Problematizing Youth Radicalization in Canadian Educational Spaces

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ABSTRACT

This research determines whether Canadian educational spaces in the past have had any bearing on the radicalization of youth. As globalization creates tensions, insecurity and confusion for young people in relation to their identity, the radicalization of young Canadians poses a significant threat to maintaining national security. Though radicalization within Canadian educational institutions is far less prevalent than usually assumed in today's security-obsessed society, education's role as a social institution provides an important site to investigate this concern. A qualitative analysis of the educational experiences of Donald Andrews, Marc Lépine and Saad Khalid, each of whom adopted extremist belief systems in Canada during their youth, was conducted to uncover what kind of an influence schools played in their radicalization process. Results indicated that the sentiments of alienation and marginalization that fuelled their radicalization were exacerbated within their school settings. Therefore, the value of critical pedagogy is brought to light in order to demonstrate that by supporting the healthy development and social integration of its young people, educational spaces can indeed be utilized to prevent social isolation, a major driving force in the radicalization of youth.

Résumé

Cette recherche détermine si les espaces éducatifs canadiens ont eu un impact sur la radicalisation des jeunes. Alors que la mondialisation crée des tensions, incertitudes et confusions pour la jeunesse par rapport à la formation d'identité, la radicalisation des jeunes canadiens menace le maintien de la sécurité nationale. Quoique la radicalisation à l'intérieur des institutions éducatives canadiennes soit beaucoup moins fréquente que l'on croirait, particulièrement au sein d'une société obsédée par la sécurité, le rôle de l'éducation comme institution sociale nous permet, néanmoins, d'étudier cette crainte. Une analyse qualitative des expériences éducatives de Donald Andrews, Marc Lépine et Saad Khalid, dont chacun a adopté un système de croyance extrémiste pendant sa jeunesse au Canada, a été conduite pour découvrir à quel point les écoles ont influencé leurs processus de radicalisation. Les résultats ont indiqué que les sentiments d'aliénation et de marginalisation qui ont contribué à leur radicalisation ont été aggravés au sein de leurs espaces éducatifs respectifs. Conséquemment, l'importance de la pédagogie critique est soulignée afin de démontrer qu'en soutenant le développement sain ainsi que l'intégration sociale des jeunes, les espaces éducatifs peuvent être utilisés pour empêcher l'isolation sociale, une des causes principales de la radicalisation des jeunes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.

-Nelson Mandela

Drawing inspiration from these words of the late Nelson Mandela, education is responsible for shaping the minds of the future and influencing the kind of world we will see tomorrow. Historically, education has been used to pass on knowledge and ideas that free individuals but also oppress certain groups and promote particular ideologies that can encourage ignorance, hate and indifference. Despite these two extremes, education has the potential to act as a means to provide a level playing field for those living in the current globalized world, where they can be taught how to reconcile and live cohesively among different individuals and groups. In this way, education can be used to overcome the struggles humankind faces, particularly those in the post-9/11 context with new variations of social unrest and violence. A variety of insecurities can be found in the relatively peaceful society of Canada as well, with the spread of radical ideologies, the internationalization of domestic conflicts, the risks affiliated with weapons of mass destruction and the numerous other grievances that have increased anxiety over the state's safety and stability.

In Canada, the field of education continues to be overlooked at both academic and policy levels despite its capacity to counter these types of uncertainties and contribute to the maintenance of national security. This research aims to marry the two worlds of security and education in order to respond to the particular concern over the spread of radical ideologies, which can potentially lead to politically motivated violence in this country. A non-traditional

security approach will be adopted, one that considers the effectiveness of *educational spaces*[1] in ensuring that Canadian youth are resilient to the allure of radicalization (to be defined below) and engaging in politically violent acts. This will be demonstrated through the analysis of the educational experiences of three Canadian youth based on the assumption that young people who become involved in the radicalization process often feel disconnected, marginalized or alienated from certain segments of society. Even though the private sphere of the home is the predominant socialization pillar for young people, educational spaces are also social institutions that have a significant impact on the way in which youth form both their personal and national identities.

The structures of education in Canada are complex given that schooling falls within the lines of provincial/territorial jurisdiction and thus there is no one cross-country framework to turn towards when looking at security issues through a pedagogical lens. However at the international level, the Canadian government ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (1989) in 1991 agreeing, as per article 29 section 1(d) of the Convention, that education will be directed towards "the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups and persons of indigenous origin." According to the regulations of international law, Canada as a nation is legally bound to this Convention and must strive to instil these values within its education system. The provinces and territories are therefore responsible for ensuring that education is not merely about the production of skills, but rather the construction of knowledge and identities that influence this particular vision for the future of Canada.

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[1] The term 'educational spaces*'* is meant to encapsulate all types of formal public education within school settings.

❖ **Canadian Educational Spaces**

Education at the institutional level can impact national security as it reproduces and reaffirms societal norms and values that are essential to the makeup of Canada. American scholar Henry Giroux (2006) states that educational spheres are contested political sites where "culture, power and knowledge come together to produce particular identities, narratives, and social practices" (p. 4). Publicly funded school systems in the Western world are generally assumed to enhance social mobility and promote equality among the population (Mallea, 1987). If their ideals were effectively communicated within educational spaces, several forms of political violence that emerge from perceived inequalities should be deterred within Canada. However, rather than reducing hierarchical relations between groups of people, these systems operate as powerful agents of social and cultural reproduction in the interest of the dominant group. Christopher Stonebanks (2004) identifies this group as the white, Anglo, Christian, heterosexual male who makes up the 'white power blocks' which Canada's education is built upon. Their dominance is then justified and students are persuaded to believe that preserving the interest of this elite group is the natural order of things.

By retaining this cultural hegemony, education plays a significant role in defining majority and minority cultures and deciding whose cultural capital (knowledge, customs and heritage) is diffused throughout society. Those who do not identify with this dominant group end up narrowly defined by formal educational institutions through the organization of categories, discourses, texts, curricula and assessments (Corrigan, 1987). This is made visible in the failure to adequately include the diverse histories and experiences of all Canadian peoples as identities of minority groups continue to be constructed as the 'other.' The dynamics of power relations in schools should thus not be ignored when considering the construction and formation

of students' identities. Especially in a nation like Canada where students come from all different types of ethno-cultural and religious backgrounds, limited notions of cultural capital and the masked catchphrase that education is for everyone results in placing blame on the student for any shortcomings as opposed to critically analyzing the educational system (Kincheloe, 2004). As a result, those young people who are left at the margins or feel alienated may seek out alternative ways, potentially radical, in order to have their voices heard and ultimately find validation elsewhere.

To offset this inequality that can have serious negative repercussions for national security, Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire's (2000; 2005) discourse on critical pedagogy can be employed, which states that the role of education should be to politically liberate learners, encouraging them to challenge and change the world around them. For Freire, this approach is not expected to come from an institutional level, but rather spearheaded by educators themselves. The Greek root of the term *pedagogy* (*pais*, meaning child, and *ago*, to lead) is a reminder that education is inherently directive and always a non-neutral political act. Therefore all educators, including those in Canada, engage in politics every time they teach and should ultimately aim towards "politici[zing] all young people without cementing uncritical acceptance of single truths" like extreme ideologies (Davies, 2008, p. 2).

Canadian lesson plans for all ages should then guide students to critically embrace the richness and celebration of diversity in terms of various religious, political, social and moral perspectives, while at same time encouraging collective values of mutual respect, trust, empathy and solidarity. Although this can be found in some variation or another in citizenship education curriculum across Canada, transferring this knowledge from paper into the hearts and minds of students is much more complex. To do so, it is essential for educators to foster a sense of safe

space within the classroom in order to help students adapt these politically liberating notions to their own personal identities, especially if psychosocial circumstances leave students feeling ostracized and marginalized (Gereluk, 2012).

The reality is that many young people in Canada feel voiceless and disempowered in the classroom, particularly those who share sentiments of vulnerability and disenfranchisement. Educationist Dianne Gereluk (2012) demonstrates that although students generally look to educators to appreciate their thoughts and encourage a sense of self worth within them, several young people fear reprisal for expressing opposing views. When deliberate discussions arise in class on substantive issues like identity, history, politics and culture, students may not always feel as though there is room for respectful debate and are thus more reluctant to share their opinions. This then prevents young people from questioning or critically examining their own personal perceptions that may be extreme in nature within the classroom. Some scholars suggest that such challenges fall outside the scope of education, denying the political significance of this very important social institution. It is irrefutable that, particularly within Canada, there is insufficient professional development and training for educators as to how they should approach sensitive topics that are politically charged (Bascaramurty, 2011). And although it is valid to state "schools should not have to shoulder the burden of society's troubles," the reality is that these dilemmas surface within the classroom given that schools are a microcosm of society and reflect the culture and the characteristics of its community (Gereluk, 2012, p. 90).

❖ **The Process of Radicalization**

From a national security perspective, in relatively rare cases such as the ones that will be examined in this study, young people who feel pain or threat, particularly over something out of

their direct control, experience frustration and resentment towards the social group they blame for these feelings. This removes any blame from the young person themselves and places the entire fault onto the other group that is in some way perceived as threatening. It is not in human nature to dislike another person without justification, so when young people reach a certain level of resentment, they tend to seek out and mobilize support for their negative feelings towards the other group from their peers and sometimes even prominent adults in their lives. Once they receive validation from others about the characteristics they attribute towards this group, any action stemming from anger, suspicion or rage can be deemed justified (Liese, 2004). The political nature of this process leading from pain and threat, to frustration, to resentment, to action through anger exemplifies the radicalization process, also referred to as radicalism. It is important to note however that no single explanation exists when understanding the psychological progression towards radicalization since it is a highly individualized process.

The term radicalization as defined by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) is the process by which individuals are introduced to an overtly ideological belief system that encourages movement from moderate mainstream beliefs towards extreme views. Such radical thinking is not problematic in and of itself, but when these radical thoughts lead to violence and other criminal acts, people and society at large can be put at risk (RCMP, 2011a). Radicalization may or may not lead to instances of homegrown terrorism, where the perpetrator is born and/or raised in the very country in which they adopt the extreme ideology and then either attacks their home country or joins a group of people who train in order to commit terrorist acts in various countries around the globe. Young men who are characterized by higher risk taking have a greater chance of being receptive to radicalization. However, the concept of terrorism itself falls

outside the scope of this research not only due to the ambiguity of the phrase[2] but because this project solely hones in on its prerequisite, radicalization, so that the underlying causes of political violence can be understood as they may relate to young people and education.

❖ **Radicalization in Canada**

Radicalization in Canada is not a novel phenomenon considering that there have been accounts of Canadian involvement in political violence for hundreds of years. Violence in this country has in the past resulted in anti-Semitic movements, the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) crisis, the Air India tragedy and the bombings by Direct Action in the early 1980s. That being said, in the last few decades most of the political violence Canadians have been engaged in are those against foreign targets, especially as immigrant communities' bring their homeland conflicts into Canada. In the aftermath of 9/11, the RCMP has had difficulty in determining the full extent of radicalization in contemporary Canada in light of the much wider scale of violent extremist ideologies (RCMP, 2011b). A recent study by the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) reveals that an extremely complex set of issues are at play after uncovering that those most susceptible to radicalization are young post-secondary educated male Canadian citizens who are well-integrated into society. The report also demonstrates that individuals embrace violent extremist ideas within Canada due to local influences (CSIS, 2010). However it remains ambiguous as to how the report measures successful integration into Canada.

The radicalization of young people within Canada is far less prevalent than usually assumed in today's post-9/11 security-obsessed society, but it is still a growing concern. In 2013,

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[2] Jessica Stern (1999), an American policy consultant on terrorism, brings to mind the numerous definitions for terrorism; the variety of possible terrorist actors, be it states, international groups, or a single individual; and the wide range of goals terrorism tries to achieve such as political, religious, economic, or even murder for its own sake. There also continues to be a lack of comprehensive data as to what can be considered a terrorist attack.

three young men from London, Ontario were connected to an al-Qaeda linked attack on an Algerian gas refinery (Kazia, 2013). Then a few months ago, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) uncovered that as many as two dozen young men from Calgary have departed for Syria to join extremist rebel groups in the last two years (CBC News, 2014). Now although these security concerns have not directly impacted Canadian soil, it is still extremely problematic that individuals who have been socialized in Canada are becoming radicalized and committing violent crimes in other parts of the world. However, from a policy perspective, there is an insufficient response for the crimes Canadian citizens are conducting abroad. As an RCMP commissioner has phrased it, Canadian governmental bodies have little interest in holding these people accountable for their action, but instead fear that those who travel to other countries might return to Canada, instilled with both the radical "ideology and the skills necessary to translate it into direct [violent] action" (as cited in Goddard, 2010, para. 15).

The current amendments to the Canadian Citizenship Act echo this emphasis on ensuring that radicalized individuals remain outside Canadian borders rather than addressing the ongoing radicalization within Canada. The changes to the legislation has Canada distancing itself from the underlying problem by stripping Canadian citizenship from both dual nationals who are members of armed groups engaged in conflict with Canada and those who have been "convicted of terrorism, high treason, treason, or spying offences, depending on the sentence received" (Mas, 2014, Revoking Citizenship section, para. 4). This position of dissociating Canada from violent acts abroad committed by its own citizens is a significant shortcoming and creates an urgency to better understand why young people born and/or raised in Canada become radicalized and what leads them down this path.

❖ **Literature Review**

With the collapse of the World Trade Centre in 2001, there was a rise in literature that dealt with how foreign grievances made their way onto the national security agendas of the Western World. Scholars such as Oliver Roy (2004) highlight that with the end of the Cold War, globalization and the increased interconnectivity it encourages has become the new source of tension and insecurity. Radicalization in this context, which prior to 9/11 was solely linked to revolutionary movements, is now considered to be the fuel that drives political violence. Over the years, many theoretical models have been put forth by academics and government institutions to shed light on the radicalization process. Security experts Max Taylor and John Horgan (2006) have three broad categories to depict this process, which are setting events, personal factors and social/political/organizational context. Psychologists Clark McCauley and Sophia Moskalenko (2008) describe twelve possible mechanisms for radicalization: personal victimization; political grievance; joining a radical group due to a slippery slope; joining a radical group due to the power of love; extremity shift in like-minded groups; extreme cohesion under isolation and threat; competition for the same base of support; competition with state power; competition within groups; politics that uses the enemy's strength against them; hate; and finally martyrdom.

Furthermore, the socio-psychological angle to understanding radicalization has garnered much academic support and has resulted in different adaptations like Fathali Moghaddam's (2005) staircase metaphor, where an individual's reaction to factors at each step may or may not result in them taking the next step up the radicalization staircase. Forensic psychiatrist Marc Sageman's (2008) interplay of four factors in the radicalization process also puts a significant emphasis on the cognitive factor as it relates to an individual's sense of moral outrage, their specific interpretation of the world, resonance with their personal experiences and mobilization

through their networks.   The United States (US) government, through the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the Intelligence Division of the New York Police Department (NYPD) have proposed their own psychological models as well (Borum, 2003; Silber & Bhatt, 2007). One significant shortcoming consistent among all these contributions though is their narrow focus on Islamic radicalism. Despite militant Islam being the predominant security threat to the Western World in the last decade and a half, espousing misconceptions that violence is limited to any one religion, ethnicity, culture or ideology must be avoided.

Insights into the radicalization process within the context of Canada have for the most part replicated this weakness. The works of academics like Alex Wilner (2008), Michael King and Ali Mohamed (2011) and several others have solely focused on radicalization inspired by extremist interpretations of Islam. Canadian government published documents from the RCMP (2011a; 2011b) and CSIS (2010) have also mirrored this confined scope, while Canada's national counter-terrorism strategy, entitled *Building Resilience against Terrorism: Canada's Counter-Terrorism Strategy* (2010), identifies "violent Islamist extremism [as] the leading threat to Canada's national security" (p. 2). A few scholars like David Charters (2008), Richard Parent and James Ellis III (2011), Ron Crelinsten (2012), as well as Paul Bramadat and Lorne Dawson (2014) have looked at both historic as well as contemporary scenarios of radicalization within Canada that fall outside this Islamic framework, but still the underlying assumption tends to be that radical ideologies are imported into Canada by foreign-born peoples. And yet there has been no academic evidence to suggest that foreign-born individuals are more susceptible to radicalization than those born in Canada. An in depth study for the Mosaic Institute conducted by John Monahan, Rima Berns-McGown and Michael Morden (2014) concluded that alternatively, Canadians who have migrated from sites of conflict unequivocally reject violence in Canada as a

response to, or means of resolving, overseas conflicts. Even though they may be invested in the conflicts of their home countries, the researchers found that living in Canada dramatically transformed their perceptions of conflict as well as their views for possible solutions.

