

Carleton University
Institute of Criminology and Criminal Justice

COURSE:	Counter-terrorism, Security & Civil Society - CRCJ4001
TERM:	Winter 2020
PRE-REQUISITES:	Fourth year standing in B.A. Honours in Criminology and Criminal Justice
CLASS:	Day and time: Monday, 8:35am – 11:25am Location: Check with Carleton Central for current class location
INSTRUCTOR:	Fahad Ahmad
CONTACT:	Email: fahad.ahmad@carleton.ca Office hours: Mondays, 12:30pm – 2:30pm Location: C577 Loeb

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Since 9/11, a global counterterrorism regime has taken root that has securitized many aspects of state and society. Under the rubric of the war on terror, counterterrorism laws have sought to legitimize coercion, detention, surveillance, and torture by gradually normalizing extra-judicial state actions, moving them from a “state of exception” to standard operating procedure. Alongside these ‘hard’ approaches, in the last 15 years, propelled by concerns about “domestic” terrorism, states have adopted counter-radicalization or countering violent extremism (CVE) policies that claim utilize ‘soft’ and community-centred approaches to address the root cause of domestic terrorism and prevent future incidents of terrorism. However, much has been written in academia and practice about the weak conceptual foundations of counter-radicalization policy, the implicit racial bias in the policy that reinforces the suspect status of Muslim communities, and its use as another avenue for surveillance and control. Civil society, normally working to connect marginalized communities to state institutions, find themselves facing new pressures and contradictions as state security agencies demand their cooperation in counter-radicalization efforts. In some countries, health, education, and other social sector organizations are receiving training in detecting and reporting on suspicious “terrorist” or “radical” activity making civil society the newest frontier for the expansion of the security state. This expansion seems to be reinforced as states expand CVE to target right-wing extremists.

This course will invite students to critically examine the security regimes post 9/11 and contextualize state law and policy based on most current literature from criminology, critical security studies, and civil society. Students will learn about counterterrorism laws and counter-radicalization policies in Canada, U.K., and other countries with the goal of examining the inherent challenges that rights-limiting security approaches pose to multiculturalist liberal democratic objectives. They will learn specially about how civil society is implicated within an increasingly securitized social policy regime. By the end of the course, students will be well-versed in the different theoretical approaches to interpret security regimes, the practices of counter-terrorism law and counter-radicalization in different national contexts, and gaps between security policy objectives and practices on the ground.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

This course will require students to integrate learning and knowledge gained from prior courses in Criminology. By the end of the course, students will be able to demonstrate:

- An understanding of the various conceptual/theoretical approaches in terrorism and radicalization;
- Familiarity with the underpinnings of and inherent contradiction in various approaches to counterterrorism and counter-radicalization in Canada and other national jurisdictions;
- A grasp of securitization theory, its diffusion in non-security domains of governance, and its implications for civil society organizations;
- Active critical engagement with content on terrorism/radicalization consumed via media, social media, and popular culture;
- Analytical writing and critical thinking skills through course assignments and papers;
- Ability to learn from and collaborate with classroom peers as well as contribute to peer learning achieved through classroom discussions and group project.

REQUIRED TEXTS

This course will rely on readings from a number of books, journal articles, and non-academic/journalistic pieces. These materials will either be available via Carleton Summon or in case of book chapters, on Ares through cuLearn.

EVALUATION

(All components must be completed in order to get a passing grade)

A. Participation/attendance	10%	Due: Ongoing/weekly
B. Critical summaries (4x10%)	40%	Due: On weeks 2 to 10, before class
C. Class Presentation	15%	Due: March 23 rd , March 30 th
D. Final project proposal	5%	Due: February 3 rd
E. Paper on final project	30%	Due: April 5 th

Late Papers/Assignments: Late submissions for critical summaries and the final paper will not be accepted unless you have a medical note or an official accommodation letter.

Note: Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

A. Participation/attendance

The nature of the course requires students to prepare for class by reading and reflecting on the weekly course materials in advance. Contributing to class discussions will help students to articulate their understanding and opinions of the course materials. Students should aim to listen to fellow students' contribution as much as trying to engage as an active speaker. Students will be graded on the quality of contributions to the class discussions and interactions with invited guest speakers. Student participation grade will be recorded after every class. If a student is absent, they will receive a participation grade of 0 for that class.

