

AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OF
COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM (CVE) IN
MALAYSIA

BY

RAJA MUHAMMAD KHAIRUL AKHTAR BIN RAJA
MOHD NAGUIB

A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science

Kulliyyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human
Sciences
International Islamic University Malaysia
NOVEMBER 2020

ABSTRACT

Terrorism has continuously become a global issue, in which it has resulted in the death of innocent people around the world. Malaysia is not excluded from being affected by terrorism. Malaysia is listed as the country with the highest number of citizens recruited as members of the terrorist group, such as the Islamic State in Southeast Asia through the social media such as Telegram. Malaysia has also been identified to be the hideout and ideological hub for terrorist groups such as ISIS, Daesh, and LTTE. Also, it has been mentioned that fear has increased among citizens of this country when the government of Malaysia welcomes citizens who happened to joined ISIS back to the homeland. Therefore, this paper aims to look into the implementation of the Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) from a bureaucratic perspective. This paper adopts and employs a top-down approach analysis, which emphasizes the ability of the decision-makers to produce unambiguous policy objectives and control the implementation stage. The reason is due to Malaysia's highly centralized bureaucratic function. This paper identifies the flow of policy implementation of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) in Malaysia. This study interviewed policy-makers and experts. For the findings of this study, even though Malaysia has highly-centralized bureaucratic function, especially in managing security and defence issues stated in the Ninth Schedule (legislative List) of Federal Constitution, but the delegation of power from top (legislative and executive body) to bottom (government agencies and society involvement) often happens to ensure the comprehensive implementation of the government policy. So, during the process of policy implementation, there are indicators identified at each phases of policy implementation.

خلاصة البحث

لقد أصبح الإرهاب بشكل مستمر قضية عالمية، مما أدى فيها إلى مقتل أبرياء في جميع أنحاء العالم. وكذلك ماليزيا ليست مستبعدة من أن تتأثر بالإرهاب. لقد تم إدراج ماليزيا على أنها الدولة التي تضم أكبر عدد من المواطنين المجندين كأعضاء في الجماعة الإرهابية، مثل الدولة الإسلامية في جنوب شرقي آسيا من خلال وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي مثل Telegram كما تم تحديد ماليزيا أيضاً على أنها المخبأ والمحور الأيديولوجي للجماعات الإرهابية مثل أيسيس وداعش ونمور تحرير تاميل إيلام. كما ورد أن الخوف قد ازداد بين مواطني هذا البلد عندما ترحب حكومة ماليزيا بالمواطنين الذين تصادف انضمامهم إلى داعش للعودة إلى الوطن. لذلك، تهدف هذه الورقة إلى النظر في تنفيذ مكافحة التطرف العنيف (CVE) من منظور بيروقراطي. تتبنى هذه الورقة وتستخدم تحليل نهج من أعلى إلى أسفل، والذي يؤكد على قدرة صانعي القرار على إنتاج أهداف سياسة لا لبس فيها والتحكم في مرحلة التنفيذ. يرجع السبب إلى الوظيفة البيروقراطية شديدة المركزية في ماليزيا. وتحدد هذه الورقة مسار تنفيذ سياسة مكافحة التطرف العنيف (CVE) في ماليزيا. قابلت هذه الدراسة واضعي السياسات والخبراء. بالنسبة لنتائج هذه الدراسة، على الرغم من أن ماليزيا لديها وظيفة بيروقراطية شديدة المركزية، خاصة في إدارة قضايا الأمن والدفاع المنصوص عليها في الجدول التاسع (القائمة التشريعية) من الدستور الاتحادي، ولكن تفويض السلطة من أعلى (الهيئة التشريعية والتنفيذية) إلى أسفل (الوكالات الحكومية ومشاركة المجتمع) يحدث غالباً لضمان التنفيذ الشامل لسياسة الحكومة. لذلك، خلال عملية تنفيذ السياسة، هناك مؤشرات محددة في كل مرحلة من مراحل تنفيذ السياسة.

APPROVAL PAGE

I certify that I have supervised and read this study and that in my opinion, it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science.