Another shortcoming within these existing Canadian discourses, particularly as they apply to youth, can be found in the restricted security perspective that merely aims to prevent acts of violence through costly surveillance mechanisms, while neglecting to consider the role education can play in the radicalization process. Political and military solutions have been developed to combat youth radicalization, like those found within Canada's counter-terrorism strategy that intervenes with at risk adolescents (Canada, 2012). However, the role education can play in the development of a Canadian community that is resilient to radicalization has not been accounted for by Canadian academics or government officials. Dr. Wayne Nelles at the University of Victoria, in his edited work *Comparative Education*, *Terrorism and Human Security: From Critical Pedagogy to Peace Building?* (2003), makes a pioneering contribution to demonstrate how critical pedagogy can be used within the security arena, but does not do so within the context of Canada.

Therefore, this significant knowledge gap must be filled given that safeguarding society should ultimately rest on the creation of an educated smart citizenry as opposed to smart bombs. Youth are socialized within the walls of the school and the fact that educational institutions strive to transfer a certain set of values to students who are the future citizens of a society, either contributing to peace or conflict, must not be ignored. In the United Kingdom (UK), efforts have been made to consider the influence of education on the radicalization process. British academics such as Lynn Davies (2008) have provided educational and theoretical explanations that have persuaded national and local governments to work alongside educational institutions to

counter radicalization, as is highlighted in the 'prevent' portion of the UK governments' counter-terrorism strategy (CONTEST) (Secretary of State for the Home Department, 2011). Conversations within Canadian academia and government discourses should follow a similar route as well.

❖ **Significance of the Research**

The findings of this research will contribute to the larger existing policy gap on counterradicalization techniques in Canada by stressing the significance of the education sector. In addition, an important aspect of this research will be to bring much needed information on the almost non-existent literature on the educational experiences of students who are known to have been radicalized. Through this study, the value of a security approach that considers the contributions of Canadian educational spaces will be highlighted so as to present a foundational method to policy makers outside of the usual rhetoric of increasing law enforcement. Davies (2008) suggests that, as students become alienated and intolerant of other people's views, acquire and apply explicit moral knowledge about good and evil and orient their actions by this moral hierarchy, very little is done within the existing frameworks of education to critically analyze these ideas. If gone unchecked, this could possibly result in the radicalization of some youth.

Of course, if schools are to carry the burden of countering radicalization by identifying 'potential radicals', there is always the danger of misrepresentation (Khan, 2013). In order to avoid doing so, the uniqueness of this study is the importance placed on learning about different types of people who have been radicalized. The experiences of three young Canadians from diverse backgrounds will be considered in order to prevent any kind of stereotyping. Although their cases may be isolated within the context of Canada, much can still be learned from their

educational experiences in this country. By demonstrating that greater attention within the classroom must be paid towards vulnerable youth who might be susceptible to radicalization, the need for different counter-radicalization strategies in education will be made clear.

A research stance that follows along these lines is noteworthy for this particular study − one that holds that radicalized youth, although rightly deemed as security threats, are not 'bad guys' but rather inflicted with sentiments of alienation and as a result, highly vulnerable and easy to exploit for political purposes. This stance is grounded within the discourse of critical pedagogy which emphasizes the need for critical thinking, as well as an awareness of multiple forms of oppression. Giroux (2012) demonstrates in his work how young people are represented as threats to society where the only political discourse for them is disciplinary as they struggle to establish their own personal identity, agency and power. It is thus more important to understand the thought processes of young people who find solace in radicalism and counter them so that they do not carry out actions that will result in their criminalization. However, it must be stated that the aim of this research is not to absolve the wrongs committed by those who have been radicalized. All politically motivated violence that puts the lives of others at risk must be condemned through laws and activities in order to make clear that such actions are inexcusable. That being said, uncovering and investigating socialization processes to begin with can determine why youth find appeal in violent radical ideologies. Given that the public institution of education is a common space where youth learn behaviours from early on in life, this study hopes to encourage other researchers and government officials to consider security related issues such as radicalization through a pedagogical lens.

❖ **Research Objectives**

The purpose of this research is to determine whether Canadian educational spaces in the past have had any bearing on the radicalization of Canadian youth. This will be explored by considering the cases of three young people born and/or raised in Canada: Donald Andrews, who during his youth from the late 1960s to the 1970s was an active member of the Edmund Burke Society, later renamed the Western Guard, which carried out violent activities to promote anti-communist, anti-Semitic, racist, white supremacist and conservative values; Marc Lépine, who was responsible for the 1989 anti-feminist Montréal Massacre that took the lives of 14 women at the École Polytechnique; and Saad Khalid, a member of the Toronto 18 group who in 2006, outraged by Canada's military involvement in Afghanistan, planned to detonate truck bombs in downtown Toronto. By exploring the educational experiences of these three youths, it can be determined whether or not they received sufficient support within their educational spaces to discard any feelings of frustration and resentment that could have lead to their radicalization.

Accordingly, the objectives of this research aim to determine the educational experiences of these three individuals and analyze each of the cases while drawing comparisons. Based on these results, recommendations will be provided that may help ensure that students are not drawn to the radicalization process. The following research questions will be explored throughout the course of this study:

(i) Did Donald Andrews, Marc Lépine or Saad Khalid experience any sentiments of marginalization or alienation within their public educational spaces in Canada? If so, could these feelings have propelled their radicalization process?

(ii) Can any common threads be identified in the experiences of these three individuals?

(iii) What counter-radicalization measures can Canadian educational spaces take to ensure the healthy development of their students?

❖ **Summary & Chapter Breakdown**

This chapter introduced the notion of using educational spaces as a national security tool in Canada to counter the radicalization process. When considering the political nature of education, it was demonstrated that this public sphere can be used to unpack the radicalization process in Canada, something that has yet to be undertaken in academic or government circles. The next chapter will outline the methodology of this research, but will first establish a theoretical framework that builds on an understanding of the appeal of radical ideologies among youth and the relevance of critical pedagogy in countering these notions. Chapter three will contain the data collected on all three of the individuals studied in this research, providing a profile of each of their personal backgrounds particularly as they relate to education. Chapter four will then reveal a grounded theory from analyzing the profiles in order to address the research objectives outlined in the section above. Finally, chapter five will conclude this study by suggesting recommendations for educational spaces to implement in order to counter radicalization.

CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & METHODOLOGY

Days after the Boston Marathon bombings in 2013, where a pair of brothers set off two pressure cooker bombs during the annual Boston Marathon killing three people and injuring an estimated 264 others, Canadian Liberal Party leader Justin Trudeau received much criticism for a response he gave during an interview. A CBC journalist asked Trudeau how he as a leader would have reacted to the attacks and Trudeau replied by stating that in addition to offering material support, at the same time "we have to look at the root causes" (as cited in Berthaiume, 2013, para. 3). He then went on to state that "there is no question that this happened because there is someone who feels completely excluded. Completely at war with innocents. At war with a society. And our approach has to be, where do those tensions come from?" (as cited in Berthaiume, 2013, para. 4). While Trudeau acknowledged the necessity for security, he added that "we also need to make sure that as we go forward, that we don't emphasize a culture of fear and mistrust. Because that ends up marginalizing even further those who already are feeling like they are enemies of society" (as cited in Berthaiume, 2013, para. 5).

Prime Minister Stephen Harper condemned Trudeau's response as unacceptable. He asserted that "when you see this kind of action, when you see this kind of violent act, you do not sit around trying to rationalize it or make excuses for it or figure out its root causes" (as cited in Berthaiume, 2013, para. 7). "You condemn it categorically and to the extent that you can deal with the perpetrators you deal with them as harshly as possible and that is what this government would do if it ever was faced with such actions [like the Boston Marathon bombing]" (as cited in Berthaiume, 2013, para. 8). This type of approach, endorsed by the current government leader, is ultimately unhelpful in effectively countering radicalization. Limited punitive practices that call for harsh punishment without any more general understanding in such circumstances

capitalize on feelings of helpless rage and offer nothing beyond revenge as a solution. This demonstrates that given the government's perspective, there is a pressing need to prevent the onset of radicalization so as to minimize the chances for violence to even occur. In view of this, an excellent arena to explore the sentiments of exclusion and marginalization that Trudeau identified as causes for violent behaviour are educational spaces. This is especially true for young people when considering the impact educational institutions have on their personal development given the number of hours they spend in school from early ages (Mallea, 1987).

Accordingly, the theoretical framework of this study will take a double-pronged approach: one that looks at the conceptual underpinnings of radicalization and then apply the philosophy of critical pedagogy to finally uncover a grounded theory that will be explored in chapter four. Radicalization in this context lends itself to the moral or practical support for politically motivated violence. Since this is the main issue being tackled within this research, by using a non-traditional lens like education to examine this process, the intention is to gain new insights, strengthen understandings and hopefully be one step closer to putting an end to the progression of radicalization. This aim will be achieved with the use of the critical pedagogy that questions and goes beneath surface meanings of assumptions and belief systems in a way that not only respects diversity, but also recognizes that biases like those pertaining to certain extremist ideologies can be dehumanizing. However, before delving more into critical pedagogy, the radicalization process must be better understood.

❖ **Unpacking Radicalization**

It is impossible to peer into someone's mind and fully grasp their rationale for embracing violent behaviour and doing so even before a violent act is carried out is all the more

challenging.   Most political analysis assumes that material and calculable forces propel all human action, but research has shown that low levels of education and impoverished backgrounds are not common characteristics found among those who become susceptible to radicalization (Roy, 2004).   Rather, perceptions of deprivation and threats to personal or collective identity create a sense of alienation that can lead to hatred, anger and hostility (Taylor, 1994; Scheff, 2006). Radicalization is also driven by feelings of moral superiority that fulfills a romantic vision of change; the individual here is motivated by what they perceive as a selfless desire to do something noble in order to help those who are unable to help themselves (Stern, 2003). Those who engage in the radicalization process, often times unconsciously, are searching for meaning in their life by nursing their perceived grievances and dedicating themselves to an alleged just cause that attempts to right certain wrongs (Hoffer, 1951).

However, advanced technology, high-speed communication and the internet all influence radicalization today and have made predicting who is vulnerable to the process even more challenging. Despite this, academics have effectively been able to identify some factors that drive the radicalization process such as: cultural polarization; struggle with social identification; relative deprivation in terms of asymmetry of power; personal grievances and perceived injustices; humiliation; trigger events; and differences in political beliefs (Moghaddam, 2005; Elworthy & Rifkind, 2006; Parent & Elis, 2011; McCauley, 2012). A complex interaction of a combination of these features can catalyze the radicalization process when individuals are searching to find meaning within their lives.

Those most susceptible to radicalization are young people between the ages of fifteen to twenty-five who are at a developmental age seeking to uncover who they really are, looking for confidence within themselves and are in search of meaning in their lives. This age group is very

action-oriented and is usually characterized by higher risk taking as well. In terms of gender, there have been fewer females than males who have turned to political violence, particularly in Canada. Research suggests that young men as opposed to women are more attracted to radicalized subcultures, finding appeal in a lifestyle that involves secrecy, adventure, danger and heroism. Ethnic origins, depressed social or economic situations, or even past criminal activities are poor indicators as to who is more likely to succumb to the radicalization process, although some studies in the past have suggested links between second and third generation youths in immigrant societies (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). In light of this, it must be stated that the three profiles investigated in this study are of young males in their early to mid twenties who are either first or second generation Canadians. However, despite any markers, policy makers must avoid forms of stigmatization by overgeneralizing the psychology and attributes of violent radicals given the extreme complexity of the process.

It is evident though that identity construction is at the core of radicalization and it can be conceptualized in the progression from extremism to an attempt to commit an all-out violent act that can cause chaos in society. Extremism is the adoption of views that deny other realities, where different perspectives are not tolerated. At this stage, the young man gravitates away from his former identity due to perceived injustices that have made him feel angry, frustrated or humiliated. He then upholds his new beliefs as absolute and righteous in hopes of striving for justice and perfection in a world that is uncertain and chaotic to him. He seeks to establish control by either returning to an idealized traditional world or creating a new perfect world order based on his philosophical and ideological values (Elworthy & Rifkind, 2006; Davies, 2008). This altruistic notion, which gives a larger purpose to his life, is why the radicalization process generally begins without any outside influence, since in the initial stages no one can ever be

socially pressured to radicalize (Roy, 2004). It is also common to see lone-wolf radicalization, in which there is no involvement from anyone besides the one being radicalized themselves.

One example of extremist thinking is fundamentalism, known as a dogmatic adherence to a particular set of ideas that result in aggressive attitudes. These types of beliefs not only assert exclusiveness, but also deny the right for other groups to hold contrary opinions. Fundamentalism can also mean to 'hold onto the fundamentals' of a particular ideology, more often than not tending to be conservative, whereby certain elements of a value system regarded as fundamental are safeguarded in order to ensure fairness and rightfulness. Fundamentalism is thus reactionary as well, a type of thinking usually formed in response to a perceived threat to one's own worldview. Those who embrace fundamentalist notions tend to believe in literal interpretations of texts or contexts. Fundamentalism can take several different forms, such as religious, scientific, secular, political and economic and those who are most likely to adopt such mindsets are individuals who have in the past been marginalized at one point or another (Hadley, 2008; Lakhani, 2008).

An important distinction must be made here given that forms of extremism such as fundamentalism are not the same as being extreme, particularly among young people. Fanatically embracing an ideology, be it extreme in nature or not, is neither a proxy for nor a precursor to violence. For several youth, embracing extreme ideas is a rite of passage as a means to resist the mainstream, like punk culture. As history has proven, most progress in society is the result of what would have been regarded as extremist ideas at the time. However, if the exploration of rebellion and identity take on a political nature − not simply an oppositional one − to promote or condone violence, there is cause for alarm. When this occurs, the young man's new identity based on extremist ideologies is influenced by both internal and external factors and

then transferred into a radical violent vision of the real world. His personal cause to fundamentally change society is actively pursued, but his aggression is displaced (Silber &Bhatt, 2007). The young man's discontent is now channelled into hostility towards a non-instigating target because the source of his perceived injustices is either absent, unidentifiable or far too powerful in society (Liese, 2004).

At this point in the radicalization process, if lone-wolf radicalization is not being pursued, external factors of group dynamics come into play. Through kinship and friendship, a social network is developed where young men who similarly lack confidence in their initial identity are influenced by a dynamic leader whose feelings and beliefs impact their newfound identities. Such leaders gain access to disenfranchised young men by harnessing sentiments of alienation and humiliation so as to foster a particular indoctrinated group identity that can mould steadfast followers (Stern, 2003). Counter-terrorism expert Sam Mullins (2005) points out that leaders "may first identify individuals from within larger groups who may be susceptible to radicalisation; then 'groom' them privately in small groups until individuals begin feeding off each other's radicalisation" (p. 138-139). In these types of environments, grievances are shared and the need for a larger connection is fulfilled. As members of the group radicalize one another, fanaticism, enthusiasm, fervent hope, hatred and intolerance are bred, leading the group towards isolation and maximizing the differences between themselves and the non-instigating target (Moghaddam, 2005). Incubators for radicalization, that are venues that provide extremist fodder or fuel for radicalism, include but are not limited to places of employment, prisons, education environments, nongovernmental organizations, community centers, retail stores, houses of worship and virtual communities on the internet (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). This can relate back to the fact that people adopt violent radical ideas within Canada as a result of local

influences, as opposed to the generally preconceived notion that marginalized immigrant enclaves are the most vulnerable to radicalization because of their personal investment in conflicts back home.

Once the young man has made his way through the radicalization process and has solidified his 'good vs. evil' mentality, he may attempt to carry out a violent act. Dedication, conformity and obedience are the psychological motivations that facilitate this violence, be it either for a self-radicalized individual or someone radicalized within a group setting (Moghaddam, 2005). However, only in a small number of instances does the process of radicalization result in full-blown violence, and even though a few radicalized persons may prefer grandiose acts, less extreme ways are also embraced in order to get political messages across. Thwarting politically charged violence no matter how large in scale is extremely complex, dangerous and costly for national security officials. Although at the initial stages of the radicalization process, before extremist ideas are accepted as the only way to effectively bring about change, public educational spaces have the ability to subtly mediate identity construction and prevent sentiments of isolation among youth.

