Security Policy Coordination in North America and the European Union

Authors' workshop organized by
the Centre for the Study of Security and Development (CSSD) and the
European Union Centre of Excellence (EUCE)
at Dalhousie University

26-27 August 2016
Lord Nelson Hotel, Halifax, Nova Scotia

DALHOUSIE
UNIVERSITY

Centre for Foreign
Policy Studies

EUCE
Network of European Union
Centres of Excellence

PROGRAM / SCHEDULE

THURSDAY, AUGUST 25

1900-2130   PRE-WORKSHOP DINNER
Chives Restaurant, 1537 Barrington St, 902-420-9626 (www.chives.ca)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 26

0830-0930   BREAKFAST
Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

0930-1030   WELCOMING REMARKS & INTRODUCTION
Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel
Brian Bow & Ruben Zaiotti, Dalhousie

1030-1045   COFFEE BREAK
Admiral Room & Georgian Lounge, Lord Nelson Hotel

1045-1230   PANEL 1: COUNTER-TERRORISM
Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

Frank Harvey, chair	
Jeremy Littlewood	Intelligence Liaison for Counterterrorism: Necessary, Difficult, and Controversial
Stephanie Carvin and Nicole Tishler	The Mouse that Roared: Putting Agency Back in Canadian Counter-Terrorism Policy
Christian Kaunert (videoconference) and Sarah Léonard (videoconference)	Supranational Governance and EU Justice and Home Affairs: Exogenous Shocks and Supranational Policy Entrepreneurs
John Occhipinti	[North America (Canada-US), counter-terrorism cooperation]

1230-1400   LUNCH
Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

1400-1515   PANEL 2: ORGANIZED CRIME
Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

John Occhipinti, chair

Lauren Craik *paper co-authored with Christian Leuprecht*	Border Security Policy Networks to Contain Transnational Organized Crime: Determinants of Interagency Cross-border Cooperation
Monica den Boer	[Europe, police cooperation]
Michael Levi (videoconference)	[global and regional, cooperation against money-laundering]

1515-1530   COFFEE BREAK
                Admiral Room & Georgian Lounge, Lord Nelson Hotel

1530-1715   PANEL 3: EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT & CRISIS RESPONSE
                Admiral Room & Georgian Lounge, Lord Nelson Hotel

Simon Hollis, chair	
Richard Sylves	Borderline Disaster: U.S. and Canadian Disasters and Emergencies At or Near the International Border, 1994-2013
Patrick Roberts	Fusion Centers, Policy Transfer, and Adaptation in Homeland Security
Nicole Tishler	Coordinating Communications in Crisis Response: Networked Infrastructure, Governance, and Social Media
Sanneke Kuipers *paper co-authored with Marij Swinkels (videoconference)*	Peak Performance: Collaborative Crisis Management Before and During International Summits

1715-1900   BREAK

1900-2100   DINNER
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27

0900-1000   BREAKFAST
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

1000-1145   PANEL 4: BORDERS & MIGRATION
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

Ruben Zaiotti, chair	

Geoff Lecky *paper co-authored with Rey Koslowski (videoconference)*	Can Transgovernmental Cooperation take the US and Canada "Beyond the Border"?
Tony Payan	Awkward Partners: Security Policy Cooperation between Mexico and the United States
Can Mutlu	External Governance of Mobility Security in the EU
Kate Tennis	Pathways to Partnership: The Evolution of Bilateral Approaches to Controlling Irregular Migration

1145-1330   LUNCH
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

1330-1515   PANEL 5: COMPARISONS & CONNECTIONS
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

Brian Bow, chair	
Raphael Bossong	Exploring and Evaluating Patterns of European Security Governance
Mai'a Cross	European Transgovernmental Security Networks: Counter-Terrorism & Intelligence Sharing
Simon Hollis	Thinking about Transgovernmentalism: Toward a Broader Research Agenda
Geoffrey Hale	[North America (Canada-US), security policy coordination, comparison across issue-areas]

1515-1530   COFFEE BREAK
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel

1530-1630   WRAPPING UP & MOVING ON
                Admiral Room, Lord Nelson Hotel
                Brian Bow & Ruben Zaiotti, Dalhousie

1630-1830   BREAK

1800-2000   DINNER
                Soldiers' Library, Halifax Citadel, 5425 Sackville St, 902-426-5080
                (http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/halifax/index.aspx)

ABSTRACTS

Raphael Bossong, European University Viadrina

Exploring and Evaluating Patterns of European Security Governance

The contribution aims to develop a basis for a more precise empirical and normative understanding of European governance on internal security. First, it is pointed out that despite the increasing constitutionalisation or formalization of the area of freedom, security and justice, more informal patterns of security governance are of growing relevance. These developments raise controversial issues of transparency, which has hitherto mainly been pointed out with regard to the historical genesis of security cooperation in Europe. In contrast, the paper presents a cross-cutting overview of contemporary European networks for homeland security – based on a broad understanding of the EU strategy on internal security. Based on a preliminary data set (MS ACESS), wider patterns of European internal security governance can be explored, drawing on descriptive categories such as the composition, institutional affiliation, areas of focus, etc. This leads to four alternative conceptual perspectives on the potential role and influence of these networks in EU internal security governance. In the last part of this article, the relationship between governance complexity and democratic criteria, such as accountability, is outlined as a further research agenda. It is argued that polarizing assumptions about an complete lack of political control vs. overriding functional needs for transnational and flexible security governance are not fruitful. Rather, the EU multi-level system also needs to be examined more precisely empirical from the perspective of accountability, which can include networks between oversight actors and foster more "horizontal" of professional control.

