the respondents, ISIS recruiters will be sent manipulative text

to the potential people and distribute them (Kamarulnizam, 2017, Personal interview). The recruiter's modus operandi is by approaching the youth through preaching them with religious matter and slowly they will take advantage after the youth have trust in them. The use of social media as the platform to groom new members of ISIS have been supported by many researchers in their research. The most common platform that ISIS's recruiters are actively hunting for new members is on Twitter (Klausen, 2015, p.12). This can be seen in Diagram 5.1

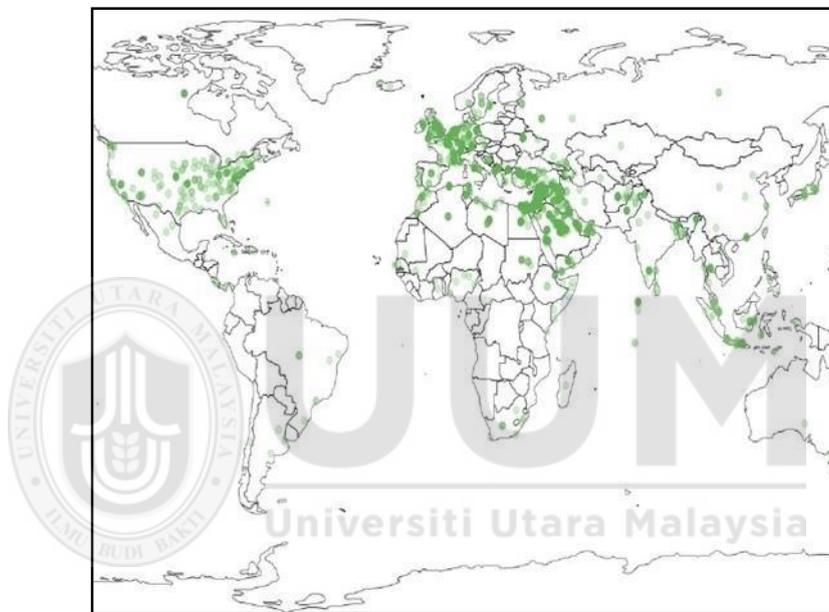


Diagram 5. 1
Prediction of Twitter User Location Map.
Source: From Isolation to Radicalization: Anti- Muslim Hostility and Support for ISIS in the West by Tamar Mitts (2018).

Diagram 5.1 shows the predicted location of Twitter users. From the diagram, we can see that Malaysia has a lot of twitter users as the intensity of green color is dark. This shows that social media, especially twitter play an important role in separating ISIS ideology. Based on the respondents, ISIS recruiters will use the Twitter account to showcase Syria using the fake information. Blaker (2015) has stated in his study that the probability of young women to get attracted to go to Syria through online is higher than men (p.5). The situation of mitigating youth from joining ISIS through social

media tends to be harder than before due to ISIS propaganda that saying life in Syria is better than Malaysia. Results from the recent study shows that youth that suffer from loneliness and feel unwelcome in the society are easily get influenced. This result is coherent with the result of previous study (Lamberg, 2001, p.3; Blazak, 2001, p.20).

Another method used by ISIS recruiters provoke the youth to join ISIS is by promoting hatred on how western countries push Muslim away: “ISIS might post something that a Muslim can relate to and make them think that it’s about us and look what the West is doing to us and make them think that Islam is hated” (Ahmad, 2017, Personal Interview). Weimann (2006) has stated that, Muslims will they belong to the group that being suppressed by the western and only ISIS can fit these global issues. (p.35). Conway (2006) also believe that, by giving emotional encouragement through online to the youth, they are more likely to join the group. Emotional encouragement can be in the form of image to gain sympathy such as by posting the image of innocent people being murdered in Syria. Thus, this will spark the feeling of anger and irritation to the youth and make them joining the ISIS.

Expertise and the respondents shared the same thought on the social media role as a platform to recruit more youth to join ISIS because they are fragile and easy target. Respondents also stated that, online posting and keywords search can be identified by the recruiters to find a new target. How would a militant get in touch with the youth? Youth must be initiating it themselves. Common agenda that is being discussed or shared are some methods that make ISIS identifies their target. For example, if they search for information on ISIS, the recruiters can recognize them through the search engine. However, not all platforms allow user to identify online posting from a random user. Furthermore, only youth that shows interest in ISIS will easily get influence.

There is also study from Conway (2006) that presents the common website used and being surfed by the terrorist (p.8). One way for ISIS to show there are from a legitimate group and not supporting terrorist is by attaching their post to the Islamic charity website. Thus, social media can be seen as a dangerous place for the youth because they are exposing themselves to the terrorist propaganda easily.

Although social media is the easiest medium to identify potential members for ISIS, some of the critics still reconsidering how further can social media can influence user to be radicalized. There are also statements said that my exposing a person to ISIS propaganda and terrorism acts, it will not make someone to become a terrorist (Awan, 2007, p.2; Benson, 2014, p.16). There is also an assumption made that saying ISIS only used the social media to state their view rather than searching for new members (Awan, 2014, p.2). Awan (2014) also stated in his research that mostly ISIS terrorists already have their own circle of followers and from there, the network become broader and wider until they approach people that are interested in joining their extremist activities (p.2). Nevertheless, to put overall blame on social media as the medium of terrorism acts are not a reasonable act because before social media come into the frame, extremist used another form of distribution medium to get close to their prospects. For example, they published their propaganda and ideology through books, articles and posters. Although social media may bring many advantages for the extremist groups, there are also consequences for using social media. The fact that social media is being monitored by the government of the countries have made their activities being stunted for several times. ISIS also need to aware of online hacking that might interfere with their actions.

The above finding discusses the most important factor for Malaysian youth joining the ISIS militant group. Social media is the basic platform of ISIS to recruit their potential recruiter. 'Jihad Selfie' is one of the examples that we can see how social media managed to attract youth towards radicalization. ISIS uses online media to influence because it is easy to moves their propaganda and when the authority managed to block their page, the militant can easily reopen another page and spread their ideology without spending a lot of money. Thus, this proves that social media gives a serious threat to the Malaysian youth.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter discusses on the main idea of this thesis. From the analysis, there are three reasons that motivate Malaysian youth from joining ISIS which are individual factor, poor grasp of Islamic faith and social network.