❖ **Applying the Lens of Critical Pedagogy**

According to Freire (2005), identity is both inherited and acquired from our surroundings and its formation is an ongoing process. Educational spaces can have significant impacts on the formation of youth identities given its ability to act as a source of informal control. Hence, education as a social institution has the potential to drive conflict or alternatively provide solutions to it. Educators then, with the use of critical pedagogical skills, are well placed to counter the moral support for extremist ideologies within the classroom, which can potentially

lead to radicalization (Pels & Ruyter, 2012). Freire (1985) views education as a symbol for change to create a new kind of society free of discrimination, where critical reflection and action engages various forms of oppression. Resisting these oppressions requires its own form of radicalism and even though rebellion almost always involves violence, gestures of love go a long way too, as Freire made clear in his classic work the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (2000). In light of this, the notion of critical pedagogy is a form of radicalism in itself that aims to bring changes to an unjust society. However, despite the fact that Freire encourages radical change, never does he advocate for violence or the killing of innocent people as radicalized individuals do.   The danger of radicalization unlike Freire's pedagogy of radical change is that individuals can feel the need to fight for a cause without looking into the consequences of their actions. When young people feel ostracized at school, they may engage in maladaptive behaviours like radicalization (Liese, 2004). However, this does not suggest that radicalized youth are 'oppressed;' Freire (2000) clarifies that those who fail to recognize others as people or those who initiate violence cannot be considered oppressed. The being said, at the initial stages of radicalization when the young man develops feelings of frustration and resentment, critical pedagogy can ensure that he receives sufficient support from educators to discard sentiments that may ultimately lead to the adoption of extremist ideologies.

Critical pedagogy is practiced within the classroom by drawing on the public and private experiences of students from a variety of social sites and engaging with their personal identities. As students express their individualized experiences in class and become the object of debate and confirmation, educators encourage a sense of pride, self-worth and empowerment among them. By legitimatizing their problems, hopes and everyday occurrences, students receive a sense of affirmation and are provided with the conditions to display an active voice and presence that

could form leadership skills to use in the dominant society (Freire, 1985). As a result, the chances of students feeling alienated or marginalized are diminished and teachers avoid pushing their students further away from familiar social surroundings, inhibiting them from searching for personal validation in radical activities and groups. In its place, students transform their lived experiences into knowledge and use this previously acquired insight to help them understand the new information being taught to them within the educational space.

Acquiring this new knowledge can only be accomplished by students if they develop confidence in their own identities. Indian economist Amartya Sen (2006) emphasizes the fact that individuals must have agency when forming their own identities based on the multiple communities they belong to and should never feel stereotyped into a single identity by an outside force. Educators using critical pedagogy can guide students to reason the relevance and importance of their identities, steering them away from any potential extremist ideologies, but at the same time giving them status in the distinctiveness and diversity of their hybrid identities. Critical pedagogy then comforts, supports and affirms the multiple identities students are fostering through acceptance and integration, ultimately instilling more open-minded identities among students (Khan, 2013). This is extremely important to preventing the onset of radicalization by not only demonstrating the acceptance of multiple characteristics, but also acknowledging the identities students have developed on their own in order to minimize potential feelings of isolation.

Another essential component to critical pedagogy is the development of critical minds among students and for that reason, questioning is an integral part of this pedagogical process. Here the educator must not only teach their discipline well, but "also challenge the learner to critically think through the social, political and historic reality within which he or she is a

presence" (Freire, 2004, p. 19). In this way, students are encouraged to exercise their capacity to question, criticize and debate so as to be critical of absolute truths and misleading appearances rather than just accepting the reality around them. It is important for all students, including those who differ in opinion with the majority, to express their views in respectful ways. Freire has identified specific conditions to guide these types of dialogues and promote a meaningful learning relationship within the classroom, creating spaces that must foster love, hope, faith, humility, trust and critical thinking (Khan, 2013).

As these dialogues are centered on these prerequisites, simplistic binary understandings of 'good vs. bad' and absolutist views that stem from extremist ideologies can be prevented among students, who instead come to accept the fact that people have alternative worldviews even if they themselves do not subscribe to them. Therefore, educational spaces must be critical of concepts of morality, only truths and perfect world orders so that students can make comparative judgments while exploring multiple possibilities, resulting in what Freire has termed as the process of conscientization. In this process, individuals "achieve a deepening awareness both of the sociocultural reality that shapes their lives and of their capacity to transform that reality" (Freire, 1985, p. 93). This allows students to realize and overcome the obstacles blurring their clear perception of the world around them. Conscientization can also avert young people away from radicalization by ensuring they are critical of all realities, including extremist ones that may be presented to them.

Another key aspect of critical pedagogy is that educators and students are considered to be equal and committed partners in learning. Teachers discover themselves as re-creators of reality through the reflection and actions that occurs within the classroom. In critical pedagogy, the educator is no longer merely the one who teaches, but the one who is taught and teaches back

in dialogue with the students.   The languages, histories, experiences and voices of all are taken seriously in class and the dynamics of everyday life are integrated within the curriculum (Giroux, 2006). In light of this, teachers may present controversial issues to the class without invariably being required to remain neutral on the topics. They can display a strong enthusiasm for the subject at hand. The educator and students then become jointly responsible for a process in which all grow and arguments based on authority are no longer valid (Freire, 2000). Dutch academics Trees Pels and Doret de Ruyter (2012) suggest that inclusive teaching approaches like this create a sense of community through cooperative learning and the development of democratic and justice-oriented ideals instead of accentuating assimilation and control. This in turn has a diminishing effect on the adoption of extremist ideologies and the onset of radicalization accordingly.

Critical pedagogy's quest for peace and justice can be tied back to the prevention of radicalization as well since these teaching principles attempt to fairly and critically confront conflicts and search for concrete solutions to them. As teachers aim to educate youth towards democratic citizenship with respect for the rights of others and acceptance of beliefs that are different from their own, the education received will cultivate values and dispositions that oppose radicalism and extremism (Pels & Ruyter, 2012). In this regard, as Giroux (2003) has pointed out, it is evident that national security which aims to maintain the peace and safety of its citizens cannot be limited to military security, for in vibrant democracies security also means "healthy, educated, and safe children...and communities" (p. 13). Critical pedagogy as a security measure in Canadian educational spaces can thus be a tool in preventing radicalization, a mechanism based on the democratic liberties of non-violence, mutual respect and open dialogue.

❖ **Methods**

This theoretical framework provides the foundation for addressing the three research objectives that were identified in the previous chapter. Through a qualitative analysis of the evidence derived from the educational experiences of Donald Andrews, Marc Lépine and Saad Khalid, these questions will be answered in the final two chapters of this study. Andrews, Lépine and Khalid have been chosen to display a diverse set of cases that is not specific to one ideology, religion or culture. Furthermore, these three profiles demonstrate that radicalization has occurred both prior to and post/911 in Canada and thus is not a new trend among Canadian youth. This type of triangulation, where validity of the research is maintained by collecting different data sets, aims to determine whether or not Canadian educational spaces have any bearing on the radicalization of Canadian youth (Bush, 2012).

Andrews, Lépine and Khalid each reached the final stages of radicalization in their early to mid-twenties as will be revealed in the next chapter, although the seeds of radicalization were planted earlier on. Apart from media reports, nothing substantial has been written on their radicalization processes and even less has been gathered on their educational experiences. However, the data that has been collected on each of these profiles for the purposes of this research has been done by critically appraising the evidence of other authors and therefore takes on an interpretivist framework that is socially constructed and based on personal subjectivities. Although interviewing individuals familiar with these three cases would have provided the richest data set, secondary sources such as newspaper articles and admissible evidence in court are used due to the contentious nature of the topic and the limitations of a study this size.

❖ **Summary**

This chapter offered the theoretical underpinnings necessary to determine if Canadian educational spaces have any influence on the radicalization of Canadian youth. By first unpacking how individuals, particularly young men, go through the radicalization process from adopting an extremist ideology to carrying out a violent act, insight was provided as to what causes youth to fall prey to radicalization. It was demonstrated that isolation, alienation and marginalization are common sentiments shared by those who search for personal fulfillment through the radicalization process. Keeping this in mind, applying a critical pedagogical lens to the radicalization process revealed a method that could counter these types of feelings among students within educational spaces. In classrooms that embrace critical pedagogy, where the personal experiences of students are drawn upon to foster inclusiveness and their critical minds are developed to be analytical of the realities presented before them, the chances of youth becoming susceptible to radicalization are likely to diminish.

As was highlighted in the outlining of the methodology, the following chapter will be a description of the profiles of Donald Andrews, Marc Lépine and Saad Khalid. These profiles will illustrate the height of their radicalization as youth, their personal backgrounds, their educational experiences and what has transpired since then. This will provide data for analysis in chapter four where it will be made evident that the three young men's educational experiences left them feeling disconnected, marginalized or alienated, acting as a catalyst for their radicalization process.

CHAPTER III: THE THREE PROFILES

Profile of Donald Andrews
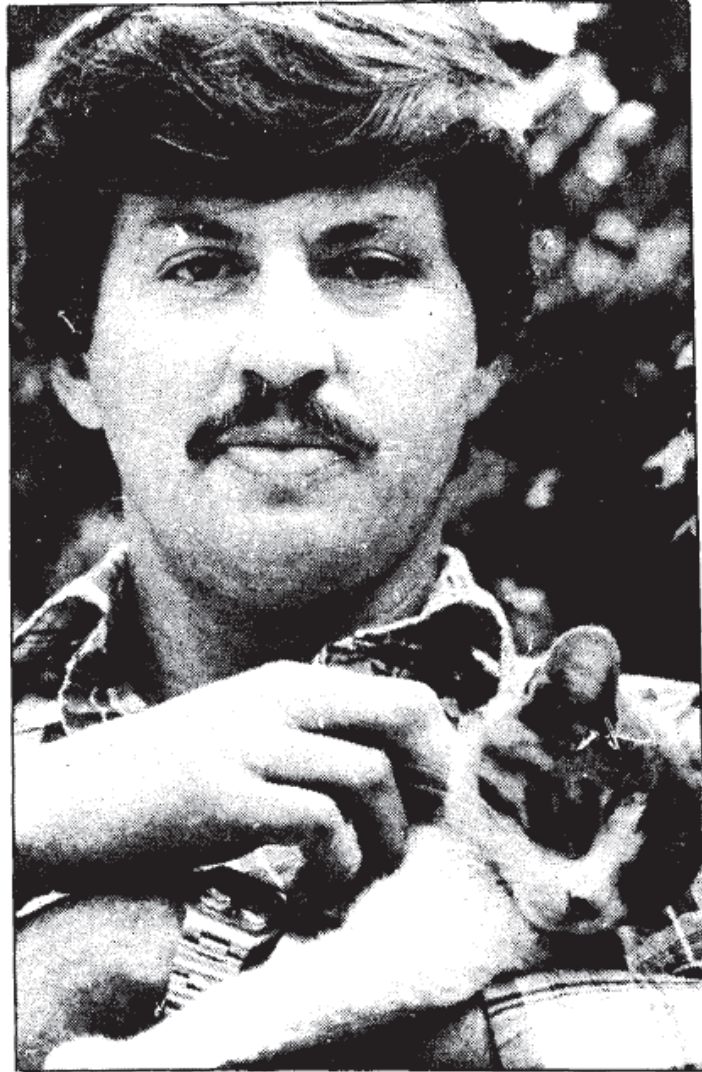
(Johnson, 1979)

❖ The Height of Radicalization: A Young Andrews Forms the Edmund Burke Society

Donald Andrews, at 25 years of age in February of 1967, formed the Edmund Burke Society (EBS) with fellow comrades Paul Fromm and Leigh Smith. The organization was named after Edmund Burke, the 18th century philosopher who is called the father of conservatism. The group defined itself as a political movement that was an active retort to the dangers of communism and what they believed to be the disintegration of Western society in Toronto, Ontario at the time. While supporting capital punishment, this new organization was firm in its views against abortion, sex education, gay rights, the notion of a one-world government, the welfare system, gun legislation and the immigration policies at the time under Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, whom they viewed as the 'communists' man' (Barrett, 1987). EBS thus aimed to resist these changes in their hopes for a better world by promoting a militant conservative activism, maintaining that although "they will never throw the first punch ... they'll be in there swinging if their jeers and taunts provoke left-wingers into striking out. So violence is the end result" (Devitt, 1971, para. 2). The Society supported the values of 'western civilization,' which they interpreted as individual freedom, limited government and free enterprise, which opposed communism, socialism and welfare-state liberalism (Barrett, 1987).

The organization published its own paper entitled the *Edmund Burke Society Bulletin*, later renamed as *Straight Talk*, which was sold on street corners. The articles in this paper were implicitly racist and anti-Semitic, describing Africans as "completely primitive" and referring to the Holocaust as an "allegation" (as cited in Cohen-Almagor, 2008, p. 230). The University of Toronto was initially the centre of the Society's activity, where it distributed books, pamphlets, postcards and films. The EBS also had a bookstore as its headquarters, which held Saturday morning and Monday evening lectures where Andrews and other prominent members would

speak. Andrews also appeared frequently on radio and television and gave talks in secondary schools. In terms of membership, Andrews has boasted that the organization had chapters in Windsor, Montréal, Ottawa, Edmonton and Vancouver, with formal chapters spreading to the campuses of York University, Sir George Williams University (now Concordia University), Carleton University and McGill University. According to Andrews, about one-third of the approximately 900 members were students and the remaining two-thirds were lower-middle or working class people. However, anthropologist Stanley Barrett (1987) found in his own data on seventy-four former members of the EBS that most of them had college or university education, as well as professional or white-collar occupations. One certainty was the large Eastern-European presence in the organization, many of whom were anti-communist refugees from the Ukraine and Baltic region. Nonetheless, the true success of the organization for Andrews was not measured in terms of membership numbers, but rather by the newspaper coverage and media attention it received (Barrett, 1987).

Accordingly, EBS members including Andrews infiltrated left-wing groups and organized dozens of counter-demonstrations whenever leftists were gathering to protest a cause, be it on the University of Toronto's campus or off. Often times, brawls ensued, such as the bloody encounter between EBS and Viet Cong supporters in April of 1968 outside the American consulate in Toronto and again in reaction to a similar anti-Vietnam war demonstration in May 1970. The ensuing violence in the latter instance resulted in widespread damage to property, numerous injuries and almost one hundred arrests (Kinsella, 1994). Also in 1970, in the Convocation hall at the University of Toronto, Québec union activist and leader Michel Chartrand and lawyer Robert Lemieux gave a talk on the aftermath of the 1970 War Measures Act. At the event, EBS members beat, clubbed and kicked several people in the audience, hurled

a stink bomb, threw stones through windows and sprayed the hall with a mace-like substance. The building caretaker was treated for temporary blindness due to the spray and a news reporter was hospitalized for being kicked in the head and abdomen (Sher, 1983).

Additionally, in 1971 a demonstration that took place at the Toronto Science Centre, where Soviet Premier Aleksei Kosygin was set to talk, resulted in chaos and violence when EBS members clashed with left-wing forces. The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) also made several formal complaints to the Toronto City Council, the chairman of the Metro Toronto Police Commission, as well as the attorney general of Ontario with regards to EBS hooliganism. This included attacks on the CPC's bookstore with bomb threats, the use of mace at its events, disrupting meetings, break-ins and vandalism. As a result of these violent activities and several others with similar political motives, members of EBS were convicted for a variety of crimes including theft, arson and countless assaults. Andrews had been charged a few times over these years but was never formally convicted during his involvement with the Society (Barrett, 1987).

❖ **Personal Background**

Donald (Don) Clark Andrews (birth name Vilim Zlomislic) was born in 1942 to Croat parents in the Serbian province of Vojvodina during the Second World War. In 1943, Andrews' mother Rose, like thousands of others, was shipped to Germany to work in a factory as a slave labourer for the Nazis. One-year old Andrews at the time was separated from his mother and placed in an orphanage (Barrett, 1987). Andrews' father was then killed by Nazi soldiers while fighting with the Partisans against the German occupation of Yugoslavia in late 1944.[3] The

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[3] In a recent interview, Andrews revealed that "it's hard to say who my father was, in fact. My mother was a real, shall we say... party girl. She enjoyed herself plenty, plenty. She had more men than she could shake a stick at, and they had to be just right dressed and all of that stuff. She ran 'em with like whips and things. She was a real Zsa Zsa Gabor" (Hong, 2014, para. 5).

following year, Rose was notified by German authorities that her son had been killed in an air raid on the orphanage. Despite being told this, she never truly believed that he had passed. After the war ended, Rose met and married Frederick Andrews, a Canadian working in a United Nations (UN) agency displaced persons' camp in Germany. Once his job with the UN had finished, the couple moved to Scarborough, Ontario, now a part of Toronto (Johnson, 1979).