B. Critical Summaries

The critical summaries encourage students to complete required readings before class, foster their ability to discern the critical aspects of readings, and communicate them clearly in writing. Through the critical summaries, students will synthesize the central ideas in the readings and come to class ready to discuss the ideas and questions that the readings provoked.

Each week, students will be assigned three required readings. Students are asked to prepare critical summaries for any four weeks between week two (2) and week ten (10). During the course of the term, students are required submit a total of four (4) critical summaries. Each of the four critical summaries is worth 5% of the course grade, with all four critical summaries together accounting for 20% of the course grade.

Critical summaries will focus on either one article/book chapter from the required readings or common themes across multiple articles/book chapters. The critical summaries should be between 2-3 pages, follow the formatting requirements for assignments described below, and submitted via cuLearn **before** the start of class that week. As an example, for it to count toward your grade, a critical summary of readings for week 2 has to be submitted before the beginning of class on week 2.

The critical summary should include the following elements:

- A brief and specific explanation of the main argument of the reading.
- The author's research question and how they go about answering it.
- The theories/concepts the author relies on to advance their argument.
- How these ideas relate to concepts covered in class during other weeks.
- In case you are summarizing multiple papers, is there a common theme across these papers? Do the arguments support or contradict each other? Can you explain why?
- Your analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the author's case: does it make sense to you? Why/why not?
- What idea(s)/question(s) did the reading provoke for you? (Bring these to discuss in class.)

C. Class Presentation

The class presentation, proposal, and paper are all related to the final project. For the final project in this course, students are required to complete a review and analysis of a popular media object (e.g. movie, TV series, documentary) or a book related to terrorism and/or radicalization (more detail below). Students will be expected to work on the final project in a group of two (in exceptional cases, a student may be allowed to work on the project by themselves). Student groups have to be finalized by week 3 of the course. Students can propose group members themselves. However, those students without a group by the third week of class will be assigned into a group by the instructor.

Class presentations on the final project will be held on weeks 11 and 12 of the class. Each student group will have 10 minutes for their in-class presentation about their final project. The presentation should be creative and engaging. The goal is to provide a brief overview of the subject of your analysis but spend most of the presentation sharing your analysis of the subject. The presentation should include the following elements:

- Introduction to the subject of your study

- In case you are analyzing a popular media object, you can show up to a 2-minute clip (maximum) from the show; in case you are analyzing a book, provide a summary of the key plot/arguments of the book
- Use your presentation to help the class understand what you thought of the subject based on the materials covered in the course
- Clearly connect your analysis to the readings/content from earlier weeks

A sign-up sheet to schedule your in-class presentation will be posted on cuLearn. Before the in-class presentations, students will be provided an assessment rubric against which the presentations will be evaluated.

D. Project proposal

On February 3rd, before or during class, students will be expected to submit their proposal for the final project. The proposal should identify the members of the two-student group, the proposed subject of analysis, and preliminary readings from the course that will be used to analyze the subject. The proposal should be short, between 1-2 pages long. The proposal will allow the instructor to assess the merit of the proposed final project and provide feedback to the students.

E. Paper on final project

The final paper offers students the opportunity to research and deepen their understanding of the content of the course by applying their learning in analyzing an object of their interest. The final paper will be a group project i.e. each group will submit one paper identifying the members of the two-student group. As noted above, for the final project, students can review and analyze a show from popular media (e.g. movie, TV series, documentary) or a book (academic or fiction) related to terrorism and/or radicalization. As examples, the type of movies and TV shows students could focus on are *Four Lions*, *Zero Dark Thirty*, *Homeland*, *Bodyguard* (BBC), *American History X*, etc. Examples of academic books are *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented 'Terrorism'* (by Lisa Stampnitzky), *What Terrorists Want: Understanding the Enemy* (by Louise Richardson), *The Muslims are Coming: Islamophobia, Extremism, and the Domestic War on Terror* (by Arun Kundnani), *Europe's Fault Lines* (by Liz Fekete) etc. and examples of some fiction books are *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (by Mohsin Hamid), *Diary of a Bad Year* (by J.M. Coetzee), *The Secret Agent* (Joseph Conrad), etc.

These are just some examples to get you thinking. My main suggestion is that, for your final project, you should select an object that they are interested in researching and understanding more. Students are encouraged to start thinking about their project ideas early in the semester and discuss their ideas with the instructor. Ideally, students will have had discussions with the instructor about their prospective projects before they submit the project proposal on February 3rd.

