



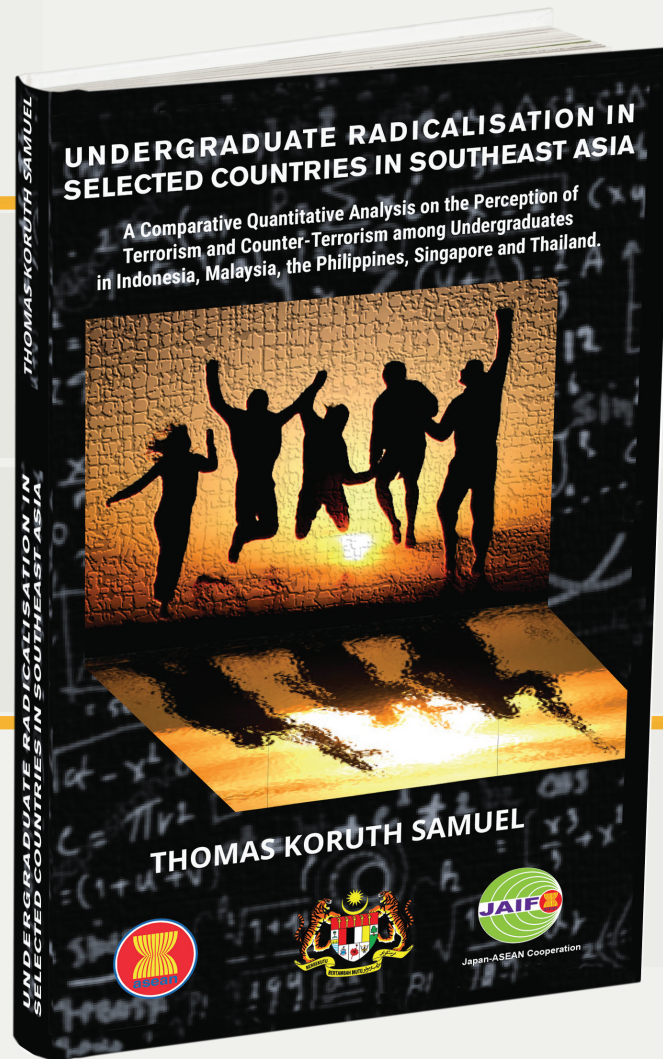
الائتلاف العسكري الإسلامي لمحاربة الإرهاب  
ISLAMIC MILITARY COUNTER TERRORISM COALITION

Planning and Coordination Department

# Book Review

# 6

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## Undergraduate Radicalisation Inselected Countries in Southeast Asia

Comparative Quantitative Analysis on the Perception of Terrorism and  
Counter-Terrorism among Undergraduates in Indonesia,  
Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand

**Thomas Koruth Samuel**



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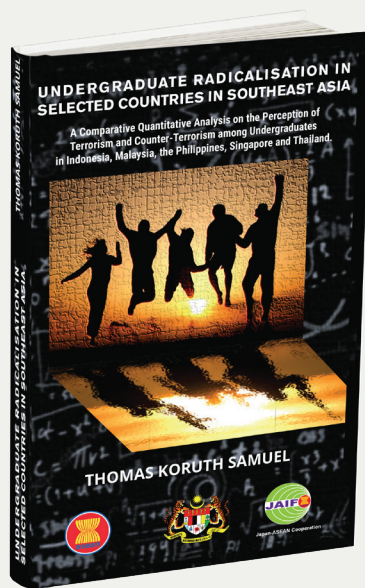


Monthly Book Review  
Series of Terrorism Issues

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**UNDERGRADUATE RADICALISATION IN SELECTED  
COUNTRIES IN SOUTHEAST ASIA**

**Comparative Quantitative Analysis on the Perception of Terrorism  
and Counter-Terrorism among Undergraduates in Indonesia,  
Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.**

**THOMAS KORUTH SAMUEL**

**Published by The Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-  
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**It is significant to note that while there are studies focusing on radicalized individuals and youth who had joined terrorist organizations, there was a lacuna on the perception of young people on the issues of terrorism and counter-terrorism. This means that while we might have some understanding on why certain specific young people are radicalized, we know very little about the rationale, thinking and attitude of young people on the issues of terrorism and counter-terrorism.**

Given that the definition and categorization of youth can vary from country to country, this study hopes to focus specifically on undergraduates, who typically fall within the age group of 17 to 25. The specific aims of this research are to study the perception of university undergraduates on terrorism and counter-terrorism in five countries in this region, namely, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand via a quantitative study. This also includes identifying

lacunas of knowledge and propose areas of concern in this field that could benefit from intervention. Furthermore, the current research study aims to propose policy recommendations at the strategic and operational levels guided by the research findings, experience and lessons learned from other countries, available literature and discussions among the relevant experts in this particular field.

