



Tentative Agenda: TSAS Workshop

June 8, 2018 – Ottawa, ON

To register email [ec2ford@uwaterloo.ca](mailto:ec2ford@uwaterloo.ca)

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8:30 am	Coffee, Arrival and Registration
8:45 – 9:00 am	Welcome & Introduction (Lorne Dawson)
9:00 – 10:30 am	<p><b><u>Insights into Violent Extremism from New Data on the Process of Radicalization</u></b></p> <p><i>Educational Trajectories of Radicalized Females in Montreal</i> <b>Ratna Ghosh</b> (Integrated Studies in Education, McGill University)</p> <p><i>Prison Radicalization, Inmate Subcultures, and Informal Governance of Ideological Group Membership</i> <b>Will Schultz</b> (PI: Kevin Haggerty, Sociology, University of Alberta)</p>
10:30 – 10:45 am	BREAK
10:45 – 12:15 pm	<p><b><u>Insights into Countering Violent Extremism from Comparative Legal Analyses</u></b></p> <p><i>Global Financial Networks and Anti-Terrorism Financing Laws</i> <b>Arthur Cockfield</b>, (Law, Queen’s University)</p> <p><i>Protecting Mobility Rights in an Era of Terror</i> <b>Patti Lenard</b> (Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa)</p>

12:15 – 1:15 pm

LUNCH

1:15 – 2:45 pm

**Insights into Violent Extremism from New Data on Social Networks**

*How 'Alone' are Lone Actors? Understanding Networks of Influence, Communication and Tactical Support among Lone-Actor Terrorists*

**David Hofmann** (Sociology, University of New Brunswick).

*Exploring Resilience and Violent Extremism among Religious Converts in Canada*

**John McCoy (PI: Andy Knight** University of Alberta)

2:45 – 3:00 pm

BREAK

3:00 – 4:30 pm

**Insights into Countering Violent Extremism from Experimental and Legal Studies**

*Aggression, Empathy and Extremist Propaganda* **Neil Shortland** (Center for Terrorism & Security Studies, University of Massachusetts at Lowell)

*Is the Rule of Law Keeping Pace with the Demands of Counter-Terrorism?*

**Leah West** (PI: Craig Forcese, Common Law University of Ottawa)

## Speaker Biographies

### Ratna Ghosh

Ratna Ghosh is Distinguished James McGill Professor and William C. Macdonald Professor of Education at McGill University where she was Dean of Education. She was featured in *Time* Magazine, Canadian Edition, October 13, 2003, in an article on “Canada’s Best in Education”. Her work in Multiculturalism has won her many awards and honours such as the Order of Canada, Order of Quebec, Order of Montreal. She was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada and The World Academy, and President of the Comparative and International Education Society of the US.

Her current work is on the role of education in countering violent religious extremism. She received a five-year Insight Grant from SSHRC on “Countering violent religious extremism through education in multicultural Canada”. She has published on this topic in the *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal* and a global literature review titled “Education and Security” commissioned by the *Tony Blair Faith Foundation* (TBFF). Other contributions include conference presentations, a joint course on Religion and Global Politics co-hosted by McGill University and TBFF in 2016. Dr. Ghosh has been invited to speak on this topic in several venues in Canada and abroad.

### William Schultz

William Schultz is a PhD student in Criminology at the University of Alberta, and works closely with Drs. Sandra Bucerius and Kevin Haggerty on the University of Alberta Prisons Project. Currently, he is conducting research on how the Canadian opioid crisis is challenging prison systems and law enforcement agencies across the country. His MA thesis, entitled *Unlocking Radicalization: Correctional Officers, Risk Perception, and Ideological Extremism in Albertan Prisons*, examined how fear and perceptions of risk shape relations between prisoners and correctional officers. Between 2010 and 2015, Will worked as a Correctional Peace Officer for the Alberta government. He is also a 2018 Vanier scholar.

### Schultz Abstract:

#### **Prison Radicalization, Inmate Subcultures, and Informal Governance of Ideological Group Membership**

Prisons have played a formative role in every militant movement of the modern era, but determining whether prisons *continue* to play a role in radicalizing inmates into violent extremism is difficult to answer. North American research has found little evidence of prisoner radicalization, but a number of former prisoners have committed terrorist attacks in Europe after joining ISIS while incarcerated. We believe that direct comparisons between North American and European contexts should be made cautiously, given the widespread social and cultural differences between the two. However, it appears that some European countries are experiencing a surge in prison radicalization while North America is not. To better understand these phenomena, TSAS provided us with funding to conduct over 600 semi-structured

qualitative interviews with inmates in four provincial prisons. Our findings suggest gang membership and inmate subcultural norms play a strong role in preventing inmate radicalization into violence. Gang leaders and other influential inmates appear to help mitigate against membership in groups like ISIS, for reasons ranging from patriotism and religion to women's rights. Although radicalization is not currently a major concern in Albertan prisons, some of our participants also suggested this was because of unique factors within the Albertan prison system, meaning the question is not yet closed.

