

Trends and Discontinuity: Charting a Canadian Research Agenda

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Strategic foresight aims at reducing uncertainty about future events. It seeks to discern significant trends that are likely to shape future events, and explores both the probability and the impact of possible developments, events or shocks. Strategic foresight can thus be used as a useful tool to establish research priorities. Research can offer comparative insights into the intended and unintended consequences of a range of possible policy options. It can provide an evidence-base in support of decision-making, but also holds out the potential to perform a “red-teaming” challenge function. Such knowledge is particularly valuable in a time of fiscal austerity: when resources are a premium, allocation should be optimized. This concluding chapter seeks to distill the research notes and workshop discussion. The analysis is designed to enhance scholarly capacity on the intersection of transnational trends and concomitant federal stakeholder departments’ priorities with respect to national and border security. It does so by highlighting key trends and discontinuities and formulating possible lines of inquiry.

Population Displacement

The impact on Canadian security of migration and population shifts as a function of push factors, such as domestic conflict, climate change,

resource scarcity (including relative deprivation, food and water security), and economic opportunities, is a dominant theme throughout. During the workshop, and in their accompanying research notes, François Crépeau and Daniel Hiebert cautioned that the widening gap between people looking to emigrate and the number of immigrants destination countries such as Canada are prepared to accept threatens to undermine the legitimacy of international borders. Borders function as filters, and they are supposed to prevent the inbound flow of undesirable people and material (as well as the outbound flow of people and goods that might precipitate problems elsewhere). Demographic models project that populations will flow from areas of high stress to areas of low stress that hold out the promise of greater opportunity. Scenario projections can be useful for understanding what *can* happen under current and international conditions, but only Canadian-centric research can work out the specific implications for Canada and the levers at the disposal of Canadian policy-makers. Concomitantly, Canadian research is better positioned to identify unintended consequences and weigh the costs and benefits associated with different policy options. By providing unintended incentives for illegitimate activities, policy can have a significant effect on strategic behaviour. Research can help identify vulnerabilities in Canada's immigration program and border controls, help conceive policy options, and assess potential payoffs.

Emerging Shifts in the Loci and Distribution of Economic and Political Power

A second dominant theme was the changing security climate engendered by the new logics of new centres of power, new economic actors, and diasporas. What does this global shift in power entail for Canada's secure posture? Jeremy Leonard and Brian Finlay document the opportunities and security challenges associated with the rise of Brazil, India, and China and an ever-globalizing trade regime. As Canadian businesses and investors reach out to access new markets, Morselli and Turcotte, Bouchard, and Boudreau observe that trade and economic development also become pathways for organized crime and terrorist organizations. Understanding weak links is critical to maintaining Canadian security.

A related issue for Canada is the potential for international corruption as Canadian businesses increase contacts in countries whose economies and business practices are less regularized than those in Canada and the United States. As Canadian companies increase their global footprint,

the potential for corruption increases. Notwithstanding the Corruption of Foreign Public Officials Act of 1998, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police did not create the first units specifically dedicated to investigating such crimes until 2008. Economic globalization is not without criminal cost for Canada: in 2011 the RCMP had twenty investigations ongoing involving Canadian companies operating overseas. At the same time, the prevalence of counterfeiting, weak intellectual property regimes, and the availability of medicine and medical treatments not approved in Canada pose both financial and health risks to individual and corporate Canadians.