As the young Andrews remained at the orphanage, he thrived with above-average intelligence and charm to the point where the people who ran the institution doted on him. By the time he was 7 years old, he had become an outstanding and committed member of the Young Pioneers, a Yugoslavian youth group instilling the beliefs of communism. At this age, his leadership potential won him a vacation at a camp along the Adriatic Sea to the west of what was considered Yugoslavia at the time. In the middle of his holidays, he had an accident falling from a dock in which he fractured his left thigh. Spending almost a year in the hospital to recover, the doctors ultimately failed to repair the damage and he was left with a limp (Barrett, 1987).

Rose, based on her instincts that her son had not passed, searched for Andrews after the war with the assistance of the Red Cross. Through the organization, she was able to locate him and bring him to Toronto in 1952 at the age of 10 (Barrett, 1987). Andrews in an interview admitted to his displeasure in coming to Canada, "kicking and screaming" all along the way (Bugajski, 2010, Don Andrews section, para. 7). When he met his mother who had tears in her eyes, she hugged him and he began to cry out of fear. A few days after his arrival, his mother discarded his birth name, Vilim Zlomislic, because it did not sound Canadian and re-christened him to be Donald Clarke Andrews (Johnson, 1979). As Andrews tried to adjust to a new way of life in Canada, quickly learning English, he grew increasingly negative about the Yugoslavia he left behind, to the point where communism became a phobia. Several attempts were also made

to mend his leg once he arrived in Canada, but he eventually developed osteomyelitis, a painful

bone disease leaving him with the limp for the rest of his life (Barrett, 1987).

❖ **Educational Experience**

Andrews had always been an excellent student throughout his educational career, with a

consuming interest in all topics and a passion to read. But after arriving in Canada and attending

school in Scarborough, Andrews recalls having found himself "the darkest kid in a freckle-faced

class" and was called "a black Dago" by his schoolmates (as cited in Hendley, 1997, para. 15).

In addition to being a foreigner brought up in a socialist country, Andrews felt he was different

from his peers due to the condition of his leg. Between the ages of 12 and 14, at time when most

kids were active and playing sports, Andrews was confined to the hospital and his home with a

brace on his leg. According to Barrett (1987), this injury compounded his dissimilarity from his

peers and Andrews in his isolation alternatively embraced books.

Andrews attended high school at R. H. King Collegiate Institute in Scarborough. There,

a history teacher remembered meeting Andrews at age 15 or 16 and believed him to be "one of

the most brilliant students [he had] ever encountered" (as cited in Johnson, 1979, para. 19).

Andrews was friendly and well liked by teachers and students in the school and showed no signs

of being violence-prone, but his history teacher described him as distinctly different. In one

history class about communism, he recalled that "a number of the students were a bit dewy-eyed

about the virtues of communism and the discussion got hotter and hotter. Finally Don jumped on

to a desk, took his pants down and showed the other students the scars he had from the botched

medical treatment he received in Yugoslavia" (as cited in Johnson, 1979, para. 20). He told his

classmates, "that's one of the beauties of communism" (as cited in Johnson, 1979, para. 21). The

history teacher described his leg as though it looked like "it had been clawed by a bear" (Johnson, 1979, para. 22). It was clear that Andrews blamed communism for his physical disability, leading to his strong hatred for the ideology.

Upon completing high school, Andrews enrolled at Ryerson Polytechnic Institute in Toronto in the public health inspection program. Andrews attended Ryerson due to the fact that it was the only post-secondary institute that offered him a scholarship, which he needed seeing as he refused to depend on his mother and stepfather for financial assistance. He moved into his own apartment and earned his qualifications by 1964 (Johnson, 1979). All throughout his studies, Andrews volunteered with various social groups and until the age of 21, he was a member of the New Democratic Party (NDP). However, Andrews went through a period of rethinking in his 20s and his reading concerning the history of the Second World War compelled him to leave the NDP (Barrett, 1987). During this time of self-education, Andrews continued to drop by his high school to visit his history teacher, bringing in pieces from the ultra right-wing John Birch Society to show him (Johnson, 1979).

Andrews' reading led him to despise all forms of totalitarianism as well, including communism. He also discovered racist literature at this youthful age, of which he claims former head of the American Nazi Party George Lincoln Rockwell's *White Power* had a great influence on him personally, paving the way for him to openly adopt far right fascist ideologies and proclaim that he too was a fascist (Barrett, 1987). His high school history teacher has expressed in the past that he viewed Andrews as a failure in his own teaching career since Andrews was never given the opportunity to attend university because of financial constraints. The educator believed that a university setting would have allowed Andrews to sharpen his wit and have a different life. His political ideologies were largely self-taught and according to the history

teacher, if in a critical environment, Andrews would have been discouraged from latching onto the simplistic solutions of the right-wing (Johnson, 1979).

❖ **Epilogue**

At age 30, while working as a public health inspector in Toronto, Andrews became the leader of the Western Guard political party. In February of 1972, EBS' polarized membership resulted in a name change to the more militant sounding Western Guard and as a result, several members resigned. Edmund Burke was no longer considered to be adequately representing the organization due to Andrews' and consequently the organization's more extreme ideologies, which now overtly drew on racist theories of white supremacy (Barrett, 1987). The Western Guard subsequently drew most of its members from the ailing Canadian Nazi Party. *Straight Talk* began openly calling for "a white Canada," featuring articles like "Race is the Real Issue," "Mongrelization of Toronto," "Negroes Massacre Whites," "Race Pollution" and "Canada—A White Man's Country" (Kinsella, 1994). Under the banner of the Western Guard, Andrews campaigned for mayor of Toronto in 1972, 1974, and 1976, gaining 1,958 (1%), 5,792 (4.6%) and 7,129 (5.3%) votes respectively. Andrews placed second both in 1974 and 1976 (Barrett, 1987). See *Appendix A* for Andrews' campaign pamphlet under the Western Guard.

Andrews also continued having trouble with the law due to the violence that resulted from his extremist views. In 1972, he was charged with threatening to murder a former member of the EBS, but the case was eventually thrown out of court. He was also acquitted of two separate charges of assault, one that involved a Jewish woman after the screening of a movie about Hitler's last days and another at a Toronto television studio in reaction to a black musical group performance. However, Andrews' luck ran out in 1976 after planning an arson plot to

disrupt the Israeli team during an Olympic soccer game. Andrews was charged with illegal possession of weapons and explosives, as well as mischief in relation to window-smashing and painting swastikas and racial slogans on synagogues and other buildings in Toronto. Andrews served ten months of a two year sentence and became the first person in Canada to be charged for willfully promoting hatred. Due to the conditions of his release from prison, Andrews was no longer able to associate with the Western Guard. He thus set up the Nationalist Party in 1977, which ideologically followed the same extremist lines. There he was joined by several Canadian Klu Klux Klan members (Sher, 1983). See *Appendix B* for an image of Andrews' business card as leader of the Nationalist Party in 1980.

Andrews' found himself in trouble with the law again after a search of his home in the mid-1980s, where police found eighty-nine hateful materials for distribution that included racist stickers and publications with anti-Semitic and white supremacist themes that condemned racial mixing and denied the Holocaust (Mock, n.d.).   Based on this evidence, Andrews was charged in 1985 with "unlawfully communicating statements ... which wilfully promote[d] hatred against an identifiable group" (R vs. Andrews, 1990, section I, para. 3). Andrews was sentenced to twelve months of incarceration, but his time was reduced to three months. Since then, Andrews has largely avoided legal troubles and earns his income as a landlord, owning several rooming-houses in the city of Toronto (Hendley, 1997). However, he continues to be the leader of the Nationalist Party of Canada since its formation and is a perennial candidate for mayor of Toronto. Andrews at age 72 is currently gearing up for the upcoming mayoral election in Toronto to be held in October of 2014.[4]

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[4] Andrews' 2014 official campaign website can be found at http://www.natparty.com/DA4M.htm.

Profile of Marc Lépine

(Page & Armstrong, 1989)

❖ **The Height of Radicalization: The École Polytechnique Massacre**

On December 6, 1989 Marc Lépine at age 25 strolled into the admissions office of École Polytechnique de Montréal. Lépine took a seat in the waiting area of the office holding on to a garbage bag that contained a 22 calibre gun and as staff offered him assistance, he quickly got up and walked away without responding to anyone (Gagné & Lépine, 2008). Then a few minutes past 5:00 pm, Lépine entered room C-230 with his gun, where a graduate level mechanical engineering class was being held for about sixty students. He then asked the men and women in the class to separate themselves from one another. Several of the students laughed, thinking Lépine was part of an end of the semester prank, but when he fired a shot into the ceiling, the approximately fifty men evacuated the room as Lépine had requested. Now alone with only the women, Lépine announced in French, "I am here to fight against feminism, that is why I am here." One of the students tried to rationalize with Lépine, stating, "look, we are just women studying engineering, not necessarily feminists ready to march on the streets to shout we are against men, just students intent on leading a normal life." Lépine responded, "you're women, you're going to be engineers. You're all a bunch of feminists. I hate feminists!" (as cited in Eglin & Hester, 2003, p. 50). At that moment, he fired a number of shots from left to right, killing six women and injuring the other three in the room (Gagné & Lépine, 2008).

Lépine then walked calmly out of the classroom and on route to the main-floor cafeteria, shot a young financial secretary at point-blank range through a glass, injuring several others in the hall as well. Once he got to the cafeteria, he killed three more women. From there, Lépine burst into room B-311, a fourth year mechanical engineer class with 60 odd students, where he began shooting, injuring several and killing four more women. Upon realizing that his last victim was not immediately dead and that he did not have enough time to refill his gun that only

had one bullet left, he stabbed this woman three times and then sat down next to her and shot himself in the head (Gagné & Lépine, 2008).   It is important to note, as was later revealed, that Lépine had visited the school at least seven times between October 1st, 1989 and the day of the massacre, which contributed to his familiarity with its layout. On the day itself, in the course of approximately 20 minutes, Lépine injured ten women and four men and took his own life as well as the lives of fourteen other innocent women, whose names are: Geneviève Bergeron; Hélène Colgan; Nathalie Croteau; Barbara Daigneault; Anne-Marie Edward; Maud Haviernick; Barbara Maria Klucznik; Maryse Laganière; Maryse Leclair; Anne-Marie Lemay; Sonia Pelletier; Michèle Richard; Annie St-Arneault; and Annie Turcotte (Eglin & Hester, 2003). See *Appendix C* for images of these women who so tragically lost their lives.

Police found a suicide letter dated for December 6th inside the pocket of the jacket Lépine was wearing during his murderous rampage, in which he explains that the massacre and his own suicide were "for political reasons" in opposition to feminists "who have always ruined [his] life" (as cited in Malette & Chalouh, 1991, p. 180). In the letter, he also indicated that as of the age of 18, he had felt no happiness in life. The letter also had a 'hit list' appended to it, where the names of nineteen prominent Québec women were listed whose fault in Lépine's view was that they had accessed what he believed to be male strongholds in society. Lépine wrote that he was unable to take their lives because of "a lack of time" (as cited in Malette & Chalouh, 1991, p. 181). See *Appendix D* for the full letter, which can easily be characterized as hate literature. The names of these nineteen women are excluded, many of who are still alive today.

❖ **Personal Background**

Marc Lépine (born Gamil Rodrigue Liass Gharbi) was born in Montréal, Québec on October 26, 1964 to Rachid Liass Gharbi and Monique Lépine (McDonnell et. al, 1989). His father, Gharbi, was originally from Algeria and was a non-practicing Muslim who worked as an aircraft electrician for Canadair. Monique came from a strict Catholic upbringing in Québec and was a nurse by profession. The couple eloped to get married in 1963 due to their different faiths and family disapproval. Monique recalls that immediately after the wedding, Gharbi's treatment of her, which had been emotionally abusive prior to the marriage, got much worse. In her memoir entitled *Aftermath*, Monique explains that "since I now 'belonged' to him, he apparently had no compunction about being violent: first with me and eventually with his children" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 51). She goes on to describe how, almost from birth, Lépine's life was filled with instability and violence as he moved at least fifteen times to places like Montréal, Puerto Rico and Costa Rica while the family tried to be close to Gharbi, who would often travel to the Caribbean on business (Gagné & Lépine, 2008).

Monique admits that the couple neglected Lépine as a child, to the point where they could have been reported to Child Protection Services, saying that his cries more often than not went unanswered, and as a result, he withdrew into silence. Gharbi never showed Lépine any affection due to the belief that it would spoil him and he tried to prevent Monique from doing the same. Gharbi was also physically abusive towards Lépine as a young child, sometimes leaving marks on his face that lasted a week and other times bloodying the child's nose (Staff and Canadian Press, 1989). Lépine's sister was born in 1967 and after a certain point, Monique decided to never leave her children alone with her husband again. Lépine's parents separated in 1971 but the long and lengthy divorce process took five years to complete. Gharbi had been

cheating on his wife for years and had a mistress and children outside of their marriage. Gharbi was able to see his two children on the weekends but after a meeting when Lépine was six and half years old, he decided he no longer wanted to see the father who had been so abusive. After this meeting, Lépine never saw his father again (Gagné & Lépine, 2008).

Forbidden to work during her marriage with Gharbi, Monique returned to her nursing profession full-time in order to provide for her two children even before the divorce was finalized. Monique then made the decision that, since she was away so often working full-time and taking evening classes for professional development, she would place her children with a surrogate family during the week and she would see her children on the weekends. She believed that her children would benefit from living in what she thought would be a normal home environment. Lépine and his sister lived with three different surrogate families over the course of six years (Gagné & Lépine, 2008). From 1975, and for several years following that, Monique and her two children visited a psychiatrist to help her with her parenting and better equip the family to express emotions such as love. However, all psychiatric assessments of Lépine during this time concluded that he did not demonstrate any irregularities in his personality (Weston & Aubrey, 1990a).

Once the divorce went through, a now 12 year-old Lépine and his sister asked Monique if they could go back and live with her. Since Monique was in a better financial situation, the three of them moved into a three-bedroom apartment together. However, Monique noticed that Lépine was withdrawn, unsociable, reserved and spent countless hours alone in his room. As a teenager, Lépine disliked being embraced by his mother, no matter what the occasion and always tried to avoid any such contact. Additionally, Lépine never had a good relationship with his sister, since she would always poke fun at him. The investigator on the case after the massacre even stated

that she "had made his life miserable by humiliating him and calling him gay because he didn't have a girlfriend" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 193). Then at the age of 14, with Monique's permission, Lépine officially changed his name from Gamil Rodrigue Liass Gharbi to Marc Lépine, ridding his father's name from his life forever. Under his new name, Lépine applied to join the Canadian Forces as an officer cadet in September of 1981 but was rejected during the interview process after being determined unsuitable for the position (Weston & Aubrey, 1990a). Two years later in 1983, Lépine began working part-time at St. Jude Hospital in Laval, where his mother was director for the senior care centre. Lépine was fired from this job in 1987 for aggressive behaviour and years later, continued to be frustrated by the fact that he was fired by a woman and that another woman had filled his position (Weston & Aubrey, 1990b).

❖ **Educational Experience**

From a very young age, Lépine received excellent marks on his report cards and academically thrived in school. It has been suggested that school was one of the few places where he felt successful. Lépine attended St. Thomas High School for the first three years of his secondary school and then the last two years at the Polyvalente des Sources. During his time at both these schools, Lépine never joined any school clubs or sports teams and was often isolated, sitting in the wooded area behind the schools to eat with one or two friends instead of eating in the cafeteria during lunch hour. In his typical anti-social nature, Lépine also never went to parties or school dances (Weston & Aubrey, 1990a). Very few of his high school teachers had any memory of him and those who did described him as nondescript. One of Lépine's high school math teachers had a rough memory of Lépine given that he particularly excelled in this subject area, even participating in a provincial math competition in his final year (McDonnell et.

al, 1989). The teacher remembered Lépine as a quiet kid who did not cause any problems, stating that "he was very usual, average, plain and typical" (Page & Armstrong, 1989, para. 19).

