



Canadian Network for Research on Security, Extremism and Society

# Canadian Recidivism Study

*Research Report*

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## *Introduction*

Following the terrorist attacks in the United States on September 11, 2001 (9/11), countries in the Western world were quick to implement anti- and counter-terrorism legislation that was designed to facilitate the quick and effective identification and prosecution of terrorists. Canada was no exception to this trend; in 2001, the Canadian government introduced the Anti-Terrorism Act. The Act created a new chapter in the Criminal Code that dealt specifically with terrorism. To be litigated as a terrorist, two criteria were required. The first component was an act or omission that would qualify as an offence under international treaties that apply to terrorist activities, including events such as armed attacks. The second component required ideological motivations, the intent to intimidate the public or compel individuals or institutions, while also causing serious harm. It was a policy that would provide the baseline for investigative and prosecutorial practices in the years to come.

As a consequence of this wave of legislative activity, Western countries, including Canada, experienced a notable increase in terrorism-related criminal justice proceedings, resulting in a newly defined and unique group of offenders.<sup>1</sup> Researchers methodically set out to examine the characteristics of this group, resulting in several areas of study as the empirical focus shifted and evolved over

time. These areas include, but are not limited to, individual and group characteristics, facilitating and mitigating factors of radicalization and desistance, and official and unofficial responses to terrorist behaviors.

Within the Canadian context, researchers have addressed these topics with notable thoroughness. However, there is one topic of study that, although it is integrally intertwined in other areas of terrorism studies, has been primarily overlooked in Canada. Terrorist recidivism research, while becoming commonplace in other countries, has yet to be conducted within the Canadian context.<sup>2</sup> The focus of this report, the Canadian Recidivism Study (CRS), begins to address this deficit in the research. Specifically, using open-source data, the CRS examines recidivism rates of individuals processed by the criminal justice system for terrorism-related offences following the implementation of the Anti-Terrorism Act. Results provide guidance on the frequency and severity of terrorist reoffending in Canada, as well as a comparison between Canada and other Western countries.

## *Context*

The events of 9/11 dramatically altered official responses to terrorism, leading to new legislative measures across the Western world that resulted in an increase in arrests and prosecutions. Many of those prosecuted under the new anti-terrorism

laws were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, often exceeding ten years.<sup>3</sup> In the 2010s, as the first significant wave of post-9/11 convicted terrorists completed their sentences, policy makers and practitioners became concerned about the measures necessary to ensure the successful reentry of these ideologues.<sup>4</sup> Although a great deal was already known about the recidivism rates of apolitical or non-terrorist offenders, very little was known about political offenders reentering society. As such, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, legislators and security officials feared the worst: that terrorists returning to the community would reengage in ideologically motivated violence that harmed the citizenry.

In response, the research community began exploring terrorist recidivism. The results of these endeavors were notably consistent across countries. Whether conducted in Belgium, Spain, Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom, or the United States, studies indicated that recidivism among ideologically motivated offenders was markedly low. Specifically, results revealed that typically less than ten percent of terrorists returning to the community recidivated in the first two to three years following release.<sup>5</sup> This was in stark contrast to recidivism rates for apolitical offenders, which typically ranged between 25% and 50% in the first few years.<sup>6</sup> Table 1 provides a snapshot of study results of terrorist recidivism.

**Table 1. Sample of Post-9/11 Terrorist Recidivism Rates.<sup>7</sup>**

| Geographical Region | Recidivism Rate |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| Europe              | 2.5% (n=242)    |
| Malaysia            | 5.4% (n=240)    |
| England and Wales   | 3% (n=196)      |
| Northern Ireland    | 2.2% (n=453)    |
| United States       | 3.1% (n=629)    |
| Spain               | 7% (n=199)      |
| Netherlands         | 4.2% (n=189)    |

