Shades of Intolerance: The Influence of Terrorism on Discriminatory Attitudes and Behaviors in the United Kingdom and Canada.

by

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Terrorism on Discriminatory Attitudes and Behaviors

in the United Kingdom and Canada

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Terrorism has been shown to have a destabilizing impact upon the citizens of the nation-state in which it occurs, causing social distress, fear, and the desire for retribution (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Much of the recent work on 21st century terrorism carried out in the global north has placed the focus on terrorism being perpetuated by Middle East Muslims. In addition, recent migration trends show that the global north is becoming much more diverse as the highly populated global south migrates upward. Population growth in the global north is primarily due to increases in the minority presence, and these post-1960 changes have increased the diversity of historically more homogeneous nations like the United Kingdom and Canada. This research examines the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors, with a focus on the United Kingdom in the aftermath of the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in London. Competing theoretical explanations for the increase in discrimination were tested, including Nationalism theory, Authoritarianism theory, and Integrated Threat theory. Using various international social surveys and a difference-in-differences statistical strategy, this study compares trends in attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom to those in Canada, a politically and socially similar nation-state that (at the time of this study) had not experienced a major terrorist attack. Hate crimes data is also

*used to analyze discriminatory behaviors. The empirical findings suggest there was a rise in Islamophobia and racism in the United Kingdom against visible minorities in the aftermath of the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks. Difference-in-differences modeling shows that **while Authoritarianism offers important theoretical insights on the motivation of terrorism on authoritarian attitudes in Canada; Nationalism theory, in the form of ethnic nationalism, is an important influence on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the UK**. Findings also suggest that Nationalism theory is the most likely basis for the observed increases in discrimination in the UK.*

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Much of Europe, like the United States and Canada, has been affected in recent decades by a greatly increased flow of immigration, made up of people markedly different racially and ethnically from the native population. As these ethnic communities have grown and become permanent parts of the social landscape, social tensions have arisen, sparking outbreaks of aggression and anti-immigrant political movements (Marger, 2012, p.5).

Social scientists have long theorized about the motivations of discriminatory behavior directed against racial, ethnic and religious minorities. Some of the possible factors that may influence the motivation of dominant group members to discriminate against minorities include power dynamics, resource allocation, perceptions of threat assessment, xenophobia, and opinions of which groups of people should be granted citizenship (Connor, 1970; Smith, 1991; Altemeyer, 1998; Hobfoll, 2002; Stephan et. al, 2009). Because many of these factors are also associated with a society's response to terrorism, this research examines how discriminatory attitudes and behaviors may arise in a society after a major terrorist attack. Moreover, as an institutional response to terrorism, governments have established counterterrorism, immigration and securitization measures (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). These laws may in turn motivate further discriminatory behavior. The laws and policies that establish or perpetuate racial and religious inequality may offer stability to systems of social stratification and are embedded in what is called institutional discrimination (Marger, 2003).

Theoretical perspectives on prejudice and discrimination include nationalism (Smith, 1991; Lawrence, 2005), authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 2006; Hetherington and Weiler,

2009), and integrated threat theory (Stephan et al, 2009; Tausch et al, 2009). These theoretical perspectives have been utilized to elucidate what incites citizens into anti-immigrant sentiment, discriminatory acts against minorities, and the denial of full equality and civil rights. In homogeneous societies without a terrorist threat, religious and ethnic similarity encourage the capabilities of governing the collective whole, establishing a common demos among the population, patriotism, adherence to authority, and equitable resource allocation (Gellner, 1983; Smith, 1991; Billig, 2009; Hobfoll, 2001). When a destabilizing event like terrorism occurs, the heightening of patriotic prose may activate the demos to protect the homeland against the threat (Billig, 2009). More religiously, ethnically and racially diverse societies, however, have systems of social stratification and segregation predicated upon the lack of racial and religious uniformity. In many situations, the structural integrity of these systems of stratification (particularly, in the more developed nations) are stable (Marger, 2014). When catastrophic events, such as successful terrorist attacks, threaten the structural integrity of nations with racially and religiously diverse populations, dominant group members may respond to the anxiety with discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Protecting the status quo system of resource allocation and structure of the culture which benefits them is of particular importance to dominant group members in the nation-state.

In this research, terrorism is hypothesized to be a trigger and motivator of core group discrimination against minorities. Recent forms of terrorism have been expressly linked to Islamic radicalism (Stephan et. al, 2009) and four credible response possibilities include 1) a national response from the collective that is non-discriminatory and directed

only against the terrorist organization who perpetuated the terrorism (e.g., only Al Qaeda); 2) a national response from the collective that is discriminatory and is directed against the out-group others who are of similar likeness to the terrorist group (e.g., Islamophobia); 3) a dominant group response that is non-discriminatory and directed against the terrorist organization without the engagement of minorities (a predominately British and/or Canadian white war on terrorism against Al Qaeda); or 4) a dominant group response that is discriminatory against all minorities (racial and religious discrimination against minorities by British and/or Canadian whites). The purpose of this paper is therefore to examine this fundamental question: what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in a society that has experienced a terrorist attack?

July 7, 2005 London Bombings

Terrorism is the use of violence to reach a political goal. It is a real or imagined grievance in which its perpetrators seek to force political authorities to capitulate to their requirements or remove the political power structure that is presently perceived as the cause of the terrorist's frustration (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005). In 2005, such an attack occurred on British soil. On July 7, 2005 passengers boarded the circle line train at the Aldgate train station. A bomb, created by Shehzad Tanweer, exploded at 8:50 a.m. Seconds later, Mohammed Sidique Khan detonated his bomb on the Edgware circle train line. At the same time Germaine Lindsay's bomb exploded on the Piccadilly train line killing 26 passengers, including Lindsay. The fourth explosion occurred on the Tavistock Square bus at 9:47 when Hasib Hussain detonated his bomb. In total, over 700 passengers

were injured and another 52 were murdered. The suicidal bombers created chaos in London by their coordinated terrorist attacks (Oliver et. al, 2011).

Later that day, Tony Blair spoke to the media with George Bush and Jacques Chirac at his side. The three were at a summit to address the poverty problem in Africa. Framing the issue of terrorism as one in which the terrorist hate the values of the Western world Blair stated "We will not allow violence to change our societies or our values…. The terrorists will not succeed…. We shall prevail and they shall not" (The Guardian, 2005, News Blog).

Delegitimizing terrorist claims, using concepts that emphasize Muslims are part of an out-group of deviant violators (e.g., radicalism) and making assertions that terrorist are uncivilized further authenticate Muslims as the 'unknown other'. Muslims are then perceived as a threat to the security and culture of nations (Liguori in Volpato et. al, 2010). In subsequent news coverage, Prime Minister Tony Blair discussed the United Kingdom in multicultural terms. He delineated the terrorist acts as those conducted by Islamic radicals. According to Pitcher (2009) discussing the United Kingdom in multicultural terms alleviated terrorist claims of European Imperialism and the influences of British culture on the Muslim world. The global war on terror and an emphasis on multiculturalism legitimate the involvement of the United Kingdom in the Afghanistan and Iraqi wars. Utilizing ethnocentric speak increases an 'us' versus 'them' frame of reference. Islamophobia is perceived as a rational response to Islamic radicalism. Pitcher (2009) writes

"A discourse of multiculturalism became a resource to bolsterer support for an unpopular war, and a way of covering over military and policing practices that at the same time involved forms of surveillance, profiling and targeting that were fed quite unambiguously by long-standing conceptions of racialized differences" (p.3).

Reflecting on the globalizing influence of the media and its portrayals of terrorism, John Gray (2005) discusses the illusionary nature of media depictions of terrorism. For him, the war in Afghanistan had decimated Al Qaeda. Media coverage of the War in Iraq, however, has served to 'revivify' Al Qaeda. This type of media exposure creates the backlash Chebel d'Appollonia (2012) refers to in *'Frontiers of Fear'*. Getting news stories to the viewer as quickly as possible may diminish accuracy and, quite possibly, a lack of sensitivity for its victims. Newspaper reporter Alice O'Keeffe, for example, was on the King's Cross Piccadilly train that had been bombed by Germaine Lindsay. After spending a half-hour in the smoke filled tube train several reporters offered her a hand as she climbed from the debris. Although she could relate to reporters asking callous questions after traumatic events, she stated she had survived the ordeal and that the reporters should stop asking questions of her (Gray, 2005). O'Keeffe's response was the unfiltered reality of experiencing a terrorist event. Media portrayals, according to Gray however, "insulates the public from realities it cannot tolerate" (p. 17). The eradication of terrorism, like climate change, requires well thought out cooperation (Gray, 2005). Competition between news corporations does not always offer information in a manner that motivates such cooperation. The United Kingdom response to terrorism increased media viewership and newspaper sales. To Gray (2005), the media response to terrorism and its threat to the nation-state had the effect of heightening ethnocentrism by framing

terrorist acts as evil and barbaric, while legitimate government attempts to help those in need. This type of deixis can stoke the ire of citizens (Shahzad, 2012).

To help examine the influence of the London bombings on discriminatory attitudes in the UK, the proposed study will compare the experience of the United Kingdom with Canada, a society with similar culture and political traditions. Based upon the premise that the discrimination in the United Kingdom will be more pervasive than that in Canada after July 7, 2005; this research examines if discrimination spills beyond Muslims and to visible minorities who have no association with Al Qaeda or other Middle Eastern terrorist organizations. While terrorist have been successful in the United Kingdom, their attempts on Canadian soil have proven less successful.

June, 2006 Toronto 18 Terrorist Cell

In November of 2005, Mubin Shaikh, a Muslim Canadian citizen, infiltrated a terrorist cell that had been inspired by Al Qaeda to carry out a series of bombings. The Toronto 18 had planned to detonate truck bombs at the Canadian Parliament building and the Canadian Broadcast Center. In addition they planned the beheading of Canadian Prime Minister, Stephen Harper. Twenty-one year old Fahim Ahmad, born in Afghanistan, lived in Canada since the age of 10, was the leader. After the attempt failed, he was sentenced to 16 years in prison in 2010. The brain of the operation, 21 year old Zakaria Amara, was sentenced to life in prison in 2009. Five of the 18 members were under the age of 18 (Teotonio, 1996-2010).

The modus operandi of terrorists cannot be to win in traditional military confrontation with the nations of the West. The military might is too asymmetric in favor of the West. A goal of the terrorist is to use technology against the nation through effective communication. When one terrorist attack is successful, the media often makes the attack its lead story. News cycles move from the attack to the government response to experts who try to rationalize terrorist's behavior. This type of media coverage is the desired effect of the terrorists (Cvrtila and Peresin, 2009). While the terrorists plan future attacks, they will periodically send video tape of claims of future attacks against the West to ratchet up the anxiety of the citizen who realize the attacks are random and they can do little to predict them. Granted the indiscriminate nature of terrorist activity and its design to establish uncertainty and fear, news stories that make successful attacks lead stories serve the terrorist's agenda. By humiliating government officials and law enforcement personnel, whose given responsibility is to maintain order, provide safety and eradicate terrorism, terrorist utilize the technology of the West to destabilize the nation-state (Cvrtila and Peresin, 2009). While the West lays claim to superior military capabilities, it is quite possible they are losing the ideological struggle. The persistence of Al Qaeda and Hamas terrorist cells are apparent through the lens of media exposure but the London bombers and the Toronto 18 seem to have been influenced by and not members of these terrorist organizations. Therefore, the recruitment of new members does not necessarily require direct communication with terrorist organizations. Recruitment can be facilitated through perceptions of intolerance and the ideological belief in the terrorist's struggle. Terrorist design a message of destruction, fear, and retaliation against Western cultural values that they perceive permeating throughout the Middle East. The media of the West

is the message sender and the victims are the citizen viewers. This becomes an electronic form of Jihadism in which the technology of the West becomes a tool for terrorist's recruitment (Cvrtila and Peresin, 2009).

Discrimination in the Construction of Counterterrorism and Securitization Policies

Fundamentally, the securitization prototype is one in which the traditional laws utilized to shore up the protection of those in the nation are suspended to create emergent norms in-lieu of existential circumstance. Traditional laws that are powerfully enjoined to constitutional provisions are diluted (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Human rights laws, policies that abide by global norms on asylum seeking migrants and laws that separate religious freedom from government scrutiny become obsolete in an effort to eliminate terrorism. According to some experts, since terrorism is both an internal domestic and external international circumstance, substantial amounts of public funding are redirected to war efforts against terrorism and legislative policy may give police and the judicial system unusually broad powers that restrict even constitutional rights and safeguards (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2013). The atypical state of affairs brought about through successfully carried out terrorist attacks establish vulnerabilities in which politicians utilize what Cesari (2013) refers to as 'symbolic codes' to shape perceptions of how the enemy terrorist should be identified. The post-1960 colorization of developed nations through migration patterns along with the end of the cold war may have produced an atmosphere in which terrorism, and claims of it being a Muslim driven cultural hatred of and insanity against the free world, have made Islam the pre-eminent enemy of the West. Cesari (2013) offers support when she writes,

"aspects of sociopolitical integration – including education, urban development, and economic integration – are increasingly interpreted through the lens of culture and Islam, while concerns about socioeconomic development or social mobility are increasingly conflated with the War on Terror and with Islam" (p. 87).

At the domestic level, legislation is established to control Islamic education, urbanization and access into the job market. At the international level, nations that have populations who practice Islam are analyzed through a lens of the push factors of emigration. Political symbolic code speech of 'hating the cultural values of the West' and 'stealing jobs' encourage xenophobic responses by the citizens of the nation (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2013). This dialogue is amplified when ascribed to Middle-East Muslim terrorism. It is in this manner that counterterrorism and securitization policies establish what Chebel d'Appollonia (2012) refers to as the 'security-insecurity spiral. Take immigration policies for example. When confronting terrorism, Cesari (2013) makes clear that it is part and parcel of securitization measures when she writes,

"Our analysis departs from the dominant securitization approach by analyzing, not only discourses but also political measures indirectly related to terrorism, such as immigration policies and administrative measures limiting Islamic practices" (p. 83).

The government's xenophobic reaction to terrorism is the boosting of immigration policy to filter out terrorists. Immigration officials know that this is an extremely difficult and impracticable undertaking. However, the need for law and order of citizens require that immigration policy be written to diminish migrant entry, including those who are not terrorists, from regions that are known to have terrorist recruitment locations and in this case, a different religious orthodox. In this manner, legal doctrine reinforces an ideology

of the Muslim as the outside 'other' (Cesari, 2013). Securitization of national borders

against terrorist through altering immigration policy is ineffective for a number of

reasons. First, the diffuse nature of terrorist cells and that recent forms of terrorist

organizations are not hierarchically structured but work like independent franchises to

plan attacks which diminishes the effect of immigration policy on terrorist activity

(Cvrtila and Peresin, 2009). Second, technological advances allow terrorist to collect

information on creating crude bombs and to communicate through email correspondence

which diminishes the need to be in a place for extended periods to implement an attack.

Third, terrorist attacks are often 'home grown' as in the case of the London subway

bombers and the Canadian Toronto 18.

Counterterrorism measures in the United Kingdom include the government's ability,

through law enforcement provisions, to access personal bank information without the

consent of the bank account holder. This is a contradiction on citizen rights of privacy.

Additional measures that diminish privacy without citizen consent include searching

phone records, internet use and mail (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). In addition,

technology that makes electronic monitoring possible allows the gathering of relevant

and often irrelevant data and given the skepticism law enforcement has against the

Muslim community, possibly fuels xenophobia. To be clear Chebel d'Appollonia (2012)

when quoting Peter Clark, the head of the counterterrorism branch of London's

Metropolitan Police, writes,

"most terrorism-related investigations begin with intelligence gathered from foreign
governments, intelligence agencies or electronic eavesdropping." He added that, because

of the increasing suspicion of Muslims, many of them are "reluctant to report co-religionists to the police, even if they disagree with their militant view" (p. 155).

To James Gow (2009), the primary issue in the United Kingdom's National Security Strategy is the "struggle against Islamic terrorism" and 'countering the challenge posed by Al Qaeda and its affiliates" (p. 128). Almost 90 percent of the National Security policy program is designed to confront and combat Al Qaeda (Gow, 2009). Nation-states in the West may establish the perception that terrorist confrontation is a war (Ekmekci, 2011). Counterterrorism policies are designed from that purview. These perceptions are shared via the television, newspapers, magazines, and the internet. They are reinforced in political speech, and may increase profits for media outlets through viewership (Cvrtila and Peresin, 2009). They establish a commonality of earmarking who is the adversary, but they also may be the recruitment necessary to perpetuate terrorism (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). While counterterrorism and securitization measures are designed to defend the nation-state against terrorism, these policies may be ineffective at eradicating the terrorist threat (Svendsen, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). They may be successful, however, in influencing xenophobia which is a precursor to discriminatory attitudes and behaviors.

