

DECODED:  
Understanding the Post-COVID-19  
Security Landscape Using Structured  
Models, Approaches, and Analytic  
Techniques

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First published in 2020  
by the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies  
Vancouver  
PO Box 84031 Bainbridge, Burnaby, BC V5A4T9



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ISBN: 978-1-7772921-3-3

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend gratitude to the following individuals for their contributions to this report:

**Pallvi Sehijpaul** the production coordinator who rallied the team during the COVID-19 lockdown and ensured that we met our strict deadlines.

**Serge Bergler** for making sure my office is run efficiently and creating the space for this project in a demanding schedule.

**Dr. Patrick Neal** for being the red team always and making our arguments more robust.

**Natalie Archutowski** for cover design and as the best research assistant possible.

**Sarah Meyers** for her hours of co-editing the text.

**Dr. Rihab Elzein** for her unwavering support and generosity.

Hanna Archutowski, Susan Stromberg, Karen Stromberg and Maribel Bergler for their unswerving support and belief in what we do at CASIS.

I would like to dedicate this book to:

Tricia Lee Kelshall

Thank you for the inspiration and reminding us why we have a responsibility for helping to contribute toward a safer tomorrow.... our children.

- CM Kelshall

# FOREWORD

Professor Julian Richards

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The COVID-19 global pandemic of 2020 has proved itself to be the ultimate disruptive event. It has turned many of our previous assumptions on their heads, while emphasising and exacerbating existing tensions and security threats. For the policy-makers, priorities have had to be quickly and radically reviewed. In a way, we already knew that the post-Cold War security environment would be much more dynamic and unpredictable than what went before. COVID-19 has delivered a further step-change in this understanding. It has also shown that a virus respects no politics. It affects all states equally, regardless of their ideology or approach.

In this context, *DECODED: Understanding the Post-COVID-19 Security Landscape Using Structured Models, Approaches, and Analytic Techniques* could hardly be more timely.

This book sets out to achieve two objectives. Firstly, our understanding of the complex interweaving of different security threats arising from the COVID-19 crisis has become a pressing, and rapidly unfolding priority. The scale and complexity of the crisis have also shown that virtually every sector of society and economy are affected in some shape or form. To this multi-faceted three dimensional picture, a fourth dimension of time applies. As lockdowns continue over extended periods of time, and even return sporadically where there are further surges in infection, both new and existing threats alike are emphasised and exacerbated. Even where phenomena appear to be unconnected to the virus, such as minority rights movements leading to protest and counter-protest, there is clearly a connection in the general shape and nature of civic discord and the rise of Violent Transnational Social Movements (VTSMs).

Through the range of examples presented in this book, from civic discord, to food security and economic stabilization, the broad and complex picture of virus-driven insecurity and challenge is very aptly demonstrated.

The second objective of this book is a fundamentally pedagogical one. Building on the excellent work of Richards J. Heuer Jr. and the Phersons



a few years ago in designing Structured Analytic Techniques (SATs), which still grace the desks of many an intelligence analyst across the world, this book usefully adds a further dimension of Structured Models, Approaches and Techniques (SMATs). The authors emphasise to their credit that these are built on a solid bedrock of social science theories, thus introducing a robust and scientific foundation to the approach. In this way, both the design and execution of the techniques will be of interest to a wide range of practitioners and academics alike.

There are a few particular ways in which this book delivers pedagogical dividends. As described early in the narrative, one of the problems with analytical training courses and methods is that they can seem sterile and hypothetical. This can, in turn, mean that analysts undertaking the training can fail to see the important connections with real-world challenges when they return to the office. By relating to the techniques sampled here to real and current examples of high priority to contemporary policy-makers, the whole process comes alive in very important ways. Furthermore, those of us who have worked in policy environments or trained new recruits in them, will know that the two most important skills to have in flourishing in such an environment are an ability to summarise and condense complex situations into “key findings”; and an ability to present those findings in accessible and articulate ways for consumers with little time on their hands to make sense of the situation. By using basic Bottom Line Upfront (BLUF), and Graphical Intelligence Summaries (GRINTSUMs), the examples in this book should be highly enlightening for new and seasoned analysts alike.

We live in a very uncertain and dynamic world, in which misinformation and indeed disinformation are increasingly problematic aspects. It seems entirely sensible to respond with scientifically robust approaches to sense-making in such a world, to which end DECODED should make an important contribution.

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# GLOSSARY

**Anomie:** A condition of instability resulting from chronic deregulation, a breakdown of norms, standards and values or from a lack of purpose and ideals (Durkheim, 1897).

**Civic Discord:** Where people's civic agreements as implied by the social contract, or agreement to adhere to legitimate law, order, and authority, begin to change in the face of a new normal in which accepted rights and freedoms are restricted (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2020). Discord and acts of disharmony against state authority may emerge as a result (McCormick & Steers, 2020).

**Conspiracy Theory:** Shapes the thought process and provides reason for actions, events, and things for the purpose of finding the 'truth' and leading others to believe the rhetoric. "A conspiracy theory purports that some covert and powerful individual(s), organization(s) or group(s) are intentionally plotting to accomplish some sinister goal" (van der Linden, 2013 as cited in van der Linden, 2015).

**Creeping Normalcy/Landscape Amnesia:** "Slow trends concealed within noisy fluctuations. If the economy, schools, traffic congestion, or anything else is deteriorating slowly, it is difficult to recognize that each successive year is on average slightly worse than the year before, so one's baseline standard for what constitutes normality shifts gradually and imperceptibly. It may take a few decades of a long sequence of such slight year-to-year changes before people realize, with a jolt, that conditions used to be much better several decades ago, and that what is accepted as a normality has crept downwards" (Diamond, 2005, p. 508).

**Food Insecurity:** The inability to acquire or consume an adequate diet quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so. Household food insecurity is often linked with the household's financial ability to access adequate food (Government of Canada, 2018, para. 1).

**Food Supply Chain:** A food supply chain can be defined as the processes and actors that take food from farm to fork. The seven stages of a food chain are: inputs into production, food production, primary food storage and processing, secondary food processing, food distribution transportation and trade, food retailing and catering, and food promotion and labelling. All stages influence food availability, food prices, and food marketing (Hawkes, 2009, p. 339).



**Identity Affirmation:** “The association of positive and affirmative sentiment to the distinguishing factors of an identity. Therefore identity affirmation could be exhibited by engagement with things or individuals that contribute to the development of strong feelings and a sense of belonging.” (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019; Salzarulo, 2006)

**Individuation:** Refers to the emergence of a person's differentiated identity in relation to the larger group of individuals with whom he or she is situated. (Jackson & Hogg, p. 395)

**Institutional Trust:** The “summary judgement that the system [of institutions in society] is responsive and will do what is right even in the absence of constant scrutiny”, simply stated, the individual level perception of the relationship between corruption and the performance of political institutions and actors (Miller & Listhaug, 1990, p. 358 as cited in Habibov, Afandi & Cheung, 2017, p. 172; Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Armah-Attoh, Gyimah-Boadi & Chikwanha-Dzenga, 2007, p. 9).

**Meta Contrast:** The prototypicality of one individual relative to the perceived prototypicality of an ‘other’ culturally distinct individual of another self-categorised identity.

**Meta Narrative:** Interpretation and expression of a framework of knowledge around issues which legitimises emotional perspectives along a dominant story or grand narrative. The more extremist the meta-narrative the more extremist the sentiments expressed in an echo chamber and the less costly actions consistent with the meta-narrative (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2018).

**Meta-Opinion:** McCauley (2015) distinguishes meta opinion as “an opinion about opinion,” and clarifies that the “actual distribution of public opinion” and the “perceived distribution” can lead to political instability when they diverge significantly (p. 82). When measuring these distributions when it comes to extremist sentiment, it is important to take into account the speed and breadth of the spread of these messages. An interpretation and expression of a framework of knowledge around issues which legitimises emotional perspectives along a dominant story or grand narrative. The more extremist the meta-opinion the more extremist the sentiments expressed in an echo chamber and the less costly actions consistent with the meta-opinion (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2018).

**Misinformation and Disinformation:** "Misinformation' refers to the inadvertent sharing of false information" and disinformation is "the deliberate creation and sharing of false and/or manipulated information that is intended to deceive and mislead audiences, either for the purposes of causing harm, or for political, personal or financial gain" (House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2018. p 2).

**National Security:** from the perspective of a territorially defined nation state, "objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (Herz, 1950; Arnold Wolfers, 1960 as cited in Paleri, 2008. p. 52).

**Online constituencies:** Can be defined as the vessels through which extremist sentiment becomes politicised fostering the deepening of an us vs them narrative which increases the social engagement and emotional energy of an electorate around an issue of social or identity-based concern. Online constituencies are groups of likeminded individuals who coalesce around specific issues creating a groundswell of opinion on an issue which has been successfully securitised through speech acts. Social concerns become political electoral concerns given sufficient pressure (Ross & Staines, 1972).

**Power of a Social Movement:** The degree to which this group can influence the actions of individuals who see themselves as part of the group and the likelihood of impact on civic society.

**Self-Actualised Actors:** Based on the work of Maslow (1943) and Goldstein (1939), this might be understood as the "full realization of one's creative, intellectual, and social potential through internal drive" (Selva, 2020). Within the context of extremist actors, this might be seen as the impetus to act violently for their chosen cause or identity.

**Self-Actualization:** "The process of achieving one's full potential as an independent, fulfilled, free-thinking human being, which can only be attained after achieving safety, security, and economic well-being, as per Maslow's hierarchy of needs" (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

**Socially Radicalized Self-Actualized Individuals (SRSA):** Lone actors who have steeped themselves in violent social movement narratives via echo chambers and have endeavoured to act consistently with their beliefs and to attain their full human potential, being empowered to act kinetically by these echo chambers.

**Socially-Radicalised:** Consists of individuals familiarizing themselves with and being influenced by radical ideologies without necessarily “socialising with radical groups”, physically (Al-Lami, 2009, p. 7). Socially radicalized actors are likely to be heavily entrenched in online echo-chambers, where group participants contribute to each other’s radicalization process. These lone actors might also be seen as individuals who already have a violent impetus and are searching for a cause which would allow them to act violently with purpose.

**Soft Violence:** “Actions which fall short of criminally identifiable physical violence. Soft violence often does not meet the threshold of a hate crime, as hate words may not be exchanged or used” (Kelshall & Neal, 2019). It takes the form of culturally nuanced inexplicit cues which are injurious by implying and reinforcing perceived power disparities. Soft violence might also be considered non kinetic actions taken by those who identify with identity based social movements which entrench or highlight the superiority of one group over another without actual kinetic impact (Kelshall 2019).

**Tightness of a Social Movement:** The depth of relationship and bonding between members such that they can be easily distinguished as members of a social movement who display cohesion in appearance, action and word which is identity-based.

**Tribal Bonds:** “Cultural narratives which both unify and strengthen group relationships. In the context of VTSMs, these bonds determine the degree to which someone becomes a sympathizer or supporter of a group” (Kelshall & Neal, 2019). Both of these can be measured using the Pinehurst Model.

**Violent Transnational Social Movements VTSMs:** While all social movements are polycentric, reticulate and segmentary, Violent transnational Social Movements (VTSMs) are primarily extremist in nature, violent in expression and identity exclusive (Kelshall, 2020). They transcend state boundaries to unite individuals - predisposed to violence which may be soft or kinetic - with shared ideologies, perspectives or grievances particular to identity (Kelshall, 2020). Such a definition helps in understanding the global appeal to ISIS recruits from over 130 countries. (Speckhard & Allenberg, 2020) Participation in these movements is a result of the perception that a certain aspect of life that has social or cultural importance is under an existential threat and therefore requires a collaborative effort to restore it. VTSMs are therefore

defined by the intention of the preservation of dominance, legitimacy, authority and superiority of an identity. This is distinct from an inclusive social movement seeking structural equality and legitimacy in the perceived presence of institutionally administered disparity. Activism to cause change in disparity is the primary tool used by cause based social movements while violence -either soft or kinetic- is the primary tool used by violent transnational social movements to preserve and protect perceived positions of structural power. Crowd sourced justice (Karen videos and doxing) is a tactic used by social movements which are cause based (Furlong, 2019).

**Western Chauvinist** (\*the following definition was written by an alleged member of an extremist group): "meaning that you love and appreciate Western culture to an obscene degree. We define Western culture as the culture of ideas, the free market, and free speech rooted in the system outlined in the United States Constitution, which has had a direct influence on the drafting of constitutions in other nations. Race isn't a factor" (Bazile, 2018, para. 13).

# SAT & SMAT INDEX

# STRUCTURED ANALYTICAL TECHNIQUES INDEX

Structured Analytical Techniques (SATs) are tools that assist analysts in the generation of assessment which is evidenced, robust and useful (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 15). The use of SATs provides a number of advantages for analysts, including increasing “rigour, defensibility, auditability, transparency, and objectivity” (Pyrik, 2019, p. 7). While SATs cannot fully protect analysts from flawed or incorrect results, they provide analysts with the opportunity to demonstrate their logical pathways, externalize thinking processes and allow for a more critical assessment of the problem (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 15; Pyrik, 2019, p. 7). Even with the increasing dependence on technology, the importance of critical thinking and rigorous inquiries by analysts cannot be overstated or overlooked. Promoting the use of SATs helps to ensure that the spread of misinformation and disinformation - particularly in the public safety, intelligence and security fields - is mitigated.

Quality of Information Check	“Evaluates the completeness and soundness of available information sources in order to produce accurate intelligence products for decision makers” (Meyers & Vlassopoulos, 2018, p. 42). The outcomes of the QIC provide the confidence to use a source and relevance of its content.
Indicators and Signposts of Change	Used to reduce cognitive bias and aid in forecasting the likelihood of increased risk or potential threats in a given scenario. ISP’s can help reduce the chances of analysts overlooking seemingly small events that may prove to have relevance later on in a mission. Once indicators are identified, monitoring a situation over time allows analysts to better predict the direction in which a security situation is heading. (Archutowski, Autelitano & Curtis, 2019, p. 47)
High-Impact/Low-Probability	Sensitizes intelligence analysts and decision-makers to the potential impacts of an unlikely, hypothetical event. This forces analysts to pre-emptively think about which measures could be taken to circumvent this occurrence, and/or effectively deal with its repercussions (Pherson, 2009; Heuer & Pherson, 2014; U.S. Government, 2009).  These analyses can also provide military decision-makers and policy makers with forewarning that an event, with potential policy and resource consequences, may actually occur (Heuer & Pherson, 2014).
Morphological Analysis	Reveals multiple possible solutions for consideration, while eliminating improbable outcomes, and highlighting unexplored avenues of thought (Pherson & Heuer, 2011; Arnold, Rautenbach & Cooper, 2019).

Analysis of Competing Hypotheses	Used to aid judgement on important issues, which require careful weighing of alternative explanations and/or conclusions. Analysts will be able to use an ACH to help minimize and potentially overcome cognitive limitations, as well as avoid common analytic pitfalls (Khera & Manz, 2018).
Key Assumptions Check	Assists analysts to think about biases that may hinder their interpretation of evidence and the reasoning underlying any particular judgement or conclusion (Shanti & Kale, 2018).
Cross Impact Matrix	Enables analysts and decision makers to examine how variables in a particular security issue influence all other variables which appear to be related by requiring that all assumptions between variables are clearly articulated (Pherson & Heuer, 2020, p. 89).
Alternative Future Analysis	Uses imaginative thinking to generate multiple potential outcomes to a serious security threat in order to prepare policymakers for all likely scenarios (US Government, 2009, p. 34). Together these groups create a futures matrix where they utilize their creativity to develop four potential futures resulting from their security problem and how they may resolve the prominent issues in each one (US Government, 2009, p. 36). Therefore, this technique improves intelligence analysis for situations that have too many unknown factors to rely on a single determinative structured analytical technique (US Government, 2009. p. 34; Meyers & Vlassopoulos, 2019; Pherson & Heurer, 2011. P. 104).



# STRUCTURED ANALYTICAL MODELS, APPROACHES AND TECHNIQUES INDEX

Structured Models, Approaches and Techniques (SMATs) are structured cognitive assistance tools which incorporate social science theories into intelligence analysis assessment and process in order to create more comprehensive, nuanced intelligence products while reducing the need for immediate and available subject matter expert input.

Models	Distill entire subjects into distinct conceptual attributes that mirror real world processes or activity.
Approach	Provides guidance for the creation of an intelligence product.
Techniques	Well defined repeatable step by step procedures for analysing security problems.

*George & Bruce (2014, p.255)*

The models used in this text are generated from relevant social science theories and are based on subject matter evidence, which is incorporated into the theoretical framework of the models and assumptions. This allows for analysts encountering new challenges to complete analysis without the express need of an expert to aid in assessments (US Marine Corps, 2011). It further improves the analytic process by making the “investment in quality analysis” at the beginning of the process, rather than at the end, and ensures that even “less seasoned analysts” will create reliable and useful intelligence products and recommendations (Stewart et al., 2014, p. 256-257). SMATs are particularly beneficial for analysts or decision makers who might not have access to a range of subject matter experts, particularly when rapid decision making is required. In dynamic conflict scenarios, new assumptions about the security landscape have to be taken into account to ensure that assessment is sufficiently sensitive to the context in which the security problem is occurring.

The SMATs created in this text have been designed to incorporate working theories on the nature of contemporary conflict which have been shaped by epistemological and ontological considerations unique to the nature of the issue under analysis. The SMATs developed by Kelshall (2020) incorporated relevant social science theories in an effort to create timely, reliable and useful intelligence products for analysts and decision makers. These SMATs are designed to be fit for purpose as they are context relevant rather than academic, clinical and sterile lab-based tabletop exercises which are removed from the realities of the domain of operations. The SMATs are created to take a structured approach so that machine aided analysis is more accessible. The full range of SMATs are available as AI enhanced software suites in addition to the manual version

applied here. The layering of social science theories on all of CASIS Vancouver and the CCIBC's models are based on subject matter evidence, which is incorporated into the theoretical framework of the models. Data sets collated by CASIS Vancouver comprise hundreds of contemporary conflict identity-based incidents, as well as in excess of ten million online transactions, which includes tweets, extremist forum scrapes, online toxic comments, soft violent and kinetic actor social media scrapes and violent actor manifestos. This data is used as the evidential basis upon which the analysis of the nature of contemporary conflict has been built. It has also been used to provide a better understanding of how to approach identity-based conflict.

These datasets have been maintained and collated since 2015, and have significantly guided the development and refinement of each of the SMATs used in our research related to violent transnational social movements and the growth and normalisation of extremism. The SMATs utilized in this book have been developed from original research created by CASIS Vancouver and the Canadian Centre for Identity Based Conflict. The research teams are comprised of data scientists, cyber warfare specialists, intelligence analysts, linguists, and social scientists as well as two police practitioners. They use both the datasets and the social science theories outlined below in order to generate a better understanding of the rationale, momentum and drivers of contemporary social conflict scenarios.

Selected theories applied in the creation of original models, approaches and techniques such as Pinehurst, the Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid and the Discord Model include the following:

- Identity** (Abdelal, Herrera, Johnston, & Martin, 2001; Mittal, 2015; Markus & Kitayama, 1991, as cited in De Mooij, 2004, p. 94);
- Theory of Planned Behavior** (Ajzen, 2005; Armitage & Conner, 2001);
- Expectancy Value** (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975);
- Elaboration Likelihood** (Priester, Wegener, Petty & Fabrigar, 1999);
- Cognitive Dissonance** (Festinger, 1962);
- Social Learning** (Bandura, 1973);
- Social Norms and Human Normative Psychology** (Kelly & Davis, 2018);
- Post Materialism** (Golding, 2000);

**Political Mobilization & Radicalization** (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2009; McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017);  
**The Structure of Social Movements** (Gerlach, 2001);  
**Collective Memory and Narratives** (Wertsch, 2008); and  
**Anomie** (Stults & Baumer, 2008).

The current environment, which has largely been generated by the COVID-19 pandemic, has created a collection of security concerns which necessitate an in-depth analysis of how social science theoretically driven cognitive assistance tools could potentially assist law enforcement and policy makers in their efforts to maintain order and good governance in a civil society which is increasingly impacted by social movements, echo chambers, Generation Z narrative creation, anomie, misinformation, conspiracy theories and extremist normalisation. The SMATs developed by the team particularly focus on the clear distinctions between terrorism and extremism which is socially driven.

A more comprehensive text incorporating all of the research and SMATs generated by the research team is forthcoming. Four original research SMATs are used in this text. They are the following:

Pinehurst Model (Kelshall & Neal, 2019)	Used to aid decision makers at all three levels of response: tactical, operational and strategic. The Pinehurst Model guides response considerations when dealing with situations where there is a likelihood of soft violence occurring, then escalating into kinetic violence in a 5th generation (5G) warfare context. 5G warfare is defined as group vs group conflict which is identity based.(Kelshall & Neal, 2019).
Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019)	Guides response considerations when dealing with situations where there is a likelihood of violence occurring in an identity conflict context. Of importance is the fact that the technique assists in ensuring that response decisions are appropriate, lawful and proportionate as well as ensuring that moral victories belong to law enforcement (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019, p. 48).
Discord Model (Kelshall, 2020)	Aids law enforcement to forecast where and when increases in disorder and the amount of civil resistance to emergency policies and procedures might occur during situations of crisis, such as complex emergencies, natural disasters and impact of pandemic lockdowns. The discord model uses particular variables to allow the analyst to measure the

	overall probability that a state of civil disorder will occur in times of crisis in a given geographical area.
What-If Social Momentum Analysis (Kelshall, 2020)	Establishes signposts of change and bolsters situational awareness and incorporates social science theories to understand how extremist narratives might impact the environment to better understand when and how a certain event may begin to unfold, focusing on explaining how the event may come about (U.S. Government, 2009).



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In early 2020, a focus group was conducted to examine some of the implications of the ongoing effects of long-term lockdowns and pandemic-related economic impacts. It became apparent that the analysis might also be relevant to other types of emergencies. The focus group was comprised military officers, police practitioners, social scientists, data scientists, linguists, cyber security, gang crime researchers and criminologists. The overarching security question being addressed in this report is the following: How might the security landscape change internationally experience change internationally following the COVID-19 pandemic? The term 'security landscape' refers to the broad spectrum of security problems which might be aggravated by the 'new normal'.

As a result of the analysis, six key issues emerged as having likely long-term implications in addition to issues which might present threats to national security on an ongoing basis.

The six key issues that emerged are below:

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| Issue #1: Food Security                   | Issue #2: Extremism       |
| Issue #3: Misinformation                  | Issue #4: Human Security  |
| Issue #5: Transportation & Infrastructure | Issue #6: Economic Policy |

Four analytic judgements emerged as a result of the intelligence brief in this report:

- Consistent messaging is key for weathering the pandemic and any complex or natural disaster emergency;
- Power and influence dynamics are changing, on an international scale and within nations;
- Resilience, creativity and collaboration are key to successfully emerging from the pandemic; and
- Misinformation creates ungovernable civic spaces which damage social cohesion.

These judgements were formulated through the use of Structured Analytical Techniques (SATs) and Structured Models, Approaches and Techniques (SMATs) that addressed international security concerns, creating the opportunity to engage critically with emerging threats arising during the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition to traditional SATs being

utilized, SMATs were also conducted in order to generate both a variable-based and nuance-based understanding of the security issues posed by the 'new normal'; this is shaped by the dynamic nature of events surrounding responses to the pandemic and to the ongoing safety of communities given the new rules of social interaction and the curtailing of personal freedoms.

The intention behind the creation of this volume is to enable analysts to access analytic tools to assist in surveilling the security landscape and civic environment. The overriding objective is to give access to tools which do not rely on existing policing datasets but on introducing new approaches designed to lessen cognitive bias, including those found in historical criminal records and predictive assessments based on such. The tools in this volume simplify the analytic process by aiding analysts in the reduction of cognitive and cultural biases with the use of these structured analytical techniques. Its audience include national security analysts, law enforcement, policy makers, public safety practitioners.

This book serves as a broad analysis of the six key issues identified above; in future, conducting multiple SMATs and SATs on each security question would allow for a more detailed analysis of a particular security concerns. The text also allows for some of the research undertaken at CCIBC to uncover alternative understandings and perspectives on the nature of contemporary conflict. The role of social movements and social radicalisation is not a common theme in the study of extremism; however, when these theories are applied, they reveal a better contextual and nuanced understanding of both the speed and size of social movements which enable violent self-actualisation. The importance of echo chambers in enabling seemingly unconnected actors to act violently is also demonstrated through the use of the SMATs.

## **IMPLICATIONS**

Civil society norms are by nature dynamic and changing. As such, they provide a difficult ground upon which to build structured techniques to assess hypotheses around security concerns. It is this very nature of social interaction which necessitates social movement, group behaviour and social interaction theories to be factored into assessments; in addition to the need to ensure that identity, experience and training related biases do not impact upon decision making. The 'new normal' which requires impingement on social freedoms also layers uncertainty into tried and tested policing and public safety methods and practice. In order to reduce such uncertainty, practitioners cannot rely on common wisdom and

existing knowledge, but rather new understandings of behaviour in situations of global anomie must be taken into account (Passas, 2000).