The Globalization, Regionalization, and De-territorialization of Threats

The global reverberations of fragile domestic institutions and hostile foreign governments alike is a third major theme. Given its geo-strategically privileged position, Canada is far removed from the world's "bad neighbourhoods." Nonetheless, the migratory and humanitarian crises emanating from these neighbourhoods have second-order consequences on Canadian national security through their regionally destabilizing impacts and the push factors that have an adverse effect on the integrity of Canada's borders. Be it the arrival of a boatload of illegal immigrants, the illicit flow of undocumented migrants across the Canada-US border, or diaspora sympathy and support for politically destabilizing violence abroad, weak domestic institutions in countries far afield are thought to pose a security challenge for Canada. Conversely, weak institutions are problematic insofar as they can become safe havens that make it possible for terrorists, organized crime groups and human traffickers to operate with impunity, diffuse regional instability, and orchestrate or catalyze acts of domestic and international terrorism. Do certain instances of institutional fragility pose a greater threat to Canadian security interests than in others? What sorts of threats pose a specific risk to Canada, and what mitigation strategies are at Canada's disposal? Are some of them likely to be more effective than others? Answering such questions is difficult: researchers do not have a good grasp of the actual relationship, let alone causal mechanisms and effects, between weak domestic institutional capacity abroad and the first- and second-order effects on Canadian national and border security.

The conditions that facilitate recruitment and radicalization among Canadian diaspora communities – as well as the conditions that make such communities resilient against violent extremism – merit research. Young

people who are combat trained, and experienced in and committed to violent extremism, have the potential to foment violent extremism among their Canadian diaspora. Similarly, as the case of LTTE operatives raising (and extorting) funds among Canada's Tamil diaspora demonstrates, the linkages between Canadian diaspora groups, their sympathy and material support for violent extremism in their home country, and their ability to act as force-multipliers for domestic and regional instability has received little scholarly attention. We need more research on tipping points within diaspora communities that may make them more susceptible to support for or engagement in illegal activities. Even more importantly, we need to know why some diaspora communities in Canada are more resilient to such potential vulnerability than others. Such research has the potential to inform decision-making in the federal stakeholder departments with respect to policies that proactively bolster community resilience, rather than defaulting to remedial action.

At the same time, there has been a proliferation of state-sponsored (as opposed to state-based) threats. As debilitating attacks in February 2011 on the networks of the Treasury Board Secretariat, the Department of Finance, and Defence Research and Development Canada show, Canada is not immune from cyberattacks. Cyber-threats have evolved from hackers, script kiddies and web defacements to crime cartels with links to hostile foreign entities, on whose behalf they operate criminal/spy robot networks at arm's length. The rise in Distributed Denial of Service attacks (DDoS), the documented temporary manipulation of data flows on the Internet by Chinese authorities, and a Chinese state-owned Internet service's temporary redirection of a large amount of Internet traffic from North American networks exemplify the vulnerabilities of communications info-structures and infrastructures. As exemplified by Ronald Deibert's University of Toronto-led team that was instrumental in uncovering one of the largest international cyber spy rings to date, Canadian research can make a real difference.

Potential Lines of Inquiry

The state of knowledge as synthesized by the research notes reproduced in this volume thus gives rise to different lines of inquiry with immediate relevance to Canada to guide prospective future research, funding and partnership opportunities between academic research and the federal stakeholder departments. The overarching purpose of these potential lines of inquiry is to raise awareness of issues that emerged as both particularly

important for Canada and areas where research and partnerships stand to yield especially valuable payoffs. These lines of inquiry and associated questions are premised on two basic propositions about the relationship between transnational threats and Canadian security. At the global level, international stability is a *prima facie* Canadian national interest, since it is a precondition for the sort of open trade routes on which Canadian prosperity is heavily dependent. At the domestic level, Canada's overarching national interests include ensuring public safety, social resilience and the physical security of all Canadians as well as the protection of private property as a means to sustaining Canada's economic security writ large. The following lines of inquiry broadly reflect some of the research interests of academics, policy-makers and federal departments and agencies. Stakeholders from business and industry, education, social-advocacy and legal communities, and the realm of private citizens stand to complement this suggestive list. The following issues frame opportunities for collaboration between researchers and federal departments and agencies that seem particularly promising:

Shifting economic fundamentals and market structures in a multipolar world: As exemplified by the research notes by Leonard and Finlay, this line of inquiry focuses on the implications of the shift to emerging economies, industrial espionage, and the position of the United States in the global economy. Concomitantly, the research notes by Deibert and Leuprecht raise concerns about the way developments in cyberspace and demography can conjure up security problems in Canada involving non-state actors whose origin is far afield and thus largely beyond Canada's purview.