In addition, some studies suggested that recidivism was typically apolitical, often the result of minor violations of the conditions of supervised release. Those that reengaged with political violence upon release appeared to be atypical rather than typical.<sup>8</sup> Although the similarities across countries and differences between political and apolitical samples is noteworthy, Canada has a unique criminal justice system, and its correctional programming for terrorist offenders varies from other Western countries.<sup>9</sup> Thus, critics could argue that results from other nations do not necessarily translate well to the Canadian population. Considering this potential concern, it would be ideal to examine terrorist recidivism rates within the Canadian context. Specifically, does Canada also report low rates of terrorist recidivism and if so, is recidivism primarily rooted in minor apolitical infractions? What implication does this have for policy and

future research? This report attempts to address these questions through the analysis of CRS data.

### *The Canadian Recidivism Study*

The CRS is part of the Terrorism Recidivism Project (TRP), a larger data project housed at the University of Idaho. The TRP consists of four databases; in addition to the CRS, it also includes the Guantanamo Recidivism Study (GRS), the Terrorist Recidivism Study (TRS), and the Balkans Recidivism Study (BRS).<sup>10</sup> The TRP began in 2019 with the TRS, then expanded to the GRS in 2021, and the CRS and BRS in 2022. Each database documents individuals accused of (GRS and BRS), or prosecuted for (CRS, TRS, and BRS), terrorist-related offences from 2001 through to present day. Cases for each TRP database are validated with open-source material, including media, legal, and academic documents, and all cases require the minimum of two independent, valid, and reliable sources for inclusion in the TRP databases.<sup>11</sup> The TRP databases are living databases; each are reviewed every one to two years, for the purposes of updating existing cases with new information and adding new cases.

Each TRP database consists of a minimum of 45 (GRS) variables and a maximum of 75 (TRS) variables that can be thematically grouped into five areas of analysis, including demographic information, case summaries, legal proceedings, release details, and reengagement and/or

recidivism. The latter category includes pre-release infractions, suspected post-release recidivism, confirmed post-release recidivism, and the political or apolitical nature of the recidivist act. Thus, the specific nature and severity of each recidivist action is captured in the TRP coding strategy, allowing for a more inclusive and nuanced analysis.

Each TRP database has unique characteristics, defined in part by the region it represents. The CRS, for example, is a criminal justice database; it is limited to individuals processed by a criminal justice system, thus excluding anyone processed through a military system.<sup>12</sup> In addition, the CRS inclusion criteria are regionally defined. To be included in the database, the following criteria must be met: 1) individuals carried out their terrorist action/s in Canada or were charged by a Canadian court, 2) their actions occurred following the implementation of the Anti-Terrorism Act, and 3) the individuals were convicted of a terrorism-related offense.<sup>13</sup> All TRP databases define recidivism as any violation of local law or conditions of supervised release, but these laws and conditions differ considerably between countries, therefore behaviors that constitute recidivism in the CRS may not qualify as recidivism in other TRP databases.<sup>14</sup> Lastly, although all TRP databases have five thematically clustered sets of variables, these variables differ between databases. The CRS consists of 48 variables, 46 of which are also found in other TRP databases. Unlike other

databases, the CRS includes an ‘affiliation’ variable that identifies if each CRS individual is linked to other CRS individuals, as well as a ‘doubt terrorism proper’ (DTP) variable that indicates if the motive, intent, or other factors cast doubt on the ideological nature of the individuals and their behaviors.<sup>15</sup> This variable may be flagged if an individual, for example, was afflicted with a psychological disorder or was potentially under duress. Table 2 lists the key variables included in the CRS.<sup>16</sup>