This is of significance as gaining insights into their way of thinking is essential to evaluate and measure the general response and reaction of young people on terrorism and counter-terrorism. These insights would be particularly valuable when developing strategies to win the 'hearts and minds' of young people on the ground as well as when formulating policies with regards to countering terrorism. Not knowing and understanding the thinking and feeling of young people on these important issues and subsequently developing and formulating

strategies to detect, deter, deny, disrupt and destroy the influence of terrorists and the hold of extremism would be a futile effort of 'shooting in the dark'.

Terrorists and extremists have been looking at institutions of higher learning and their students (undergraduates) as a source of recruitment and support. These undergraduates are seen as a 'strategic target audience' and that by recruiting them, the terrorist network would be able to 'build up a support base' amongst a group that might one day become 'influencers themselves in the wider community' and future leaders. These educated young people are also seen as possessing skills and knowledge, for example, in the field of engineering and information technology (IT) that might prove useful for terrorist activities and terrorist false propagandas.

Not knowing and understanding the thinking and feeling of young people on these important issues and subsequently developing and formulating strategies to detect, deter, deny, disrupt and destroy the influence of terrorists and the hold of extremism would be a futile effort of 'shooting in the dark'.

In a study conducted by the European Commission (EC), researchers highlighted that like prisons or like the internet, universities were places of vulnerability. They are places of vulnerability because you get people of a certain age, often away from home for the first time, often feeling quite lost and often experiencing a sort of crisis of identity and so on. That makes it easy for extremist groups to pick them up and to say to them, "Come along to our meeting, we are like you". This simply means that universities and institutions of higher learning have the potential to become recruiting pools for terrorists.

Hence, it is important to note that undergraduates in institutions of higher learning have the potential to develop the necessary critical thinking skills which could then enable them

to frame their ideas in a coherent manner and subsequently speak in an intelligent fashion. Therefore, universities play the important role of hosting the 'venue' where undergraduates are exposed to various ideas, thinking, beliefs and principles advanced, advocated and debated by their peers, lecturers and visitors to these institutions of higher learning. It is in this environment that the undergraduates have the chance to develop their own line of thinking and the avenue to present, debate and advocate such opinions. Nevertheless, while universities have both the intention and mandate to instill, nurture and develop critical thinking and the subsequent expression and debates that follow, often times, such 'peaceful discussions can swiftly transform into activism before intensifying into radicalism.

The author posits that the answer to the question of the youth extremism should start from the youth themselves; to have them voice and express what they have, and then to identify their concerns, interests and perceptions, especially with regard to terrorism and the rampant crises, recognizing the specificity of each country, although there is a general similarity among the psychological features of this age group.

A major component of this study was the quantitative survey conducted in the five countries. The survey focused on having a better understanding of the thought processes of undergraduates in seven core areas, namely:

- ▶ Their sources of information when it came to the subject of terrorism and counter-terrorism;
- ▶ Their views on what constitutes terrorism
- ▶ Their perception on various issues surrounding terrorism;

Their ideas on how traditional media and the internet have influenced their thinking and actions in relation to terrorism and counter-terrorism;

- ▶ Their opinions on both the hard and soft approaches in relation to countering terrorism;