- Do state-owned enterprises "distort" the global economy and global markets and can states exploit distortions to give their economies a competitive edge?
- How are shifting employment patterns likely to affect undocumented and legal migration?
- Many emerging economies are also projected to be hit hard by climate change. What might be the implications for Canadian prosperity and economic security?
- What effect are growing sovereign debt loads and protracted economic weakness among many of Canada's key traditional trading partners and allies likely to have on Canada's ability to leverage soft-power and collective action in support of Canadian national interests?
- As the proportion of imports from emerging markets grows and the percentage of total Canadian exports to the United States falls, how

might Canada optimize scarce customs and border-security resources to achieve maximum strategic effect?

- How should Canada balance an open export-oriented economy without making Canadian intellectual property and Canadian cyberspace any more vulnerable than necessary?
- What threats and security risks emanate from the proliferation of private actors in the new economic order?
- Does the globalization of trade make Canada's borders more vulnerable?

The globalization of the movement of goods and people: As exemplified by the notes by Leuprecht, Crépeau and Finlay (as well as remarks by Hiebert at the workshop), changing dynamics in trade and migration raise serious concerns about safeguarding the integrity of Canada's borders.

- How can Canada protect its borders without endangering trade?
- How will risk assessments and "business models" be transformed to provide real-time integrated risk management frameworks? What sort of data and automation is required to this end?
- Is it in our economic interest to engage more fully with perceived security threats? If so, how should we proceed?
- What are the costs and benefits of tough border controls?
- What is the future of border management? How can our detection systems keep pace with evolving designer drugs and chemicals?
- In this light, how should the risk posed by borders be managed?
- What sort of bilateral, multilateral and international institutional-building and programmatic activities yield the greatest (and lest) payoffs to mitigate transnational threats to Canada's national security? Are there case studies and best practices Canada might want to follow or replicate?
- How can Canada position and prepare \ vis-à-vis one of the highest per capita immigration rates in the world?
- With immigration important to economic security, how should Canada manage (increasing) diversity?
- What are potential threats posed by irregular and vulnerable migration? How do we balance this threat with the protection of individual rights and Canada's international treaty obligations?
- What are the perceptions of legitimacy of Canadian social institutions from different perspectives?

Illicit networks and organized crime: The research notes by Sheptycki, Morselli and Turcotte, Bouchard, and Boudreau point to a dearth of knowledge about illicit networks and organized crime in Canada in particular, and their transnational dimensions in general. Sheptycki highlights the relationship between the micro-social structures of organized and broader macro-social structures; Morselli and Turcotte point to the dynamics and flexibility of actors and networks, positing their sensitivity to their environment as a prospectively fruitful avenue of research in terms of using different means available to the state to influence strategic behaviour; Bouchard singles out friendship and kinship as characteristics that have been shown to shape criminal networks, a matter of particular interest in as diverse a country and with as many diaspora groups as Canada; and Boudreau draws our attention to the informal sector and concomitant transnational activities that are being exploited by organized crime.

- What inclines friendship and kinship networks towards criminal activity and how might those forces be directed away from deviant behaviour?
- What is the nature and extent of the transnational linkages of organized crime in Canada? How and to what extent is organized crime engaged in illicit traffic across Canadian borders? What policies incentivize and disincentivize the genesis and subsequent expansion of transnational links?
- What attributes determine how likely a Canadian or Canadian communities are to become involved in organized crime?
- What do the transnational networks of organized crime and terrorist organizations look like? Might research into one allow us insights into the other? How extensive are they? What are the determinants that drive these networks: ideology or cost-benefit analyses? To what extent do they exploit counter-veiling transaction costs across borders?
- What are the links and networks between organized crime and terrorist groups?
- What can academia tell us about the functioning of illicit markets?
- How can we find new and creative ways to gather scarce data on crime?
- What measures can we use to determine the success of drug policies holistically? How might we move away from success measured in terms of arrests made and kilos seized and towards indicators that measure a reduction in individual and social harm?
- What kinds of gender divides are present in illicit networks?

