



**TSAS Jr Academic Affiliate Workshop
July 21, 2017 Carleton University**

Speaker Profiles and Presentation Abstracts

Keynote Speaker: Lorne Dawson – Profile

Dr. Lorne L. Dawson is a Full Professor in the Department of Sociology and Legal Studies and the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Waterloo. He has written three books, edited four books, and published sixty five academic articles and book chapters. Most of his research has been in the sociology of religion, particularly the study of new religious movements, and such phenomena as charismatic authority, apocalyptic movements, and the failure of prophecy. His work on why some new religions become violent led to research on the process of radicalization in homegrown terrorist groups, and terrorism more generally. In 2012 he helped to found, and is currently the Director of the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society (www.tsas.ca). One of his current projects is a qualitative study of foreign fighters in Syria and Iraq, and the family members and friends of such fighters (e.g., L. Dawson and A. Amarsingam, "Talking to Foreign Fighters: Insights into the Motivations for Hijrah to Syria and Iraq," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 40 (3), 2017: 191-210 DOI 10.1080/1057610X.2016.1274216). He has made numerous invited presentations on the radicalization of terrorists to academic and government groups, and he is frequently interviewed in the media about terrorism.

Dawson – Abstract

A close examination of much of the scholarship on the process of radicalization leading to violence in the case of so-called "homegrown" jihadi terrorists, and the Western "foreign fighters" in Syria and Iraq, reveals a repeated and persistent tendency to downplay, or even explain away, the role of religion in the causation of what is widely identified as "religious terrorism." This presentation analyses this ironic state of affairs, documenting some prominent instances, criticizing the logic of the arguments advanced, and delineating some of the explanatory misunderstandings driving the erasure of religion as a motivator for religious terrorism. Contrarily, an argument is advanced for the pivotal role of religious experiences and convictions in becoming a jihadi terrorist. The analysis utilizes insights from both the study of specific academic texts and qualitative research with jihadi foreign fighters engaged in combat in Syria, and other jihadi extremists in the West. To effectively prevent or counter jihadist radicalization, we need to genuinely recognize and engage with the pivotal religious framing of this experience for the jihadists, not discount or ignore it.

Panel 1: Understudied fields in terrorism

1) Josiah Witherspoon –Profile

Josiah is an M.A. Candidate specializing in intelligence at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. His research interests include, but are not limited to, terrorism, espionage, cybersecurity, and strategy. Most recently, Josiah's research focused on the rise of low-tech terrorism in western democracies, and the challenges digital identity may pose to Canada's current

anti/counter-terrorist financing regimes and strategies. Josiah possess strong technical expertise and currently works for a private information-security company on contracts with the government of Canada. Additionally, Josiah will be conducting strategic policy research for Policy Horizons Canada during the 2017summer season.

Muna Osman – Speaker Profile

Muna is a M.A Candidate specializing in intelligence at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Her research interests include radicalization, counterterrorism, and shifts in terror groups 'structures. Muna's research has centered on theorizing the role of intelligence, when states should negotiate with terror groups, and the implications of terror listings. She previously interned at the Economic and Political Intelligence Centre of Export Development Canada and will be carrying out two policy research for Policy Horizons Canada in the summer 2017 period. She will also be working as a policy analyst at the RCMP within their Federal Policing Strategic Policy and External Relations division in the fall.

Witherspoon & Osman Abstract

Kidnapping for Ransom – Ideologies, Outcomes and Strategies

Kidnapping for ransom (KFR) entails taking hostages for the purpose of achieving a political objective through concessions, or the disruption of normal operations. Moreover, it involves holding captive one or more individuals until ransom demands are met which can range from monetary payments to prisoner exchanges. Cluster mapping the kidnapping for ransom of Canadian nationals provided us with a timeline of focus- 2001-2017, three areas of interest, and three groups operating within these areas. In this period, thirteen Canadian nationals were kidnapped for ransom in the Middle East and North Africa region, Afghanistan, and the Philippines, by al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb, the Taliban, or the Abu Sayyaf Group. Our presentation aims to examine these groups to determine their similarities and differences within the scope of their ideologies and tactics. Our research indicates that group ideology is significant within the discussion of KFR as they inform their objectives, and ultimately determine whether a group is committed to its ideology, or has over time diverged from it. The similarities and differences between the three groups inform the lifecycles of the six case studies we chose for this project. Thus, enabling us to more accurately characterize these groups as either an ideologically driven terror organization or a profit driven criminal enterprise. Strategies to respond to KFR are heavily dependent on the capabilities and ideologies of the perpetrator group. Therefore, our case studies will inform potentially more robust and tailored options available to the Government of Canada for dealing with future KFR incidents involving the three groups.