Stephanie Carvin, NPSIA, and **Nicole Tishler**, NPSIA

The Mouse that Roared: Putting Agency Back in Canadian Counter-Terrorism Policy

A survey of the literature on Canadian-US terrorism cooperation between 2001-2011 is largely based on the premise that Canadian counter-terrorism (CT) policy is largely driven by American security imperatives – that a fearful US left little room for Canada to develop its own path to fighting terrorism at home or abroad. This leads to three common assumptions in the literature: that the Canadian government was more worried about the reaction to terrorism than terrorism itself, that Canadian security policy is driven by a need to be "separate but cooperative" and that Canadian policy makers and bureaucrats are able to use their "wise" understanding of the US to respond appropriately.

Yet, over a decade and a half after 9/11, to what extent are these assumptions still true? This paper argues that after 2011 Canada's assessment of the national security threat began to moderately diverge from that of the United States. With the rise of the Islamic State and foreign fighters, the Harper Government took steps, independent of the US, to address Canadian national security concerns. Using the Passenger Protect Program, this paper makes a case for re-thinking the common assumptions about Canadian CT policy and for a greater appreciation of Canada's agency in its policy response to violent extremism.

Lauren Craik, Queen's University, and **Christian Leuprecht**, Royal Military College

Border Security Policy Networks to Contain Transnational Organized Crime: Determinants of Interagency Cross-Border Cooperation

In globalizing world cross-border enforcement networks are much touted as a policy tool to contain transnational organized crime. Yet, cross-border policy networks in general and security networks in particular have received little scholarly attention. The aim of this paper is to identify and describe factors and conditions that explain differences in outcomes in U.S-Canada cross-border security networks. To this end, the paper compares the IBET/Shiprider/ Next Gen and MYGALE networks. Data were collected by analyzing open primary sources and conducting interviews with subject participants in both policy networks. The study explains the varying success of both enforcement networks as a function of lack of political imperative, lack of informal relations, and legal inconsistency. Based on these observations the paper generates hypotheses that can subsequently be applied to and tested in other cross-border policy case studies.

Maia Cross, Northeastern University

European Transgovernmental Security Networks: Counter-Terrorism & Intelligence Sharing

This paper argues that transgovernmental networks have played an important role in increasing the EU's internal security integration. It analyzes the relationship between transgovernmental networks and EU institutions in three ways: (1) the circumstances under which these networks emerge, (2) the power and influence of these networks on EU institutions over time, and (3) the ways in which these networks are potentially constrained by EU institutions. Through examining the policy areas of counter-terrorism and intelligence sharing, the paper explains why certain networks have more impact on EU institutions than others. The dynamics within these networks are important, but external events or catalysts can also play a significant role in changing the nature of transgovernmental networks over time.

Monica Den Boer, Macquarie University / SeQure Research & Consultancy

Abstract to follow

Geoffrey Hale, University of Lethbridge

National Security and Economic Security: Distributed vs. Hierarchical Management of Domestic Security and Market Movements in Canada and North America

The U.S. and Canadian governments have narrowed the asymmetries between national policies for coordinating domestic aspects of national and "homeland" security – generally framed as "public safety" in Canada. Issues deemed national security priorities are often subject to more centralized, hierarchical approaches to policy coordination. However, the diffusion of security risks, particular in relation to policy fields characterized by widely-distributed economic activity and diffused ownership of critical infrastructure, sharply reduces both the capacity and willingness of governments to impose hierarchical approaches to policy coordination in both countries. The result in both countries is an

extensive reliance on network management of security challenges, reinforced in Canada by its more decentralized federal system, and the persistence of interest groups and bureaucratic politics in both countries as significant factors constraining security cooperation on issues involving competing domestic interests.

Simon Hollis, Swedish Defence University

Thinking about Transgovernmentalism: Toward a Broader Research Agenda

The study of Transgovernmental Networks (TGNs) as an instance of governance beyond or below the state has become a fairly permanent fixture in International Relation (IR). This field of research has provided useful and enlightening insights into the structure, process, role and function of TGNs and why state officials continue to choose this mode of governance over other alternatives. Yet, theoretical explanations of these networks have been largely monopolized by a neoliberal institutionalist framework that emphasises how rational state representatives seek relative gains. This article suggests broadening this limited research agenda by tentatively suggesting complimentary – rather than alternative – conceptual lenses that may strengthen existing TGN scholarship.

Christian Kaunert, VU Brussels, and **Sarah Léonard**, VU Brussels

Supranational Governance and EU Justice & Home Affairs: Exogenous Shocks and Supranational Policy Entrepreneurs

Abstract to follow

Rey Koslowski, SUNY Albany, and **Geoff Leckey**, CBSA

Can Transgovernmental Cooperation take the US and Canada "Beyond the Borders"?