.....
Rabi'ah Binti Aminudin
Supervisor

.....
Norhaslinda Binti Jamaiuddin
Co-Supervisor

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science.

.....
Abdillah Bin Noh
Examiner

This thesis was submitted to the Department of Political Science and is accepted as a fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science.

.....
Rabi'ah Binti Aminudin
Head, Department of Political
Science

This thesis was submitted to the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and is accepted as a fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Human Sciences in Political Science.

.....
Shukran Abd Rahman
Dean, Kulliyah of Islamic
Revealed Knowledge and Human
Sciences

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

Raja Muhammad Khairul Akhtar Bin Raja Mohd Naguib

Signature

Date

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

**DECLARATION OF COPYRIGHT AND AFFIRMATION OF
FAIR USE OF UNPUBLISHED RESEARCH**

**AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OF
COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM (CVE) IN MALAYSIA**

I declare that the copyright holders of this dissertation are jointly owned by the student and IIUM.

Copyright © 2020 Raja Muhammad Khairul Akhtar Bin Raja Mohd Naguib and International Islamic University Malaysia. All rights reserved.

No part of this unpublished research may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior written permission of the copyright holder except as provided below

1. Any material contained in or derived from this unpublished research may be used by others in their writing with due acknowledgement.
2. IIUM or its library will have the right to make and transmit copies (print or electronic) for institutional and academic purposes.
3. The IIUM library will have the right to make, store in a retrieved system and supply copies of this unpublished research if requested by other universities and research libraries.

By signing this form, I acknowledged that I have read and understand the IIUM Intellectual Property Right and Commercialization policy.

Affirmed by Raja Muhammad Khairul Akhtar Bin Raja Mohd Naguib

.....
Signature

.....
Date

*For late Mak, Hamidah Abu Hasan,
For Abah, Raja Mohd Naguib
This dissertation is for both of you.
I wish for my writings to be beneficial and reach others
so that both of you who hold the significant piece in this journey would be rewarded
bountifully by Allah the Almighty.*

*“.... My Lord, enable me to be grateful for Your favour which You have bestowed
upon me and upon my parents and to work the righteousness of which You will
approve and make righteous for me my offspring. Indeed, I have repented to You, and
indeed, I am of the Muslims.”
(Surah Al-Ahqaf, verse 15)*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Bismillahi ar-Rahman ar-Rahim, Assalamu'alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa barakatuh. Before proceeding to the introduction of my thesis, I, Raja Muhammad Khairul Akhtar, would express my gratitude to a group of benefactors as a form of acknowledgement for their contributions in leading to the completion of my thesis.

First and foremost, a bouquet of thanks to being dedicated to Dr Rabi'ah Aminudin, head of Political Science's department cum my very firm supervisor, who has not held back a single word of honest and constructive criticisms, in which her rigorous supervision has led to the completion of this paper. From the profound depth of my heart, I would like to thank you, for your tireless dedication in helping me do my research, also for ensuring of my wellbeing during the Covid-19 lockdown, and also for supplying endless food supplies during the holy month of Ramadan, as this time, it is a challenging one since it is during the Covid-19 MCO. Thank you, Dr Rabi'ah, for always trusting and believing in everything that I am from the very first word until the final full stop in this research.

Secondly, thanks to Dr Norhaslinda Jamaiuddin (casually called Dr Linda), my co-supervisor, also the department's academic advisor, who faithfully believes in my potential and tirelessly giving guidance and every knowledge at her disposal. This appreciation is also extended to the gender discrimination research team, which consists of Dr Rabi'ah and Dr Linda, respectively, Assoc. Prof. Dr Azzura, Dr Syaza Farhana, and Umi were playing the roles as my 'mothers', 'sisters,' and 'aunties' in getting me to expose my knowledge on data collection. Thank you for giving me the never-ending experience, sharing brilliant ideas, and praying for the success of this research. My appreciation also extends to a group of unyielding academicians, i.e., Assoc. Prof. Dr Abdillah Noh, Assoc. Prof. Dr Ishtiaq, Assoc. Prof. Dr Moniruzzaman, Dr Tunku Mohar, and Dr Mazlena Hussain, for endlessly trying to enhance and improve my research.