The first motivation, which is the individual factor, lack of guidance among the youth regarding Islam has made the youth to seek for their own meaning of religion and made them search for their own satisfaction by giving assistance to their Muslims brotherhood. From this research, we found that, delusional youth has a high probability to be the victim of ISIS because they did not have sense of life purpose or belonging. Youth who are aimless found vulnerable by ISIS because aimless youth usually have a high desire to show up their ability or strength in order to be appreciated by people. This emotional state is use by the terrorist group.

Low level of knowledge of knowledge is another motivation why youth joining the ISIS. Limited understanding of Islamic knowledge and did not practice the Islamic way of life are the factors why the Muslim youth is an easy target. The respondent's

response that misunderstanding and misinterpretation of the concept of jihad in the Quran have made the youth exposing themselves to the recruiters. The misinterpretation can be seen in ISIS ideology that contradict the Islamic thought. Another bait that being used by the ISIS to attract more youth to join ISIS is the concept of Jannah and reward they will get after death. The youth are being poisoned with spiritual rewards and pleasure to make them obey with the jihadist instructions. The role of women also being emphasized by ISIS although they serve a different role compared to the men. However, their main goals are the same, to get the religious reward.

Social media also contribute in youth participation in ISIS. Social media such as Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp are being used by the ISIS recruiters to search for new member and groom them to be an extremist. Youth involvement also due to their interest in knowing ISIS and make them an easy target to the ISIS recruiters. Respondents also stated that, social media plays important role in recruiting new member of ISIS. Respondents also said that, ISIS will set their target based on the sites and the keyword search of the user. Then, they will identify the potential victim, they can targeted. Thus, this situation shows that social media have the potential and bring risks, especially to the young generation if they are not alert or take precautions.

Based on the analysis, this chapter answered all the three questions thrown to the research and managed to reach the research objective.

CHAPTER SIX

THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MAINTAINING ISIS THREAT: A CRITICAL ACCOUNT

6.1 Introduction.

Malaysian Royal Police from Counter terrorism division (E8) has arrested around 457 individuals since 2013. This has shown that Malaysia authorities have look into the issue as a serious threat and they have made the preparations to prevent them. However, from the previous statistic on the individuals that had been detained in Malaysia shows that the ISIS is a potential threat to Malaysia and national security.

As discussed in Chapter 1, religious militancy or terrorism is not something new to our state. According to Special Branch of Malaysia Royal Police, terrorism division (E8), there are at least 22 local militant groups establish up till 2015. These groups have different ideologies and aims despite their goals in becoming radical and militant are the same. They also managed to establish connection with global militant groups to expand their international network. Just like the ideology that brings by ISIS that connected to the society very well. Thus, the ideology will take a long time to delete from peoples mind. This statement is supported by a militants word that, ‘You can crush our group, but you can’t kill our ideology’ (Ahmad, 2017). This ideology may resurface again in the future because new group that carries the same ideology can be establish anytime, just like ISIS which rooted from al-Qaeda. The radical ideology did not only give threat to Malaysia but also to the world security.

6.2 ISIS Threat and the Role of Malaysian Royal Police.

According to Webster's Dictionary a 'threat' is '1. A statement or expression of intention to inflict evil, injury or damage', '2. One that threatens' and '3. An indication of something impending'. The threat is an action that resulted in damage or loss of assets and gives an unpleasant outcome. Vulnerability in a system also can be caused by threat if it is not prevented. Vulnerabilities are simply weaknesses in the system that makes threats possible or more significant. When there are vulnerabilities, threat actor can take advantage of the vulnerabilities to create a threat. Threat actors are the personnel or organization that starts the scenario. Mostly they are the hacker, Internet criminals, untruthful employees and human mistakes.

Threat can be divided into three levels; potential threat, residual threat and actual threat. The potential threat is a threat that has a high possibility to happen but not yet actual. In other word, potential threat has capability of being or becoming but not yet in existence. This type of threat is capable of developing to become successful or useful in the future. While, residual threat is the threat that remains after all the efforts to identify and eliminate the risk have been made. Residual threat is always the unknown or built in action or event within the country that will vulnerable with an exposed risk. Residual threats can be also named as emerging threats. The third type of threat is Actual threat which is the potential threat that has been executed successfully. The actual threat brings damages and casualty to a country.

In the case of ISIS in Malaysia till 2019, there is only one actual threat that cause by the militant group. Movida bar grenade attack was the first and only actual threat caused by ISIS of the state. The attack occurred on 28 June 2016 at Puchong, Selangor (Straits Times, 2016, para 2); The grenade attack was perpetrated by Malaysians

militants that linked to ISIS and they were targeted civilians. The incidence injured eight people and no fatal was recorded. The Movidia bombing was the only potential threat that managed to make to actual by the militant in Malaysia.

While the potential threat by ISIS in Malaysia can be seen when Malaysian Royal Police arrested militant who plotting terror attacks and those who supporting ISIS directly or indirectly. One of the incidents that can be shown as an ISIS potential threat to Malaysia is the detention that happens at Hutan Lipur Gunung Nuang in Hulu Langat, Selangor by the federal police's counterterrorism division (Straits Times, 2015, para 6). There were dozens of militant that detained by the police for mixing chemicals to make improvised explosive devices in order to bomb some strategic places in the country upon the order of their Malaysian militants head at Syria.

Another example of the potential threat by ISIS is an incident in Sungai Petani, where a 16th year's old boy who threaten a cashier with a knife at a mall to get approval from ISIS to join the militant group (Astro Awani, 2016, para 1) . While, residual threats by ISIS are the situation in the country that used or stimulate by the militant group to become vulnerable. Examples of residual threat in Malaysia are anti-shite sentiments in the country and hudud issue. This issue will use by ISIS to stimulate people who are supporting or extreme towards the idea.

The second threat would be from the returning fighter from the conflict zone. The returning fighters give a dangerous threat because they tend to influence people close to them such as their family members, peers and teenagers. The fighters who being exposed to the necessary skills and enough knowledge or resources such as funds and weapons might able to train other aspired terrorists to launch an attack within Malaysia

if needed. On top of that, as ISIS is losing their control over much state in Syria and Iraq, thus, there is possibility that the ISIS recruit will come back to home country and make their home country as the 'second front'.

The third threat of ISIS is that, the militant group targeting Malaysia as they see the country similar to any other 'kafir' nation. Although Malaysia is not the biggest Islamic country in Southeast Asia, majority of 61% of the population are Islam and the country has declared as a secular state that use the constitution to rule the country. This is seen as not accordance with the law of Islam, in which all the Islam states should follow Islamic law to rule the country where Khalifah should be the head of state and syariah should be the law of the state. As Malaysia is not following the Islamic system, the state is seen as kafir just like any other country that adopting the western system to rule the state. On top of that, ISIS also believes that there should only have monoculture which is purely Islam with Salafist ideology. Thus, this brings threat to the multicultural society in Malaysia.