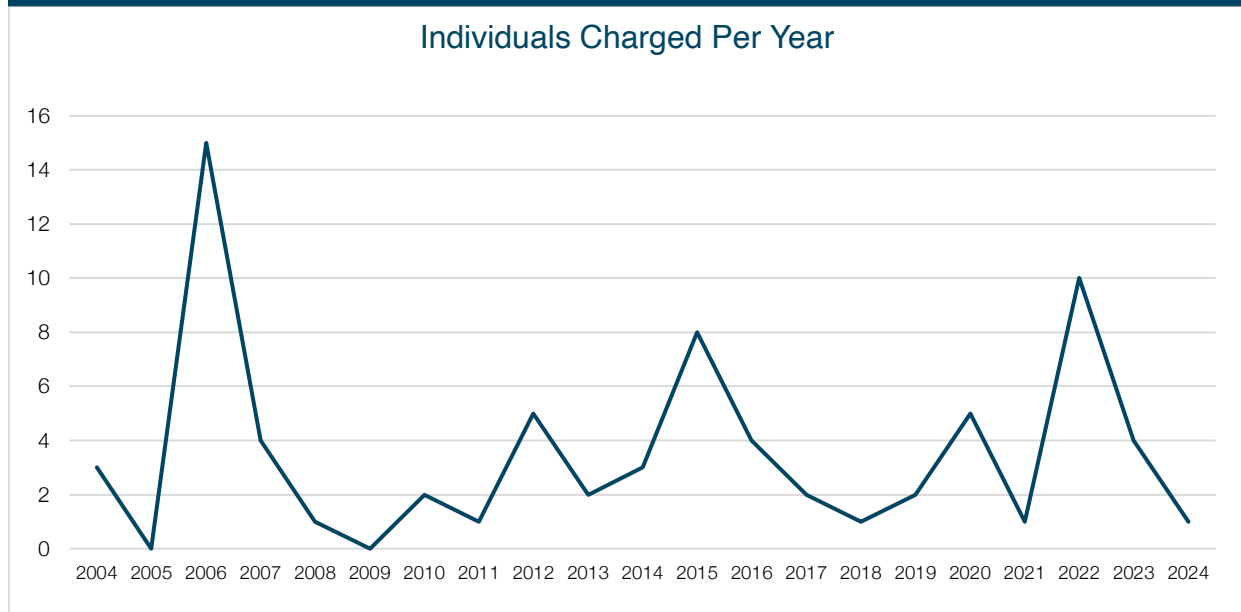
## Results

The CRS was updated in the fall of 2025, therefore, this report documents a 24-year period, beginning in December of 2001, when the Anti-Terrorism Act received Royal Assent, and ending in November of 2025, when the CRS update was completed. Figure 1 records the number of individuals who were charged with terrorism-related offences each year.

**Table 2. Key Variables Included in the CRS.**

| Demographic Characteristic | Case Description           | Arrest, Conviction, and Sentencing Information         | Release Information                       | Recidivism Information                |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Name and aliases           | Case summary               | Arrest date and charges                                | Date of release                           | Record of full sample recidivism      |
| Age at time of conviction  | Organizational affiliation | Number and type of convictions and date of convictions | Presence and length of supervised release | Record of non-incarcerated recidivism |
| Gender                     | Case affiliation           | Disposition plea                                       | Deportation proceedings                   | Ideological motivation of recidivism  |
| Race                       | Doubt terrorism proper     | Type, length, and date of sentence                     |                                           | Recidivism summary                    |
| Prior criminal record      |                            | Location of legal proceedings                          |                                           |                                       |

Figure 1. Number of Individuals Charged Per Year



In total, the CRS contains 115 individuals, although a portion of this sample was excluded from analysis. Individuals were omitted if they met any of the following criteria: the case was ongoing or was DTP, terrorism-related charges were withdrawn, or the individual was sent out of country during or following legal proceedings. Amongst the complete CRS sample, 19 individuals had an outcome pending at the time of drafting this report, two of the accused and/or convicted were youths whose identity was unknown and therefore could not be assessed for future recidivism, seven individuals were charged but the accused was still at large, eight individuals' legal proceedings occurred in another country or were deported following conviction thus complicating the ability to assess recidivism, two people were found not criminally responsible due to a mental disorder, five individuals had charges

dropped, and four individuals died during or after legal proceedings. In total, 39 individuals were excluded, resulting in a final sample consisting of 76 individuals.<sup>17</sup>

