

La Toya Waha [ed.]

# United by Violence, Divided by Cause?

A Comparison of Drivers of Radicalisation  
and Violence in Asia and Europe

With a Foreword by Christian Echle



**Nomos**

<https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738-1>, am 01.05.2024, 07:18:03  
Open Access –  <https://www.nomos-elibrary.de/agb>



**KONRAD  
ADENAUER  
STIFTUNG**



La Toya Waha [ed.]

# United by Violence, Divided by Cause?

**A Comparison of Drivers of Radicalisation  
and Violence in Asia and Europe**

With a Foreword by Christian Echle



**Nomos**



**KONRAD  
ADENAUER  
STIFTUNG**

**The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek** lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>

ISBN 978-3-8487-6449-5 (Print)  
978-3-7489-0573-8 (ePDF)

#### **British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data**

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6449-5 (Print)  
978-3-7489-0573-8 (ePDF)

#### **Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Waha, La Toya

United by Violence, Divided by Cause?

A Comparison of Drivers of Radicalisation and Violence in Asia and Europe

With a Foreword by Christian Echle

La Toya Waha (ed.)

223 pp.

Includes bibliographic references and index.

ISBN 978-3-8487-6449-5 (Print)  
978-3-7489-0573-8 (ePDF)

1st Edition 2020

© La Toya Waha / Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung

Published by

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldseestraße 3-5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

[www.nomos.de](http://www.nomos.de)

Production of the printed version:

Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH & Co. KG

Waldseestraße 3-5 | 76530 Baden-Baden

Printed and bound in Germany.

ISBN (Print): 978-3-8487-6449-5

ISBN (ePDF): 978-3-7489-0573-8

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5771/9783748905738>



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution  
– Non Commercial – No Derivations 4.0 International License.



Onlineversion  
Nomos eLibrary

## About the Contributors

Professor Dr. *Greg Barton* is Professor of Global Islamic Politics at the Alfred Deakin Institute for Citizenship and Globalisation, Deakin University, Melbourne, Australia.

Professor *D. Suba Chandran* (PhD) is Professor and Dean at the School of Conflict and Security Studies, National Institute of Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore, India.

Professor Dr. *Aurel Croissant* is Professor and Dean at the Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences, Heidelberg University, Germany.

*Christian Echle* is Director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung's Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore.

Professor *Rohan Gunaratna* is Professor of Security Studies at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore.

Dr. *Khuram Iqbal* is Assistant Professor at the Department of International Relations, National Defense University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

Professor *Kevin McDonald* is Professor of Sociology and Head at the Department of Criminology and Sociology, Middlesex University, London, United Kingdom.

Professor *Subrata K. Mitra* PhD (Rochester) is emeritus Professor of South Asian and Comparative Politics at Heidelberg University, Germany.

*Serina Rahman* (PhD) is Visiting Fellow at the ISEAS-Yusof Ishak Institute, Singapore.

Dr. *La Toya Waba* is Deputy Director of the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung's Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia in Singapore.



## Foreword

Germany has experienced various forms of terrorism over the past 50 years, starting with the left-wing extremist attacks of the Red Army Faction since the 1970s, followed by right-wing extremist acts since the 1990s, and the threat of Islamist terror after the attack on the World Trade Center, and its actual appearance in a series of Islamist attacks since the 2010s. Throughout these five decades, security authorities had to adapt to new groups of perpetrators and different *modi operandi* in their fight against violent extremism. After the end of the Cold War, terror has become one of the world's greatest challenges to security and social cohesion, regardless of whether the attacks are carried out in the name of religion, ethnicity or ideology. The consequential changes in the global security architecture, which particularly concern dealing with non-state actors, were accompanied by large and sometimes painful learning processes and have not been completed to date, as the war against the Taliban in Afghanistan shows.

It took humankind centuries of war to develop a martial law which guides violent conflicts and makes war the domain of states. One of its core principles became the greatest possible protection of the civilian population. Even if the institutions which are to uphold these principles have been weakened over the last few years, there is a general understanding about the nature of war crimes and how to prosecute them. In stark contrast, the fight against terrorism seems to lack any globally acknowledged rules. There is no formal way to end a violent confrontation between a network of terrorists and a nation state, and no international body that could help facilitate negotiations. Many demands of terrorist networks are at best vague and can never be realised in a globalised world or democratic societies. While some of the emerging threats to global security – like cyber warfare – have to be met – at least partially – by a set of new rules which contains these threats' destructive potential, this is not an option for terrorism.