As a result of the emerging environment formed post-COVID-19, there is a new normal being created that is non-traditional; therefore, the current practices of intelligence analysis may need to be aided further to encompass the more nuanced and variable security concerns. With the addition of SMATs, analysts are enabled to examine varying security issues given the new normal.

This book establishes that SATs and SMATs are important tools that can identify the effects of anomie on a post-COVID-19 environment.

Since the impact of the pandemic is global, there is an increased need to understand the role of communication in terms of discord and the spread of extremist sentiment. This can be done by monitoring transnational social movements and how they are impacting social cohesion in a new way. It can be argued that these movements are utilizing tactics and creating an impact that is unlike what has existed in the past; therefore, it is important to consider the adoption of proactive policing tactics, as opposed to predictive policing. The Canadian Centre for Identity Based Conflict's research is founded in Violent Transnational Social Movement research and addresses this emerging security threat.

As this pandemic evolves so too does the security environment, therefore CASIS Vancouver is committed to continuing to engage in intelligence analysis in order to produce relevant up-to-date intelligence products which cater to a new normal. In order to achieve this and keep pace with changing social norms these structured analytical techniques may be useful.

## SECTION I: CANADIAN SNAPSHOT





# SUPPLY CHAINS AND FOOD INSECURITY

Dr. Patrick Neal

Research Assistant: Marco Autelitano

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- Rail disruptions arguably present the greatest risk to Canadian food security, as well as to Canadian supply chains.
- Other potential risks appear to have more isolated effects, and therefore can potentially be easier to manage.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- The COVID-19 pandemic has arguably exacerbated concerns over food security issues, although currently the Canadian food supply chain has not been severely impacted.
- However, the COVID-19 pandemic has arguably highlighted an inherent vulnerability in the Canadian food supply chain, regarding the impact of restrictions to international travel and the agricultural sector's reliance on a skilled transient workforce for harvesting certain crops.
- Furthermore, the problem of food insecurity may contribute to or potentially exacerbate other security related concerns.

# SUPPLY CHAINS AND FOOD INSECURITY

**SAT:** Indicators and Signposts of Change

**ISSUE #1:** Food Security

**CASE STUDY:** Canada

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The impacts to Canadian society resulting from COVID-19 have arguably increased the potential for a significant portion of Canadians to experience food insecurity, in part due to the risk of supply chain disruptions. This in turn, may also result in increased feelings of fear and anxiety.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** What impacts could COVID-19 have on Canada's food supply chain and subsequent food security?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** COVID-19 has arguably created an increased risk of disruption in supply chains and could potentially lead to increased food insecurity in Canada. For example, an outbreak of the virus at a rail yard or port could result in major service disruptions and negatively impact Canadian food production and distribution (Global News, 2020; CBC News, 2020a; CBC News, 2020b). In addition to potentially disrupting transport systems, COVID-19 has infected meat processing plant personnel resulting in reduced domestic production and restricted international travel; this potentially limiting food imports and the availability of temporary foreign workers, who are relied on by the agricultural sector for harvesting crops (Fraser Health Authority, 2020; Statistics Canada, 2020). These issues could be putting Canada's food security at risk, by potentially limiting available imports as well as the domestic supplies.

## **BACKGROUND**

As of May 2020, Canada has been in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic which has effectively shut down Canada's economy and severely restricted social movement, including access to parks, businesses, and academic institutions. Moreover, there have arguably been some direct impacts to Canada's food supply chain, as a result of COVID-19. These impacts include "a shortage of workers across the supply chain" due to employees reportedly choosing to stay home to avoid contracting the

virus and consequently impacting “our food and beverage systems” (Grylls, 2020, para. 8). In addition, there appears to be substantial changes to purchasing patterns as a result of the lockdown conditions, which have created a potential challenge for distributors (Grylls, 2020). Another consequence of the COVID-19 pandemic has been the impact of personnel on meat packing plants testing positive for COVID-19 and no longer able to work. As a result, meat packing plants are temporarily closed for processing chicken and beef in Alberta and British Columbia (Neustaeter, 2020; Meissner, 2020). Further concerns about the Canadian food supply chain is its heavy reliance on migrant workers, who now may be subject to restricted travel, and potentially quarantine (Clementson, 2020).

While Canada does rely on access to international supplies, Food Policy for Canada, a policy advocacy group affiliated with York University, published *Reliance on Exports* (n.d.) and noted that “over 50% of what we produce is exported” (para. 1). Currently Canada’s “positive balance of food trade situation is largely a product of cereal, oilseed and live animal exports” (York University, n.d., para. 1). As of 2017, over 50% of domestic beef production, 70% of pork, 65% of soybeans, 75% of wheat, 90% of canola, 95% of pulses and 40% of processed food products are exported (House of Commons Standing Committee on Agriculture and Agrifood, 2017). Canada also has a trade deficit for net processed food; thus, Canada is arguably not in a position to rely entirely on domestic production to meet its food supply needs in the immediate or short term (AAFC, 2016, para. 1); therefore, Canada’s food supply chain is potentially vulnerable to the impacts of border closures or restricted international trade opportunities due to a dependence on trade to meet its processed food supply needs.

## DEFINITIONS

**Food Insecurity:** Food insecurity is the inability to acquire or consume an adequate diet quality or sufficient quantity of food in socially acceptable ways, or the uncertainty that one will be able to do so. Household food insecurity is often linked with the household's financial ability to access adequate food (Government of Canada, 2018, para. 1).

**Food Supply Chain:** A food supply chain can be defined as the processes and actors that take food from farm to fork. The seven stages of a food chain are: inputs into production, food production, primary food storage and processing, secondary food processing, food distribution

transportation and trade, food retailing and catering, and food promotion and labelling. All stages influence food availability, food prices, and food marketing (Hawkes, 2009, p. 339).

## **TECHNIQUE**

Indicators and Signposts of Change (ISP) is an analytic technique utilized in a diagnostic context to help conceptualize a given problem space and can be used to forecast the likelihood of potential scenarios occurring (U.S. Government, 2009). This is accomplished by first identifying a set of indicators that pertain to the specific security problem under consideration or “that one would expect to see if a postulated situation is developing” (U.S. Government, 2009, p. 12), and tracking these indicators over time. By measuring both the level of concern relating to a particular indicator at a given point in time and observing how these levels of concern change in a broader context, it is possible to forecast the likelihood of a given scenario occurring.

The specific ISP matrix in this context was created to determine what circumstances could lead to instances of food insecurity occurring within Canada, specifically related to COVID-19. This was accomplished by tracking a set of potential indicators of disruption that pertained to different components and aspects of Canadian supply chains relating to food production and transport. These indicators correspond to distinct aspects of the larger Canadian food supply chain and were organized into the following topics: external/international factors, domestic factors, environmental/agricultural factors, processing/production capacity, and transport/logistics. The indicators were evaluated using the available information derived from open sources, which included but were not limited to national and local news sources covering a four-month period (January 1st 2020- April 30th 2020), roughly corresponding to the initial outbreak of COVID-19 in Canada.

## **FINDINGS**

Based on the ISP matrix results, arguably the most concerning scenario in which there is a serious and sustained threat to Canadian food security appears to be prolonged disruption of transportation infrastructure, such as a port shutdown or a national railway disruption (Global News, 2020; CBC News, 2020b). This was evidenced by the rail disruptions that occurred in February, exacerbating other areas of concern. As such, concerns that were directly connected to the rail disruptions included the backlog of freight and disruptions to ports and concerns about the national

economy being significantly impacted. Furthermore, the impact of the rail disruptions limited the availability of key agriculture supplies, resulting in concerns from farmers about access to seed, fertilizer, and other input items which enable farmers to grow crops and feed livestock (CBC News, 2020a; Berthiaume, 2020). The impact of supply disruption and potential access to farming supplies appears to have a lasting effect, as noted in the ISP matrix where it can be seen that March has a color code of reds for food banks, impulse buying, and hoarding.

Other potential scenarios – such as severely restricted import opportunities due to international trade policies and a significant number of food processing plants shutting down or lowered domestic agricultural production – are within the realm of possibility and would arguably result in supply chain disruptions and potential shortages. The ISP results appear to indicate that there is increasing awareness of the role of farming inputs and domestic labour shortage moving from negligible concerns to moderate concerns. The overall general shift from negligible concern to substantial concern would suggest there is a need for continued monitoring of this trend and to begin formulating a food security strategy which protects the supply chain.

## GRINTSUM

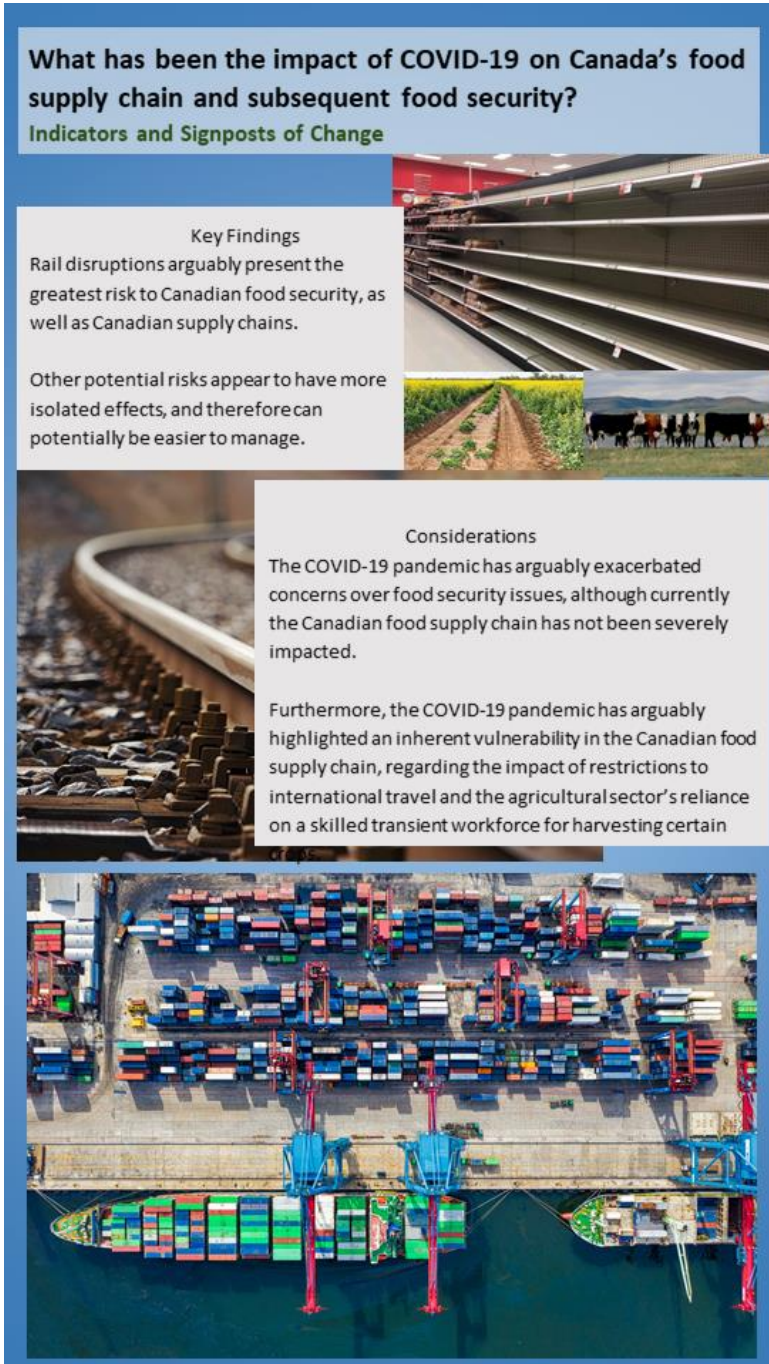


Figure 2

The following image is the Indicators and Signposts of Change Matrix utilized for this analysis:

TOPICS	INDICATORS	January				February				March				April				KEY
		I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	
External/ International Factors	Restricted international trade opportunities	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	1	
	International grain prices	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	1	
	Increased global demand	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Domestic Factors	Low food bank stocks/ increased food bank use	1	1	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	
	Rising grocery prices	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	
	Economic downturn	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	
	Increased local demand	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	
Environmental	Drought/ water availability	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Animal feed shortage	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	
	Disease affecting livestock	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
Processing/ Production capacity	Low crop yields	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Processing plant shut downs/ reduced capacity	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	4	
	Lack of inputs/ raw resources for production	1	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	
	Domestic labour shortage	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
	Agricultural business failures/ stressors	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	
Transport/ Logistics	Product recall	2	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	
	Lack of available transport vehicles/ drivers	1	1	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	
	Freight backlog	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	
	Railway disruptions	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	2	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	
Port disruptions	1	2	2	2	3	4	4	4	3	1	1	1	1	2	2	2		

Figure 3

Example of sources used in the Indicators and Signposts of Change Matrix:

Doyle, A. (2020, March 26). Food banks ask for differing donations as the need increases. <i>CTV News</i> . <a href="https://barrie.ctvnews.ca/food-banks-ask-for-differing-donations-as-the-need-increases-1.4870188">https://barrie.ctvnews.ca/food-banks-ask-for-differing-donations-as-the-need-increases-1.4870188</a>
Drause, A. (2020, February 17). Wet’suwet’en rail blockade could impact food prices in Atlantic Canada. <i>Global News</i> . <a href="https://globalnews.ca/news/6560568/wetsuweten-rail-blockade-food-prices-atlantic-canada/">https://globalnews.ca/news/6560568/wetsuweten-rail-blockade-food-prices-atlantic-canada/</a>
Duchesne, J. (2020, April 15). Small farms tackle COVID-19 and Canada’s food system. <i>National Observer</i> . <a href="https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/04/15/features/small-farms-tackle-covid-19-and-canadas-food-system">https://www.nationalobserver.com/2020/04/15/features/small-farms-tackle-covid-19-and-canadas-food-system</a>
Franz-Warkentin, P. (2020, January 23). <i>Prairie feed bids cool as temperatures rise</i> . Retrieved from Producer.com: <a href="https://www.producer.com/2020/01/prairie-feed-bids-cool-as-temperatures-rise/">https://www.producer.com/2020/01/prairie-feed-bids-cool-as-temperatures-rise/</a>
Fraser Health Authority. (2020, April 24). <i>Fraser Health closes Coquitlam food processing plant following COVID-19 outbreak</i> . Retrieved from Fraser Health Authority: <a href="https://www.fraserhealth.ca/news/2020/Apr/fraser-health-closes-coquitlam-food-processing-plant-following-covid-19-outbreak#.Xq9QLqhKhPY">https://www.fraserhealth.ca/news/2020/Apr/fraser-health-closes-coquitlam-food-processing-plant-following-covid-19-outbreak#.Xq9QLqhKhPY</a>
Gillard, T. (2020, April 8). Canadian farmland values continue to soften amid uncertainty: FCC. <i>Lethbridge News Now</i> . <a href="https://lethbridgenewsnow.com/2020/04/08/canadian-farmland-values-continue-to-soften-amid-uncertainty-fcc/">https://lethbridgenewsnow.com/2020/04/08/canadian-farmland-values-continue-to-soften-amid-uncertainty-fcc/</a>
Medetsky, A., & Durisin, M. (2020, March 27). Russia wants to limit grain exports to protect food supplies. <i>Bloomberg</i> .



<p><a href="https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-27/wheat-futures-rise-as-russia-considers-grain-export-quota">https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-03-27/wheat-futures-rise-as-russia-considers-grain-export-quota</a></p>
<p>Melynychuk, M. (2020, March 17). Food bank expecting increased demand, says cash donations are 'critical'. <i>Regina Leader-Post</i>. <a href="https://leaderpost.com/news/local-news/food-bank-expecting-increased-demand-says-cash-donations-are-critical/">https://leaderpost.com/news/local-news/food-bank-expecting-increased-demand-says-cash-donations-are-critical/</a></p>
<p>Nagy, D. (2020, February 1). <i>Nuts 'N More brand peanut spread (plain) recalled over Listeria</i>. Retrieved from CHCH Radio - Hamilton: <a href="https://www.chch.com/nuts-n-more-brand-peanut-spread-plain-recalled-over-listeria/">https://www.chch.com/nuts-n-more-brand-peanut-spread-plain-recalled-over-listeria/</a></p>

Figure 4



GROWTH OF EXTREMIST ECHO  
CHAMBERS DURING LOCKDOWN  
PERIODS:

ONGOING CONCERNS AND  
IMPLICATIONS

Candyce Kelshall, Serge Bergler &  
Eduardo Franco

## **KEY FINDINGS**

- The Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid shows, on the tactical level, that addressing content from VTSMs' online platforms based on legal boundaries will likely promote wins on physical, mental and moral levels. As well, this may decrease or at minimum, maintain the unity and strength of tribal bonds and identity affirmation, and the regular domain of operation, i.e. the world wide web.
- On the operational level, should platform owners actively contribute by removing content that violates guidelines surrounding hate speech and allow VTSMs to maintain their online presence, it will likely result in physical, mental and moral win, as well as decrease or at minimum maintain the unity and strength of tribal bonds and identity affirmation, and maintain their domain of operation.
- On the strategic level, the Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid shows that by addressing illegal content it will likely reduce the interaction between the public and extremist content. Therefore, resulting in a physical, mental and moral win, as well as decreasing or maintaining the unity and strength of tribal bonds and identity affirmation, and maintaining their domain of operation.

## **CONSIDERATIONS**

- Restrictions derived from the COVID-19 pandemic have caused people to spend more time on the internet. In the middle of April 2020, Canada saw a spike in internet usage between 40%-50% in comparison to January 2020, which raises the concern for a heightened potential exposure to extremist content (Graham-Cumming, 2020).
- Removing illegal content rather than removing individuals or groups from the platforms can reduce the public's exposure to extremist content, while ensuring these actions do not unintentionally bolster the tribal bonds and identity affirmation of VTSMs.

# GROWTH OF EXTREMIST ECHO CHAMBERS DURING LOCKDOWN PERIODS: ONGOING CONCERNS AND IMPLICATIONS

**SAT:** Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid

**ISSUE #2:** Extremism

**CASE STUDY:** Canada

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The COVID-19 pandemic restrictions have arguably increased the potential for individuals to interact with extremist content online as internet usage has surged (Malik, 2020). Consequently, the increase in visibility and activity of Violent Transnational Social Movements (VTSMs), which tend to be extremist in nature, has arguably impacted the potential for social movements to both become or increase violent activity and to expand their membership base (Kelshall, 2018). VTSMs attract and strengthen the ties between members by the generation of echo chambers within which sentiments align according to meta-opinion. This alignment in meta-opinion within echo chambers contributes to the social radicalisation of those who become attracted to and engaged with social movement narratives. Moreover, the particular characteristics of non-hierarchical extremist VTSMs as polycentric, reticular and segmentary requires a more informed and more tailored law enforcement and public safety response in order to aid in ensuring effective moral wins in the tactical, operational and strategic levels (Kelshall & Meyers, 2019; Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019). Given the unique characteristics of VTSMs, effective public safety and law enforcement responses can be enhanced through the use of an impact assessment tool to determine their effect on the violent social movement. In particular, affinity and bonds between members in social movements are important to be measured as these are indicators of the power of the social movement to influence new members or deepen the relationships and ties between existing members. VTSMs are important to understand and engage with as they provide the narrative and echo chambers which influence action which may become or is already suggestive of violence. These actions can be soft or kinetic in nature. The likely degree of violence might also be measured by the degree of power and tightness of the

movement. This is in turn impacted by perceived moral wins and losses when interacting with law enforcement.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** With the increased usage of the internet during lockdowns, how can law enforcement mitigate the heightened potential for individuals being exposed to and interacting with extremist content?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** The internet has arguably become an essential component in the emergence and growth of VTSMs by providing an effective, low-cost means of disseminating propaganda and a place for like-minded individuals to gather. With the COVID-19 pandemic leading people to spend more time on social media platforms to communicate with others, VTSMs could potentially exploit the lockdown to reach larger audiences and reinvigorate their membership (Statt, 2020). Options to mitigate the impact of extremist content online are limited and this analysis is designed to inquire as to which options may yield the most likely favourable outcome.

## **BACKGROUND**

VTSMs represent a unique national security threat given their polycentric, reticulate, and segmentary nature (Gerlach, 2001, Kelshall, 2016). With numerous, often temporary, thought leaders and transnational connections to ideologically diverse collectives, combatting VTSMs arguably requires a new approach to policing that considers the identity-based grievances that fuel their emergence and growth.

One of the most significant challenges to effectively combating online extremism lies in balancing free speech with hate speech. According to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (CCRF), Canadians are guaranteed the freedom of thought, belief, opinion, and expression (1982). While these freedoms are subjected to reasonable limits, VTSM actors have arguably become acutely aware of how to navigate the legal boundaries regarding hate speech from where they operate and use the legal system to challenge law enforcement responses (Humphreys, 2020).

## **DEFINITIONS**

To better understand and apply Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid, it is important to have a clear understanding of its associated terminologies, which are defined as follows:

**Power of a social movement:** The degree to which this group can influence the actions of individuals who see themselves as part of the group and the likelihood of impact on civic society

**Tightness of a social movement:** The depth of relationship and bonding between members such that they can be easily distinguished as members of a social movement who display cohesion in appearance, action and word which is identity-based.

**Meta-Opinion:** Interpretation and expression of a framework of knowledge around issues which legitimises emotional perspectives along a dominant story or grand narrative. The more extremist the meta-opinion the more extremist the sentiments expressed in an echo chamber and the less costly actions consistent with the meta-opinion (McCauley and Moskalenko, 2018).

**Echo chambers:** An environment "where only certain ideas, information and beliefs are shared (Jamieson & Cappella, 2008; Sunstein, 2009, as cited in Dubois & Blank, 2018, p. 729) the principal means by which VTSMs enable and generate emotive responses to meta opinions which energise extremist social networks and which normalise increasingly extremist sentiment.

**Violent Transnational Social Movements VTSMs:** While all social movements are polycentric, reticulate and segmentary, Violent transnational Social Movements (VTSMs) are primarily extremist in nature, violent in expression and identity exclusive (Kelshall, 2020). They transcend state boundaries to unite individuals - predisposed to violence which may be soft or kinetic - with shared ideologies, perspectives or grievances particular to identity (Kelshall, 2020). Such a definition helps in understanding the global appeal to ISIS recruits from over 130 countries. (Speckhard & Allenberg, 2020) Participation in these movements is a result of the perception that a certain aspect of life that has social or cultural importance is under an existential threat and therefore requires a collaborative effort to restore it. VTSMs are therefore defined by the intention of the preservation of dominance, legitimacy, authority and superiority of an identity. This is distinct from an inclusive social movement seeking structural equality and legitimacy in the perceived presence of institutionally administered disparity. Activism to cause change in disparity is the primary tool used by cause based social movements while violence -either soft or kinetic- is the primary tool used by violent transnational social movements to preserve and protect

perceived positions of structural power. Crowd sourced justice (Karen videos and doxing) is a tactic used by social movements which are cause based (Furlong, 2019).

**Extremist content:** Online publication that contains beliefs, ideology, actions, or strategies of an individual or group that advocates for or incites to cause someone or a specific group of people physical harm (Canadian Criminal Code, 1985).

**Social radicalisation:** "Radicalization is defined as an incremental social and psychological process prompted by and inextricably bound in communication, whereby an individual develops increased commitment to an extremist ideology resulting in the full or partial assimilation of beliefs and attitudes consistent with that ideology" (Braddock, 2012, p. iv). Individuals engaged in discourse and communication with VTSM echo chambers thus have fertile ground to develop and deepen extremist sentiment. VTSM theory suggests that the degree of tightness and the power of an identity-based social movement aids in the social radicalisation of individuals to extremist action which may be online or offline, soft or kinetic.

The following definitions are pulled from Kelshall & Archutowski (2019):

**Moral:** The sentiment related to the right-ness of a particular action. It is defined through the existing state law or human security principles or laws of natural justice.

**Physical:** Any kind of kinetic action. It can include killing and breaking things.

**Mental:** A sense of domination over the threat. It is where the state dominates the environment to ensure that the state maintains the monopoly on violence and also dominates the theatre of operations (traditional or not), in such a way that the costs outweigh the benefits for atypical threat actors of operating in that environment for that particular action. This sense of domination could be viewed as oppression by the identity-based groups or violent social movements.

**Tribal Bonds:** Tribal bonds might be defined as the cultural narrative which unifies and strengthens group relationships. Tribal bonds are the glue that bind social movements together via the perception of a threat to their particular group.



**Identity Affirmation:** “Identity affirmation might be defined as things that contribute to the development of positive (and strong feelings) and a sense of belonging.