Counterterrorism policies are designed to instill a sense of calm and reassurance in the population. The government, given the legitimate use of force within its powers, often creates counter-terrorism policies that include the implementation of military and law enforcement capacities as a means to suppress terrorist activity. For Adam Svendsen (2010) these counter terrorism measures often involve 'risk pre-emption', or 'risk

management', or 'risk prevention'. Risk pre-emption occurs through social engineering in which national governments establish harmonious relationships with, in this case, the Muslim community. Risk management occurs through adequate surveillance and policing to extinguish terrorist threats or minimize the effects of their activities. Risk prevention is a more proactive and aggressive mandate in which nations may go to war against terrorist actors to eradicate those responsible for terrorism (Svendsen, 2010). Canada seems to utilize risk pre-emptive policies, the United Kingdom appears to use risk management policies and the United States, for example, uses risk preventive strategies. Fear induced securitization and counter-terrorist measures in the form of risk management and risk prevention policies may be discriminatory in nature. Cesari writes,

"The security measures employed by the Bush administration (e.g., extra-ordinary renditions) have complicated the accommodation of immigrants by the host culture. In Europe, counterterrorism measures have led to discriminatory policies toward Muslim immigrants, especially in the case of nationality or citizenship tests, which tend to undermine the efforts of those Muslims who have sought to bridge their faith with Western values" (p. 45-46).

Securitization and counterterrorism policies have the potential of increasing Islamic radicalism as a backlash against perceptions of discrimination. Such policies may be perceived as ineffective when terrorist acts are carried out successfully. When the effects of terrorism are ideologically productive for the terrorists, social instability leads to ethnocentric behavior. The ethnocentrism can be national, as in a form of patriotic demos; or the ethnocentric response can be group oriented and based upon racial and religious classification schemes. The three theoretical perspectives used in this research, nationalism theory, authoritarianism theory, and IT theory are used to compare the United

Kingdom and Canada to analyze which theory is relevant to the British citizen's possible discriminatory response to terrorism.

The 2001 Canadian Anti-terrorism Act and the United Kingdom Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act of 2001 are attempts to buttress national security. Both nations make the War on Terror a process of deterring terrorist, but the history of terrorist activity in the United Kingdom gives them a different perspective on terrorism that is reflected in the British CONTEST II Anti-terrorism policy when compared to Canadian legislative policy on terrorism. Canada, which has not experienced a successfully implemented terrorist event, has terrorist legislation designed to 1) identify, 2) deter, 3) disable, and 4) prosecute terrorists. These measures are primarily pre-emptive. The British terrorist policy is designed 1) at preventing terrorist attacks before they occur, 2) pursuing those who have caused harm to the United Kingdom citizens and/or their interests, 3) protect the United Kingdom, its citizens and interests from further attacks and 4) preparing for terrorist attacks. British policy is risk management and recognizes that both preventing terrorism and preparing to mitigate the impact of attacks, should they occur, are important factors in combating terrorism. CONTEST II makes particular reference to Al Qaeda, radicalism, the Middle East, Africa, and specific reference to the nation-states of Afghanistan, Pakistan, Somalia and Yemen in its policy (CONTEST, 2011). In addition to law enforcement protective measures, border stabilization policies in the 21st century are often designed to focus on the 'unwanted foreigner' (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2010). The Rushdie Affair and July 2005 terrorism are events that helped to distinguish the Muslim other from the 'perceived' idea British citizen. The presence of

low skilled, Muslim migrants has proven a concern for the British. Since the Rushdie

Affair in 1988, there have been five changes to British Immigration policy. Labeling

terrorism as being conducted by Muslims may motivate structural change in nations on

several social institution fronts.

Given the July 7, 2005 British home grown terrorist bombing of the London subway

system, through theoretical assessment this research examines if in-group, religious

affiliation, patriotism and discrimination increases due to the London terrorist attacks;

and if so, is the discrimination directed against the array of visible minorities or only

Muslims. The 21st century War on Terror has created the motivation for nations to

establish security measures to diminish the likelihood that terrorist attacks will occur and

if attempted, successfully carried out.

The United Kingdom and Securitization as a Response to Terrorism

As early as 1995, British intelligence was assessing the threat of Islamic suicide

bombings in the United Kingdom (Donahue, 2007). In 2000, the United Kingdom

established its initial framework on terrorism policy in the Terrorist Act of 2000. The act

established the foundation for warrantless arrests and the seizure of assets. After 9/11,

counter-terrorist strategies were designed to place scrutiny on Muslims. The Parliament

of the United Kingdom passed the Anti-Terrorism, Crime, and Security Act (ATCSA) of

2001. The ATCSA allowed foreign nationals who were suspected terrorist to be

indefinitely detained (McGoldrick, 2009). In 2005, the Prevention of Terrorism Act

allowed the United Kingdom security apparatus to utilize control orders to force upon

terrorist suspects sanctions ranging from restrictions on meetings and communication, to house arrests. The Secretary of State petitions the courts to implement control orders without proof but a threshold of suspicion (McGoldrick, 2009). Although CONTEST I was introduced in 2003 there was no official written legal document until 2006. The 2006 CONTEST document makes reference to its 2003 origin. Until the London bombings in 2005, counterterrorism strategies were focused upon pursuing terrorist. The 7/7 attacks brought home that terrorism can be home grown and strategies were focused upon the prevent strand of CONTEST (Kuzmic, 2011). In 2006, as a prevention strategy, the published CONTEST I document made illegal the act of inciting terrorist activity. According to the more recent renditions of CONTEST (2009 and 2011), in an attempt to move away from demarcating all Muslims as possible terrorist, counterterrorism strategies focus on the most vulnerable to being recruited by terrorist cells. According to CONTEST 2011, the most susceptible type of groups for terrorist recruitment are Pakistani and Somalian men under 30 years of age (Kuzmic, 2011).

Terrorism has a long history in the United Kingdom. Acts perpetuated by the Irish Republican Army (IRA) during the 1970s were of significance to British Parliament and since 1974, the United Kingdom has had legislation in place to more effectively deal with terrorist threats (UNHCR, 2013). The Terrorism Act of 2000 had a two track approach in which it focused upon Irish terrorism in Northern Ireland in one track and terrorism in the rest of the United Kingdom in another (Kuzmic, 2011) The terrorist attacks on America on September 11, 2001 altered UK counterterrorism strategies, establishing a coalition between many nations and how they will confront Islamic terrorism. On November 6,

2001 then President George Bush defiantly stated "You are either with us or against us" when referencing the United States position on the war on terror (CNN, 2001). In the attack near 3000 people were murdered and 68 were British. As previously stated, as a means of securitization, the British government, in 2003, created the Counter-Terrorist policy coined CONTEST.

As clarity, initially, CONTEST I was designed to pursue and eradicate terrorist organizations. The hard line pursue strategy in CONTEST I has been replaced with a less combative four prong strategy in CONTEST II. After the July 7, 2005 London bombings, CONTEST was altered to create a strategy of 1) preventing terrorist attacks before they occur, 2) pursuing those who harm United Kingdom citizens and/or their interests, 3) protect the United Kingdom, its citizens and interests from further attacks and 4) preparing for the consequences of future attacks (CONTEST II, 2011). Prevention strategies include diminishing inequalities and discrimination; the Pursue strategy includes strengthening the legal framework against terrorism and deportation measures; the Protect strategies include protecting key utilities and public-private business relationships; and lastly the Prepare strategies include building response capabilities when terrorist attacks are successfully carried out.

Ironically, although the United Kingdom has had at least thirty years of conflict with terrorist groups and particularly those of the IRA, the CONTEST II policy focus is substantially linked to Islamic groups. While the policy does not state that those who are Muslim are terrorist it does distinguish Islamic radicalism as the potential characteristic

that motivates terrorism. Under the threat provisions in CONTEST II, it reads "The principal current terrorist threat is from radicalized individuals who are using distorted and unrepresentative version of the Islamic faith to justify violence…..The current threat from Islamic terrorism is serious and sustained" (CONTEST II, May, 2011, p. 1). Presented in this manner, CONTEST II is designed to separate the radical Islamic from the remaining United Kingdom community based upon the 'shared values' doctrine embedded in it (Spalek and McDonald, 2009). Yet, for the general public, lumping Muslims into one category of the radicalized other is often the result and creates perceptions that all Muslims are terrorist and undesirable aliens in the United Kingdom (Cameron, Maslen and Todd, 2013). Such lumping of Muslims as if all are radicalized is often a heuristic measure used by British citizens and is linked to discrimination and xenophobic behavior.

Canada and Securitization as a Response to Terrorism

As a response to 9/11, the United Nation's Security Council enacted legislation designed to make terrorist acts and financing serious criminal offenses (Roach, 2012). Canada created the 2001 Anti-Terrorism Act (ATA). The ATA shows constraint when compared to the anti-terrorism policies of the United Kingdom. The ATA, for example, requires that when property damage occurs by suspected terrorists, life must be endangered during the destructive behavior in order for the act to be considered under the definitional scope of terrorist activity. Although the ATA initially had provisions that religiously or politically motivated acts causing harm would be defined as terrorist activity, the act was amended to remove these provisions unless there was proof of such motivation.

Regarding terrorist financing, from 2001 until 2012, one case has been prosecuted under the ATA in which a Canadian was sentenced to six months in prison for sending $3000 to the Tamil Tigers terrorist cell in Sri Lanka (Roach, 2012).

Fighting Terrorism, Creating Islamophobia or Motivating Racism

The 21st century war on terrorism has placed significant political, law enforcement, media and military focus upon Muslims as terrorist. For example, "former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, stated that all Muslims were responsible for terrorism" (Cesari, 2010, p. 13). Media portrayals of Muslims along with airport and law enforcement security measures have placed unusual and unsubstantiated scrutiny on citizen's perceptions of Muslim foreigners (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). In this manner, Islamophobia becomes normalized and a motivation for Middle Easterners to mobilize and radicalizes Muslims, and encourages their recruitment as terrorist (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Cesari writes, "Islamic movements can … challenge hegemonic political institutions and practices of the host society in the face of discrimination and exclusion" (2010, p.48). Juxtapose to the xenophobia that terrorism responses may create; Islam and Muslim movements can also enhance the democratic process and help integrate Muslims into the larger society. In a 2003 Home Office survey, near 86 percent of Muslims in England positively identify with their British nationality. Indians, Pakistani and Bangladeshis Brits also had high favorability ratings near 86 percent (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Caribbeans and Africans had the lowest identification and yet over 79 percent of Caribbeans and almost 75 percent of Africans identified either fairly or very strongly British. This supports an interesting paradox. Given the response to terrorism

increased Islamophobia, discrimination against Muslims should be more pronounced in

the United Kingdom after the 2005 London terrorist attack than in Canada given the lack

of a successfully implemented terrorist attack. However, if discrimination is rooted in a

legacy supported by social institutions and given Muslim terrorist securitization measures

are primarily 21st century policy, discrimination against all minorities, including Africans

and Caribbeans could be more pronounced. As whites in the United Kingdom attempt to

safeguard their disproportionate share of and access to a variety of important tangible and

intangible resources because of the social disruption brought about by the July, 2005

terrorist attack, increasing levels of racial discrimination are quite possible.

September 11, 2001 was utilized as motivation for Canada, the United States and the

United Kingdom to engage in the War in Iraq as part of the war on terrorism. In

February, 2003, over 1.5 million demonstrators gathered to denounce the idea of going to

war in Iraq (Simon, 2003). With such large demonstrations, there was a perception that

Bush and Blair would understand the resistance to military engagement in Iraq. The

legacy of cultural, racial and religious differences makes sustainable mobilization

difficult. Walgrave and Verhulst (2009) examined the diversity of demonstrators in eight

nation-states. They state,

"When communication (through demonstration) with the authorities really matters –
when it comes to an issue that is divisive and conflictual, and when this communication
could make a difference and affect political decision-making – mobilizing beyond their
own organizational circles is difficult. Only when an issue is a valence issue, attracting
virtually all support to one side, is diversity within reach" (p. 1379).

The demonstrations were ineffective in engaging in the blunting of the Iraqi war as it was stated as being connected to the larger war on terror. There is a tautological nature of the far right, conservative politicians and the media using fear to reinforce ethnocentrism and xenocentrism (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009).

Media portrayals of Muslims in the United Kingdom also fulfill a particular responsibility as a protagonist of anti-Muslim sentiment. In their study of Muslim students in the United Kingdom, Brown et al, (2015) found that that media depictions of countries with large Muslim populations show Muslims as 1) economically backwards, 2) conservative, and 3) sympathetic to terrorism. These perceptions shape the Muslim as the 'enemy other' from a foreign land who is averse to capitalism, religious freedom and support extremism to make political statements. Similar to Brown et al (2015), using data from the Pew Global Attitude Project from 2008 and the 2010 Pew News Interest Index research by Ogan et al, (2014) shows that anti-Muslim sentiment in the West increases for those who are politically conservative, older, are very religious, and are avid viewers of news coverage on Muslims. Media images in Canada and the United Kingdom are influential in ginning xenophobic perceptions.

Karim (2006) conducted qualitative research on the media's response to the Toronto terrorism plot showing media trends in the eight largest selling Canadian newspapers. Media portrayals had subjects of 'what is the national identity of Canadians', 'what are their values and issues of citizenship'. Another theme was 'securing the borders by altering Canadian immigration policy'. Primarily, however, newspaper reports consistently deliberated the question of the ideal of multiculturalism. Media perceptions

of Muslims were the next most consistent trend of news reports. Criticism was primarily

directed at the symbolic artifacts of minority religion and how they affect minority

groups who are predisposed to terrorism (Karim, 2006). Several reports focused upon the

reality that the terrorist attempt was carried out by Canadian citizens. Three days after the

terrorist attempt, the June 5 Globe and Mail newspaper editorial stated,

"There is nothing to indicate that Canada is riddled with extremists or that our practice of welcoming newcomers has made us a special target. The number of suspects arrested in the alleged plot to attack targets in Southern Ontario is 17. The number of Muslims living in Canada is 750,000. The vast majority of them are law-abiding and peace-loving. Most have integrated or are becoming integrated into the broader society, just as waves of immigrants from other lands and religions have done. To paint them all with the same brush, as some bigots appear to have done when they vandalized a Toronto masque on the weekend, would be shamefully un-Canadian" (Karin, 2006, p. 69).

Most media reports in the UK were not as measured and although the United Kingdom

bombings had a significantly different consequence than did the Toronto 18, a common

theme in both situations was the media exposure given the cases. El-Aswad (2013)

concurs that media depictions of Muslims have stigmatized those who practice Islam as

Oriental fascists. Media discernment of the Westernized perception of the Muslim

disposition has evolved from classical Orientalism to Islamic jihadism. Muslim

stereotyping may formulate a self-fulfilling prophecy in that original false statements

about all Muslims being terrorist motivates counter terrorism and media portrayals that

discriminate against Muslims, and due to such differential treatment, encourages deviant

behavior and makes the recruitment of Muslims for terrorism palatable and viable for

terrorist organizations (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). According to Figure

1-1, discrimination against Middle-Eastern Muslims increases when moving from

Figure 1-1:   View of Establishing
Discrimination as a Response to Terrorism

Politic Creates Securitization
and Immigration Policies

Policies & Media Shape
Perceptions of Middle
East Muslims

Increased Ability for
Future Terrorist Attacks

Public Becomes
Xenophobic

Angry Middle East Muslims
are Fertile for Terrorist Recruit

Whites Discriminate Against
Middle-East Muslims
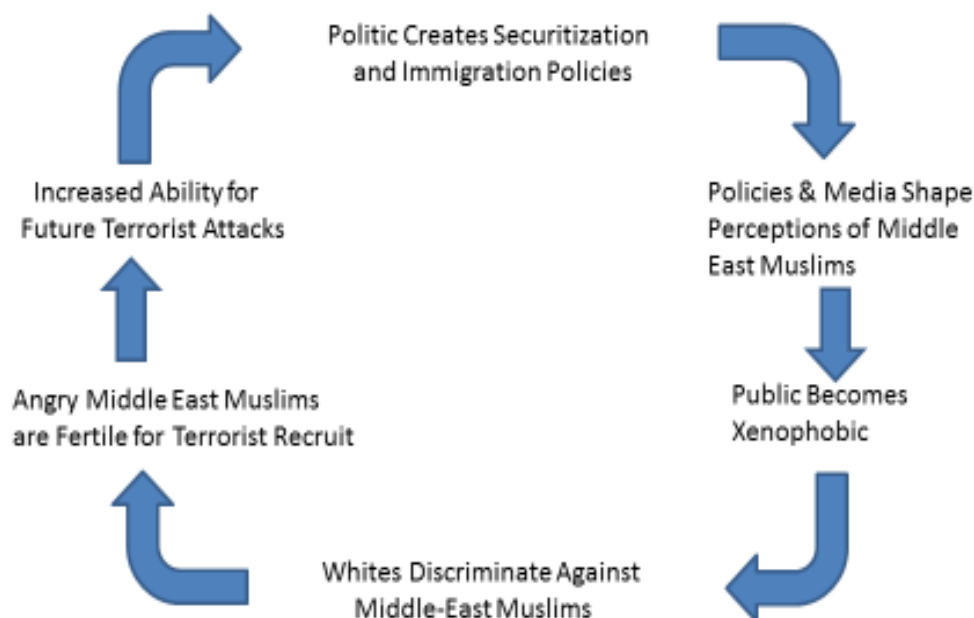
securitization and immigration policy as a response to terrorism and to media portrayals
of the terrorist profile. Rallying a nationalist response through verbal cues and
encouraging patriotism (Lawrence, 2005; Billig, 2009) may increase xenophobic
perceptions, encourage discrimination and create a breeding ground for the recruitment of
Middle Easterners as terrorist which, in turn, makes more securitization more necessary
(Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012).