In response to the above three types of threat, various actions have been taken by the Malaysian authorities such as strengthening the counter terrorism policy and enhancing strategy to curb with modern terrorism. Even for the security mechanism, the authorities in Malaysia have strengthened the securities by applying new policies and laws against terrorism. International engagement between Malaysia and other countries also crucial in mitigating terrorism from the core. Programs and strategies throughout the region can be applied to ensure more security towards the country. Table 6.1 shows police prompt action for past one year in capturing ISIS militant in Malaysia.

Table 6. 1
The Malaysian Royal Police Action against ISIS Threat.

| Date | Event |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 8-10 September 2017 | <p>Three persons were arrested during a sting operation conducted in Perak, Selangor and Melaka, for association with the Islamic State and attempting to involve themselves in terror attacks. Among them was :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A 21-year old unemployed man, who had received instructions from Syria to launch attacks on non-Muslims and their places of worship; 2. A 38-year-old man, who actively printed and distributed Islamic State flags and was planning to join the outfit in southern Philippines; 3. A bus driver, who was planning to travel to Syria |
| 23 December 2017 | <p>An Indonesian member of the Islamic State was arrested. He allegedly had scoured a busy district of the capital, Kuala Lumpur, in November 2017, seeking to kill Buddhist monks, in retaliation for violence suffered by Rohingya Muslims in Myanmar. He also had planned to attack the federal police headquarters in Bukit Aman as well as the Travers police station to steal weapons from there. He was in communication with a senior Islamic State leader on WhatsApp and had sought to recruit several other Indonesian and put up a flag of the Islamic State at the building site where he worked.</p> |
| 17 January 2018 | <p>Police detained a 25-year-old teacher at a private religious school in Petaling Jaya and charged him with planning to kill non-Muslims. The teacher has been an Islamic State militant since early 2015 and was actively promoting the ISIS ideology on social media with the aim of recruiting new militants.</p> |
| 27 February 2018 & 15 March 2018 | <p>Police arrested seven men- a Filipino and six Malaysians- with links to the Islamic State. These men were planning attacks on non-Muslim places of worship and other targets. The Malaysians were arrested in Johor state, while the Filipino, who was a member of the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG), was detained in the eastern state of Sabah. These men were technicians, security guards, restaurant workers, and experts in preparing explosives, police said</p> |
| 27 March 2018 & 9 May 2018 | <p>15 people including six Malaysians, six Filipinos, a young couple from a North African country and a Bangladeshi national were arrested during raids conducted in five states – Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, Johor, Kelantan, and Sabah. One of them was a housewife who allegedly had planned to carry out a suicide mission on behalf of the Islamic State. Her plan was to use her vehicle and a gas cylinder to crash into a non-Muslim place of worship. Among the arrested was also a 17-year-old schoolboy who had pledged his allegiance to the terror group. Apart from assembling explosives, the teenager recorded a video threatening to launch attacks and uploaded</p> |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| | it on Islamic State- affiliated WhatsApp and Telegram groups. |
| 20 April 2018 | Two Malaysians were arrested charged with planning to attack non-Muslim places of worship and kidnap and kill policemen. |
| 12 & 17 July 2018 | Seven suspects were arrested including two persons who had threatened not only to launch bomb attacks in Malaysia, Indonesia and Philippines, but also to assassinate the King, Sultan Muhammad V, Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad and Religious Affairs Minister Mujahid Yusof Rawa for not implanting shariah laws in Malaysia |

Source: Special Report: Islamic State Impact: Terrorism and Counter-terrorism in Malaysia by Mantraya (2018)

The table above listed some of the ISIS militant whom being detained in Malaysia and the reason they are being arrested. There are variety of reasons behind the militant being detained, but the reason for them to carry out those activities was the same which is to kill ISIS ideology disbeliever and to recruit new fighters. The list above did not include 115 arrested in 2016, 82 in 2015, 59 in 2014 and four in 2013 (Straits Times, 2018, para 4).



6.3 Malaysian Government General Policies on Maintaining ISIS Threat.

6.3.1 Malaysia's Anti-Terrorism Legislations.

Numerous policymaking actions were taken against Islamic extremism and militancy under the Internal Security Act 1960 (Act 82). The law is unsupported since it is against the human rights. However, this law offers the detainees to be rehabilitated. In September 2011, the Internal Security Act 1960 (Act 82) have been revoked to Malaysia Government has enacted the Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA) 2012 (Act 747). SOSMA 2012 emphasized on security offences and offers detainment procedure for serious offenses, especially under the terrorist acts. It will be put under Chapter VI and VIA of the Penal Code.

Previously, in 1959, there was the Prevention of Crime (Amendment and Extension) Act (POCA) to cater crime cases throughout Peninsular Malaysia and it was amended in 2014. In April 1st, 2014, the amended Act for terrorism offenses applies in every state in Malaysia including Sabah and Sarawak. However, terrorist groups are getting advance in their strategies, including by using technology and they have a well financial status that made the current law against the terrorism is not enough to mitigate them. Thus, it is crucial for Malaysia to have law that only focuses on dealing with terrorism. In 2015, two Acts have been established which are, the Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) 2015 and Special Measures against Terrorism in Foreign Countries Act (SMATA) 2015.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) 2015 is implemented to control engagement of any interested party that might offer any contract or funding towards terrorism activities given from other countries. Another act which is, the Special Measures against Terrorism in Foreign Countries Act (SMATA) 2015 is executed towards the individual that relates to terrorist group in supplying supports and funding. This act will provide special action against them. POTA and SMATA have officially forced on 1 September 2015. There are two jails, which are in Simpang Renggam Special Detention Center and Machang Special Detention Center for male and female prisoners respectively under the POTA Act.

6.3.2 Counter Messaging Center (CMC)

Authorities in Malaysia believe that, the wrong ideology and misinterpretation of Islam can be avoided if there is a good strategy that offer description of the real meaning of Islam and bring a clear message to avoid any further terrorist attack that could harm innocent lives. The Islamic taught by the terrorist group is also different from the

teaching of the Holy Quran and the Prophet Muhammad, although they stated that they are doing it for the sake of Islam. Moderation through Wasatiyyah taught, which is the Quranic injunction have been emphasized in Malaysia.