**Domain of Operations:** it is where the threat actor operates, and where they may have to move to if they feel targeted. It can be a physical or virtual space

**Strategic:** Operational ethos and vision, aims and interests to achieve a set goal and advantage.

**Operational:** Resource planning, functioning and intensity of action

**Tactical:** Actions undertaken to achieve a specific aim.

## **TECHNIQUE**

Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid (Cultural Grid) is an impact assessment model that has been adapted to deal with identity-based groups (Kelshall & Khera, 2019). It can also be used for transnational and violent social movements, and it is an adaptation of the Lind Grid that considers the impacts that tactical, strategic and operational decisions will have on social movements and identity-based extremist groups within populations (Kelshall, 2019). Lind and Thiele (2015) developed the grid to assess the moral impact of kinetic responses against insurgencies, since it could result in winning or losing hearts and minds in counter insurgency operations (COIN). It was designed for commanders to assess the outcomes of kinetic responses against insurgent communities, that is, to determine moral and mental wins for any given tactical operation (Lind & Thiele, 2015); although in its original format, when it comes to VTSMs, it may be insufficient as it does not take into account the impact of law enforcement actions on the strength of tribal bonds and the degree of identity affinity which might result after policing and law enforcement action. Further, the Lind and Thiele tool is designed for enemy-centric populations in military conflict environments and not population-centric community theatres of operation. The grid was therefore adapted for use in population centric policing environments.

With the preservation and promotion of identity serving as the motivation for VTSMs, existing law enforcement strategies to reduce the spread of extremist rhetoric have the potential to enable VTSM actors to claim the moral high ground and further justify the movement’s grievances (Kelshall

& Archutowski, 2019, p. 36). This serves to impact the tightness and power of the movement as well as cement the tribal bonds and cultural affinity to the group. While traditional measures of removing extremist content and the group or thought leaders from the platform can provide positive outcomes in the short term, perceptions of being "othered" or attacked by the state can act like an accelerant in the long run.

The Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid examines the physical, mental and moral results of strategic, operational and tactical actions on tribal bonding and identity affirmation and determines its effect on the cohesion, tightness and power of a VTSM. By applying this structured model and analytical technique (SMAT), law enforcement can identify which interventions on VTSMs will result in favourable outcomes. It proposes actions in the tactical, operational and strategic levels and forces the analyst to critically think about them and all possible reactions from the VTSM and threat actors (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019, p. 37).

	PHYSICAL	MENTAL	MORAL	INDICATORS OF IMPACT	DOMAIN OF OPERATIONS
				CULTURAL	SOCIAL IMPACTS
TACTICAL				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• IMPACT ON TRIBAL BONDS</li> <li>• IMPACT ON IDENTITY AFFIRMATION</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SOCIAL MEDIA</li> <li>• NORMS AND BEHAVIOURS</li> <li>• SOCIAL MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES</li> <li>• TRANSNATIONAL ADVOCACY GROUP NETWORKS</li> </ul>
OPERATIONAL					
STRATEGIC					

Figure 5. 5G Impact Indicator (Cultural Matrix), an adaptation from Lind & Thiele 2015 (Kelshall, 2019)

	Physical	Mental	Moral	Indicators of Impact (Cultural)	Domain of Operations (Social Impacts)
<b>Tactical:</b>  Removal of content that crosses legal boundaries.	Win	Win	Win  Removing content that violates the CCC does not infringe on Canadian freedoms.	Decrease or maintain tribal bonds and identity affirmation	Maintains domain of operations
<b>Operational:</b>  Platform owners allow VTSMs to establish a lawful online presence.	Win	Win	Win  By allowing lawful online VTSM communities to exist, the rights and freedoms of members are maintained.	Decrease or maintain tribal bonds and identity affirmation	Maintains domain of operations
<b>Strategic:</b>  Reduce interactions between the public and extremist content.	Win	Win	Win  Removing illegal content can be seen as enforcing laws rather than targeting individuals or groups.	Decrease or maintain tribal bonds and identity affirmation	Maintains domain of operations

Figure 6. Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid

## FINDINGS

The information depicted in the Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid shows that, on the tactical level, removing extremist content whenever it crosses legal boundaries rather than the traditional approach of removing the VTSM or leaders from the online platform, will likely result in physical, mental and moral wins for law enforcement; in turn, this will likely reduce the tribal bonds and identity affirmation of identity-based movements. Considering the importance of maintaining the moral high ground when responding to VTSMs, infringing upon rights and freedoms only strengthens tribal bonds and identity affirmation, thus potentially justifying the movement’s grievances and narrative (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019).

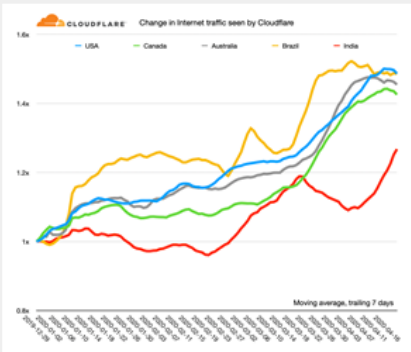
On the operational level, the proposed action of platform owners allowing VTSMs to maintain their online presence will likely result in physical, mental and moral wins for law enforcement and therefore decrease or maintain tribal bonds and domain of operations for the VTSMs. Allowing VTSMs to remain online, will arguably cause them to maintain their domain of operations, instead of moving to the deep or dark web and

operate clandestinely which would create additional barriers to monitoring potential criminal acts by VTSMs.

Lastly, on the strategic level, the Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid shows that the removal of illegal content will likely reduce the interaction between the public and extremist content, therefore resulting in physical, mental and moral wins, as well as decreasing or maintaining of tribal bonds and domain of operations. Focusing on illegal content rather than the VTSM or the thought leaders will arguably allow for law enforcement to maintain the moral high ground by following established societal norms and avoid increasing the cohesion of VTSMs, or force a change in the domain of operations (Lind & Thiele, 2015).

**GRINTSUM**

**With the increased usage of the internet during lockdowns, how can law enforcement mitigate the heightened potential for interactions between individuals and extremist content?**  
**Counter-Violence Impact Assessment Grid**



By the middle of April, Canada has seen the internet usage spike between 40% and 50% in comparison to January potentially increasing exposure to extremist content.

**FINDINGS**

**Tactical:** remove VTSM online content. Results: likely wins on physical, mental and moral levels, and decrease or maintenance of tribal bonds and domain of operations.

**Operational:** platform owners should remove illegal content but allow VTSM to maintain their online presence. Results: likely wins on physical, mental and moral levels, and decrease or maintenance of tribal bonds and domain of operations.

**Strategic:** removal of illegal content will likely reduce the interaction between the public and extremist content. Results: likely wins on physical, mental and moral levels, and decrease or maintenance of tribal bonds and domain of operations.

	Physical	Mental	Moral	Indicators of Impact (Cultural)	Domain of Operations (Social Impacts)
<b>WHAT</b> EXTREMIST CONTENT	✓	✓	✓		
<b>WHO</b> f, @, etc.	✓	✓	✓		
<b>WHY</b> EXTREMIST CONTENT	✓	✓	✓		

Removing illegal content rather than individuals or groups from the platforms can reduce the public's exposure to extremist content, while ensuring these actions do not unintentionally bolster the tribal bonds and identity affirmation of VTSMs.

Figure 7



# IMPACT OF DETERIORATING HUMAN SECURITY

Candyce Kelshall, Natalie Archutowski,  
Serge Bergler & Victoria Raskin

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- The High-Impact/Low-Probability (HILP) analysis generated a plausible pathway to the following outcome: a disgruntled fossil fuel worker attacks an environmentalist rally.
- Indicators for the HILP event include: deterioration of fossil fuel workers' human security, lack of support for the fossil fuel industry, normalization of violent, anti-government and anti-environmentalist rhetoric, increased organized gatherings, and potential anomie.
- Positive outcome factors for the HILP included a job creation/transition/placement plan, a Universal Basic Income, buffers to future increased taxes, and continued financial assistance/subsidies for fossil fuel industries.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- It could be argued that a large-scale transition from the use of traditional fossil fuels as an energy source could pose a challenge for national security in Canada; therefore, it could be argued that understanding the human security concerns of fossil fuel workers could assist in reducing the likelihood of an escalation to kinetic violence by a self-actualised individual from the fossil fuel industry.
- Furthermore, it might be argued that unnoticed/unaddressed indicators could risk allowing self-actualized individuals to react violently, particularly if they are participants of, or engaging with social movements where extremist rhetoric is evident.



## IMPACT OF DETERIORATING HUMAN SECURITY

**SAT:** High-Impact/Low-Probability (HILP)

**ISSUE #4:** Human Security

**CASE STUDY:** Canada

**SIGNIFICANCE:** With COVID impacting the production of fossil fuels, a transition to competitively priced and sustainable energy sources in the form of new investments in greener energy policies and practices may become essential, especially after COVID-19 (Lazard, 2018; Riley, 2019; ISSD, 2020; Harrabin, 2020). The Petersberg Climate Dialogue on April 27 & 28, 2020, highlighted what this transition might look like; with ministers from 30 countries as well as liaisons and representatives from government sectors, civil society and business gathering to discuss “ways to enable a clean, climate-friendly, resilient recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic” (ISSD, 2020, para. 1, 2 & 16). It is possible that the human security of workers in the fossil fuel industry could be negatively impacted by the potential decline of the Canadian fossil fuel industry, particularly with the increasingly competitive prices of green energy sources, economic and social barriers exacerbated by COVID-19, political instability and, discontentment about benefit distribution and the implementation of green energy projects (Lazard, 2018; Patel, Holowach, Anders, & Parkins, 2019, p. 4; Weyler, 2020).

**SECURITY QUESTION:** Could deteriorating human security issues within the fossil fuel industry lead to a kinetic attack on an environmentalist rally?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** Amid the COVID-19 pandemic, social distancing measures enforced by the Canadian government have forced many businesses and employment facilities to lay off workers, reduce working hours, or shut down completely (Holpuch, 2020; Nathans et al., 2020; Orland, 2020). The Canadian fossil fuel industry has not been immune to these emerging challenges, especially as a decline in other industries has the capacity to severely impact the demand for fossil fuels (Weyler, 2020, para. 21; Blum, 2020, para. 8). If such a shift in the economy persists, it is possible that individuals working in these industries might encounter challenges to their ability to sustain themselves or access resources,

which might result in civic disorder, possibly in the form of kinetic attacks due to frustration, anger, self-sustenance problems or collective action based on self-determination principles (France-Presse, 2020; Follain, 2020). As individuals are adapting to the COVID-19 environment with job losses, gaps in access to emergency response benefits, struggles to provide for family needs, new social engagement rules, less privacy and less financial stability, could arguably cause situations to escalate to mass kinetic attacks by socially radicalized self-actualized individuals (SRSAs). The pandemic has brought to the forefront the importance of the concept of human security to maintaining national security, particularly in protecting social cohesion and preventing extremist attacks.

## **BACKGROUND**

The COVID-19 pandemic has highlighted a potential need for implementing greener policies and practices to combat further spread of diseases in the future and maintain the positive environmental impacts of the pandemic (e.g. cleaner air quality and decreased greenhouse gas emissions) in a revived economy (Anderson, 2020; ISSD, 2020). A shift towards greener policies could potentially imply a reduction of the human security of workers in fossil fuel industries, these individuals may face challenges during a transition which might create concerns for national security if left unchecked (Riley, 2019; Subramaniam, 2019; Patel, Holowach, Anders & Parkins, 2019; Carritt & Wile, 2018; Carritt, 2020). At the time of this report, Canada's traditionally robust fossil fuel industry, and active contributor to the country's GDP, is suffering economically as the prices and demand for oil and gas have significantly dropped (Corkal & Cosbey, 2020). Thousands of Canada's fossil fuel workers are being laid off or are experiencing postponed labour (Corkal & Cosbey, 2020). Moreover, Canada's history with anti-government sentiment from Alberta's fossil fuel industry suggests that such rhetoric could increase if there is a perceived lack of concern from policy makers for their human security (CASIS, 2018; Carritt & Wile, 2018; Carritt, 2020). It is possible that Canada may be in a sensitive national security situation with the decline of the fossil fuel industry and an increasing interest in green energy, as a result of COVID-19.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Anomie:** A condition of instability resulting from chronic deregulation, a breakdown of norms, standards and values or from a lack of purpose and ideals (Durkheim, 1897).

**Human Security (or Human-centric Security):** Multiple definitions for human security by the United Nations, Ken Booth, and Johan Galtung's (1969) are used to encompass a more thorough interpretation of the term's meaning:

- a) United Nations: "everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of [themselves] and of [their] family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond [their] control" (United Nations, 1948, Article 25.1).
- b) Ken Booth's Emancipation Theory: McCormack (2011) states that, "human-centric security is viewed in normative, emancipatory terms" (as cited in Trobbiani, 2013, para. 7).
- c) Johan Galtung (1969), the absence of structural violence. It refers to a form of violence wherein some social structure or social institution may harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. An example of structural violence might be seen in communities of undocumented Latino immigrants in the US, which can include "political exclusion and legal violence, such as the denial of means to meet their needs, access to public services and basic legal rights" (Quesada, Hart & Bourgois, 2011, as cited in Saleem et al., 2016).

**Kinetic Attack:** A physical attack intended to induce harm (e.g. killing, breaking, stabbing, hitting, assaulting, etc.) (Finlay, 2018, para. 33).

**Self-actualised actors:** Based on the work of Maslow (1943) and Goldstein (1939), this might be understood as the "full realization of one's creative, intellectual, and social potential through internal drive" (Selva, 2020). Within the context of extremist actors, this might be seen as the impetus to act violently for their chosen cause or identity.

**Socially Radicalized Self-Actualized (SRSA) individuals:** lone actors who have steeped themselves in violent social movement narratives via echo chambers and have endeavoured to act consistently with their beliefs and to attain their full human potential, being empowered to act kinetically by these echo chambers.

**Socially-Radicalised:** Consists of individuals familiarizing themselves with and being influenced by radical ideologies without necessarily

“socialising with radical groups”, physically (Al-Lami, 2009. p. 7). Socially radicalized actors are likely to be heavily entrenched in online echo-chambers, where group participants contribute to each other’s radicalization process. These lone actors might also be seen as individuals who already have a violent impetus and are searching for a cause which would allow them to act violently with purpose.

## **TECHNIQUE**

HILP is a contrarian structured analytical technique (SAT) designed to prepare and forewarn military and policy decision-makers of an unlikely, yet highly consequential event, in case its likelihood increases over time (Bergler & Manz, 2019, p. 90-94; Heuer & Pherson 2011, p. 181). The purpose of generating a potential HILP scenario is to encourage an analyst to consider the unthinkable and sensitize them to the possibility of the unlikely yet highly impactful event occurring (Bergler & Manz, 2019, p. 90-94).

In this case, the security question, “could deteriorating human security issues within the fossil fuel industry lead to a kinetic attack on an environmentalist rally?” was used to generate the HILP event of an extremist attack on an environmentalist rally by a disgruntled oil and gas worker. After the HILP event was established, a steady pathway towards the HILP event was developed and analyzed, and through the analysis, possible indicators of increased likelihood of the event occurring and factors that would encourage positive outcomes were found. This contrarian technique encourages analysts to challenge mainstream analytic lines, reveal potential relationships between key factors and assumptions, and discover potential indicators that may provide an early warning of an increased likelihood of the HILP event occurring (Bergler & Manz, 2019, p. 90-94).

## **FINDINGS**

According to HILP SAT results, a plausible pathway to an extremist attack on an environmentalist rally by a disgruntled oil and gas worker was arguably through prolonged deterioration of the human security of oil and gas workers. This deterioration we suggest, can be perceived and not actual or even just be part of socially agreed narrative. (Canada Energy Citizens, 2020, para. 9) Groups such as Canada Energy Citizens have in excess of 200,000 Facebook supporters. Additionally, the plausible pathway included a perception of decreased support from the government for oil and gas industries. Findings of deterioration of human security

included instances of mass unemployment, lack of access to goods and services, and a perception of lack of government support (Agence France-Presse, 2020; Follain, 2020; Bartko, 2019). In instances where the perception of government support for the oil and gas industry was low, oil and gas workers protested (Bartko, 2019). In instances where citizens experienced lack of access to goods and an inability to make an income for living, riots erupted (Agence France-Presse, 2020; Follain, 2020). Other findings that exacerbated the HILP scenario included an increase in a push towards greener policies and practices, which could arguably allow environmentalist rallies to take place in support of such practices, further threatening the robustness of the oil and gas industry (Anderson, 2020; ISSD, 2020). Findings suggest a combination of such circumstances could potentially lead to a disgruntled oil and gas worker to attack an environmentalist rally in a HILP scenario.

The key indicators of a change in the likelihood of this event are:

- Increase in the inability of individuals to access resources and sustain themselves;
- Emergence of organized gatherings (e.g. pro-oil rallies, environmentalist rallies);
- Increase in intensity of violent, anti-government, and anti-environmentalist rhetoric both online and offline;
- Mass unemployment and lack of successful reallocation of unemployed workers into other industries;
- Change in levels of support (e.g. decrease in subsidies, grants, or other support) for declining industries (e.g. oil and gas); and
- Emergence of anomie.

The factors that would encourage a positive outcome are:

- The Canadian government develops a job creation/transition/placement plan for unemployed workers that includes skills retraining, government funding for clean-up projects, and support for emerging industries that can create employment;
- The Canadian government implements a Universal Basic Income that ensures that current and former oil and gas workers have access to essentials;
- The government develops a plan to soften future increased taxes; and

- Oil industry subsidies increase in order to mitigate falling oil prices and maintain their competitiveness in the global markets.

These findings suggest that it could be integral to Canada's national security to consider the aforementioned indicators and positive outcome factors to avoid the HILP event and maintain peace and security in a time of a catastrophic event or crisis, such as the COVID-19 pandemic. Otherwise, a perception of deteriorating human security of Canadians could lead to increased disorder, socially influenced self-actualization, and escalation to violence (e.g. out of desperation and/or anger), hindering maintenance of peace and civility.

**GRINTSUM**

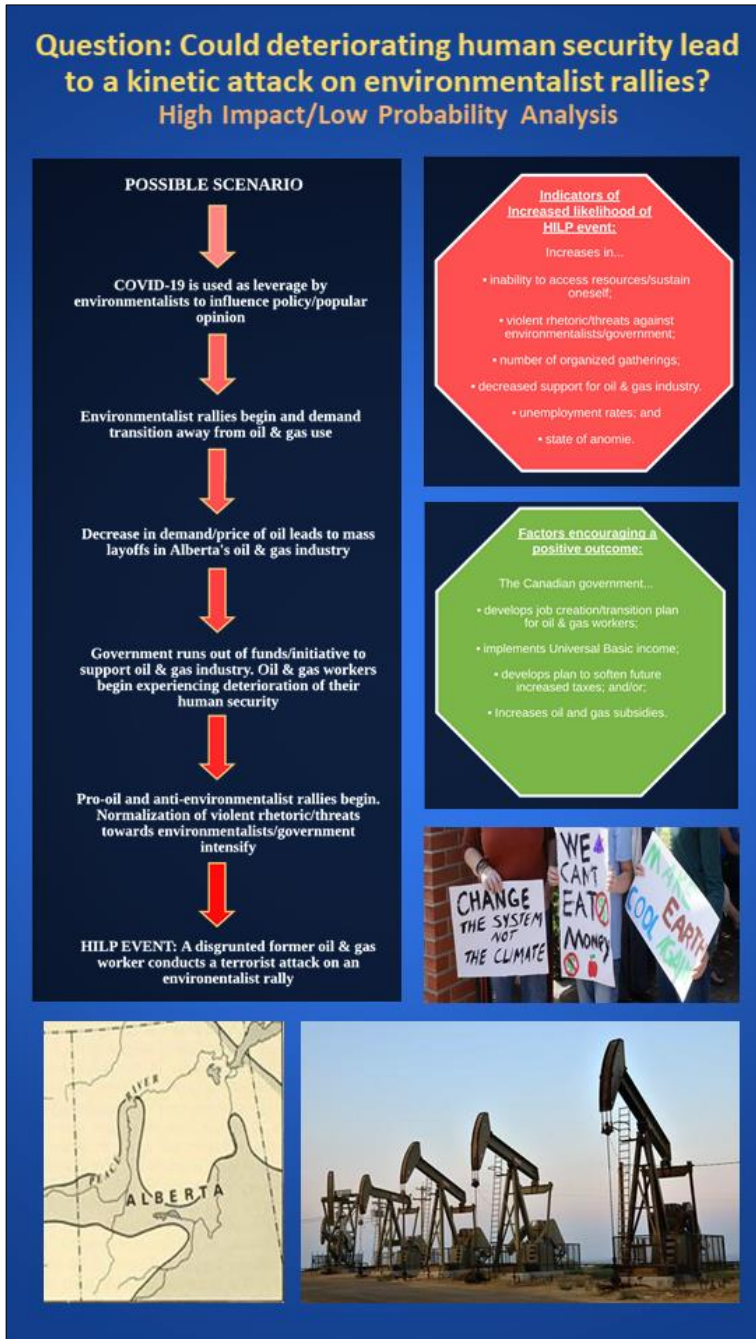


Figure 8





## SECTION II: GLOBAL SNAPSHOT



IMPACT OF INCONSISTENT  
MESSAGING ON HARD TO REACH  
COMMUNITIES

Jordan Arnold & Anika Kale

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- It is possible that civic cohesion in hard to reach communities in the US would benefit from more consistent and unified COVID-19 response releases across all levels of government and institutions. It is suggested that an increase in consistency might lead to a reduction of confusion which might increase institutional abilities to reduce the spread of misinformation and COVID-19 through factually sound practices.
- The results from the SAT demonstrated that in the US, different levels of government have been delivering inconsistent messages to communities, which might be contributing to increasing sentiments of institutional distrust, and possibly delegitimizing future institutional messaging.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- In the case of hard to reach communities, messaging from the government might be better delivered in a way that resonates with members of the community. Increasing the use of independent advisory networks such as churches, civic clubs, and other segments of the community, promoting direct engagement with these communities, might assist with increasing institutional trust.
- It is possible that by ensuring that messages are unified with governing bodies and being delivered by trusted community leaders, the spread of misinformation might be mitigated and institutional trust might be increased.

# IMPACT OF INCONSISTENT MESSAGING ON HARD TO REACH COMMUNITIES

**SAT:** Morphological Analysis

**ISSUE #3:** Misinformation

**CASE STUDY:** United States

**SIGNIFICANCE:** Due to the current COVID-19 crises, many governments deliver daily addresses to the public. Using the United States as an example, the information presented in these addresses has not always been in agreement with what the public health authorities have been releasing, possibly decreasing institutional trust and creating an environment with increased levels of civic discord.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** What is the most likely impact of inconsistent messaging from government authorities on the overall level of institutional trust in hard to reach communities?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** It is argued that there has been inconsistent messaging from various levels of government on how to deal with the COVID-19 crisis in the US (Stelter, 2020). This inconsistent messaging from governments can have a negative impact all communities, but more specifically have a more prominent impact on certain hard to reach communities, which may be more vulnerable to misinformation.

## **BACKGROUND**

In the event of a global pandemic, inconsistent messaging from leadership can result in a divided understanding of what precautions and safety measures are necessary. This division might be increased when considering hard to reach communities and non-state actors due to distinct historical relationships with institutions and governments (Rainie et al., 2019, para. 8). It can also be argued that a sense of normlessness, based on traditional norms becoming inadequate for maintaining an individual's well-being, incentivizes the tendency to act in an otherwise unacceptable way (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2020). "Americans who might feel disadvantaged are less likely to express generalized trust in other people," this personal trust is directly tied to the degree of trust that

individuals in the US have in institutions (Rainie et al., 2019, para. 10 & 13). This increasing distrust, particularly in institutions might pose serious challenges for governments attempting to communicate effectively to these historically disadvantaged communities. Furthermore, the proliferation of misinformation seems to have a direct link to institutional trust, with some individuals citing a political culture that “spawns’ suspicion, even cynicism, about the ability of others to distinguish fact from fiction” as a cause for their sentiments (Rainie et al., 2019, para. 3). For example, the mixed messages from the USA federal government and State Governors have caused confusion among citizens as to which guidelines they are supposed to follow (Scott, 2020). This has predominantly impacted historically disadvantaged African American communities in Southern states such as Georgia and Florida (Scott, 2020). Additionally, U.S. Surgeon General Jerome M. Adams has noted that better information campaigns geared to communities of colour are needed in order to better address the needs of those communities as they have been historically left out of policymaking conversations (Scott, 2020). The seeming disconnected messaging between various institutions, as well as between institutions and community leaders might be contributing to the challenges of ensuring that all citizens are kept up to date on public safety and health measures, and that misinformation is circumvented.