2) Nicole Tishler –Profile

Nicole is a Ph.D. Candidate at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs (NPSIA). She holds an M.A. in Intelligence and National Security from the same department, and an Hon.B.Soc.Sc. from the University of Ottawa, where she studied international relations (in French immersion) and modern languages (Spanish). Within the broader context of international security and conflict, Nicole's research has emphasized terrorists' tactical choices. Her dissertation presents the literature's first focused examination of terrorism hoaxes. It harnesses a wide array of methodological approaches to delineate the characteristics of hoaxes and their perpetrators; to build a theory of terrorist groups' strategic hoax behaviour; and to determine the degree to which existing data is able to shed light on the hoax phenomenon. Nicole has published in the areas of terrorists' weapons adoption; chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) terrorism; crisis communications in Canada funded via Public Safety Canada's Research Affiliate Program); and intelligence accountability. Her research has received funding support from Canada's Social

Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC; CGS Doctoral and Masters awards); the Province of Ontario (OGS); as well as the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS), of which she is a junior research affiliate.

Tishler – Abstract

In this presentation, entitled *Terrorism Hoaxes: The Canadian Experience*, I will provide a brief introduction to the topic of terrorism hoaxes and the data sources used to document them; present illustrative examples and descriptive statistics regarding hoaxes in Canada, and how the Canadian experience reflects global trends; and present key findings from my dissertation's case study analysis of the FLQ and its hoax-versus-serious terrorist behaviour. At the most superficial level, terrorism hoaxes are those incidents that are believed to be acts of serious terrorism, but by virtue of involving benign materials (hoax devices) or empty threats (hoax warnings) do not actually involve any real risk of harm. In privileging acts of serious terrorism, not all terrorism events databases document such activity. Accordingly, much of what is known about hoaxes is particular to ITERATE and the Monterey WMD Database (for transnational and CBRN incidents, respectively), and the new Canadian Incident Database (CIDB; for incidents in the Canadian context). CIDB data is particularly helpful for understanding hoax behaviour, since its dedicated search methodology captures many incidents that are left out of broader, cross-national datasets. The CIDB shows that hoax behaviour follows similar trends as serious terrorism in Canada. More generally, Canada is considered a typical target of terrorist hoax behaviour: it ranks at the highest levels in terms of media freedom and policing capacity, both of which are hypothesized to increase the likelihood that a country will experience hoaxes. The recent terrorism bomb hoax at Concordia University (March 1st, 2017) not only illustrates that Canada is vulnerable to such activity, but it highlights the costs that hoaxes can impose: lost productivity, due to evacuated educational institutions and places of work; wasted emergency response and law enforcement resources; and increased societal fear and suspicion. I will use the FLQ to identify the mechanisms by which group structure (a lack of hierarchy) and overall campaign profile (a large number of serious incidents) lead to a group's increased likelihood of hoaxing. For instance, are groups who carry out a large number of attacks strategically playing mixed strategies, combining serious attacks and hoaxes to inflate their tactical profiles and keep the authorities guessing? Or are they using hoaxes as dry runs to practice or gain tactical intelligence for subsequent serious terrorist activity? Similarly, are the hoaxes in a leaderless resistance group part of some sort of coherent strategy? Or are they simply fringe acts carried out by members who have not completely radicalized to violence? I anticipate that nuanced case analysis will be able to shed light on these questions in ways that my dissertation's regression and QCA analysis could not. While the FLQ is a historic case, trends in hoax activity since 1960 suggest that there is no meaningful distinction between pre- and post-9/11 hoax behaviour. While the strategic environment may have shifted, the strategic logics motivating groups' tactical choices remain constant.