In September of 2005, the Danish newspaper Jyllands Posten created cartoon caricatures
that illustrate the divergence between freedom of speech and hate speech. Many nations
of the West depict a desire to support freedom of speech with limitations on behaviors
that may case social harm and hate speech rhetoric. When the prophet Muhammad was

depicted as a cartoon in a Danish newspaper, movements were established as Muslims perceived the caricature a manner of disrespectful and hateful speech while many in the West have perceptions of free speech. Olsen (2009) shows that this depiction established a manner of transnational activism.

Economic Deprivation, Residential Segregation the Oldham and Bradford Riots.

In 1999, working class British whites made claims of social exclusion and neglect by liberals in power in the district of Oldham (Howe, 2001). Pakistani migration to the United Kingdom increased almost immediately prior to establishing the European Union and the United Kingdom desired a steady stream of low wage labor from the darker global south. The residential segregation that began in the 1960s between Pakistanis and British whites in Oldham, in addition to a vanishing industrial job base, diminishing income disparities gave the far right wing its political talking points to offer credence to perceptions of reverse discriminations by liberal elites against British whites (Howe, 2001). Race riots occurred on May 27, 2001 when approximately 500 Pakistani youth violently confronted Oldham police officers by throwing gasoline bombs and rocks at them (Tatum, 2001).

In another racial group confrontation, on July 7, 2001 the Bradford riots began. In Bradford, located in the district of West Yorkshire, the residential segregation along racial characteristics is palatable. Although Bradford has a population that is approximately 80 percent British white, the schools reflect residential segregation as 98 percent of Pakistani British go to schools that are primarily Asian populated and 98 percent of British whites go to schools of their phenotype (McAllister, 2001).

The apprehension and fear brought about through the Oldham riots increased with the Bradford riots. Racial discrimination increased as well as xenophobia. The fear embedded in xenophobia may have encouraged more lethal manners of force when force was perceived necessary. According to the British Crime Survey, although the level of violent crime had diminished by double digits (11 %) in 2003, firearm offenses increased by six percent (Newstatesman, 2005). In addition, the Pakistani young men who were tried and convicted in the Bradford riots, that cost £27 million in damages, were given stiff sentences by presiding Judge Gullick. The lawyers for the seven convicted Asians believe the judge failed to consider the atmosphere of fear produced by the far right like the British National Party and National Front (Daily mail.com).

Figure 1.2 shows that the confusion, fear and anger that are the responses to terrorism heighten discrimination against racial and religious out-groups by whites. Groups mobilize to establish social support and communal mastery to manage the stress of the social disruption and maintain control of resources (Hobfoll, 2002; Stephan et.al, 2009). Given the legacy of racial and religious discrimination, notice that Figure 1.2 there is no arrow indicating a tautological process. The legacy of discrimination is persistently in the background of society and the positive experiences associated with white preference in society makes the perpetuation of prejudice, discrimination and racism against minorities likely when stress increases due to the social disruption which complicates white group resource acquisition and control (Marger, 2003). Being born white makes membership

Figure 1-2:   View of Establishing
Discrimination as a Response to Terrorism

Citizens Confused & Angry
About Terrorist Act

In-Group Mobilization to
Establish Communal
Mastery & Social Support

Racism & Religious
Discrimination is Reinforced

White Society Discriminates
Against Out-Group Minorities

Resource Threat Heightens
Ethnocentric Biases

Whites Discriminate Against
Middle-East Muslims
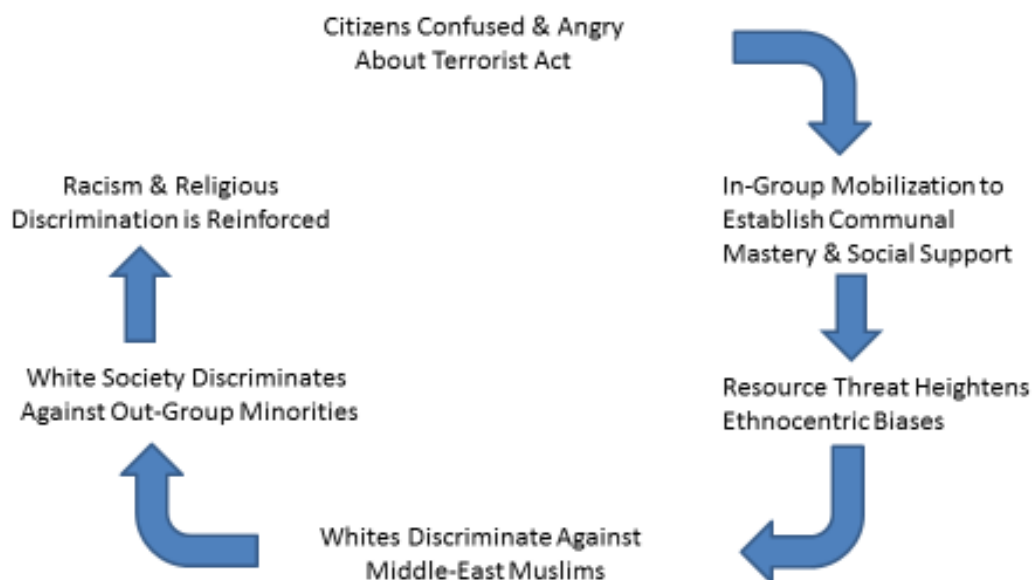
through ascription available and to refute membership renounces social inequality and the power that may increase life satisfaction.

The conflation of terrorist activity, media portrayals of minorities from the global south, police and military responses to terrorism, and the far right machinations of a waning purity of British white citizens, establishes an interesting paradox which is central to this research. If the response to terrorism is driven by political laws and securitization policies, the manner in which CONTEST II is written may increase Islamophobia, become a recruiting tool for terrorist cells and encourage more stringent laws and policies. If the response to terrorism is driven by the dominant group culture, the manner in which the stratification system of inequality is disrupted by terrorist acts encourages white communal in-group responses to maintain a position of supremacy, to control

resource access and acquisition, and to mitigate stress. Discrimination can be the manner in which dominant group members display their jurisdiction over tangible and intangible resources. While the perception may be that tangible resources are critical in stress management; intangible resources like the perceptions of fairness, justice, ability to protect love ones from harm may be significant stress inducers (Hobfoll, 2004). Lopez-Vazquez and Marvan (2003) found that when comparing perceptions of risk due to a natural catastrophe (e.g., earth quake) and an industrial catastrophe (e.g., terrorism of a nuclear facility), the feelings of insecurity and perceptions of risk were higher for those experiencing 'industrial catastrophe' indicating that risk perception, increases stress and passivity of response as a psychological manner to reduce tension for events perceived to be or should be in human control. Given control, humans can enter a state of passivity and such passivity helps to psychologically deal with the threat of the risk event (Paulhan, 1994; Paulhan and Bourgeois, 1995). For whites, discrimination may be a manner of dealing with the uncertainty of terrorism. Given the history of the jurisdiction whites hold of important resources that enhance the quality of life, the collective maintenance of access channels provides a powerful tool of social control.

For Omi and Winant (1994), racial categorization schemes are created and perpetuated by powerful political and economic forces that shape ideological perceptions of race. These forces manipulate self-identity and the manner in which society distinguishes racial groups. Embedded in the social consciousness of society, racial classification schemes become a form of 'racial common sense' (Omi and Winant, 1994). Racial (and religious)

discrimination becomes normative and for whites, who desire to take the possible

advantage, make 'common sense'. Frantz Fanon (1952) states,

"Sometimes people hold a core belief that is very strong. When they are presented with

evidence that works against that belief, the new evidence cannot be accepted. It would

create a feeling that is extremely uncomfortable called cognitive dissonance" (p. 77).

Racism, once entrenched, serves the purpose of reinforcing inegalitarian stratification that

is formulated to achieve economic and political ends (Omi and Winant, 1994). Along the

Marxist ideological continuum, racism is a means to utilize the forces of capitalism and

the desire for cheap labor costs to reinforce established power dynamics and the manner

in which race is formulated and perceived is predicated upon economic and politically

manifested perceptions of superiority and inferiority (Omi and Winant, 1994). Racialized

minority populations in inferior positions may confront their desire to be treated in a

more egalitarian manner through violence (Fanon, 1952). Under such conditions, the

wealthy and powerful are vulnerable given the tremendous numerical differences

between the wealthy rich and the remaining proportion of society. As a means to redirect

strife, the influential establish stratification systems in the West that place whites in

advantageous positions. This is particularly apparent in the post-World War Two epoch

when human and civil rights gained substantial traction only to be curtailed by

conservative neoliberal policies that created an unequal distribution of wealth beginning

in the 1980s. Edna Bonacich (1973) refers to this system type as the split labor market. It

is in this manner that the structurally institutionalized nature of work conditions reinforce discriminatory attitudes and behaviors.

Discriminatory attitudes are analogous to prejudicial thoughts. Discriminatory attitudes are characterized by 1) placing individuals into categorical groups, 2) having a static inflexible grouping of those individuals [based upon racial or religious beliefs], 3) they are typically negative attitudes about the out-group members to whom the attitude is directed and a bias toward in-group members who are perceived in a more favorable light (Allport, 1968; Brewer, 1979; Mason, 1970; Marger, 2003). Discriminatory behaviors are 1) using negative words to reference a group or individual of the group, 2) denying people access to desired resources [based upon their race or religion], 3) assaultive or aggressive acts against the group or individuals of the group [based upon their race or religion], and 4) genocide of the group (Marger, 2003). These behaviors are illegal and referred to as 'hate crimes'.

Robert Merton (1949) discussed the possible complexities and inter-connectivity of attitudes and behaviors in his paradigm on discrimination. For Merton, prejudicial discriminatory attitudes do not, necessarily, lead to discriminatory behaviors. His paradigm lists four possible types of complexity in race-religious relations. First is the person who is neither prejudiced nor does he discriminate. This person is the 'All-weather Liberal' according to Merton. Second, is the person who is prejudiced but does not discriminate against minorities. This is the 'Timid Bigot' and would be the person who does not like another race or religious group but may abide by social norms that

stipulate they behave appropriately with these groups. Then is the person who is not prejudiced but does discriminate. This is the 'Fair-weather liberal'. The Fair-weather liberal may deny a worthy candidate of a job because the hiring of the candidate would cause angst with co-workers. Next is the person who is both prejudiced and discriminates. This is the 'Active Bigot'. The Active Bigot is not shy about sharing their perspective of negative attitudes about minorities and they will act upon their attitudes to implement pain upon minority group members. This research separates discriminatory attitudes and behaviors; and examines the opportunity of racial and religious discrimination occurring due to terrorism.

Negative actions against minority groups, including avoidance, denial, intimidation, or physical attack are manifest forms of discrimination (Marger, 2012). Since after the end of the Second World War the Allied forces believed that discrimination should be abolished (Backhouse, 2010). Yet, discrimination has proven to be resistant to eradication and the historic institutionalization of it prior to WWII had established a foundation for the legitimacy of racism and religious inequity (Backhouse, 2010; Marger, 2012). Much of the contemporary research on discrimination has focused on its endurance and the impact of intolerance by dominant groups against minorities (Marger, 2012; Aguire and Turner, 2006; Banton, 2002, Denton and Massey, 1988; Helly, 2004; Winkler, 2006). Sherif et al's (1961) ground breaking work on superordinate goal construction made apparent that diminishing ethnocentric in-group bias required the creation of objectives in which their accomplishment could occur through collaboration with out-group members. Natural disasters and war are such superordinate goals and throughout the last century,

threats to the British homeland have been a centripetal force that binds diverse groups in attempts of preservation, which reinforces the demos of citizens within the nation-state. Characteristics embedded in a common demos, such as patriotism and nationalism, becomes apparent when the citizens of the nation-state mobilize to help others who suffer from natural disasters like the 2004 tsunami that devastated Thailand, the 2011 tsunami that led to radioactive contamination in Japan and America's 2005 Hurricane Katrina disaster. These misfortunes encouraged a collective nationalist response and the collaboration reinforced the collective demos. Although war has been proven a binding circumstance, terrorism conversely, is a distinctive mode of threat against the nation-state. Unlike conventional war, terrorism is the act of maiming, murdering or menacing those outside the policy making process in an effort to create an atmosphere of intimidation in an attempt to reach a political objective (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005). The threats that motivated a common demos (i.e., war, natural disasters) among the collectivity are undermined given an inability to envision the terrorist by distinctive characteristics. While military engagement between nation-states is governed by the rules of war (Shaw, 2008) terrorism is not bound by such norms (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005; Howard and Forrest, 2008). The terrorism of the Irish Republican Army against the British and Ku Klux Klan against the Jewish in Canada can be as destabilizing as that perpetuated by Islamic radicalism. As a form of heuristics, stereotyping Middle-Easterners as terrorist serves the purpose of establishing in-group and out-group biases that attempts to make the response to terrorism uncomplicated due to phenotype differences. This is the concern of several social scientists that argue that securitization responses to terrorism in the United Kingdom increase hostilities against Middle-

Easterners and could lead to a recruiting tool for terrorist as a backlash (Chebel

d'Appollonia, 2012, Cesari, 2010). Since terrorist will attack civilian targets, and many

civilians lack a military discipline and experience, racial and religious classification

schemes are re-enforced. When social institutions stipulate that terrorism is a Middle

Eastern phenomenon, citizens are likely to respond in a discriminatory manner. Given the

clandestine nature of terrorism and how destabilizing it is, theories of nationalism,

authoritarianism, and integrated threat support the possible expectation of discrimination

against all minorities, and not just Middle Eastern Muslims, as a response to terrorism.

Threats to the core group's way of life may not be directed solely against Muslim

extremist given that the destabilization and disruption brought about through terrorism

can place minorities at-large in the position to acquire resources that they normally could

not access. When Canadian and British whites travel abroad to fight terrorism in military

engagement in Afghanistan, for example, jobs that they typically would fill must be filled

with minority workers and therefore, they relinquish the control of those employment

possibilities as a group resource. Given the pertinent information discussed, this research

examines the theoretical motivation of dominant groups to behave in a discriminatory

manner by analyzing 'what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and

behaviors in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada?'