## DEFINITIONS

**Hard to reach communities:** Sections of the community that are difficult to involve in public participation due to demographics, culture, behaviour and attitude, or structural barriers (Mackenzis et al., 2012).

**Inconsistent messaging:** Messaging by government or other types of officials that differs between each organization. The inconsistencies generate distrust and confusion around what information individuals should be adhering to (Merriam Webster Dictionary, n.d.).

**Institutional Trust:** The “summary judgement that the system [of institutions in society] is responsive and will do what is right even in the absence of constant scrutiny”, simply stated, the individual level perception of the relationship between corruption and the performance of political institutions and actors (Miller & Listhaug, 1990, p. 358, as cited in Habibov, Afandi & Cheung, 2017, p. 172; Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Armah-Attoh, Gyimah-Boadi & Chikwanha-Dzenga, 2007, p. 9).

**Misinformation and Disinformation:** “Misinformation’ refers to the inadvertent sharing of false information” and disinformation is “the deliberate creation and sharing of false and/or manipulated information that is intended to deceive and mislead audiences, either for the purposes of causing harm, or for political, personal or financial gain” (House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2018, p. 2).

## **TECHNIQUE**

Morphological Analysis is a creative technique for intelligence analysis that allows for an incredibly broad range of security issues to be methodically narrowed down (Arnold, Cooper & Rautenbach, 2019). The value of this technique lies in its ability to reduce “the chance that events will play out in a way that the analyst has not previously imagined and considered” (Heuer & Pherson, 2011, p. 90). In order to narrow down the possibilities, a matrix of multi-dimensional variables is created and then an analysis of the highly likely possibilities takes place. For the case study of the US, variables and parameters were chosen based on the impact they have on institutional trust (Habibov, Afandi & Cheung, 2017, p. 172). Variables chosen were: the types of actors, messaging, the immediate reaction, and overall impact of messaging. Once all variables and parameters have been chosen, the variables were systematically matched together to create all possible combinations. Once the combinations had been exhausted, the unlikely scenarios were eliminated and the scenarios with merit were pursued.

## **FINDINGS**

The Morphological Analysis demonstrated that in the US, different levels of government and various institutions have been delivering inconsistent messages to communities, which might be contributing to increasing sentiments of institutional distrust, and possibly delegitimizing future institutional messaging. Possible mitigating measures could be taken at the federal, regional and community levels, including a systematic integration of community leaders as messengers in order to communicate effectively, even with hard to reach communities.

The following factors were considered and possible combinations were constructed:

Type of Messaging	Immediate Reaction	What is the Impact
Mostly True/ Accurate	Inflammatory	Increased trust in government messaging
Exaggeration/ true but with qualifications	Comforting/ Optimistic	Decreased trust in government messaging
Speculation presented as truth/facts	Pessimistic	Unchanged trust in government messaging
Mostly False/ Inaccurate	X	X

Table 4



## GRINTSUM

**What is the most likely impact of inconsistent messaging from government authorities on the overall level of trust from hard to reach communities?**



### KEY POINTS

The results from the SAT demonstrated that in the Case Study different levels of government have delivered mixed messages which might have been responsible for increasing existing distrust of the government and delegitimizing state messages.

It is possible that COVID-19 responses would benefit from all levels of government presenting the same information with the same message, consistently. It is suggested that by providing a united front of information and recommendations there might be a reduced degree of confusion about what is true and what is not. This might increase institutional abilities to reduce the spread of COVID-19 through factually sound practices.



Figure 9



# IMPACT OF CIVIC DISCORD ON CIVIL SOCIETIES

Candyce Kelshall, Natalie Archutowski &  
Anika Kale

## **KEY FINDINGS**

- There has been an increased risk of civic discord occurring within communities, such as London and surrounding communities, from early in February 2020 to May 2020. The model shows that these areas have shifted from stable with a low likelihood of civic discord, to increasingly unstable and very unstable with an elevated likelihood of organized and/or discord and resistance, which is directly linked to decreased social cohesion and polarisation.
- Increased discord appears to have resulted in conflict changing from verbal insults to physical endangerment, as people have been arrested for spitting and coughing in each other's faces in London and surrounding cities.
- The areas where the Discord Model reflected the highest scores and most elevated likelihood of discord and resistance are within London.

## **CONSIDERATIONS**

- While assessing the environments in which civic discord occur, it is possible that a focus on improving social cohesion in the areas of concern – as determined by the model- by decision-makers and policy makers might reduce the likelihood of civic discord.
- It is possible that law enforcement teams across the UK would benefit from increased monitoring of instances of soft violence, which are key indicators of the likelihood of civic discord and resistance across the UK, as this is seen as being prejudicial to good order and stability.
- Providing law enforcement with the tools to address individuals and groups displaying discord and resistance is likely to be important in maintaining public safety and good order. It is suggested that these actions are not consistent with traditional understandings of criminality, and that promoting an increase of social cohesion might help reduce incidents of civic discord

## IMPACT OF CIVIC DISCORD ON CIVIL SOCIETIES

**SAT:** Civic Discord Model

**ISSUE #4:** Human Security

**CASE STUDY:** London Area & Northampton & North Yorkshire, United Kingdom

**SIGNIFICANCE:** Monitoring discord and whether or not it has an impact on civil society can better prepare law enforcement to respond most effectively to prevent organized and prolonged civic resistance or discord, and thus increase social cohesion and contribute to public safety.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** What is the impact of civic discord on civil society in the UK as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** Civic discord has arguably increased since the COVID-19 pandemic began and has necessitated the alteration of certain social norms within society (Risk Services Division, 2020, p. 2-3; Bufacchi, 2020, para. 1). A potential reason for an increase in discord among the general population is the presence of anomie, which has presented a challenge for governments and law enforcements to enforce some of the requirements to maintain public safety, as seen in the UK (Bufacchi, 2020, para. 2).

### **BACKGROUND**

As the COVID-19 virus swept across the UK, restrictions were put in place to stop the infectious spread and further prevent an acceleration of cases. Examples of these restrictions included limits on non-essential travel and the closing of certain non-essential businesses (Beadsworth & Walawalkar, 2020, para. 22-23). With these limitations in place, citizens were more restricted in their daily freedoms and liberties which previously afforded them the right to travel within and out of cities, and visit non-essential businesses (Kirka, 2020). As a result of these restrictions, it is possible that certain groups of people opposed these restrictions due to the reduction of democratic freedoms, as compared to pre-COVID-19 times (Beadsworth & Walawalkar, 2020, para. 30). This opposition might be seen as the foundation for what might be considered an emerging state

of both anomie and civic anomie. Conditions of anomie can emerge when the population perceives the existing structures to be inadequate or incapable of functioning effectively in so far as ensuring or allowing personal benefit to accrue. This shift in social norms might be seen as a catalyst for decreasing social cohesion, which could lead to an increased likelihood of civic discord and resistance.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Anomie:** A condition of instability resulting from chronic deregulation, a breakdown of norms, standards and values or from a lack of purpose and ideals (Durkheim, 1897).

**Civic Anomie:** defined here as a sense of normlessness, based on traditional norms becoming inadequate for maintaining an individual's well-being. Therefore, the lack of useful societal norms incentivizes the tendency to act in an otherwise unacceptable way based on personal interest (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2020; Cloward, 1995; Barber, 2003). A rapid and extreme shift in norms regarding acceptable civic behaviour during periods of uncertainty which erode the likelihood of peaceable co-existence.

**Civic Discord:** where people's civic agreements – as implied by the social contract or agreement to adhere to legitimate law, order, and authority – begin to change in the face of a new normal in which accepted rights and freedoms are restricted; discord and acts of disharmony against state authority may emerge as a result (Kelshall, 2020). The presence of soft violence might be considered a key indicator.

**Social Cohesion (used interchangeably with "Civic Cohesion"):** "the sum of a population of individuals' willingness to cooperate with each other without coercion in the complex set of social relations needed by individuals to complete their life courses" (Stanley, 2003, p. 9).

**Soft Violence:** Actions which fall short of criminally identifiable physical violence. It also does not meet the threshold of hate crime as hate words may not be exchanged or used. It takes the form of culturally nuanced and inexplicit cues which are injurious by implying and reinforcing perceived power disparities. Soft violence might also be considered non-kinetic actions taken by those who identify with identity-based social movements which entrench or highlight the superiority of one group over

another without actual kinetic impact. Specific clothing, memes and symbols are all types of recorded social violence activity research has associated with VTSMs (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

## **TECHNIQUE**

The Discord Model measures discord and resistance to legitimate governance in a given geographical area. The model was designed to analyse the environmental factors which impact the likelihood of civic discord by measuring an increase of soft violence, among other factors. By establishing a baseline of what stable communities score, analysts might be better equipped to predict which communities are more likely to experience the effects of civic discord. The results of the model demonstrate the environment within which incidents occur, assisting in the identification of the likelihood of consistent discord and resistance. The model can also assist in the assessment of mitigating actions that would be best suited to counter the existing implications.

The model assesses 10 factors on a scale of 1-5 to determine the average level of stability and resilience, impacting the likelihood of discord and resistance of a given geographical region. A higher score closer to 5 means there is less stability within that community. The 10 factors that are assessed include the following:

1. Political stability
2. Institutional Trust
3. Degree of Support and Participation in Resistance
4. Unusual Restrictions placed on a community
5. Soft violence sentiments Expressed- Discourse Analysis
6. Cultural Norms about Safety and Security
7. Religious and other community-based Influences in Support of / or against Government positions.
8. Consistency of the Messaging Provided by Leadership.
9. Disorder
10. Scale of Police responses

## **Scoring**

A score of 1.0-2.0 signifies a stable community with a consistent level of discord. A score of 2.1-2.9 showcases a reasonably stable community with an increase in discord and resistance. 3.0-3.2 indicates an increasing

degree of instability and discord in society, leading to disruption for the social and physical well-being of society members. 3.3> illustrates areas of significant instability, discord and resistance, where immediate law enforcement action is necessary to maintain good governance as stated by existing legislation. Any scores above 3.7 imply that a significant law enforcement presence is likely to be necessary to maintain good order and that organized and/or consistent discord and resistance is very likely.

Range	Indications	Implications
1.0-2.0	Very stable communities with a very low likelihood of organized and or consistent discord and resistance	Little to no need for law enforcement surveillance or engagement to maintain good order
2.1-2.9	Stable communities with an increased and increasing likelihood of organized and or discord and resistance	Law enforcement surveillance is recommended to identify increases in discord and resistance that would necessitate engagement to maintain good order
3.0-3.2	Unstable communities with a high likelihood of organized and or consistent discord and resistance	Law enforcement engagement activities more likely to be necessary to maintain good order
3.3 - 5.0	Very unstable communities with a very high likelihood of organized and or consistent discord and resistance	Extremely high likelihood of law enforcement engagement activities being necessary to maintain good order

Table 5. *Discord Model Legend*

## FINDINGS

To guide the analysis, six incidents between January 2020 to May 2020 were examined. Incidents in areas across the United Kingdom, including four across different areas of London, one in Northampton, and one and North Yorkshire. The highest scores were within London, both at a 3.4 (incident 4 and incident 6). In each of the incidents the discourse within the communities in which kinetic attacks or incidents occurred was civic anomie driven resulting in a soft violence rich environment.



Incident	Description	Score
1 - January 24th, 2020. Oxford St, London, United Kingdom.	A Singaporean student was jumped by a group of strangers in London in a coronavirus-related soft and kinetically violent attack.	2.5 - Stable communities with an increased and increasing likelihood of organized and or discord and resistance
2 - April 8th, 2020. West Haddon, Northampton, United Kingdom.	Two men being charged with breaking Covid-19 restrictions, were 10 miles away from home with no valid reason to be away from home.	2.2 - Stable communities with an increased and increasing likelihood of organized and or discord and resistance
3 - March 21st, 2020. West Sussex, London, United Kingdom.	A man was arrested for making fake kits which claimed to treat Covid-19.	2.7 - Stable communities with an increased and increasing likelihood of organized and or discord and resistance
4 - May 17th, 2020. London, United Kingdom.	The ticket officer, who worked at London's Victoria station, was spat on and coughed at by a man claiming to have coronavirus on 22 March.	3.4 - Very unstable communities with a very high likelihood of organized and or consistent discord and resistance
5 - May 17th, 2020. North Yorkshire, United Kingdom.	The police were called "half a dozen times" by residents with complaints about too many visitors.	2.7 - Stable communities with an increased and increasing likelihood of organized and or discord and resistance
6 -May 16th, 2020. Hyde Park, London, United Kingdom.	London police have arrested 19 people for deliberately breaking social distancing guidelines in protest against the rules.	3.4 - Very unstable communities with a very high likelihood of organized and or consistent discord and resistance

Table 6. Discord Model Incident and Scoring Summary



Figure 10. Discord Model Scoring breakdown by Variable and Incident

Figure 10 demonstrates that incidents with higher (more discordant) scores are colour coded red.

Incidents 4 and 6 scored highly in the variable for V3, *Degree of Support and Resistance*. This variable is a measurement of community support for the perpetration of discord and resistance, as well as the promotion of these ideas. This variable suggests that there are self-actualized actors actively resisting the orders in place by state authorities.

Incidents 4 and 6 also scored highly in V5, *Discourse Analysis of Sentiments Towards the Conclusion of the Crisis or Emergency*. This variable assesses the sentiment of a community’s discourse by observing what is being published by media outlets and the responses and meta opinions expressed. High scores in this section indicates that there appears to be a strong desire to return to pre-disaster/’normal’ settings, regardless of the consequences (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2020). It is suggested that low levels of acceptance, including outright denial, could lead to higher levels of disorder. It is possible that citizens in these communities will be less inclined to see the necessity of emergency measures and therefore, will be less likely to follow these measures which restrict their freedoms and/or impact their way of life (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2020).

Additionally, Incidents 4 and 6 presented a high score in V6, *Cultural Norms About Safety and Security*. This variable assesses the “existing cultural norms within a determined area, as to the nature and extent to which the state is expected to provide for the safety and security of its citizens, is believed to impact the overall prevalence of civil disorder.” The high score in this section suggests that these communities are more individualistic, where individual rights and freedoms take precedence over a collective good.

The results of the model tests suggest that the following conclusions might be drawn:

First, there has been an increased likelihood of civic discord occurring within communities in London from early in February 2020 to May 2020, as the numbers on the model show that these areas have shifted from stable communities with low likelihood of civic discord to increasingly unstable and very unstable communities with an elevated likelihood of organized and/or discord and resistance. Soft violence analysis will assist in identifying these communities. This also suggests that there is a decrease in social cohesion. Second, this increase in civic discord appears to have resulted in conflict changing from online soft violence expressions to verbal insults to physical endangerment, as people have been arrested for spitting/coughing in others' faces in London and surrounding cities.

## GRINTSUM

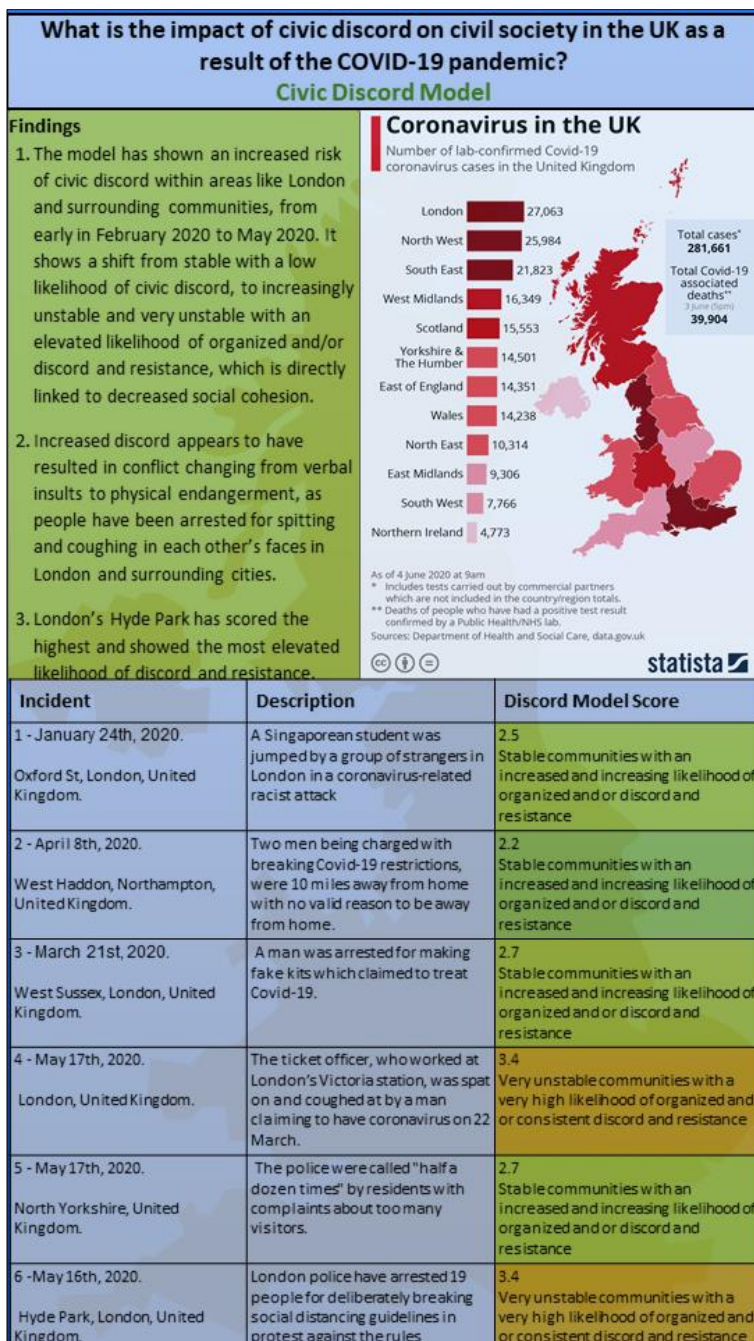


Figure 11

IMPACT OF VIOLENT TRANSNATIONAL  
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON A POST-  
COVID ENVIRONMENT

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## **KEY FINDINGS**

- The Black Lives Matter movement is arguably not a Violent Transnational Social Movement, because it does not score high on the Pinehurst Model in the following variables: primordiality, the idealization of violence and self-actualization.
- The Black Lives Matter movement can arguably be classified as a transnational cause-based social movement rooted in political concerns around structural inequalities including the unequal application of justice and seeking legitimacy.
- The Black Lives Matter movement is aiming to gain recognition that Black people have been structurally disadvantaged, rather than illustrating that Black people are a superior race who need to assert dominance and authority to avoid replacement.
- Outgroup members can potentially attempt to turn the Black Lives Matter movement violent, but the vast statistical majority of supporters seem to advocate for and engage in non-violent methods of resistance and voicing concern.

## **CONSIDERATIONS**

- The BLM movement is arguably a social movement that is cause-based rather than identity-based.
- The vast majority of violence which is carried out in BLM protests is found to have been conducted by outgroup actors; these actors are often prevented from inciting violence by core supporters of BLM.
- This social movement, while accelerated by echo chambers and internet usage, will be less likely to turn violent and, though likely to continue spreading transnationally, participants in the movement can be seen as supporters and sympathisers who may or may not engage more fully in the future with the BLM movement and who do not have to be black to be welcomed into activist activities.

# IMPACT OF VIOLENT TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS ON A POST-COVID-19 ENVIRONMENT

**SAT:** Pinehurst Model

**ISSUE #2:** Extremism

**CASE STUDY:** United States

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The COVID-19 pandemic has limited individual freedom of movement in most US states and has required Americans to stay at home, which has arguably increased internet usage and participation in online social media. Consequently, the Black Lives Matter movement during the pandemic garnered significant support across the world raising concerns of it becoming a Violent Transnational Social Movement (VTSM), particularly as actors in the movement have been labelled vermin, thugs and domestic terrorists (Budryk, 2020).

**SECURITY QUESTION:** Is Black Lives Matter (BLM) a Violent Transnational Social Movement (VTSM)?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** The current BLM protests erupted after the April 2020 death of George Floyd, though the movement has been engaged in activism since 2013, (Anderson, 2016; Taylor, 2020). Due to increased internet activity as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, social media has arguably been better able to propel information about his death at a higher velocity, to wider audiences thus garnering large amounts of support in favour of the BLM movement stance against police brutality. The ability of this movement to transcend state boundaries suggested concerns of the possibility that this movement might embrace and use violence in furtherance of identity-based issues

## **BACKGROUND**

The rapid spread of COVID-19 has led governments across the world to push recommendations for isolation and social distancing in order to reduce additional outbreaks and minimize potential casualties and longer-term financial impact. With this in mind, internet usage has increased as

people embrace social media, streaming services and general online activities to continue feeling connected during periods of social distancing and isolation (Vogels, Perrin, Rainie & Anderson, 2020). This increased time online has arguably increased the time spent in online social media echo chambers, as people begin to consume higher quantities of information in shorter periods of time (Martin, 2020; Koeze & Popper, 2020).

With the death of George Floyd on May 25th, 2020, protests began erupting across America under the slogan of "Black Lives Matter" (Blankenship & Reeves, 2020). Initially located in Minneapolis, protests against police brutality sprouted nation-wide, and then transnationally to countries in North America, Europe, Oceania, South America and Africa (Rahim & Picheta, 2020).

Spurred by a video taken of his death, Floyd is heard saying "I can't breathe," a motto that was heard very commonly following the days of his death (McLaughlin, 2020). As the video began circulating on social media, the level of traction the video gained was arguably accelerated by the increased presence online of a locked down audience which COVID-19 established (Vogels, Perrin, Rainie & Anderson, 2020). With this higher than normal consumption of media - "47% higher than the same time period last year" - conversations in echo chambers discussing George Floyd's death quickly began to move toward physical expression of protests against police brutality (Cohen, 2020; Whalen, 2020). Support of the cause 'against police brutality' resulted in thousands of protestors emerging to rally and protest the deaths of Black lives caused at the hands of police (Aguilar, 2020). These protests were not identity specific, in that an individual did not have to identify as black to become engaged.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Violent Transnational Social Movements VTSMs:** While all social movements are polycentric, reticulate and segmentary, Violent transnational Social Movements (VTSMs) are primarily extremist in nature, violent in expression and identity exclusive (Kelshall, 2020). They transcend state boundaries to unite individuals - predisposed to violence which may be soft or kinetic - with shared ideologies, perspectives or grievances particular to identity (Kelshall, 2020). Such a definition helps in understanding the global appeal to ISIS recruits from over 130 countries. (Speckhard & Allenberg, 2020) Participation in these movements is a result of the perception that a certain aspect of life that has social or cultural importance is under an existential threat and



therefore requires a collaborative effort to restore it. VTSMs are therefore defined by the intention of the preservation of dominance, legitimacy, authority and superiority of an identity. This is distinct from an inclusive social movement seeking structural equality and legitimacy in the perceived presence of institutionally administered disparity. Activism to cause change in disparity is the primary tool used by cause based social movements while violence -either soft or kinetic- is the primary tool used by violent transnational social movements to preserve and protect perceived positions of structural power. Crowd sourced justice (Karen videos and doxing) is a tactic used by social movements which are cause based (Furlong, 2019).

These new communities of extremist sentiment are defined by identity exclusivity. VTSM activity is arguably facilitated primarily by the ease with which online echo chambers and 'online constituencies' (see page 89) provide communication possibilities to new, non-territorially defined communities and new geospatially defined contours of social interaction between these communities both on and offline (Kelshall, 2018). The lack of hierarchy beyond influencer messaging and activity is what makes these communities distinct from organised groups which use command and control to achieve set objectives (Kelshall & Al-Rawi, 2020).

**Soft violence:** "Actions which fall short of criminally identifiable physical violence. Soft violence often does not meet the threshold of a hate crime, as hate words may not be exchanged or used" (Kelshall & Neal, 2019). It takes the form of culturally nuanced inexplicit cues which are injurious by implying and reinforcing perceived power disparities. Soft violence might also be considered non kinetic actions taken by those who identify with identity based social movements which entrench or highlight the superiority of one group over another without actual kinetic impact (Kelshall 2019).

**Tribal bonds:** "Cultural narratives which both unify and strengthen relationships within a social movement. In the context of VTSMs, these bonds determine the degree to which someone becomes a sympathizer or supporter of a group" (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

**Self-actualization:** "The process of achieving one's full potential as an independent, fulfilled, free-thinking human being, which can only be attained after achieving safety, security, and economic well-being, as per Maslow's hierarchy of needs" (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

**Identity affirmation:** “Things that contribute to the development of positive (and strong feelings) and a sense of belonging via meta contrast to other identities” (Kelshall & Archutowski, 2019; Salzarulo, 2006).

**Meta-contrast:** The prototypicality of one individual relative to the perceived prototypicality of an ‘other’ culturally distinct individual of another self-categorised identity.