Expanding cooperation between the US and Canada on border security has often been led by direct negotiations and collaboration of border security officials rather than foreign ministries and heads of state. Policymakers have depicted the products of this transgovernmental cooperation in terms of building a "North American Security Perimeter" similar to the European Union's common external border established by the Schengen Convention, which has enabled the lifting of border controls between the signatories. Border security officials may be leveraging their transgovernmental networks but implementation has a mixed record and achievements accomplished are not indicative of a significant progress toward the lifting of border controls. The paper makes this argument by reviewing the challenges of controlling the US-Canadian border and describing the role of transgovernmental relations in furthering US-Canadian cooperation on border security, particularly with the Smart Borders Accord, as well as its limits, as demonstrated with the Security and Prosperity Partnership; evaluating the "Beyond the Border" initiative using the prism of transgovernmental relations; elaborating on the conflict between making borders smarter and building a common external border to eliminate border controls and explaining why the establishment of a North American Security Perimeter is unlikely.

Sanneke Kuipers, Leiden University, and **Marij Swinkels**, Leiden University

Peak Performance: Collaborative Crisis Management Before and During International Summits

Abstract to follow

Michael Levi, Cardiff University

Title to follow

Money laundering (ML), the effort to conceal the origins of the proceeds of crime, is an old activity but a recently created criminal offense, beginning in the US and the UK in the 1980s and rapidly spreading through the West in the 1990s, and the world thereafter. The global regime of controls that has emerged since 1990 represents a new attempt to obligate financial institutions and professionals to check on the origins and uses of funds that they handle in order to deter crime and catch criminals. In addition to this 'third party policing' by the private sector, policed by regulators with occasional criminal prosecutions, there has been a smaller but important set of networks of financial intelligence units and criminal financial investigators. Some of these have been established globally – like the Egmont Group – while others have been created regionally, like the EU Asset Recovery Office network and FIU.net for asset recovery and financial intelligence sharing respectively. Layer on top of this are bodies such as Europol and Interpol. There is also a global evaluation process, at the top of which is the Financial Action Task Force, with regional bodies below. Though some high earning criminals do require the services of money launderers, much criminal proceeds are not laundered but simply used for the 'normal' lifestyle expenditures of offenders, which may be very high compared with the disciplined acquisitive habits of the conventional middle classes, but perhaps no higher than that of financial services traders spending their large bonuses. The markets for ML services appear quite segmented and highly variable within and between countries, making it more difficult to assess how well the markets or the controls work.

Jeremy Littlewood, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Intelligence Liaison for Counterterrorism: Necessary, Difficult, and Controversial

Intelligence liaison and cooperation within and between states is an accepted and important component of counterterrorism activity. Understanding of the challenges states face in this area are often drawn from intelligence failures, attacks, or revelations of nefarious and questionable legal activity, human rights abuses, and administrative or political indifference to individuals. This paper attempts four issues: (1) an overview of the intelligence and terrorism challenges in context; (2) an overview of the intelligence sharing literature related to Western democratic states, to provide additional context on the issue; (3) an exploration of the intelligence sharing arrangements between key agencies within Canada and between Canada and the US related to the terrorism and counterterrorism cases; (4) some preliminary conclusions related to formal and informal arrangements based on the above information.

Can E. Mutlu, Acadia University

External Governance of Mobility Security in the EU

With more than 300 million travelers (European Commission 2008a), and approximately 3.6 billion tons of cargo (Eurostat 2012a) moving in and out of the EU territories through 1636 designated ports of entry annually, controlling various forms of mobilities presents a major challenge to EU officials. As an important part of the EU's shared competence with the EU MS as defined by the Article 2 C. 2 of the Lisbon Treaty (European Commission 2007a), mobility security represents a significant component of the EU legislation. Whereas free – or unrestricted – movement can be attributed to generating economic prosperity and nurturing interdependence among states, also creates a set of security problems. This inherent tension between economic goals and security fears manifests itself clearly in border security practices; the future direction of border management and customs practices is driven by attempts to negotiate these opposing tensions. In Europe, a combination of EU institutions, national ministries, and border management and customs agencies constitute the institutions overseeing the insecurity governance for mobility security practices. In this chapter, I present an overview of these institutional relationalities that oversee the internal and external dimensions of the EU's mobility and transportation security regimes. In my analysis, I focus on the internal and external dimensions of the Schengen Area and the Single Market to understand the institutional arrangements required to drive the expansion of these internal spaces into the neighbourhood countries.

John Occhipinti, Canisius College

Title and abstract to follow

Patryk Pawlak, European Parliamentary Research Service

Title and abstract to follow

Tony Payan, Rice University / Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez

Awkward Partners: Security Policy Cooperation between Mexico and the United States

The U.S.-Mexico security agenda has not changed for the last quarter century. It has been mostly the priorities of American agenda that have dominated the landscape—drugs, immigration and the common border. Similarly, it has involved the initiatives and means that the Americans have determined appropriate—the Mérida Initiative and now the Plan Frontera Sur in an increasingly militarized strategy. And it has also been characterized by an awkward patchwork of unilateral measures, which turn into bilateral initiatives when it is suitable to U.S. policy goals; incompatible institutions, as Mexico lacks the equivalent security structures to interact with U.S. counterparts; disparate political goals, where one has the power to project its domestic policies abroad and the other is in constant fear of domestic instability; substantial power differentials, with the U.S. being able to impose its agenda on Mexican law enforcement through a combination of mostly low-cost incentives; mutual distrust, as corruption and incompetence mount in Mexico; and mixed results, given that

neither country has achieved its stated goals in the binational relationship. This paper explores each of these issues in order to determine the extent, the quality, and the outcomes of U.S.-Mexico security cooperation.