Next, I would like to present trophies of gratitude to my dearest respondents, who are the voices that resonated and added some spices and colours, the ingredients which are paramount to my paper. I graciously thank to one of the AIPA Caucus members, Experts-Academicians, representatives from the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), representative from the Ministry of Defence (MinDef), representative of Royal Malaysian Police (PDRM), especially the E8 Special Branch, and finally senior analyst, from SEARCCT. Your cooperative voices have certainly laid the concrete to my research, which its foundation was previously abstract. Your adamant views in combating terrorism have helped me in uplifting my research to greater heights, and for that, I say, thank you.

In this paragraph, I would like to virtually thank and hug my best friend, Megat Muhammad Syamil, my one and only companion, whom I share all my rises and falls, the highs and lows, laudatory and critical moments, and the highlights of my research. I thank you sincerely for your companionship throughout this research from its foundation, laying of concrete, and its' perfect completion.

Next, I would like to thank my friends from the #HouseOfTeeba, my close circles, my blood veins, of different Kulliyah while pursuing master's degree who are always there to give unconditional support to the extent where I can share the rough and tough of this journey, the struggle, and trouble that lies in wait over the horizon. To Saiful, Aiman, Adam, and Faris thank you for your 'loud support,' and I love you all! After that, I would like to highlight another circle of mine named #GrowOldTogether. To Hamka, Eyzud, and Jauwad. From our freshman bachelor's degree years until this very moment, you guys have been part of my significant supporters since the day of the commencement of my research. I hope we do stay true to the words to grow old together, and I hope that despite different commitments, we will remain as friends. Not to forget, I would like to thank a few individuals who have given me unrelenting support in various possible capacities they had. They are Pn. Aini Afidah (MoHA), Kak Linda, Kak Abby, Syamsul Choiy, Ani, Ainur, Bashirah, Najmi Mamat, Syakir, Fikri Khairudin, Zubair Mustafa, Nabil Fikri (madum), Hanis, Zahanis, and Lady Gaga's ultimate aficionado, Arman de la Vogue. Also, not to forget some of my international friends too (who refused to be named), your help has made me understand my study more and have brought it to a global depth. Your constant support in your capacities, abilities, and talent has given me many heads up in terms of ideas, inspiration, time, energy, money, writing, proofreading, and other kinds of aids. Your aid shall forever be in my gratitude and will not be forgotten and side-lined. I would also like to take this chance to thank other minor supporters for your assistance, whether it is intentional or coincidental. Your help will forever be ingrained in my thoughts, may we cross paths again, if the Merciful Lord wills.

Lest to forget, I would also like to express my gratitude to my kin, my family, blood wise. They are, Along, Abang Zahari, Angah, Kak Yah, Uda, Abang Nadh, Acik, Mimie, Saffiyah, Irfan, Inara, Amni, Yasmeen, Irsyad and also those who will be added into the family soon (my incoming nieces and nephews soon, and referencing my future spouse, if applicable). Your tremendous aid has proven helpful as it has led to the completion of my master's degree thesis. As a family, this will undoubtedly strengthen our bonds, and I hope that our familial bond will become even more durable as we age and grow old. Last but not least, the one that will always be loved after my late mother (Mak), that is my dearest father (Abah), Raja Mohd Naguib. Dear Abah, for every sacrifice, mental acuity, and every bit of strength you spent on the prayer mat after Isyak and Tahajjud, is something that only Allah the Almighty will be able to bless and reward, in which I will never be able to do so, even in a million years. Dear Abah, after I am in an excellent position, for once (and for all), allow me to repay your kindness to me slowly. Allow me to care for your needs for as long as I am yet to live in the state of matrimony, and even if I do so one day, allow me to care still and fend for you, just like when you and late Mak did for me when I was young. I hope that everything that you have given me will turn into everything that I have given for this paper - that is to benefit the readers. Moreover, for sure, that your deeds be blessed by The Almighty in the Dunia and akhirah.