The final paper is an analytical paper where students will demonstrate their depth of understanding of the course materials. By reviewing a show or a book, ultimately you are engaging in a critical assessment of how well the theories you learned in the course are reflected in cultural/academic representations of the “terrorist,” the “radical,” and the “heroes” that bring them to justice. The format

of the final paper should be similar to a book review or a movie review with appropriate references to papers and book chapters from the course. Your paper should contain the following elements:

- A brief summary of the movie/TV show/book you are reviewing
- Your thesis statement about the representation of characters and the argument/message
- The theories from the course that you are relying on to support your thesis
- Suggestions for how the cultural representations/plot/message could have been treated differently based on what you learned in the course

The final paper should be 15-20 pages excluding bibliography.

SUMMARIES/ PAPER FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS

Students will be asked to format their written submission using the following guidelines:

- All submission must be made electronically on cuLearn (as a Word document);
- Each submission should contain your name and student number;
- Documents should use a 12-point font, should be double spaced, and margins should be “normal” with 1 inch or 2.5 cm spaces on each side of the document;
- Include page numbers for each page of your document;
- Any citation style may be used as long as you remain consistent.

UNIVERSITY POLICY ON PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism is an instructional offence that occurs when a student uses or passes off as one’s own idea or product, work of another person without giving credit to the source. The punishments for plagiarism at Carleton are significant. You could fail the course, or, under certain circumstances, be expelled from the university.

If you are using someone else’s words—in a quotation—refer to the source in a footnote or bracketed reference. If you are paraphrasing someone else’s text (that is, not quoting directly, but closely following the line of argument), refer to the source just as you would for a quotation, except that quotation marks are not used. If you are using someone else’s ideas, acknowledge this in a footnote, or by a clear reference in the text of your essay.

Material copied from the Internet must be treated like material from a book or any other source. If you are quoting a source you found on the Internet, use quotation marks and refer to the location of the item (name the website; identify the electronic journal and issue, etc.) just as you would for a quotation from printed material. If you are paraphrasing material or borrowing ideas from an Internet source, the source must be identified in a footnote, just as a quotation would be. Excellent software is available for locating material that might have plagiarized from the Internet, and it will be used in reviewing assignments.

Additional information on Carleton University’s plagiarism policy and processes can be accessed at: <http://carleton.ca/registrar/academic-integrity/> .

INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY

Classroom teaching and learning activities, including lectures, discussions, presentations, etc., by both

instructors and students, are copy protected and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s). All course materials, including PowerPoint presentations, outlines, and other materials, are also protected by copyright and remain the intellectual property of their respective author(s).

Students registered in the course may take notes and make copies of course materials for their own educational use only. Students are not permitted to reproduce or distribute lecture notes and course materials publicly for commercial or non-commercial purposes without express written consent from the copyright holder(s).

Also, note that the weekly readings may change during the term to reflect any new developments in the field and/or the needs of the class. Guest speaker schedule may also change depending on speaker schedules and availability. These changes will be announced on the course cuLearn.

SCHEDULE

Week 1 (Jan 6th) – Introduction and overview of the course

- Review of the course outline and evaluation components
- A discussion on the media and political narratives of terrorism and radicalization
- An overview of the community impact of counterterrorism and counter-radicalization

Readings:

- Spalek, B. and R. Lambert. Muslim communities, counter-terrorism and counter-radicalisation: A critically reflective approach to engagement. *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice*, 36(4), 257-270.
- Government of Canada. (2019). Counter-terrorism. <https://www.canada.ca/en/services/defence/nationalsecurity/counterterrorism.html> (click through the various links).
- HM Government. (2018). CONTEST: The United Kingdom's Strategy for Countering Terrorism. https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/716907/140618_CCS207_CCS0218929798-1_CONTEST_3.0_WEB.pdf (pp 7-12, Executive Summary).

Week 2 (Jan 13th) – Definitional issues of terrorism and radicalization

- What is terrorism? What is radicalization?
- Impact of definitional confusion on counterterrorism and counter-radicalization

Readings:

- Stampnitzky, L. (2013). Introduction. *Disciplining terror: How Experts Invented 'Terrorism'* (pp. 1-20). Cambridge University Press.
- Kundnani, A. (2012). Radicalisation: the journey of a concept. *Race & Class*, 54(2), 3-25.
- Lindekilde, L. (2016). Radicalization, de-radicalization, and counter-radicalization. In R. Jackson (ed.), *Critical Handbook of Terrorism Studies* (pp. 528-551).