Patrick Roberts, Virginia Tech

Fusion Centers, Policy Transfer, and Adaptation in Homeland Security

The 9/11 Commission blamed the failures leading to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on a failure to "connect the dots" among available intelligence as well as a "failure of imagination." One solution to these failures was the creation of fusion centers designed to fuse intelligence information from multiple sources and levels of government. The fusion centers would connect the dots and be more analytic and perhaps even more imaginative than the pre-September 11 intelligence process.

The decade and a half since raises empirical and theoretical questions about fusion centers. Empirically, what do fusion centers do, more than a decade after the attacks and in the absence of similarly scaled events? How have they evolved in response to their environment and original mandate? And how has the idea of the fusion center spread to different parts of the U.S. government and to other countries?

At a theoretical level, policy transfer theory posits that policies that have been successful in one location have a greater chance of persuading decisionmakers and being adopted in another. The criteria for success depends on whether a policy "1) contains clarity and simplicity of purpose 2) enjoys a scientific consensus about its efficacy 3) can bring about a tangible result 4) is chronological ready to generate a popular base of support, and, 5) is Pareto Optimal, so that benefits accruing to one segment of the public do not leave substantial segments of the population substantially worse off." (Savitch 2016).

Alternate theories of policy adoption and diffusion offer different reasons for why and how policies spread. The reasons include support by leadership, the presence of a focusing event associate with a causal story that privileges one solution, the presence of a coalition of powerful interests, or simply institutional isomorphism.

This paper uses policy transfer theory to shape questions about what structures and practices of fusion centers transferred across contexts—different states and levels of government in the United States, and more recently different countries.

Richard Sylves, University of Delaware

Borderline Disaster: U.S. and Canadian Disasters and Emergencies At or Near the International Border, 1994-2013

Since North American Free Tree Agreement took effect in 1994, the U.S. and Canada have established closer ties in the domain of emergency management. Owing to massive Canada-U.S.economic, social, and cultural ties, plus a shared concern for security and emergency management (EM), both nations share a vested interest in managing and mitigating disaster events which span their respective borders or which transpire in their neighbor nation. Both nations embrace federalism. This study reviews a

variety of U.S.-Canada agreements that facilitate relief assistance when one, the other, or both nations experience disaster. Canada and the United States have independently constructed their own systems for providing disaster assistance to their subnational governments. The aim here is to explore EM federal-provincial and federal-state relations respectively. The study builds tables of natural disaster loss data about disaster loss and U.S. and Canada post-event federal aid. Among major conclusions, there are more U.S.-Canada "border-spanning" disasters than one would expect. The record of Canadian and U.S. declared disasters for provinces and states along the International border, makes it obvious as to why effective Canada-U.S. cross-national, regional, state, provincial, and local emergency management collaboration is essential.

Kate Tennis, American University

Pathways to Partnership: The Evolution of Bilateral Approaches to Controlling Irregular Migration

Countries that attract high volumes of irregular immigrants have increasingly come to rely on countries of origin and transit to contain these flows before would-be migrants can reach their borders.

Skeptics claim that this is a cynical attempt to skirt refugee protection obligations and limit immigration at any cost. Supporters see it as an effort to protect would-be migrants from unscrupulous smugglers and traffickers and to make international migration more orderly and safe. This paper explores the way that these bilateral agreements have emerged and become normalized over time. States have largely pursued a path-dependent process of policy diffusion through learning—both from each other as well as from prior templates. But while country of origin participation in containing irregular migration was initially seen as a normatively exceptional solution of last resort, it has become increasingly institutionalized in international law and expected in state practice. This normalization has been influenced by exogenous shifts like increased smuggling, trafficking, and criminality associated with irregular migration over time, as well as the increase in perceived security risks associated with migration. But it has also been the result of norm entrepreneurship by major destination states that have sought to make these types of arrangements more palatable over time.

Nicole Tishler, Norman Paterson School of International Affairs

Coordinating Communications in Crisis Response: Networked Infrastructure, Governance, and Social Media

Robust communications networks—of telecommunications infrastructure, in governance structures, and across social media—are essential to effective emergency management and perceptions thereof. This paper outlines the role of networks in crisis communications. First, it delineates how telecommunications infrastructure is both an object of security (that is, something to be secured) and a tool for effective security response. In a crisis, emergency response must ensure the continuity of communications between responding entities and the public; the operability of communications infrastructure in support of emergency personnel; and the interoperability of infrastructure across jurisdictions and disciplines. Next, it describes the structures of emergency response governance in Canada, emphasizing information flows within and across responding entities. These networks may involve all levels of government, first responders, non-governmental organizations, and private sector owners and operators of affected infrastructure. Last, it illustrates how social media has altered the

crisis communications playing field: information flows in two directions, and citizens' expectations regarding the speed, quantity, and quality of communications during a crisis are higher than ever. The paper concludes with best practices for building robust communications networks that harness opportunities advanced by new communications technologies and manage evolving expectations about government transparency.

