

Intellectual Discourse

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2025



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**The Intersection of Theory, Identity,
and Security in PCVE (Preventing and
Countering Violent Extremism)**



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Volume 33

Special Issue

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Transliteration Table: Consonants

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
ب	b		ط	ṭ
ت	t		ظ	ẓ
ث	th		ع	‘
ج	j		غ	gh
ح	ḥ		ف	f
خ	kh		ق	q
د	d		ك	k
ذ	dh		ل	l
ر	r		م	m
ز	z		ن	n
س	s		ه	h
ش	sh		و	w
ص	ṣ		ء	’
ض	ḍ		ي	y

Transliteration Table: Vowels and Diphthongs

Arabic	Roman		Arabic	Roman
اَ، اِ، اُ	a		آ، عَ، يَ	an
وْ	u		وُ	un
يَ	i		يِ	in
آ، عَ، يَ، عِ	ā		وِ	aw
وْ	ū		يِ	ay
يِ	ī		وُ	uww, ū (in final position)
			يِ	iyy, ī (in final position)

Source: ROTAS Transliteration Kit: <http://rotas.iium.edu.my>

Guest Editor's Note

Danial Mohd Yusof

In a keynote session of Hedayah (an international centre of excellence for Countering Violent Extremism or CVE), UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) and Australian government jointly organised ICVE Research Conference 2019 - transitions in CVE and CT (Counter Terrorism) since September 11 on risk perception, risks tolerance and policy formation was highlighted. The narrative of PCVE and CT shifted from “Never Again” to the sharing of risk between state and civil society to harness community and learning to apply policy with a focus on developing resilience. The evolution of this narrative was in part due to certain drivers i.e. (1) Impatience and securitisation as an immediate response to the tragedy shifting in time with the development of the scope of knowledge of PCVE and the sharing of risks between state and society; (2) Going beyond the costs and counter-productiveness of securitisation e.g. for the USA, USD1 Trillion in expenditure from 2001-2019; (3) Concerns over civil liberties in relation to criticisms over the Guantanamo Bay detention camp and human rights violations of the Abu Ghraib prison; (4) The rise and fall of physical IS (Islamic State) and the ideological latency of religious extremism; and now (5) The radicalisation of identity politics i.e. ethnic and racial mobilisation of VE (Violent Extremism); and even the nexus of religious and racial or ethnic based VE such as FRE (Far Right Extremism).

The shift towards resilience looks at PCVE in the context of a global prevention architecture, focusing on mitigation and recovery. In effect three trends pertaining to risk and resiliency are expected to be facilitated and incorporated: (1) Social cohesion i.e. community and nation building; (2) A “Whole of Society” approach that clearly distinguishes between prevention and CVE with prevention strategies that emphasise on advocacy to community as opposed to CVE’s intervention of targeted segmentation of those at risk or having certain vulnerabilities; and (3) A case management approach because while the

drivers and enablers may be identifiable, the trigger for VE or Terrorism can be highly idiosyncratic (Khalil, L. 2019).

The recommendations for resilience as an approach to PCVE is an attempt at bridging both society and the security apparatus, which includes among others: (1) Strengthening and incentivising locally led PCVE efforts by investing in trust building between communities and security agencies; and working with existing state and society organisations; (2) Enhancing contribution of CSOs (Civil Society Organisations) to PCVE; (3) Strengthening and incentivising cooperation and collaboration among national and subnational authorities and stakeholders relevant to PCVE, and capacity building among multidisciplinary stakeholders; and (4) Improving evidence base for monitoring and evaluating PCVE efforts (Rosand et al 2018, pp 41-49). The resilience narrative is pervasive and is the mainstay approach among PCVE practitioners, researchers and organisations from the UN and EU level down to the international community of nation states in creating the global PCVE architecture of the future. This special issue of Intellectual Discourse journal is an attempt at capturing the expanding scope of PCVE as a sub-sector of security studies in the past five years that thematically intersect on issues of theory, identity and security. It was also conceived in light of MyPCVE (Malaysian Plan of Action in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism) that was launched at the end of September last year after a long period of advocacy and research (MOHA 2024). We have compiled 13 papers with a selection of international authors from Australia, USA, Singapore, Sri Lanka, Algeria, Slovenia, United Kingdom, Indonesia and also Malaysia.