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 3 (Jan 20th) – Theories of political violence

- What causes terrorism? Why do people ‘radicalize’?
- Is there anything ‘new’ about terrorism and radicalization after 9/11?
- Can civil society help with addressing terrorism and radicalization?

Readings:

- Crenshaw, M. (2007). The Debate over “new” vs. “old” terrorism. *Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association*.
https://www.start.umd.edu/sites/default/files/files/publications/New_vs_Old_Terrorism.pdf.
- Mishra, P. (2016). The globalization of rage: Why today's extremism looks familiar. *Foreign Affairs*, 95(6), 46-55.
- Al-Amraoui, A. and B. Ducol. (2019). Family-Oriented P/CVE Programs: Overview, Challenges, and Future Directions. *Journal of Deradicalization*, 20, 190-231.

Optional reading:

- Ahmad, F. and J. Monaghan. (2019). Mapping Criminological Engagements within Radicalization Studies. *British Journal of Criminology*, 59(6), 1288-1308.

Guest speaker: Dr. Benjamin Ducol, Deputy General Director of Strategic and Scientific Development, Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence, Montreal

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 4 (Jan 27th) – The ‘clash of civilizations,’ ‘war on terror,’ and securitization

- The war on terror and the compromise of human rights
- The weaponization of culture in the attempt to “win hearts and minds”
- The logic of pre-crime control and the (mis)use of “soft power”

Readings:

- McCulloch, J. and D. Wilson. (2016). Pre-empting justice: pre-crime, precaution and counterterrorism. *Pre-crime: Pre-emption, precaution and the future* (pp. 56-76). Routledge.
- Huysmans, J. (2014). Political Reading of Security. *Security Unbound: Enacting Democratic Limits* (pp. 12-31). Routledge.
- Dhamoon, R. and Y. Abu-Laban. (2009). Dangerous (internal) foreigners and nation-building: The case of Canada. *International Political Science Review*, 30 (2), 163-183.

Guest speaker: Yavar Hameed, human rights lawyer

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 5 (Feb 3rd) – Who does counterterrorism/counter-radicalization target?

- The othering of Muslims post-9/11 and the exceptionalizing of Muslim violence
- Ideological violence: Right Wing vs “Islamist”

Readings:

- Kanji, A. (2018). Framing Muslims in the “War on Terror”: Representations of Ideological Violence by Muslim versus Non-Muslim Perpetrators in Canadian National News Media. *Religions*, 9(9), 274. <https://www.mdpi.com/2077-1444/9/9/274>.
- Balkbourn, J., N. McGarrity and K. Roach. (2019). Understanding and responding to right wing terrorism. *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, 14(3), 183-190.
- Kurzman, C., Kamal, A., & Yazdiha, H. (2017). Ideology and Threat Assessment: Law Enforcement Evaluation of Muslim and Right-Wing Extremism. *Socius*, 3, 1-13.

Guest speaker: Azeezah Kanji, Director of Programming, Noor Cultural Centre

** Paper outline and annotated bibliography due

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 6 (Feb 10th) – Counter-radicalization and counterterrorism in Canada

- Engagement of civil society with counterterrorism law
- Counter-radicalization in Canada

Readings:

- Public Safety Canada. (2018). National Strategy on Countering Radicalization to Violence. <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/ntnl-strtg-cntrng-rdclztn-vlnc/index-en.aspx>.
- Choudhury, T. (2017). The Experience of Canadian Muslim Civil-society Organization and Activists in Influencing and Shaping Counter-terrorism Legislation and Policy. *TSAS*. <https://www.tsas.ca/publications/the-experience-of-canadian-muslim-civil-society-organization-and-activists/>.
- Scrivens, R. and B. Perry. (2017). Resisting the Right: Countering Right-Wing Extremism in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 59(4), pp 1-25.

Optional reading:

- Stephens, W. and S. Sickelinck. (2019). Being resilient to radicalisation in PVE policy: a critical examination. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, doi: 10.1080/17539153.2019.1658415.