Several of Lépine's high school classmates recalled that he was abnormally shy, displaying mood swings and possible anger management issues in the classroom. However, Lépine's high school best friend believed that the only odd thing about him was the fact that he never breathed a word about his family, instead only talking about electronics. Another close high school friend also felt that Lépine was distant, keeping everything close to himself and never asking for help if he had a problem. Whenever he and Lépine "got onto the topic of emotions, he would withdraw completely, like a wounded animal that wanted to protect itself. He would never open up about his inner self" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 155). This close friend once asked Lépine if he knew where his father was and Lépine "glared at [him] and snapped that he didn't know, that he had probably gone back to Algeria, and [he] should mind my own business" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 155). He then realized that Lépine felt extremely uncomfortable discussing his feelings and anything to do with his father and was careful to avoid mentioning those topics from then on.

Lépine's high school best friend had gauged this discomfort from the time of his introduction to Lépine in grade 7, when he still had his father's name and hated the attention it drew. He recalled:

> On the first day of school, the teacher asked each student to stand up when he said his or her name. After a while he called out Gamil Gharbi. We all looked around to see who had such an unusual name, but nobody stood up. The teacher repeated the name and, again, nothing happened. After a long silence, a boy at the back of the class slowly got to his feet. Although red-faced with shame, he stared at us fiercely, daring us to mock him. He said 'Present' in a barely audible voice and sat back down (as cited in Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 129).

People noticed Lépine's name and often commented on it, many assuming that he was North African. Lépine was thus irritated having to explain that he was in fact born in Montréal and then discuss his parent's heritage, clearly bothered by being forced to talk about his father. Even Monique at the time of Lépine's name change knew that in addition to the fact that "he was fed up with being called an Arab by some kids at school," the constant reminder of his father bothered him as well (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 146).

In 1983, Lépine enrolled at Cégep de Saint Laurent for community college in the pure and applied sciences program. Lépine's marks were exceptional in college as well, even winning a mathematics competition at the school. His concerned mother inquired to see if her son demonstrated any anti-social behaviour in class, but when asked a math teacher responded, "no. He won't go to people, but if people are coming to him, he will be very kind with them" (Fillion, 2008, para. 42). The director of the college at the time said that a few teachers vaguely remembered Lépine. Those who did generally said he was a quiet student who received good marks. One of the department heads could not put a face to Lépine because he was considered to be a "low-profile student," even though he received the fourth highest mark in his course (as cited in Malarek, 1989, para. 14).

Lépine transferred into the electronics program in his fourth year, hoping to become a computer or electronics engineer professionally. However upon transferring, for the first time in his educational career, Lépine's academic performance dropped. At first he was taking six courses but dropped one and then ended up failing the rest. He took two summer courses and failed those as well. He then stopped going to his classes altogether without discussing it with anyone, not even the school administration (Weston & Aubrey, 1990b). All of this coincided with him moving out of his mother's house and into an apartment with his high school best friend

because Monique had to reduce her expenses. At the time, Lépine never demonstrated any resentment for having to move out; rather Monique thought he enjoyed the freedom. However, reports have indicated that Lépine's extreme anti-feminist stance became more pronounced after moving out, complaining to friends that women had ruined his life (Gagné & Lépine, 2008).

After quitting college in his final term, Lépine applied to the École Polytechnique for engineering in 1987 and again in the beginning of 1989. However, Lépine was rejected both times on account of the fact that his background in electronics was insufficient, missing two necessary college-level courses, one of which was in chemistry. In order to rectify this, Lépine took a computer course at Control Data Institute and also updated a night course in chemistry at the Cégep Vieux Montréal. In April of 1989, Lépine visited École Polytechnique to speak to an admissions officer about this matter, where he voiced his opinions about how wrong it was for women to be taking over the job market (Gagné & Lépine, 2008). Lépine's professor for the chemistry course he took in May of 1989 was under the impression that he had already been accepted into École Polytechnique, given that his grades were in the 90s range. This chemistry professor did recall though that Lépine always kept to himself, never talking to other students: "he wasn't very communicative. I have this picture in my mind of him in the corner of the classroom when after class he'd wait until everyone was gone before he'd leave" (as cited in Page & Armstrong, 1989, para. 12). A classmate in his chemistry class recalled that one day Lépine arrived with a story from a Montréal tabloid about a policewoman who had saved an old man from a burning house. Lépine announced that women were not big enough or strong enough to be on the police force and shared that he had been keeping track of the number of Montréal police women, having identified six from newspaper stories (Weston & Aubrey, 1900b).

All throughout Lépine's educational career, he had been passionately fond of books with hundreds of them piled in his room. His bedroom as a child was a miniature library of electronic magazines, volumes of how-to manuals, adventure stories and mountains of comic books. As he got older, his apartment had piles of books everywhere from floor to ceiling, even in his closet. Lépine also watched a lot of pay-TV movies which he recorded using his television and VCR, mainly of the horror and war genre. Lépine's obsession with movies about Adolf Hitler and Nazism eventually led him to admit to a friend that he was a fervent admirer of Hitler (Weston & Aubrey, 1990b).

❖ **Epilogue**

Lépine's body was cremated on December 13, 1989 and placed in a family plot. The following year, more female students than ever enrolled in the engineering program at École Polytechnique (McCormack, 1993). Seeking closure from the events that transpired eighteen years after the massacre had occurred, Monique visited the site of her son's death in an attempt to move on from the pain. As she was about to leave the school, the dean of the university during the time of the massacre handed her a leather folder with the school logo on the cover, saying that it was something they give to all first-year students. Monique knew that for her son "receiving this item would have meant a rare victory in a life filled with failure, a long-desired goal finally attained" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 174).

Profile of Saad Khalid
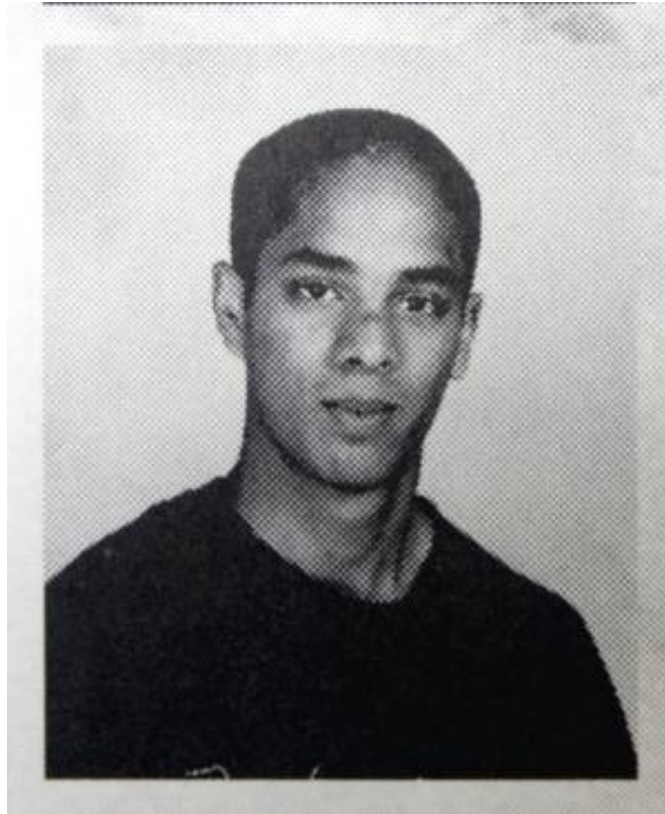
(Davison & Thompson, 2014)

❖ **The Height of Radicalization: The Toronto 18 Bomb Plot**

In August of 2005, two youth from Toronto, Ontario named Fahim Ahmed and Zakaria Amara, influenced by Islamic fundamentalism and frustrated by Canadian foreign policy in Afghanistan, began planning how they were going to attack the Western world so as to stand up for the struggles and suffering of the *ummah*[5] (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). Ahmed and Amara then developed links with extremists online in several countries including Pakistan, Britain, Bosnia, Scandinavia and the US. Once police began making arrests in their respective countries, the RCMP launched its own investigation with CSIS in November of 2005 named *Project Osage*, assigning a few undercover officers to eventually thwart Ahmed and Amara's plans (Bell, 2009).

A few weeks into the investigation, in December 2005, Ahmed organized a 12 day military-style winter training camp in Washago, located north of Toronto, inviting about fifteen males between the ages of 15 and 42 in order to select recruits for their plans. A 19 year old Saad Khalid, a high school friend of Ahmed and Amara, was one of the attendees. Two individuals with previous experience in the armed forces trained the group and gave lessons in military manoeuvres with paintball guns, camouflage gear and a 9-mm pistol (Teotonio, 2010c). See *Appendix E*, image 1 and 2, for police photographs from the Washago camp site where trees had been hit by paintballs and bullets. During the retreat, possible targets of attack were also identified by participants, which included the Toronto Stock Exchange (TSE), the CN Tower, the CSIS headquarters in Toronto and Parliament Hill in Ottawa. At the last target in Ottawa, the group planned to hold Members of Parliament hostage and behead them one by one on television until the Canadian government agreed to pull its troops out of Afghanistan and release all Muslim prisoners from federal penitentiaries (Haddad, 2010).

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[5] The term *ummah* is used to describe the global supra-national community of Muslims.

By March 2006, Amara felt none of the plans were materializing and was determined to work alone without Ahmed. Amara decided he would pack three 14-foot trucks with fertilizer bombs and detonate them during rush hour outside the TSE and the CSIS offices in downtown Toronto. In order to do so, he reached out to his friend Khalid for support. Amara requested Khalid to do reconnaissance work with a camera in the area of the two targets. Amara then purchased three tonnes of ammonium nitrate for the fertilizer bombs from a supplier, who was a federal undercover agent, and built a working detonation system on his own. Khalid was tasked with arranging a space to store the chemicals. After failing to find a discreet house to rent in order to store the explosive materials, a warehouse space was found in Newmarket, Ontario through a contact who also happened to be another undercover police officer (Teotonio, 2010b).

On the day of the delivery on June 2, 2006, Khalid was one of two tasked by Amara to unload the truck filled with chemicals at the warehouse. Upon delivery, Amara ordered them to: remove the substance from its original bags; repackage it into plain plastic garbage bags; stick coloured dots on the bags; place the bags inside cardboard boxes to be stacked high; and finally seal the warehouse door with candle wax so as to know if authorities had tampered with the material, which happened in London, England when police foiled the fertilizer bomb plot in March 2004. At 5:38 pm, an undercover officer masquerading as a truck driver arrived at the warehouse and stopped outside the storage unit in a white cube van that was filled with 125 bags of a substance disguised as the fertilizer ammonium nitrate. The driver greeted Khalid and his accomplice with a handshake and drove off. After about 30 minutes, as Khalid was reaching for another bag of fertilizer, a tactical unit swooped in with guns raised. Khalid shot his arms up in surrender and dropped to the ground so as to be handcuffed once the officers surrounded him and his partner (Teotonio, 2010d). See *Appendix F*, image 1 and 2, for police photographs of the

storage unit with the ammonium nitrate like substance as well as the cardboard boxes Khalid had lined with garbage bags. Following the initial two arrests, police officers positioned themselves around Toronto and took a total of 18 suspects involved in the plot into custody, coining the moniker the 'Toronto 18' (R. vs. Khalid, 2009).

❖ **Personal Background**

Saad Khalid was born on August 12, 1986 in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. His parents were originally from Pakistan. Khalid, the middle of five children, spent the first eight years of his life in Saudi Arabia with his parents and siblings. His father worked in computers and his mother was a homemaker. With a loving family, Khalid had a happy childhood and was very social playing sports, videogames and watching cartoons. His family moved to Canada in the winter of 1995 in order for the children to receive a better education. Since the family was not Arab, the children were unable to receive post-secondary education in Saudi Arabia. Khalid has recalled not wanting to leave his friends in Saudi Arabia at 8 years old, even though he made new friends easily with his social personality. Once the family arrived in Canada, they lived with his father's aunt in an apartment complex in Mississauga to the west of Toronto. Khalid's father joined them about a year later and the family eventually moved into their own apartment. Although Khalid was raised in a Muslim household where religion was a part of life and he had a belief in God, he was not interested in his faith, often sleeping through the Quran classes he attended regularly as a child (Ramshaw, 2009).

When Khalid was 15, his mother passed away as a result of cardiac problems. He returned home from school one day finding paramedics trying to revive his mother, whose body was found submerged under water in the bathtub. Khalid was close to his mother and believed

that her loss made him stronger as a person (Teotonio, 2010a). After his mother's death, he spent more time at home supporting his younger brother and sister and cut down on his sports. Khalid's father remarried in 2005 and Khalid has described his stepmother as a "nice lady (with a) good heart" (as cited in Ramshaw, 2009, p. 8). That same year, Khalid became exposed to the online videos of American born Islamic militant Anwar al-Awlaki, whose fundamentalist interpretation argued that all Muslims were obligated to fight in the name of Islam (Crelinsten, 2012). Through this, Khalid came to believe that he had a religious obligation to help the Muslim peoples' global struggle for self-determination and wanted to be a part of making this difference. He initially thought he would go overseas to fight, but did not have any connections or specific plans and assumed he could make a bigger statement in Canada (Ramshaw, 2009).

❖ **Educational Experience**

Khalid attended an American school until the age of 8 in Saudi Arabia. After moving to Canada, he changed elementary schools a number of times, in part due to relocating, and thus was forced to make new friends with each move. However, Khalid's involvement in sports like soccer and cricket helped him make friends rather quickly. In elementary school, Khalid's academic performance was fairly average, receiving B grades, but he had been in two fights with same boy in grade 4 and was jumped by another two boys in grade 5 for unclear reasons. Khalid also remembered being confronted by a boy who asked his friend why they were hanging out with a 'paki'. By the time Khalid reached grade 8, he avoided Muslim students at school altogether since he believed "others were cooler" (as cited in Ramshaw, 2009, p. 11).

In September of 2002, Khalid began high school at Meadowvale Secondary School in Mississauga. He now placed an emphasis on becoming friends with the 'cool people.' He tried

"to hang out with whoever look[ed] cool...popular guys...cool black guys" (as cited in Ramshaw, 2009, p. 8). In grade 9, he then began to spend his time with kids who would get into trouble with the administration and skip class. Khalid considered them to be cool, well liked by girls and similar to him given that they played sports just like he did (Teotonio, 2009). Since Khalid kept a distance from the other Muslims at his school during this time, he was ignorant of the teasing Muslim students like his future friend Ahmed endured in the post-9/11 context. Within the walls of the school, Muslim girls had their hijabs pulled off their heads and others were being beaten up, bullied and teased with jokes about 'pakis', 'arabs' and terrorists (Gojer, 2010). Khalid's focus at the time however was to become popular so as to ensure that he was well liked.

When Khalid entered grade 11, he felt he had become more popular and got into more fights because of the ego he had developed. He explained: "if a guy says he wanna fight... [I have a] reputation to hold up" (as cited in Ramshaw, 2009, p. 9). Khalid was expelled from school due to a fight and was also suspended for jumping off the bleachers during a cricket game. He has denied that serious harm ensued from any of these fights. In terms of academics, Khalid was often absent from class and always tried to take easy courses, although he claims to have maintained good relationships with his teachers. Having failed two courses in his first year, he had to attend summer school. Khalid's father had been very upset that he had failed since he placed a high value on education. He then spent two years in grade 12 after failing grade 9 and 10 math, as well as grade 12 calculus. In his final year of high school though, Khalid took his studies more seriously in hopes of attending university (Ramshaw, 2009).

At the end of his first year in grade 12, Khalid began to embrace his religious identity as he searched for a deeper meaning to life. After falling out with some of his peers, his circle of friends changed and he began spending time with a younger group of Pakistanis at school who

prayed five times a day. Although he found it strange at first, his interest to learn more about Islam was piqued and he started joining in prayer with them. This eventually led to developing friendships with Ahmed and Amara as Khalid became involved in the school's Muslim Student Association. Khalid, Ahmed and Amara also had their own blog called the Meadowvale Brothers where they would share everything from thoughts on final exams, movies, music and their views on Islam (Toetonio, 2010a).