 Several theoretical perspectives posit that resource defense, social-psychological feelings

of well-being, ethnocentrism, national identity and authority are influenced by

confrontation and hostility (e.g., terrorism) and stress management due to the disruption

these events may cause to the social structure of society. The insecurity brought about

through terrorism may increasingly encourage discrimination against out-group members perceived as a threat to the dominant core group (Smith, 1991; Hobfoll, 2002; Altemeyer, 2004; Gelles in Lawrence, 2005; Stephan, 2008). Terrorism, by its design, does not only confront a government, but it confronts the population of the nation-state given its indiscriminant nature. Both the United Kingdom and Canada are multicultural societies with significant diversity. Both have substantial roots in their British genealogy and yet, the perpetuation of terrorist criminal activity may be significantly different when examined between both nation-states. Utilizing theoretical models and analyzing statistical trends in the two nation-states, this study examines if racial discriminatory attitudes and behaviors change as religious forms of discrimination are altered. Several social scientists posit that policies designed to protect citizens may actually increase xenophobia, be discriminatory and cause harm in the form of a backlash against society at-large (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2010). These works direct discussion in the linear nature of retribution. The response to terrorism is to pursue the terrorist and prevent future events through securitization measures. The post-WWII policies designed to eliminate discrimination, and instill a common demos among citizens, and sense of belonging should establish the framework of a commonality in pluralistic societies (Erik-Cederman, 2001). This commonality within the nation-state should occur in the event of terrorism and the response to terrorism should shelter citizens from harm. For Billig (2009) in his work *Banal Nationalism*, in response to threats against the motherland, the government coalesces its citizens by its construction of patriotism and rallying around the flag of the nation-state. In response to the July 7, 2005 London suicide bombings that killed 52 British, the government vowed to prepare for further terrorist engagement,

pursue the terrorist cells responsible, protect its citizens from further harm, and prevent further attacks. Since the West had labelled terrorism as a Middle East Muslim form of violence, the politically constructed patriotism was to be directed against Muslim radicalism. Loyalty to the nation and the ability of the political and media bodies to construct what that loyalty entails gives the citizen the perception of who is a friend or foe. The propagation of patriotism and nationalism as a response to terrorism and media portrayals of Muslims perceiving the Western world to be one of Satan encourages the xenophobic response of its design (Billig, 2009, Cesari, 2010, Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). As a response to terrorism, patriotism encourages discrimination against Muslims through securitization policies, along with media portrayals that motivate patriotic responses of discrimination against those who practice Islam. Juxtapose to this constructivist orientation is the legacy of a culture of inequality in the United Kingdom and Canada. British and Canadian whites receive superior access to desired resources because of the cultural essence of stratification due to phenotype. Threats to the ability to define what loving relationships are, what fatherhood is, which religion is authentic salvation and who gets the best homes, jobs and social position may thwart the cultural essence of superior status. Terrorism can radically alter this world order and therefore, this threat increases the distress whites experience when attacks are carried out. As a response to the London subway bombings in 2005, whites may struggle for resource maintenance and resource control which makes discrimination against all racial minorities more likely (Hobfoll, 2001; Hobfoll et. al, 2002; Canetti-Nisim et. al, 2009).

The securitization measures in the United Kingdom are different than those in Canada. This may be primarily due to the United Kingdom having a terrorist attack occur on their soil in 2005 while Canada has not experienced such an attack. If securitization policies restrict rights, diminish well-being and deplete social-psychological resources (e.g., freedom, privacy, job stability, perceptions of security), is there a disproportionate impact upon those who are of a foreign religious faith (e.g., Islam)? Does terrorism increase in-group hostility and violence against racial minority groups? This research examines trends in racial and religious discriminatory attitudes using World Values Survey (WVS) data, European Values Survey (EVS) data, International Social Survey Program (ISSP) data, and European Social Survey (ESS) data. The central research issue in this dissertation is 'what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom (a nation who has experienced a terrorist attack) and Canada (a nation who has not experienced a successful terrorist attack)?' This dissertation is separated into six Chapters:

Chapter one has already introduced the theoretical perspectives of nationalism, authoritarianism, and integrated threat theory. These theories offer academic rational for the response to terrorism being Islamophobic or carried out against visible minorities at-large. It is possible that counterterrorism, securitization measures and media portrayals will increase Islamophobia after the 2005 London attacks. In contrast, it is also possible that the legacy of racial discrimination will become salient as British whites work to protect their favorable positioning. Paradoxically, discrimination could increase due to superordinate goals of eradicating terrorism through patriotic response that entails all

citizens against Muslim radicalism or discrimination by dominant group members in positions of power could increase as whites perceive it necessary to maintain their advantage. The War on Terror is such a superordinate goal. The response to terrorism and the instability of the social-cultural order may motivate discrimination in the form of non-violence (intimidation, verbal abuse, and threats), destruction of property, violent assaults and murders by individuals or groups. Lastly, possible government responses to terrorism encompass risk pre-emption, risk management and risk prevention strategies.

Chapter two provides a review of the literature. Initially, the types of discrimination that occur at the group or individual level are what Marger (2012) labels as individual discrimination. Institutional discrimination, however, is the other type of discrimination and is established when social institutions create norms and policies that perpetuate discrimination. Discrimination can then be carried out in a manner in which the individual type reinforces the institutional type or vice versus. The literature reviewed also places focus upon each of the theoretical perspectives of nationalism, authoritarianism, and integrated threat theory are discussed. It details the context of racial and religious discrimination in the United Kingdom and Canada. In the class based systems of stratification that are relative meritocracies for those of European stock and approximate caste systems for minorities, there are significant social-psychological implications on tangible and intangible resource gain, loss, and defense strategies (Hobfoll, 2001) for whites and minorities alike. Laws erected after WWII to encourage human rights, civil rights and equality may be mitigated by political and legal responses to terrorism. Additional possible theoretical reasons include segregation due to an ethnic

nationalism (Smith, 1991), the core group increases its level of authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 2006), or several key hazards are integrated into the threat perception of ethnic groups (Stephan et al, 2006). The erosion of these rights can promote group and individual forms of discrimination as the primordalist and constructivist modes of demos creation adapt to the instability created by terrorist activity. Institutional responses to terrorism, in the form of securitization policies and police profiling, encourage xenophobic behaviors by citizens who are not stereotyped as terrorist against those labeled terrorist (Canetti-Nisim, et. al, 2009, Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2010). Securitization and discrimination policies ratchet up discrimination and defense responses by minorities include distancing themselves from their ethnic identity (Bursell, 2011; Mizrachi and Herzog, 2012; Mizrachi and Herzog, 2012).

Chapter three will discuss important political platforms and policies and their implications for discrimination in the United Kingdom and Canada. The British National Party in the United Kingdom illustrates the political struggles with handling visible minorities; and the Rushdie Affair in the United Kingdom illustrates the significant disparities in perceptions between Islamic communities and those with influence in the West. The BNP supports that these dilemmas remain manifest in several respect (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). This may be particularly accurate for Third Country Nationals, who are primarily people of color. This chapter will include the Canadian experience with people of color and the relationship to racism (Backhouse, 1999). Canada has experienced a post-1960 increase in its visible minority population. Several far right

groups are mobilizing to purify the Canadian population by riding the nation of its minority presence.

Chapter four discusses the methodology and variables used in the analysis of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom and Canada. The research is designed to examine if discriminatory attitudes and behaviors are likely to be intensified due to terrorism. Is the intensification directed toward Muslims or minorities at-large? The World Values Survey data is utilized to examine theoretical explanations for discrimination by using the 2005 London subway bombings as the treatment variable for difference-in-differences econometric models while using Canada as a comparison nation. Discriminatory attitudes are examined with WVS, EVS, ISSP, and ESS data. Discriminatory behavior is examined using the Canadian Center for Justice Statistics and the United Kingdom Crown Prosecution Services hates crime data sets for Canada and the United Kingdom respectively.

Chapter five will discuss the findings of the research. The several theoretical perspectives (e.g., Integrative Threat theory, Authoritarianism, and Nationalism) argue that significant crisis motivate people to utilize social support structures to protect their favorable position (Hobfoll, 1991; Stephan et.al, 2009; Altemeyer, 1998; Lawrence, 2005). In the United Kingdom's and Canada's current systems of stratification, in-group members could ratchet up discrimination against out-group members to protect their advantage.

Chapter Six will focus on the conclusion, implications and limitations of the research. The research design examines discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in a number of salient and statistically important ways. The important trends from the research will be highlighted. The implications for future research possibilities and consideration will be given due to the methodological design and data limitations.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

*The assessment of terrorist threat is associated with a high degree of uncertainty….
There is counterfactual problem, because there is no true way to know what terrorism
would have been had certain policies not been taken. On the one hand it appears that the
war on terror has not only decreased the number of incidents, but also on average
resulted in incidents with more casualties (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, p. 128-129).*

Institutional Discrimination, Individual Discrimination, Prejudice and Hate Crimes

According to Martin Marger (2003) discrimination occurs in different types however
there are two primary trends. Discrimination may operate at the micro-level in which
individuals and groups perform acts of prejudice and actions of discrimination designed
to inflict pain and anguish upon minorities; or discrimination may be at the macro-level
in which social institutions have norms that encourage and support differential treatment
of minorities. When legal, economic, educational and political institutions establish a
society in which minorities receive differential treatment, it is institutional discrimination.
The macro-level of discrimination, institutional discrimination, may take place in the
housing market, admission to school and fair access into employment (Anderson and
Collins, 2001; Johnson, 2006; Henslin, 2007; Marger, 2012). The micro-level of
discrimination, individual and group level discrimination, occurs as perceptions are
shaped by anti-migrant group sentiment, media portrayals and dominant group public
opinions. Individual discrimination may be displayed through acts of verbal and physical
violence (Johnson, 2006; Marger, 2012).

Institutions are organizations that create norms that give predictability to social life
(Henslin, 2007). The institution of education, for example, provides the manifest function

of instilling knowledge. The economy provides jobs, goods and services. School codes,

official church practices, laws and political policies have the capability of shaping

perceptions of how minorities must be treated in society. Laws and their enforcement

provisions are designed to engineer social life and encourage citizens into conformity.

Laws in the United Kingdom and Canada designed to increase minority group access to

schools and employment have not been proven successful at eradicating discrimination

(Kallen, 2010, Modood, 2011). Social institutions help to establish connections that are

necessary for people to perceive their citizenship within the nation. In Citrin et al's

(2012) work on whether patriotism alters citizen perceptions on the receptiveness of

multiculturalism in Canada and the United States, findings indicated that the more the

national pride of Canadians, the more tolerant and receptive they are to cultural diversity.

Canadians, given their policies on multiculturalism until the late 20th century, were more

tolerant of out-side groups maintaining their cultural identity. Although a pluralistic

society, (e.g., America) results indicated citizen's desire assimilation instead of

multiculturalism. Immigration policies in these societies are important in shaping

perceptions of immigrants. Citrin et al, write (2012),

"National identities are malleable,… crafted or constructed over time by elite conduct as
implemented through institutions such as schools and churches and transmitted from one
generation to the next by families and other reference groups" (p. 534).

The construction of national identity defines who will and who will not be treated equally

through citizenship rights. Institutional discrimination occurs as powerful and important

organizations establish policies and operate in an integrative fashion to provide social

structure in a manner that makes discrimination one of its functional characteristic

(Henslin, 2007). Both Canada and the UK have implemented policies to create multicultural societies and terrorism in the UK has caused the reconsideration of the multicultural direction. Multiculturalism creates an 'us versus them' society, and considering Islam in Canada, a contradiction in 'values'. If it is to be successful, diversity in a multicultural society requires tolerance (Sniderman, 2007). Social institutions may be fundamental in buttressing or obfuscating multiculturalism.

Individual discrimination is an intentional act by a person or group based upon a prejudicial belief in which minorities are denied access to desired resources. The dictates that govern individual discrimination are supported by unwritten cultural norms within the dominant group's perceptions of minorities. The perpetrators of individual discrimination do not have to agree with the prejudicial belief but may believe the surroundings in which they are embedded dictates that preference be given to dominant group members and that discriminatory attitudes and behaviors are encouraged and tolerated (Aguirre and Turner, 2006; Marger, 2012; Marger, 2014). It is in this manner that individual discrimination can 'indirectly' insulate dominant group members from facing their discriminatory behaviors. Take, for example, the home owner who is less than neighborly to the minorities on a block in which whites predominate but makes the claim that the minority has little in common with him as justification for his differential treatment. Or the realtor who steers minority applicants out of dominant group neighborhoods although the minority applicant has the fiscal capability of purchasing the home. The realtor's justification being that their job is to help applicants find a 'good home' for their family in a neighborhood they will feel comfortable.

Individual discrimination may occur through verbal abuse, the denial of social resources, aggression against minorities or, at the most extreme level, the taking of life (Marger, 2003). It is these direct forms of individual discrimination that are often prosecuted. Verbal abuse, assaults and murder are hate crimes and are illegal in the UK and Canada when carried out by citizens. In the UK, crimes against the 1986 public order statute include language that is 'threatening, abusive or insulting' and is likely to stir up racial hatred (CPS.GOV.UK, 2014). Yet, as previously stated in chapter one, an individual may be prejudice but not discriminate. Prejudicial talk, however, can aide in establishing an atmosphere that encourages discrimination by others. Verbally abusive individual discrimination, when perpetuated by elected officials, for example, may be particularly insidious by encouraging the atmosphere that fosters the denial of resources, aggression and murder. On October 4, 2001 former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher stated that "all Muslims were responsible for terrorism" (Cesari, 2010, p. 13). The repercussions of her statement may have fueled xenophobic passions and encouraged Islamophobic reactions. The indirect individual discriminatory prose of Thatcher's statement, in the post-9/11 environment, was condoned as the Iron lady's metaphor against terrorism. The possible direct discriminatory response was motivation for perpetuating assaultive or life taking hate crimes. Hate crimes occur at the individual discriminatory level. Verbal statements, assaults, property destruction and murder may occur when individuals perpetrate such acts that are motivated through animosity against a minority person or group (Gerstenfeld, 2010). The 2006 UK Racial and Religious Hatred Act and sections 318, 319, 320.1 and 430 of the Canadian criminal code makes such behavior illegal

(CPS.GOV.UK, 2014; Stop Racism and Hate, 2014). Margaret Thatcher's statement about all terrorism having its origin by those of a Muslim orthodox may become the motivation individuals use to enhance anti-Muslim sentiment and encourage discriminatory actions. This research is designed to explore the individual manner of discrimination by examining prejudicial attitudes and hate crimes in the atmosphere surrounding the July 7, 2005 terrorism in the United Kingdom.

Prejudice is a decision about a group or class of individuals which is applied to every member of the group of individuals (Anderson and Collins, 2001; Johnson, 2006; Marger, 2012). Those who have prejudicial dispositions have attitudes about a group although given evidence that offers contrary information that refutes the disposition. Based upon negative and erroneous stereotypes, prejudices are categorical, inflexible, and do not allow room for individual variability that separates people from the impression thought of about the group (Marger, 2012). Prejudice is not just a way of thinking but includes feelings about out-groups (Johnson, 2006; Marger, 2012). Johnson (2006) writes,

"Racial prejudice includes values that elevate whiteness above color and the belief that whites are smarter. It also includes negative feelings toward people of color – contempt, hostility, fear, disgust, and the like – along with positive (or at least neutral) feelings toward whites" (p. 54-55).

Prejudice is an attitude based upon negative thoughts and feelings about an out-group and its members. As opposed to institutional discrimination, prejudice is associated with individual discrimination. According to Anderson and Collins (2001)

"Individual racism is one person's belief in the superiority of one race over another. Individual racism is related to prejudice, a hostile attitude toward a person who is presumed to have negative characteristics associated with a group to which he or she belongs" (p. 71).

Although prejudice and individual discrimination are linked, it is possible that prejudice occur without discrimination or discrimination occur without prejudice (Merton, 1949; Marger, 2012). Prejudice is attitudes and feelings while individual discrimination requires an action. This research examines the attitudes and actions of individual discrimination due to terrorism. In essence, did the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom increase prejudicial discriminatory attitudes and hate crime behaviors?

Discrimination

Social scientist will often discuss the origin, maintenance, and preparation of discrimination on learned behaviors that have characteristics that support capitalism (Marger, 2012). Henslin (2007) stated that excess good production led to systems of stratification. Caste systems, class systems, systems of slavery and estate systems of stratification have their genesis in the distribution of surplus. Caste, slave and estate systems are often arrangements in which people inherit their socially stratified position. Class systems of stratification, the predominant system currently practiced throughout the West, are meritocracies in the purest sense due to the possibility of upward mobility and stratification location is based upon achievement (Henslin, 2007). Racism and religious discrimination in this research are embedded in class systems for the dominant group with varying degrees of caste system applications for racial and religious minorities. Once racial and religious forms of discrimination were institutionalized, they became

difficult to eradicate and are, in some respects, self-sustaining. Laws have made discrimination illegal in the UK and Canada. Businesses, hospitals, schools and the military cannot discriminate as it is illegal. Yet, recent research supports differential treatment in business and school in the United Kingdom and Canada (Kallen, 2010; Modood and Salt, 2011). Churches, however, have remained segregated by choice.