As summarized in Table 3, a typical CRS individual is male (89%), approximately 28 years of age, Middle Eastern or European white (23% and 22%, respectively), and without a pre-existing criminal record. Approximately half of the individuals plead guilty and slightly more than half (53%) had partners or affiliates that were also prosecuted for extremism. The majority of cases occurred in Ontario (59%), followed by Quebec (23%). More than two-thirds (71%) were affiliated with a terrorist group, primarily the Toronto 18, Al Qaeda, and/or the Islamic State.<sup>18</sup>

**Table 3. Descriptive Summaries of Primary Variables.**

|                                                  |                           |                         |
|--------------------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Gender                                           | Male                      | 89%                     |
|                                                  | Female                    | 11%                     |
| Race                                             | Asian                     | 17%                     |
|                                                  | Black                     | 9%                      |
|                                                  | European White            | 22%                     |
|                                                  | Latinx                    | 1%                      |
|                                                  | Middle Eastern White      | 23%                     |
|                                                  | Unknown                   | 27%                     |
| Age                                              | Average Value             | 27.7 years              |
| Disposition                                      | Pled Guilty               | 47%                     |
|                                                  | Found Guilty              | 53%                     |
| Sentence Length                                  | Average Value             | 8.4 years <sup>19</sup> |
| Offense Category (% and average sentence length) | Violent                   | 63%, 9.11 years         |
|                                                  | Non-Violent Financial     | 33%, 7.25 years         |
|                                                  | Non-Violent Non-Financial | 4%, 6.65 years          |

The majority of CRS individuals were charged with participating in a terrorist organization or a variation of this offence, followed by mischief and attempted or successful homicide.<sup>20</sup> Eleven CRS individuals received a life sentence, another quarter were not imprisoned, and the remaining half of the sample averaged 8.4 years of incarceration. Those that were not incarcerated typically were young offenders, received supervised release, and/or their charges were stayed. Offense type did not feature prominently in the decision to apply a custodial sentence. Supervised release was somewhat atypical;

approximately 41% were given supervised release, which averaged approximately 2.1 years. Only three individuals received fines, averaging approximately \$80,000 each.

Recidivism is rare among the CRS sample. Of the 76 individuals included in the analysis, only eight (10.5%) engaged in some form of recidivism following conviction. Of these eight, three (3.9%) violated the law while they were incarcerated. The incarcerated recidivists either assaulted or threatened to assault other correctional residents or staff. It appears that pre-release recidivism was not

ideologically motivated but was instead rooted in personal affront or gain. Five non-incarcerated CRS individuals recidivated, which is approximately 6.5% of the whole sample. However, this number is deceptive as it compares non-incarcerated recidivists to all CRS individuals, including those that remain incarcerated. Of the 76 included in the CRS sample, 46 were not under custodial control at the time of writing this report, thus five out of 46 (10.8%) of all non-incarcerated CRS individuals recidivated.<sup>21</sup> Of those five, the majority engaged in parole violations, although the nature of the parole violation varied in severity. One individual was caught without his monitoring device, while two more were found with internet and cellular devices to

which they were not permitted access. One of these devices contained bomb-making information, suggesting that possession of the device may have ideological significance. As for the other two recidivists, one attempted to leave the country to reengage in extremism while the other threatened to attack civilians. Therefore, of the five non-incarcerated recidivists, three displayed behaviors or intentions that aligned with reengagement, including possessing terrorist materials, threatening to hurt others, and attempting to travel overseas to join a terrorist group. Table 4 summarizes the CRS non-incarcerated recidivists, their demographic and legal characteristics, and their recidivist behaviors.<sup>22</sup>