### **Arthur Cockfield**

A tax law scholar and policy consultant, Arthur Cockfield is also known in the classroom as an innovative instructor who weaves narrative elements into his courses. Prior to joining Queen's, Cockfield worked as an articling student and associate lawyer for Goodmans LLP in Toronto. He has worked at the University of West Indies in Barbados and at U.S. law schools, most recently as a Fulbright Visiting Chair in Policy Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. Most of Professor Cockfield's publications focus on tax law.

Awards include the Douglas J. Sherbaniuk Distinguished Writing Award from the Canadian Tax Foundation, and a number of fellowships and external research grants for his research.

Professor Cockfield has served as a legal and policy consultant to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the United Nations, the Department of Justice, the Department of Finance, the Advisory Panel on Canada's System of International Taxation, the National Judicial Institute, the Office of the Auditor General of Canada and the Office of the Privacy Commissioner.

### **Patti Tamara Lenard**

Patti Tamara Lenard is Associate Professor of Ethics in the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Ottawa. She is the author of *Trust, Democracy and Multicultural Challenges* (Penn State, 2012). Her current research focuses on the moral questions raised by migration across borders in an era of terrorism, as well as on multiculturalism, trust and social cohesion, and democratic theory more generally. Her most recent work, focused on the moral dilemmas posed by denationalization for terror-related crimes, is newly published in the *American Political Science Review* (2018).

### **Lenard Abstract:**

For several decades, democratic states have also been focused on fighting the so-called war against terror. Many strategies that democratic states have deployed have, however, been criticized for the ways in which they appear to violate citizens' rights, including privacy and freedom of association rights, and also for our purposes here, mobility rights. The claim states make is that, although it is of course important to protect individual rights, states are also obligated to protect the security of their citizens first and foremost: it is a matter of balancing individual rights protection against security and making hard choices between two valuable

goods. In this project, I examine the ways in which states have claimed that protecting 'national security' permits, and indeed demands, restricting and constraining the mobility of would-be foreign fighters. I argue, fundamentally, that policies adopted to constrain foreign fighting do restrict mobility rights in normatively problematic ways.

In the first part of the presentation, I offer an account of the 'security-rights' balancing that is supposed to be a key part of justifying policies adopted to fight terror and protect national security. In the second part of the presentation, I examine the foundation of mobility rights, with a view to offering an explanation of why they should be protected in general, and why the 'right to exit' must be especially protected. In this section, I offer an explanation for why the supposed 'security-rights' balance language is problematic; in particular, it relies on a narrow and simplistic understanding of security as physical security, which obscures the ways in which states themselves can render their citizens insecure (Lenard 2014; 2016). In the third part of the chapter, and using data collected in a range of democratic states, I outline the major mobility restricting policies which target would-be foreign fighters: no-fly lists, passport cancellations, preventative detentions, and 'declared areas' legislation (which bars travel to certain terrorist hotspots). As I show, these policies have distinct impacts on mobility rights, and I will identify precisely the harm done to mobility rights by each of them. In sum, even in the context of taking seriously the importance of protecting states from terrorism, the policies adopted to combat foreign fighters are normatively problematic; reformulating the 'security-rights' dichotomy will illuminate why this is, or so I will argue.

### **David C. Hofmann**

Dr. David C. Hofmann joined the UNB Sociology department in 2016. His most recent research is related to the Freeman-on-the-Land sovereigntist movement in Canada, modeling the fragmentation of trafficking networks upon removal of key actors and leaders, and mapping networks of social, operational, and ideological support of Canadian lone-actor terrorists. David is the founder and editor-in-chief of [the Canadian Graduate Journal of Criminology and Sociology](#), and is a senior research affiliate with [the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Society \(TSAS\)](#).

David's current research interests are focused on five broad areas: *terrorism and political violence*, *charismatic leadership*, *right-wing extremism*, *apocalyptic and millenarian groups*, and *criminal & illicit networks*. David is a mixed methodologist, with a particular interest in social network analysis.