The Regional Digital Counter Messaging Communication Center has been established in Malaysia. This center serves as a platform to mitigate terrorist acts within ASEAN countries through social media and promote the real Islamic practices. Based on the research by this center, they identified that Daesh taught is not according to the real Islamic practices. Over time, Daesh has searched for more capabilities and increase reachability for expanding their ideology. Daesh has utilized the sources that they have such as the use of technology to distribute their ideology to hire new members as well as finding ways to avoid government interference.

Through any media such as publications, online publications or books that promoted and distribute ideology of extremism can be put under offense Under Chapter VI A of the Malaysian Penal Code. It is a responsibility for any media under the Malaysia Communications and Multimedia Act 1998 to give their commitment to the Malaysian authorities to avoid any contrary or attempt commission under any offenses. The monitoring is put under supervision of Malaysian Communications and Multimedia Commission (MCMC).

Department of Islamic Development of Malaysia (JAKIM) also plays important role in monitoring issues regarding Islamic perspective in the social media besides MCMC. If there are issues arise that relate to fake news about Islam or any Islamic taught that is misleading from the true Islam religion, JAKIM will take action against it to ensure it will not get worse.

The Malaysia authorities have given enough focus on the news and information that circulated in social media. The Digital Strategic Communications Division (under the jurisdiction of the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT) and Counter Messaging Centre (under the jurisdiction of Royal Malaysia Police (RMP)) have been established to encounter any terrorist movement in Malaysia and distribution of extremist ideology.

6.3.3 Countering the Financing of Terrorism.

Malaysia has already participated in the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) in February 2016 and has registered as a member of the Asia/Pacific Group on Money Laundering, a FATF-style regional body. The Unit Perisikan Kewangan, Bank Negara Malaysia, the financial intelligence unit in Malaysia is also part of the Egmont Group of Financial Intelligence Units. FATF has published a report on anti-money laundering that being used to support terrorism in Malaysia in its Mutual Evaluation Report on September 2015. This report has shown that Malaysia has well prepared through strategic system, political commitment and structural coordination for AML/CFT although there is are some flaws in improving their knowledge on terrorist financial risk.

In 2014, ISIS and terrorism have imposed Malaysia to increase their awareness on terrorist financing that have brought a new threat to the country. Focus is also given to the militants that financially support themselves to afford them to travel to Syria and joining ISIS. There are 12 terrorist cases involving money transaction between January to October last year, in which two of them are found guilty. Case involving Muhammad Wannady, Brother of Mohamed Danny which is the Malaysian who based in Syria was found guilty and has been sentenced to four years of imprisonment

because he transferred through his bank account in Malaysia for approximately US \$3,000.

Restriction accordance with UNSCR have been implemented by Malaysian authorities that involve domestic and foreign entities based on UNSCR 1373 obligations and co-sponsoring designations and freezing properties of personnel or group on the UN Security Council ISIL (Da'esh) and al-Qa'ida approvals list. The 2014 amendments to the Anti-Money Laundering and Anti-Terrorist Financing Act has been amended in 2014 and gives solution to the United Nations (UN) designations to be translated under Malaysian law and the references being maintained under the United Nations. There are lists of terrorist designations and financial institutions that being freeze that is being released by Malaysian authorities.

However, there are also weaknesses when it comes to informal money remittances created for the terrorist transaction that is difficult to trace. Thus, the authorities in Malaysia have continued their law enforcement and policy to encounter informal money remittances although the risk of money transaction through the official or authorized channel have higher risk.

6.4 A Critical Justification on Malaysian Counter Terrorism Approach.

Malaysia's anti-terrorist policy faced challenges since the traveling journey across Iraq and Syria have brought aspiration to many people and arises of long distance and homegrown terrorists. Challenges also increase when there are more ex-foreign fighters coming back to join the group and the supports from Islamic State supporters.

Despite the challenges, the counter terrorism approach that is being implemented in Malaysia is one of the best approaches globally. The success rate for the approach is 997% in which, between 2001 to 2012, there are almost 229 persons involved in terrorist activities, but only seven reverted to become terrorist and joining back the terrorist activities. This approach would not be a success if there are no collaboration between the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), Ministry of Education (MoE), the prison authorities, and religious institutions. Under this approach, counseling session is done to give information and input regarding the real Islamic thought and try to retract them to the rightful society. Another approach is the post-release support mechanisms which is to create a connection between the member and their family, thus, making them feel they are being accepted by the family.

Ineffective institution and weak implementation of several regulations have made the enforcement having several issues. SOSMA which is the most effective acts, and this is due to the establishment of security forces that obtain enough resources and enforcement. By using this act, terrorist will directly be arrested without action that make need them to appeal in court. This act also will be taken against a person that is responsible for the death person. Unfortunately, this act is can be part of history under the administration of the previous prime minister, Najib Razak.

Currently, the approach that being used is softer and easier than previous approaches that tend to be stricter. Mahathir Mohamad, the Prime Minister has stated his opinion on SOSMA which for him is an unfair law because every criminal suspect should be taken to the court to defense themselves. The Malaysian authorities also have taken out the Malaysian army from Saudi Arabia to avoid any interference of Middle East

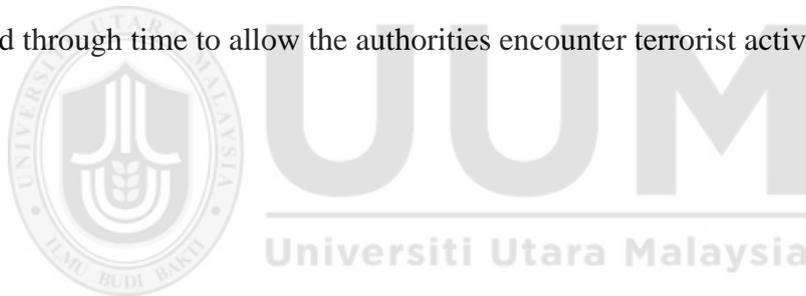
conflict. The withdrawal of Malaysian army also has led to the closing of King Salman Centre for International Peace that being used in 2017.

The Counter Messaging Center (CMC) which is another attempt to encounter terrorism might affect the personal communication among public scope and making the democratic opinion-forming process ineffective. This center has been recognized as an excellent center to cope extremism, radicalization and to protect the youth from the terrorist. Nowadays, the prevention action becomes tougher as the keywords play important role in online searching and they are not depending on certain individual as the distributor of the ideology. For example, a person is interested in jihad, he only needs to search for the word “jihad” through online search engine to get all the information regarding jihad including photos, videos and so on. This is the easiest way to distribute extremist ideology and extremist idea as well as to against pro-democratic.