The first paper by Zouhir Gabisi evaluates the concept of *Al-Walā' wal-Barā'* (Allegiance and Disassociation) in Islam and how it may be a source of Islamophobic narratives. The concept dictates the essence of the Muslims' relationship with the 'Other' in socio-political terms and essentially upholds the spirit of Islam as defined in both the Qur'ānic and Prophetic traditions. Nevertheless its discourse is also tainted with controversies and misunderstandings due to the interpretations of Muslim 'jihadists' and Islamophobes where jihadists interpret it as a justification for attacking non-Muslims, and Islamophobes exploit its portrayal of Islam as a violent religion. In the second paper, Mark Woodward and Rohani Mohamed explore the similar psychological and sociological features of Muslim Violent Extremism (MVE) and Far-Right Extremism

(FRE) despite their profound ideological differences. The authors rely on anthropological, linguistic, psychological and psychoanalytic theory to explain the ways in which, despite irreconcilable semantics, they share a common syntactic structure. Their study is based on ethnographic research in Indonesia, Nigeria and the United Kingdom and the analysis of extremist texts.

Meanwhile, Mohamed Fouz Mohamed Zacky tackles the securitisation of Islam in Sri Lanka in the aftermath of the Easter Sunday Attacks in the third paper. The core argument of the paper is that the securitisation of Islam in Sri Lanka is an outcome of an effective cooperation between political and state elites and ultra-nationalist majoritarian forces in the country that also capitalised on the multi-layered discursive ecosystem, such as Sinhala Buddhist nationalism, the dominant security studies paradigm, the ex-Muslim phenomenon, and unintended consequences of Islamic revivalism. Shifting to the Sahel area in the fourth paper, Ramzi Bendebka explains complexity in the threat of terrorism and an elusive resilience in the region are due to regimes and transnational interests and changing allegiances within and beyond the Sahel that are engaged in the terror, and the ramifications of an ongoing politics of surrogate violence perpetrated in their pursuit of wealth and power.

Returning to the issue of identity in the fifth paper - Islamophobia in Bosnia and Herzegovina, specifically, Anja Zalta discusses the construction of the "Other" in the specific socio-cultural and historical context in combination with the Eurocentric compression of racism that can be recognised in Orientalist discourses in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This stems from the most exposed „expulsion of the Turk“ to the fear of neo-Ottomanism, that is still prominent, demanding deeper analysis of the causes and consequences of religio-political antagonisms and their remedies, while asking questions about the wave of FRE and identity politics in Europe at present. The State is the focus of Eva Achjani Zulfa, Sapto Priyanto, and Mohd Mizan Aslam in the sixth paper. Writing a structural functionalist approach to the roles of the Indonesian Armed Forces and Police in counter-terrorism, the authors articulate their concerns on how the Indonesian National Police (Polri) and the TNI, by taking different approaches to counter-terrorism, and are regulated by separate legal frameworks, may produce overlapping authorities between these entities that hinder the nation's success at CT. An official

oversight is deemed required for Indonesian CT by the authors. In the seventh paper, Muthanna Saari theorises multiculturalism's role in preventing radicalisation by deploying Jürgen Habermas's concept of the politics of recognition. Referring to United Kingdom and France as examples, he explores the ways in which multiculturalism can sustainably address the challenges of integration and assimilation within multicultural societies.

In the eighth paper, Indonesia's Minister of Education, Abdul Mu'ti and Alpha Amirrachman reflect on how the diversity of local wisdom when incorporated into the Muhammadiyah curriculum can facilitate civic education and nation building. Da'wah without alienating has meant that their schools and universities are considered preferred educational institutions fostering the combination of awareness of others, knowledge and skills by certain segments of Christian communities in the eastern parts of the country. In the ninth paper - Terrorism Industry: Digital Data Coloniality in Southeast Asia - Mohammed Ilyas warns of how digital data colonialism merges the extractive practices of historical colonialism with the computational capabilities of modern technologies, allowing for the quantification and commodification of online activities. The latter utilises the data in the name of national security and the global fight against extremism and terrorism, a practice that impacts both Western and non-Western populations, especially on the securitisation of Islam. In the tenth paper, Raja Muhammad Khairul Akhtar and Danial Mohd Yusof looks into the changing policy landscape of Malaysia's PCVE and CT sector, exploring possible implications of the MyPCVE plan of action in terms of current practices and future directions.