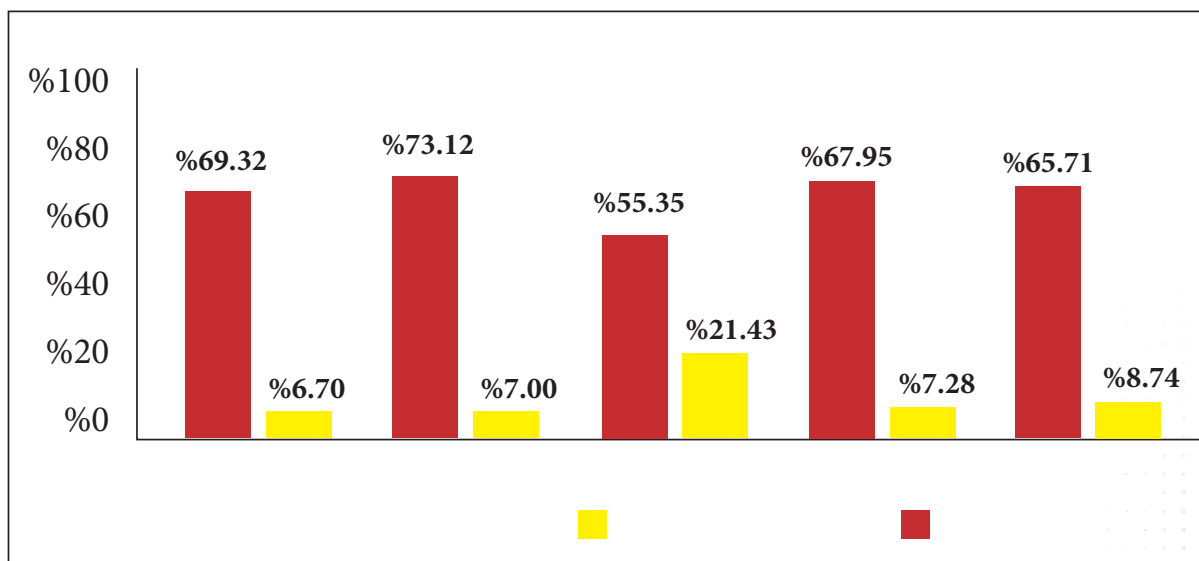
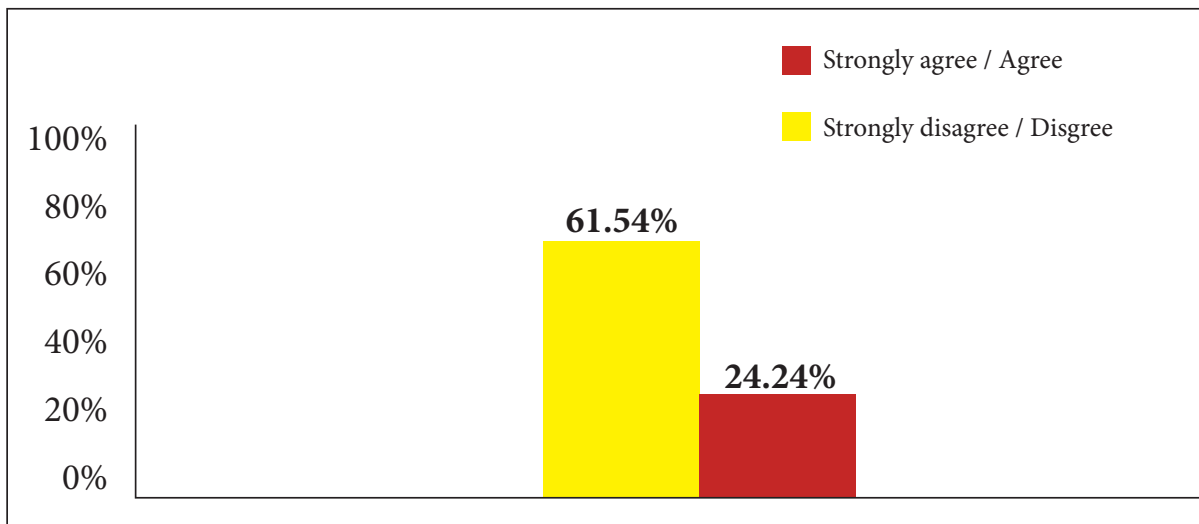
- ▶ Their opinions on the dynamics of mental radicalization; and
- ▶ Their thoughts on the possible alternatives to terrorism and its subsequent effectiveness.

The study concludes with two additional discoveries that are significant. Firstly, that universities can potentially provide a conducive environment for undergraduate radicalization, and secondly, that universities and undergraduates can be significant partners as well as stakeholders in countering violent extremism.

There was nearly a quarter of the undergraduates (24.24%) who felt that terrorism was an effective

strategy to achieve an objective. The percentage of Malaysian students was 21%, rising to 23.7% among Philippine students, 24.4% among Indonesian students, 30.9% among Singaporean students and 31.8% among Thai students.