Guest speaker: Dr. Jeffrey Monaghan, Associate Professor of Criminology, Carleton University

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

== Reading week ==

Week 7 (Feb 24th) – Global comparisons: The U.S., the U.K., and Europe

- The globalization of counter-radicalization and counterterrorism

- Knowledge production and convergence of security practices

Readings:

- Kundnani, A. and B. Hayes. (2018). The Globalisation of Countering Violent Extremism Policies: Undermining human rights, instrumentalising civil society. *The Transnational Institute*. https://www.tni.org/files/publication-downloads/cve_web.pdf.
- Nguyen, N. (2019). “The Eyes and Ears on Our Frontlines”: Policing without Police to Counter Violent Extremism. *Surveillance & Society* 17(3/4): 322-337.
- Tammilkko, T. (2018). "The political challenges of community-level PVE practices: The Danish case of Copenhagen vs. Aarhus on dialoguing with extremist milieus" *Journal of Deradicalization* 16: 103-124.

Guest speaker: Steven Zhou, Investigative Journalist, National Security

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 8 (Mar 2nd) – The securitization of civil society

- Expectations from civil society in the context of counterterrorism and counter-radicalization
- The impact on counter-radicalization on education, health and other social sectors

Readings:

- Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. (2018). The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism: A Guidebook for South-Eastern Europe. <https://www.osce.org/secretariat/400241?download=true> (pp. 13-39).
- Younis, T. (2019). Counter-Radicalization: A Critical Look into a Racist New Industry. *Yaqeen Institute*. <https://yaqeeninstitute.org/tarekyounis/counter-radicalization-a-critical-look-into-a-racist-new-industry/>
- Ragazzi, F. (2016). Suspect community or suspect category? The impact of counter-terrorism as ‘policed multiculturalism’. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42(5), 724-741.

Guest speaker: Dr. Tarek Younis, Cultural Anthropologist and Lecturer, Department of Psychology, Middlesex University

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 9 (Mar 9th) – Global civil society and security aid

- The export of counter-radicalization through security aid
- The localization of global policies of counter-radicalization

Readings:

- United Nations Development Program. (2017). Preventing Violent Extremism through Inclusive Development and the Promotion of Tolerance and Respect for Diversity. <https://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/democratic-governance/conflict-prevention/discussion-paper---preventing-violent-extremism-through-inclusiv.html>.
- Alliance for Peacebuilding. (2018). Peacebuilding Approaches to Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism: Assessing the evidence for key theories of change. <http://www.allianceforpeacebuilding.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/CVE-SSR-1.pdf>.
- Youssef M. and H. Mighri. (2019). Women's Groups Take on Radicalization in Tunisia. *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. <https://carnegieendowment.org/sada/78685>.

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 10 (Mar 16th) – Gender and Security

- The framing of women in security discourse
- The role of women in counterterrorism and counter-radicalization

Readings:

- Winterbotham, E. and E. Pearson. (2016). Different Cities, Shared Stories: A five-country study challenging assumptions around Muslim women and CVE interventions. *The RUSI Journal*, 161 (5): 54-65.
- Abu-Lughod, L. (2002). Do Muslim women really need saving? *American Anthropologist* 104 (3): 783–90.
- Razack, S. (2007). The 'Sharia Law Debate' in Ontario: The Modernity/Premodernity Distinction in Legal Efforts to Protect Women from Culture. *Feminist Legal Studies* 15(1): 3–32.

Guest speaker: Feminist scholar studying national security / TBA

** Critical summary can be submitted before class

Week 11 (Mar 23rd) – Class presentations

** Class presentations of final project

Readings: no readings

Week 12 (Mar 30th) – Class presentations

** Class presentations of final project

Readings: no readings

** Final project is due on April 5th

REQUESTS FOR SPECIAL ACCOMMODATION

Students may require special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request the processes are as follows:

Pregnancy: Please contact me with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: <http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Religious: Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: <http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf>

Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities: If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or pmc@carleton.ca for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. Visit <http://carleton.ca/pmc>

Survivors of Sexual violence: As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: <http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support>

Accommodation for Student Activities: Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

You can visit the Equity Services website to view the policies and to obtain more detailed information on academic accommodation at <http://www2.carleton.ca/equity/>.

RESOURCES FOR STUDENTS

Carleton University offers many support services for its students through its Centre for Student Academic Support (CSAS). This centre offers peer support programs to students that includes coaching on specific academic subjects or struggling with school/life balance. CSAS facilitators will

help you navigate some of the challenges you might be experiencing. Depending on individual needs, students will be paired with trained facilitators who will assist through one-on-one sessions designed to improve academic performance. Additional information on these services can be found at:

<http://carleton.ca/csas/individual-support/>.