### **John McCoy:**

Dr. John McCoy is the Executive Director of the Organization for the Prevention of Violence (OPV) which is engaged in countering violent extremism in Western Canada. In addition to this role McCoy is an Adjunct Professor at the University of Alberta's Department of Political Science, where he specializes in terrorism studies, and a Senior Research Affiliate at the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security & Society (TSAS). McCoy has worked as a consultant in the Middle East, North America, Europe and the Caribbean and with members of the Canadian Integrated National Security Enforcement Team in Alberta, specifically as an instructor at the Counter-Terrorism Information Officer (CTIO) workshop. He has an established body of published work on terrorism, radicalization, violent extremism, and social integration, including op-eds, policy papers, and academic articles.

### **McCoy Abstract:**

#### **Radicalization to Violence Among Converts in Canada: understanding the role of social isolation and disappointment**

In many states in Europe and North America, converts are overrepresented in samples of both domestic terrorists and foreign fighters who have left to join groups such as the so-called Islamic State (IS), Al-Qaeda (AQ) and Hayat Tahrir al-Sham (HTS). While recognizing that for a vast majority of individuals conversion does not lead to radicalization to violence, and can be a positive experience, the prevalence of converts in these groups raises relevant questions for security professionals and academics. Previous studies in the area have focused on developing profiles and identifying shared behaviours among converts (i.e., a history of prior criminality) or have posited a relationship between post-conversion zealotry and radicalization to violence. Employing a data set of 18 Canadian converts involved in violent extremist and/or terroristic behaviours and comparing these cases to a control group (n20) of converts who were not radicalized to violence the study identifies how an interplay of social, identity and cultural factors may create a cognitive opening to radicalization to violence. Specifically, a dual form of social exclusion (i.e., from previously established social and familial networks and within newly acquired religious communities) combined with a sense of disappointment in the conversion and post-conversion experience, may generate a space or “cognitive opening” for social networks and extremist narratives. While modest in scope the study further reinforces the importance of social identity factors in driving the radicalization to violence process.

### **Neil Shortland**

Dr. Shortland received a bachelor of science degree in psychology from the University of Bristol (first class honors); a master's degree in forensic and investigative psychology from the University of Liverpool (distinction) and a Ph.D. in cognitive psychology from the Center for

Critical and Major Incident Psychology at the University of Liverpool (APA Ph.D. Research Award, 2017).

His research focuses on the psychological aspects of domestic and international security. His research portfolio includes funded projects on military decision making (cognitive and neuroscience psychology), the interaction of aggressive cognitions and extremist propaganda (cognitive psychology) and grass-roots programs aimed at counter violent extremism and building societal resistance (developmental and social psychology).

### **Leah West**

Leah West is Counsel with the National Security Advisory and Litigation Group of the Department of Justice. Her work predominantly involves litigation around the protection of national security information. She is also a member of the team responsible for drafting and implementing Bill C-59 “An Act respecting national security matters”. Before joining DOJ, Leah was involved in advocacy work related to human trafficking, security certificates, lawful access and the reform of Bill C-51. She also worked for a private intelligence firm in Virginia consulting on business development in the area of spectator sports security. Leah is proud to have served as an Armoured Officer in the Canadian Army for ten years with whom she deployed to Afghanistan in 2010. Leah is a graduate of the Royal Military College, U of T Law, and holds an MA in Intelligence Studies from AMU. She is currently the Antiterrorism Law Fellow at the University of Ottawa and will graduate in June 2018 with an LLM in International Humanitarian and Security Law. Leah is excited to begin her SJD at U of T in September where she will research the application of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in Cyberspace. She is also co-authoring “National Security Law” with Craig Forcese to be published by Irwin Law in 2019.

### **West Abstract:**

As of November 2017, 60 individuals who travelled abroad to support or fight with terrorist organizations have been permitted to return and live in Canada without criminal consequence. The reason for this, according to the Minister of Public Safety, is the problem of using information collected for intelligence purposes as evidence in criminal proceedings. Often referred to as the “intelligence to evidence” (I2E) dilemma, this challenge has plagued Canada’s terrorism prosecutions since the Air India bombing in 1985. Yet, not all countries struggle to bring terrorist to justice. Canada’s prosecution statistics pale in comparison to the United Kingdom.

In a democracy committed to upholding the rule of law and respecting human rights, prosecuting terrorists is the strongest and most transparent deterrent to this threat. This presentation will demonstrate that as the threat of terrorism grows both domestically and abroad, Canada must learn from the UK’s experience and reform the rules of evidence to ensure that criminal charges are pursued. The presentation will briefly outline and compare the

relevant Canadian and UK rules of evidence and assess their practical implications for national security prosecutions in light of primary research conducted in London in the fall of 2017. The presentation will also suggest a series of legislative and organizational reforms to improve the efficiency of Canadian terrorism trials.