Religion is one of the most segregated institutions throughout the world. Sherkat (2001) discusses that churches are primarily segregated along ethnic lines. Although the central message of most religions is caring for others, most church members affiliate with people who are ethnically and racially similar. Given the choice between changing denominations and losing religion, research shows that becoming nonreligious is less stressful than affiliating with out-group religious denominations (Harrison and Lazerwitz, 1982; Sherkat and Wilson, 1995). In a contemporary development, religious differences seem less pronounced between those who practice Catholicism and Protestantism who both have a Christian allegiance; than the difference between Muslims and Christians. Affiliation appears to be more likely to occur within ethnic and religious groups than between them, in situations that are stressful, and the affiliation may disperse the negative feelings of discrimination through defensive strategies designed to insulate the group-esteem. Canadians, for example, a people with a Christian heritage and who are proud of their tolerant views of others, have shown levels of discrimination against Muslims that parallels the Islamophobia in the United States (Marger, 2012).

Berry et al's, (in Marger, 2012) work on diversity in Canada makes claims of Canada's resistance to racial discrimination. In Canada, multiculturalism was important from the 1950s to the 1990s. The lack of majority support for the full implementation of multiculturalism led to its demise because of the absence of political and economic power that minorities wield (Kallen, 2010). The more dominant majority used xenophobic rhetoric to make claims requiring assimilation of minorities in-lieu of multiculturalism. This power and pervasiveness of stereotype behavior is one in which dominant members associate the gift of integration into the nation-state's core structure as equality. Discrimination provides a crux point to observe nations claiming an egalitarian structure like Canada as opposed to disintegrating nation states (Citrin, 1994). Fully egalitarian nation states have a consensus for the transference of political power, the curriculum of schools, the language to be used for managing public discourse, and the role of the state in religious matters (Citrin et al, 1994). Given Canada is perceived as one of the foremost egalitarian nation states in the West, there is little rationale for the amplified discrimination against its Muslims except that anti-Muslim migrant sentiment and media portrayals are becoming more resilient. As terrorism becomes prominent, individual discriminatory attitudes and behaviors may challenge the apparatus of nation states that are highly egalitarian as a matter of law. When examining perceptions of patriotism, Sidanius et.al, (in Harlow and q, 2004) found that "as whites tolerance of racial inequality increased, so did their level of patriotism" (Sidanius et. al, in Harlow and Dundes, 2004, p. 441). This increase in patriotism for whites was due to a legacy of 'chronic ethnic inequality' and this form of nationalism, which highlights ethnic group differences,

creates a 'loose patriotism'. For Sherif et al, (1961) however, ethnocentric antagonisms were diluted through superordinate goal construction. It is possible that the shadowy nature of terrorism makes salient the possibility of a more collective nationalism because the 'war on terror' can be a superordinate goal in which the collective is needed for success. It is possible that when national unity is perceived according to the ability to meet superordinate goals, perceptions of national identity are more likely patriotic (Li and Brewer, 2004). Terrorism, like war, can be such a superordinate goal. Citrin et al, (1994) writes, "nationalism is successful when it takes precedence over available alternative foci of affiliation such as kinship, religion, economic interest, race, or language" (p.2). In diverse societies, superordinate goals may force this collective nationalism. However, as stated by Gelles (in Lawrence, 2005) it may not prove enduring and ethnic antagonisms due to the legacy of inequality may embolden a loose discriminatory form of nationalism in response to threats to the nation (e.g., terrorism).

Those with authoritarian personality characteristics are hostile and more likely to be prejudice (Altemeyer, 1998). Ethnic diversity threatens social solidarity and for civil peace to take place, a national identity in multiethnic societies like the UK and Canada is thought to be essential. (Harell and Stolle in Wright et al, 2012). Authoritarians require that diverse groups relinquish their cultural background and incorporate the host country's culture (Altemeyer, 1998). The multicultural discourse of the 20th century in the West has waned in the 21st century as perceptions of Middle Eastern driven terrorism has placed policies of integration and assimilation at the fore (Modood and Salt, 2011). While authoritarian personalities are likely to speak of 'freedom' and 'liberty, and

'equality', they are unlikely to support laws that can give minorities equal rights

(Feldman, 2003). Terrorism can provide justification for differential treatment since

insecurities have the possibility of motivating the belief that force and tradition may

reestablish social equilibrium; and part and parcel with force and tradition is colonialism,

racism and discriminatory treatment. These are some of the traits of those with

authoritarian personalities (Altemeyer, 1998; Altemeyer, 2006, Hetherington and Weiler,

2009; Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). Authoritarians may relinquish self-autonomy for

groups whose cohesion is paradigm in conventions that were stable but punitive to those

who were not of the dominant group. Wright et al's, (2012) work shows that national

identity is often fastened to tradition. Normative conceptions of Christianity, equality,

respect for laws and institutions, and nativity were linked to national identity. Migratory

groups with different cultural backgrounds increase the likelihood of authoritarian

discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Voas and Bruce (in Modood and Salt, 2011)

found that in UK neighborhoods with large Islamic populations, the percentage of British

whites who claimed Christianity as their religious orthodox was significantly higher than

other neighborhoods without Muslim populations. Either British whites who are

Christians are more likely to desire to live in close proximity to Muslims or those who

already reside in close proximity to Muslims are more likely to claim Christianity. Given

the work of several experts on residential segregation (Denton and Massey, 1988;

Sampson, 2009) the latter position of those who already live near Muslims becoming

Christian seems more plausible. The uncertainty brought about by terrorism motivates

citizens to seek traditions that proved safe. Civil and human rights in individualistic

societies require diluting traditional norms that buttress systems of inequality. Given their

racial and religiously based legacy, those who are high in right wing authoritarianism are likely to support norms that are perceived as discriminatory.

Dominant groups' motivation for the perpetuation of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors may be linked to resource conservation, the stress that may accompany resource lack and the threat of resource loss (Hobfoll, 2001). Seeing the anguish of poverty is a symbolic reminder to dominant group members of its reality. The trepidation of struggling to survive may encourage out-group differential treatment. Distinguishing between realistic and symbolic threats is conflated, at times, when analyzing discrimination. The symbolism of seeing minority groups starve, for instance, may motivate dominant group members to perceive of the realistic threat of job loss. To diminish the realistic threat of job loss, cooperation is necessary. Yet, the benefits of job production and the acquisition of goods is of limited supply. Stated succinctly, employment is circumscribed and better paying occupations give the employee power to purchase goods which are of limited supply (Mankiw, 2009). According to several experts, when compared to whites in the United Kingdom and Canada, minorities do not have similar access to upward mobility (Kallen, 2010; Modood and Salt, 2011). Discrimination may diminish realistic threats for dominant group members given the power, privilege and prestige they acquire through stratification systems of inequality (Lenski in Marger, 2012). Those with power in society desire that their power be legitimated. Legitimate power, unlike coercion, is authority (Henslin, 2007). Once realistic power is consistently imposed there may be several factors that reinforce the established power difference in symbolic ways. Housing, clothing and recreational

activities build self-esteem and can be symbols of success. Normally, education provides a gateway to acquire many of these goods and services. Discrimination has been shown to dilute the positive gains from education increasing the likelihood of poverty in minority communities which, as previously stated, is the symbolic marker that reinforces discriminatory attitudes and behaviors (Marger, 2013). In the UK, for example, both Bangladeshi and Pakistani British experienced ethnic penalties in the labor market. They also experienced labor market disadvantages for their religious practice and residential location (Modood and Salt, 2011). This manner of structural discrimination is illegal but takes place none-the-less. For Stephan et al, (2009), inter group threat and discrimination can be a tautological process in that prior conflict and group size along with group power are important intergroup conflict factors. This is particularly important in democracies in which the group's size is a symbolic power threat and their involvement in elections may convert the symbolic power into realistic power. When voter participation forces and results in congressional response in the form of legislation, laws are erected that change the cultural landscape (Aguirre and Turner, 2006). New beliefs, values, mores and folkways may increase the symbolic threat and dominant group members are likely to find symbolic threat ominous and intimidating (Stephan et al, 2009).

Sustaining resources are a critical factor in a collective consciousness (Hobfoll and Lilly, 1993; Hobfoll and Shirom, 2001; Hobfoll et al, 2002; Hobfoll, 2004; Canetti-Nisim et al, 2009). Struggling with oppression depletes the social and psychological resources of groups and individuals. Resource depletion includes material tangible assets (e.g., home, money) and intangible assets (self-concept, self-esteem, affiliation). Although dominant

groups have more and are more capable of protecting their resources, they still may

utilize defensive measures and group support to minimize the depletion of their personal

resources (Hobfoll and Lilly, 1993; Hobfoll, 2001, Hobfoll et. al, 2002). Terrorism

creates uncertainty and may motivate dominant group members to insulate their

resources. When more pragmatic non-violent forms of protective measures are not

effective, they may resort to discriminatory attitudes, behaviors, and actions (Canetti-

Nisim, 2009; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). According to Marger (2003), the protective

nature of resource acquisition reinforces in-group and out-group distinctions and the

desire to engage in pro-social asset maximizing interactions leads dominant groups to

establish strategies to maintain and acquire more resources (e.g., jobs, education, and

self-esteem). When collective resource acquisition is maximized collective esteem is

likely enhanced. When values, social norms and laws do not brunt resource depletion,

groups may seek alternative means to protect against social burnout and as a result the

possibility of discrimination, confrontation and violence against out-group members

becomes a protective mechanism in hopes of remedying the social-psychological

community loss (Hobfoll et al, 2002).

Theoretical Perspectives

The July 7, 2005 bombings in London caused social disruption for the population.

Nationalism provided a way to rally the population to respond to the attacks. To

coordinate this nationalistic response, the government and media utilize their prescribed

capacities to mobilize the masses by instilling a 'deep nationalism' as the response to the

perceived injustice of terrorism (Weiss, 2002). Nationalism and patriotism are two sides

of the same construct. Where patriotism is "love of country" nationalism is "the view that

one's own country is superior to others" (Li and Brewer, 2004, p.728). While patriotism

has been associated with "liberalism and a tolerance for diversity" nationalism has been

"associated with authoritarian values and intolerance" (Li and Brewer, 2004, p.728).

Given that nationalism is a manner of regional ethnocentrism, a response to a coordinated

attack requires authorities to mobilize the masses. To maintain order, citizens may

become exceedingly obedient to authority or even display qualities of authoritarianism

(Altemeyer, 1998; Kossowska et. al, 2011). For the authoritarian, social conformity take

on substantial significance. Since the antitheist of social conformity is chaos, which is a

fundamental and desired result of terrorism, the response to terrorism is for authoritarians

to increase their desire for the enforcement of social norms. Given that "diversity is both

an indicator that people are not conforming to common social norms and a potential

threat to the maintenance of those norms" (Feldman, 2009, p. 48), it is possible that a

response to terrorism could be a restriction on civil rights and the amplifying of

discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Such displays of authority may extend beyond

power dynamics to constrain social behavior and extend into resource control (Hobfoll,

2001). Terrorism is implemented to create a framework in which people feel frightened.

As one of a variety of altering events, radical violent attacks may cause people to "see

(terrorism) as innately threatening and requiring a constellation of personal strengths,

social attachments, and cultural belongings to survive" (Hobfoll, 2001, p. 341).

When examining democratic attitudes, Canetti-Nisim (2009) found " individuals who are

exposed to terrorism may become more exclusionist particularly when they experience

psychological distress, which feeds into their perception of threat posed by members of the minority group presumably associated with the source of the psychological distress" (p. 380-381). Of particular concern are tangible and intangible resources. Jobs, stocks, self-esteem, and security are important resources that give societies routinization and stability. In-group formation has been proven salient in resource control and resource gain (Hobfoll, 2001; Hobfoll et. al, 2002). Given the terrorist bombing's disturbance, it is believed that resource allocation and resource control becomes more salient for majority group status. Stephan and Refro (2002) state that "reduced relative status should be associated with increased levels of threat because members of majority status groups feel threatened about losing their power and privileges when the status gap is closing" (in Tausch et. al, 2009, p. 85). Terrorism, by its design, should establish a perception of uncertainty. The London bombing may have established perceptions of insecurity, and insecurity has been shown to encourage ethnocentric in-group biases (Stephan et. al, 2009). Race and religion are conventional ways in which group formation is facilitated. The more realistic the perception of the (terrorist) threat and the greater the anxiety, the more likely the prejudice and ethnocentric bias (Tausch et. al, 2009).

The reality of the bombing and the symbolism of its meaning may motivate intergroup and intragroup mobilization. Theories of Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Integrated Threat can be utilized to examine the response to terrorism along a similar theme. The central theme in this research is 'what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom and Canada?' Given contemporary literature on Islamophobia, 21st century terrorism, it is hypothesized, should

influence racial and religious discrimination. Much of the literature suggests that

Islamophobia may be motivated as a result of terrorism. This research also examines if

racial discrimination against non-Islamic people of color increases due to terrorism.

Figure 2-1: Schematic Design of Theories to Examine Possible Discriminatory Response to July 7, 2005 Bombings
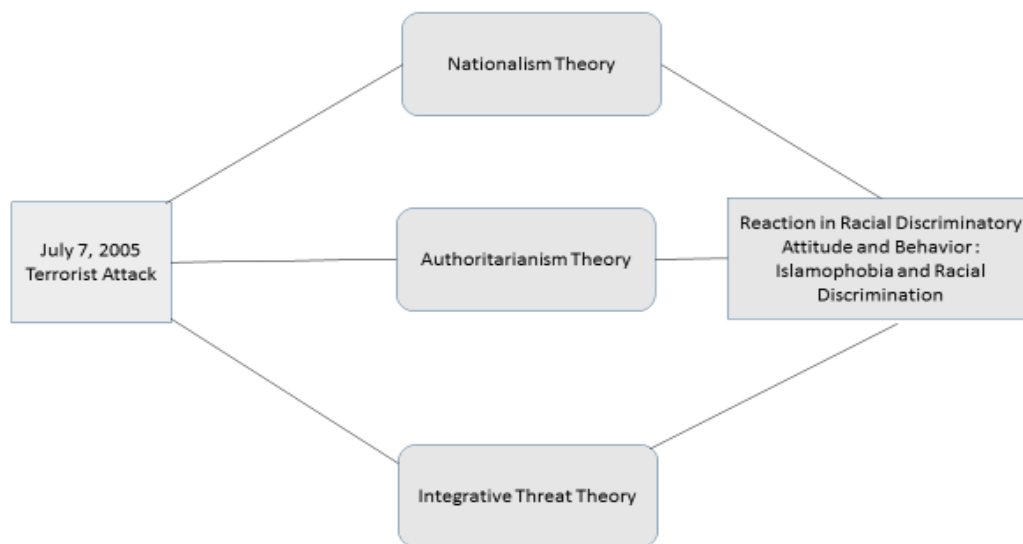
Figure 2-1 is a schematic representation of the possible theoretical relationship of

terrorism to discrimination. Each theory has a possible holistic Islamophobic response

and a racially motivated discriminatory response to the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks on

London.

Nationalism

There are two primary trajectories of theoretical discourse when examining nationalism.

The national identity of a population and its nationalism may be designated by the

governing political and business apparatus or by the essence of group belonging (Smith,

1991; Lawrence, 2005). To establish and maintain the nation and its nationalism, these

two trajectories are at the paradigm of nationalism theory. Anthony Smith, an ethno-

symbolic specialist on nationalism, places emphasis on ethnic communities as they

evolved into national recognition. For Smith, ethnic formation was the most important

characteristic in nation building. In *National Identity,* Anthony Smith (2005) writes,

"To survive, a nation must operate on two levels – the socio-political, but also the 'cultural psychological' and it is in this regard that nationalism (as well as the nation) is dependent upon earlier 'motifs, visions, and ideas' generated by ethnic communities" (p. 69).

Much of Smith's discourse on nationalism resides in two types of national identity. First,

the nationalism that evolves from 'lateral ethnic group' formation in which an aristocratic

strata was above all other groups. The second type is the 'vertical ethnic group' in which

a single culture dominants with a religious passion. For both ethnic group types, it is the

cultural attachment that is symbolic of nationalism. But even for Smith, racism and

religious discrimination may be prevalent. Smith makes this assertion clear by stating

"It is only when we come to the varying elements of a common culture that differentiate one population from another that more objective attributes enter the picture. Language, religion, customs and pigmentation are often taken to describe objective cultural markers or differentiate that persist independently of the will of individuals, and even appears to constrain them. Yet it is the significance with which color and religion is endowed by large numbers of individuals that matters more for ethnic identification … as the growing political significance of language and color over the last two or three centuries demonstrates" (1991, p.23).