## **TECHNIQUE**

The Pinehurst model is designed to measure the degree of cohesion, identity affirmation and tribal bonds of VTSMs to aid law enforcement decision making for intervention, mitigation, strategic or tactical response to soft and kinetic violence being displayed. It can also be used to aid analysts to track the development and maturity of VTSMs and to discern a shift by these collectives to possible kinetic action (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

Cause-based collectives and non-identity-based social movements will present visually as incoherent and diverse. VTSM tightness (see page 43) will not be evident as identity will not be the driving force of the collective’s actions. VTSMs act to preserve dominance, supremacy, legitimacy and authority of an identity over others.

Rational decision-making models focus on an individual evaluating the benefits or risk of a choice such as violent action (McCarthy & Chaudhary, 2014). The Pinehurst model uses a different approach to identify likely violent kinetic action using social movement theory and group dynamics to understand the process of social radicalization (Kelshall & Neal, 2019). The model measures human behaviour in identity-based movements and how specific behaviours might be influenced by a series of factors designed to determine how deeply connected and ideologically homogeneous a collective might be. The Pinehurst Model allows for a real-time analysis of a collective of individuals to determine the degree of cohesion and clarity regarding the movement's purpose (Kelshall & Neal, 2019).

The Pinehurst Model can aid both analysts and law enforcement in establishing the group dynamics, the level of tribal bonding and the degree of violent self-actualization possible. The degree of power and tightness of the movement (see page 43) is reinforced by sentiment echo chambers. Being able to score extremist and other identity-based movements against these factors might aid law enforcement and public

safety in correctly assessing the threat that VTSMs might present. This model is designed to assess potential violence and not designed to prohibit social movements legally expressing discontent. The Pinehurst model will also aid in identifying outgroup members who are distinct from others in the movement and who may be identified and 'othered' by the collective as not belonging (Salzarulo, 2006). An example is that of the umbrella man during the Minneapolis riots May 27<sup>th</sup>, 2020 (Portfield 2020) It may therefore aid in identifying 'identity based false flag violence.'

The degree to which each variable changes in score over time demonstrates changes in the collective's perspectives on the acceptability of violence, and in the degree of bonding by participants in the collective. VTSMs thrive and mature to violence in echo chambers (see page 53) as meta opinion changes as echo chambers develop to reinforce extremist sentiment (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2017). The model effectively demonstrates the degrees of this shift and allows analysts to confidently infer likely escalations in soft or kinetic violence. Identifying the hardening of meta narrative and the shifting of meta opinions is therefore one of the benefits of the Pinehurst model and its use in answering the security question captioned is therefore a unique and original contribution to assessing the likelihood of an escalation to violence.

<b>Indicators</b>
<b>Recognition</b>
<b>Individuation</b>
<b>Primoridality</b>
<b>Entatvity</b>
<b>Status</b>
<b>Violence Rationalization</b>
<b>Self Actualization</b>
<b>Doctrine</b>

Figure 11. Factors/Indicators analyzed by the Pinehurst Model

Group NAME	May 26, 2020			May 26, 2020			Jun 6, 2020			Jun 6, 2020			May 27, 2020			June 05, 2020		
Date	Figure 1 la			Figure 2 lb			Figure 3			Figure 4 lib			Figure 5			Figure 6		
Grid Location																		
GPS location																		
Location	38th at Chicago Ave. MN			2510 E Lake St. MN			Sydney, Australia			Seoul, South Korea			MN 3rd Police Precinct			Sweden, Stockholm		
Indicators	Value			Value			Value			Value			Value			Value		
Recognition	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F
Individuation	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	0	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5	0
Primordiality	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	5	0	0	5	0
Entativity	2	4	0	2	4	0	0	2	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	4	0
Status	1	2	0	0	3	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	2	0	0	0	0
Violence Rationalization	1	2	0	0	2	1	1	2	0	1	2	0	1	1	1	1	2	0
Self Actualization	0	3	3	0	4	2	0	6	0	1	5	0	0	6	0	2	4	0
Doctrine	3	12	3	2	13	3	3	13	2	1	13	2	3	10	5	1	15	2
	1	3	2	0	4	2	0	3	1	0	5	1	0	6	0	0	5	1
	8	35	8	2	41	8	4	40	3	5	43	3	5	40	6	5	45	3

Figure 12. Pinehurst Model results based on the reported incidents involving the BLM.

Group NAME	July 15, 2017			Aug 12, 2017			May 2, 2020			August 17, 2020			July 8, 2017			April 15, 2020		
Date	Shiwey Sup TX			White Supre SC			Boogaloo			Figure			Figure			Figure		
Grid Location																		
GPS location																		
Location	Houston, TX			Robert E. Lee in Charlottesville			State House, Concord, NH			San Antonio, TX			Charlottesville, SC			Michigan, MN		
Indicators	Value			Value			Value			Value			Value			Value		
Recognition	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F	Y	N	F
Individuation	4	2	0	2	3	1	4	1	1	4	2	0	5	1	0	3	2	1
Primordiality	2	6	2	2	3	0	0	6	0	1	4	0	3	2	0	1	4	0
Entativity	1	3	0	3	1	0	1	3	0	1	2	1	3	1	0	1	2	1
Status	2	1	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
Violence Rationalization	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	0	2	1	0
Self Actualization	3	2	1	2	4	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	1	2	2	2
Doctrine	6	9	3	6	14	0	9	9	1	8	8	2	6	10	2	8	8	2
	2	3	1	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	2	3	1	1	4	1
	19	27	5	22	27	2	22	22	7	22	23	7	24	23	4	21	23	7

Figure 13. Pinehurst Model results based on the reported incidents involving RWE

The following is a detailed description of the scoring indicators:

 Red

The Pinehurst Model guides response considerations when dealing with situations where there is a likelihood of soft violence occurring, which may then escalate into kinetic violence. The presence of predominantly red indicators signifies a fully formed collective identity where personal inhibitions have been eroded by collective group think. Kinetic violence is highly likely due to the reflected perception of low personal cost for violent actions.

A mix of red and orange denotes a collective that is in a transition from the perpetration of soft violence, to the capacity to undertake kinetic violence.

## Orange

Soft violence is denoted by the presence of prolific orange at the end of the assessment. Soft violence is defined as actions which fall short of criminally identifiable physical violence. Soft violence often does not meet the threshold of a hate crime, as hate words may not be exchanged or used. It takes the form of culturally nuanced and inexplicit cues which are injurious by implying and reinforcing perceived power disparities. Soft violence might also be considered non-kinetic actions taken by those who identify with identity-based social movements which entrench or highlight the superiority of one group over another without actual kinetic impact. Specific clothing, memes, and symbols are all types of recorded social violence activity research has associated with VTSMs. Soft violence indicates non-criminal activity which falls short of the criminal code threshold for chargeable offences, but which nevertheless indicates the potential for escalation.

Orange also denotes a less robust identity cohesion. Analysts may use this indicator to address measures which may be disruptive to the fragile convergence of the collectives' emerging identity. This may be indicated by non-uniformity in the collective denoting fragmented, segmentary allegiances which have not yet coalesced into a clear sense of unified collective identity or ideology and a loss of inhibitions.

## Yellow

Predominantly yellow indicators denote an agreement with the beliefs and practices of the collective and an unwillingness to engage with violence due to the personal cost of such actions. Sufficient deindividuation has not yet occurred in the group to enable an escalation to either soft or kinetic violent action.

A mix of yellow and green signifies there is not a complete acceptance of the existence of an existential threat to an agreed identity and thus the cohesion of the collective may be easily disrupted. They accept that there are grievances or concerns which may be perceived as valid, however there are many possible options for addressing and resolving the grievance which does not lead to violence, either soft or kinetic.

## Green

Predominantly green indicators point to limited to no cohesion amongst those aligning with the movement. Those who fall into this category can

be classed as supporters who may or may not engage more fully in the future with the specific movement. Collectives which present as green have a greater range of options and a greater capacity for resolving challenges presented as grievances by the collective.



Figure 14. Protest in Charlottesville, Virginia, USA on July 8, 2017



Figure 15. Protest in Charlottesville, Virginia, USA on July 8, 2017



Figure 16. Gathering in Houston, Texas, on July 15, 2017.



Figure 17. Protest in Charlottesville, on Aug 12, 2017.



Figure 18. Protest in San Antonio, Texas, USA on August 17, 2017.



Figure 19. Protest in New Hampshire on May 02, 2020.



Figure 20. Protest in 2610 E Lake St, Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 26, 2020.



Figure 21. Minneapolis 3rd Police Precinct, Minneapolis Minnesota, on May 27, 2020.



Figure 22. Protest in 38th Street and Chicago Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota, on May 29, 2020.



Figure 23. Sweden, Stockholm, on June 3, 2020.



Figure 24 Sydney, Australia, on June 6, 2020.



Figure 25. Seoul, South Korea, on June 6, 2020.

## FINDINGS

The Pinehurst Model was applied to two series of events, each tested with 6 images taken at random times at a variety of events. The Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) and a known VTSM group of Right-Wing Extremists (RWE). When testing the BLM movement, the results show a lack of cohesive identity in the make-up of the movement; rather, the BLM movement is representative of a cause supported by multiple identities. Comparatively, the RWE movement is founded upon the group's perceived need to protect their identity and their values and is overwhelmingly a single identity.



The conclusion that the BLM is a cause-based movement and not an identity-based movement derives from the scores obtained when measuring individuation of the movement. The scores were low and predominantly green which indicates limited to no cohesion amongst those aligning with the BLM movement. Therefore, participants in the movement can be classified as supporters who may or may not engage more fully in the future with the BLM movement. The degree of participation can be further discerned using a Nabla model in conjunction with the Pinehurst model (Kelshall, 2020). Using the two techniques together can generate a statistical probability of whether the participants in a movement are sympathisers, supporters, self-actualisers of violence or window shopping for a cause and band waggon-ing. Distinctions can be drawn between social movement activism and VTSM identity based soft violence which has the potential to become violent. Social movements will score highly in seeking legitimacy but not in superiority, dominance and authority. The MID model used in conjunction with Pinehurst will help in identifying which of these four drivers are the motivation for social movement activity and thus help determine the correct law enforcement responses for VTSM vs SM engagement (Kelshall 2020).

When analysing BLM protests, the results shown by the Pinehurst model indicates that the violence seen in some incidents was not conducted by core supporters, but rather outgroup members who are not supported in their incitement of violence. Figure 10 illustrates how a small percentage of the protests are violent, and often not carried out by the group but rather outgroup actors. While carrying out violence under the guise of BLM, the values of these outgroup actors are arguably varied from that of the core supporters themselves.

GRINTSUM

## Is Black Lives Matter (BLM) a Violent Transnational Social Movement (VTSM)?






The BLM movement is arguably not a Violent Transnational Social Movement. It does not score high on primordiality, idealization of violence and self-actualization, in the Pinehurst Model.



The BLM movement can arguably be classified as a transnational cause based social movement rooted in political concerns around structural inequalities including the unequal application of justice and seeking legitimacy.

Y	Value 1			Value 2			Value 3			Value 4			Value 5		
	N	F	P	N	F	P	N	F	P	N	F	P	N	F	P
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
7	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1




The BLM movement is aiming to gain recognition that Black people have been structurally disadvantaged, rather than illustrating that Black people are a superior race who need to assert dominance and authority to avoid replacement.

Outgroup members can potentially attempt to turn the BLM movement violent, but the vast statistical majority of supporters seem to advocate for and engage in non-violent methods of resistance and voicing concern.

Figure 26

TO WHAT EXTENT MIGHT ANTI-  
GOVERNMENT SENTIMENTS, PROVIDED  
BY EXTREMIST GROUPS, AFFECT MASS  
PUBLIC OPINION?

THE IMPACT OF CREEPING  
NORMALCY

Candyce Kelshall, Tyler Lum & Victoria  
Raskin

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- Using the “What If?” SMAT, it was found that the Proud Boys in Michigan could potentially influence public opinion with anti-government sentiments if a member of the group was able to get into a position of political power.
- It was found that Proud Boys members could use religion as a meta-opinion to recruit members and expand their outreach via the development of online constituencies.
- If civil unrest continues, there could alternatively be a scenario where the Proud Boys could overthrow the government if enough public support is provided.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- Assumptions can be made based on the available evidence that there are a variety of ways for extremist groups to sway public opinion; however, another SAT should be used to fill in any gaps in judgement, and pinpoint biases or weaknesses in the assumptions of the original “What If” analysis.
- Decision makers should be aware that members of extremist groups have attained positions of legitimate political power before, suggesting that the “What If” scenario is not an impossibility based on available evidence (Neavling, 2020).

## TO WHAT EXTENT MIGHT ANTI-GOVERNMENT SENTIMENTS, PROVIDED BY EXTREMIST GROUPS, AFFECT MASS PUBLIC OPINION?

**SAT:** What-If / Social Momentum Technique

**ISSUE #2:** Extremism

**CASE STUDY:** United States

**SIGNIFICANCE:** Extremist groups have arguably been using non-kinetic means to influence communities, creating a “creeping normalcy” to exploit perceived relationships with political figures (Diamond, 2005, p. 508; Kelshall, 2020). This has been accomplished through the creation of online constituencies focused on specific ideas or sentiments. It is argued that this meta-opinion ‘momentum’ - created through the engagement of social movements - might be seen as a concern for national security, as it allows both a rapid uptake in the narrative and a gradual instillation of a sense of dominance, legitimacy, authority and superiority; thus facilitating the gradual assumption of structural power by members of extremist groups or those closely politically associated with them. Members of extremist groups might use this consensus to gain moral confidence in their perspectives and beliefs, allowing for the increasing likelihood of meta-opinion associated with extremist sentiment to become normalized in different dialogue fora. Additionally, extremist groups’ utilization of creeping normalcy could potentially lead to an increasing normalization of extremist rhetoric and could empower socially radicalised self-actualized individuals (SRSA) to act kinetically. The concept of “creeping normalcy/landscape amnesia” might be layered with social network theories to understand the ebb and flow of ideas which allow segmented extremist sentiment to enter mainstream consciousness and inform identity constructs (Diamond, 2005, p. 509). This action might widen the acceptance of such ideas into the mainstream population, thereby widening the pool of individuals susceptible to social radicalization (Helfstein, 2012, p. 2; Kelshall, 2020).

**SECURITY QUESTION:** To what extent might anti-government sentiments, provided by groups such as the Proud Boys, affect mass public opinion?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** As the economies in the United States and around the world are halted due to COVID-19, geographic areas like the U.S. have seen increasing protests to end the stay-at-home orders mandated by individual states (Al Jazeera, 2020). This civil unrest towards political institutions can provide extremist groups, such as the Proud Boys, a chance to spread their messages of limited government or possibly obtain a position of similar power. Their goal is to showcase their Western chauvinistic practices and assert dominance, authority and legitimacy on these perspectives (Proudboys, 2020).

## **BACKGROUND**

Due to stay-at-home orders, the citizens of Michigan have been increasingly upset as economic pressures encourage people to return to work in order to not fall behind financially (Parker et al., 2020). As seen in places such as Japan, it could be recommended that opening up any state too early could have devastating effects (Leonard, 2020). Due to an immense attraction to civil liberties in the US, many citizens are disregarding recommendations provided by leading health experts (Cummins, 2020). This disobedience has provided a new opportunity for extremist groups, such as the Proud Boys, to spread their message of limited government. Playing on the discontent of citizens towards the government, it is possible for the Proud Boys to normalize their more radical values for segments of the population. Moreover, the Proud Boys may compound or “stack on” other more extreme messages towards public masses. The danger is then presented when citizens who normally would not adhere to such rhetoric, begin to rationalize and normalize the messages groups such as Proud Boys provide due to their ease of availability in social media platforms which may not be overtly extremist. Therefore, public safety concerns should not just be about the protests, but the messages behind the protesting as well as the swiftness with which such unlikely events might actually occur as a result of the rapid uptake of extremist meta-narratives and meta opinions in online constituencies. Extremism cannot spread if it is conceptualised as extremist as these (outgroup) Extremism can only spread if the meta-opinions expressed are inclusive to a group of self-categorised individuals. “Like polarized molecules, group members become even more aligned in the direction they were already tending” (Turner, 1987, p. 142).

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Creeping Normalcy/Landscape Amnesia:** “slow trends concealed within noisy fluctuations. If the economy, schools, traffic congestion, or

anything else is deteriorating slowly, it is difficult to recognize that each successive year is on average slightly worse than the year before, so one's baseline standard for what constitutes normality shifts gradually and imperceptibly. It may take a few decades of a long sequence of such slight year-to-year changes before people realize, with a jolt, that conditions used to be much better several decades ago, and that what is accepted as a normality has crept downwards" (Diamond, 2005, p. 508).

**Western Chauvinist** (*\*the following definition was written by an alleged member of an extremist group*): "meaning that you love and appreciate Western culture to an obscene degree. We define Western culture as the culture of ideas, the free market, and free speech rooted in the system outlined in the United States Constitution, which has had a direct influence on the drafting of constitutions in other nations. Race isn't a factor" (Bazile, 2018, para. 13).

**Online constituencies** are the vessels through which extremist sentiment becomes politicised fostering the deepening of an us vs them narrative which increases the social engagement and emotional energy of an electorate around an issue of social or identity-based concern. Online constituencies are groups of likeminded individuals who coalesce around specific issues creating a groundswell of opinion on an issue which has been successfully securitised through speech acts. Social concerns become political electoral concerns given sufficient pressure (Ross & Staines, 1972).

**Meta narrative:** interpretation and expression of a framework of knowledge around issues which legitimises emotional perspectives along a dominant story or grand narrative. The more extremist the meta-narrative the more extremist the sentiments expressed in an echo chamber and the less costly actions consistent with the meta-narrative (McCauley & Moskalenko, 2018).

**Meta opinion:** McCauley (2015) distinguishes meta opinion as "an opinion about opinion" and clarifies that the "actual distribution of public opinion" and the "perceived distribution" can lead to political instability when they diverge significantly (p. 82). When measuring these distributions when it comes to extremist sentiment, it is important to take into account the speed and breadth of the spread of these messages.

## TECHNIQUE

The “What-if” analysis model has been designed to challenge analyst or intelligence community beliefs that certain events are unlikely to happen -heretofore called the *improbable event*- (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 178). The technique requires that analysts imagine that the *improbable event* has occurred and encourages the analysts to develop a coherent chain of events which ultimately led to the occurrence of the *improbable event* (Lum & Pearce, 2019; Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 178).

We have determined that when social movement theory and extremism are integrated into the technique then analysis becomes more nuanced and contextually richer. We suggest that the “What If” approach might be used to demonstrate a momentum and fluidity to change in the security landscape. To complete a “What-if” analysis, one must learn how to shift their focus from the likelihood of an event happening to simply understanding how an event could unfold (Lum & Pearce, 2019). With the introduction and layering of extremism and social movement perspectives, the momentum of these changes may be measured and discerned. For the security question that was used, it was important to move away from *how likely* it was that the Proud Boys could be seen as a legitimate political figure, to simply understand *how* they might be perceived as legitimate, particularly understanding the ease and speed with which such legitimacy might be gained through social mobilisation. Understanding the possible or likely momentum of such extremist normalisation is important to fully assess the steps which might be taken once a possible national security concern is identified. Such concerns might present themselves where rhetoric and misinformation are softly violent and or explicitly extremist in nature.

In order to complete the “What If/social momentum” analysis, the security question at caption was used to generate an *improbable event*, in this case, a Proud Boys member obtaining the position of a US State Governor. Once this *improbable event* is established, “backwards thinking” is used to logically decipher how the event could unfold (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 179). The involvement of echo chambers might be used as a guide or aide to assessing the ‘speed of spread’ of concepts -without apparent critical engagement -in the content being presented. Once the events are established, a review is needed to make sure the chain of events is coherent.

## **FINDINGS**

“What If/Social Momentum” analysis is highly effective in times of uncertainty, and while the world is in a period of such circumstance, it is



important to analyze possible future scenarios particularly including the likely impacts if echo chambers and social movements uptake the issue. The findings suggest a conventional analytical line where a Proud Boys member gets increasingly involved in politics, using legitimate political channels in the context of increased civil unrest. Online constituencies are the vessels through which extremist sentiment becomes politicised fostering the deepening of an us vs them narrative which might increase the social engagement and emotional energy of an electorate.

It was found that if a Proud Boys member was able to successfully utilize legitimate political channels, having first generated an 'online constituency' then they could potentially get elected to a political seat, as seen in 2019 with a Proud Boys member getting elected as Town councillor in West Michigan (Neavling, 2020).

The findings also suggest two alternative theoretical lines, one in which a coup is possible, and another in which a regime change is possible. In the first theoretical line, it was found that if the US government was no longer able to provide welfare programs and aid packages, the Proud Boys could encourage a coup. In the second theoretical line, it was found that if the Proud Boys expanded their target audience to include or engage members of all religions, they could potentially significantly expand their support base moreover, the Proud Boys could attempt to use religious justifications to turn members against the government, potentially leading to a shift in power structures. The importance of social movements engaging in this dialogue is understudied and yet critical in understanding why and how norms shift to the extremist end of the spectrum while seemingly engaging non extremist advocates so quickly.

Connections were found that could possibly create a path for the Proud Boys to gain political legitimacy. These connections are important because the public may link the authority of legitimate figures with illegitimate ones through these political mediums. While the other two theoretical lines of thought are much more speculative, a downside of "What if?" analysis, there were still potential pathways found for them after the evidence was used to generate trigger events to begin a cohesive analysis. As mentioned, analysts have to rely on imagination to fill in the gaps with the limited evidence available. However, this SMAT can play an important role in encouraging consideration of alternative narratives, such as one with religious ties to it or an overthrow of government where these sentiments are embraced and legitimised through social media channels and echo chambers. It may be essential to a country's national security to consider extremist groups exploiting perceived relationships with

political figures as this may allow them to instill a sense of dominance, legitimacy, and power in members, sympathisers and supporters; and fear onto outsiders. Furthermore, it may normalize extremist rhetoric and potentially lead to an escalation to violence by self-actualized socially radicalised individuals.

GRINTSUM



Figure 27

## APPENDIX

The image below represents the 'What If?' flow chart utilized for this analysis:

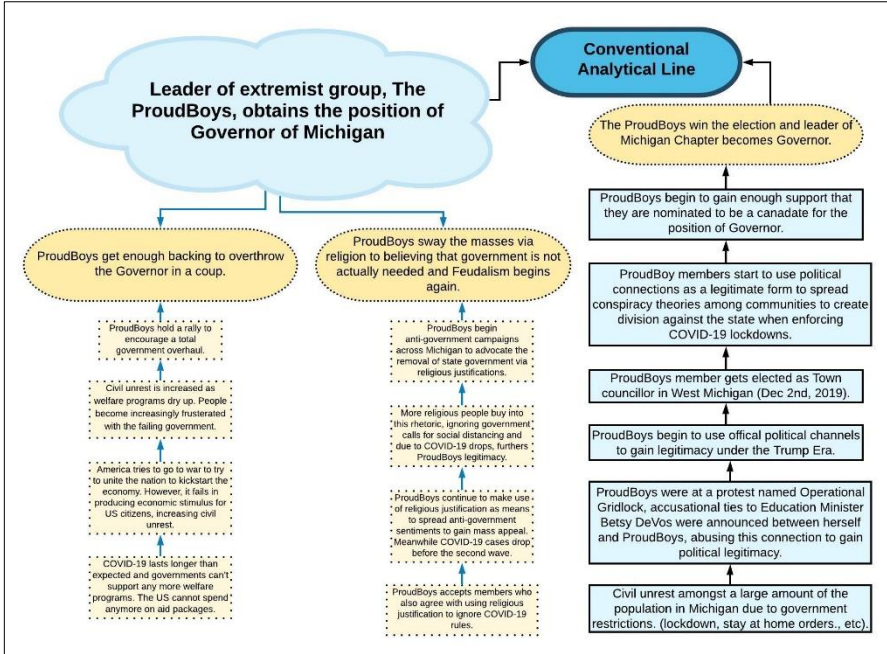


Figure 28

# ECONOMIC STABILIZATION POST- COVID

Asha Khera & Pallvi Sehijpaul

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- The SAT showed the possibility of Taiwan moving away from pragmatic diplomacy practices opposed to the alternate hypotheses of China and India rising as superpowers as they were pre-COVID and the environment remaining with USA dominance.
- Taiwan may start to rise economically because of a shift in economic power and leverage post-COVID-19 due to their high foreign reserves.
- If Taiwan continues to experience a growth in economic prosperity it is possible for there to be a shift in global influence from the West to the East post-COVID-19.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- It could be argued that Taiwan may move away from pragmatic diplomatic practices given their strategic economic role as a result of their high foreign reserves and potential ability to leverage it in the post-COVID-19 environment.
- It is possible that Taiwan's increase in economic prosperity may cause a divide within international institutions where China dominates.