Additionally, Khalid established the Religious Awareness Club at his high school where he would preach about martyrdom during the lunch hour in the drama room and also lead Friday prayers (Shepard & Toetonio, 2006). A former student attended sermons led by Khalid where he remembered being pressed about what he planned to do for his Muslim brothers overseas (Toetonio, 2009). Other schoolmates have recalled that the fringe group of Khalid, Ahmed and Amara began dressing more traditionally and were more withdrawn as they visited the Ar-Rahman Islamic Learning Centre together in between classes and after school to hear the Centre's janitor speak on topics like Muslim suffering at the hands of the West (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). At the time of his arrest, Khalid was enrolled in the business management program at the University of Toronto, Mississauga campus. He was hoping to transfer into commerce, but his grade point average was just below the requirement. Khalid had vague plans for a career in economics but his exposure to al-Alwlaki's videos online took him down a different path (Ramshaw, 2009).

❖ **Epilogue**

During a search of Khalid's home after his arrest, police found cameras, circuit boards, wires, a lease agreement for the storage unit, as well as USB stick with the following texts

downloaded on to it: *The Book of a Mujahideen*, *Fundamental Concepts Regarding Al-Jihad,*

The Book of Jihad, The Exposition Regarding the Disbelief of the one that assists the Americans,

and *The Virtues of Jihad*. The same texts were found on a laptop in the bedroom. Then in May

of 2009, Khalid at age 22 entered a guilty plea to the charge of "intent to cause explosion likely

to cause serious bodily harm or death or damage property" (R. vs. Khalid, 2009, section 3). In

the days leading up to the trial, two letters were written to Justice S.B. Durno offering Khalid

immediate employment in construction whenever he was released. Sixty-four relatives, friends

and community members also contributed over $63,000 towards an educational trust fund for

Khalid upon his release. At the hearing, Durno stated that he could not "recall ever seeing as

impressive a display of support and encouragement from family and community members for an

offender on a sentencing hearing" (R. vs. Khalid, 2009, section 62). However in September of

2009, Khalid's preparedness to engage in the indiscriminate killing and injury of innocent people

led to a sentence of 14 years with credit for time served, for an additional seven years behind

bars. The Crown appealed the sentence and in December 2010, the Ontario Court of Appeal

increased his prison sentence to 20 years (Thomson & Ahluwalia, 2014).

Since his incarceration, Khalid has taken high school courses in math and philosophy, a

university preparation course, as well as an Arabic course. He also reads novels and religious

texts avidly. Between 2010 and 2013, Khalid worked closely with Imam Ramzy Ajem for

rehabilitation purposes at Millhaven Institution, the correctional facility that currently holds

Khalid. Most recently in 2013, Khalid began letter exchanges with two Canadian media sources,

the CBC and the Toronto Star, in which he apologizes to Canadians for the wrong he committed

and admits that his understanding of religious texts at the time were incorrect (Gillis, 2013;

Thomson & Ahluwalia, 2014).

❖ **Summary**

This chapter aimed to demonstrate the heights Andrews, Lépine and Khalid's radicalization process reached, which is evident when considering that Andrews' formation of the radical extremist group EBS as a youth only led to the outright adoption of even more extreme neo-Nazi ideologies later in life; Lépine's anti-feminist stance resulted in the death of 15 individuals, including his own; and Khalid's active participation in the bomb plot driven by Islamic fundamentalism not only took a toll on the Canadian government's resources, but also could have resulted in mass casualties and damage unseen in Canada to date. Although the personal backgrounds of these three cannot be ignored when it comes to understanding what fuelled their radicalization, the next chapter will analyze their school experiences in order to determine what their educational spaces could have done to help them deal with their sentiments of marginalization and alienation.

CHAPTER IV: ANALYSIS

These three profiles in the previous chapter demonstrate that the educational spaces Andrews, Lépine and Khalid were exposed to in Canada not only reinforced the sentiments of isolation they were already experiencing in their personal lives, but did little to counter them. Ultimately, this would play a role in their respective radicalizations. In this chapter, common patterns regarding their experiences of alienation and marginalization in school will be drawn upon so as to establish a grounded theory about how educational spaces impact the radicalization process, predominantly in terms of the adoption of extremist ideologies. Davies (2009) indicates that it is of course difficult to find a precise educational experience that propels youth into extremism, but she maintains that experiences of exclusion in school are a feature in some instances. This notion will be affirmed when examining the profiles of these three individuals.

At the height of their radicalization as youth, Andrews, Lépine and Khalid spent most of their time in public school like many other adolescents, as opposed to alternative public institutions. Within this space, any unacknowledged alienation and emotional vulnerability has the potential to lead to interminable conflict (Goffman, 1967). This is not surprising given society's general disregard for the voices and experiences of its youth, contributing to their overall sense of social marginalization. To this effect, this chapter will demonstrate that despite their differences in circumstances, Andrews, Lépine and Khalid shared a remarkable consistency in their search for an identity and meaning in life due to the isolation they experienced in their educational spaces. In line with the philosophies of critical pedagogy, education should be providing students with critical knowledge that offers them hope to shape the conditions that impact their lives (Giroux, 2001). This chapter will make clear that in these three instances, little hope was offered within the classroom setting and thus, these young men searched elsewhere

when it came to finding support for the formation of their identities, a set of values to abide by and a larger sense of purpose in bringing about the changes they believed in.

❖ **Identity Construction**

Giroux (2003) argues that education is in part about the creation of identities. Educational spaces accordingly mediate the identity construction of their students as youth actively seek to situate themselves in their surroundings. When these spaces fail to recognize the worth of some students, it can lead them to look for alternative ways of validation. This is done by reconciling their place in the world with their own personal experiences (Tonso, 2009). Such was the case with Andrews, Lépine and Khalid, who struggled to construct their identity as they searched for direction in their lives. The identities they developed as youth, regardless of whether they were influenced by racism, sexism or religious fanaticism, were fluid and conditional as with all identities (Davies, 2008). With this in mind, having access to educational environments that echoed the tenets of critical pedagogy could have interrupted their adoption of extremist ideologies. This would have been accomplished by reaffirming their identities, providing an open place for dialogue, establishing a sense of self-worth and confidence within them, as well as endorsing spaces of inclusivity.

King and Mohamed (2011) suggest two dimensions that relate to the barriers Andrews, Lépine and Khalid faced when it came to identity integration within their school settings. These two obstacles are those that are firstly internal to the individual, where they struggle to establish a liberated identity within themselves, and secondly those that are external to them, which are dependent on the level of acceptance they receive from others. Andrews' internal struggle came from his inability to resolve his two different worlds, one of which was being raised in the

socialist country of Yugoslavia and the other, managing the cultures and traditions of Western society. With his mother's rejection of his Yugoslavian birth name upon his arrival in Canada at the age of 10 and the impairment of his leg which he blamed on his home country and its communist way of life, Andrews' as a child chose to discard the identity of his homeland all together.

Andrews' outburst in his high school history class on the topic of communism, where he jumped on a desk and pulled down his pants to show his classmates the scars from his failed surgeries, was the direct result of bottling up his resentment towards Yugoslavia.   The history teacher believed that Andrews' escalation towards extreme right-wing ideologies was because he "was simply a victim of the circumstances in Europe from which he emerged" (Barrett, 1987, p. 105). However, he overlooked the fact that Western education's logic of identity is generally based on sameness, which in Toronto at the time meant Anglo-Saxon, and Andrews did not relate to this.   Had Andrews' educators recognized and discussed his personal histories, experiences and cultural knowledge from the past that were clearly marginalized in the classroom, he would have felt more liberated in his identity and ceased to internally repress his Yugoslavian self. This in turn would have instilled a more open-minded identity within him and possibly minimize the potential for his radicalization.

The internal barriers to Lépine's identity construction were the multiplicity of frustrations he was unable to overcome on his own that left him closed-off and reserved. These grievances included the physical abuse he suffered as a child, his parents' divorce, living separate from his mother for years and the poor family dynamics that ensued.   One of the ways in which he tried to resolve this was by changing his name at the age of 14 in a failed effort to disassociate himself from anything to do with his father and accordingly his Muslim heritage. Lépine's mother "was

concerned about what this meant for his self-esteem and tried, unsuccessfully, to help him feel better about himself" (Gagné & Lepine, 2008, p. 146). She was fully aware of his desire to be someone different than himself.

Lépine's frustrations eventually led to self-contempt, ultimately pulling him away from himself and overlooking the liberating future he could have had. In the coroner's report after the massacre, psychologists concluded that Lépine's violent imagination was an attempt to compensate for an overall sense of helplessness and incompetence despite his academic success (Sourour, 1991). Since Lépine was incapable of pinpointing his anger, he often "blamed women in general for most of the disappointments in his life," as his high school best friend had recalled (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 132). Lépine's educational spaces provided no place for dialogue so that he could unravel or even express the internal distress that was linked to his social alienation and prevented him from feeling emancipated. Although educators are not meant to take up the role of psychiatrists, Lépine's school environment could have provided him with support and established some sense of self-worth and empowerment in him. Even though he academically excelled in school most of his life, he continued to have a low opinion of himself and lacked self-confidence, something he hoped to resolve as he underwent his radicalization process.

Unlike Andrews and Lépine, Khalid had very few internal obstacles when it came to forming his identity. Dr. Lisa Ramshaw (2009), in her psychiatric evaluation of him, concluded that Khalid demonstrated extremely pro-social characteristics in and out of school, with his involvement in sports, being well-liked by his peers and having the support of a loving family. Although he did experience some emotional vulnerability after his mother's death, there are no indications that he ever felt confined, restricted or unhappy about any aspects of his internal identity. Khalid did distance himself from other Muslim students for a few years, but this was

due to external barriers that will be discussed below. When Khalid decided to embrace his Muslim identity towards the last years of high school in his search of a deeper meaning in life, no evidence suggests that he internally struggled to marry his new religious identity with his old Western self.

Khalid's educational space at Meadowvale Secondary School did support his newfound identity and the identities of his peers by providing a room for him to lead Friday prayers and endorsing clubs like the Muslim Students Association and his own Religious Awareness Club where he would often preach sermons. However, since these clubs had no exchanges with or involvement from the school staff, the teachers and administration were oblivious to the seeds of extremism and militancy that were being planted within these walls. Educators lost what could have been influential teaching moments in these spaces, with the potential to discard absolutist and extremist beliefs by guiding students through a reasoning process of questioning, criticizing and debating. Even if the school lacked the resources of a supervisor who had specific knowledge about Islam, the supervisor and students could have been jointly responsible for learning more about the faith. Ultimately, had the situation been managed with open dialogues that involved school officials and students, the formation of the Toronto 18 could have been prevented from the onset.

External barriers to identity construction on the other hand are those that concern acceptance from others. Colonel John M. Venhaus (2010) of the US Army, in his special report to the US Institute of Peace, indicates that the strength of one's personality rests on the formation of a satisfying identity. For adolescents, this is comprised of an almost universal desire to characterize oneself by a group identity. Belonging defines the individual and their interactions with society, but in order to achieve this, the norms of group identity and the acceptance of peers

are crucial. Andrews experienced social isolation within his educational space when he first arrived in Canada as a child, as he was ridiculed with names like "black Dago" and was unable to participate in activities with his classmates due to the condition of his leg. Given that he initially did not feel accepted by his peers, Andrews retreated inwards and turned towards books to find solace. It is clear that if these were the sentiments that resonated with Andrews, his educational space failed to be inclusive of his differences. School systems generally do not include all students and oftentimes otherness gives rise to uncertainty and fear (Freire, 2004). This of course should have been countered by educators to ensure that Andrews felt accepted for what he was, which could have possibly reduced the resentments that contributed to his radicalization. In high school though, as he continued to excel academically, Andrews was generally well liked by other students. However, there is no record of him forming any close friendships with his peers in school.

Lépine on the other hand struggled to be accepted by others throughout his life and thus faced several external barriers when it came to identity formation within his educational spaces. As was highlighted in his profile in the previous chapter, although Lépine had a few close friends in secondary school, he was mainly isolated from his other classmates. Those who would remember him described him as abnormally shy. Even among his high school and college teachers, although he was a student with high marks, the majority of them had very little memory of him, attesting to the fact that none of them took notice of him or his interests. Freire (2000) frames this sentiment as cultural schizophrenia, when an individual is "present and yet not visible, being visible and yet not present" (p. 11). This level of alienation within the classroom demonstrates how Lépine's educational spaces failed to be inclusive of him or his differences. These spaces did little to minimize his discomfort with his birth name, which was externally

exacerbated by the comments of his classmates and the questions and explanations he had to provide to justify that he was in fact born and raised in Montréal. Lépine was ultimately unable to overcome the lack of belonging he felt in life, especially after his second rejection from École Polytechnique's engineering program. Not being admitted into the program drove him through the radicalization process to the final stage of politically motivated violence. Perhaps if Lépine felt more included in his school community at the elementary, secondary or college level, this rejection may not have pushed him over the edge to the point where he took his own life and the lives of 14 others.

For Khalid, the external barriers in terms of a constant desire to be accepted had a significant impact on the formation of his identity, particularly within the context of his educational spaces. Early on in his life in Canada, Khalid realized that associating with other Muslim students at school would contribute to his own social exclusion. Since becoming popular was a priority for Khalid, he understood that reminding others of his difference as a Muslim would prove to be an obstacle to fitting in and being well-liked by his classmates; having other students label him as a 'paki' would be detrimental to his reputation. This problematic mentality was not countered by the educational space in which name calling like this persisted. Khalid was then determined to befriend the 'cool kids' at his school and as he rose to popularity with an increased acceptance within the student body of the school, he became implicated in more school fights. His group identity now provided him with an outward symbol for his affiliation and defined him in the eyes of his schoolmates.

With the loss of his mother, there is insufficient evidence to suggest whether or not Khalid's 'cool' group of friends were able to provide him with adequate support at the time. However after her passing, Khalid did undertake a new quest for meaning in his life and his

desire to belong turned him towards a new more fringe circle of friends whose behaviours and attitudes he internalized in an attempt to assimilate into the group. Khalid began to dress, pray and participate in the same extracurricular activities as his new friends Amara and Ahmed, who would later exploit his desire to belong as a way to speed up his radicalization. Of course, Khalid's educational spaces provided no room to discuss his constant desire to belong and failed to establish a sense of confidence in who he was as an individual.

❖ **Adopting Extremist Ideologies**

Individuals like Andrews, Lépine and Khalid who experience challenges to their identity construction have a greater tendency to find comfort in extremist ideologies that justify and encourage violence. This is especially true since their feelings of isolation lead them to seek out oversimplified solutions to resolve the dilemmas in their lives (Silber & Bhatt 2007; Hoffer, 1951). All three young men reached a point in their radicalization where belief in their respective ideologies became so intense that any rational argument was impossible. However, when these ideas are adopted by young people, educational spaces can provide a site to explore and decipher politically motivated ideologies before they become entrenched within youth. Davies (2009) has suggested though that formal education does little to prevent people from embracing such ideologies because of the flawed perspective that tackling different belief systems undermines respect and tolerance in the classroom. It is true that, as per Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), students have the right to freedom of religion and belief and can thus believe in whichever ideologies they prefer (Miller, 2012). Despite the fact that Andrews, Lépine and Khalid's convictions were abhorrent, they still maintained the right to believe in them, although they had no right to act on them given that they

infringed on the rights of others. But all beliefs, particularly those that are political in nature, must be discussed in the classroom in an open environment.

Andrews' political ideologies about the injustices of communism evolved into his characterization of a white supremacist. He was and continues to be focused on the maintenance of the white race, believing that white Canadians with European heritage are in disadvantaged positions due to the increasing number of non-white immigrants in Canada (Hong, 2014). Lépine too was of the belief that as women gained greater access to male strongholds in society, the system of male privilege was endangered. He was convinced that women should stay at home to care for their family and thought many professional positions should be reserved for men alone (Gagné & Lépine, 2008). Khalid on the other hand saw a disadvantaged situation in the cultural-religious contrast between the West and the Muslim world, particularly in terms of the power politics involved. Khalid believed he had a religious obligation to do whatever it took to improve the situations of Muslims across the globe (Ramshaw, 2009). The uncritical single acceptance of these views is where education could have come into play to counter the three ideologies through political and religious literacy.