Some speak on the contending views of how not-yet violent or non-violent extremism was seen by some as a 'safety valve' that allowed an individual to express ideas and thoughts; while some see it as a 'conveyor belt' for violent extremism.



## Key Findings

- ▶ radical violent and 'not-yet' violent ideas were a clear and present danger;
- ▶ undergraduates were very aware of terrorism and were of the opinion that it would affect their lives;
- ▶ images and videos were powerful mediums utilized by terrorists, and could also be used in counter terrorism efforts;

Undergraduates should no longer be seen as 'passive spectators' and merely being at the receiving end of counter-terrorism programmes and activities, but be considered 'active participants' and 'joint-partners' with the authorities against terrorism.

- ▶ there was an urgent need to identify and develop credible alternatives to terrorism in the context of addressing grievances and addressing conflict;
- ▶ both the television and the internet had the potential to be tremendous tools in countering terrorism;
- ▶ there was a small but significant minority of undergraduates who were actively seeking out terrorist and violent extremist content via the internet;
- ▶ there was a distinct and significant role that universities had played in the area of radicalization and could play in the field of deradicalization as well.
- ▶ **First: Radical violent and not-yet violent ideas: A clear and present danger**

The fundamental question on which we need to seek clarity is the following: Is having violent radical ideas a prerequisite for terrorist behaviour among young people? If not a prerequisite, could it be a possible trigger or push-factor? Or should having not-yet violent or violent radical ideas merely be seen in the lenses of freedom of expressions and it being an

avenue for young people to express themselves without actually doing anything violent?

There are mixed and different views on non-violent extremism. The contending views of how not-yet violent or non-violent extremism was seen by some as a 'safety valve' that allowed an individual to express ideas and thoughts, that while being radical, were nevertheless not-yet violent; while some saw it as a 'conveyor belt' for violent extremism. Authorities must realize that terrorists and extremists are developing and disseminating radical ideas that, while they might not necessarily be violent, set the stage for radical violent behaviour. While criminalizing such radical ideas that lean towards extremism and intolerance might not necessarily be a step in the right direction, efforts must be undertaken to identify, debunk, expose and counter such ideas, simply because not doing so could facilitate the process to violent behaviour such as terrorism.

- ▶ **Second: Undergraduates are aware of terrorism and believe it will affect their lives**

There was a high degree of awareness and, to a certain extent, understanding on the meaning, complexities and nuances of terrorism among undergraduates. It is significant to note that undergraduates themselves perceived the issue of 'terrorism' as playing a significant role in their lives. Such awareness and belief should be used to guide undergraduates to play a prominent role in the fight against terrorism and violent extremism. In this regard, a paradigm shift is needed on the part of the authorities. Undergraduates should no longer be seen as 'passive spectators' and merely being at the receiving end of counter-terrorism programmes and activities, but be considered 'active participants' and 'joint-partners' with the authorities against terrorism.

While the idea of getting the youth to be 'co-workers' rather than merely 'end-users' might possibly sound alien, there have been case studies where certain specific tasks in countering terrorism was better handled when it was conducted jointly with the youth and at times even led by the youth.

A case in point was when the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism



(SEARCCT), under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia facilitated the Student Leaders Against Youth Extremism and Radicalization (SLAYER) Workshop. SEARCCT conducted two workshops targeting 100 university undergraduate leaders from various universities in Malaysia. The speakers and resource experts were young Malaysians such as Paralympians and celebrities who had the ability to connect and inspire youth; counter-terrorism experts who exposed the rhetoric and propaganda disseminated by the terrorists; and social media experts who trained the youth on specific skills such as creating online digital banners and posters. Subsequently, a hackathon was organized not only to create digital counter-narratives but also to disseminate these products.

► **Third: The undergraduates were of the opinion that graphic images and videos, particularly of people suffering, had the potential to lead an individual to be radicalized and subsequently consider acts of violent terrorism.**

The findings of the research study reveal that watching graphic images and videos of people suffering and witnessing the suffering of others who shared one's race, culture and religion were triggers to terrorism for nearly half of the undergraduates. The terrorists frequently used graphic imagery and clips that depicted the injustice, suffering and despair that were inflicted upon people. Such images were developed and disseminated to illicit sympathy, arouse anger and lead to violent actions on behalf of the perceived victims. It is also pointed out that young Muslims in the West often "cannot understand how it is possible to both watch the repression of the Muslim world on television, and live peacefully in a world of arrogant wealth and immoral complicity with the oppressors without raising their voice in protest or without taking action."