On the other side, when looking through Malaysia approach on countering the financing of terrorism, financial institutions are required to know their client or customer and immediately report any suspicious transaction that happen through their platform. This is because though we have law against financing the terrorism yet, it seems weak because the public accesses are not being monitored. For Non-profit organizations (NPOs), they are obligated to hand in annual financial reports to the Registrar of Societies (ROS). The STR report might be filed through this action. ROS and other charity regulators work together to enforced regulation to protect the NPO in Malaysia. Annual conference also being held by ROS to increase NPOs’ awareness regarding risk of terrorist financing.

6.5 Conclusion.

This chapter discuss on the Malaysian government policy on countering ISIS threat. As we all know, the Malaysian government will not be compromised with any terrorist acts including radical movement and violent extremism from any entities or groups that against Malaysian law and policy. Many prevention actions, including awareness activities have been done by the Ministry of Home Affairs to cope with the militant movement in Malaysia such as ISIS. Though, several security measures were taken by the government in theme of legislative, social media and finance yet, some of it still unable to overcome the increase of Malaysian militants to Syria and the authorities also have been blamed for unprepared action against ex-militants that come back to Malaysia. Thus, counter terrorist approach in Malaysia need to be prepared and updated through time to allow the authorities encounter terrorist activities effectively.



CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This study was set out to examine the factors that led to the Malaysian youth from joining the ISIS militant group. The current chapter; chapter seven being the final chapter has concluded the study by summarizing every single point precisely. This concluding chapter consists of a summary of research findings and discusses on the challenges in completing the research as well as future suggestions that can be applied in the future.

Summary of Research Findings. This section will be presenting the summary of chapters that covers the whole content of this study, from chapter one to chapter six that has described earlier. This study endeavors to examine the reason behind rising number of Malaysian militants. As per statistic by the Malaysian royal police that 80% of the detainees in Malaysia are the youth. Therefore, this study attempts to focus on the factors behind youngsters in Malaysia joining the religious terror group. The study finds that individual factor, poor grasp of Islamic faith and social network driven the vulnerable youths to join the affiliated group.

The first theme is individual factor. Youth who are aimless found vulnerable by ISIS because aimless youth usually have a high desire to show up their ability or strength in order to be appreciated by people. This emotional state is use by the terrorist group. The second theme is a poor grasp of Islamic faith. Some young Muslims who have

limited knowledge in understanding of Islam tend to fall as prey to the ISIS. The misunderstanding of Islam taught tends to lead the youth to join ISIS and their understanding of brotherhood in Islam also might influence them.

The third theme is the influence of social networks on terrorism. As stated in the previous chapter, social media plays important role in grooming the youth to become the terrorist. Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp are being manipulated by the ISIS's recruiter to search for their victims. By using cognitive dissonance theory, this study proves that Malaysian young generation joining ISIS in the process of finding themselves as they still searching for their future preferences and looking for satisfaction to make their life meaningful.

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to discuss the major findings of the work to make it parallel to the objectives of the research. The research questions in the area under study have been used to achieve the objective of the study. This research is done to determine the factors that led to the Malaysian youth from joining the ISIS militant group. This study found that individual factor, poor grasp of Islamic faith and the influence of social networks are the major factors responsible for the Malaysian youth joining ISIS.

Analysis of the research questions proceeds where it indicates that identity crisis or mental health of the youth plays underlying contribution to the involvement in terrorism, though there are well-informed youth that know ISIS but still travel to Syria. The respondents have suspected that the vulnerable and naïve youth have been poisoned their mind with ISIS ideology. The youth also feels that they are being separated in their living society and they tend to search for their identity. The blames

also can be put on the family and peers that also affect the Malaysian youth involvement in ISIS.

Lack of Islamic knowledge also affect the youth involvement in ISIS. Most of the youth has limited understanding regarding Islam and misinterpret the thought of violence in Islam and this possessed membership of Muslim youth. As can be seen in Quranic verses that have been interpreted wrongly and contradict the Islamic thought. Nevertheless, the concept of afterlife rewards that being forged by ISIS also affect the youth and make them join the ISIS. Under ISIS, the role of men and women are significantly different. However, their goals in life will be the same which is to chase for afterlife rewards.

This study also found that the influence of social networks is the major contributor for ISIS recruitment. Some manipulative platform that is being used by the ISIS to recruit new members are Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp. On top of that, the fact that social media does not owns by anyone have made it as a suitable platform for ISIS to run their businesses. Various websites that contain ISIS ideology might be surfed by the youth and they are being poisoned to get involved in the group. Thus, this has made social media to be a dangerous platform and bring risk to the youth because they are exposing themselves to the terrorist activities.

Combinations of these factors are the reason behind youth in Malaysian joining ISIS militant group. In conclusion, it has explained why the Malaysian youth is involving aggressively in the new grown militancy compared to other previous terrorist groups.

Research Limitations. Although this research has highlighted factor affecting youth to join ISIS, this research also has several shortcomings. The scope of this research focusses on Malaysian youth that have joined Islamic State militants. However, to cope with larger group such as the global community, more research should be done. Moreover, to get real data from youth that are under detainees would be difficult and complicated due to the tight security applied to them. Silke (2004) agreed that, to get information and data from terrorist themselves also challenging despite there are just a few researches regarding terrorism, all the data collected are from secondary data.

Future Research Recommendations. The current study emphasizes the need for researchers to investigate the role of family with the recruitment of youth as the research on this is still lacking. The current research mostly suggested that men and women have similar motives to travel to Syria while in the future, more research should be done by focusing on the factors that contribute to women's involvement in terrorism since most research gives their focus only on men. Furthermore, the scope of this research can be broadened if the focus group is changed to the studies of young Muslims. Experience faced by the family members of the terrorist that migrate to Syria also can be another potential research area that can be explored. This will provide more information regarding their motivations and what influence them to do such action.

Concluding Remarks. In a nutshell, this research explores the factor affecting Malaysians youth joining the ISIS. Exploratory research has been done to deliver a definitive answer to questions and it assists to state the groundwork for future research. The contribution of this research can be seen in its body of knowledge regarding Islamic terrorism and the factors related to terrorism, which are individual, religion and social media that support the terrorist activities. Terrorism research in Malaysia

in crucial since the security threat from the terrorist groups are getting stronger. If there is no suitable mitigation approach, it could affect Malaysia's economy, racial harmony and many more. Malaysia has preserved its peace and harmony life for many years. However, the terrorist threat might give a negative impact on Malaysia safety. Thus, by encounter extremist movement from the core which is by putting awareness to the youth, policy makers and researchers will know the root of the issues. This research has provided scope for future research on developing treatment rationales for terrorism.