To wrap and sum up my acknowledgements, I hope my thesis would be of great help to the readers (whether for casual reading or referencing), as many have aided me to such great lengths in realising the completion of my thesis. Hopefully, when you reach the end of my composition, it inspires you to create a new or innovate my article to an even greater length.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Abstract in Arabic	iii
Approval Page.....	iv
Declaration	v
Copyright Page.....	vi
Dedication	Erro
r! Bookmark not defined.	
Acknowledgements	viii
Table of Contents	x
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of Problem	3
1.3 Research Questions.....	5
1.4 Research Objectives.....	5
1.5 Significance of the Study.....	6
1.6 Literature Review	6
1.6.1 Causes of Violent Extremism	8
1.6.2 Global Policies to Counter Violent Extremism (CVE).....	9
1.6.3 Malaysia’s Policy to Counter Violent Extremism	12
1.7 Conceptual Framework.....	13
1.8 Research Methodology	14
1.8.1 Research Design.....	14
1.8.2 Data Collection	15
1.8.3 Data Analysis	17
1.9 Chapter Outlines	17
CHAPTER TWO: ACTORS AND THEIR FUNCTIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM (CVE) POLICY IN MALAYSIA	19
2.1 Introduction.....	19
2.2 Tier 1: The Delegated Legislation (Executive and Legislature branches).....	22
2.2.1 National Security Council (NSC)	23
2.2.2 Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA)	25
2.2.3 Ministry of Defence (MoD/MinDef)	28
2.2.4 Other Ministries Involved	30
2.3 Tier 2: The Relevant Regulatory Bodies	31
2.3.1 The Royal Malaysia Police	32
2.3.2 The Department of Prison	34
2.3.3 Other Relevant Regulatory Bodies	35

2.4 Tier 3: Civil Societies (Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), Think Tanks and Academic Institutions)	37
2.5 Conclusion	44
CHAPTER THREE: MECHANISMS OF POLICY IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN MALAYSIA	46
3.1 Introduction.....	46
3.2 Evolution of Counter Violent Extremism Policy in Malaysia.....	47
3.2.1 From Counterterrorism to Counter Violent Extremism.....	47
3.2.2 Indicators in Counter Violent Extremism	51
3.3 Phases and Indicators of Counter Violent Extremism Policy Implementation.....	55
3.3.1 Prevention Phase	55
3.3.2 During-Detention Phase.....	61
3.3.3 Post-Detention Phase	64
3.4 Conclusion	65
CHAPTER FOUR: CHALLENGES IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM POLICY	68
4.1 Introduction.....	68
4.2 Challenges.....	69
4.2.1 Scarcity of Resources.....	69
4.2.2 Lack of Actors Involved at Post-detention Phase	74
4.2.3 The Non-existence of Proper Framework	76
4.3 Conclusion	78
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	80
5.1 Introduction.....	80
5.2 Discussion.....	80
5.2.1 Research Question One.....	80
5.2.2 Research Question Two	83
5.2.3 Research Question Three	84
5.3 Limitations of the Study	86
5.4 Recommendations.....	87
REFERENCES.....	88
APPENDIX 1: THE LIST OF INTERVIEWEES	96
APPENDIX 2: THE NINTH SCHEDULE OF FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	97
APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	99

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 List of Civil Society involved in the Implementation of Counter Violent Extremism Policy	39
Table 3.1 Comparison of Counter Violent Extremism in Malaysia	48
Table 4.1 Summary of Resources Allocation	70

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Malaysia's Policy Implementation Process to Counter Violent Extremism	13
Figure 2.1 Tier of Actors involved in implementing Counter Violent Extremism in Malaysia	21
Figure 2.2 The Delegated Legislation (Executive and Legislature branches)	22
Figure 2.3 Tier 2: The Relevant Regulatory Bodies	31
Figure 2.4 Tier 3: Civil Societies (Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO), Think Tanks and Academic Institutions)	37
Figure 3.1 Mechanism and Phases of Policy Implementation of Counter Violent Extremism in Malaysia	55
Figure 4.1 Challenges on the Implementation of Counter Violent Extremism in Malaysia	69