"Terrorists have focused and have been able to connect the individual to the perceived injustice of the aggrieved party. By cleverly manipulating the Information and Communications Technology (ICT) revolution, in tandem with the globalization phenomenon, terrorists have been very successful in ensuring that pain, anguish and misery happening in distant lands and even in different times, have been brought into the

Former terrorists who have been rehabilitated and victims of terrorism offer a powerful story that could be harnessed in countering the terrorist narrative. In the case of former terrorists, they are said to have the credibility or the 'street credentials' and 'carry a certain weight in terms of the respect that potential recruits might have towards them.'

lives of the people, vividly and graphically, to arouse a variety of feelings and emotions with the express purpose of eliciting sympathy or even encouraging active participation in violent actions".

On the other hand, the authorities concerned with combating terrorism in the five countries under discussion have made little effort to identify, generate and disseminate images and videos that can be used to combat violent extremism.

Some of the videos powerfully capture images that showcase the misery and pain of the victims and the survivors of terrorism. The author has used many of their videos to reach out to undergraduates and people all over the world. The International Centre for the Study of Violent Extremism (ICSVE) has also carried out excellent work in this area in producing numerous videos that have graphically and critically used victims and survivors to create awareness on the dangers of terrorism as well as to counter their claims and propaganda.

Two particular areas of focus in which images and videos could be generated and disseminated include victims of terrorism and rehabilitated former terrorists. The rehabilitated former terrorists' stories and images were extremely powerful. This was because the audience who were sympathetic to the story of the terrorists could identify with the former terrorists, who themselves were in that similar position in the past. That connection between the target audience and the former terrorists allows for trust and a connection to be built, making the testimony of the former terrorists far more credible and effective. Hence, stories of corruption, cruelty and deceit practiced by the terrorists was better

believed when it came from the mouths of the former terrorists, who are viewed as having first-hand knowledge and experience of the inner workings of a terrorist organization.

► **Fourth: There were many undergraduates who thought that there could be successful alternatives to violence in order to address grievances.**

Nevertheless, they also admitted that many of them were quite clueless and unaware of the various alternatives that were available to address violence. It was significant to note that many of the undergraduates felt that should more people become aware of credible alternatives to terrorism in resolving conflict, there would be a greater receptivity for such options.

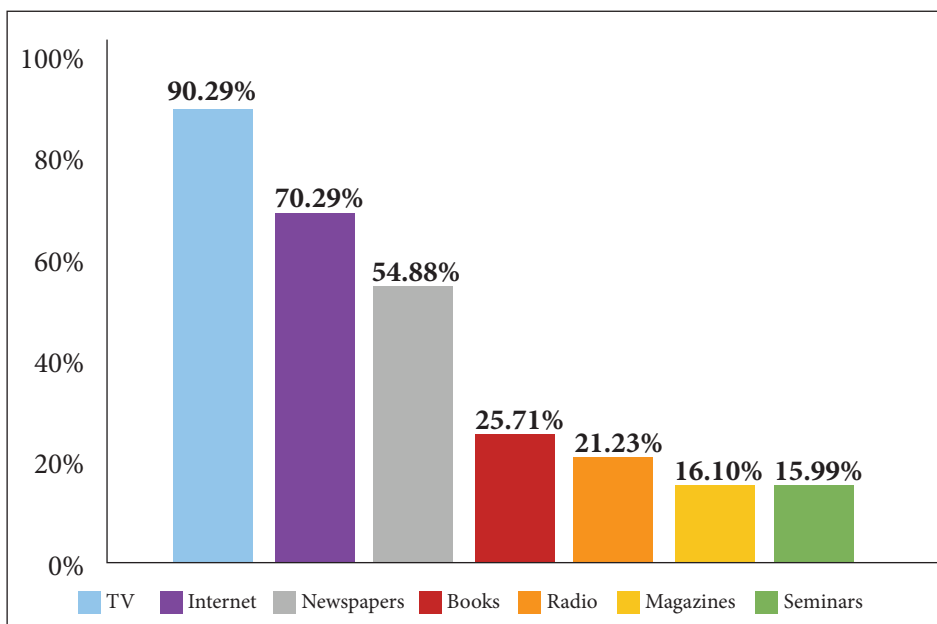
In light of this, it is imperative that the authorities channel resources, expertise and effort to develop credible alternatives to terrorism and to dispel the notion that terrorism is the only choice. Given this, there is therefore a need to develop and articulate the concept of non-violence, particularly to young people. Perhaps the way forward would be not to stress on the theory of non-violence but rather to showcase examples of individuals and organizations that have made a significant difference in the face of crisis and conflict without resorting to violence and terrorism.