Terrorists are arbitrary in their choice of tools as long as they can create the highest possible level of fear and insecurity in society. Their victims have nothing in common but to belong to a group of “others” – be it alien in belief, in ethnicity or in ideology. This is true for the attacks on churches and luxury hotels in Sri Lanka on Easter Sunday in April 2019 as much as for the attack on mosques in New Zealand during Friday prayers, a month earlier. Both acts are exemplifying the blind hatred and brutality of

terrorist attacks, often combined with the willingness to die for one's own convictions. They were carried out in the name of very different ideologies. Nevertheless, the question arises: Are there connections in the respective radicalisation processes whose identification could enable us to better understand radicalisation *per se*? And would these connections allow us to recognise the process of radicalisation at an earlier stage, or even to prevent it?

Looking at the public discourse, this question has so far only been partially answered. From a purely demographic point of view, it is certainly true that men between 20 and 40 years of age are most susceptible to radicalisation. But the role of women – especially in financing terrorist activities and recruiting new members for the networks – is rightfully receiving more attention in recent research in this area. Lack of perspective and experiences of exclusion are widely regarded as important factors in the radicalisation process. However, this does not explain the terrorist activities of materially well-equipped actors from the upper middle class as in the Easter attacks in Sri Lanka or the Islamist terror acts in the Muslim majority societies in Indonesia and Malaysia. Last but not least, the role of the internet in its various possible uses, from recruitment and reinforcement to the organisation and distribution of acts of violence, does not seem to have been sufficiently researched.

Konrad Adenauer Stiftung has been addressing all these aspects with its “Regional Programme Political Dialogue Asia” for several years, especially on the platform of the “Counter Terrorism Dialogue Asia Europe”. Since 2015, this format has brought together representatives of security agencies and ministries from both world regions who are involved in the fight against terrorism and the prevention of violence. The exchange promotes the mutual understanding and trust that is necessary in order to effectively counter global terrorist networks. In addition, the format gives the opportunity to present particularly interesting case studies, such as the successful reintegration of radicalised criminals in Singapore, to a broader audience.

At the same time, this dialogue also shows how difficult it is to combat globally organised terror. The competences and capacities of the respective authorities differ not only strikingly between Europe and Asia, but sometimes also within the same region. Security agencies often find it difficult to share relevant information with other countries, or to classify the information received from other countries as valid and important.

In quite a few cases, politically motivated narratives furthermore prevent a closer examination of the real causes of radicalisation. This can be observed in some Asian countries, where governments are trying to play down the influence of extreme Islamist forces within their societies, but



can also be said for Europe, where some countries have underestimated the radicalisation of right-wing and left-wing extremists for a long time.

In order to address these challenges, a complementary new approach was chosen for this publication. Researchers dealing with radicalisation processes and political violence in different disciplines and with a focus on a range of ideologies were invited to participate. The aim of the project is to identify commonalities in these processes and to provide basic research on the nature of radicalisation. In the long term, we hope that this will enable more targeted prevention measures that can be implemented across countries and regions in Europe and Asia. At the event in Singapore, the challenges of this approach became apparent when it was already challenging to find a common terminology for the processes described. But the effort is worth it, considered how complex the process of radicalisation is. Psychological, sociological, cultural and political influences can only be comprehensively understood if experts from the respective disciplines sit together at one table. I would therefore like to thank all participants and authors who have contributed their expertise and experience to this project. My special thanks go to Dr. La Toya Waha, who designed the project and drove it forward at the KAS Regional Programme in Singapore. It is my firm belief that the results of this publication provide concrete help for better dealing with the threat of terrorism and radicalisation, and in addition also provide a good basis for further interdisciplinary research projects in this area.

Singapore, 21 April 2020  
Christian Echle  
Director



## Acknowledgements

Putting together a book of this kind requires the support from distinguished scholars, but also the freedom to be creative and the resources to implement ideas.