## ECONOMIC STABILIZATION POST-COVID

**SAT:** Analysis of Competing Hypotheses

**ISSUE #6:** Economic Policy

**CASE STUDY:** Taiwan

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The impact of COVID-19 on Taiwan is arguably small, however, nations with higher foreign reserve rates may not be in the pragmatic position of Taiwan. Nations such as China and Saudi Arabia are experiencing major losses in foreign exchange (FX) reserves as a result of COVID-19 (Trading Economics, n.d.). It is possible that other nations with higher reserves are unable to function in this space due to a collapse in their economies and a decrease in demand for manufacturing foreign goods, as well as a steep decline in oil prices; with this perspective, Taiwan's role can be seen as significant.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** Will Taiwan's 'pragmatic diplomacy' lead to a change in global leadership by providing foreign aid and emergency economic stabilization post-COVID-19?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** At the time of this report, Taiwan has the fifth highest foreign reserves in the world (World Bank, 2020). Since the COVID-19 pandemic began, arguably causing strong economic powers to decrease their growth, this can potentially shift Taiwan's diplomatic leadership away from its pragmatic stance. In a post-COVID-19 environment, with the strong position they hold, this shift can create the possibility of a larger chain reaction from sizable economies such as the United States, China, and/or India.

### **BACKGROUND**

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the world is shifting the balance from large and powerful economies that are not retaining their economic stability to countries with higher FX reserves potentially playing a more powerful role (Spanò, 2012). The role of countries with higher foreign reserves indicates their ability to potentially provide emergency economic stabilization (Hargrave, 2020). These bailouts refer to countries such as Taiwan "extending financial support to a company or a country facing a

potential financial threat” (The Economic Times, 2020, p. 1). Foreign aid can take many forms. Countries such as China, India, and the United States are experiencing a decrease in economic influence based on a decline of manufacturing demands (Ten, 2020). China alone experienced a “6.8 percent decrease in its GDP, the first decrease since current records began almost three decades ago” (Channel News Asia, 2020, p. 2).

Foreign aid is not always a free resource transfer and often arrives with economic and political conditions (Tarp et al., 2014, para. 2). Therefore, foreign aid leaves the opportunity for the donor country to arguably increase its soft and hard power during times of international and humanitarian pandemic such as COVID-19.

Pragmatic diplomacy refers to Taiwan’s diplomatic position within the international community, and as a result of “China’s political pressure, Taiwan’s position has fallen between a normal state and non-state entity” (Chan, 2003, p. 3). Nations with higher foreign reserve rates arguably are not in the pragmatic position of Taiwan, such as China and Saudi Arabia who are experiencing major losses in FX reserves (Bloomberg News, 2020, para. 3). High FX reserve country Russia would arguably preserve its FX reserves to stabilize and assist allies along with Switzerland to assist Europe (RFE/RL, 2019, para. 9). Finally, Japan’s economic plan is to hold FX reserves in case of natural disasters to restart their economy (Reuters, 2008, para. 5).

## DEFINITIONS

**Foreign aid:** Official development assistance (ODA), also known as ‘foreign aid’, is provided by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which formed in 2006 (OECD, 2019, p. 1). OECD (2019) defines foreign aid as a calculation that is the sum of grants and loans to aid recipients that:

- (a) are undertaken by the official sector of the donor country;
- (b) as the main objective, have the promotion of economic development and welfare in recipient countries; and
- (c) are on concessional financial terms (i.e., with a grant element equal to at least 25 percent of the total) (p. 6).



**Emergency Economic Stability:** In reference to emergency funds for the means of stabilizing a foreign nation through promoting financial market stability (OECD, 2019, p. 1).

**Global Leadership:** "A process of influencing the thinking, attitudes and behaviors of a global community to work together synergistically toward a common vision and common goals" (Szymanski, 2019, p. 57).

**Pragmatic Diplomacy:** Diplomatic approach via "solving problems in a way that suits the conditions that presently exist, rather than obeying fixed theories, ideas, or rule" (Chen, 2002, p. 26).

## **TECHNIQUE**

An ACH is a diagnostic structured analytical technique that "is aimed to help minimize and potentially overcome cognitive limitations, as well as avoid common analytic pitfalls." (Manz & Khera, 2018, p. 56). Hypotheses are used "as a potential explanation or conclusion and is to be tested by collecting and presenting evidence" (CIA, 2007, para. 3)

Three hypotheses were tested to confirm or disconfirm the security question:

Hypothesis 1: Yes, Taiwan will start to rise because of a shift in power post-COVID.

Hypothesis 2: No, because China and India will rise as superpowers as they were pre-COVID.

Hypothesis 3: Null, it will remain the same as it is right now with the USA dominance.

Open-source intelligence (OSINT) was used by doing a scrape of the online sources listed within the source pack. Using those sources, an ACH was completed by drawing pieces of credible evidence and testing them against each of the hypotheses.

## **FINDINGS**

It was discovered that Hypothesis 1 was the most plausible given the overall score H (-3). Therefore, the outcome in a post-COVID-19 environment can be indicated as this result being most consistent.

As the COVID-19 pandemic evolves, the ACH revealed that Hypothesis 1, "Taiwan will start to rise because of a shift in power post-COVID," is

important to address future security questions in a post-COVID environment. The ACH showed the possibility of Taiwan moving away from the pragmatic diplomacy practices in an effort to push beyond its soft power, with increased economic leverage. Much like the United States Marshall Plan (1948), Taiwan arguably has the ability to provide economic aid to several Western countries due to their high foreign exchange reserves (Tuteja, 2020, para. 8). By holding billions of US dollars in assets of several nations, Taiwan has the ability to increase its reach in the manufacturing sector with their unique strength in semiconductors and value-added electronics manufacturing (Fuscaldo, 2020). Taiwanese silicon foundries are up and running and, despite a slowdown in everything from commodities to services, demand for semiconductors remains high around the world (Fuscaldo, 2020). The evidence has shown that there is a possibility for a shift in global influence from the West to the East post-COVID-19 to occur. Given the result of the ACH, the role of Taiwan's foreign reserves can impact their overall status as a pragmatic diplomatic force.

Taiwan's ability to stabilize its market and societal fear is key to understanding its potential rise to global influence. To help prevent people from hoarding supplies, the Taiwanese government announced jail sentences of up to seven years and fines of up to the equivalent of \$150,000 USD for individuals or businesses who try to profit by raising prices on disease-prevention products, such as hand sanitizer (Taylor, 2020). Taiwan's diplomatic practices externally have arguably allowed the nation to function as normal internally, and as a result keeping the impact of COVID-19 on Taiwan minimal. Other nations with higher reserves are unable to function in this space due to a collapse in their economies and a decrease in demand for manufacturing foreign goods, as well as a steep decline in oil prices (Reuters, 2008). Furthermore, public procurement in Taiwan is heavily regulated within its relationships with several nations, including the European Union, given that, as Taiwan secures contracts for manufacturing personal protective equipment, the nation is arguably able to maintain contract value through market failure (Taiwan, 2019). Therefore, the ability of Taiwan to remain a stable entity in the market would likely align with hypothesis 1 in the ACH that Taiwan may start to rise economically because of a shift in economic power and leverage post-COVID due to their high foreign reserves.

GRINTSUM

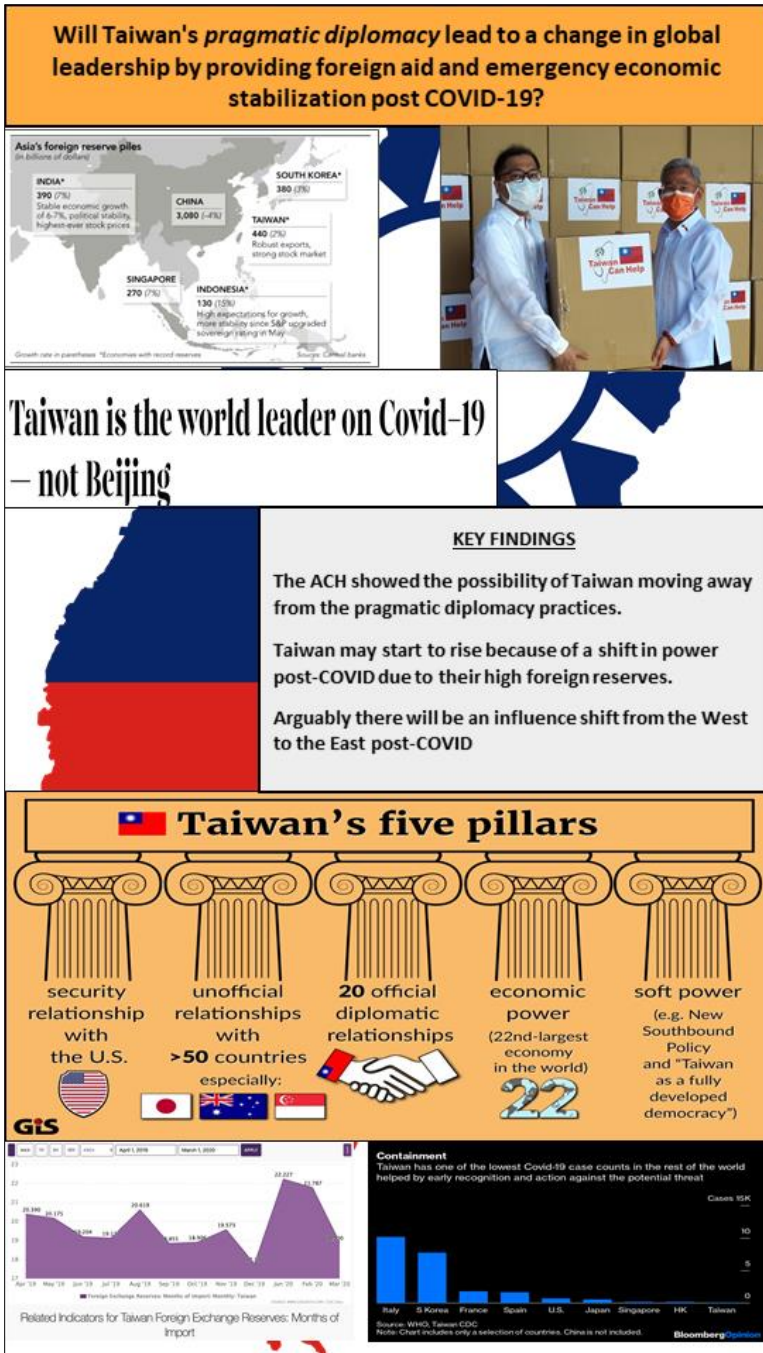


Figure 28

The image below is a matrix for the Analysis of Competing Hypotheses Technique which outlines the analysis and assessment of the security question:

<b>Evidence</b>	<b>H1 (-3)</b>	<b>H2 (-14)</b>	<b>H3 (-9)</b>
Taiwan's approach to fighting COVID -19 will earn them a seat in WHO and possibly UN	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent
China/Taiwan conflict will continue post COVID, China will ultimately win with allies	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent	Consistent
Taiwan Foreign reserves est US\$478.12 billion and climbing with bailouts	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Taiwan's donations of PPE to several nations due to shortage (INCLUDING USA)	Consistent	Null	Null
China might seize America's moment of domestic turmoil to eclipse the United States on the world stage	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)
Export orders from Taiwan have surged boosting their economy as china's falls	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Increase in demand from Taiwan exports does not mean increase in global trade given Taiwan's current "nation" status	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Taiwan owns 193.1 billion usd of us debt	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Null
Taiwan will be recognized as a sovereign state	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent	Consistent

Taiwan's history of health diplomacy will continue to build their soft power	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
The landslide re-election of Tsai Ing-wen in January 2020	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Spread of COVID disinformation targeting Taiwan from China	Null	Consistent	Consistent
The consistent messaging of President Tsai's leadership and government planning	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Taiwan's early, proactive response to the access to healthcare system	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent
Taiwan's sustained export demand will provide economic security.	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)
Pandemic will permanently stain China's reputation in the international community	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent
Taiwan is experiencing support from the United States military to secure resources from China	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent
Taiwan's foreign reserves will create economic leverage with China	Consistent	Non-Consistent (-1)	Consistent
To avoid hostile takeovers, India mandates approvals on Chinese investments	Null	Non-Consistent (-1)	Non-Consistent (-1)

Table 7



# IMPACT OF INFRASTRUCTURAL CHANGES ON NATIONAL SECURITY

Anika Kale & Amira Nigar Saeed

## **KEY FINDINGS**

- Transportation infrastructure and security programs are arguably inadequately prepared for dealing with the potential mass movement of citizens that may occur when these national transportation systems re-open. This could affect the capability of the state in upholding national security, as a diminished capability of operational security for main transport systems leaves segments of the population at a higher risk for violence.
- Borders will remain secure as the infrastructural changes made to the national highways or railways would arguably support the importation of goods required for protection of borders.
- More research and information is required to fully understand the complexity of the security problem; to compliment the findings of this SAT, it is suggested to run an Analysis of Competing Hypotheses or Morphological Analysis to further explore this security question.

## **CONSIDERATIONS**

- Changes made to the national transportation infrastructure will continue to support essential goods and services, however, national security could be threatened if the railways and highways overcrowd in a post-COVID world.
- Citizens' physical and financial stresses could lead the government to create and fund other forms of transportation and services; however, if the government is unable to manage the influx of dissatisfaction and strain, citizens could turn to illegal means to provide for their families and move out of cities, posing a potential threat to national security.



# IMPACT OF INFRASTRUCTURAL CHANGES ON NATIONAL SECURITY

**SAT:** Key Assumptions Check

**ISSUE #5:** National Transportation and Infrastructure

**CASE STUDY:** India

**SIGNIFICANCE:** As one of the most populous nations in the world, the impact of shutting down Indian borders and promoting a stay-at-home order arguably suggests an opportunity for national transportation infrastructure systems and the citizens who use them to be at risk. Populous cities filled with daily-wage earners rely on national transportation as citizens travel from villages into cities for their work.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** How might infrastructural changes in national railway systems and national highways affect national security, in the context of post-COVID India?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** As one of the most populated countries in the world, India's key transport infrastructure supports thousands of people every day as they travel to earn their daily wages. To begin addressing if infrastructural changes to national transportation impact national security in a post-COVID environment, the security question was run through a Key Assumption Check to identify biases when analyzing the problem.

## **BACKGROUND**

As India is one of the largest democracies in the world and one of the most populous nations in the world, the actions taken by authority figures can either beneficially or negatively impact their national security. With India's national transportation routes carrying both resources and people, any changes made to national transportation would arguably impact the safety and security of these routes, therefore impacting India's national security. India's roads carry approximately 85% of passenger travel, and the railway systems carry approximately 60%, therefore, a shutdown of the national transportation system would leave a population of 1.3 billion without their main travel routes within the country (Al Jazeera, 2020). At the time of this report, the only infrastructural change that has occurred

is railway trains being turned into isolation wards as COVID-19 cases rise, which has arguably resulted in migrants leaving large cities on foot as they make their way home to the countryside (World Bank, 2011; Al Jazeera, 2020).

## DEFINITIONS

**National Security:** from the perspective of a territorially defined nation state, "objectively means the absence of threats to acquired values and subjectively, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked" (Herz, 1950; Arnold Wolfers, 1960 as cited in Paleri, 2008. p. 52).

**National transportation:** "The national transportation is a complex network that connects cities and accommodates human activities coupling the social, economic, and environmental systems with the urbanization and population growth, greatly boosting the regional and national economic development" (Wang, Xue, Zhao & Wang, 2018, para. 1).

**Infrastructural change:** A change in the "material public capital (roads, railways, (air)ports, pipelines etc.) and suprastructure meaning immaterial public capital (knowledge networks, communication, education, culture etc.)" (Buhr, 2003, p. 1).

## TECHNIQUE

The Key Assumption Check (KAC) is a diagnostic technique which is intended to limit the presence of bias and flawed judgement in the analysis process (Pherson & Heuer, 2011; Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 31).

To find the biases in an analyst's assumptions that they hold about a security question, assumptions are ranked numerically using a scale which is represented as highly likely = (3), likely = (2) and possible = (1) (Pherson & Heuer, 2011; Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 33). The numbers determined whether the assumptions are valid, while an explanation is given to support the cognition (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 31). After providing a numerical value to each assumption, it can then be supported with evidence from reliable sources as to whether or not the assessment of the assumption is accurate (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 32). The chart illustrating the assessment of the KAC is included in the Appendix.

## **FINDINGS**

Findings are organized by which findings were plausible and which were implausible. Plausible assumptions are rated for which is P , L or HL (see Appendix for definitions)

It was discovered that two of five assumptions were considered most plausible given the overall score (HL). Therefore, it can be indicated that in a post-COVID-19 environment, the following assumptions were considered the most unbiased and were able to be validated with evidence.

The findings, after being applied to the security question, show three main results after considering which of the original assumptions can be considered valid.

The first result shows that transportation infrastructure and security programs are arguably inadequately prepared for dealing with the potential mass movement of citizens that may occur when these national transportation systems re-open. This could affect the capability of the state in upholding national security, as a diminished capability of security for main transport systems leaves segments of the population at a higher risk for violence as they risk kinetic action in efforts to get home. In turn, communities at a higher risk for violence could arguably be inspired to commit attacks against other members of the community, thus resulting in loss of life.

The second result shows that borders will remain secure as the infrastructural changes made to the national highways or railways would arguably support the importation of goods required for such protection of borders. This result depicts a lesser likelihood of impact to national security, as it shows that potential infrastructural changes in the strength of border capabilities will not deter the security of the border.

Finally, the third result illustrates that more research and information is required to fully understand the complexity of the security problem; to compliment the findings of this SAT, it is suggested to run an Analysis of Competing Hypotheses or Morphological Analysis to further explore this security question.

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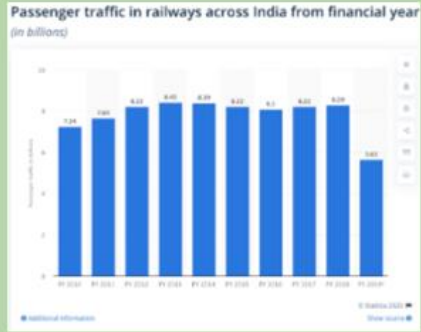
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**GRINTSUM**

**Will infrastructure changes in national transportation, such as railway systems and national highways, affect national security, in the context of post-COVID India? Key Assumptions Check**



**ASSUMPTION REFINED**

Yes it would; if mitigation measures are not made for the potential mass movement of citizens that may occur when these national transportation systems re-open, this could affect the capability of the state in upholding national security .

Yes, because infrastructural changes made to the national highways or railways could arguably support the traveling of goods that protect the borders in the first place.

Figure 28

**APPENDIX**

**Implausible:** Assumption is untrue and could not remain true under any circumstances (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 40).

**Plausible:** Assumption seems untrue but could be true under certain circumstances (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 40).

**Possible (P):** Assumption seems true but could remain true under specific circumstances (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 40).

**Likely (L):** Assumption seems true and could remain true under some circumstances (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 40).

**Highly likely (HL):** Assumption seems true and could remain true under all circumstances (Shanti & Kale, 2018, p. 40).

The following chart illustrates the assessment of the Key Assumptions Check:

ASSUMPTION	ASSESSMENT	PROOF
<p>Yes, it would; if mitigation measures are not made for the potential mass movement of citizens that may occur when these national transportation systems re-open, this could affect the capability of the state in upholding national security.</p>	<p>(HL) Pre-COVID, it was common for trains to be overpopulated and highways to be filled as they went by major cities. In a post-COVID world, it is highly likely that as the transportation routes could become overcrowded and not be provided the support to uphold national security.</p>	<p>(HL)  <a href="https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/04/the-pandemic-exposes-indias-two-worlds/609838/">https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/04/the-pandemic-exposes-indias-two-worlds/609838/</a>                      "The defining images of India's three-week lockdown may be of migrant workers, with bags perched on their heads and children in their arms, walking down highways in a desperate attempt to return to their villages hundreds of miles away."  <a href="https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/03/coronavirus-lockdown-india-grapples-migrant-workers-exodus-200328151304900.html">https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/03/coronavirus-lockdown-india-grapples-migrant-workers-exodus-200328151304900.html</a></p>

		<p>"With few transport options available, thousands of people, mostly young male day labourers but also families, have resorted to commuting on foot..."</p>
<p>Yes, it would, because any changes that limit the capability of citizens to travel could result in an increased polarization between Hindu majority and Muslim minority.</p>	<p>(L) - With the current bias the Hindu majority have with the Muslim minority, the assumption can be made that the blame for such changes will be placed on the minority group, increasing the friction.</p>	<p>(L) - "Since March 28, 2020, tweets with the hashtag #CoronaJihad have appeared nearly 300,000 times and potentially seen by 165 million people on Twitter, according to data shared with Time by Equality Labs, a digital human rights group."  <a href="https://time.com/5815264/coronavirus-india-islamophobia-coronajihad/">https://time.com/5815264/coronavirus-india-islamophobia-coronajihad/</a></p>
<p>Yes, it would because if individuals and families are forced to stay in an area where they physically or financially are unable to, there could arguably be an increase in crime rates, riots, or protests.</p>	<p>(HL) - Physical and financial stresses could arguably cause individuals and families to turn to the government for help and answers, causing protests and riots. However, if the government is unable to provide that help, some citizens could potentially turn to illegal means of providing for their family and moving out of cities, as most daily-wage earners live in the cities.</p>	<p>(P)  <a href="https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/covid-19-takes-toll-on-thieves-crime-rates-drop-in-kerala/articleshow/75081045.cms">https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/covid-19-takes-toll-on-thieves-crime-rates-drop-in-kerala/articleshow/75081045.cms</a>          "A brief comparison on the crimes registered during the same period last year shows significant decline, as crime in every segment has come down."  <a href="https://www.livemint.com/news/india/covid-19-stay-at-home-reduces-crime-rate-but-fear-of-domestic-violence-rises-11586746861558.html">https://www.livemint.com/news/india/covid-19-stay-at-home-reduces-crime-rate-but-fear-of-domestic-violence-rises-11586746861558.html</a>          "With fewer people venturing out, crime across the country has seen a sharp drop. The</p>

		sharpest decline was seen in Delhi and Karnataka, where crime rates plunged by half after the 21-day lockdown was announced.”
Yes, because infrastructural changes made to the national highways or railways could arguably support the traveling of goods such as materials to build walls/borders/infrastructures that protect the borders in the first place.	(HL) - If the changes made to the national highways and railways account for both an influx of travelling goods and people, the dependency on essential goods and services will continue to be supported.	(HL) - <a href="https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=f7dd66c2-822e-4573-9a90-cfd3ac49a0cb">https://www.lexology.com/library/detail.aspx?g=f7dd66c2-822e-4573-9a90-cfd3ac49a0cb</a> “The government has identified these goods and services as ‘Essential Services’. It ought to be called essential goods and services and hopefully, the government will make amends to this late when we are not in such an emergency situation.”
Yes, it would because infrastructural changes made to national transportation could arguably deter kinetic and non-kinetic conflict between India and their neighboring countries, as there could be less personnel and equipment being transported.	(L) - In the event of less personnel and equipment, it is possible that India and its neighbouring countries could lessen their tension with one another in a post-COVID environment.	(P) <a href="https://nationalpost.com/pmn/news-pmn/politics-news-pmn/india-and-pakistan-locked-in-border-fighting-amid-coronavirus-crisis">https://nationalpost.com/pmn/news-pmn/politics-news-pmn/india-and-pakistan-locked-in-border-fighting-amid-coronavirus-crisis</a> “Indian and Pakistani troops in disputed Kashmir are engaged in their most frequent cross-border fighting of at least two years, official data shows, even as both nuclear-armed rivals battle surging coronavirus outbreaks.” This article suggests that Indian and Pakistani troops have not lessened tensions, despite COVID outbreaks occurring.

Table 8



# COVID IMPACTS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION

Davina Shanti

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- In a post-COVID-19 environment, fracturing economic partnerships may occur as a result of far-right leaders wanting to protect national interests, lack of consensus over immigration and refugee policies, and food and energy insecurity.
- It is these three factors that are likely to negatively influence internal trade and economic relations with the European Union; therefore, resulting in instability within the union.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- A rise of economic instability due to impacts of trade partnerships within the EU may lead to more nations choosing to leave the EU; therefore, resulting in the fracturing of economic and trade partnerships.
- This could mean that more European countries may look to increase trade partnerships externally. Countries may choose to separate from the union in order to protect their own interests and ensure the strength and growth of their economies stay intact.

## COVID IMPACTS ON THE EUROPEAN UNION

**SAT:** Indicators and Signposts of Change

**ISSUE #6:** Economic Policy

**CASE STUDY:** European Union

**SIGNIFICANCE:** In a post-COVID-19 environment, the economic stability of the EU is unknown. If the EU were to fracture further, with more countries wanting to exit the union, this could have repercussions on trade partnerships and economies outside of Europe, creating global insecurity.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** What factors might impact the economic partnership of the EU in the post-COVID environment?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** The COVID-19 global pandemic is creating a divide between the European Union (EU) states. This could potentially lead to further fracturing of the union due to rising instability amongst EU members and the concern for the protection of national interests and sovereignty (Leonard & Shapiro, 2019; Patrick & Mullan, 2018; Piper, 2020). In a post-COVID-19 environment, further fracturing of the EU may have a larger effect on international relations, including economic partnerships. There may be a shift in trade partnerships amongst current and former EU members, along with changes to partnerships in Asia and North America (Leonard & Shapiro, 2019).