REFERENCES

ARTICLES

- Akers, R.L. & Silverman, A. (2004). "Toward a social Learning Model of Violence and Terrorism" pp. 19-35 in Margaret A. Zahn, Henry H. Brownstein, And Shelly L.Jackson (eds.), *Violence: From Theory to Research*. Cincinnati, OH: LexisNexis – Anderson Publishing.
- Ali, M. (2015). Salafis, Salafism and Modern Salafism: What Lies Behind a Term? *RSiS Commentary*. No. 57. Retrieved from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>.
- Aslam, M. (2017). Threat of Daesh in Universities: Malaysia's Experience. *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses*, 9(4), 13-17. Retrieved April 26, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/26351509
- Awan, A.N. (2007) Radicalization on the Internet? *The RUSI Journal*, 152(3), 76-81.
- Awan, I. (2012). "I AM a Muslim Not an Extremist": How the Prevent Strategy Has Constructed a "Suspect" Community. *Politics and Policy*, 40(6), 1158-1185.
- Barrett, R. (2014, November). The Islamic State. Retrieved October 8, 2017 from the Soufan Group, website: <http://www.soufangroup.com/wp-content/upload/2014/10/TSG-The-Islamic-State-Nov14.pdf>.
- Berger, J.M. & Morgan, J. (2015). The ISIS Twitter Census: Defining and Describing the Population of ISIS supporters on Twitter (Analysis Paper No-20). Retrieved from The Brookings Institution, Center for Middle East Policy website: http://isis_twitter_census_berger_morgan-1.pdf.
- Blaker, L. (2015). The Islamic State's Use of Online Social Media. *Military Cyber Affairs*, 1(1), 1-10. Retrieved October 17, 2017 from <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/mca/vol1/iss1/4>.
- Blazak, R. (2001). White boys to terrorist men: Target recruitment of Nazi Skinheads. *American Behavioural Scientist*, 44, 982-1000.
- Bunzel, C. (2015, March). From Paper State to Caliphate: The Ideology of the Islamic State (Analysis Paper No.19). Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.
- Chan, A. (May 2015). The Call of ISIS: The Medium and the Message Attracting Southeast Asians. *Journal of the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research*. 7(4). pp.4-9.
- Conway, M. (2006). Terrorism and the Internet: New media, new threat? *Parliamentary Affairs*, 59, 103-108.
- Crenshaw, M. (July, 1982). The Causes of Terrorism. *Journal of Comparative Politics*. 4(13). Pp379-399. Retrieved Jun 17, 2018 from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/421717>.

Dorsey, J.M. (2015). Thinking the Unthinkable: Coming to Grip with Islamic State. RSIS Commentary (Malaysia Update). No. 117. Retrieved February 7, 2016 from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>.

Duhaime, C. (2015). Terrorist Financing and the Islamic State: Examination of Terrorist Financing and Ways to Mitigate the Risks, (White Paper on Islamic State Funding). Retrieved March 29, 2018 from Duhaime Law, website www.duhaimelaw.com/wp-content/.../White-Paper-Terrorist-Financing-Methods1.pdf.

El-Saeed, R. (1996). *Ded el-Taasimlim (Against Islamization)*. Cairo, Egypt: El-Ahali.

Esposito, J.L. (2015). Islam and Political Violence. *Religions*, 6(3), 1067-1081.

Farrington, D.P., Barnes, G., Lambert, S. (1996). The concentration of offending in families. *Legal and Criminological Psychology* 1, 47-63.

Financial Action Task Force. (2015). Financing of the Terrorist Organisation Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), FAFT. Retrieved May 14, 2018 from <http://www.faft-gafi.org/topics/methodsandtrends/documents/financing-of-terrorist-organisation-isil.html>.

Fischer, P., Haslam, S. A., & Smith, L. (2010). "If you wrong us, shall we not revenge?" Social identity salience moderates support for retaliation in response to collective threat. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice*, 14(2), 143-150.

Gupta, D.K. (2008). *Understanding Terrorism and Political Violence: The Life Cycle of Birth, Growth, Transformation, and Demise*. New York: Taylor & Francis Group.

Hanson, F. (2015, February). Countering ISIS in Southeast Asia: The case for an ICT offensive. Paper presented at Perth USAsia Centre Strategic Insight Series on Strengthening Relationships and Strategic Thinking across the Indo-Pacific, The University of Western Australia. Paper retrieved from <http://www.perthusasia.edu.au>.

Hedges, P. M. (2015). When is a Caliph not a Caliph?. RSIS Commentary. Retrieved from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>.

Klausen, J. (2015). Tweeting the Jihad: Social Media Networks of Western Foreign Fighters in Syria and Iraq. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 38(1), 1-22.

Lamberg, L. (2001). Hate-group websites target children, teens. *Psychiatric News*, 36(3), 26-27.

Leggiero, K. (2015). Countering ISIS Recruitment in Western Nations. *Journal of Political Risk*, 3(1). Retrieved May 13, 2018 from <http://www.jpolrisk.com/countering-western-recruitment-of-isis-fighters/>.

Liow, J. C. (2015). IS Activity in Southeast Asia. RSIS Commentary. No. 156. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from www.rsis.edu.sg.

Loza, W. (2007). The psychology of extremism and terrorism: A Middle-eastern perspective *Aggression and Violent Behaviour*, 12(2), 141-150.