Hairol Anuar, Norazmi, Shamrahayu, Rafidah and Mohd Mahadee write on Malaysian patriotism in relation to the principles of *Rukun Negara* in Islam as a form of resilience in the eleventh paper of the special issue. The authors emphasise on the complementary elements of the *Rukun Negara* and Islam and how it cultivates patriotism and nation building in relation to the preservation of religion, Malaysia's constitutional monarchy, rule of law, and national unity. In the twelfth paper, Ungaran@Rashid writes on the peaceful coexistence and resilience between Muslims and Christians in *Desa* or village of Kertajaya and how this may be facilitated through Quranic and Biblical perspectives. Additionally, the peaceful life in the village is also

influenced by Sundanese culture, adding an interesting dynamic to the relationship between primordial identities of culture and faith. In the thirteenth and final paper of the special issue, Nur Adillah Omar and Danial Mohd Yusof discuss pathways of individual radicalisation of Muslim VE detainees and ex-detainees in Malaysia from 2013-2020. Using varied theories that collectively contribute to the construction of the multi-context theories of pathways of individual radicalisation in Malaysia helps to distinguish and identify unique drivers and enablers of the cases. Such profiling may aid interventions; and specific deradicalisation and rehabilitative strategies and initiatives. It is also hoped that advanced profiling may effectively mitigate radicalisation risks and enhance Malaysia's security and resilience.

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GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Intellectual Discourse is an academic, refereed journal, published twice a year. Four types of contributions are considered for publication in this journal: major articles reporting findings of original research; review articles synthesising important deliberations related to disciplines within the domain of Islamic sciences; short research notes or communications, containing original ideas or discussions on vital issues of contemporary concern, and book reviews; and brief reader comments, or statements of divergent viewpoints.

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1. Original research and review articles should be 5,000-8,000 words while research notes 3,000-4,000 words, accompanied by an abstract of 100-150 words. Book review should be 1,000-1,500 words.
2. Manuscripts should be double-spaced with a 1-inch (2.5 cm) margins. Use 12-point Times New Roman font.
3. Manuscripts should adhere to the *American Psychological Association* (APA) style, latest edition.
4. The title should be as concise as possible and should appear on a separate sheet together with name(s) of the author(s), affiliation(s), and the complete postal address of the institute(s).
5. A short running title of not more than 40 characters should also be included.
6. Headings and sub-headings of different sections should be clearly indicated.
7. References should be alphabetically ordered. Some examples are given below:

Book

In-text citations:

Al-Faruqi & al-Faruqi (1986)

Reference:

Al-Faruqi, I. R., & al-Faruqi, L. L. (1986). *The cultural atlas of Islam*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Chapter in a Book

In-text:

Alias (2009)

Reference:

Alias, A. (2009). Human nature. In N. M. Noor (Ed.), *Human nature from an Islamic perspective: A guide to teaching and learning* (pp.79-117). Kuala Lumpur: IIUM Press.

Journal Article

In-text:

Chapra (2002)

Reference:

Chapra, M. U. (2002). Islam and the international debt problem. *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 10, 214-232.

The Qur'ān

In-text:

(i) direct quotation, write as 30:36

(ii) indirect quotation, write as Qur'ān, 30:36

Reference:

The glorious Qur'ān. Translation and commentary by A. Yusuf Ali (1977). US: American Trust Publications.

Ḥadīth

In-text:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, 88:204 (where 88 is the book number, 204 is the ḥadīth number)

(ii) Ibn Hanbal, vol. 1, p. 1

Reference:

(i) Al-Bukhārī, M. (1981). *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr.

(ii) Ibn Ḥanbal, A. (1982). *Musnad Aḥmad Ibn Ḥanbal*. Istanbul: Cagri Yayinlari.

The Bible

In-text:

Matthew 12:31-32

Reference:

The new Oxford annotated Bible. (2007). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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