PROJECT ORGANIZERS

Brian Bow

Brian Bow is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Centre for the Study of Security and Development (CSSD) at Dalhousie University. He is the author of several books and articles on North American regional cooperation, US-Canada relations, and Canadian foreign and defence policy. His book, *The Politics of Linkage: Power, Interdependence, and Ideas in Canada-US Relations* was awarded the Donner Prize for 2009.

Ruben Zaiotti

Ruben Zaiotti (PhD Toronto, Mst Oxford, BA Bologna) is the Director of the European Union Centre of Excellence and Associate professor in the Political Science department at Dalhousie University (Halifax, Nova Scotia). His main areas of interest are European Union politics, social media and public diplomacy, border control and immigration policy, and transatlantic relations. Ruben Zaiotti is the author of the monograph "Cultures of Border Control: Schengen and the Evolution of European Frontiers" with University of Chicago Press and editor of books on language and globalization and on migration policy. He has published articles for Review of International Studies, European Security, Journal of European Integration, Journal of Borderland Studies, International Journal of Refugee Law.

You can find his musings about Europe and borders on the blog 'Schengenalia' and follow him on twitter @schengenizer. Ruben Zaiotti is also the curator for the recently launched project Schengen Border Art, an online repository of creative performances about European borders.

PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

Raphael Bossong

Raphael Bossong is Lecturer in European Studies at the European University Viadrina, Frankfurt, and a researcher at the Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Hamburg. He holds an MA and PhD in International Relations from the LSE. His research, which contributed to several EU-funded research projects, focuses on the intersection between EU crisis management, internal and external security policy and public administration. Besides his contributions to leading political science journals, he is the author of *The Evolution of EU Counter-Terrorism Policy: European Security Policy After 9/11* (Routledge, 2012) and coedited *Explaining EU Internal Security Cooperation: The Problem(s) of*

Producing Public Goods (Routledge, 2014) and *European Civil Security Governance: Diversity and Cooperation in Crisis and Disaster Management* (Palgrave, 2015).

Stephanie Carvin

Stephanie Carvin is an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Norman Paterson School of International Affairs. Her research interests are in the area of international law, security, terrorism and technology. Currently, she is teaching in the areas of critical infrastructure protection, technology and warfare and foreign policy.

Stephanie holds a PhD from the London School of Economics and published her thesis as *Prisoners of America's Wars: From the Early Republic to Guantanamo* (Columbia/Hurst, 2010). Her most recent book is *Science, Law, Liberalism and the American Way of Warfare: The Quest for Humanity in Conflict* (Cambridge, 2015) co-authored with Michael J. Williams. In 2009 Carvin was a Visiting Scholar at George Washington University Law School and worked as a consultant to the US Department of Defense Law of War Working Group. From 2012-2015, she was an analyst with the Government of Canada focusing on national security issues.

Lauren Craik

Lauren Craik is an economics and political studies student at Queen's University. She is entering her fourth year of studies and hopes to pursue higher education in public policy. Her research interests include policy networks, international relations and the economics of public policy. This summer she is working as a Research Assistant with Dr. Christian Leuprecht.

Maia Cross

Mai'a K. Davis Cross is Associate Professor of Political Science and International Affairs at Northeastern University, and Senior Researcher at the ARENA Centre for European Studies in Oslo, Norway. She is an expert on European Union politics, especially foreign and security policy, epistemic communities, crises, diplomacy, and public diplomacy. She holds a Ph.D. in politics from Princeton University and a bachelor's degree in government from Harvard University. She is the author of three books: The Politics of Crisis in Europe (Cambridge University Press, in press), Security Integration in Europe: How Knowledge-based Networks are Transforming the European Union (University of Michigan Press, 2011), and The European Diplomatic Corps: Diplomats and International Cooperation from Westphalia to Maastricht (Palgrave Macmillan, 2007). Her second book was the 2012 winner of the Best Book Prize from the University Association of Contemporary European Studies. She is also co-editor (with Jan Melissen) of European Public Diplomacy: Soft Power at Work (Palgrave, 2013), and (with Ireneusz Pawel Karolewski) Europe's Hybrid Foreign Policy: The Ukraine-Russia Crisis (special issue, Journal of Common Market Studies, in press). Prof. Cross has also written over 20 articles and book chapters on a wide range of topics, including European defense, counter-terrorism, crises, and intelligence sharing. She is currently a term member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Monica Den Boer

Monica den Boer is the Director of SeQure Research and Consultancy and Adjunct Professor at the Department of Security Studies and Criminology at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Between 2003 and 2015, she held a variety of positions at the Police Academy of The Netherlands in conjunction with a Chair of Comparative Public Administration at the VU University Amsterdam. Since 2003 she has been a Member of the Committee on European Integration of the Advisory Council on International Affairs. She obtained a Ph.D. in 1990 from the European University Institute and worked at Edinburgh University, the Netherlands Study Centre for Crime and Law Enforcement, the European Institute of Public Administration, Tilburg University, and the European Institute of Law Enforcement Co-operation. In 2009-2010, she was a member of the Dutch Iraq Investigation Committee, and in 2009-2010 she participated in the Defence Future Survey Group. She has published widely on European internal security co-operation and engages in research, teaching, coaching as well as supervision.