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

The trends of terrorist groups attack significantly increased globally since early 2016 until, halfway through the year 2019, there were about 5,539 terrorist attacks and 35,516 fatalities reported around the world (Esri Story Maps & PeaceTech Lab, 2019). According to START (2018), Esri Story Maps and PeaceTech Lab (2019), and Statista Research Department (2019), in 2016, there were about 1,647 attacks and have caused 15,303 fatalities, while in 2017, another 1,547 attacks were recorded around the world and have caused 9,621 fatalities. The figures kept increasing in 2018 to 2,172 attacks and 9,754 fatalities around the world. Besides that, from January until June 2019, there were about 908 terrorist attacks and have caused 3,913 fatalities. That is only half of the year, and the number of attacks keeps increasing.

Notably, Forbes (2018) reported that 169 terrorist groups were active around the world. Some of them were well-known, such as Al-Qaida (Middle East), Fulani (Nigeria), Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (Syria), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (Pakistan), Naxals, Jaish and Hizbul Mujahideen (India), Al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula (AQAP) (Yemen), and Abu Sayyaf (Southeast Asia and especially in the Philippines).

It should be mentioned here that four deadliest terrorist groups were involved in these attacks, and are responsible for 44% of the deaths in a decade, which are the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL), Al-Shabaab (Somalia), Taliban (Afghanistan), and Boko Haram (Nigeria), based on the Global Terrorism Index, 2018. Their patterns of attacks were quite similar to one another. For example, they staged the attacks through bombing or explosions, hostage-taking, and assassinations. Some of

them even changed their method of attacks from targeting civilians to attacking the military and police personnel, as well as the highest proportion of attacks directed at government targets, followed by private citizens, and the extensive use of children and women as suicide bombers as a tool for these attacks.

Although Islamist militants have been related to 44% of the deaths in a decade, as aforementioned, the rest of the fatalities that took place around the world were caused by other groups and individuals, such as “in Western Europe and North America, far-right extremists are a growing threat. In 2017, they carried out 59 attacks, which killed 17 people. Most of the incidents were carried out by individuals motivated by extreme white nationalist or anti-Muslim beliefs “(Dudley, 2018).

Nevertheless, their brutal actions have attracted the attention of various international bodies since decades ago, and various counteractions have been made to stop these terrorist groups. According to Dwiggins and Shmitt (2011), to reduce the threat of terrorism globally, law enforcement must adapt and be reformed to solve new challenges of terrorism. This counteraction includes international cooperation, such as international treaties on terrorism from the United Nations Security Council Standing Committee on Terrorism. Apart from that, ASEAN in 2012 established a collaboration with Canada and Russia to combat International Terrorism, ASIA-Europe meeting (ASEM), Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Counter-Terrorism Taskforce, Commonwealth Committee on Terrorism (CCT), Counter-Terrorism Committee of The League of Arab States, and many more. They collaborate in terms of exchanging information, legal cooperation, enhance capacity-building efforts through training and technical assistance, and most importantly, the willingness of politics on how they put efforts on initiative among governments in sovereign states to face terrorism issues.

1.2 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Southeast Asian countries, especially Malaysia, are concerned with the wave of terrorism that exists in this region. Samuel (2016) identified that in 2014, online recruitment was carried out to recruit members from Southeast Asia to join the terrorist group as a foreign fighter, and “ISIS has employed several methods to lure Malaysian youths to join Jihad in the Middle East, notably social media and Usrah (small group discussion) in local schools, colleges and universities“ (Mohd Sani, 2016). The Straits Times (2015) reported that about 75% of the online recruitment of members who joined the terrorist group were from Malaysia, and that at least 53 Malaysians were known to have joined ISIS in Syria. In reality, the number could be higher than what has been reported. Meanwhile, Hart (2018) explained that the recruitment and radicalization of Malaysians have conjointly occurred through social media channels and encrypted electronic messaging apps equivalent to WhatsApp and Telegram; therefore, these prompt concerns over the potential for ISIS-inspired lone-wolf attacks.