Economic stability is arguably a concern for many countries, such as Canada, who have trade partnerships with more than one country in the EU. Another country's exit from the union could mean new trade agreements that are less beneficial to other countries, and the possibility of a rise in food prices (Reguly, 2020; Davey & Holton, 2019). In addition, countries with elected far-right leaders may shift trade policies to reflect a favourable outcome that is one-sided (Chapman, 2020; BBC, 2017). Lastly, concerns over migrants and refugees may influence economic partnerships as well (Godin, 2020; Bulman, 2017).

It is possible that some countries may continue to take in more people due to others closing their borders or limiting the intake of migrants;

therefore, the concern for how to handle an influx of migrants and balance resources may create a problem for the economy.

## **BACKGROUND**

When dealing with a global health emergency, many countries may face challenges to maintain strategic economic partnerships and trade relations. The COVID-19 pandemic has forced many European countries into a lockdown which could impact economic partnerships due to limits on the production of goods and services and trade (Godin, 2020; Rankin, 2020). The practice of social distancing can further complicate these relationships as the safety and security of citizens is at risk (Reguly, 2020). Countries may choose to close their borders and issue lockdowns in order to reduce the transmission of the virus, which can have a variety of effects on nation states and the EU as a whole (Godin, 2020; Rankin, 2020). During and after COVID-19, it is likely that states within the EU will face challenges with government capacity, economy, environment, and policies and regulations (Rankin, 2020; Shankar, 2020). Countries may be affected by more than one of these challenges and choose to handle each one in a different manner depending on what their interests are, while still being under the governing body of the EU. The variation of alternative perspectives and actions taken to mitigate these challenges could arguably result in disagreements and criticisms amongst EU states, inciting the fracturing of EU member relations. After the crisis, it is unknown how countries in the EU will continue to operate. Countries may join together to rebuild economic and social structures, or there may be further fracturing due to differing interests and policy disagreements.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Economic Partnership:** An agreement or alliance negotiated between two or more countries which provides economic integration through the movement of goods, services, and investment between countries (European Commission, 2020a; European Commission, 2020b).

**Economic Stability:** “the situation where there are no extreme fluctuations or volatility in macroeconomic variables” (Özpençe, 2017. P.42).

## **TECHNIQUE**

Indicators and Signposts of Change (ISP) is a diagnostic analytic technique used to reduce cognitive bias and aid in forecasting the

likelihood of increased risk or potential threats in a given scenario (Archutowski, Autelitano & Curtis, 2018, p. 69, US Government 2009, p. 12). The ISP matrix is used to determine the likelihood of changes to a security threat over time by outlining the conditions, expected events, and incidents that may give rise to a new threat, or create a fluctuation in an existing threat (Archutowski et al., 2018, p. 69-70).

Open-source intelligence (OSINT) was used to evaluate changes to 12 indicators over time. Four general topics were chosen to break down and divide the indicators to cover separate scenarios. The topics included government capacity, economic factors, environmental issues, and laws, regulations and policies. These were chosen because of how they have impacted economic partnerships within the EU in the past and how they might influence the same partnerships in the present and future.

## **FINDINGS**

Upon the completion of the ISP, the following outcomes are established to be the most likely based on the evidence and number of changed indicators observed:

Scenario 1: The partnership of the EU is likely to become more unstable and fracture further due to conflicts of leadership and concerns over protecting national interests. The presence of far-right government leaders has arguably instilled fear over protecting national interests which may create a divide amongst countries in the EU; therefore, it is likely that the EU has become unstable and may experience further fracturing. The indicator, "quality of leadership/organizational capacity," changed six times, suggesting that the quality of leadership has remained as a substantial concern for many EU states. It ranked number four on the ISP matrix seven times.

Scenario 2: The partnership of the EU is likely to become more unstable and fracture further due to an increase in nationalist policies as a result of disagreements about immigration and refugee policies. Far-right nationalist policies have influenced how many countries in the EU respond to the refugee crisis, thereby arguably condoning actions that may inhibit civil rights. The indicator, "disagreements about migration/refugees," changed five times, suggesting that the migration crisis is a substantial concern for many EU states. In addition, the indicator, "temporary legal limits on civil rights," changed five times, ranking at four seven times and five three times, suggesting this has increased from a substantial concern to a serious concern. It is important to mention both indicators because

there may be a correlation between the two. Countries that are opposed to migrants and refugees may impose policies and regulations that limit individual rights and freedoms.

Scenario 3: The partnership of the EU is likely to become more unstable and fracture further due to concerns over food and energy shortages post-pandemic. Maintaining food and energy security is challenging due to country lockdowns and a lull in economic activity; therefore, countries within the EU may turn to external trading partners which may cause trade relations amongst EU members to become unstable and fracture. The indicator, "food/energy shortages," changed six times, escalating from a moderate concern to a serious concern. This indicator ranked at a three six times and a five twice at the year 2020.

**GRINTSUM**

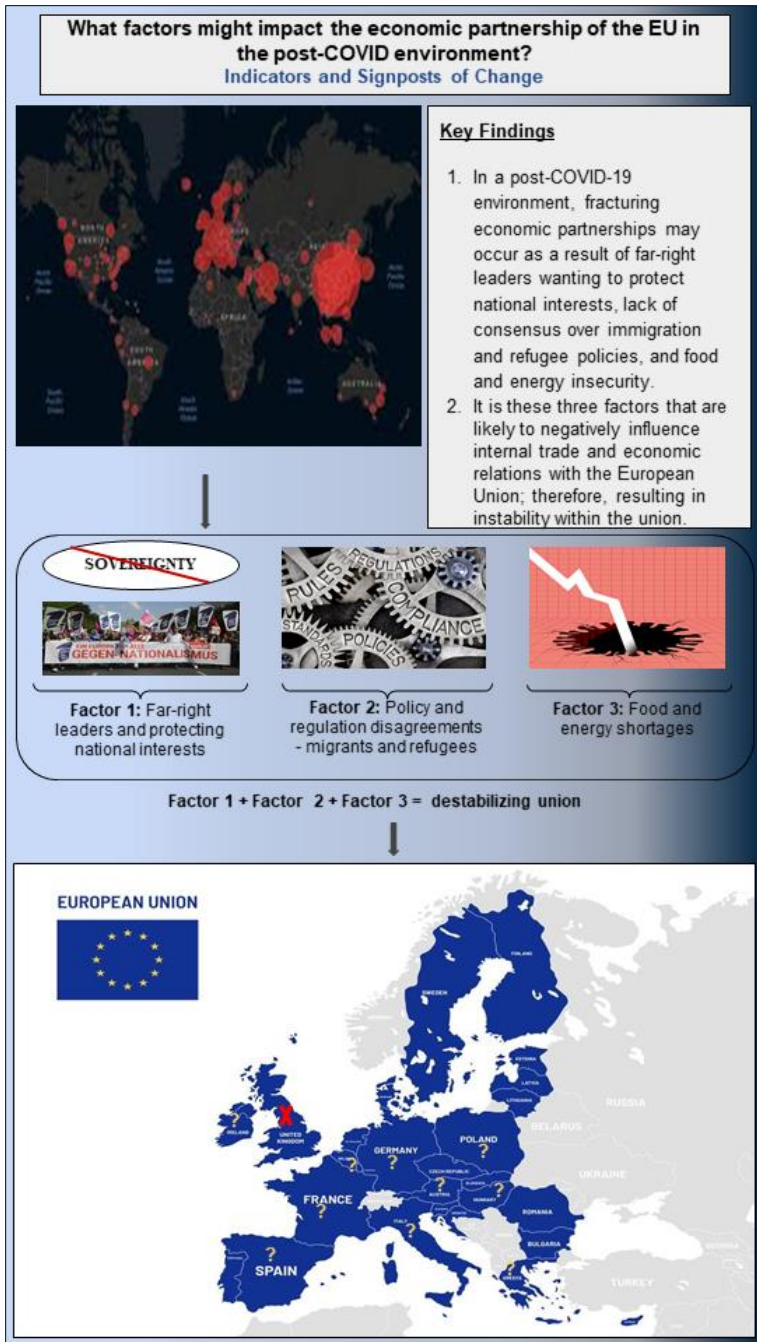


Figure 29

**APPENDIX**

The following image is an Indicators and Signposts of Change Matrix which illustrates the analysis and assessment of the security question:

Tracking the Factors that Might Influence the Economic Partnership of the EU in a Post-COVID Environment														
TOPICS	INDICATORS	2017				2018				2019		2020		KEY: 1 = Negligible Concern 2 = Low Concern 3 = Moderate Concern 4 = Substantial Concern 5 = Serious Concern
		I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV	III	IV	I	II	
Government Capacity	Quality of leadership/organizational capacity	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	
	Responsiveness to popular demands	3	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	3	3	
	Ability to deliver goods and services	2	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	4	
	Threats to nation sovereignty?	4	5	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	
Economic Factors	Reduced trade openness	3	4	2	3	3	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	
	Weakness of economy/unemployment	3	2	2	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	
	Shape of financial institutions/ financial contribution to EU	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	4	4	4	4	
Environmental Issues	Food/energy shortages	1	2	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	5	5	
	Ability to respond to natural disasters/pandemics/health crisis ?	3	3	1	1	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	5	
Laws, Policies, & Regulations	Disagreements about migration/refugees	4	4	3	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	5	3	
	Increase in nationalist policies	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3	3	
	Temporary legal limits on civil rights	4	4	4	4	4	4	3	4	3	5	5	5	

Figure 30



LIKELIHOOD OF VIOLENT CONFLICTS  
DUE TO INCREASED GLOBAL DEMAND  
OF RESOURCES POST-COVID

Amanda Makosso

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- The findings show four different possible futures that might arise in the Democratic Republic of Congo post-COVID-19:
  1. Confrontation and protests resulting from the government's response to illegal miners and activist groups.
  2. Increase in violence due to the failure of the government to respond to rebel group attacks.
  3. Communities may not oppose the status-quo despite military oppressive actions.
  4. A positive relationship between the police/military and communities which may decrease the likelihood of violence in DRC.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- Confrontations, protests or armed group operations may rise if global demand for cobalt increases in the DRC.
- It is likely violence in DRC will depend on the government response (military actions, non-confrontational approach, etc.) to civilians and armed group activities taking place in the region, including illegal mining and protests against international companies and state forces.

## LIKELIHOOD OF VIOLENT CONFLICTS DUE TO INCREASED GLOBAL DEMAND OF RESOURCES POST-COVID

**SAT:** Alternative Futures Analysis

**ISSUE #6:** Economic Policy

**CASE STUDY:** Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The expansion of the electric vehicle market globally and in the EU might lead to an exponential increase in demand for cobalt in the next decade. As several international mining companies, including some that are Canadian, are currently involved in cobalt and copper production in DRC, it might be important to explore whether an increase in global demand for cobalt may lead to violent conflicts. It could be argued that conflicts in the region might affect international mining operations and global supply.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** Is there an increased likelihood of violent conflicts if global demand for cobalt increases in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) post-COVID-19?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** The rise in conflicts worldwide, whether they are organized protests or acts of violence, related to mining operations since 2005 seems to have coincided with a global increase in mining activities (Andrews, Elizalde, Le Billon, Reyes & Thomson, 2017, p. 18). With the COVID-19 pandemic having a major impact on economies around the world, competition over natural resources such as cobalt might pose an increased security threat in the DRC, as it is the largest producer of cobalt and ranked 5th in the World's Fragile States Index (European Commission, 2018; Clowes, 2019; Andrews et al., 2017). Most importantly, cobalt is considered a critical raw material (CRM), as the global supply chain is at risk of shortage due to cobalt concentration in this unstable region (European Commission, 2018). In fact, CRMs "are those raw materials which are economically and strategically important for the European economy but have a high-risk associated with their supply" (Critical Raw Materials, para. 1.).

As several international companies, including the Canadian owned Katanga Mining Limited, are involved in cobalt and copper production in DRC, the alternative futures analysis will explore whether an increase in global demand for cobalt in DRC post-COVID-19 may create tensions between mining industries, community groups and the national government.

## BACKGROUND

The relationship between natural resources and violent conflicts has been highly debated, specifically the view suggesting that the abundance of natural resources is the driver of violence, inequality, and conflicts (Bannon & Collier, 2003; Ross, 2004; Brunnschweiler & Bulte, 2008; Baymarov, 2018). Although there is some evidence that a country's resource wealth is not a necessary condition for the emergence of violent conflict – as seen in Norway, Canada, Botswana, and Chile – resource-rich countries seem to be more prone to conflict than countries with fewer resources, especially economically poor countries in Africa and Latin America (van der Ploeg, 2011; Berman, Couttenier, Rohner & Hoenig, 2014; Burch, 2012).

Consequently, the potential increase in demand for cobalt might be cause for concern in a post-COVID-19 world, especially when the DRC – one of the poorest countries in the world – provides almost three-quarters of the world's cobalt supply (The World Bank, 2019; European Commission, 2018). The 2018 report of the European Commission Joint Research Centre suggests that “the expansion of the electric vehicle market globally and in the EU will increase exponentially the demand for cobalt in the next decade” (p. 2); therefore, an increase in global demand for electric vehicles may have a major impact, not only on the cobalt mining industry, but on the security landscape in DRC as well.

## DEFINITIONS

**Cobalt:** raw material crucial for the production of lithium-ion batteries used in electric vehicles (European Commission, 2018). Cobalt is also used in different sectors including healthcare, aerospace, electronics (Cobalt Institute, n.d.).

**Violent conflict:** The use of armed forces by two parties at least, to achieve their objectives and pursue their interests (Frère & Wilen, 2015; Payson Conflict Study Group, 2001). The acts of violence can be perpetrated by a government or organized/semi-organized groups against

other organized/semi-organized groups or civilians (van Baalen & Mobjörk, 2017, p. 550).

**Conflict minerals:** Minerals extracted from conflict zones (gold, tantalum tungsten and tin) and whose revenues are used to fuel armed groups, finance armed conflicts and perpetrate human rights abuses (European Commission, 2017).

## **TECHNIQUE**

Alternative Futures Analysis (AFA) uses imaginative thinking to generate multiple potential outcomes to a serious security threat in order to prepare policymakers for all likely scenarios (US Government, 2009, p. 34). This technique requires heavy investment in resources and time to generate plausible scenarios, and the need for individuals with specialized expertise to make sure that these scenarios are effectively created (Meyers & Vlassopoulos, 2019, p. 138). The matrix displays four potential futures to understand a specific security question, in this case, if potential growth in global demand for cobalt will increase the risks of violent conflicts in post-COVID-19 DRC. A brainstorming exercise has been used to identify the two most critical factors, illegal mining and government response, which are then added to the AFA matrix as the "x" and "y" axes with the most critical point at either end.

The four resulting quadrants in the matrix allow us to visualize potential scenarios from the various combinations. For instance, the potential growth of global demand for cobalt may increase the risks of violent conflicts in DRC if there is an increased number of illegal mining activities in the region and the presence of oppressive military or police forces. Another scenario reveals that the risk of violence is reduced if the number of mining activities decreases and the local community and the police/military have a positive relationship.

## **FINDINGS**

The four possible combinations are:

- Increased number of illegal mining activities in the region and the presence of oppressive military or police;
- A positive relationship between police/military force and the local community but an increase in illegal mining activities;

- A decrease in illegal mining activities but oppressive police forces in the region; and
- A decrease in illegal mining activities and a positive relationship between the police/military and the local populations.

Based on this technique, four possible scenarios were found:

- Confrontation and protests
- Failure to respond to rebel groups attacks
- No changes in the status quo
- Community safety

Scenario 1: Confrontation and protests

Escalation and confrontation between the Congolese army and civilians

With 77% of the population living in extreme poverty with an income of less than \$ 1.9 a day, the potential increase in demands for cobalt may exacerbate socio-economic grievances and escalate to the confrontation between displaced workers and the Congo army seeking to keep illegal miners out of mining sites (The World Bank, 2019).

Companies practices, protests, and oppressive police forces

The extraction of cobalt from DRC has been associated with child exploitation and labour, human rights violations, environmental destruction, and unsafe working conditions and corruption (Kelly, 2019). Similar to many countries in Africa, DRC arguably possesses weak institutions, and therefore, it is more vulnerable to corruption, lack of transparency and accountability (Assemble-Mvondo, 2015; Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2016).

The extraction of cobalt might therefore increase people's distrust in public officials and negatively affect people's perception of mining companies, especially if the illegal miners include children. This situation could lead to an increase in the number of conflict incidents related to resistance against mining. The resistance would not only be local but international, as evidenced by the lawsuits against companies including Apple, Google, Dell, Microsoft and Tesla, who have been accused of aiding and profiting from child exploitation in cobalt mines (Kelly, 2019). Furthermore, protests in the region may lead to possible abuses of power by the military in local communities, including the repression of activist groups.

## Scenario 2: Failure to respond to rebel groups attacks

If there is a positive relationship between police, military force, and the local community, but an increase in illegal mining activities, this might be explained by the presence of armed and rebel groups in the region. Armed and rebel groups are more concentrated in the Eastern part of the country and conflict minerals that remain the roots cause of violent conflict in DRC are tin, tungsten, tantalum and gold (Stoop, Verpoorten, & van der Windt, 2018, p. 4). However, increased demand in cobalt may lead those groups to seek benefit from the profits generated from cobalt extraction and demands (Earthworks, 2019). This could result in the control of the cobalt resource by armed groups.

Cobalt could become a strategic resource for several armed groups and become a new conflict mineral. The revenues generated from cobalt could be used to fund their operations as well as purchase weapons. This might create instability in DRC and potentially affect mining activities in the Katanga region, which is a cobalt mining province in southeastern DRC.

The Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (FARDC) might fail to stop the attacks of rebel armed groups, as these groups have continuously perpetrated violence in Eastern Congo (Stearns, Verweijen & Baaz, 2013, p. 8). In fact, past incidents, such as the rebel attacks on Katanga's capital in 2013 or the confrontations between a separatist militia and the Congolese army 10 years ago, might demonstrate some of the challenges military and police forces need to overcome when addressing armed groups (York, 2017).

## Scenario 3: No change in the status quo

It is also possible that there will be a decrease in illegal mining activities, but a possible increase in oppressive police forces in the region. Communities may not oppose the status-quo, despite military actions such as dislocating communities to enforce mining site regulations. The national government may not focus on greater transparency and accountability of government spending, and may not encourage communities' empowerment and participatory decision-making.

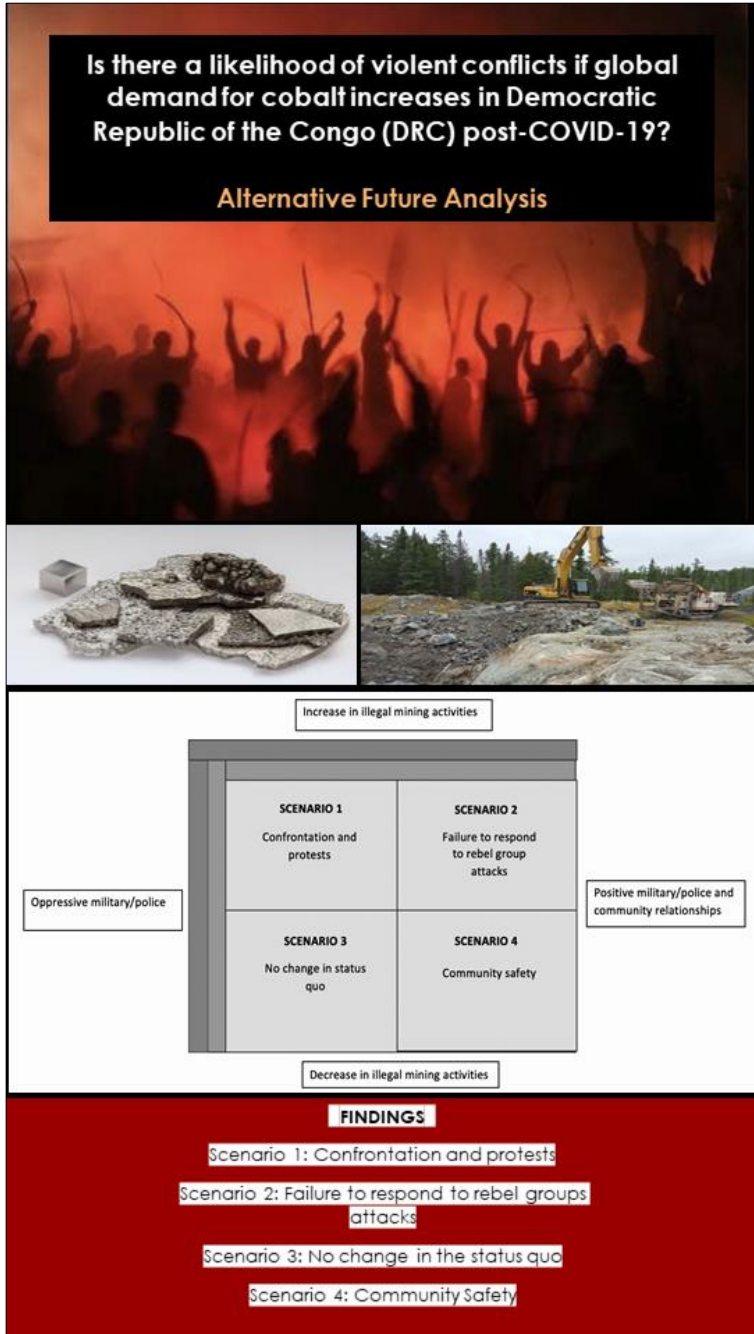
## Scenario 4: Community Safety

Finally, in a post-COVID-19 world, a decrease in mining activities and a better relationship between the military, police and the local population could possibly lead to some positive actions and initiatives from the

government. Given the new mining code that gives DRC a better share of their cobalt profits, cobalt revenues may be used to ensure the security of the civilian population by police forces, military services, and safety mining inspections which are informed by international standards (Bujakera & Paravicini, 2018).



**GRINTSUM**



**Figure 30**



FACTORS LIKELY TO HAVE AN IMPACT  
ON THE POST-COVID-19 ECONOMIC  
RECOVERY IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Natalie Archutowski & Asmaa Patel

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- Given the increasing number of confirmed cases and shortage of overall resources, states may not have the appropriate mechanisms to respond to the emergency in Sub-Saharan Africa, preventing them from promoting their interest in security, trade and migration.
- As real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth may decline as a result of factors such as unemployment and threats of diseases other than COVID-19, economic disruption could have a negative effect on trade and supply chains with the rest of the world.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- It is possible that focusing on customized solutions within Sub-Saharan Africa, along with the strengthening of appropriate healthcare infrastructure capabilities, could aid in facilitating a decrease in the number of cases and curb heightened and long-term economic concerns.
- Maintaining high levels of institutional trust will arguably be paramount in managing economic prosperity post-pandemic as institutions are likely to be responsible for implementing post-pandemic recovery plans.

## FACTORS LIKELY TO HAVE AN IMPACT ON THE POST-COVID-19 ECONOMIC RECOVERY IN SUB- SAHARAN AFRICA

**SAT:** Cross-Impact Matrix

**ISSUE #4:** Human Security

**CASE STUDY:** Sub-Saharan Africa, specific focus on: Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana.

**SIGNIFICANCE:** The security, trade, migration, health, and economic stability of sub-Saharan Africa is often influenced by the foreign policy initiatives of other countries. Canada can be seen as one such country, as 50% of bilateral foreign aid goes to the region.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** What factors might have the greatest long-term impact on the economic environment of Sub-Saharan Africa as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** The COVID-19 pandemic has led to immense changes and strain on economies and infrastructures around the world. Therefore, predicting the long-term impact of the virus has been a particular challenge for governments. The specific examples of Nigeria, Kenya, South Africa, Uganda and Ghana were selected based on the existence of national health insurance in these nations, this might assist in establishing a baseline for how COVID-19 might impact healthcare infrastructures and influence the economic landscape in the region (Gautier & Ridde, 2017, p. 7). It might be argued that many sub-Saharan countries have arguably underdeveloped infrastructure and healthcare capabilities and that COVID-19 pandemic may be detrimental to the already strained economic environment of many countries within the continent (Nordling, 2020, para. 2). The World Health Organization (WHO) warned the virus could kill more than 300,000 people and push 30 million into poverty in Africa (Imray, 2020, para. 4). With a limited number of tests being conducted and a high population density of over one billion people, the fragility of health care services will arguably cost a great deal to Africa's economic environment (Imray, 2002, para. 11). Therefore, as post-pandemic economic recovery usually requires customized solutions

ensuring appropriate actions are taken, an assessment of the factors that have the greatest impact on Africa's economic environment might assist in guiding the development of regional and national recovery plans (Kaseje, 2020, para. 2).