FOOTNOTES: 2. Armée de Libération du Québec (ALQ); Armenian Revolutionary Army (ARA); Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA); Black September; Direct Action; Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ); le Front des Patriotes du Québec; People's Republic of Croatia; Rassemblement pour un Québec Libre (RQL); White Nationalist Revolutionary Army; World Islamic Front; Young Cuba Group of Cuban Exiles. The FLQ was responsible for 12 hoaxes, and the White Nationalist Revolutionary Army and ASALA were each responsible for

3. An additional group, World Islamic Front, was also captured in the population of groups that I began with, but was excluded from my sample on the grounds that it appears to reflect an Osama bin Laden-led umbrella organization, and not a particular cell or group for which my group-based structure variables might apply.

3) Michael Shkolnik – Profile

Michael is a Ph.D. Candidate at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, focusing on why some militant groups escalate their level of violence to a sustained armed conflict. Michael is a senior policy advisor with the Strategic Foresight unit at the Department of Global Affairs Canada, where he previously served as the Cadieux-Léger Fellow. In the past, Michael was a research coordinator for the Centre for Security, Intelligence and Defence Studies (CSIDS) and worked in TSAS' The Future(s) of Terrorism project, focusing on terrorist technological adoption and use of UAVs. He also helped work on the Canadian Incident Database (CIDB). Prior to his doctoral studies, Michael served as a senior consultant for a Washington D.C. based counterterrorism institute and as the Security and Defence Officer for United Nations Association in Canada (UNA-Canada), on behalf of a Department of National Defence (DND) fellowship. While completing a graduate degree in Counter-Terrorism and Homeland Security, Michael worked with two prestigious national security institutes in Israel: the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT) and the Institute for National Security Studies (INSS). Throughout Michael's career, he has been responsible for briefing senior security officials and policymakers. He speaks Russian, Hebrew, and elementary Arabic.

Shkolnik Abstract

There is a growing threat from militant groups escalating attacks and expanding operations in recent years, challenging regional and international security (Global Terrorism Index 2016). My research project asks: why are some militant groups capable of escalating their level of violence to a sustained armed conflict while other similar groups do not? It is puzzling why some initially weak militant groups, who face immense difficulties in garnering material resources, launch sustained violent operations and confront far more powerful militaries. Understanding this phenomenon is critical since groups that are more lethal gain more recruitment, fundraising capabilities, and bargaining power (Hoffman 2006). The processes and dynamics characterizing the initial stages of insurgency prior to civil war outbreak are poorly understood. This gap in knowledge is largely due to a selection bias among prominent conflict datasets, which tend to feature the most prominent militant group participating in full-fledged civil wars and the over-emphasis of qualitative accounts related to powerful insurgent organizations. Data limitations are inherent when seeking to study militant groups that fall into the dustbin of history. Yet policymakers and conflict researchers can learn a great deal about armed conflict by understanding the trajectories of militant groups that emerge under similar conditions, but fail to eventually pose a serious challenge to the target state. A model inspired by Resource Mobilization Theory will guide this study's focus. A mixed-methods approach, utilizing large-n quantitative analysis and in-depth qualitative case studies, help address the puzzle. The first stage builds from existing conflict data sets to test all instances where a militant group escalates violence to the level of a sustained armed conflict.

The vast majority of militant groups do not survive beyond their first year of existence. Among 254 of the more prominent militant groups (Kilberg 2012) featured in the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), I have identified that 83 (33%) groups that have escalated their level of violence to a sustained armed conflict (minimum 5 years) with the target state. This research design will test key hypotheses derived from theory and the literature, focusing on both group-level and state-level variation. It is far easier for states to prevent a nascent insurrection from developing than defeating a matured militant organization. This research will contribute to the advancement of knowledge and the findings will help policymakers better understand how to mitigate the threat from nascent militant organizations.

Panel 2: Radicalization and Violent Extremism

4) Ashlee Babcock –Profile

Ashlee completed her undergraduate degree at the University of Guelph with a Bachelor of Arts Honours in Criminal Justice and Public Policy, and a Minor in Psychology. She is currently a candidate for a Master of International Public Policy at the Balsillie School of International Affairs in Waterloo, On. Through Ashlee's studies at the University of Guelph and the Balsillie School of International Affairs she has developed a multi-disciplinary approach to studying terrorism, security and society through the lens' of political science, sociology and psychology. During her graduate studies her research has included radicalization online, preventing radicalization through community involvement and education and the movement of foreign fighters. As a CIGI Graduate Fellow, she is co-authoring a policy brief to be presented to Global Affairs Canada and senior policymakers, focusing on countering violent extremism and radicalization online. Specifically, the purposes and uses of technology and social media for terrorist organizations. In addition to her (counter)terrorism interests, she has pursued research in drug policy, human trafficking and the behaviour of women in policing. With extensive cross cultural experience and her studies of international public policy, Ashlee aims to continue working abroad in the conflict and security sector.