Senior intelligence analysts for the NYPD, Mitchell Silber and Alvin Bhatt (2007), have established that the catalyst for adopting a new extremist ideology is a cognitive opening or crisis that shakes one's confidence in previously held beliefs and opens them to be receptive to new worldviews. This is usually experienced by individuals who are at a crossroads in their life or are trying to establish an identity while seeking approval and validation. Andrews' certainty in his communist way of life in Yugoslavia was replaced with bitterness after injuring his leg and moving to Canada, where the political philosophies were much different from his home country. According to Barrett (1987), Andrews was unable to exist without a total ideology to sustain him

and as a result, his rejection of communism led him to search for a different ideology to grasp on to, eventually pushing him towards the extreme right-wing. For Lépine, although he always had preconceived notions about women, his desire to belong and eventual social alienation turned his impressions over time into an outright hatred. His rejection from École Polytechnique led him to transform the women, who filled spots he believed he had a claim to, into symbols of his frustration because of their choice to study the traditionally male occupation of engineering. Lépine then deliberately set out to kill his non-instigating target, which were the women he categorized as feminists, in order to right the injustice he saw in his eyes (Sourour, 1991).

The catalyst for Khalid's extremist ideas on the other hand was the loss of his mother. Her death led him to turn to his religion to find both comfort and an increased sense of meaning in life. He then experienced a political crisis through his exposure to the lectures at the Islamic Learning Centre and the online videos of extremist al-Alwlaki, both of which highlighted the global political grievances of international conflicts involving Muslims. The extremist ideologies Andrews, Lépine and Khalid ended up adopting were used as props to help them get through their days and overcome the lack of purpose and power they felt over their lives. By nursing fanatical grievances, Andrews was able to blame communism for the condition of his leg, Lépine could hold women responsible for his unhappiness and Khalid found meaning in his life through Islamism. The hostility and close-mindedness of these three came out of fear for new ideas and the potential for personal loss this could represent.

None of the views Andrews, Lépine or Khalid had adopted were discussed within a classroom setting. In accordance with the lines of critical pedagogy, if multiple truth claims had been challenged so that they thought more critically about existing social, political and economic arrangements, the chances for their radicalization could have been minimized. These three

young men should have been provoked within their educational spaces to deliberate, resist and cultivate a range of competencies that enabled them to be critical of the world around them without insisting on a fixed set of meanings like extremist ideologies. Although Andrews and Lépine were extraordinary at excelling at the approved syllabus content and the safe topics that teachers would cover in class, their educational experience failed to enable them or Khalid for that matter to develop a critical mindset. Had alternative multicultural worldviews been discussed in the classroom setting that encouraged openness, respect, listening, reflection and a critical examination of their beliefs, their political naivety and blind acceptance of 'one-size fits all' solutions may have been prevented.

Instead, the educational spaces Andrews, Lépine and Khalid found themselves in focused on topics that were separate from their experiences and detached from their realities of isolation. Freire (1985) argues that educators in such instances alternatively transfer knowledge, social relations and other concrete cultural forms that have a tendency to dominate and actively silence students. He refers to this as domestication, where students internalize their isolation and ultimately participate in their own oppression. Under these conditions, educators embrace the banking concept of education where their knowledge is bestowed upon the student who is considered to know nothing (Freire, 2000). These kinds of contradictions thus lead passive students like Andrews, Lépine and Khalid to turn against their domestication and attempt to domesticate reality according to their own radical terms.

It is also important to consider that for Andrews and Khalid, the strength of their dedication to their ideologies was in part due to their affiliation with like-minded individuals as group dynamics, like those found within EBS and the Toronto 18, acted as a "force-multiplier for radical thought" (Silber & Bhatt, 2007, p. 9). However all three youth, especially Lépine, were

influenced by aspects of lone-wolf radicalization as they chronically exposed themselves to extremist literature and videos. This is particularly alarming from an educational standpoint given the horizontal nature of this kind of knowledge and the lack of questioning that goes into the adoption of such ideas. Extreme brutality can be easily taught to individuals, especially when the learning is being done in separate silos that have no room for critical thinking. Andrews' history teacher recalled having seen Andrews' intelligence turn on him, emphasizing the "danger in self-education. You're isolated; you don't have the benefit of criticism" (as cited in Johnson, 1979, para. 25). The culture of violence that students are generally exposed to in our society is dealt with neutrally within the educational system, mostly due to the a-critical way subjects are taught within the classroom (Nef, 2003). This is evident when considering that the violence Andrews witnessed in Yugoslavia, the abuse Lépine had suffered as a child and the lectures Khalid attended at the Islamic Centre that encouraged violence in the name of Islam were not discussed with their educators.

❖ **Status & Change Seekers**

Due to the alienation and marginalization Andrews, Lépine and Khalid experienced within their educational spaces, all three youth had an inner desire to be needed by a larger cause, wanting to influence a type of change and be part of a movement that was bigger than themselves. Their subjective opinions of relative deprivation and intense dissatisfaction with the unfair treatment they perceived all contributed to their determination for change. These three young men also sought out the admiration of others; a kind of status and fame unparalleled by the achievement of an ordinary life. They were susceptible to this appeal as they transitioned from adolescence into young adulthood, trying to position themselves relative to those they saw around them.

Andrews, having felt he was in a world that did not understand or appreciate him as he perceived himself, always needed recognition and craved the centre of attention. The extreme right-wing ideologies he continues to hold on to is just one way to make himself into a leader that people would notice (Barrett, 1987). Status was clearly something Andrews desired, as he believed that had he stayed in Yugoslavia, he would have become a Communist commissar. This indicates that regardless of the ideology, he yearned to be a looked up to and have the respect and appreciation that came with it. In his work as a youth with EBS, in addition to striving for what he perceived as the betterment of Canadian society, Andrews felt that he gave members of the EBS something to believe in. Accordingly, he attested to the fact that he had already "won a place, however small, in Canadian history" (Johnson, 1979, para. 3).

Lépine, like Andrews, displayed narcissistic features with his need for a great deal of positive attention from others. After the massacre, psychologists deduced that Lépine was also highly self-critical and sensitive to failure and rejection, never believing he could succeed if someone thought negatively of him (Sourour, 1991). Detectives found that Lépine, fully aware of his actions and his larger political struggle against women, was determined to get his message across and go down in history (Gagné & Lépine, 2008). Khalid too wanted to bring about change with his actions in order to address the challenges Muslims were facing globally. The image of the heroic warrior was that marketed to him at the Islamic Learning Centre and on the internet through al-Awlaki's videos convinced him that he could make a bigger difference for the cause in Canada. He believed that going over to Afghanistan to fight would have made him one more person among thousands, which did not provide him with sufficient recognition (Thompson & Ahluwalia, 2014). Moreover, Khalid also had a desire to be famous one day,

needing to emulate powerful and influential leaders like al-Awlaki and Malcolm X (Ramshaw, 2009).

The shortcoming of their educational spaces in this regard was their failure to demonstrate to these three students that there were alternative ways to achieve status and bring about change in society than through violent means. Freire (2004) indicates that education should serve for "world transformation and of critical insertion within the world" (p. 36). With this in mind, Andrews, Lépine and Khalid should have been encouraged by educators to be critical thinkers with the ability to analyze existing institutions while striving for a better life for the majority of people through non-violence. Their radicalization could have been prevented had they understood that they were able to transform hope and politics of youth into a project of democratic social transformation (Giroux, 2001). By encouraging moral and civic agency among students, notions of engaged citizenship provide a better way to go about activating social change than extremism. However, it is unclear if Andrews, Lépine and Khalid's educational spaces drew on these ideas of liberal democracies, making it understood that the average person has the opportunity to participate in the decision making process. Andrews though uses this outlet to get his messages across today as he continues to run for mayor of Toronto.

❖ **Summary**

This chapter established through the cases of Andrews, Lépine and Khalid that educational spaces impact the radicalization process by contributing to the isolation of already alienated and marginalized youth. As all three youth demonstrated sentiments of insecurity in their identity and were looking for a way out of the burdens of autonomous existence, their educational spaces did little to provide them with a sense of direction. When turning to extremist

ideologies to find what they were missing in their lives, their educational environments also failed to guide them to question the foundations of their new beliefs. The next and final chapter will conclude by suggesting possible ways of preventing this occurrence within Canadian educational spaces again. This will be accomplished by displaying value in critical pedagogical methods, particularly as they relate to connecting politics to social responsibility so as to bring about change and expand democratic relations.

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION & RECOMMENDATIONS

You could learn about math, you learn about science, you learn about all these things, but to learn about people and people around you and their culture and their religion is probably more important.

- 15 year old Emaad Mohammed (as cited in Bascaramurty, 2011, para. 28)

Through the cases of Andrews, Lépine and Khalid, the previous chapter showcased that sentiments of alienation and marginalization are strong indicators of an individual's potential to radicalize and these feelings can be exacerbated within educational spaces. In such instances, particularly as they relate to young people, it is important to see schools as part of a much larger interlocking pattern of structures and processes that have considerable influence and control over the practices of their students (Mallea, 1987). It must be noted though that education is a combined effort by parents, community organizations and specialists who work together to meet the needs of youth. In some cases, addressing issues of inclusion may be beyond the competencies of educators, for curriculum based on critical pedagogy itself is not sufficient to tackle every grievance of students like Andrews, Lépine and Khalid. Teachers can never have all the knowledge or skills to tackle deep seated psychological problems that may stem from childhood. Nonetheless, by drawing on Emaad's quote above, this chapter will conclude the study by recommending ways educational spaces can prevent radicalization through an encouragement of inclusive and open learning environments that are grounded in critical pedagogical perspectives. With this framework in mind, counterradicalization measures that contribute to the healthy development of students will be explored.

In order to adequately maintain security within Canada, it is essential to have comprehensive and well-grounded security policies that incorporate all public domains such as

government, economic, religious and particularly education, which is often times ignored. These educational spaces have the potential to provide opportunities to reduce tensions that result from a rapidly changing society and students' development of their own individuality (Cohen-Almagor, 2008). It is important to take into account though, when used as a tool of national security, how extremely challenging it is for educational spaces to identify mechanisms of radicalization without stigmatizing students. Asking schools to address the adoption of extremist ideologies in meaningful ways in order to develop respect and social cohesion is also a tall order for educators to fill. However the potential to address grievances within the classroom among disenfranchised students who may harbour resentment is too advantageous of an opportunity to overlook (Gereluk, 2012). This study does not by any means suggest that educational spaces should act as informants for the police to identify security threats, especially since this type of information sharing can undercut professional norms of confidentiality. Nonetheless, an attempt must be made to minimize feelings that relate to social isolation in school settings.

When countering ideologies within educational spaces, questions of public and private values do arise. Yet, in today's globalized world, these lines have become all the more blurred, particularly when they tend to be political in nature. Moreover, the spread of violent ideas ultimately cannot be prevented in an open society since freedom of expression is a fundamental right and value in democracies like Canada (Charters, 2008). This is not to say though that Canadian society discourages violence. Although life-threatening behavior for individual gain is overtly condemned, violence that relates to higher moral purposes in the name of history or nationalism continues to be honoured. An example of this can be found in the glorification of war aimed at promoting nationalistic sentiments. This is an attitude that is very much linked to

radicalization. Violent masculinities and deep machismo also underpin the collective imaginary of popular culture found in movies, television programs, sports and video games (Nef, 2003).

Accordingly, students must learn how to mediate themselves around such a complex and contradictory set of notions from early on in the educational system all the way through to post-secondary education settings. This chapter will thus demonstrate that educational spaces can inhibit radicalization by helping students engage with the struggle between truth and falsity as they develop their personal identities and form their own worldviews. Educators can help prevent students from grasping on to simplistic extremist ideologies by moulding them into citizens who are not only able to exercise their freedoms, but also question basic assumptions and participate in shaping the social, political and economic orders that govern their lives. In view of this, explicitly teaching and organizing schools around critical pedagogy's principles of democratic participation found in critical citizenship is vital to ensure that youth are resilient to radicalization. Giroux (2003) has indicated that teachers must "reclaim schools as democratic public spheres in which students can engage in dialogue and critique about the meaning of democratic values, the relationship between learning and civic engagement, and the connection between schooling, what it means to be a critical citizen, and the responsibilities one has to the larger world" (p. 21-22). These points will be expanded upon below to exhibit how certain strategies can equip educational spaces with the ability to impede the potential for radicalization.

❖ **Recommendations for Educational Spaces**

First and foremost, it is crucial for educators to receive sufficient teacher education so they have the tools to address sensitive political controversies that can fuel radicalization (Gereluk, 2012). In most instances, teachers have reported that they lack the competencies to

effectively cope with these kinds of tensions in the classroom and are ill-equipped to handle controversial discussions in which respect and consensus are difficult to reach among students. In order to ensure that lesson plans continue in an orderly manner and to maintain a relatively peaceful atmosphere in the class, teachers often tend to avoid such controversial topics (Pel & de Ruyter, 2012). This kind of learning environment does little to stifle the radicalization process of a student, seeing as extremist ideologies are left unchallenged within the classroom setting. As a journalist following the Montréal massacre stated, it is true that "teachers are not clairvoyants. [They] cannot prognosticate who will break down or who will murder. However, [there is] an obligation to offer our students a curriculum of possibility: the notion that there can and should be a better world. Educators must take the time to consider what and how we teach" (Nemiroff, 1991, p. 148). Therefore, teachers need to have the resources to guide students in freely working through and processing their own thoughts and judgements while also developing the capacity for critical reasoning, which is in line with the principles of critical pedagogy. Students of course should not be permitted to wilfully make hateful remarks that may marginalize or ostracize other members of the class. Nonetheless, by overtly discussing the 'isms' found in society and publicly abdicating the privileges that come with them for certain groups, educators can model appropriate behaviours for their students when provided with the right teaching tools.

Teachers can also ensure that classrooms are safe spaces where students are free to discuss all matters including extremist ideas. Students need to be able to express their voices in a school system unbound by bias, prejudice or intolerance (Cohen-Almagor, 2008). They must also be comfortable enough to respectfully debate in class so that educators can point them towards a moral and ethical direction aimed at constructing a better democracy (Gereluk, 2012). By providing young people with a space that enables them to explore fundamental questions

their sentiments of isolation can be minimized. Some queries that are often linked with radicalization include what it means to be human, how identity and community are understood, how to live in rapidly changing societies and what is considered to be just, honourable or worthy of respect. British educationist Joyce Miller (2012) argues that if schools fail to address these kinds of issues in a way that encourages dialogue, disagreement, investigation, analysis and criticism, educators ultimately fail to promote the moral development of their students. For this reason, educational spaces must challenge values, truth claims and assumptions that catalyze the radicalization process and run counter to the equal enjoyment of human rights and civil liberties in an open society. By doing so, the growth and development of young people can truly be promoted with a respect for all.

Davies (2008) identifies five attitudes that teachers must hold in order for such safe spaces to be established in the classroom, where students are uninhibited to engage in open dialogue: (1) the life experiences of students should be recognized as valid knowledge and all new knowledge taught must be related to this pre-existing knowledge; (2) a willingness to reveal their own vulnerabilities and struggles with intellectual development so that students can to relate to them; (3) accepting students' views as opposed to demonstrating a hostility towards them; (4) patience to counter extremist ideologies and any antagonism from students that may arise; and (5) a willingness to engage in dialogue, pose questions and listen. Once this environment is created, educators can emphasize the complexity of multiple worldviews in order to ensure that the youth of today are not as politically naive as Andrews, Lépine or Khalid were.

It is important that educational spaces place a large emphasis on Davies first point, which is acknowledging students' distinct individual life experiences as valid knowledge. As seen in the profiles examined in this study, there continues to be the transmission and reproduction of a

dominant culture in schools, with its selective ordering and privileging of specific forms of language, modes of reasoning, social relations and cultural forms. This not only functions to privilege certain students, but also exclude and discredit the histories and experiences of marginalized groups (Freire, 1985). Therefore, the damage done by hierarchies of power among students need to be dismantled in the classroom to prevent feelings of resentment and frustration from building up. This can be resolved through the use of critical pedagogy, where educators work to "understand the concrete world in which their students live, the culture in which their students' language, syntax, semantics, and accent are found in action, in which certain habits, likes, beliefs, fears, desires are formed that are not necessarily easily accepted in the teachers' own worlds" (Freire, 2005, p. 129). Although the humiliation, threats and fears experienced by students in their lives because of their marginalization can never be removed, alternatives for understanding and action other than violence can be presented by educators which consider students' own beliefs, influences, community values and customs (Davies, 2008). If carried out effectively, students in the end would harbour less feelings of isolation, come to appreciate the diversity of their classmates and develop ways to think about others without resorting to violent means to regain what they perceive as an undeserved privilege.