## **BACKGROUND**

The World Bank Vice President for Africa wrote that “the COVID-19 pandemic is testing the limits of societies and economies across the world, and African countries are likely to be hit particularly hard” (The World Bank, 2020, para. 2). Sub-Saharan Africa could be seen as a particularly vulnerable region to the economic impacts of COVID-19 as it has one of the highest rates of people living in extreme poverty, with more than 413 million in 2015 (Barne & Wadhwa, 2018, para. 4). Post-pandemic projections suggest that a further 23 million people in the region will be pushed into poverty as a consequence of COVID-19 (Mahler, Lackner, Aguilar & Wu, 2020, para. 5). Canada’s interests in Sub-Saharan Africa are undeniable, as Canada “spends over 50% of bilateral assistance” in the region (Donor Tracker, n.d., para. 6). Canada’s engagement in international aid and assistance programs is often accompanied by the underlying goal of promoting stability, conflict resolution, and economic capabilities in developing nations in order to support “Canada’s interests in security, trade, migration, health and economic stability” (Moyer, 2019, para. 6).

With limited access to health care centres, threats of diseases other than COVID-19, and essential resource scarcity, the shocks from COVID-19 could prove to be detrimental to the Sub-Saharan economic environment (Hodal & Okiror, 2020, para. 6). Furthermore, as the virus spreads rapidly within communities, the strain on healthcare infrastructures and obstacles to widespread testing could negatively impact the ability of institutions to respond effectively to the virus (Hodal & Okiror, 2020, para. 9). As this pandemic continues to unfold globally, a considerable concern will be about the future, when nations begin rebuilding economies and capacities. In an effort to understand which responses might be most effective to proactively plan for economic challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa – with a strong focus on Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana - the degree of correlation between economically relevant variables is measured. These results could provide valuable insight for decision makers, though it is important to note that the complexities and interconnectedness of these factors is undeniable. This model might be of assistance in identifying the most valuable areas within which to continue assessment.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Economic Environment:** All economic factors that affect commercial and consumer behavior. This can include but is not limited to natural resources, capital accumulation, GDP, technological resources, available labor force, educational capabilities, and transportation and communication infrastructure (Nordqvist, 2019, para. 1).

**Unemployment:** Defined as a lack of employment opportunities as well as barriers to employment and is measured by standard unemployment rates (Chappelow, 2020, para. 2).

**Threat of Diseases other than COVID-19:** This variable accounts for the increased threat of infectious diseases other than COVID-19 in Africa, including Malaria, HIV, Ebola and Tuberculosis.

**Institutional Trust:** The “summary judgement that the system [of institutions in society] is responsive and will do what is right even in the absence of constant scrutiny”, simply stated, the individual level perception of the relationship between corruption and the performance of political institutions and actors (Miller & Listhaug, 1990, p. 358, as cited in Habibov, Afandi & Cheung, 2017, p.172; Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Armah-Attoh, Gyimah-Boadi & Chikwanha-Dzenga, 2007, p. 9).

**Customized COVID-19 response and the strength of government response:** Operationalized here as the ability of the government to leverage various institutions to create effective solutions and responses to the pandemic.

**Essential Resource Scarcity:** Defined as the lack of food and water (Wutich & Brewis, 2014, p. 1).

**Healthcare infrastructure capabilities:** Defined as the built-in environments, regulations and resources such as equipment, information technology and support staff to maintain efficient medical facilities (Luxon, 2015, p. 5).

**Education:** Systematic instruction to facilitate learning, measured by the primary completion rate, as a total percentage of the relevant age group (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019).

## **TECHNIQUE**

The Cross-Impact Matrix enables analysts and decision makers to examine how variables in a particular security question influence all other variables which appear to be related by requiring that all assumptions between variables are clearly articulated (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 89). By breaking down the security question into variable parts, the matrix assesses which variables may have the greatest impact on the security problem. Therefore, any conclusion reached can be defended by tracing the analytical argument back through premises (Pherson & Heuer, 2011, p. 90).

Due to the growing economic, social, and political impacts of COVID-19 around the world, variables that represent these three areas have been chosen. These seven variables - unemployment, threat of diseases other than COVID-19, institutional trust, customized COVID-19 response/strength of government response, essential resource scarcity (food and water), healthcare infrastructure capabilities, and education - are run in the Cross-Impact Matrix to test for interconnectedness and reinforcement.

Variable 1:	Unemployment
Variable 2:	Threat of diseases other than COVID
Variable 3:	Institutional Trust
Variable 4:	Customized COVID response/ strength of government response
Variable 5:	Essential Resource scarcity (food and water)
Variable 6:	Healthcare infrastructure capabilities
Variable 7:	Education

Figure 31. Variables used for the Cross-Impact Matrix



	Unemployment	Threat of diseases other than COVID	Institutional Trust	Customized COVID response/ strength of government response	Essential Resource scarcity (food and water)	Healthcare infrastructure capabilities	Education
Unemployment		+	+	+	+	+	+
Threat of diseases other than COVID			+	+		+	+
Institutional Trust	+	+		+	-	+	+
Customized COVID response/ strength of government response	+	+	+		+	+	+
Essential Resource scarcity (food and water)	+	-	-	+		-	+
Healthcare infrastructure capabilities		+	+	+	-		+
Education	+	+	+	+	-	+	

Figure 32. Final Results of the Cross-Impact Matrix

+	Strong Positive
+	Positive
	Neutral
-	Negative
-	Strong Negative

Figure 33. Legend for the Cross-Impact Matrix Assessment

**GRINTSUM**

What factors might have the greatest long term impact on the economic environment of Sub-Saharan Africa as a result of the COVID-19 Pandemic? With a particular focus on Kenya, Uganda, South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana

**Variables with largest impact**

- Given the increasing number of confirmed cases and shortage of overall resources, states may not have the appropriate mechanisms to respond to the emergency in Sub-Saharan Africa, preventing them from promoting their interest in security, trade and migration.
- As Real GDP growth may decline as a result of factors such as unemployment and threats of diseases other than COVID-19, economic disruption could have a negative effect on trade and supply chains with the rest of the world.

Figure 4. Map showing the number of epidemics and other public health emergencies in the WHO African region, 2016–2018 (Not COVID-19) with Dark Blue being most susceptible to other emergencies.



**Key Findings**

- Given the increasing number of confirmed cases and shortage of overall resources, states may not have the appropriate mechanisms to respond to the emergency in Sub-Saharan Africa, preventing them from promoting their interest in security, trade and migration.
- As Real GDP growth may decline as a result of factors such as unemployment and threats of diseases other than COVID-19, economic disruption could have a negative effect on trade and supply chains with the rest of the world.
- In order to lessen the long term impacts of COVID-19 during economic recovery, customized solutions within Sub-Saharan Africa along with appropriate healthcare infrastructure capabilities are required to facilitate a decrease in the number of cases and curb heightened economic concerns.
- Maintaining high levels of institutional trust will arguably be paramount in managing economic prosperity post-pandemic as institutions are likely to be responsible for implementing post-pandemic recovery plans.

Figure 1. Cross impact matrix results

		Unemployment	Threat of diseases other than COVID	Institutional Trust	Customized COVID response/ strength of government response	Essential Resource scarcity (food and water)	Healthcare infrastructure capabilities	Education
	Unemployment		+	+	+	+	+	+
	Threat of diseases other than COVID			+	+	+	+	+
Strong Positive	Institutional Trust	+	+		+	-	+	+
Positive	Customized COVID response/ strength of government response	+	+	+		+	+	+
Neutral	Essential Resource scarcity (food and water)	+	-	-	+		-	+
Negative	Healthcare infrastructure capabilities		+	+	+	+		-
Strong Negative	Education	+	+	+	+	-	+	

Figure 2: Distribution of global poor by region and country, 2015. Dark green represents Sub-Saharan Africa

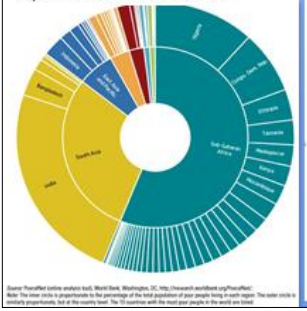


Figure 3. Map showing total number of COVID-19 cases in Africa, up to May 26, 2020

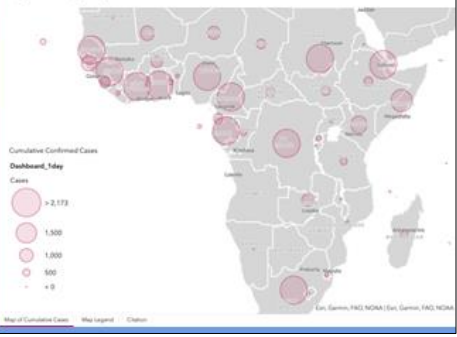


Figure 3a

# DIGITAL DIVIDE IMPACTS POST-COVID

Jordan Arnold, Asha Khera & Davina  
Shanti

### **KEY FINDINGS**

- The ACH shows that a digital divide arguably makes those who do not have reliable access to information online more susceptible to unreliable information sources; the institutional trust is broken as a result of the lack of reliable information.
- Kenyans could potentially turn to religious leaders for guidance during crises rather than political leadership.
- It is possible to prevent the divide from growing further, should the Kenyan government ensure that all Kenyans have equal access to digital use and reliable government information.

### **CONSIDERATIONS**

- It can be argued that the urban/rural digital divide in Kenya may lead to increased distrust in institutionally shared information, which could potentially lead to an increasingly fragmented society which might lead to a reliance on local community groups for information, which may not always be factually accurate.
- It is possible that an increase in the reliable provision of digital infrastructure and skills could provide Kenyans with increased capabilities to discern what information is reliable and not.

## DIGITAL DIVIDE IMPACTS POST-COVID

**SAT:** Analysis of Competing Hypotheses

**ISSUE #3:** Misinformation

**CASE STUDY:** Kenya

**SIGNIFICANCE:** Due to COVID-19, several nations have experienced daily addresses from their leaders on new changes and safety protocols regarding the pandemic. Given that not every citizen has reliable access to the internet or television to watch these addresses, it might be argued that there is a digital divide between developed and developing nations, as well as regions within nations. Within Kenya, this digital divide arguably illustrates the possibility for a correlation between institutional trust and access to information. This divide could arguably be considered a security concern as it is possibly laying the groundwork for disharmonious messaging from institutions, community leaders and religious leaders. It is possible that in the context of a significant digital divide, religious leaders could potentially influence public knowledge and perception about COVID-19 and whether it is a real danger or not.

**SECURITY QUESTION:** Does a digital divide hinder institutional trust through the spread of misinformation and disinformation?

**SECURITY PROBLEM:** Across the African continent there has been regional cooperation as well as nationally tailored COVID-19 responses (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2020; Ihekweazu & Agogo, 2020). Leaders have largely been focusing on prevention, as there is a concern that some nations do not have the financial capacity to sustain their health care infrastructures during a prolonged crisis or to treat mass numbers of COVID-19 patients (Pilling, 2020); therefore, prevention is encouraged through curfews and social distancing measures, including school and business closures (Shepard & Van der Mark, 2020). In Kenya, an increasing digital divide has begun to create a security problem during the COVID-19 pandemic. The inclusion or exclusion of individuals in communities based on the government's adoption of information technology as a means of communication has arguably fractured society and created a class separation between the rural and urban communities (Colom, 2020).

It is also possible that in a post-COVID-19 environment this digital gap could have wider effects on the population as access to proper information on government responses and future preventative measures. Therefore, the digital gap creates the potential for civic unrest, as some Kenyans are kept out of the information circle thereby reducing their ability to receive trusted information from the government.

## **BACKGROUND**

Kenya is arguably experiencing a digital divide that is currently being exacerbated by the COVID-19 crisis. A digital divide represents a larger divide between two clearly separated social categories, for example urban and rural or characteristics between nations (developing and developed). This digital divide is highlighted within Kenya, as 44% of the urban community has access to the internet compared to 17% in rural areas (World Bank, 2020). This divide is then further exemplified in the disparity of individuals who have the skills to navigate digital tools and services (World Bank, 2020). Furthermore, this divide is putting Kenyans at risk of halting their education, as schools and universities have been forced to close (Colom, 2020). With many jobs, meetings, and other daily business dealings moving online, this lack of reliable internet infrastructure for those in Kenya produces a drastic reduction in the ability to earn a living (Colom, 2020); therefore, Kenyans may develop anti-government sentiment, especially in rural communities with an increase in economic insecurity.

Institutional trust is an important factor for a healthy democracy (Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012). A strong sense of institutional trust has also shown a correlation between compliance with government policy and a sense of civic duty (Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Letki, 2006). This sense of civic responsibility demonstrates that citizens are more likely to comply with the norms and rules set by the government (Letki, 2006). If individuals have a strong sense of trust in institutions and government, they are arguably more likely to listen to government officials' statements on the COVID-19 pandemic and abide by the rules. Due to the digital divide between urban and rural communities, the lack of proper tools and knowledge to effectively use the internet, reaching all citizens of Kenya with correct and accurate information surrounding government policies and updates around COVID-19 could arguably be challenging.

## **DEFINITIONS**

**Digital Divide:** A division between individuals who have access to and use digital media and those who do not (Dijk, 2020, p. 11).

**Institutional Trust:** The “summary judgement that the system [of institutions in society] is responsive and will do what is right even in the absence of constant scrutiny”, simply stated, the individual level perception of the relationship between corruption and the performance of political institutions and actors (Miller & Listhaug, 1990, p. 358, as cited in Habibov, Afandi & Cheung, 2017, p.172; Hakhverdian & Mayne, 2012; Armah-Attoh, Gyimah-Boadi & Chikwanha-Dzenga, 2007, p. 9).

**Misinformation and Disinformation:** “Misinformation’ refers to the inadvertent sharing of false information” and disinformation is “the deliberate creation and sharing of false and/or manipulated information that is intended to deceive and mislead audiences, either for the purposes of causing harm, or for political, personal or financial gain” (House of Commons Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee, 2018, p. 2).

## **TECHNIQUE**

An Analysis of Competing Hypotheses (ACH) is a diagnostic structured analytical technique that “is aimed to help minimize and potentially overcome cognitive limitations, as well as avoid common analytic pitfalls” (Manz & Khera, 2018, p. 56).

Three hypotheses were tested to confirm or disconfirm the security question:

Hypothesis 1: Yes, the digital divide makes those who do not have reliable access to digital use arguably more susceptible to unreliable information sources; the institutional trust is broken as a result of the lack of reliable information.

Hypothesis 2: No, the digital divide reduces some communities' exposure to unreliable information sources. This makes them more likely to receive information from government authorities directly.

Hypothesis 3: Null, while a digital divide does exist, it has no impact on institutional trust in Kenya.

Open-source intelligence (OSINT) was used by doing a scrape of the online sources listed within the source pack. Using those sources, an ACH

was completed by drawing pieces of credible evidence and testing them against each of the hypotheses.

## **FINDINGS**

The ACH reveals that Hypothesis 1, given the overall score H (0): “the digital divide makes those who do not have reliable access to digital use arguably more susceptible to unreliable information sources; the institutional trust is broken as a result of the lack of reliable information,” is important to understanding how the gap in the digital divide influences public perception and trust.

The ACH showed the possibility of Kenyans growing in their distrust of government institutions due to the negative influence of misinformation during the COVID-19 pandemic (Smith, 2020). Unreliable information has arguably been spread from high-ranking government officials, as well as religious ministers and pastors. This misinformation has reportedly caused increased panic among citizens and has slowed progress in trying to combat COVID-19 (CIPIT, 2020). In addition, the contradiction between what the government is saying in regard to social distancing is not reflected in policy as there are still many who are homeless or live in close quarters (Odula, 2020, para. 4-6).

Police brutality and government take-downs of news media reporters may add to the perception that formal institutions cannot be trusted with accurate information regarding the health and safety of citizens (Abdi, 2020). Social media has also been tainted with inaccurate information impacting how Kenyans perceive their own government responses and how the rest of the world may view such responses as well (Bellows, 2020; Budoo, 2020). The spread of false information or propaganda on social media platforms may have the ability to increase panic during a health crisis and inhibit proper safety measures and practices.

Overall, the ACH demonstrated that there are several variables such as lack of access to the internet, misinformation and varying messaging that arguably illustrates the institutional mistrust in Kenya as a result of the digital divide. Moreover, it demonstrated a possible growing distrust in the Kenyan government as there is an increase in police brutality and take-downs of news media reporters.



**GRINTSUM**

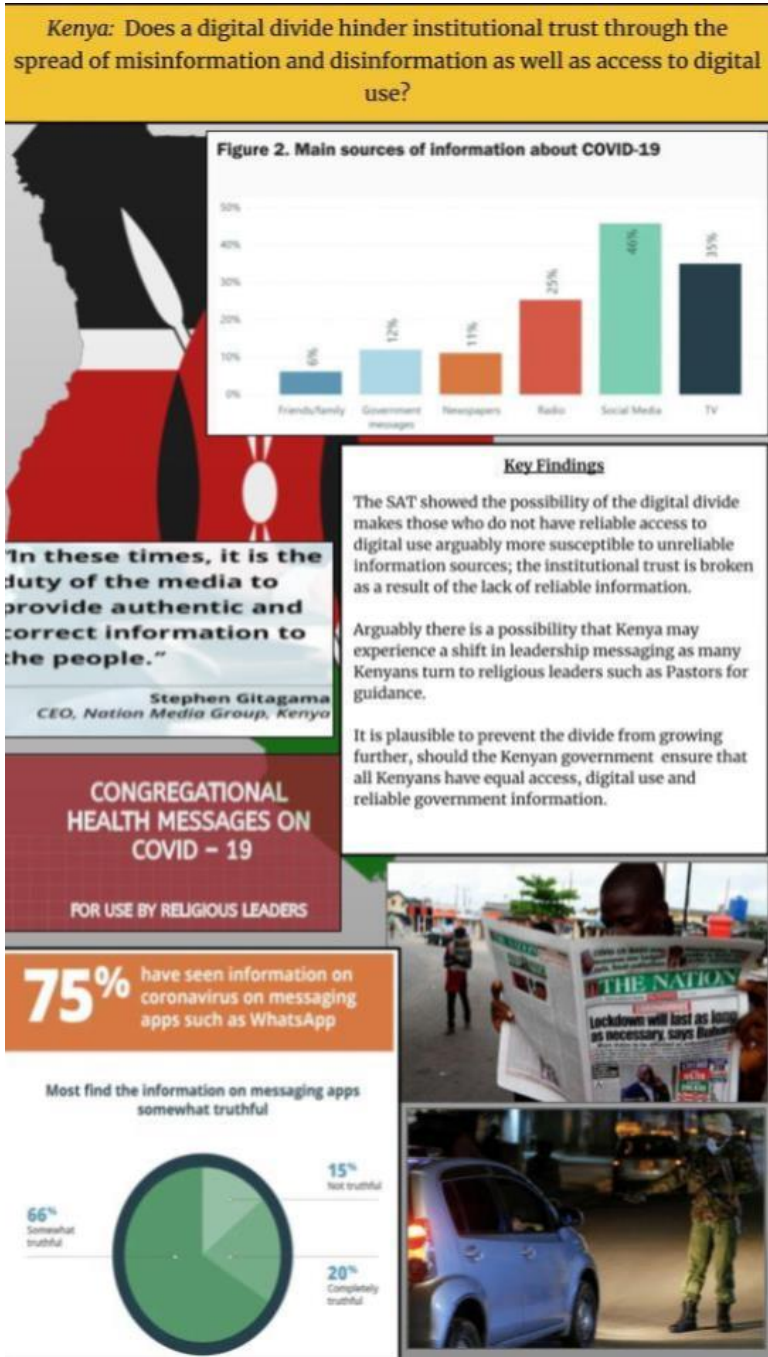


Figure 34

The image below is a matrix for the Analysis of Competing Hypotheses Technique which outlines the analysis and assessment of the security question:

<b>Evidence</b>	<b>H1 (0)</b>	<b>H2 (-17)</b>	<b>H3 (-5)</b>
Individuals without a reliable connection may be disconnected entirely or risk their health to find a connection	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
Gov. Sonto misinterpreted WHO health advice - encouraged drinking alcohol as prevention	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Non-consistent (-1)
Lack of institutional trust with ministers, pastors spreading messaging re: covid 19	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Consistent
Kenyan Government introduced HAPS - Delivering 4G service, to support government efforts, economic and social benefits to unserved and underserved communities	Null	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
Standoff in Eastleigh, Nairobi as residents in Covid-19 partial lockdown picket demanding relief food from government	Null	Non-consistent (-1)	Non-consistent (-1)
Kenyan police and senior state officials have continued to intimidate, threaten, and physically attack journalists reporting on sensitive issues, and authorities have done little to end the abuses.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Non-consistent (-1)
Kenyan Gov. Sonko justifies the inclusion of alcohol in care	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Non-consistent (-1)

packages, stating it is a "throat sanitizer"			
In times of social distancing, people without a reliable connection may be disconnected entirely or risk their health to find a connection.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
There is misinformation related to government directives and public announcements. This could be as simple as people not understanding it, or misinterpretation of the directive	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
If the government says everyone should socially distance and maintain hygiene, but simultaneously forces thousands to sleep outside, huddled together in the cold rain, then this disease must not be as serious as the officials say it is.	Consistent	Null	Null
In Kenya, the Chinese Embassy puts out statements on social media, such as Twitter, that get widely copied and shared in our Kenyan WhatsApp groups. Messages get widely panned and ridiculed with mistrust.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Non-consistent (-1)
Another characteristic of the government's response has been the branding of those who circumvent restrictions as lacking in personal discipline.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null

The approach of a government used to demand obedience rather than seeking consent	Null	Null	Null
Purveyors of fake news are disseminating propaganda and disinformation, which have increased panic among the public and slowed the progress of the fight against the pandemic.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
The disinfodemic has led people to believe drinking alcohol or applying heat will kill the virus. Some have been led to believe that the virus only affects white people, that testing kits are contaminated, and that vaccines are being tested on Africans.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
Another characteristic of the government's response has been the branding of those who circumvent restrictions as lacking in personal discipline	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
Misinformation purveyors have made fake claims with falsified video evidence about arsons of Chinese-owned shops in Nigeria.	Consistent	Non-consistent (-1)	Null
WhatsApp is key not only to access important conversations and networks for civic and political engagement, but also essential for accessing jobs, trade and other business opportunities.	Null	Null	Null
As more conversations, meetings, business deals, job vacancies move online and in multiple and more distanced	Null	Null	Null

<p>spaces, opportunities get closer for those with access to a stable online connection, but further for those on the other side of the digital gap.</p>			
<p>Health experts warn that efforts to contain the virus are being undermined by misinformation, including from some African leaders.</p>	<p>Consistent</p>	<p>Non-Consistent</p>	<p>Null</p>
<p>Authorities are defending their strict stance on virus control and the use of police and military to enforce health recommendations, but public health experts warn that their efforts may do more to spread the disease, by deepening distrust in authorities.</p>	<p>Consistent</p>	<p>Non-Consistent</p>	<p>Null</p>

Table 9



## MEDIA PACKS

The following media packs are provided for transparency. They represent the OSINT sources used to generate the analysis for each SAT and SMAT.





## QUALITY OF INFORMATION CHECK

- Adebayo, B. (2020, May 19). UK regulator sanctions Nigerian Christian channel over 5G conspiracy theory claims. CNN. Retrieved from <https://www.cnn.com/2020/05/19/africa/ofcom-sanctions-5g-conspiracy-theory-intl/index.html>
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Retrieved from

[https://twitter.com/j\\_andre01/status/1246018512293896193](https://twitter.com/j_andre01/status/1246018512293896193)

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## **THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR SECURITY AND INTELLIGENCE STUDIES**

The mandate of the Canadian Association for Security and Intelligence Studies (CASIS) is empower and enhance research, discussion, and engagement with issues of national security and intelligence. The CASIS Vancouver mandate is to support law enforcement, military, intelligence professionals, and to act as a handshake between academics and practitioners. Its objective is to facilitate knowledge sharing between disciplines about theoretical and strategic security trends and patterns. CASIS achieves its mandate, mission and objectives by employing four pillars: Discussion, Dissemination, Research and Engagement.



## **THE CANADIAN CENTRE FOR IDENTITY BASED CONFLICT**

The CCIBC is a West Coast based research centre focused on public safety and intelligence practice, and well as developing training programs for analysts, public safety and national security officials. The CCIBC is currently working on a multi-agency, multi-dimensional integrated platforms for command and control in public safety for crisis management, crime, natural and other disasters. It is also focused on the creation of contemporary structured analytics techniques for public safety and national security analysts.