- Maikovich, A.K. (2005). A New Understanding of Terrorism Using Cognitive Dissonance Principles. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*. 35(4). Retrieved from <http://theoryoncognitivedissonance>.
- Martin, G. (2006). *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Middleton, R. & Putney, S. (1963). Political Expression of Adolescent Rebellion. *American Journal of Sociology*, 68(5), 527-535.
- Musa, M. F. (2013, December). Malaysian Shi'ites Lonely Struggle. Paper submitted to the World Public Forum "Dialogue of Civilizations".
- Nathan, K.S. (2007). Globalization, Religious Militancy and Terrorism in Southeast Asia Post- 9/11: Implications for Regional Security. *Journal of International Studies* 2006. 3.pp.43-60.
- Neumann, P.R. (2013). The trouble with radicalization. *International Affairs*, 89, 73-893.
- Nuraniyah, N. (2015). How ISIS Charmed the New Generation of Indonesian Militants. Retrieved from [http:// How ISIS Charmed the New Generation of Indonesian Militants _ Middle East Institute.html](http://How%20ISIS%20Charmed%20the%20New%20Generation%20of%20Indonesian%20Militants%20_Middle%20East%20Institute.html).
- Pasuni, A., Osman, M.N.M., & Noor, F.A. (2015). The Islamic State in Iraq and Sham (ISIS) and Malaysia: Current Challenges and Future Impact. *RSIS Commentary*. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>.
- Peresin, A. (2015). Fatal Attraction: Western Muslimas and ISIS. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9(3), 21-38.
- Peters, M. (2015, October). *Money Matters : Sources of ISIS' Funding and How to Disrupt Them*. London: Center for Geopolitics & Security in Realism Studies.
- Petrosino, A., Derzon, J. Lavenber, J. (2009). The role of the family in Crime and Delinquency: evidence from Prior Quantitative reviews. *Southwest Journal of Criminal Justice*, 6(2), 108-132.
- Rabasa, A.M. (2003). *Political Islam in Southeast Asia: Moderates, Radicals and Terrorist*. New York: Oxford University Press Inc.
- Raj, A. (2015, January). *Militant Islam in Malaysia: Synergy between Regional and Global Jihadi Groups*. Retrieved May 25, 2018 from [http://www.Southeast Asia CounterTerrorism.gov/library/ sea.pdf](http://www.Southeast%20Asia%20CounterTerrorism.gov/library/sea.pdf).
- Ramakrishna, K. (2016). *Understanding Youth Radicalization in the Age of ISIS: A Psychosocial Analysis*. E-International publishing. Retrieved from [http:// Understanding Youth Radicalization in the Age of ISIS A Psychosocial Analysis.html](http://Understanding%20Youth%20Radicalization%20in%20the%20Age%20of%20ISIS%20A%20Psychosocial%20Analysis.html).
- Rapoport, D.C. (2002). *The Four Waves of Modern Terrorism*. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from www.iwp.edu/docLib/20140819_RapoportFourWavesofModernTerrorism.pdf.

Samuel, T.K. (2016). Radicalisation in Southeast Asia: A Selected Case Study of Daesh in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. Retrieved March 23, 2018 from The Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism, website: <http://www.searcct.gov.my>.

Singh, J. (2015). Katibah Nusantara: Islamic State's Malay Archipelago Combat Unit. RSIS Commentary, No.126. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from www.rsis.edu.sg.

Smither, R. & Corsandi, R. (2009). The Implicit Personality Theory of Islam. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 1(2), 81-96.

Tibi, B.(2007). The Totalitarianism of Jihadist Islamic and its Challenge to Europe and to Islam. *Totalitarian Movements And Political Religions*, 8(1), 35-54.

Weenink, A.W. (2015). Behavioral Problems and Disorders among Radicals among Radicals in Police Files. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 9(2), 17-33.

Weimann, G. (2006). *Terror on the Internet: The new arena, the new arena , the new challenges*. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

Yasin, N.A., Singh, J., Saifudeen, O.A., & Kuan, T.H. (2015). Southeast Asian Militants in Syria and Iraq: What Can the Online Realm Reveal? RSIS Commentary, No.186. Retrieved from <http://www.rsis.edu.sg>.

Yasin, N.A.M., (May, 2015). Counter Terrorist Trends and Analysis: Impact of ISIS' Online Campaign in Southeast Asia. *Journal of the International Center for Political Violence and Terrorism Research*. 7(4).pp.26-32.

Yilmaz, K. & Ekici, S. (2016). Religion Abusing Terrorist Groups (RATs): How do they Abuse Islamic Religious Scripture? In: Siddik Ekici et al. (eds.): *Countering Terrorist Recruitment in the Context of Armed Counter- Terrorism Operations*. Amsterdam: IOS Press, 12-28.

Ysseldyk, R., Matheson, K & Anisman, H. (2011). Coping with identity threat: The role of religious orientation and implications for emotions and action intentions. *Psychology of Religion and Spirituality*, 3, 132-148.

RESEARCH PAPERS

Miles & Huberman. (1994). *Introduction to Research Methods in Education : The Analysis of Qualitative Data (Chapter 7)*. pp.169-209. Retrieved from <http://www.analysismethod/qualitatif-miles-huberman-theory>.

Collis, J. & Hussy, R. (2009). *Business Research: A Practical Guide for Undergraduate & Postgraduate Students*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Coolsaet, R. (2016). Facing the Fourth Foreign Fighters Wave: What Drives Europeans to Syria, and to Islamic State?. Insights from the Belgian Case. (EgMONT Paper 81). Retrieved from Royal Institute for International Relation website: http://www.egmont.papers.81_online-versie.pdf.

- El-Badawy, E., Comerford, M., & Welby, P. (2015). Inside the Jihadi Mind: Understanding Ideology and Propaganda. Retrieved Jun 3, 2018 from <http://www.religionandgeopolitics.org>.
- Greene, K. (2015). ISIS: Trends in Terrorist Media and Propaganda. (Research Papers No.3). Retrieved from Centennial Library in Cedarville University website: http://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/international_studies_capstones/3
- Hamid, A.F.A. (2009). The New Challenges of Political Islam in Malaysia. (Working Paper No.154) Retrieved January 13, 2018 from University Sains Malaysia website: <http://www.opac.org/reports/inquiry-3/3-025/3-025.pdf>.
- Horgan, J. (2008). From Profiles to Pathways and Roots to Routes: Perspectives from Psychology on Radicalization into Terrorism. The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 618, 80-94.
- Hoyle, C., Bradford, A & Frenett, R. (2015). Becoming Mulan? Female Western Migrants to ISIS. Institute for Strategic Dialogue: London.
- Jones, D.M. & Smith, M.L.R. (2011). Organisation Vs Ideology: The Lessons from Southeast Asia. Retrieved from http://typologydebate_hudsoninstute,inc/library/.
- Jones, S.G. (2014). A Persistent Threat: The Evolution of al-Qa'ida and other Salafi Jihadists. Retrieved January 8, 2019 from National Defense Research Institute, RAND, website: <http://www.rand.org/pdffrd>.
- Martin, G. (2014). Essential of Terrorism: Concepts & Controversies (3rd Ed.). Retrieved March 23, 2016 from https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/33557_6.pdf.
- Martin, G. (2014). Essential of Terrorism: Concepts & Controversies (3rd Ed.). Retrieved March 23, 2016 from https://www.sagepub.com/sites/default/files/upm-binaries/33557_6.pdf.
- McFate, J.L. (2015, May). The ISIS Defense in Iraq and Syria: Countering an Adaptive Enemy (Report No.27). Retrieved March 23, 2016 from Institute for the Study of War, website: <http://www.understandingwar.org>.
- Samuel, T.K. (2012). Reaching the Youth: Countering the Terrorist Narrative. Cataloguing-in-publication data. ISBN: 978-983-44397-4-3.
- Transcrime, Joint Research Center on Transnational Crime. (2008). Report on Extortion Racketeering the need for an Instrument to Combat Activities of Organized Crime. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/sites/homeaffairs/files/doccentre/crime/docs/study_on_extortion_racketeering_en.pdf.
- United States Agency for International Development. (2016). Indonesian and Malaysian support for the Islamic State (Final Report). Retrieved May 23, 2018 from <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/report/2016/PBAAD863.pdf>.
- Wright, A. L. (2013, March). Terrorism, Ideology and Target Selection. Paper submitted to Department of Politics, Princeton University.

