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VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM: THREAT IN BUILDING NATIONHOOD

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ABSTRACT

The objective of this paper is to discuss how violence and terrorism become a threat to nation-buildings. The main aspects of discussions are collective security, securitization, national security and human security. These four aspects play major roles to build nationhood. If one of these elements is threatening, it will jeopardize the nationhood buildings. Thus, it is important to identify these key factors to stabilize nationhood. This paper will also relate the relationship between human safety and national security where national security can be threatened if the people are insecure. This paper focused on Malaysian nation-building with the rise of extremism in this region between the years of 2000-2016. Secondary data collections are through literature review and observation from various sources. Findings have been translated into this paper with the main factor on threat to building nationhood with violence and terrorism.

KEYWORDS: Collective Security; Securitization; National Security; Human Security.

1. INTRODUCTION: Nation-Building

According to SuhanaSaad (2012), the term nation-building often used relating to state-building, democratization, modernization, political development, rebuilding post-conflict and reconcilability. Nation-building also refers to an abstract process of developing the sense of identity and society shared within various groups that forms population in a country. Nation-building more tended to the relationship between the people and the country or to be more specific, about country's construction or development. This term of nation-building also widely used in debates related to regional and international security, change from regimes, democratization, and others.

Scholars have mentioned that nation-building is an "evolutionary rather than social process" which is involved the process of change regardless of the social, cultural or other contexts. This perspective also describes this process as functioning state which nation-building need to fostering social traits that never exist before, or not established and not framed properly or its existence has been weakened as a result of war or internal conflict (SuhanaSaad, 2012). However, nation-building does not begin with the end of the violent conflict or otherwise, it is even a continuous process of a country which aimed to create and reproduce an integrated international community based on shared values and objectives.

For example, the concept of nation building in Malaysia was formed based on maintaining values and exclusivist identities at the early stage of independent such as diversity of culture but later moved slowly towards achieving fully modern state. For ASEAN, the rise of activities such as cross border crime has become matters to pertaining nationhood among the regional countries. Thus, shaping the peaceful region is important and brought significant goals in maintaining the stability in this region.

2. IDENTIFYING INDICATOR: VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM

In this paper, violence and terrorism had been identifying as a threat to nation building in Malaysia. Malaysia's strategic geographical position surrounded by the South China Sea and the Straits of Malacca and bordering Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines and Singapore being the gateway to Malaysia porous by carrying out the illegal activity of the authorities to detect. In this case, the issues on the sovereignty, border integrity (territorial integrity), the survival of the political system, social, economic and civilization of a country, including its society (political, social, economic, and cultural) survival should be studied in depth so that the process of improvement for the existing security system can be improved and make Malaysia became a nation free from terrorist threats.



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The United States Department of Defense defines terrorism as the calculated use of unlawful violence or threat of unlawful violence to inculcate fear; intended to coerce or to intimidate governments or societies in the pursuit of goals that are generally political, religious, or ideological. Based on the definition, we can identify terrorism involved in the process of violence, crime and attempts to scare the society of particular interest. The terrorists plan their attack to obtain the greatest publicity and plan their own strategy in order to attain financial support for their activities.

The globalization era patterns of violence witnessed more sophisticated and complex changes in the diversity of tactics and strategy of terrorist groups. Based on the observations the researchers found that most of the events associated with international terrorism are a reaction that was taken by force by a group of individuals on behalf of the ruling government or other targets that are deemed oppressive rights, needs and requirements of the general public.

In 2002, the president of United States of America George W. Bush announced that Southeast Asian region is the second layer in the so called 'global war against terrorism' (Aslam, 2013). The point in his statements is Southeast Asian countries such as Indonesia, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia have become a 'hot spot' for terrorism. After the end of Al-Qaeda threats and terrorism, the world is inhibited by the traits of Islamic State (IS), the new terrorist group. This group that shares the same ideology with the earlier group is even more extreme using different modus operandi. The ideology is to create chaos and panic in societies for the targeted countries to face social and political instability.

3. INSTRUMENT: COLLECTIVE SECURITY

In this paper, collective security had been identifying as an instrument to build nationhood. Collective security can be described as a security arrangement, political, regional, or global, in which each state in the system obtains that the security of one is the concern of all, and therefore commits to a collective response to threats to, and breaches to peace. In this regional, ASEAN's role as a collective security is more ambitious than systems of alliance security or collective defense. It seeks to encompass the totality of states within a region or indeed globally, and to address a wide range of possible threats (Macmillan, Palgrave, 2015). According to Nikkei Asian Review, security concerns loom as a deeply divisive issue for ASEAN in this regional. For ASEAN, collective security is the key to the future.