► **Fifth: Based on the survey results, the television and the internet are extremely powerful tools when it comes to disseminating information with regards to terrorism and counter-terrorism.**

Ironically, in many cases, the authorities who either control or, to a certain extent, regulate the television industry, also seem to have a very insignificant presence over this particular media when it comes to countering the terrorist narratives. There is little content on the television that focuses or even touches on the dangers of terrorism and extremism, the pain and misery it brings upon the very people it claims to be fighting for, the deceptive lies of the terrorists and the scores of lives it has destroyed.

Given this, perhaps, it is time that the authorities in the region revisit their approach and consider investing in the necessary resources to utilize the television as a medium to spread awareness of the dangers of terrorism and extremism. Initially, the authorities could consider just converting the existing counter-narratives and alternative messages and content that are already present on the internet for television viewing.

The undergraduates' perception that terrorists were using the internet was very accurate. They were extremely adept, 'tech savvy, fully aware of the social media' and skillful at using



internet platforms. Often times, the internet and, in particular, the social media in this region, facilitated the process of radicalization and recruitment. Terrorists were able to “conduct bigger scale efforts of radicalization and recruitment via the internet”. The internet also had the potential to shorten the time required to radicalize and recruit an individual. Simply put, an individual took approximately three to six months before he or she was allowed into the group; while through using the internet, terrorist groups were able to recruit much faster, often times in a matter of weeks.

While the internet is a tool with incredible power, the authorities and the other parties involved in Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) need assistance in fully exploiting and maximizing its value. The authorities could provide funding and technical resources to organizations that do work with victims or survivors of terrorism, religious clerics, women, youth and former rehabilitated terrorists. This assistance could be focused on utilizing the internet to tell their stories, connecting and supporting the work of those debunking the terrorist narratives.

► **Sixth: A minority of the undergraduates are actively seeking out terrorists via the internet.**

The survey results indicated that there were a number of undergraduates from the respective countries represented in the study who have visited or are interested in visiting militant or terrorist websites. There were also undergraduates who would even consider chatting online with those who advocated violence as a means to achieve a political objective. It is however important to note that ‘visiting’ online terrorist sites and ‘chatting’ with known terrorists might not necessarily indicate that the undergraduates themselves have already become radicalized or are even

A minority of the undergraduates are actively seeking out terrorists via the internet. There is also the possibility that those who have actually visited the terrorist websites or who have engaged with them could then share their ‘new-found discoveries’ with others.

necessarily sympathetic to the cause of the terrorists. Also, those individuals wanting to visit known terrorist websites and engage with them were only confined to a minority. Nevertheless, this is a matter of concern and in terms of numbers, it is pertinent to note that a minority of a huge number is nevertheless a matter of significance. It is also possible to infer that a number of undergraduates who did visit those sites and engage with terrorists did so despite knowing that the internet was a possible medium for radicalization to occur.

Why did such undergraduates do that? Are they sympathetic to the cause of terrorists or want to learn more about the terrorist group before joining it? Or is it because they heard something about a terrorist group and are curious to learn more about it? The study suggests that undergraduates actually know about terrorism, but they probably want to learn more from the “other side” point of view, and are hence drawn to visit and chat with the terrorist platforms. Regardless of whether the undergraduates are sympathetic to the cause of the terrorists or are genuinely curious about the motivations and goals that are being articulated, the end result is that there is a small minority of undergraduates who are actively seeking terrorists out. There is also the possibility that those who have actually visited the terrorist websites or who have engaged with them could then share their ‘new-found discoveries’ with others. The end result is that there is a possibility that the motivations, inspirations, desires, stories, goals and struggles of the terrorists have already been articulated to the undergraduates.