A central characteristic of nationalism is a collective body of individuals with cultural,

religious and physical similarity. In addition to Smith, several other prominent authors of

theoretical perspectives on nationalism discuss the importance of kinship selection and

perceptions of belonging. David Miller (1995) states that nationalism evolves through

five stages of 1) commitment to the group, 2) a shared history, 3) active group

characteristics, 4) territoriality, and 5) a public culture. Kedourie (1993) supports that

once a collective consciousness and self-awareness is established, the citizens coalesce

around a group independence, culture and the defense against neighboring aggression.

Corroborating Kedourie's premise on nationalism, Conversi (2007) believes the need for

defensive militarization as the preeminent cause of nationalism's existence given the

homogenizing power and necessity of armed forces in an attempt to dilute the likelihood

of confrontation. Plum (2011) supports Conversi as she discusses Luis Alverez's

longitudinal study on the American zoot suitors during the middle of the 20th century and

the militarization of nationalism as a response to World War II. She states that Alverez

found during times of war, that African American and Latino American subculture zoot

suitors supported the American military effort by enlisting in military service and

working in the military industrial complex. Although the zoot suit fad was an

evolutionary backlash of anti-discrimination expression by minorities, nationalism

became pronounced when confronted with the war effort. The superordinate goal of the

war motivated a coalition of both zoot suitors and those who were not zoot suitors to fight

German and Japanese imperialism. Berghe (in Lawrence, 2005) theorizes that one type of

attachment is through race-ethnic group formation. The other type is the pragmatic

justification that brings about political party affiliation and unionization. Without a

destabilizing event like terrorism, those nation-states that codify and institutionalize

ethnocentric norms are the more successful ones. Therefore, in diverse societies, ethnic

antagonism are diluted by the system's structural integrity brought about through legal

channels that favor whites. British and Canadian immigration laws in the early 20th

century, for example, were designed to favor European whites over other racial and

ethnic groups. In many respects, these laws allow for the separation of the global north

and south. Western portrayals of Islam and its association with terrorism may exacerbate perceived differences and Augustine Park (2013) refers to such segregation as racial nationalism in which phenotype and cultural differences are a means of sifting and sorting who belongs and who does not. Given the association between language and cultural identity, Eric Hobsbawm (1992) discusses the power of ethno-linguistics in separating groups within a territorial boundary. As commerce developed significance, the homogenization of language was natural to facilitate trade. Languages that became central to trade (i.e., English) forced other languages into a peripheral position with less status. Prior to modernization, languages were often tied to ethnic group orientation and thus, as capitalist economies grew the importance of race and ethnicity within the bounded community fueled antagonisms. Walker Connor's (1970) ethno-nationalism distinguishes the loyalty of people to a racial-ethnic group versus the loyalty to the nation-state. The technological advances of modernity have increased the social integration of minority groups into the mainstream and through new modes of communication, have made them more aware of cultural differences and ethnic sentiment (Connor, 1970). According to Connor (1970),

"Before the ideal of nation, there is only an ethnic group…. The nation as 'idea' is an intuitive feeling of a common bond uniting all of its members and creating a chasm between its members and all others." (p. 93).

For Connor, the nation and nationalism is the evolution of ethnic group formation. Yet, in its current practice, technological modernity is an important characteristic.

Pettinicchio (2012) found that Anglophones in Canada had a favorable position in the

French province of Quebec although they were about 20 percent of the population.

Nationalist policies dismantled the traditional division of labor between Anglophone

business owners and Francophone employees. As Francophones acquired more education

and business knowledge, they got a more representative percentage of professional

business opportunities. In this manner, the government constructed its nationalism. In

contrast to the constructivist view previously discussed, an example of the primordialist

approach to nationalism is the British in Northern Ireland who desire an integrated school

system (Dingley and Morgan, 2005). The strife in Northern Ireland between the

Protestant British and the Irish Catholic makes clear the primordialist, ontological and

essentialist prose of nationalism. The Irish desire that Ireland, including Northern Ireland,

be a nation composed of Irish Catholics or, in essence, a primordialist ethnic nationalism.

The British, in contrast desire to fully integrate and assimilate the Irish who reside in

Northern Ireland. It is in this manner, the ideal of constructing the dominant group's

perception of nationalism even if against the will of the minority population, that ethnic

nationalism is a paternalistic form of nationalism. Clarke states,

"The general tenor of this complex (ethnic nationalist) discourse can be characterized as
simultaneously paternalistic and disdainful of ethnic minorities as younger brothers and
sisters that require the assistance of the more advanced elder brother" (2007, p. 327).

When diverse groups hold power and are educated, cultural unity and unproblematic

nationalism is the result. As whites desire to maintain their influence the racialization of

ethnic groups and recent immigrants becomes notable and according to Marianne

Gullestad (2002) national identity becomes ethnicized. When nation-states have diverse

populations and unequal access to education occurs, separatist nationalism is the result. The latter, that in which racial and religious stratification transpires, Gellner refers to as "nation-thwarting social situations" (Lawrence, 2005, p. 145). The loose patriotism that is embedded in separatist nationalism offers clarity on how nations are not necessarily objective entities; but in many respects are subjective in nature. Nation engendering, in contrast, which is the former of the two, occurs when the collective perceives a common and egalitarian demos. Threats, like those implemented via terrorism, may convalesce majority-minority relations and make patriotic nationalism possible. When threats like terrorism or the perceived threat of terrorism occur, the superordinate group constructed nationality (e.g., Canadians, British) may become prominent (Dovidio et. al, 2004).

The contention within ethnic minority populations is that as securitization measures in response to terrorism are enhanced, pressure is placed upon the minority community to assimilate and better integrate in order to be part of the state's patriotic identity. This manner of forced nation building requires that the minority, although not involved in terrorist activity, dilute its minority cultural identity to belong to the non-terrorist majority. In essence, the concern with national security places emphasis on integrating minorities into a system in which their interests are not as important as the majorities in an effort to enhance the security and perceptions of safety for the majority (Clarke, 2007). Minorities, who had not been placed under such assimilation scrutiny prior to the spectrum of terrorist threat, may not fully embrace the integration and their lack of acceptance may encourage discriminatory attitudes.

Juxtapose to the theorist of racial, religious, and ethnic formation of nationalism, Ernest

Gellner posits that nationalism is a natural evolution of modernity and that nationalism

holds that "the political and national unit should be congruent" (Lawrence, 2005, p. 143).

Around the French Revolution, nationalism gave citizens a national identity and

therefore, the existence of the nation-state (Smith, 1991; Lawrence, 2005). The

inegalitarian distribution of resources due to industrialization occurred rapidly, and

without the ability to quickly adapt, traditional customs gave way to the motivations of

the intellectuals and those in poverty to acquire wealth. This commonality among the

erudite and the poor established a collective sediment of nationalism and responsive

governance. For citizens, Gellner's nationalism establishes equality through education. Li

and Brewer (2004) offer clarity when they write,

"…there are two different bases for perceiving a social group to have the properties of
coherent entity. On one hand, a group may be seen as a unit by virtue of the shared
attributes and common heritage of its members. On the other hand a group may become
an entity by virtue of facing a common problem." (p. 729).

While Gellner's premise is on the French and Industrial revolutions as catalysts for

nationalism, Kate Boyer (2005) concurs, in premise, with the industrializing of society

being important in nationalizing citizens. However, Boyer believes it is the fiscal

components of the society that are a centripetal force in nationalism. According to Boyer

(2005) economic nationalism was an important factor in establishing a common demos in

Canada. In the immediate aftermath of WWI, it was the banks that gave rise to nationalist

speak and as support she examined the six largest in the early 20th century. Boyer writes

"Imperialist rhetoric emphasized the glory and honor of serving one's country through
participating in the First World War as a soldier, and in the post-war period policy and
public opinion favored handing back jobs in the white collar workplace-by then a
feminized sector of the economy-to men. However… women in the English Canadian

banking sector were able to establish their right to employment during and after the First World War by situating themselves as actors in a story of nation building" (2005, p. 196).

Continuing the premise of nationalism associated with employment, Dingley and Morgan (2005) show that national identities in Northern Ireland are important in creating a form of nationalism that reinforces discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. For them, discrimination will persist as long as Protestants and Catholics compete for the same resources.

Contemporarily, the deconstruction of nationalism is of particular salience. Benedict Anderson (1983) argues that nationalism is an imagined community. Similar to Hobsbawm's ethno-linguistic separatism theory of nationalism, Anderson elucidates that symbols and sentiments are utilized to establish an 'us' versus 'them' rationality of national identity. For Anderson, the ability to print and create perceptions through such print gave more powerful region's dialect signs of its secular power. In essence, the ability to mass produce and disseminate information gave rise to regional unity. At present, the media, business and political apparatus shape perceptions of nationalism (Lawrence, 2005; Shahzad, 2012). Shahzad (2012) conducted research in which he used narratives of 99 Canadian students to examine their perceptions of belongingness and separatism in response to the terrorist attacks that occurred in the United States a decade prior. When the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks occurred, these college students were children and therefore, their orientation to terrorism was primarily through a hegemonic nationalist narrative that is exemplified by 'the War on Terror' motif. His qualitative assessment found differing orientation styles of 'imagined community'. Given

the Canadian government's support for the war in Iraq although it was the antitheist of the Canadian traits of morality and peace keeping, Canadian citizens showed they had difficulty accepting their military role in what they perceived as an unjust war effort and the manner in which they controlled disagreement was shaped by the imagined community (Shahzad, 2012). First was the Canadian orientation in which respondents used the term 'we' in a national identity prose. Using deixis concepts such as 'we' and 'our' are "small pointing words used to construct an imagined community" (Shahzad, 2012, p. 22). Secondly, according to Shahzad (2012) Canadians were utilizing 'our' words in a western orientation in which respondents perceived the West as part of their identity group and lastly, an imagined community based upon a vision of moral direction in Canada. Although the Canadian government did not claim that their involvement in the Middle East due to the 'War on Terrorism' was a peace keeping maneuver, many Canadians framed it as such. Moral justification claims were centered on helping the poor and liberating women in the Middle East while refraining from imposing a Western cultural orientation on others. Such imagined community prose may take the form of 'we (Canadians) are helping those marginalized in Iraq as part of our (the West's) effort against terrorism'. Interestingly, while the secular West may perceive that women who wear hijabs are forced to do so, the religious orthodox of Islam has made hijabs part of normative dress. In agreement with Shahzad's perspective, Billig's (2009) in his work '*Banal Nationalism*' references deixis use along with flag waving and national anthems as commonplace characteristics of nation building and characteristic of banal nationalism is the use of the spiritual as justification for the secular. With reference to America, a preeminent nation of the West, Billig's (2009) writes,

"God may be cited as a justification for the nation's specialness, but the deity, unlike the claim to a special place, is an optional extra. The national community, as a product of the modern age, has descended from heaven to earth" (p. 77).

The orientation of the East is dissimilar. In post-modern prose, Partha Chatterjee

deconstructs nationalism as the material West and the spiritual East (Lawrence, 2005).

Nationalism does not begin with a Western perception of political power, but may be tied

to religious groups of the past. Cavanaugh (2013) states that,

"Westerners are fascinated by the nexus of religion and violence. War on behalf of nationalism and freedom and oil and other such mundane secular matters hardly counts as violence at all. At the U.S.-Islamic World Forum in Qatar in 2007, David Satterfield, senior advisor for Iraq in the office of U.S. Secretary of State gave a speech condemning those in Iraq 'who try to achieve their goals through the use of violence.' Journalist Rami Khouri sardonically commented, 'As if the U.S. had not used weapons when invading Iraq" (p.12).

It is in this manner that the political, business and media apparatus lay claim to what is

just, moral and upright. Through flag waving, word choice and patriotic prose, they shape

public perception and may stoke anger to its fever pitch. Anger, as a response to the July

7, 2005 suicide bombings can be utilized to establish an enemy other (Chebel

d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2013). Posen (1993) discusses a military form of national

identity in which war is the synergy of nationalism. Jensen (2000) finds that the

reassurance that had been brought about through liberal institutions in the 19th century are

waning and that militaristic nationalism filled the void. This militaristic nationalism gave

rise to a Spanish national identity in Spain. Jensen states,

"Like many Europeans, Spanish army officers turned increasingly to nationalist ideology as they lost faith in the ability of liberal institutions to meet their needs. Because Spain, where army officers had much influence in politics and society, lacked other strong

movements of modern, Castile-centered nationalism, military culture had a significant and long-lasting influence on the subsequent development of notions of Spanish national identity" (2000, p. 257).

As terrorism manifests its social trepidations, the military proves an encouraging institution to reestablish social equilibrium. Militaristic nationalism requires an enemy other. As the government and media demarcate the enemy other, individual acts of discrimination against out-group members may increase.

The literature supports the desire to establish and maintain domestic tranquility, nationalistic economic alliances, and military staunchness through Nationalism theory. This research examines if the enemy other evolves beyond those who perpetuated terrorist violence by examining the research issue of "what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors?" Given the possible importance of nationalism in offering a theoretical explanation for prejudicial beliefs, this research hypothesizes that nationalism theory will show statistical significance as a theoretical rationale in influencing discriminatory attitudes in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada.

Authoritarianism

Citizens cannot be totally free. To do so would impinge upon another citizen's freedom. To have full autonomy and self-direction means that society must relinquish its powers of conformity. In contrast, without social control, social order is impossible. Social control establishes stable patterns of social interaction (Feldman, 2003). Too much social control, however, may be oppressive to those who are under its domain. Authoritarianism is "an individual's belief about the appropriate relationship that should exist between the group

and its individual members" (Stellmacher and Petzel, 2005, p. 247). The more

authoritarian an individual is, the more they desire society's members to adhere to social

norms. Terrorism, given its disruption of traditional norms, reminds society of its own

impermanence and possible mortality. Increasing the salience of mortality has proven to

be associated with response aggression against those who challenge one's cultural view

(MacGreggor et. al, in Crowson et. al, 2006), the likelihood of having a positive

perception of those who share one's cultural view (Harmon-Jones, in Crowson et. al,

2006) and to attach to cultural symbols (Greenberg et. al, in Crowson et. al, 2006).

Terrorism increases thoughts of one's own mortality and may motivate ethnocentric

attitudes and behaviors.

Originally, the authoritarian theoretical perspective was based upon the perception that

hostile behavior was an innate repressed desire that was carried out against inferior

groups who were incapable of combating the hostility imposed upon them (Adorno et al,

1950). This undertaking, is in response to the desire to understand how a progressive and

civilized Germany could be so repressive as to slaughter millions of Jews (Adorno et. al,

1950). Developing a scale on fascism (the F scale) Adorno et al (1950) found that

ethnocentric perceptions were central in producing prejudice and genocide behaviors.

Although a huge undertaking that published an almost 800 page manuscript on

ethnocentrism, Zionism, sexism, etc… it received harsh criticism for methodological

reasons. Successive work focused upon obedience to authority (e.g., Stanley Milgram's

authority study, 1961) instead of how authority is manifested. After a brief lapse in the

development of authoritarianism theory in the late 1960s and 1970s, Altemeyer's work

on authoritarianism has proven much more rigorous than Adorno et al's (Altemeyer, 1981, Stellmacher and Petzel, 2003).

Altemeyer (1981), given the resistance to Adorno et al's work and in an attempt to more accurately depict authoritarianism, developed the right wing authoritarianism (RWA) scale. The right wing authoritarianism model has three components. First, there is authoritarian submission- which is illustrated by adherence to the norms of those in power. Second is authoritarian aggression, which is depicted by hostility toward out-groups. Third is conventionalism, which is acceptance of traditions that are perceived to have been accepted by society and endorsed by those in power. Although authoritarians may profess a connection with spirituality and a love of other, religious fundamentalists and authoritarians have a significant level of correlation. Altemeyer asked a sample of fundamentalist parents if they should adhere to the Gospel of Matthew when in the King James Bible he states "Judge not that ye not be judged". These parents agreed with the biblical verse and yet, "only two pages later in the survey these parents were advocating discrimination against homosexuals" (1998, p. 132). For Altemeyer, authoritarianism is a learned behavior that one acquires through socialization, and yet it is motivated by the individual needs of the aggressor (Altemeyer, 1981, Altemeyer, 1998). For Altemeyer (1998) "high RWAs are scared. They see the world as a dangerous place, as society teeters on the brink of self-destruction from evil and violence" (p. 87). The RWAs also see themselves as moral, just and upright. The most significant criticism leveled against right wing authoritarian theory is that it is actually an assessment of conservatism. In response, Altemeyer writes,

"Unless you think that conservatives (as opposed to authoritarians) are inclined to follow leaders no matter what, pitch out the Constitution, attack whomever a government targets, and so on- which I do not – this too indicates that the items are not revealing conservatism, but authoritarianism" (2006, p. 40).