Babcock Abstract:

As younger generations become more reliant and attached to social media, their phones and a constant connection to the internet the more susceptible they are to radicalization online. It is youth who are most targeted by terrorist organizations through online propaganda and recruitment. Echo chambers and filter bubbles are a concern in cyberspace, as isolated ideologies are amplified, reinforcing and supporting violent extremist ideologies (Flaxman, Goel & Rao, 2016). Greenberg (2016) cautions that terrorist organizations may catch youth amongst their angst of late adolescence, feeding into the anxieties and angers perceived by young people. However, it is not only the online behaviour of youth that is important in the recruitment and radicalization process, as the nexus between online and offline behaviour is critical. According to Ducol et al. (2016), the three main trajectories of the internet in radicalization include the use of the internet to initially trigger further radicalization, the use of the internet to reinforce radicalization and the use of the internet for purely online radicalization. The radicalization and recruitment of youth online cannot be understood without knowledge of the individual's social networks and personal history (Von Behr et al., 2013). Social communities and networks, online and offline, have the capacity to enable or counter violent extremism. With a perceived sense of security online, radical networks may strengthen the individuals' extreme beliefs translating to offline behaviours. Conversely, offline radicalization and extremist ideologies may be reinforced online. This paper aims to develop a better understanding of the relationship between online and offline behaviours in the process of youth radicalization and their involvement with terrorist organizations.

5) Maxime Bérubé –Profile

Maxime Bérubé is a PhD student in Criminology at Université de Montréal. He is interested in criminology, political violence and cybersecurity. More specifically, his research interests are focused on terrorism, violent radicalization, criminal innovation and the deviant use of technology. He is also a Graduate student member of the Smart Cybersecurity Network (SERENE-RISC). Beforehand, he has made a research internship at the Canada Research Chair on Conflicts and Terrorism of Université Laval, and completed a Certificate in Arabic Studies at Université de Montréal. Accordingly, his current research aims to better understand the persuasive strategies of jihadist propaganda producers, and he also works on various projects related to Canadian oppositional movements. Previously, he has completed a Masters in Criminology and a Bachelors in Security and policing studies. His master's thesis was examining the marginal environment of civilian military simulation in the Province of Quebec.

Bérubé Abstract:

According to various jihadist discourse, jihadist organizations carry out attacks in several countries of the world. Furthermore, a large number of Westerners leave their country to join these organizations in different conflict zones. The global jihadist communications structure has changed from belonging to certain organizations or high-ranking officials and is now shared among all actors of the movement. Thus, more jihadist propaganda is disseminated on the Internet. This is an important concern for the security of western populations. Even if we have a decent amount of knowledge on the diversity of these discourses, we know very little about their relative persuasive strategies. In order to better understand jihadist mobilization, this study aims to draw a comprehensive picture of the collective action framing of a sample of 14 English-language videos produced in 2016 by three different jihadist organizations in the Middle East. Our analysis of motivational framing relies on the main pull-factors empirically linked to violent extremism. Therefore, we pay particular attention to a message aimed essentially at a Western audience, and we analyze both the issues and solutions suggested by the ideology, as well as their mobilization rhetoric. The results suggest that the groups have real differences between their strategies and that different pull-factors can be associated with different topics. This contribution to the understanding of the diversity of the various jihadist discourses is a first step in the development of prevention/intervention strategies based on significant pull-factors.

Yaqub Ibrahimi –Profile

Yaqub is a Ph.D. candidate (ABD) in the Department of Political Science at Carleton University. His research interest includes terrorism; international security, Islamic radicalization; Islamism; and the emergence of extremist Islamist groups. He is a SSHRC Doctoral Fellow and my Ph.D. dissertation examines the relationship between state fragility in Afghanistan and Iraq and the rise of al-Qaeda and ISIS. Prior to becoming a graduate student, I worked as an investigative journalist with the Institute for War and Peace Reporting in Afghanistan from 2003 to 2009, covering issues related to terrorism, war, human rights and democratization.