### What then could be done?

By reviewing the findings of this study, we find the following:

- The quantitative data from this study suggests that there are undergraduates, and by extension, young people, who could be actively seeking out terrorists’ websites and engaging with terrorists over the internet.
- Given the resources available in the region, the ability of the authorities to prevent this ‘connection’ between the young people and terrorists are rather limited, at best.

- ▶ Such connections between the young people and the terrorists could, in some cases, be the basis for possible radicalization and eventual recruitment.

In light of this, the author would like to suggest a possible paradigm shift in resolving this quandary, by calling to do the following:

- ▶ Firstly, the author would like to advocate the need for the authorities to move from the premise of 'preventing contact between the youth and terrorists or terrorist material' to 'inoculating the youth who come into contact with terrorists or terrorist material'.
- ▶ Secondly, the author would like to propose moving from the premise of 'focusing CVE efforts on the youth susceptible to terrorism' to 'focusing CVE efforts on all youth' instead.

Spelling out the first suggestion, which is moving from 'preventing-contact' to 'contact-preparedness', the following justifications can be underscored. In the past, the prevention component on the part of the authorities meant that the enforcement agencies did their best in preventing terrorists from coming into contact with their target audience. This meant ensuring that our borders are protected from terrorist recruiters attempting to infiltrate and physically slip through our boundaries to articulate their narratives, or even ensuring that their literature (books, magazines and articles) promoting their propaganda was carefully kept at bay.

However, all these means of protection and defense were rendered quite useless with the advent of the internet. The internet had allowed the terrorists to reach out and communicate directly with their target audience, sidestepping most of the conventional security hurdles that were placed by the enforcement agencies. Hence, a terrorist recruiter, through their online magazine and their media centres can now bring their rhetoric, reasoning and justification through words, images, chat rooms, pod-casts, online games, videos and infographics right to the 'doorstep' of their potential target audience, all the while circumventing security hurdles and mechanisms that in the past have served us fairly well. Given this, the authorities' efforts to 'prevent contact' between terrorists and the citizens would prove to be extremely difficult to carry out.

In such a situation, perhaps the time is ripe to move from 'contact-prevention' to 'contact-preparedness'. It would be prudent to prepare the target audience by building 'cognitive-firewalls' that firstly, seek to undermine the terrorists' rhetoric, justification and logic, and secondly, provide alternatives such as non-violent strategies to address possible grievances. Hence, in the event that an individual is 'exposed' to the narrative of the terrorists, he or she has, to a certain extent, been 'inoculated' with counter arguments, case-studies and alternative narratives that could turn the tide against the terrorists' 'story'.

This concept follows the public health strategy of vaccinating an individual against certain diseases regardless of their risk in contracting the disease, given that prevention of such a disease to not only the individual but to the community in which that individual belongs far outweighs the costs and effort needed in the prevention exercise.

Given that there is little that can be done in identifying those who are at risk of being radicalized, and there is little that can be done in preventing terrorists to reach out and engage with their target audience, it then becomes incumbent upon the authorities to equip its citizens with the emotional and mental reasoning that would prepare them for the mental onslaught from the terrorists.

## The Way Forward

At the end of the book, the author presented a number of guidelines and recommendations related to the fight against terrorism and violent extremism among young people, including but not limited to the following:

### The need to involve the undergraduates as partners not as clients

Both the security and university authorities need to view the 'undergraduates' not exclusively as a 'client' but rather as a 'partner' in countering terrorism. This being the case, it is imperative that partnerships between the undergraduates and the university and security authorities are institutionalized from the very beginning when programmes are crafted and developed.

### **The need to exploit the media**

The terrorists have realized the potential of the media and have exploited its various channels, particularly on the digital platforms; to push out their message, identify, gain sympathy, radicalize, indoctrinate and recruit the youth in general and the undergraduates in particular. The authorities, on the other hand, with a few exceptions, have by and large remained uncoordinated and rather hesitant to fully exploit the media to reach out to the youth on the dangers of the ideas advocated by the terrorists. The tremendous skills and resources available to many of the authorities have yet to be coordinated and utilized in exploiting the media.