Malaysia has been the hub for terrorist groups such as The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and ISIS. In October 2019, there was news about the detention of a group of Indians who were allegedly sympathizers of The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) group. They were not just sympathizers, however; the Royal Malaysia Police had traced massive amounts of money transactions being transferred to the group of LTTE in Sri Lanka (Bernama, 2019), and among the arrested were established politicians (Ying, 2019). Furthermore, Chew (2018) reported that Malaysia’s Police successfully uncovered a plan by foreign militants to use Malaysia as a “haven”. It was arduous as the foreigners were entering the country through legal methods, but then went on to pursue militant activities. Meanwhile, they were working in the country as labourers or construction workers in the eastern State of Sabah.

The fear has existed among citizens of the country ever since the government of Malaysia welcomed its citizens back who happened to join ISIS (Ram, 2019). There was a total of 13 Malaysians who requested to return home after their involvement with ISIS in Syria and Iraq. The government of Malaysia claimed that all these former members of the terrorist group would be thoroughly screened and interrogated, who later would be relocated inside rehabilitation centres before being released to society (MalaysiaKini, 2019).

For the past few years, Malaysia's government has initiated an effort to face terrorism through the enhancement of the existing National Security Policy, specifically in Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) policy, which includes the combination of 'hard' and 'soft' approaches. 'Hard approach' involves the amendment of laws and legislations, which includes the launching of de-radicalization centre programmes by replacing the Internal Security Act (ISA) 1960 to Security Offences (Special Measures) Act (SOSMA) 2012, as well as a new provision in existing penal code that covers terrorism-related offences. In addition to these measures are the establishment of Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA) 2015 and Special Measures against Terrorism (in Foreign Countries) Act (SMATA) 2015. All of these laws and regulations are tools for the authorities to take action against the terrorists. Meanwhile, according to Guay (2018) and Ram (2019), the 'soft approach' focused on the de-radicalization centre programme. Malaysia's government has utilized the combination of 'hard approach' and 'soft approach' in dealing with terrorism in the rehabilitation centres. Guay (2018) opined that Malaysia uses a judgment-free approach to rehabilitation in progress, which is in contrast with some western countries such as the United States of America, France, and the United Kingdom.

There is a need to analyse the implementation of the policy by identifying the existing policy, who are involved in constructing them, and what the challenges are that actors faced in the process of implementing the policy. This research aims to look from a bureaucratic perspective into the implementation of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) by Malaysia's government in addressing terrorism issues. Usually, much of the prior research studies focused mainly on the dimension of terrorism from psychological, international relations, and sociological perspectives, like "violent extremism action happened are because of disagreement and repression in term of political roots, the unfair wealth of economic distribution or competition, clash of cultural and religious matter, and also identity or individual psychology" (Ehrlich & Liu, 2002; Richardson, 2006; Davis & Cragin, 2009; Krieger & Meierrieks, 2011).

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. Who are the actors involved in the implementation of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) policy in Malaysia, and what are their functions?
2. How is the policy of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) implemented in Malaysia?
3. What are the challenges in the implementation of the Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) policy in Malaysia?

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1. To identify the actors involved in the implementation of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) in Malaysia and their functions
2. To understand the implementation process of Counter Violent Extremism policy in Malaysia

3. To analyse the challenges faced by the actors and the way actors handle in the implementation of Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) policy in Malaysia

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This research is vital because it studies the Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) policy from a bureaucratic perspective. Therefore, this enhances the understanding of the body of knowledge on public policy implementation in matters related to Counter Violent Extremism in Southeast Asia, specifically in Malaysia. Although there have been a number of literatures that discussed counter violent extremism policy in Malaysia, there has been little work that has been done, and touches, on the central part and a bureaucratic perspective

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

Terrorism is becoming a worldwide phenomenon. This crime across the border often have devastating consequences and death. This violence can be understood with various understandings from various sources. Knowing the meaning of terrorism is highly important because it will determine what action can be taken, which action can be considered as violent extremism, and who can be counted as terrorists. It is because of this kind of crime can it trigger the Police and prosecutorial powers.