My selected publications include:

Academic Articles “ Theory of the Rise of al-Qaeda,” Behavioral Science of Terrorism and Political Aggression, 2017 (forthcoming).

“Post-Civil War Democratization: Afghanistan.”International Journal of Central Asian Studies19, 2015: 1-30.

Selected Op-Ed and Media Articles

“Usikkerhed præger Afghanistan forud for NATO-eksperiment”/ “Uncertainty prevails in Afghanistan ahead of NATO Experiment. ”Information. April 5, 2011

“Glückwunsch, Taliban!”/“Congratulations, Taliban.”Sueddeutsche Zeitung. July 24, 2010

“Tribe Card Key.” Institute for War and Peace Reporting.

Afghan Election Updates 2009 “Turning Afghan Heroin into Kalashnikovs. ”Institute for War and Peace Reporting: Afghan Recovery Report, No. 259. June 30, 2008.

Yaqub Ibrahimi –Abstracts

Extremist Islamist Groups, also known as terrorist groups, are primarily inspired by a particular branch of the Islamist ideology called Salafi-Jihadism (Jones 2014, 2-3).

Salafi-Jihadism functions as a sense-making tool for terrorist activities both at individual

and group levels by providing religious justification to terrorist activities. Terrorist organizations use this ideology in recruiting individuals, providing justification to their violent behavior. The rise of homegrown terrorism in Western countries, in this sense, is initially inspired by this sense-making ideology. Almost every homegrown/domestic terrorist individual who committed an attack or was arrested were inspired by a core terrorist organization that uses Salafi-Jihadism as its ideology. Therefore, one can claim that there is a direct link between Salafi-Jihadism and terrorism both at individual and group levels. The causal impact of Salafi-Jihadism on the occurrence terrorist activities is broadly discussed in the existing international security literature (e.g., Tibi 2012; Juergensmeyer 2006; Roy 2006; Rapaport 2004; Sedgwick 2004). However, the role Salafi-Jihadism on the occurrence of terrorist activities and radicalization of the youth in Canadian context is rarely examined. Considering the literature gap, my proposed paper will specifically address two interconnected research questions: How Salafi-Jihadism constructs religious justification to terrorist behavior? Is there any relationship between Salafi-Jihadism and occurrences of terrorist activities in Canada, and why? Based on my preliminary research on the relationship between Salafi-Jihadism and the rise of terrorism, I will hypothesize that the ideological roots of terrorist activities in Canada can be traced in Salafi-Jihadist ideology. My paper includes four parts: First I will provide a brief genealogy of Salafi-Jihadism discussing its roots, characteristics, and its causal impact on the rise of core terrorist groups. In doing so, I will conduct a comparative case study of al-Qaeda and ISIS and the impact of Salafi-Jihadism on the formation of these groups. Second, I will discuss the reasons Salafi-Jihadism influence individuals in Western Countries. In this regard, I will use the “group influence on individual task performance” method (see Paulus 1983) which examines the ways that groups transfer their ideologies at individual level and the reasons that individuals adopt the ideologies to justify their behavior. In this part, I will draw on the literature on the relationship between core terrorist groups and homegrown terrorism. Third, I will, specifically, examine the relationship between Salafi-Jihadism and occurrences of terrorist activities in Canada. More concretely, I will elaborate on the reasons that how individuals in Canada can be influenced and/or inspired by Salafi-Jihadism in becoming a member of the “global jihad.” Finally, my paper will discuss the possible implication of my findings about the relationship between Salafi-Jihadism and the occurrence of terrorist activities concerning Canada’s public safety. Research on the connectivity between Salafi-Jihadism and Canada’s safety will yield new and significant insight, and will add new pieces of evidence and theory to the existing debate on the relationship between terrorism and national security in Canada.

Panel 3: Counterterrorism

1) Ahmed Kawser – Profile

Kawser Ahmed received his PhD in Peace and Conflict Studies from University of Manitoba, Canada. He served in the United Nations as a peacekeeper and an alumnus of National Defence University (NESA), U.S. Currently he is a research fellow with the Centre for Defence and Security Studies (CDSS) and a Junior research affiliate with the

Canadian Network for the Study of Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS). He completed a TSAS funded research project on domestic terrorism in Canada. His research interest includes: community based terrorism intervention, religion defined radicalization, inter-group conflict transformation, mediation and peace-building. He lives in Winnipeg, Canada.