### **The need to target non-violent radicalization to prevent violent radicalization**

Radicalization leading to violence is the final goal for most terrorist organizations. Developing and disseminating radical ideas that while might not necessarily be violent, set the stage for subsequent radical violent behaviour. The authorities in question must take and deal with 'not-yet' violent radicalization before it evolves into violent radicalization.

### **The need to tell the story of the victims and former terrorists**

The terrorists are mostly gaining sympathy and recruits through an emotional appeal that is calculated to 'bypass the mind and go straight to the heart'. Their emotional plea is designed to elicit feelings of outrage and sadness, which they hope will be turned into the desire to either join the terrorist organization. In facing this compelling and evocative narrative, the authorities could turn the tables on the terrorists by getting victims of terrorism and former terrorists to share their stories and testimonies.

### **The need to publicize the alternatives to terrorism**

Terrorists are often able to get away with their violent actions based on the premise that there is simply no other alternative to resolve a conflict or issue. Hence, there is an urgent need to revisit this premise and provide real-life case studies and examples of working, practical and sustainable models or alternatives to terrorism that are able to resolve conflict and address grievances.

### **The need for digital story-tellers**

The terrorist is, first and foremost, a 'story-teller' selling the target audience a well-crafted and developed story. Their ability to refine and perfect their 'story', particularly on the digital platforms, has allowed them into the 'hearts and minds' of the undergraduates. In this regard, it is imperative that the authorities design and develop programmes that will identify, train and deploy their own digital story-tellers on various social media platforms, who could at the very least, provide a differing view to that of the terrorists.

### **The need for real-life heroes and heroines**

Part of the success of the terrorists, particularly in gaining the trust and the allegiance of the undergraduates, is due to their ability to sell themselves as real-life heroes and heroines of a cause. This is simply because the terrorists understand well the needs of the young people to have someone to look up to. There is therefore the need to develop and disseminate the stories of real-life heroes, both present and of yesteryear. Case studies of well-known heroes must be actively developed, highlighted and disseminated at all levels of the society.

### **The need to re-channel curiosity**

The authorities need to understand the reasons for the undergraduates wanting to visit such websites and engage with the terrorists. Sufficient information must be provided on who these terrorists are, what they had done and the dangers of engaging with them. Given that there is a possibility that the undergraduates are merely visiting the websites and engaging with the individuals on the terrorist websites solely because they are curious, there is therefore the need to re-channel this curiosity.

### **The need for critical thinking**

It falls upon the university authorities to inculcate and teach the undergraduates the skills required in critical thinking. The university authorities need to equip the undergraduates with the ability to critically evaluate ideas and thoughts in general, and in particular those pushed by the terrorists. Such critical thinking and evaluation skills must be structured into the university syllabus and made mandatory for all undergraduates.

## Profile of the Author

**Thomas Koruth Samuel** is at present the Director of the Digital Strategic Communications Division (DSCD) with the Southeast Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism (SEARCCT), which is under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Malaysia. Prior to that, he was the Director of the Research and Publications Division with SEARCCT.

He has an honors degree in Biomedical Technology (2000) and a Master's Degree in Strategic and Defence Studies (2005) from the University of Malaya, Malaysia. He received a degree in terrorism studies from the University of St Andrews, Scotland (2007). He is currently pursuing his PhD. in the area of youth radicalization. His main areas of research include the narratives of the terrorists and the subsequent counter-narratives, the radicalization process, strategic communications and youth involvement in terrorism.

He lectures frequently on counter-terrorism and international security, and has delivered lectures and briefings in Australia, Bangladesh,

Belgium, Cambodia, China, Egypt, Germany, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Maldives, Nepal, The Philippines, Qatar, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, United Arab Emirates, United Kingdom and the United States of America.

He has written several articles, papers and monographs and has been interviewed on radio. He is also a Senior Fellow with the International Centre of Excellence for Countering Violent Extremism (Hedayah Centre) based in Abu Dhabi, the United Arab Emirates. He has so far published several books, including:

- ▶ Aviation Security in Malaysia (2008)
- ▶ Reaching the youth: countering the terrorist narrative (2012)
- ▶ Radicalization in Southeast Asia: a selected case study of DAESH in Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines (2016)
- ▶ Don't-lah wei! a peer-to-peer resources guide on ensuring your kawan never becomes a terrorist (2018)





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