Geoffrey Hale

Geoffrey Hale is Professor of Political Science at the University of Lethbridge, where he has taught since 1999. A native of Montreal, he is author of three books, *The Politics of Taxation in Canada* (Broadview, 2001), *Uneasy Partnership: The Politics of Business and Government* (Broadview, 2006), and *So Near Yet So Far: The Public and Hidden Worlds of Canada-US Relations* (UBC Press, 2012), and numerous articles on various aspects of Canadian political economy, federalism, Canada-US relations and North American integration. The latter include analyses of domestic and cross-border security, border and emergency management policies and processes. He is also co-editor (with Monica Gattinger) of *Borders and Bridges: Canada's Policy Relations in North America* (Oxford, 2010). He is currently co-investigator in a SSHRC-funded multi-collaborator research initiative on Borders in Globalization.

Simon Hollis

Simon Hollis is assistant professor at the centre for Crisis Management Research and Training (Crismart) at the Swedish Defence University. He is author of *The Role of Regional Organizations in Disaster Risk Management: A Strategy for Global Resilience* (Palgrave 2015) and received his PhD in International Relations from the Hertie School of Governance in 2012.

Christian Kaunert

Prof. Dr. Christian Kaunert has recently been appointed Academic Director and Full Professor at the Institute for European Studies, Vrije Universiteit Brussels (VUB). He is currently Professor of International Politics at the University of Dundee and also holds a Jean Monnet Chair in EU Justice and Home Affairs. He is an expert in the study of the EU's global security role and its internal security policies. He is the author of *European Internal Security: Towards Supranational Governance in the Area of Freedom, Security and Justice* (Manchester, 2010) and the co-author of *The EU as a Global Security Actor: A Comprehensive Analysis beyond CFSP and JHA* (Palgrave, 2013), amongst others.

Rey Koslowski

Rey Koslowski is Associate Professor of Political Science and Director of the Master of International Affairs Program, University at Albany, State University of New York (SUNY). He has held fellowships of the Transatlantic Academy at the German Marshall Fund, the Woodrow Wilson

International Center for Scholars, Princeton University and at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Koslowski has published extensively on international migration politics and policy, notably as author of *Migrants and Citizens: Demographic Change in the European States System* (Cornell University Press, 2000); editor of *Global Mobility Regimes* (Palgrave Macmillan 2011); editor of *International Migration and the Globalization of Domestic Politics* (Routledge, 2005). His work on border security includes (co-edited with David Kyle) *Global Human Smuggling: Comparative Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011), "Immigration Crime and Terrorism," Marc Rosenblum and Daniel J. Tichenor eds. *Oxford Handbook on the Politics of International Migration* (Oxford University Press, 2012) and *The Evolution of Border Controls as a Mechanism to Prevent Illegal Immigration* (Migration Policy Institute 2011). Topics of recent articles include "Chinese Soft Power and Immigration Reform: Can Beijing's Approach to Pursuing Global Talent and Maintaining Domestic Stability Succeed?" (with Sheng Ding), "Selective Migration Policy Models and Changing Realities of Implementation" and "Visa Policy, Security and Transatlantic Relations."

Sanneke Kuipers

Dr. Sanneke Kuipers is an associate professor in the Crisis Governance research group of the Institute of Security and Global Affairs, Leiden University. She runs the Leiden University Crisis Research Center and contributes to the Institute's research and teaching in the domain of crisis and safety management. She also holds a part-time position as senior researcher and consultant at Crisisplan BV – an internationally operating crisis consultancy firm – since 2007. Sanneke received her Ph.D. from Leiden University in 2004 and has since been working at Utrecht School of Governance, VU University and Syracuse University, NY. Sanneke has taught and published on crisis and safety management in the Netherlands, evaluation and accountability after a crisis, crisis rhetoric as a political tool, strategic leadership during radical reforms, decision-making in the EU, and on crises and reform in public organizations. She is the incoming chief editor of the *Journal of Risk, Hazards and Crisis in Public Policy* (published by Wiley) and associate editor of the *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Crisis Analysis* (Oxford University Press).

Geoff Lecky

Geoff Leckey is a graduate of St. Catharine`s College, Cambridge, where he obtained an M.A. in Modern Languages. Following a teaching assistantship at Carleton University, Ottawa, he was invited to join the ranks of the Canadian federal public service, where he served in various capacities during a 38-year career, including as Head of the Foreign Language Service of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and of the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS). He went on from there to an active operational career with CSIS that included stints in Counter-Intelligence, Counter-Proliferation, and Counter-Terrorism. He was serving in the latter capacity on September 11, 2001, the fallout from which brought him into close and frequent contact with US colleagues. Geoff was asked to set up CSIS` advanced data analysis effort, an experience which stood him in good stead when he later designed and implemented the targeting program of the Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA), another big-data analysis operation. For the last six years of his career, Geoff served with the CBSA, running its Intelligence, Foreign Liaison, Security Screening, Targeting, Inland Enforcement, and Criminal Investigations programs (not all at the same time!) These years not only gave him hands-on experience in border security, but also brought him into daily contact with US

counterparts. And so it is that, having spent the last 30 years writing Cabinet submissions rather than peer-reviewed papers, Geoff is delighted to return to his academic beginnings.