Kawser – Abstract

Community Focused Counter Radicalization Initiatives: An Analysis of Project Leaders' Experiences, Perceptions and Lessons Learnt

As in many western countries, radicalism is on the rise in Canada. The last deadly attack that took place in Quebec City mosque in last January, 2017 bear the testimony of this statement. Because radicalization is more of a process than an event per se, it is extremely difficult for law enforcement agencies to intervene in right time and place unless grassroots level citizenry assists in the pre-emption phase. Currently, most counter radicalism initiatives have two common characteristics: a top-down security centric and an ethno-faith group focused approaches, which might need to be reassessed. Radicalism leading to violent extremism is relatively a new term that denotes socio-ideological process that transforms an apparently normal person to an extremist committed to violent action (i.e. terrorist acts). Given radicalization's wide spectrum and since it is viewed both as a process as well as a phenomenon, experts maintain that tracking people being radicalized or have already been radicalized towards violence is nearly impossible since a host of socio-political factors, in fact, led to violent extremism in the first place. Nevertheless, radicalism and defeating its process remain to be the core concern in tackling domestic terrorism. Limited research on local community-initiated, bottom up intervention has been undertaken to explore the prospects and problems of a collaborative approach that should address both faith and xenophobia driven radicalism. Although, the Canadian national counter-terrorism (CT) strategy and the lead Canadian CT agency (RCMP) emphasize community level intervention in their public deliberations; the outcomes of such efforts are seldom assessed. There are two fold problems in conducting any such assessment: complexity in gathering data from primary research and difficulty in devising a standard assessment tool due to a diverse array of community focused intervention approaches.

Nevertheless, an essential first step towards developing an assessment strategy might be to map experiences and perceptions of project leaders who actually run the projects; therefore, we might be able to identify essential policy gaps in the implementation of national CT strategy. Using social conflict, globalization and social mobilization theories and a qualitative case-study analytical method, my paper presents perceptions and experiences of selected community based intervention project leaders in the UK and North America. By using computer assisted data analysis software (nVivo 10) findings from seven such projects are presented in this paper. The primary objective here is to underscore the significance of community focused counter-radicalization initiatives, its problems and prospects viewed through the eyes of actual project leaders. The analysis also suggests in sharing these lessons with policy makers so that the gap between the

top-down and bottom-up approach in countering radicalization in Canada can be effectively bridged.

2) Aziz Rahman- Profile

Aziz is a PhD student in the Department of Peace and Conflict Studies (PACS) at the University of Manitoba. Mr. Rahman has completed (in four countries –i.e., Bangladesh, Germany, the Philippines, and Canada) an honors degree and three masters degrees in sociology, regional development planning, and criminology. His professional background includes research, consulting and community work. Mr. Rahman's multidisciplinary background impels him to explore the problem of terrorism and its underlying causes, as well as effective intervention strategies from the PACS lens, incorporating principles of interdependence, nonviolence and social justice. Mr. Rahman's interests are deepening to view violence from both the human rights and multiculturalism frameworks. Terrorism, radicalization, extremism, and security issues can be examined from the structural (macro), meso (community, intergroup), and micro (individual) levels. Mr. Rahman's research into the immigrant experiences will generate more interest in terrorism and security studies from multidisciplinary contexts.

Rahman Abstract:

The Rhetoric and Practice of Counter-Terrorism in Canada: Vilification, Stigmatization, and Marginalization of Muslim Communities

Canada is globally known for its multiculturalism facilitated by its diverse immigrant communities. Since the new millennium, Canada's demographic composition presents a growing Muslim population. According to Statistics Canada's 2011 National Household Survey (NHS), one out of five people is foreign-born or visible minority in Canada. Muslims represent over 1 million individuals (3.2 percent of the total population), compared to 2 percent in the 2001 Census. Compared to other countries, anti-Muslim narratives and discourses in the public, media and politics have been less salient. Nonetheless, hate crimes against Muslims have substantially risen since 9/11. A survey reveals that Muslims represent about 15 percent of all victims of hate crime motivated by religion. Another survey conducted in 2002 by the Canadian Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR-CAN), found that more than half of the Canadian Muslim respondents perceived Canadian media to be more biased since the 9/11 attacks. A survey of news articles featuring Muslims in Canadian mainstream media conducted in 2011 by Navigator Research reveals that 59 per cent of those articles portrayed Muslims negatively. According to Dr. Barbara Perry, a Canadian hate crime scholar, Muslims were largely invisible before September 2001, although their visibility in the public sphere in terms of clothing, physical appearance, and mosques has been increasingly exposed since the 1990s. Although Canada has experienced less terrorism compared to the USA and some other countries, policy makers and researchers have acknowledged this nation's potential vulnerability to terrorism, particularly home-grown terrorism. The Toronto-18 case, the involvement of Canadians in overseas terrorist plots, the Via Rail plot, the Vancouver bombing, and most recently the Parliament Hill incident illustrate