**Table 4. Non-Incarcerated Recidivism.**

| Recidivist   | Demographics                                                   | Sentence and Release Information                                                     | Recidivist Behaviours                                                                     |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Recidivist 1 | Male, 26 years old at the time of conviction, African Canadian | Seven years imprisonment, released in 2011, recidivated one year later               | Attempted to leave the country to join a terrorist group                                  |
| Recidivist 2 | Male, 32 years old at the time of conviction, African Canadian | Ten years imprisonment, released in 2020, recidivated in less than one year          | Possession of a cellular phone                                                            |
| Recidivist 3 | Male, 25 years old at the time of conviction, Asian            | Four years and six months imprisonment, released in 2019, recidivated one year later | Possession of a device that had internet capabilities; device contained terrorist content |
| Recidivist 4 | Male, 15 years old at the time of conviction, unknown race     | Three years imprisonment, released in 2024, recidivated while on bail                | Failure to wear monitoring equipment                                                      |
| Recidivist 5 | Male 22 years old at the time of conviction, Middle Eastern    | Seven years imprisonment, released in 2012, recidivated one month later              | Threatening to assault citizens                                                           |

## *Interpreting the Results*

Although the incarcerated recidivists are worth noting, the following discussion of CRS results will follow the standard set by government agencies when assessing recidivism; it will focus exclusively on individuals who are not incarcerated. Results point to two conclusions. First, recidivism in Canada is relatively rare, occurring in approximately one out of every ten cases. Second, when it does occur, it tends to be primarily rooted in violations of the conditions of release, although these violations are often ideological and may have violent intentions.

### *Low Recidivism Rates*

Regarding the first factor, in comparison to apolitical offenders, recidivism rates among convicted terrorists are low. As a point of reference, in 2020, the Government of Canada reviewed apolitical recidivism data provided by various Canadian agencies, concluding that recidivism rates ranged between 9-90%, depending on the sample group of interest and the definition of recidivism.<sup>23</sup> Along similar lines, Correctional Service Canada assessed the two-year recidivism rates of federal offenders in 2019, concluding that the overall cohort recidivism rate was 23.4%.<sup>24</sup> It is important to note that these rates reflected a return to custody, which may have excluded select (minor) supervised release violations. Despite using a definition of recidivism that may have been more restrictive than the CRS,

these studies illustrate overall recidivism rates for non-ideologically motivated offenders are higher than those reported for ideologically motivated offenders.

It is worth noting that the difference between ideological and non-ideological recidivism in Canada is less stark than is observed in other countries. This is due in part to higher ideological recidivism rates but, of equal importance, by lower non-ideological rates. As a point of comparison, in 2021, the United States Bureau of Justice Statistics conducted two studies on state prisoners. The first provided a five year follow up on released prisoners in 34 states and reported that 62% were rearrested within the first three years.<sup>25</sup> The second study, which provided a ten year follow up on released prisoners in 24 states, reported that 66% were rearrested within the first three years of release.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, the TRS reported non-incarcerated terrorist recidivism rates of 3.1% in the United States.<sup>27</sup> Thus, Canadian political and apolitical recidivism rates differ, but not as significantly as other countries.

One possible explanation for the discrepancy between the CRS sample and apolitical sample may simply be that it takes longer for political offenders to reengage in criminal activity. This explanation illustrates the importance of longitudinal analysis or examining the long-term outcomes for released individuals. As mentioned previously, as of 2025, 46 CRS individuals had been released. Of those 46,

21 were released prior to 2016, and an additional 14 were released prior to 2021. Thus, two-thirds of the CRS sample had been back in the community for five or more years (45% have been in the community for ten or more years) at the time of this study, providing a lengthy analysis period during which to capture an elongated recidivism trajectory. In addition, as Table 4 illustrates, CRS recidivists typically engage in recidivism within the first year of release. Thus, there is little evidence to support the claim that it takes longer for political offenders to recidivate.