This book builds on the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung's long-standing effort to promote cooperation and exchange in the field of security and countering violent extremism and terrorism between Europe and Asia and many other parts of the world. The Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) is committed towards securing and increasing peace, freedom and prosperity in Europe and throughout the world, and this book shall be understood as an attempt to contribute to fulfilling this obligation. Without the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung's global engagement for international cooperation and dialogue, this project would not have been possible.

I would like to thank Christian Echle, Director of KAS Political Dialogue Asia, for the freedom and trust he gave me to plan and conduct this project. Christian Echle engages indefatigably in furthering dialogue and understanding between stakeholders from Asia and Europe and thereby has an openness for opinions and suggestions which is rare to find. I very much appreciate his manifold support for this project from the very beginning.

I am deeply grateful to the distinguished authors of this volume Prof. Kevin McDonald, Prof. Subrata K. Mitra, Prof. Aurel Croissant, Prof. Rohan Gunaratna, Prof. Greg Barton, Prof. D. Suba Chandran, Ass. Prof. Khuram Iqbal and Ass. Prof. Serina Abdul Rahman for their valuable contributions and for lending their invaluable expertise. I very much appreciate their great engagement in this project.

Furthermore, I would like to thank the participants of the conference and workshop "United by Violence, Divided by Cause?" held in Singapore in January 2020 for their great engagement and their splendid contributions. Much appreciation goes, besides the authors, to Aparupa Bhattacharjee, Prof. Mangalika de Silva, Clifford Geer, Dr. Malkanthi Hettiarachchi, Johannes Ebner, Prof. Soo Yeon Kim, Nauel Semaan, and Prof. Iqbal Singh Sevea.

I would like to particularly thank Aparupa Bhattacharjee and Prof. Iqbal Singh Sevea for chairing the panels as well as Prof. Soo Yeon Kim and Dr. Malkanthi Hettiarachchi for their session moderation. I would like to very much thank Prof. Mangalika de Silva for her talk "Sound, Space and the

*Acknowledgements*

Violence of Silence: Heterotopias of Terror in Sri Lanka” and Johannes Ebner for his event rapport.

A special thanks goes to the KAS Political Dialogue Asia team in Singapore for their marvellous support and efforts in facilitating the conference and workshop. Particularly, I would like to thank Kanokporn Suriya, Linda K., Rubiah Mohammad, and, most of all, Kismet Abubakar for their great work.

Finally, I would like to thank Dr. Peter Fischer-Bollin and Nael Seaman from the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung’s Analysis and Consulting division in Berlin for their support.

Singapore, 21 April 2020  
Dr. La Toya Waha  
Editor

# Table of Contents

About the Contributors	5
Foreword <i>Christian Echle</i>	7
Acknowledgements	11
United by Violence, Divide by Cause? <i>La Toya Waha</i>	15

## ***Chapter I Between the Political and the Particular***

Jihadist and Far-Right Extremism: Subjectivity, Embodiment and Imaginaries of Violence <i>Kevin McDonald</i>	33
Frenzied Crowds, Radical Politics and Consolidation of Democracy: The Indian Puzzle <i>Subrata K. Mitra</i>	51
Radicalisation, Terrorism and Democratisation in Southeast Asia <i>Aurel Croissant</i>	71

## ***Chapter II Region and Radicalisation***

Contention, Escalation and Cycles of Vengeance: Reflections on the Global Threat Landscape <i>Rohan Gunaratna</i>	101
--	-----

*Table of Contents*

The Historical Context and Regional Social Network Dynamics of  
Radicalisation and Recruitment of Islamic State Foreign Terrorist  
Fighters in Indonesia and its Southeast Asian Neighbours 117  
*Greg Barton*

Radicalisation in South Asia: Left, Right and Secular 141  
*D. Suba Chandran*

***Chapter III The Global and the Local***

Trends of Contemporary Terrorism in Pakistan 155  
*Khuram Iqbal*

Malaysian Women and Islamic Radicalisation in the Home 177  
*Serina Rahman*

***Chapter IV Conclusion***

Comparing Violence in Asia and Europe – A Contribution to  
Solving a Complex Problem 207  
*La Toya Waha*

Index 219