Terrorism, violent extremism, and political radicalization: McCauley's research note reinforces just how little is actually known about the drivers of radicalization and the circumstances and vexing mechanism that turn a law-abiding individual who happens to have ideas that are deemed radical into a violent extremist, or someone who sympathizes with or supports violent extremists. McCauley also raises the spectre of shifting terrorist threats, with an apparent trajectory from international terrorism to domestic terrorism, as well as the growth and decline of ideological paradigms that inform violent extremism. Yet, McCauley also cautions inferring nefarious behaviour from attitudes, suggesting a dearth of good insights into the intervening variables and enabling conditions that might turn an apologist into a terrorist.

- What attributes determine how likely a Canadian or Canadian communities are to sympathize with, support, or engage in violent extremism?
- What are the conditions, behavioural characteristics, attitudinal structures and tipping points associated with the radicalization process leading to violent extremism among Canadians, how does the process work in Canada, and how wide-spread is the problem?
- Why do some diaspora communities appear more resilient than others? In this regard, what are the internal dynamics of diasporas: the role of families and family structure, the nature and extent of continued links with the country of origin, the reproduction of social norms dynamics of the country of origin within the diaspora, the contribution of publications for and by diasporas?
- What is the most effective way to reach out to and persuade against radicalization in local communities?
- Does government-led "youth outreach" have an appreciable effect on reducing the emergence of terrorist networks?
- How might cultural communities and authority figures within them minimize radicalization within their communities?
- To what extent does research on the influences and drivers of violent extremism elsewhere hold up in Canada, and to what extent is Canada different?
- How effective has "counter-radicalization" been in other countries (especially those countries with similar systems of government and legal systems)?
- What sort of "counter-messaging" might work in Canada?
- What should be the role of government versus communities be?

- What social movements can be triggered or reinforced in response to disruptive trends such as a recession? What determinants affect the likelihood of a segment of society resorting to a violent agenda?
- What are the similarities and differences between transnational extremist movements, such as Islamists and the extreme-right, motivated by misinterpretations of a religious ideology and secular ones?
- How great a threat do they pose?
- To what extent do research findings for violent religious extremists hold true for secular ones, and vice versa?
- How will the shifting international environment shape the agenda and prospects of al-Qaeda and affiliates?
- Are violent extremist non-state actors and hostile states/foreign intelligence activities mutually reinforcing?
- Will the different al-Qaeda affiliates be able to overcome the very particular contexts in which they operate and which drive their struggle to coalesce into a broader movement?
- How might that affect Canada (for instance, in specific reference to the organizations affiliated with or inspired by al-Qaeda, such as Al-Shabaab, who have recruited actively among Canada's Somali diaspora)?
- How do different al-Qaeda affiliates choose to operationalize violence? Differences in the way they view society will affect strategic behaviour which, in turn, can have a significant impact on the likelihood of success.
- What is their definition of success; to what extent is capturing a state in the short-term interests of affiliates of al-Qaeda, such as al-Shabaab?
- Is the purpose of capturing a state primarily domestic or international in orientation?
- Why does Canada not have much of a "security culture," at least in comparison to other allied democracies including the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, Germany, Spain, and the Netherlands?
- How do weak states rather than failed states, serve as propitious arenas for the development and advancement of terrorism?
- What are the unintended consequences of the hastily crafted policies that emerged immediately following 9/11? Were these policies effective?
- How does the globalization of regional tensions (and the resulting international notoriety) affect how and where terrorist networks emerge?

Technological change and innovation: Technological trends are among the most difficult to anticipate but, as the advent of the Internet and mobile technology show, can have game-changing effects. While uncertainty in this field is particularly high, it is clear that in the same way that organized crime and violent extremists have been exploiting borders and the forces of globalization to their benefit, the same is true for cybersecurity. Cyberespionage, for instance, is low cost yet highly effective. As Ron Deibert's research note explains, Canada is particularly vulnerable. The potential economic and political payoffs from successful infiltration, the mere costs associated with an attack, and the ready availability of technology to hostile state and non-state actors make this an area of exceptional concern.