Another possible explanation for low recidivism rates is that terrorists returning to the community have learned to better hide their activities from law enforcement. This supposition is countered by the nature of the offenses for which the CRS recidivist group is responsible. The majority of reported recidivism is due to parole violations, including obtaining communication (internet and cellular) devices and failing to wear a monitoring device. Although some of these violations are particularly worrisome, they reflect conditions that are unique to the supervised release population and are unlikely to be noticed and reported by the general population. Thus, these results suggest that released terrorists are subject to high levels of official scrutiny upon release, resulting in the detection of these activities.

A final explanation for the low rates of recidivism reported in the CRS is that convicted terrorists have a low likelihood of reoffending. This conclusion is supported by the data; there are low levels of post-release activity and this is consistent across time and space. In addition, other Western countries also report low recidivism rates for convicted terrorists. Thus, the results reported in this document point to the following conclusion: individuals convicted of terrorism-related offenses have a low probability of reengaging in criminal activity upon release.

### *The Nature and Intent of Recidivism*

Regarding the second factor, although only five non-incarcerated individuals recidivated, there are some general conclusions that can be drawn regarding the nature of these offences. First, for the most part, these individuals engaged in seemingly minor violations of their supervised release; they behaved in a manner that was not punishable by law for the typical citizen but was for a returning offender. Second, although seemingly minor, some of these offenses had nefarious intent; possessing a device that can connect to the internet is not immediately troubling but if it is used to locate bomb making material, it becomes of greater concern. Along similar lines, wanting to travel is commonplace among Canadians, but wanting to travel for the purposes of joining a terrorist group warrants immediate attention. Therefore,

although the recidivist behaviors may appear innocuous at first glance, they may reflect violent intentions.

Similar to comparing the frequency of recidivism in Canada to other countries, there is value in comparing the nature and intent of Canadian terrorist recidivism to what is observed in other nations. Regarding this comparison, the results are less consistent; some countries report that terrorist recidivists engage in minor violations while others report higher rates of ideological reengagement. The United States, for example, found that recidivism tended to be minor and less than 10% of recidivists engaged in ideologically motivated activities.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, researchers found a higher rate of ideological recidivism and reengagement in a Belgium sample than was reported in the United States (although the overall rate of recidivism remained in the low single digits).<sup>29</sup> Therefore, the ideological nature and violent intent of seemingly minor recidivism in Canada may be concerning but is not necessarily an outlier among other countries.

### *Implications*

As summarized in the previous section, the CRS sample indicates that recidivism rates for terrorist offenders are markedly low in Canada. This suggests that this population, upon returning to the community, may pose less of a threat to the public than apolitical offenders.

Aggregate rates indicate that it is more likely that an apolitical offender will reoffend than a political offender, and the difference is both significant and noteworthy.

Despite the low rates of terrorist recidivism, programming and reentry resources should continue to be made available to this unique group of offenders. The threat of terrorist recidivism is rare, but the likelihood of it occurring is greater than zero, and although recidivism appears to be primarily rooted in violations of the conditions of release, these violations may have ideologically motivated violent intentions. Although no releasee that has reengaged with terrorist ideology has successfully carried out a subsequent attack, the actions of the terrorists released in the last two decades suggest that this is possible.

The characteristics of the CRS recidivist sample illustrates one notable area of future study. Specifically, the discrepancy between Canada and other countries in reported rates of terrorist recidivism is of particular interest. Although Canadian recidivism rates are low, they are higher than what is found in other Western countries. This may be due to any number of factors, perhaps informed by political, cultural, and social contexts, but without additional research, these factors are speculative at best. It is also noteworthy that Canadian recidivist activities, although seemingly innocuous, are more likely to be ideologically driven than not, which is not

unheard of in other nations, but is also not necessarily typical. Therefore, a closer examination of the nature and intent of terrorist recidivism in Canada and other countries is warranted.

In addition to exploring differences in international recidivism rates, it is also important to continue to examine the population of individuals convicted of terrorist-related offences in Canada. As this population grows over time, new patterns may emerge that are unobservable in the current sample. In addition, the continued examination of this population allows for aggregate evidence-based assessments of programming and reentry resources tailored for ideologues.