Violence and terrorism has become a collective security issue in this region. The threat from violence and terrorism can become indicator that threatens the nation building in this region. Even we shared the same values such as elements of society, culture and history this element can disintegrate our unity. To achieve this mission, ASEAN needs to practice collectivism instead of individualism between its members. Collectivism involves communal, societal, or national interests in various types of political, economic, and educational systems.

4. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: SECURITIZATION

Security is defined as a country's security for a long time. It means the country survives from enemy and military threats that come from outside the borders of the country. After the end of the Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union, the safety concept has undergone an important transformation process. A traditional security concept that emphasizes the borders, sovereignty and concept of a country widely used during the Cold War has been challenged by some new concepts on security (Makinda, 2001).

Security issues are no longer focused on the concept of traditional security only after the Cold War, but the scope of security extends over military, economic, political, community and environmental forces. This contemporary security discourse also covers the issue of international relations in which non-military factors are regarded as a threat to international security. This situation caused various issues in the developing world and the previously neglected domestic issue has begun to be taken into consideration. Migration, cross-border crime, trafficking, infectious diseases, environmental pollution, poverty, and other issues are considered to be capable of creating conflicts and threatening national, regional and global security (Nor Azizan Idris, 2012).

Safety actors play a role in securitization to eliminate any non-traditional threats such as economy, poverty, terrorism and so on. These actors are able to change an issue into a security issue and it is done through a



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securitization process. Therefore, Buzan states that; "Traditionally, by saying 'security', a state representative declares an emergency condition, thus claiming a right to use whatever means are necessary to block a threatening development."

This statement shows that the state is an actor in the securitization process. States are entitled to securitization to carry out action against any threat. According to Buzan, discussions are about the effort to achieve freedom from threats from security issues. When this discussion is within the context of an international system (any independent unions or political entities that are independent of each other and interact with one another according to organized processes), security is about the ability of the nation and society to maintain their free identity and integrity of their functions. The actors involved have also expanded not only on actors but also focusing on non-national actors such as organized crime groups, terrorist groups and non-governmental organizations.

Kamarulnizam Abdullah (2012) commented that the discourse on national security Malaysia is still sharing the national security concept of the nation building in terms of state conception and maintained core values. This developed security concept has also introduced core value elements where each country must identify the core values they want to maintain. Although core values can generally be identified based on country concepts, the change of core values may also based on perceptions of national threats.

The focus on securitization researches aims to understand exactly who sees the issue of an issue (threats), for whom (reference objects), why, what causes it and what situations (Smith, 2005). Therefore, it is not politically purely general. This situation has resulted in issues such as human security being raised as an issue that could threaten the security of the nation and have been securitized.

5. THEORETICAL OVERVIEW: NATIONAL SECURITY

The main agenda of the international system in securing security are to protect national security, military development and war issues, defending territorial boundaries and protecting its core values as it is an important aspect of a country. In discussing strategy thinking, Buzan (1991) argues, the concept of security should be linked to individual security and national security because security is referred to individual units. Hence, security and threats to individuals need to be addressed to understand national security. M. Alagappa (1998) sees internal security referring to protection against life, freedom and property while external security refers to protection against the rights of the people from external aggressive actions or threats from non-state entities.

According to Kamarulnizam Abdullah (2012), the national security concept pioneered by US policy makers and scholars during the Cold War was at its peak around the 1950s, has shown that the nation's objective is to protect its contextual interest in the context of protecting core values of a country. These core values vary by country where they can be divided into fixed core values (referring to maintaining the physical characteristics of the country) and change core values (influenced by the perceived threat of a country, perceptions and current issues). Booth (1991) argues that individual and non-state should be the basic reference for determining safety. For him, salvation must be seen from a holistic perspective and not just by the perspective of state and military power. He also emphasized political emancipation and democratic form in human security.

According to RuhanasHarun (2009), national security refers to the purpose and the way in which a state defends itself against its threats and abilities in maintaining the core value of the country. This shows the realist mind-set focused on military-based security threats. Security can be divided into traditional and non-traditional security where non-traditional security is now an important component of international politics. In summary, security is now more comprehensive and extensive covering political, economic, social and military issues.

Security can no longer be defined or translated into the traditional form which includes military threats and related issues. This is happened because globalization has caused countries to cooperate in order to safeguard common interests. In this matter, the common interest is collective security and the common threat is violence and terrorism.



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6. RELATIONS BETWEEN HUMAN SAFETY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

The concept of human safety has been developed from the UNDP Human Development Report which was published in 1994. Based on this report, the UN then categorized human security targets into seven sections including economic, food, health, environment, personal, community and political security (Rashila, Zarina et al., 2010). Human security focuses on the quality of life or advancement of people (citizens) compared to the country. This means that if people are unsafe, they can threaten national security. Human security focuses on well-being and safeguarding human dignity rather than protecting national borders. The concept of human safety has a complete set of criteria for assessing the impact of globalization on human well-being, covering socioeconomic and personal safety aspects as a result of conflicts of violence. Human well-being is important and essential to enable people to enjoy the safety of people (Nor Azizan Idris & Rashila Ramli, 2013).