Terrorism is, according to Schmidt and Jongman (1988) (as cited in Ganor, 2010) who had mentioned in their research, “in order of their statistical appearance in the definitions: Violence, force (appeared in 83.5% of the definitions); political (65%); fear, emphasis on terror (51%); threats (47%); psychological effects and anticipated reactions (41.5%); the discrepancy between the targets and the victims (37.5%);

intentional, planned, systematic, organized action (32%); methods of combat, strategy, tactics (30.5%)”.

Next, Hodgson and Tadros (2013) explained, as per the U.K. definition, that it includes genuine savagery against an individual, includes genuine harm to property, imperils someone else’s life, creates a genuine hazard to the wellbeing and security of people in general or an area of the general citizen, or is planned earnestly to meddle with or disturb an electronic system. In addition, Bjelopera (2017) reported that, even though Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defined more about domestic terrorism, the idea of terrorism can be understood as “the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (pg. 6).

Schmid (1983) defined terrorism as an inspiring tension technique of repeated violent action, hired by a clandestine individual, institution, or country actors, for distinctive, crook, or political reasons, wherein in evaluation to assassination the direct objectives of violence are not the primary objectives. The instantaneously human sufferers of violence are typically selected randomly or selectively from a goal population, and function message generators.

In Malaysian context, The National Security Council (NSC) of Malaysia defined terrorism as “unlawful use of threat or the use of force or terror or any other attack by the person, group or state regardless of objective or justification aim at other states, its citizens or their properties, and its vital services to create fear, intimidation and thus forcing governments or organisations to follow their impressed will, including those acts in support directly or indirectly” (Hamidi, 2016 pg. 4).

1.6.1 Causes of Violent Extremism

In general, the causes of the rising of violent extremism action are because of disagreement and repression in term of political roots, the unfair wealth of economic distribution or competition, clash of cultural and religious matter, and also identity or individual psychology (Ehrlich & Liu, 2002; Richardson, 2006; Davis & Cragin, 2009; Krieger & Meierrieks, 2011).

Ehrlich and Liu (2002) found that some roots of terrorism were related to the issue of economic competition and inequality because most of society look dim in economic prospects. In contrast, Richardson (2006) gave a more considerable opinion related to the cause of terrorism by expanding it to personal and psychological reasons. Richardson argued that political ideology can also turn domestic or international societies to terrorists by changing them to be cultures, religions, or races extremists. On understanding culture and religion, Davis and Cragin (2009) proposed that just because disputes and misunderstandings occur explicitly in terms of ideology, religion, and culture, some people are willing to lead the uprising and eventually become terrorists to express their feelings of oppression. Apart from that, Krieger and Meierrieks (2011) found different causes of roots of terrorism; it included socio-economic and demographic tensions, domestic political and institutional order, or global economic and political order has shown political transformation and instability, all of which created the prevalence of oppressive and oppressed nature. It has been proven by Adelaja, Labo, and Penar (2018) that the existence of the Boko Haram group as domestic terrorism was due to unemployment, poverty, economic problems, dislike for government, extreme political ideology, extreme religious feelings and manipulation by some politicians.

The consequence of the matters above lead to the existence of sympathisers and foreign fighter recruitment to help and support. Ucko (2018) opined that the United Nation's counterterrorism agenda soon lost steam. Sections of the international community and civil society were explicitly opposed to the top-down, security-oriented approach of the Security Council, which was seen as unaccountable and dangerously susceptible to abuse. Moreover, Jasko, LaFree, and Kruglanski (2016) believed that from the perspective of the domestic, extremism grows because of frustration that causes people to experience loss of personal significance, such as social rejection, achievement failures, or abuse.