In sum, the results presented in this report are informative, pointing to the need to continue directing criminal justice and community resources towards reducing recidivism among convicted terrorists, although they may pose less of a threat than other offenders. Of equal interest, however, is how Canada compares to other countries and the sources of any detected discrepancies. Also of interest is the continued growth and development of the convicted terrorist population in Canada and how patterns of recidivism may change over time.

## References

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Bell, S. (2025). *Terrorist Threat to Canada 'Has Rarely Been Higher,' Report Says*. Global News. <https://globalnews.ca/news/10947123/terrorist-threat-canada-rarely-higher/>

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Public Safety Canada's *2025 Progress Report on the Federal Framework to Reduce Recidivism*. <https://www.publicsafety.gc.ca/cnt/rsrscs/pblctns/fdrl-frmwrk-rdc-rcdvsm-prgrss-2025/index-en.aspx>

<sup>3</sup> Diab, R. (2012). Sentencing of terrorism offences after 9/11: A comparative review of early case law. *Terrorism, Law and Democracy, Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice*. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2169514](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2169514)

<sup>4</sup> Hodwitz, O. (2019). The Terrorism Recidivism Study (TRS): Examining recidivism rates for post-9/11 offenders. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 13(2), 54-64.

<sup>5</sup> The period of observation differed between each study, ranging from six years to 29 years. See the following publications for more detailed results:

- Van der Heide, L. & Schuurman, B. (2018). Reintegrating terrorists in the Netherlands: Evaluating the Dutch approach. *Journal for Deradicalization*, 19, 196–239. <https://journals.sfu.ca/jd/index.php/jd/article/view/179/134>
- Renard, T. (2020). Overblown: Exploring the gap between the fear of terrorist recidivism and the evidence. *CTC Sentinel*, 13 (4), 1–11. URL: <https://ctc.usma.edu/overblown-exploring-the-gap-between-the-fear-of-terrorist-recidivism-and-the-evidence/>
- Reinares, F., Garcia-Calvo, C. & Vicente, A. (2018). Yihadismo y prisiones: un analisis del caso español. *Real Instituto Elcano*, ARI 123. <https://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/analisis/yihadismo-y-prisiones-unanalisis-del-caso-espanol/>
- House of Lords (2020, January). *Terrorism: Prisoners' release*. URL: <https://questionsstatements.parliament.uk/written-questions/detail/2020-01-27/HL782/>
- Hodwitz, O. (2021). The Terrorism Recidivism Study (TRS): An update on data collection and results. *Perspectives on Terrorism* 15(4), 27-38.

<sup>6</sup> The United States Department of Justice, for example, examined a state sample of released offenders, reporting a 44 percent rearrest rate within the first year and a 68 percent rearrest rate in the first three years. Canadian rates are a little lower, ranging from 24% to 50% within the first two to three years. See:

- Bureau of Justice Statistics (2018). 2018 Update on prisoner recidivism: A 9-Year follow-up period (2005-2014). <https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/2018-update-prisoner-recidivism-9-year-follow-up-period-2005-2014>
- Correctional Service Canada (2019). A comprehensive study of recidivism rates among Canadian federal offenders. <https://www.canada.ca/en/correctional-service/corporate/library/research/emerging-results/19-02.html>
- Pedneault, Lee, S. C. & Jones, N. J. (2024). Reconvictions among adults sentenced to custody or community supervision across five provincial correctional programs, 2015/2016 to 2018/2019. *Statistica Canada*. <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/85-002-x/2024001/article/00002-eng.htm>

<sup>7</sup> These study results were summarized by Renard, T. (2020). See note 5 above.