Human security focuses on prosperity and safeguarding human dignity rather than protecting national borders. Basically, human security discourse can be outlined according to three categories of thought. First, there is a flow of thought that sees the individual as a safety object. Secondly, there is a flow of thought that sees the theory of world systems including globalization as a threat to human security and needs to be understood in the context of economic structure, inequality in power and materials. Lastly, there is a flow of thought that sees the threat to humanity actually stems from the country itself. This third thought of the trend has challenged the realism and neorealism approach which has long been assuming national security is essential for the well-being of its people. For human security thinkers and advocates, the state is actually the source of the threat, not as a protector.

To achieve human security, democracy, human rights assurance and the strengthening of civil society are among the essence of achieving it. In addition to the country, NGOs also play an important role in ensuring human safety to individuals and communities. From the basic aspects of the government, the existence of social security networks is one of the approaches to strengthening human security as it can empower communities in the long run.

This understanding assumes that if national security is threatened, then the population will be threatened. National security can be threatened if human beings are threatened, though military or external threats remain. Threats to these people include non-traditional threats such as poverty, civil war, nation building, as well as military threats in which all these can jeopardize the stability and security of the nation. Hence, it can be concluded that national security is focused on the country as an important actor while human security focuses on people as more important actors.

7. CASE STUDY: MALAYSIA'S NATIONAL SECURITY

According to the Strategic Plan of the Home Ministry (KDN) 2015-2020, security is a condition where we are free from threats and dangers. It is a situation that has a relationship to a country that is often associated with security components such as the population, geography and strength of the security forces.

For a sovereign country, national security is one of the major focuses of governments where border administration, citizenship and defence issues are an aspect of policymaking. National security is a matter of serious concern with the impression that the development of a country is closely linked to internal security that enables development and peace to be achieved by its people (Nor Azizan Idris & Rashila Ramli, 2012). In general, the concept of security in Malaysia is a combination of political stability, security and economic development (Ruhanas Harun, 2009).

To ensure the peace and well-being of the country is preserved, the Home Ministry (2015) has identified a number of challenges that need to be addressed: Globalization, borderless world and technological advances, security, illegal immigrants, crime, legislation and enforcement and integrity. The country's sovereignty and defence became more difficult as a result of globalization. This is because globalization will open space and facilitate cross-border crimes covering terrorism, money laundering, cyber-crime, economic crime, drug trafficking, firearm smuggling, trafficking, trafficking and migrant smuggling. For Malaysia, political stability,



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economic development and people's well-being are an important element of maintaining peace and ensuring national security.

According to Mushamir Mustafa (2016), with new development of terrorism in Malaysia, it is estimating that over 150 Malaysian citizens has been arrested in term of terrorism activities since the formation of Daesh. Malaysia should be well aware that the current threat from radicals are important, one type of political warfare that requires not only security action but also a comprehensive counter-strategy. Utusan Malaysia in 2003 stated, there have been thirteen militant groups identified by the Malaysia Home Ministry as having planned and or attempted a violent takeover of the country's administration since 1967. According to Hashim, R. (2004), significant radicalism emerged from Malaysia in 1970s and since this time several radical groups have been formed including *Tentera Sabiullah*, *Koperasi Angkatan Revolusi Islam Malaysia (KARIM)*, *Golongan Rohaniah*, *Kumpulan Crypto*, *Kumpulan Mohd Nasir Ismail*, *Kumpulan Jundullah*, *Kumpulan Revolusi Islam Ibrahim Libya*, *Kumpulan Mujahiddin Kedah (KMK)*, *Kumpulan Perjuangan Islam Perak (KPIP)*, *Al-Maunah*, *Kumpulan Militan Malaysia (KMM)* and *Jemaah Islamiyah (JI)*. Some of these groups have tried to stir up trouble related to ethnic relationships in Malaysia and some have been involved in terrorist activities.

8. CONCLUSION

Securitization can explain thoroughly about how an issue is raised as a threat. Violence and terrorism had been identifying as a threat in building nationhood in Malaysia. This flow has established some important concepts for us to rethink the concept of security through the securitization term in which this trend has widened the concept of security by presenting a framework of analysing how an issue becomes 'securitized'. When an issue has been securitized by the government and accepted by society as a threat to national security and society where core values is threaten, it is considered a security threat. To achieve a great nationhood and civil society, this threat must be eliminating. This is the key indicators in understanding Malaysia's national security. The threat from radicals, and especially Muslim militants, will continue unless comprehensive action can be taken. This initiative may take a long time to succeed, but it is absolutely essential that it is carried out

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