this. The growing concerns over the risk of terrorism have led the Canadian governments, politicians, and law enforcement agencies to devise anti-terrorism legislation, various counter-terrorism programs, and surveillance and screening measures to address the problem especially in the post-9/11 era. This study investigates hate crimes against those perceived to be Muslims in Canada. Given the anti-Muslim or Islamophobic reaction to the 9/11 attacks, the national security vulnerability, and the state efforts to counter terrorism, radicalization and extremism as expressed by the Public Safety Canada, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) , this study will examine the rhetoric and practice of counter-terrorism that further vilifies and marginalizes Muslim communities in Canada. This study will employ several sources of data including surveys, interviews, and focus groups conducted in Toronto and Ottawa. These sources were used as part of a research project of Dr. Barbara Perry at the University of Ontario Institute of Technology. The pilot project was conducted in two Ontario cities with large Muslim populations along with relatively high rates of reported hate crime. Respondent Driven Sampling technique was used for the surveys of 300 Muslims. Research on both anti-Muslim hate crime and Islamist terrorism is still limited in Canada, and hence there is a dire need to explore the local context for the undertaking of appropriate evidence-based policy measures. Since Islamophobia has been rooted in Canada and has grown rapidly in the post-9/11 era, counter-terrorism strategies must not further entrench Islamophobia, rather they should involve measures to address Islamophobia and anti-Muslim hate crime. This paper will contribute to the underdeveloped literature on hate crime, and policy implications from both multiculturalism and human rights frameworks in the Canadian context. It is grounded in the academic research findings regarding hate violence experiences; reporting of victimization; satisfaction with responses of authorities; and perceptions about necessary strategies to challenge bias motivated violence against Muslims. With relevant evidence in hand, both public and private sector organizations can devise initiatives, or services to address anti-Muslim vilification, marginalization, and stigmatization.

3) Katie Ford Profile

Katie Ford is a PhD student in Sociology at the University of Waterloo, focusing on radicalization and the governance of violent extremism. Her dissertation research focuses on the governance of violent extremism at sensitive institutions in Canada and strategies for appropriately balancing security concerns with the need to preserve freedom of speech. Katie's research has received the support of multiple TSAS Studentships; her initial findings were published as a TSAS working paper entitled "Policies and responsibilities for Governing Violent Extremism at Ontario Universities." Katie has also conducted research as part of teams in the federal government and the private sector, including co-authoring a primer on radicalization with the Conference Board of Canada. She has an MA in International Affairs from the Norman Patterson

School of International Affairs and a BA with honours in Psychology from the University of Waterloo.

Ford Abstract

Terrorist attacks involving university students and events promoting extremism on university campuses have drawn attention to the presence of extreme views on campuses. Indeed, universities have been pinpointed as places of heightened vulnerability to recruitment toward violent extremism. In response to these concerns, in 2015 the United Kingdom introduced legislation requiring universities to play a role in preventing extremism. This legislation places a duty on university staff and faculty to prevent and report on extremism, even when non-violent in nature. Currently, no such legislation exists in Canada. However, links between students and extremism have begun to raise questions regarding the preparedness of Canadian universities to handle such situations. This ongoing research begins to answer the question of whether universities and colleges in Canada are aware of, and prepared to deal with, issues of radicalization on their campuses. Focusing exclusively on violent extremism, the research examines existing university policies and solicits opinions from university administrators and student leaders to identify gaps in knowledge regarding violent extremism on campuses, and the policies and procedures that could be used to reduce it. The goal of this research is to create a set of recommended best practices for countering radicalization to violent extremism on campuses. This presentation provides an overview of this project and its initial findings.