In contrast to the Southeast Asian region, the existence of foreign terrorist fighters is due to the 'mutation' of terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and the evolution of terrorist ideology like Jemaah Islamiyah (Ramakrishna, 2017). Ramakrishna also explained on the rise of extremism in Southeast Asia region via internet and media, and he explained what seems so far to be greatly aiding the ISIS/Katibah Nusantara cause is its extensive and adroit use of social media. It is identified that the surge in Indonesian and Malay language material is posted by ISIS online as its media division. Al-Hayat has ramped up targeted content within media statements, videos, and periodicals, like Dabiq, which has an Indonesian-language version, assuming to intensify its outreach to vulnerable Southeast Asian Malay-Muslim communities.

1.6.2 Global Policies to Counter Violent Extremism (CVE)

There are several common Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) initiatives around the world, such as; the evolution of grounded law, establishment of the intelligence unit, strengthen on a military unit, collaboration with international body and treaties, exchange technology, and spy information related to terrorism movement. These

initiatives can be seen through the studies of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Australia (Fenwick & Phillipson, 2005; Banks, 2005; Williams, 2005; Donohue, 2007; Rosenau, 2007).

The United Kingdom and the United States of America have similar methods of Counter Violent Extremism in terms of strategy to prevent radicalization. According to Ucko (2018), the focus on 'prevent' within that strategy reflected the government's concern to interact with civil society to spot and address, in a very non-prosecutorial manner, the factors resulting in radicalization, and thereby to pre-empt domestic attacks. On the other hand, Abbas (2018) criticized the British government's Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) implementation named Counter-Terrorism Strategy (CONTEST), because it will create a new form of discrimination in society. Thus, it led to a lousy perception of the British Muslim community. Abbas proposed that consequences from the word 'prevent' finally produced three things that occurs today. Firstly, the extent and limit of misconception about the word 'prevent'. Secondly, in certain instances, 'prevent' delivery stigmatizes British Muslims in an atmosphere of rising intolerance and leads to bigotry, portraying the Islamophobia in the U.K. As an example, the reality of a growing problem with far-right radicalization, extremism, and violence becomes conspicuous. Finally, it is operated based on a predetermined, idealized notion of 'the Muslim' in efforts to counter violent extremism, thus enhancing the view that the State is only interested in a particular type of Muslim.

Meanwhile in Australia, Cherney and Hartley (2016) mention that Australian police agencies build a partnership, as part of their engagement efforts, with the Muslim community in an environment of distrust, as active community engagement is built on a foundation of trust. Therefore, by building partnerships with the local Muslim community, which includes attending Muslim festivals such as Eid, and providing

funding to community groups and mosques for their local community projects, the police force can obtain better cooperation from the Muslim community in intelligence gathering related to CVE initiatives.

Besides that, the Government of Australia also focuses their CVE efforts online by launching a safe living campaign, which includes ‘combating terrorist propaganda’ on government websites and dedicated ample financial resources for CVE efforts, as Australia’s terrorist networks mostly use online mediums such as Facebook to promote and recruit their members (Richards, 2018).

In the ASEAN region, they have taken proactive initiatives to counter potential terrorist groups because they have been recorded as threats and focus on a complementary approach in combating terrorism, which is the intervention of the local community (Sumpter, 2017; Hussin, 2018). The governments have taken approaches that combine soft policy and hard policies, such as Indonesia and Singapore. According to Sumpter (2017), Indonesian Counter Violent Extremism (CVE) is along these lines divided into three degrees of accentuation: primary counter-actions intend to discourage the populace from getting attracted to radical stories, and especially those that could even be in danger of impact. Secondary interventions more precisely target those identified as having concerning views and perhaps treading a pathway to violence. Furthermore, tertiary interventions manage individuals who are involved in violence and are now either in prison or reintegrating with society. However, Sumpter mentions that Indonesia is facing several fundamental issues, such as inconsistency in implementing the policy, due to issues with stakeholders to take in charge and budgeting.

Meanwhile, Singapore focuses on the combination of multi-racial communities. The Government of Singapore has developed a comprehensive set of CVE measures