Furthermore, given students' distinct knowledge through their own experiences, there is no requirement that they be treated as if they all had the same desires, interests and aspirations (Tonso, 2009). One of the ways in which their individuality is not recognized, as Davies (2009) identifies, is through the current testing regimes that leave the most academically flourishing students like Lépine continuously in fear of failure. This type of assessment is unsuccessful in creating secure identities among students because it does not consider the originality of their experiences, but rather just fuels their anxieties. There are several critical pedagogical strategies

that not only provide arenas to openly discuss grievances and viewpoints, but also affirm identities and promote personal pride among students. Some examples of these include the formation of sports leagues, international/national exchanges, creative arts, as well as community service programs that construct positive identity groups, like connecting youth with adult mentors (Venhaus, 2010). Additionally, outlets for political discussion can also be beneficial, such as model governments, diversity clubs, or student societies, where young people discuss issues of concern facilitated by an advisor. This gives them an alternative space that just the classroom where they can talk through current events and issues they deem important within a supportive environment. Here, they can safely ask questions and explore their fears, thoughts and judgements in a way that promotes understanding of differing views. Students also achieve a sense of assurance and confidence in their own identities as they implement projects within the school that reflect the dialogues they engage in (Liese, 2004). As these kinds of opportunities are provided for youth who might be susceptible to radicalization because of their desire to air out their grievances and construct an identity and status, students may feel fulfilled with what is presented to them within the school and thus not search elsewhere to satisfy their needs.

The curriculum in schools can also be improved upon to combat radicalization when considering that open facilitation and neutrality is an insufficient stance for educators and educational spaces to take, particularly when there are instances of intolerance in the classroom. Therefore, there must be a larger moral framework present, one that is built upon the political values necessary for a stable civil society with a robust citizenship, drawing on the cultural resources students bring with them into the classroom (Gereluk, 2012). This kind of political education should not be limited to basic history or geography, but also include conflict studies, comparative religion, ethics and religious literacy, critical citizenship, as well as an

understanding of universal rights and responsibilities that allows for the unlearning of stereotypes (Davies, 2009). Developing a critical global literacy among students where they are empathic towards people who are different or live under different conditions than themselves is extremely important as well for them to feel empowered to address the root causes of social problems. This is part of engaging students in a wider politics composed of a pedagogy of solidarity and democratic struggle. Educators in these classes must also provide students with the political skills to question government policies, consider alternatives, understand who benefits and who suffers from particular policy choices, as well as evaluate media coverage of world events. It is important that the curriculum however is not hostile towards conservative political thought or policy and ensures that there is no indoctrination of ideals (Gereluk, 2012).

Another counterradicalization measure schools can take relates to the advancement of technology and speed of communication that have made the radicalization process more complex overtime. As was evident for Khalid, access to al-Awlaki's videos online was a significant enabler and driver for his radicalization. While young people continue to spend more and more time in front of screens connected to the internet, they must be critical and recognize that the knowledge they are consuming is not necessarily absolute. The internet, serving as a radicalization incubator, provides the wandering mind with direct access to an immeasurable amount of unfiltered extremist ideologies. This anonymous virtual meeting place is also a setting where like-minded and conflicted individuals can meet, form virtual relationships and discuss and share their ideologies, which in turn further legitimizes and reinforces these belief systems (Silber & Bhatt, 2007). Khalid participated in something to this extent with his peers with the formation of the Meadowvale Brothers. Andrews and Lépine, having been raised before the age of the internet, were influenced by books and videos. This highlights the fact that

curricula must mould students to be critically literate of the printed, visual, electronic and digital cultures that have an important influence on their lives. Students need to have the knowledge, skills and tools to recognize when new technologies and media serve as a force for enlarging democracy or when they shut it down altogether (Giroux, 2003).

❖ **Future Directions**

It is difficult to predict whether Andrews, Lépine and Khalid would have definitively rejected their extremist ideologies and disengage from the radicalization process had their educational environments included some of the suggestions made above. Though, it is certain that if these types of spaces were fostered within their school system, their feelings of alienation and marginalization, all of which impacted their identity construction, belief sets and motivation for change, would have been minimized. Conversely Academic Andy Hargreaves (2003) warns against creating a climate of paranoia in education, where school safety becomes exaggerated, the disaffected are excluded and zero tolerance is shown for the slightest signs of violence. This is why, instead of dealing with the consequences of radicalization, this study hopes to address the conditions that give rise to them. The cases of Andrews, Lépine and Khalid can be considered rare examples of insecurity in Canada, but labelling any of them as isolated instances diminishes the crimes they have committed and is ultimately unfair to those who have suffered because of them. Yet at the same time, as Giroux (2003) has pointed out, demonizing youth for their politically violent acts ignores the complexity of the deep-seated alienation they experienced.

Canadian military historian David Charters (2008) echoes the unlikelihood for security threats in Canada given that a culture of violent militancy and extremism has never developed in the country. Political violence in Canada before 9/11 "was notable for its amateurism and its

relatively minor impact on Canadian society" (Charters, 2008, p. 28). Of the 366 incidents of

domestic political violence in Canada Charters (2008) identified in the thirty year period between

1960 and 1989, half were the result of separatist events in Québec and a third were due to

religious issues in British Columbia. The number of episodes was the highest during the decade

of the 1980s and was quite low throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Even after the

events of 9/11, there has been no significant increase of political violence in Canada. A 2011

global survey by the British risk analysis company Maplecroft ranked Canada 86th out of 197

countries in terms of frequency and intensity for political violence, categorizing it as 'low risk'.

Consequently, questions arise as to why Canadian security initiatives have been so much more

robust post-9/11. Most experts agree though that these attempts are to demonstrate to the US

that Canada takes global security concerns seriously (Crelinsten, 2012).

However, this is not to say that Canada is free from all national security threats. In the

cases of Andrews and Lépine, the threats they posed continue to be considered inconsequential

as Andrews' runs for the upcoming Toronto mayoral election and Lépine is remembered in

history as simply a mentally ill young man. Even the Québec Premier at the time, Robert

Bourassa, hastily asserted that the Lépine's massacre had no political significance whatsoever

since "it was not a matter of deliberate acts of political violence" (Côté, 1991, p. 68).

Furthermore, the Toronto 18 was the first homegrown cell in Canada to be charged under the

anti-terrorism legislation and continues to be perceived as an isolated instance despite a

Canadian couple's attempt to bomb the British Columbia Legislature on Canada Day, 2013.

Although international threats that are al-Qaeda linked are on the decline today, both right-wing

and left-wing extremism continues to be present in Canada. Leaderless resistances committed by

lone-wolf or small groups exist as opposition to the Alberta oil pipelines, the Initiative de

resistance internationaliste, dangerous forms of Christian nationalism, the Animal Liberation Front, the Environmental Liberation Front, pro-insurrection anarchists, revolutionary communists and anti-government groups like Freemen of the Land continue to garner support (McCauley, 2012; Bell, 2013).   Another recent security threat is the radicalization and recruitment of dozens of young Canadian males who are joining military insurgencies abroad such as Iraq and Syria's Islamic State of Iraq and Al-Sham (ISIS) and Al-Shabaab in Somalia.

It is of course impossible for any democratic country to anticipate and deter all threats. Therefore, the Canadian government must engage in risk management, investing resources in the most likely threats and the corresponding key weaknesses. However, as this study brings to light, minimizing sentiments of alienation and marginalization experienced in educational spaces not only encourages the healthy development of students, but can also hinder the radicalization of young people. There are elements of rational choice in the radicalization process, but as youth undergo a time of personal exploration, exposure to extremist ideologies can set in motion a series of developments that may lead to acts of violence (Charter, 2008). Although continued research and resources that marries the world of education and security is necessary, it is evident that in the cases of Andrews, Lépine and Khalid, the isolation they experienced in school at one time or another did impact aspects of their personal identity which were eventually nourished by extremist ideologies. Going forward with critical pedagogy, educational spaces can make knowledge relevant to students' lives, provide them with supportive learning environments, as well as develop a range of teaching approaches and forms of assessment based on the recognition that not every student learns the same way. This would counter any feelings of exclusion that may make a young person more susceptible to radicalization, with the hope of them realizing that democracies like Canada rely on ballots and not bullets or bombs to bring about change.

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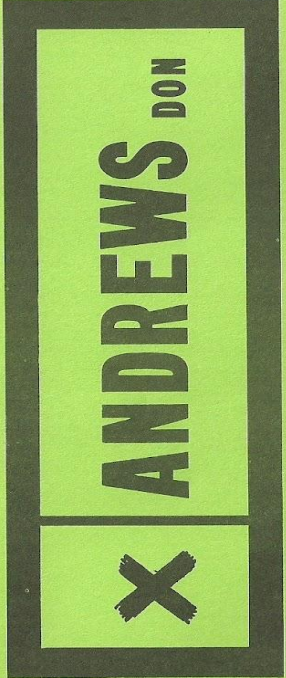Teotonio, I. (2010a). The Battle of Toronto. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from http://www3.thestar.com/static/toronto18/index.1.html.

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Appendix A: Don Andrews' Campaign Pamphlet for Mayor of Toronto as Leader of Western Guard

ANDREWS DON

☒

For Further Information —

CALL 466-3446
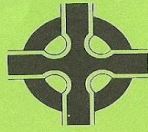
P.O. BOX 544
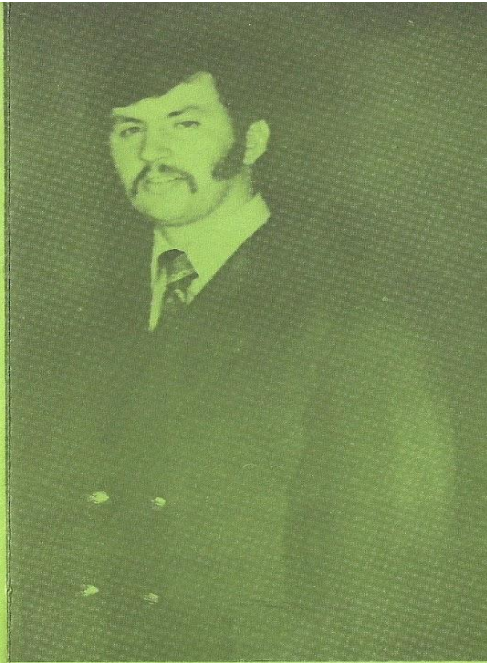TORONTO, ONTARIO, CANADA, M1K 5C4

DON
ANDREWS
FOR
MAYOR

1. DON ANDREWS has lived in East End Toronto for 15 years, has seen the tragic effects of drug addiction and is keenly aware of its alarming increase. He does not want his daughter or your children destroyed! He will close Rochdale College once and for all, and all other sanctuaries of drug pushers.

2. DON ANDREWS will remove from Yonge Street businesses catering to sexual deviates. He will restore to Toronto the respectability it deserves.

3. DON ANDREWS will protect Toronto from NEW SLUMS by promoting and enforcing housing maintenance by-laws in accordance with traditional Canadian community standards. He will not raise your taxes when you improve your property.

4. DON ANDREWS will CREATE work for people trapped on welfare.

WESTERN GUARD
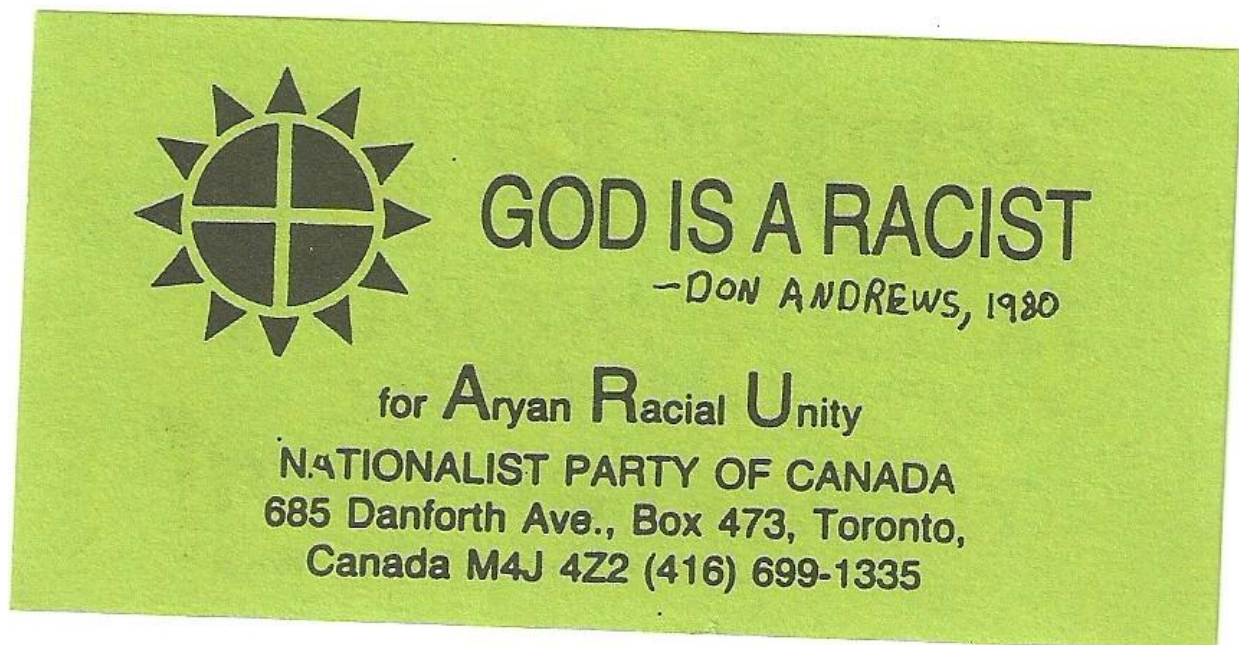
DON
ANDREWS
FOR
MAYOR
OF TORONTO

(Don Andrews, 2013)

Appendix B: Don Andrews' Business Card as Leader of Nationalist Party in 1980

(Don Andrews, 2013)

Appendix C: The Murder Victims in the École Polytechnique Massacre

(CBC News, 2009)

Appendix D: Marc Lépine's Suicide Note

Forgive the mistakes, I had 15 minutes to write this. See also Annex.

Would you also note that if I commit suicide today 89-12-06 it is not for economic reasons (for I have waited until I exhausted all my financial means, even refusing jobs) but for political reasons. Because I have decided to send the feminists, who have always ruined my life, to their Maker. For seven years life has brought me no joy and being totally blasé, I have decided to put an end to those viragos.

I tried in my youth to enter the Forces as a student-officer, which would have allowed me possibly to get into the arsenal and precede Lortie in a raid. They refused me because anti-social [sic]. I therefore had to wait until this day to execute my plans. In between, I continued my studies in a haphazard way for they never really interested me, knowing in advance my fate. Which did not prevent me from obtaining very good marks despite my theory of not handing in work and the lack of studying before exams.

Even if the Mad Killer epithet will be attributed to me by the media, I consider myself a rational erudite that only the arrival of the Grim Reaper has forced to take extreme acts. For why persevere to exist if it is only to please the government. Being rather backward-looking by nature (except for science), the feminists have always enraged me. They want to keep the advantages of women (e.g. cheaper insurance, extended maternity leave preceded by a preventive leave etc.) while seizing for themselves those of men.

Thus it is an obvious truth that if the Olympic Games removed the Men-Women distinction, there would be Women only in the graceful events. So the feminists are not fighting to remove that barrier. They are so opportunistic they neglect to profit from the knowledge accumulated by men through the ages. They always try to misrepresent them every time they can. Thus, the other day, I heard they were honoring the Canadian men and women who fought at the frontline during the world wars. How can you explain then that women were not authorized to go to the frontline??? Will we hear of Caesar's female legions and female galley slaves who of course took up 50 percent of the ranks of history, though they never existed [sic].

A real Casus Belli.

Sorry for this too brief letter.

Marc Lépine

The letter is followed by the 19-name list, with a note at the bottom:
Nearly died today. The lack of time (because I started too late) has allowed these radical feminists to survive.
Alea Jacta Est.

(as cited in Malette & Chalouh, 1991, p. 180-181)

Appendix E: Police Photographs from the Washago Camp Site

Image 1: One of several trees covered with marks from paintballs

Image 2: Police show where a 9-mm bullet had grazed a tree

(Teotonio, 2010c)

Appendix F: Police Photographs from Newmarket Warehouse

Image 1: The substance disguised as ammonium nitrate delivered by the undercover officer

Image 2: Cardboard boxes lined with garbage bags for storage

(Teotonio, 2010d)