Duckitt (1989) believed that Altemeyer's three components of right wing

authoritarianism could be a unitary composite construct that expresses in-group cohesion

and classification. He believed authoritarianism to be a group level phenomenon and

placed it upon a continuum in which personal needs are subordinate to group cohesion

(authoritarianism) at the one polar end, and group cohesion is subordinate to self-

autonomy (libertarianism) at the other polar end. According to Duckitt (1989), when the

integrity of the cohesion of the social group is threatened, its members will respond in

authoritarian ways. Important to note is that since authoritarians and libertarians desire

law and order in-lieu of chaos, in times of threat, it is the level of loss of civil liberties

and the level of punitive response that separates the two. This is similar to Altemeyer's

perspective on conservatism and liberalism in that right wing authoritarianism does not

measure authoritarianism from the more liberal ideology but he does not believe that

authoritarianism is only conservatism, and that liberals will only be non-authoritarian

(Feldman, 2005). In essence, authoritarianism is not tied to conservatism. It is just more

likely that conservatives display authoritarian traits. To be clear, Altemeyer (2006)

references question 16 on the right wing authoritarianism scale. The question reads

"God's laws about abortion, pornography, and marriage must be strictly followed before

it is too late, and those who break them must be strongly punished." This question

measures authoritarian submission (following God's laws strictly), authoritarian

aggression (strong punishment for violation), and conventionalism (everyone should

adhere to these interpretations of scripture). Liberals may not necessarily disagree that

abortions should be reduced, pornography is often degrading of women, and marriage has

important rules that promote stability. Yet, high authoritarians strongly support such

measures. Ironically, these are the characteristics that are adhered to under strict Islamic

doctrine (Cesari, 2013). Conservatives claim an unrelated ideology to that of Islamic

fundamentalists, but conservatives are often authoritarians and authoritarians are often

religious fundamentalists.

Stellmacher and Petzel (2005) evolved Altemeyer's model and established a group

authoritarian theory. For them, threat is an important characteristic of authoritarianism.

When the group identification is highly salient and the threat is serious, the authoritarian

reaction is substantial. Stellmacher and Petzel write,

"strong identification with an important group (e.g., national or ethnic group) makes a
person susceptible to react in authoritarian ways if he or she perceives this group to be
threatened" (p. 247).

Terrorist threats have the potential to disrupt the national cohesion. If patriotism and

national identity are salient, a national response to a perceived threat is likely. Citizens

are likely to demand retribution in some manner of warfare. When couched in patriotism,

those who typically would not display authoritarianism may react with authoritarian

traits. For the citizen, social conformity to law and order are established to diminish

chaos and violence.

The idea that authoritarianism is an innate hostile desire, as originally addressed by

Adorno et al, (1950), has evolved and authoritarianism theory has moved toward a

perception that authoritarianism is a learned trait based upon socialization. While early research showed that those with authoritarian traits have a positive association with discriminatory attitudes, recent research examines the influence of threatening situations on the likelihood of those who are low authoritarians to support policies that may encourage discrimination. Those who are high in authoritarianism have been socialized with a threat perception of the immorality of a changing society since childhood. Those who are low in authoritarianism have not had such an orientation. According to Henry (2011), low authoritarians are well educated, affluent and middle class. When threat occurs, what was typically perceived of as a fringe ideology that authoritarians display under usual circumstances, is now accepted by the larger society as a necessary response to the threat (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009; Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). Therefore, and this is the key point, those low on central authoritarian traits like obedience to authority and diminishing civil rights, could increase their receptivity for behaving in a discriminatory manner to eradicate a perceived threat. Stated succinctly, prior to a threatening event like terrorism, those low in authoritarianism would strongly advocate against diminishing the civil liberties of minorities; while in contrast, those high in authoritarianism would strongly advocate for diminishing the civil liberties of minorities. This is a positive relationship as low authoritarians advocate for fewer restrictions on civil liberties and high authoritarians advocate for more. In the aftermath of a terrorist attack like the July 7, 2005 London attacks, those low on authoritarianism would increase their support for diminishing civil liberties against (Muslim) terrorists. Thus, there would be an inverse relationship between authoritarian views and discriminatory attitudes (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009). For Hetherington and Suhay (2011), it is expected that

there is a negative relationship between authoritarian values and normative perceived

threats. Those, who are high in authoritarianism always perceive society is in a state of

threat of altering traditional custom and norms. Those who are ordinary citizens and are

low in authoritarian values will increase their agreement with what authoritarians deem

appropriate when they believe they are in significant threat or peril. Although typically

thought of as fringe attitudes under normal circumstance; authoritarian thoughts may not

be fringe philosophies when the social majority is under the realistic threat of terrorism.

They may be believed to be a rational response given society's perception of the danger

or peril it faces. Hetherington and Suhay (2011) write,

"ordinary citizens who feel their safety is threatened will tend to support relatively
authoritarian policies perceived as helping to ensure public safety, such as policies pursed
as part of the (American) war on terror. Because they already tend to adhere rigidly to a
broad class of aggressive and restrictive policies that promote order and safety,
authoritarians are unlikely to alter their political views considerably when more threat
from terrorism is introduced. It is everyone else - those lower in authoritarianism – whom
we expect to become more likely to champion authoritarian policies in response to
perceived threat from terror. This creates a negative interaction between authoritarianism
and threat, not a positive one" (p. 549).

The scale Hetherington and Weiler (2009) use to examine authoritarianism does not

suffer from the flaws of those created by Adorno (1950) and by Altemeyer (1981). In

examining authoritarianism, Hetherington and Weiler use the American National Election

Survey (ANES) scale of four contrasting positions that respondents are asked if they

believe important qualities a child should have. The four contrasts in the scale are

'obedience versus self-reliance', 'good manners versus curiosity', 'being well behaved

versus being considerate', and 'respect for elders versus independence'. 'Obedience',

'being well behaved', 'respect for elders', and 'good manners' are authoritarian traits and

those who answered favorably along these traits are high in authoritarianism. In contrast,

curiosity, self-reliance, being considerate, and independence are traits of low authoritarians. Under normal circumstance and without the specter of terrorism, Duriez and Van Hiel (2002) found education and moral competence to be negatively related to authoritarian values. When examining American politics, Federico and Tagar (2014) found a negative relationship between authoritarianism and Democratic Party preference for independence irrespective of education level. Yet, the attributes of society that are sacrosanct to a majority of a population (e.g., constitutional laws, liberties, perceptions of freedom) under normal circumstance may be eliminated under unusual circumstance. Kossowska et al (2011) write "to suit the perceived goals of the state of counterterrorism, law enforcement and border practices may be changed with little regard for the rights of racial, religious or ethnic minorities…" (p. 246). Personal freedom is an autonomous behavior and it is liberal. Terrorism establishes a real and perceived threat to the normative order. While liberals are likely to confront terrorism to reestablish social equilibrium; according to authoritarianism theory and given that authoritarianism is a learned behavior, those who are conservative are more likely to have a powerful religious attachment and believe traditional values are in danger of waning, and already behave in authoritarian manners when responding to terrorism. It is the coalescing of low and high authoritarians when there is a threat to the social order that establishes a negative interaction. It is in this manner that authoritarian values are likely to become dispersed under terrorist threat and citizens coalesce around a nomothetic response (Hetherington and Suhay, 2011).

Authoritarianism's durability is the perception that it may be the most competent response to real and perceived threat. Positive emotions have a negative relationship with authoritarian values (Van Hiel and Kossowska, 2006). As long as the stratification system benefits those high in authoritarian values, they support the maintenance of a status quo and traditional moral order although the traditional moral order of the status quo is under consistent threat; which makes necessary the highlighting of the perils of society during the election cycle to create diminished satisfaction with society's evolution and change (Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). This point highlights the difference between authoritarians and conservatives. Conservatives support the constitution of the nation-state as the blue print of social and legal interaction. The authoritarian would rid the nation-state of the constitution if it did not support his traditional moral order (Altemeyer, 2006). Yet, conservatives are likely high on authoritarianism according to the RWA scale and they often are interested in public office to control the state's apparatus to, in effect, create a structure that buttress the authoritarian regime (Slater and Fenner, 2011). A system of stratification emerges and over time in a manner of institutional discrimination. When threat is apparent, authoritarian views, which lie dormant and latent, become manifest. It is in this manner that authoritarians utilize issues, make their threat manifest, and rally public support to encourage those low in authoritarianism to support policies that are not liberal (Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). Feldman's (2003) work finds that social conformity to group norms and individual autonomy, cannot manifest authoritarianism unless and until there is the perceived threat against the social group. Therefore, social conformity in and of itself, does not cause authoritarian behaviors to be made manifest. It is the rally cry of the authoritarianism to threats against the social and

moral order that cause their manifestation. It is not diverse ethnic groups who do not

conform to social norms that cause dominant group authoritarian behavior. Feldman's

(2003) work supports that it is the effect that non-conformity has on the social order, its

perceived threat to tradition, stability and normalcy that motivates authoritarianism be

made present. As proof of the importance of social conformity for authoritarians,

Feldman writes,

"One factor that should lead to a desire for conformity is a more pessimistic view of
human nature. It is not necessary to believe that people are inherently anti-social; one
must simply believe that, left to their own devices, people pursuing their self-interest and
behaving as they choose will not produce a stable social order" (2003, p. 48).

Authoritarians' desire that authority figures establish and maintain normative behaviors

instead of a society in flux as this is indicative of chaos to authoritarians. Limiting

diversity and seeking a normative order is much more palatable and Feldman's view

supports that assimilation and cultural conformity could mitigate discrimination.

Literature in this section supports that people will increase their desire for social

conformity, respecting authority and behaving obediently when confronted with

significant threats according to Authoritarianism theory. This research examines if the

discrimination increases after a threatening event by examining "what is the influence of

terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors?" Given this discussion on

authoritarianism theory, it is hypothesized that terrorism will increase authoritarianism in

British citizens.

Integrative Threat Theory

One of the most compelling and contemporary theoretical perspectives on the motivations for discriminatory attitudes and behaviors is the integrated threat theory (Stephan et. al, 2009). The theory's original scale included an 'intergroup anxiety' scale, a 'realistic threat' scale, a 'symbolic threat' scale and a 'negative stereotype' scale (Stephan et. al, 2009). Collinearity issues with the negative stereotype scale and the realistic and symbolic threat scales were problematic and gave reason to remove negative stereotyping as a scale dimension. In 2009, intergroup anxiety was also removed. According to Stephan et al (2009) symbolic threats and realistic threats, it is now perceived, are a fundamental cause of ethnocentric and discriminatory attitudes. Since its inception in 1998, the Integrated Threat theory has received very little criticism and has been proven to have respectable validity and reliability scores (Tausch et. al, 2009; Stephan et. al, 2009). In Scheiber and Morison's (2009) work on Irish discriminatory attitudes against Polish immigrants, intercorrelation scores ranged from moderate (.31) to moderately strong (.62). All of the correlations between scale components were statistically significant.

Realistic threats are hazards to group resources and power. They encompass tangible resources like, for example, employment in the United Kingdom. Table 2.1 shows the number of citizens of the United Kingdom who are gainfully employed, unemployed and the corresponding percentages. Notice that of all those gainfully employed, the percentage of British whites in the labor force is 87 percent of the total employed. Of those unemployed, 78 percent are British whites. For every other ethnic group, the

percentage unemployed outpaces the percentage employed. Stated succinctly, visible

minorities make up a higher proportion of unemployed for each ethnic group when

compared to their proportion of those employed. Notice that of all those employed 3.23

percent are British blacks and yet of all those unemployed 7.51 percent are British blacks.

The trend continues with British Asians, mixed ethnic groups and other ethnic groups.

This data supports that British whites control a disproportionate share of occupational

resources and it is theorized that the loss of such control is a realistic threat for them.

Table 2.1: Economic Status by Ethnicity (2011)				
	Employed	Unemployed	Employed (%)	Unemploy (%)
White	25,195,579	1,662,103	87.43	77.79
Black	930,177	160,503	3.23	7.51
Asian	1,988,199	211,876	6.9	9.91
Mixed Ethnic Group	453,765	67,460	1.57	3.16
Other Ethnic Group	250,635	34,845	0.87	1.63
Total	28,818,355	2,136,787	100	100

http://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011

Resource loss is a realistic threat (Stephan, 2009). An abundance of resources allows one

the freedom to choose those goods that increase satisfaction (Mankiw, 2009). In contrast,

scarcity limits liberal choice and the freedom to increase satisfaction (Mullainathan and

Shafir, 2013). Scarcity includes more than economic transactions however. Scarcity

includes, for example, the choice to diet (scarcity of will power), the employee who must

decide which job responsibilities to complete given scheduling constraints (scarcity of

time) and the lonely person who desires to be loved (scarcity of relationship affect).

Mullainathan and Shafir (2013) examined human behavior as a result of the scarcity of

resources. Scarcity is universal and all citizens experience some level of it. The level of

resource scarcity groups inhabit in the United Kingdom and Canada can be associated

with discriminatory characteristics due to the group's racial and religious affiliation (Marger, 2003).

Given the universal nature of scarcity, people mobilize through group identity markers to protect their quality of life (Stephan, 2009). Dominant group members, given their access to an abundance of resources, do not have to be disciplined in their use of resources in a similar manner as more marginalized groups who have limited resources which diminishes productivity in other important life events (Mullainathan and Shafir, 2013). In 2008, Hall studied how willing respondents would be to travel for a lengthy period of time to save $50 on a purchase instead of purchasing it locally at a higher price. She got affluent train passengers and compared them with the poor homeless. The respondents were asked "if they were buying an appliance that cost $100, would they travel 45 minutes to save $50 on the purchase at a different store?" Respondents were given the same scenario with the cost of the appliance being changed to either $500 or $1000 and then travel 45 minutes for a $50 saving. Of the affluent train passengers, 54 percent stated they would travel 45 minutes when the purchase was $100. When it was $500 and $1000, the affluent respondents were less likely to travel for a $50 saving. Thirty-nine percent would travel to save $50 on the $500 appliance and only 17% would travel to save $50 dollars on a $1000 purchase. In contrast, the homeless poor were more likely to travel for the $50 savings irrespective of the cost of the appliance. Seventy-six percent would do so when the appliance cost $100, a slightly lower 73% would travel in the $500 condition and 87% in the $1000 condition. The affluent saw the $50 saving relative to the expected price of the appliance. They were more likely to perceive the $50 was a choice in-lieu of

necessity, the poor saw such savings relative to its monetary value and getting $50 could be put to important use in the future. Resource scarcity forces discipline and self-control but less so for dominant group members (Mullainathan and Shafir, 2013). This freedom from discipline that dominant group members possess is buttressed by institutional discriminatory practices which perpetuate scarcity differences. Norms that forbid ethnic mixing in neighborhoods, school funding based upon property taxes in which ethnic neighborhoods have poorer housing stock, and employer discrimination reinforces segregation and augments the resource acquisition of dominant groups (Marger, 2003; Aguirre and Turner, 2006; Marger, 2012).

In a different study to examine the functionality of people in less than desirable circumstance, affluent and poor shopping mall respondents were asked if they would "choose to get a $150 repair done on their car immediately or continue driving it and hope it lasts a while longer." After answering, respondents were given the RAVEN intelligence test. There was little difference between the group's intelligence scores. When the same question was asked but the monetary value of the repair was increased to $1500, affluent respondents scored statistically better on the intelligence test than the poor. The thought of paying for an expensive car repair inhibited the poor respondents test performance (Mullainathan, Shafir and Zhao, 2012). This is a liberty affluent dominant group members acquire through the legacy of institutional discrimination. These findings are similar to those from Steele and Aronson (1995) when examining race and intelligence quotient scores and Spencer et.al, (1999) when examining gender and intelligence quotient test scores.