BOOK

Bornstein, M.H. (2002). Handbook of Parenting. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Bornstein, M. H. (Ed.). (2002). Handbook of parenting: Children and parenting (2nd ed.). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Azra, A. (2005). Islam in Southeast Asia: Political, Social and Strategic Challenges for the 21st Century (Chapter 1). In Nathan, K.S., & Kamali, M.H. (Eds.), International discourse. 13(2) pp.213-231.

Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). Sosial Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices. 2nd Ed. [Textbook Collection]. Retrieved from http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/ua_textbooks/3/.

Botha, A. (2009). Terrorism in Kenya and Uganda: Radicalization from a Political Socialization Perspective. Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books.

Dawoody, A.R. (2016). Eradicating Terrorism from the Middle East 2016: Policy and Administrative Approaches. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Denzin, K., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). The sage handbook of qualitative research, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Gottfredson, M.R. & Hirschi, T. (1990). A general theory of crime. CA: Stanford University Press.

Hafez, M. (2003). Why Muslims rebel: Repression and resistance in the Islamic World. Boulder: Lynnes Rienner.

Hancock, B. (2002). An Introduction to Qualitative Research. Trent Focus Group.

Majeed, K. (2016). Combating Violent Extremism and Radicalization in the Digital Era. Hershey, PA: Information Science Reference.

Harding, J. (July, 2002). The Great Unleashing. (Review of the book Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam, by Kepel, G.). 24(14). Retrieved November 8, 2018 from <http://www.lrb.co.uk/contributors/jeremy-harding>.

Saltman, M.E., & Winter, C. (November, 2014). Islamic State: The Changing Face of Modern Jihadism. Retrieved June 23, 2016 from www.quilliamfoundation.org.

Winter, C. (2015). Women of the Islamic State: A Manifesto on Women by the al-Khansaa Brigade. UK: The Quilliam Foundation.

MAGAZINE

Wood, G. (2015). What is The Islamic State? Retrieved Dec 4, 2017, from <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2015/03/what-isis-really-wants/384980/>

ONLINE NEWS

Aziz, I.H. (2015, Mac 21). IS tubuh Maahad Abdullah Azzam. Utusan Online. Retrieved July 17, 2017 from <http://www.utusan.com.my/berita/nasional/is-tubuh-maahad-abdullah-azzam-1.71891#stash.Htt28N96.dpuf>.

Aziz, I.H., & Hadzman, M. (2015, April 27). 12 anggota militant IS ditangkap. Utusan Online. Retrieved July 17, 2017 from <http://www.utusan.com.my/berita/jenayah/12-anggota-militan-is-ditang-kap>.

Teoh, S. (2015, May 21). ISIS in Malaysia planning heists, abductions. Retrieved April 26, 2020 from <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/isis-in-malaysia-planning-heists-abductions>.

n.n. (2016, January 12). Police arrest teenage boy suspected of being involved with Daesh in Kedah. Retrieved April 26, 2020 from <http://english.astroawani.com/malaysia-news/police-arrest-teenage-boy-suspected-being-involved-daesh-kedah-89253>

n.n. (2016, July 4). Malaysian police confirm nightclub blast first successful attack by ISIS on Malaysia soil. Retrieved April 26, 2020 from <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/malaysian-police-confirm-isis-elements-behind-nightclub-blast>

Tampubolon, H.D. (2016, July 26). Terrorist propaganda in social media not joke. The Jakarta Post. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2016/07/26/terrorist-propaganda-sosial-media-no-joke.html>.

n.n. (2017, January 20). Islamic State and the crisis in Iraq and Syria in maps. BBC News. Retrieved March 23, 2016 from <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27838034>.

Hasan, H. (2018, October 6). 8 held in Malaysia for suspected terror links. Straits Times. Retrieved January 8, 2019 from <https://www.straitstimes.com/asia/se-asia/8-held-in-malaysia-for-suspected-terror-links>.

NEWSPAPER

Azizan, H. (2016, February 21). Yes, it could be your child. The Star, pp. 20-21.

Mohd, H., & Shahrudin, H. (2016, February 13). IS 'still planning to strike Malaysia'. The News Straits Times, pp.03

WEBSITES

Levitt, M. (2014). Terrorist Financing and the Islamic State. Retrieved January 23, 2018 from The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, website <https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/.../LevittTestimony20141113.pdf>.

Liow, J.C. (2015). Malaysia's ISIS Conundrum. The Brookings. Retrieved from [http://Malaysia's ISIS Conundrum _ Brookings Institution.html](http://Malaysia's%20ISIS%20conundrum%20Brookings%20Institution.html).

McVeigh, K. (2014). Peer pressure lures more Britons to Syria than Isis videos, study finds. The Guardian. Retrieved January 10, 2018 from: [http:// www. theguardian. com/world/2014/nov/06/isis-recruitment-peer-pressure-friendships-more-decisive-social-media-luring-jihadis](http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/06/isis-recruitment-peer-pressure-friendships-more-decisive-social-media-luring-jihadis).

The Clarion Project, Special Report on the Challenging Extremism and Promoting Dialogue. (2015). Report on the Islamic State. Retrieved May 23, 2016 from <http://www.clarionproject.org/>.

PERSONAL INTERVIEW

El Muhammady,A. July 24, 2017

Kamarulnizam,M. June 6, 2017

Norisham,A. June 8, 2017

KSmail,R.A. October 02, 2017