Sarah Leonard

Dr. Sarah Léonard is a Senior Lecturer in Politics. Prior to joining the University of Dundee in October 2012, she was Lecturer in International Security at the University of Salford and Marie Curie Research Fellow at the Centre for European Studies of Sciences Po, Paris (France). She received her Ph.D. in International Politics from the University of Wales, Aberystwyth.

In 2010, she was a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals (IBEI, Spain). Together with Professor Christian Kaunert, she was Editor of the Journal of Contemporary European Research, which is an open-access peer-reviewed journal owned by the University Association for Contemporary European Studies (UACES), in 2009-2012. In 2015, she was a Visiting Research Fellow at the United Nations University Institute on Globalization, Culture, and Mobility (UNU-GCM) in Barcelona (Spain).

Dr. Sarah Léonard is the Deputy Director of the European Institute for Security and Justice at the University of Dundee, which is a Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence. She is also the coordinator of the Jean Monnet Ph.D. Summer School on Security and Justice in Europe, which is funded by a grant from the Jean Monnet Programme/Lifelong Learning Programme.

Christian Leuprecht – bio to follow

Michael Levi

Michael Levi has degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Southampton and Cardiff Universities and has been Professor of Criminology at Cardiff University since 1991. He has been conducting international research on the control of white-collar and organised crime, corruption and money laundering/financing of terrorism since 1972, and has published widely on these subjects as well as editing major journals, most recently the Journal of Cybersecurity (OUP). He is an Associate Fellow of RUSI and a Senior Fellow at RAND Europe.

He is on the small advisory group to Europol on the Serious and Organised Crime Threat Assessment and on the internet-enabled Organised Crime Threat Assessment. In 2013 he was given the Distinguished Scholar Award by the International Association for the Study of Organised Crime, and in 2014 he was awarded the Sellin-Glueck prize for international and comparative criminology by the American Society of Criminology.

Recent studies include the nature and policing of economic cybercrimes; fraud by families and unpaid carers against vulnerable adults; insider cyber threats; the extent and causes of bank de-risking; the costs of cybercrime, corruption and organised crime; the financing of organised crime; and the effectiveness of European measures to combat organised crime. He is beginning a study of the detection of online mass marketing frauds.

Jeremy Littlewood

Dr. Jeremy (Jez) Littlewood joined NPSIA in July 2007. He teaches the courses on Intelligence, Terrorism and Counterterrorism, and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. His research interests include arms control and counterproliferation of WMD, terrorism and counter-terrorism, and intelligence. He serves on the Executive Committee of the Canadian network for research on Terrorism, Security and Society (TSAS) and served previously with the Counter-Proliferation Department of the UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, the United Nations Department for Disarmament Affairs (Geneva), and with HM Forces (Army) of the UK. He is a UK national and permanent resident in Canada.

Can E. Mutlu

Can E. Mutlu is an Assistant Professor of International Politics at the Acadia University's Department of Politics, and remains an affiliation as an Assistant Professor of International Relations with Bilkent University. Can completed his PhD at the University of Ottawa in 2013, and previously studied at the University of Victoria for his BA and MA. His research interests intersect three areas, critical approaches to security, science and technology studies, and international political sociology with a specific focus on emerging research methods. He has been working on the external governance of the EU's migration and border security practices, and is finishing a research project on the biometric identification of Syrian nationals living in Turkey. He is the co-editor of Critical Methods in Security Studies: An Introduction (Routledge, 2013). His recent research appears in Global Governance, International Political Sociology, Millennium: Journal of International Studies, Critical Studies on Security, Comparative European Politics, European Journal of Social Theory, Eurasia Border Review, Environment and Planning D: Society and Space and the Review of International Studies. Can also blogs at the Disorder of Things. Can has been serving in the editorial and communications team of International Political Sociology journal since 2011, and is the web editor of Security Dialogue since 2016.

John Occhipinti

John D. Occhipinti is Professor of Political Science, Department Chair and Director of European Studies at Canisius College in Buffalo, his hometown. He earned his B.A. from Colgate University and his M.A. and Ph.D. in Government and Politics from the University of Maryland at College Park. Occhipinti was a Fulbight Scholar in Tűbingen, Germany in 1989-1990 and conducted his dissertation's field research in Berlin in 1994-1995 on the transformation of the East German police after unification.

In 2003, Occhipinti wrote the first scholarly book on the evolution of the European Police Office-Europol (Lynne Rienner). His recent publications include ""Whither the Withering Democratic Deficit? The Impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the AFSJ," Cambridge Review of International Affairs (2014); Justice and Home Affairs Agencies in the European Union (Editor with C. Kaunert and S. Léonard. Routledge, 2014); "The Governance of Transnational Crime" in J. Sperling, Ed., Handbook on Governance and Security (Edward Elgar, 2014); and "Still Moving Toward a European FBI?" Intelligence and National Security (2015).