- What balance should Canada strike between ready access to Personal Identifiable Information to optimize the security of Canadian networks and Canadians' right to privacy?
- What role do social media and the Internet play in the process of radicalization as well as violent extremism in Canada? What is their impact?
- What is the impact of social media when dealing with Canadian and international security?
- What are we able to do to protect ourselves while still maintaining an open internet?

Mitigating the effects of climate change: McLeman and Smit's research note drives home the domestic sovereignty issues climate change poses for Canada and the disproportionate effect climate change is projected to have on precisely those countries with the least institutional capacity to respond.

- How do demographic and climate change affect migratory models and what are the projected impacts on Canada? What sort of preventive bilateral and multilateral assistance might Canada initiate to mitigate potential flows?

Research also needs to account for interaction effects and feedback loops within and among these lines of inquiry, so-called threat multipliers. For example, demographic change, migration, climate change, or poverty, serve to compound both regional and international threats to security. Similarly, food scarcity is intensified by drought that is brought on by climate change and unsustainable farming practices that seek to increase the production of food but whose feedback mechanism further aggravates anthropogenic climate change. Instead of treating problems in isolation, futures analysis

and research have been taking a systemic-ecological approach that is able to account for these sorts of mutually reinforcing effects.

Research and related activities undertaken under the aforementioned lines of inquiry are anticipated to:

- inform policy, actions, decisions, and practices through evidence, analysis and insights on key issues and problems, including how policy frameworks affect – and are bound to affect – the security of Canadians individually and corporately throughout the twenty-first century;
- deepen our understanding of
 - Canada’s national security, the challenges and opportunities presented by different transnational dynamics, and their impact on Canadians, Canadian society, and the private sector;
 - the evolving and changing role and impact of information technology on Canadian security;
 - behavioural patterns and attitudinal structures among those who resort to violence for political reasons, or who use Canada as a staging ground to acquire material, money or support to sow destruction and political instability abroad;
 - what makes communities resilient;
 - how Canada should position itself internationally to realize desired security benefits at home.
- provide a cost-benefit analysis of policies;
- promote engagement in research and sustained relationships among policy-makers, practitioners, professional associations, communities and their organizations; provide new research insights on national-security practices and their impact on Canadians individually and collectively.

While the federal stakeholder departments stand to benefit from more research and greater research capacity on the impact of transnational trends on national and border security, researchers stand to benefit from the perspectives held by the federal government stakeholder departments on such issues and opportunities for knowledge mobilization in support of policy priorities. On the one hand, the federal stakeholder departments benefit from building bridges with the academic community; on the other, scholars stand to benefit from greater awareness of the information-sharing constraints to which federal departments are subject, including privacy and official secrets legislation governing the disclosure and use of data and information, as well as national-security and operational requirements.

Conclusion

In a spirit of open policy development that seeks to bring ideas and thinkers from outside the federal government to the policy process, this volume has sought to map the landscape of the changing global threat environment by identifying key transnational trends, the way they are projected to affect Canada over the foreseeable future, and the sort of linkages and research that might prove useful to confront these challenges proactively by planning strategically. This volume has sought to take stock of the Canadian research capacity in this area, and offer a cursory review of the state of knowledge. It is meant as an impetus for change by identifying some research gaps through a survey of some of the stakeholders' needs as well as suggesting lines of inquiry. Genuine insights are bound to flow from an inter-disciplinary dialogue that is grounded in methodological pluralism. Such dialogue forms the basis for research that will enhance the evidence base that informs decision-making; it will also bolster Canadian democracy by bringing together government stakeholders and scholars while drawing the private sector and Canadian public into a discussion on confronting and mitigating the impact of transnational trends on Canadian security.