<sup>8</sup> Hodwitz, O. (2021). See note 5 above.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, Correctional Service Canada (2023). Research report. Correctional interventions for radicalized offenders: A literature review. [https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection\\_2023/scc-csc/PS83-3-463-eng.pdf](https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2023/scc-csc/PS83-3-463-eng.pdf)

<sup>10</sup> The Guantanamo Recidivism Study tracks individuals detained at the United States Naval Detention Center in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, the Terrorist Recidivism Study (TRS) records recidivism among individuals prosecuted for terrorism-related offenses in the United States, the Balkans Recidivism Study (BRS) reports recidivism for individuals processed by the military and/or criminal justice system in the Balkan Peninsula, and the Canadian

Recidivism Study examines recidivism among individuals prosecuted for terrorism in Canada.

<sup>11</sup> Sources are considered reliable and valid if they score 3+ on the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START) source validity list, the same metric used by START to locate sources for the Global Terrorism Database.

<sup>12</sup> The GRS, in contrast, is an exclusively military database.

<sup>13</sup> A small portion of the CRS consists of pending terrorism-related cases that have not yet been resolved in court but are being actively monitored to determine the outcome. If a conviction is achieved, but the terrorism-related charges are dropped, the individual will remain in the database but will be coded as non-terrorism and excluded from aggregate analysis.

<sup>14</sup> Freedom of speech laws, for example, differ considerably between countries, as do conditions of supervised release or parole.

<sup>15</sup> The variable name 'doubt terrorism proper' was first used in the Global Terrorism Database, a project of the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, located at the University of Maryland.

<sup>16</sup> Non-core variables, such as 'source of information' or 'case ID number' have been removed from Table 2.

<sup>17</sup> An astute reader may notice that the total number of excluded individuals does not match the number of the accused in each exclusionary category; this is because some individuals fit into two or more categories.

<sup>18</sup> Quite a few CRS individuals identified with more than one terrorist group; thus, it is misleading to assign a percentage to the prevalence of each group.

<sup>19</sup> It is important to note that the average sentence length does not include eleven individuals who were sentenced to life imprisonment since they did not have a calculable sentence length. If they were included, sentence length would increase considerably. If, for example, life sentences equaled approximately 30 years of expected incarceration, the average sentence length for the custodial group would increase to 14.7 years.

<sup>20</sup> Most CRS individuals were charged with multiple offences; thus, it is misleading to assign a percentage to the prevalence of each charge.

<sup>21</sup> The astute reader may be curious about recidivism rates amongst those who received a custodial sentence and then were released. In total, 57 individuals received custodial sentences. Of those 57, 26 were released at the time of writing this report. Thus, four (15%) of these post-release individuals recidivated.

<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that of the 38 individuals that were excluded from analysis, only one recidivated. She attempted to obtain a passport to travel to Syria to reengage with extremism.

<sup>23</sup> The majority of the data produced high recidivism rates; the exception appeared to be non-Indigenous women, which demonstrated notably low recidivism rates of 9%. In comparison, no women, Indigenous or non-Indigenous, recidivated in the CRS sample. See Government of Canada (2020). JustFacts: Recidivism in the criminal justice system. <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/rp-pr/jr/jf-pf/2020/aug01.html>

<sup>24</sup> Correctional Service Canada (2019). See note 6 above.

<sup>25</sup> Durose, M. R., Antenangeli, L. (2021). Recidivism of prisoners released in 34 states in 2012: A 5-year follow-up period (2012–2017). *Bureau of Justice Statistics*. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/recidivism-prisoners-released-34-states-2012-5-year-follow-period-2012-2017>

<sup>26</sup> Antenangeli, L., Durose, M. R. (2021). Recidivism of prisoners released in 24 states in 2008: A 10-year follow-up period (2008–2018). *Bureau of Justice Statistics*. <https://bjs.ojp.gov/library/publications/recidivism-prisoners-released-24-states-2008-10-year-follow-period-2008-2018>

<sup>27</sup> Hodwitz, O. (2021). See note 5 above.

<sup>28</sup> Hodwitz, O. (2019). See note 4 above.

<sup>29</sup> Renard, T. (2020). See note 5 above.

## *About CANSES*

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