Occhipinti has presented his research at the U.S. Department of State, briefed newly appointed U.S. ambassadors to the EU and participated in other analytical projects for the US government. In 2013, he was elected to the Executive Committee of the European Union Studies Association and co-founded its new section on the EU's Area of Freedom, Security and Justice (AFSJ).

Patryk Pawlak – bio to follow

Tony Payan

Tony Payan, Ph.D., is the Françoise and Edward Djerejian Fellow for Mexico Studies and director of the Mexico Center at the Baker Institute. He is also a professor at the Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez. Between 2001 and 2015, Payan was a professor of political science at The University of Texas at El Paso. Payan's research focuses primarily on border studies, particularly the U.S.-Mexico border. His work includes studies of border governance, border flows and immigration, as well as border security and organized crime. Payan has authored two books, "Cops, Soldiers and Diplomats: Understanding Agency Behavior in the War on Drugs" and "The Three U.S.-Mexico Border Wars: Drugs, Immigration and Homeland Security." He has also co-edited six other volumes. Payan has served on several boards, including the Camino Real Regional Mobility Authority in El Paso, Texas, and the Plan Estratégico de Juárez in Ciudad Juárez. He is a member of the Greater Houston Partnership's Immigration Task Force and the Mexico Energy Task Force. He also served as president of the Association of Borderlands Studies between 2009 and 2010. Payan earned a B.A. and M.B.A. from the University of Dallas. He received a doctorate degree from Georgetown University in 2001.

Patrick Roberts

Patrick S. Roberts is an associate professor in the Center for Public Administration and Policy in the School of Public and International Affairs at Virginia Tech in Alexandria, Virginia.

He holds a Ph.D. in Government from the University of Virginia, and he spent two years as a postdoctoral fellow, one at the Center for International Security and Cooperation at Stanford University and another at the Program on Constitutional Government at Harvard University. He spent 2010-11 as the Ghaemian Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Heidelberg Center for American Studies in Germany. He has also been a reporter for the Associated Press. Patrick has published in a variety of scholarly and popular journals, and his research has been funded by the National Science Foundation, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, the United States Naval Laboratories, the Federal Emergency Management Agency, the Korean KHRIS research institute, and the Social Science Research Council. He is the author of *Disasters and the American State: How Politicians, Bureaucrats, and the Public Prepare for the Unexpected* (Cambridge, 2013).

Marji Swinkels – bio to follow

Richard Sylves

Richard T. Sylves, Ph.D. is Professor Emeritus, University of Delaware (UD) Political Science (9/1977-9/2010). He was a senior policy fellow and graduate program director at UD's Center for Energy and Environmental Policy. At UD, he was promoted to associate with tenure in 1982 and

professor (full) 1989. After his UD retirement in late 2010, he became a Professor and Senior Research Scientist at The George Washington University Institute for Crisis, Disaster and Risk Management (2010-2014). His books include The Nuclear Oracles (1986), Cities and Disaster (W. Waugh co-editor, 1990), Disaster Management in the U.S and Canada (W. Waugh co-editor, 1996), and the textbook Disaster Policy and Politics 2008: now in second edition, 2015. He is an expert on disaster policy and presidential declarations of disaster. He served on a National Academy of Science (NAS) panel, "Estimating the Costs of Natural Disasters;" (1999-2000) and on the Steering Committee of the NAS Disasters Roundtable 2002-2005. He has done funded research for FEMA's Higher Education Program at NETC Emmitsburg, MD., and in June 2014 he won the Dr. B. Wayne Blanchard Award for Academic Excellence in Emergency Management Higher Education Research. Married, two sons, and four grandkids. Long-distance hiker.

Kate Tennis

Kate Tennis is a PhD candidate at American University's School of International Service and was a EU-Borders Visiting Researcher at the Centre for Global Studies at the University of Victoria. Her research focuses on global South-North migration, border control, and security.

Her dissertation research explores the politics of border control externalization from the perspective of migrant sending and transit states, with a particular emphasis on Caribbean and Mediterranean border control and interdiction initiatives. She holds an MA in International Relations and Diplomacy from Leiden University in the Netherlands, and a BA in International Development Studies from McGill University, Quebec. In addition to her current work, she has conducted in research on refugee policy coordination between EU member states, regionalism in the EU, and UN voting cohesion.

Nicole Tishler

Nicole Tishler is a PhD Candidate (ABD) at Carleton University's Norman Paterson School of International Affairs, in the International Conflict Management and Resolution stream. She holds an MA in Intelligence and National Security from the same department, and a BSocSc from the University of Ottawa, where she studied international relations (in French immersion) and Spanish. Her current research is focused on terrorists' tactical and weapons choice decision-making. In particular, her dissertation examines terrorism hoaxes, and why terrorist groups with a demonstrated willingness and capacity to employ lethal force would choose to incorporate hoax activity in their campaigns. Nicole has also published in the areas of chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear (CBRN) terrorism; crisis communications in Canada (funded via Public Safety Canada's Research Affiliate Program); and intelligence accountability. She is a recipient of OGS, and the Joseph-Armand Bombardier CGS Masters and Doctoral scholarships, and a junior affiliate of the Canadian Network for Research on Terrorism, Security, and Society (TSAS).