One luxury that British and Canadian whites enjoy is the better ability to manage scarcity because of their abundance when compared to minorities. Since scarcity is universal, the more the abundance of resources, the more the control over scarcity. When there is an ample amount of time to complete a project, for instance, people procrastinate until near the deadline. People are more liberal buying unnecessary products immediately after getting paid instead of days before. The discomfort caused by scarcity is familiar to all racial and religious groups. Yet, it is the abundance of resource that magnifies its scarcity (Mullainathan and Shafir, 2013). By having some freedom of time and money, the minority experiences some level of abundance and in contrast, by having deadlines and limited income, the affluent experience some level of scarcity. All groups experience abundance and limited resource access at various times. The Integrative Threat theoretical perspective supports that dominant group members (e.g., British and Canadian whites) will find the threat of instability brought about through threatening circumstances as motivation for increasing ethnocentric perceptions (Stephan et al, 2009). Terrorism has the potential of disrupting resource distribution by redirecting funds to preventing and protecting citizens from attacks. Another luxury that British and Canadian whites enjoy is that prejudicial views are often buttressed by institutional values. Take, for example, the fact that of all visible minorities in the UK, South Asians between the ages of 16 and 24 are more likely to be in post-compulsory education. African, Asian, and Indian males were most likely to get degrees while the Pakistani and Bangladeshi were the least likely. Pakistani and Bangladeshi citizens perceive structural impediments inhibit their ability to successfully earn degrees and employment due to cultural racism (Modood and Salt,

2011). Educational attainment of Pakistani and Bangladeshi British is used as justification for differential treatment and therefore, employment with low salaries and therefore, is a realistic threat posed upon these minority groups.

Homer-Dixon (1999) states that sub-national violence is brought about due to environmental scarcity. More dominant groups and nations, through resource capture or ecological marginalization deplete or force the degradation of important resources. Under these circumstances, less powerful groups are forced to migrate to locations in which ethnic divisions and cultural clashes ensue. Elite groups respond by establishing norms that protect the status-quo resource distribution and thus, establishing structural scarcity reminiscent of the colonial period (Homer-Dixon, 1994; Homer-Dixon, 1999; Crank, 2003). As frustrations increase, group identity conflict and terrorism, what Homer-Dixon (1999) refers to as insurrections, are a response to the perceived violence produced from structural scarcity. Under perceptions of threat, British and Canadian whites should desire residential segregation from perceived enemy others. Like military engagement, to combat terrorism, there needs to be an apparent enemy. However, terrorists are often not readily apparent. Given the clandestine nature of terrorist activity, British whites may direct retribution of the July 7, 2005 attacks against all Muslims. Changes in resource allocation to combat terrorism may encourage the expansion of a perceived enemy beyond those deemed as terrorists and may include all Middle East citizens and racial minorities in general. This struggle creates the desire to conserve group resources in-lieu of allowing them to be transferred in a more customary manner. Integrative Threat theory supports that structural scarcity may promote discrimination and therefore, modes of

discrimination in the United Kingdom that were waning could be altered if social disruption motivates conserving resources. Canada, given no social disruption due to terrorism, should maintain the structural integrity of resource distribution and although inequality exists, discriminatory behavior should not amplify.

The Integrative Threat (IT) theory posits that groups desire to maintain or increase realistic tangible and symbolic intangible resources (Stephan et al, 2006; Stephan et al, 2009). There are a modicum of resources that humans require for survival and satisfaction. When the social structure of society does not or cannot facilitate appropriate resource acquisition, negative social-psychological results are likely to occur. Dominant groups, who are rarely the recipients of institutional discrimination with diminished job security and lower acknowledgement of job capabilities, do not face barriers that place depleted resources at perpetual risk. Hobfoll and Lilly write:

"The social system plays a gate keeper role, allowing or limiting the translation of resources for gain or to offset loss. Racism, sexism and classism often prevent the use of resources by the discriminated group" (1993, p. 131).

The threat of loss and actual loss are often controlled by external forces. Terrorism, by its design, for example, imposes the threat of loss and causes a significant amount of social distress. Until the recent past, terrorism was directed at targets that were political and not civilian soft targets. Recent changes in terrorist activities from political and economically directed statements to casualties of civilian populations are destabilizing and increase social distress. Fear induced stress may be mitigated through affiliation with others (Schachter, 1959; Rofe, 1984). In Schachter's (1959) experiment the need for affiliation

was examined by having subjects believe they were going to receive a painful shock in a few moments when the experiment began. Schachter, under the guise of needing time to get the shock machine ready, offered the subjects the opportunity to go into a room in which several other people would be in the room with them or other rooms in which each subject could wait alone. A statistically significant majority of subjects desired to wait in a room with other subjects instead of alone. Racial and religious discrimination, it may be argued, fills the same void when in the uncertain world shaped by terrorism. The legacy of stratification and ethnocentrism in the United Kingdom and Canada encourage discriminatory-ethnocentric behavior. The opportunity to gauge group stability and solidarity while comparing the fear other (in-group) members experience is a useful defensive mechanism (Rofe, 1984). Terrorism creates social disruption and Staub (1996) found that group violence, as a response to social difficulties and frustration, is a critical factor in ethnic discrimination. Canetti-Nisim et al's (2009) research on social-psychological political response to terrorist acts shows that anti-democratic political policies, discrimination, and violence are a retaliatory investment to seek social-psychological gain. Dekel and Hobfoll state that "traumatic events are associated with ongoing and often rapid loss of resources. Resource loss, in turn, is associated with higher distress levels" (2006, p. 159). Social psychological distress due to resource loss is associated with exclusionist and discriminatory attitudes. In their research on exclusionary attitudes and political extremism, Canetti-Nisim, Halperin, Sharvit and Hobfoll write "terrorism predicted psychological distress, which predicted perceived threat from Palestinian citizens against Israel, which in turn, predicted exclusionist attitudes toward Palestinian citizens of Israel" (2009, p. 363). Terrorist activity is not

traditional warfare in which opposing sides have military uniforms. Terrorist have been proven difficult to find (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012) and therefore, may force dominant group members into a social-psychological resource loss position as they struggle with its uncertainty.

Social disruption can facilitate insecurity, fear, social dislocation and other manners that establish resource lack for dominant group members who are dependent upon the structural integrity of the normative system and its functional capabilities (Henslin, 2007). Sherif et al's, (1961) work supports that social disruption and resource competition between groups diminishes out-group collaboration, and encourages in-group ethnocentric biases. For dominant groups, discrimination may be a defensive strategy to conserve resources necessary to cope with the insecurities that terrorism is designed to establish. Communal defense against realistic threats may lead to the denial of the perpetuation of discriminatory actions by groups who refute overt forms of discrimination but are receptive to covert forms of discrimination. Dominant group members can substantiate their status through terms that state a lack of intrinsic motivations in marginalized groups. Terms that state differences in job capabilities and appropriate jobs due to cultural experiences instead of overtly denying minorities due to racial or religious affiliation legitimate cultural discrimination. Covert forms of discrimination place the denial of resource access that dominant group members disproportionately control on the inabilities of minorities instead of the realities of institutional and individual-group level discrimination (Marger, 2003). This is the manner of cultural discrimination that Modood and Salt (2011) refer to that impacts Muslims in

the UK. The angst caused by terrorism may elicit a depletion in dominant group members' security which in turn, may encourage heightened discrimination and anti-democratic responses (Canetti-Nisim et. al, 2009). By giving equal emphasis to realistic and symbolic threat markers, Integrative Threat theory is applicable to discrimination in that covert discrimination can facilitate dominant group threat spirals. In essence, covert discrimination can be used to regulate minority access to desirable resources and redistribute resources to dominant group members. Social structures that assist covert discrimination reinforce the communal nature for those who benefit and make possible intrinsic motivation for its perpetuation. Capricious disruptions in the social structure may create anxiety in dominant group members that encourage xenophobia and anti-democratic behavior (Canetti-Nisim, 2009). Stated succinctly, to proactively cope with the instability that may be caused by terrorism, it is possible that dominant group members may seek retribution against terrorist and the retaliation may initially include those who are perceived as terrorist but spill over to non-terrorist minority group members in the form of discrimination. The discrimination may entail verbal abuse, assaults or the taking of the life of minorities (Marger, 2012).

When competing for scarce resources, ethnocentric biases have been shown to increase in-group cooperation and hostilities against out-group members (Sherif et. al, 1961). Ethnocentrism, given the importance of in-group cohesion, enhances the likelihood that outsiders are perceived as threatening. Out-groups who are formidable and have the capability of causing the in-group difficulty or altering their cultural way of life are of particular concern (Stephan et al, 2009). Symbolic threats are those that attack the core

group's belief systems, culture, religious ideology and worldview (Stephan et al, 2009).

Terrorism may pose a danger to both realistic and symbolic means. For common citizens,

terrorism was primarily a symbolic threat. Howard and Forest (2008) state,

> "At one time… terrorists wanted a lot of people watching and not a lot of people dead. …Terrorist had a sense of morality, a self-image, operational codes and practical concerns- they wanted to maintain group cohesion, avoid alienating constituents, and avoid provoking public outrage, which could lead to crackdowns… But these constraints gave way to large-scale indiscriminate violence… and ethnic hatred and religious fanaticism replaced political agendas" (p. 24).

The more recent forms of terrorism encompass realistic threat for populations at-large as

terrorist indiscriminately murder civilians. For Stephan et al, (2009) tangible resources

are realistic and those that impact the group's esteem are symbolic. When examining

Hindu-Muslim relations in India, Tausch et al, (2009) found the strongest predictor of

intergroup anxiety for Muslim minorities was realistic threat. Muslims, as the minority

group, had negative attitudes against Hindu Indians because of job loss for example. For

Hindu Indians, the dominant majority group, intergroup anxiety was brought about

through symbolic threat. Tausch et al, (2009) found the Hindu symbolic threat interesting

and plausible because, "the political discourse of Hindu-nationalist groups in India use

cultural differences between groups to create anti-Muslim sentiment" (p. 92). Gonzalez et

al, (2008) add support when they state that "in the context of Israel, realistic threat …

predicted prejudice toward immigrants. In Northern Ireland, symbolic threat …

significantly predicts attitudes" (p. 679). For dominant group members, attacks against

the lived symbolism embedded in norms, values, taboos, mores, folkways and beliefs are

of particular salience. For minority groups, realistic threats in the forms of job loss and differential treatment in the judicial system are intimidating (Martin, 2003; Harrison and Peacock, 2010). When examining attitudes toward Affirmative Action policies in the United States, disagreement with Affirmative Action was correlated with perceptions of both realistic and symbolic threats but attitudes about those who benefit from Affirmative Action was associated with symbolic threat. Other factors that proved influential were personal relevance of Affirmative Action policies, and negative stereotypes of minority groups (Stephan et al, 2006).

The most ardent form of realistic threat is the proverbial zero sum game. The attributes that bring about realistic threat (e.g., jobs, money, and life) are of limited supply. When presented with a dilemma in which losses are catastrophic, and distribution can only sate one group, anxiety increases and discrimination is a likely result (Harrison and Peacock, 2010). In stable social systems, institutions may facilitate the unequal distribution of resources. In unstable environments, symbolic perceptions are important in maintaining the structural integrity of the system of stratification. In various situations, war and terrorism present zero sum situations and it is at this juncture that symbolism and patriotism are essentially roused to protect the homeland (Billig, 2009). Given the uncertainty prescribed through terrorism, this symbolism becomes more salient to coalesce citizens since terrorism has no rules of engagement but war does. There are no established treatises on terrorist behavior in international law (Shaw, 2008). Terrorist behavior is mitigated only because the terrorist wishes to minimize collateral damage. In

the more contemporary, that frame of reference is waning. According to Howard and Forest (2008), "jihadists seem ready to murder millions" (p. 24).

Symbolic threat transgressions receive minimal sanction when perpetuated by dominant group members. Yet, any transgression by minority group members receive harsh sanction which serves to reinforce the in-group bias. Minority group dress, religious practice and values may be labeled deviant by dominant group members. Cultural differences are used as the mechanisms to classify the Muslim 'other' for differential treatment in the UK (Modood and Salt, 2011). Chebel d'Appollonia (2012) and Cesari (2010) make reference to terrorist possible success of the recruiting of those who were not predisposed to terrorist behavior simply because they are treated as terrorist through discriminatory policies fostered by dominant groups and the social institutions in which they control. Over the last several decades, terrorism has been perceived to be primarily perpetuated by radicalized Muslims. Stephan et al, (2009) write,

"For the last two generations one group, militant Muslim fundamentalists, has been responsible for more international terrorism than any other. There are many reasons for this, including historical, geo-political, and economic issues, but the one basic reason is that they feel threatened by Western culture" (p. 11).

Given the salient nature of symbolic threat for the core dominant group in majority-minority relations (Tausch et al, 2009), much of the Muslim culture instills anxiety for Westerners. This anxiety is partly due to the collectivist nature of Muslim culture and the strict adherence to religious norms. This strict adherence is what Stephan et al, (2009) refer to as cultural tightness. Decisions made for the edification of the collective whole

versus the West orientation of individualism along with religious dogmatic adherence to scriptural norms in-lieu of freedom of religious devotion may cause symbolic threat anxiety and encourage discrimination.

The literature supports the motivations for ethnocentric biases and xenophobic tendencies through Integrative Threat theory. After a threatening event, citizens could become less tolerant, less trusting, and want to increase their segregation from others. This research focuses on "what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors?" It is hypothesized that terrorism would influence British citizen's realistic and symbolic threat perceptions. By comparing British and Canadian citizens on important indicators of Integrative Threat theory, the hypothesis can be tested.

Terrorism

Many of the terrorist acts of violence in the 20th century have given opportunity for terrorist organizations to be heard while attempting to garner a sympathetic public. These attacks were directed at particular political figures or structures to make clear their discernment of perceived injustice (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005). More recent terrorist activities at the end of the 20th century and into the 21st century have placed political value on attacking softer targets (e.g., the general public) and acquiring Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) which are of particular importance to terrorists (Hoffman in Howard and Forrest, 2008).

"Ordinarily (terrorists) do not have overpowering resources at their disposal. Therefore, they become diabolically proficient in devising ways to cripple by inducing paranoid fears, and sabotaging critical assets." (Rediger, 2002, 14).

The desire to cause pain in the civilian population causes chaos, as the College of Europe

security expert Jorg Monar states, "If one wants to assess this definition of a common

(terrorist) threat, one has to say that it is most vague on what is actually threatened

besides citizens' lives…. The argument about threats posed to the economic and social

development of the European Union is not developed in any clearer terms either" (in

Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, p. 146). In the recent, the largest proportion of terrorist

activity has occurred in the Asian Pacific rim, Africa and the Middle East. According to

the U. S. Department of State's Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START)

program, of the 6771 terrorist attacks in the world in 2012, 55 percent were in Pakistan,

Iraq and Afghanistan and of the 11, 098 casualties due to terrorism, 62 percent were in

these countries (START, 2013). Within Europe, most of the Muslims who currently

reside arrived after 1960 and Islamic terrorism is a relatively recent occurrence. In

response to the perceived immigration-terrorism nexus, in 2001 the Council of the

European Union adopted the Schengen Agreement which made the European Union

federation a large territory with external security checks of migrant's in-lieu of the

internal checks by each nation-state (Walters, 2009; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012).

Although the United Kingdom opted out of the Schengen Agreement, the entire European

Union adopted a counter-terrorism strategy. In December of 2005, the European Union

adopted a strategy for Combating Radicalization and Recruitment to Terrorism with the

focus being upon Al Qaeda (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Recent attacks, however, have

often transpired through non-Middle-Eastern Muslim sources. The 2005 London subway

bombing attacks, for example, were carried out by citizens of the United Kingdom but

irrespectively, anti-terrorism legislation makes specific reference to Islamic radicalism

with specific emphasis on visible minorities from Africa and the Middle East (Cesari, 2010; Cesari, 2013). The unusual scrutiny placed upon Middle East Muslims is perceived to be a recruiting mechanism for terrorist cells. Throughout Europe, there are three Muslim terrorist types. First, those of the Muslim Diasporas, second their children and third, recent converts who become jihadists (Cesari, 2010).

Terrorism has been proven to increase symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) in the general public. Alterman et.al, (2004) discuss being in a position to respond to one's fears as liberating. Whether it is the fear induced by terrorism or how the fear is manipulated by the political apparatus in response to terrorism, a response is necessary to enhance well-being and mitigate social distress (Alterman et. al, 2004). Those in society who are given the responsibility of helping maintain social order by assisting those who suffer psychological distress may be at increased risk of distress response to the terrorist event. Several researchers show that professionals who aide in psychological recovery are more likely to suffer a residual form of PTSD in the manner of Secondary Traumatic Stress as they care for those psychologically harmed by the uncertainty created by terrorist acts (Dekel et. al, 2007; Bride, 2007). Also of significance is the need to affiliate with others who are similarly experienced in the crisis situation (Schachter, 1959). Pulido (2012) found that for clinicians, "agency support was weak however, peer support was deemed helpful" when offering professional aide to traumatized citizens (p. 307). Terrorism, stated succinctly, is designed to create uncertainty and social chaos (Howard and Forrest, 2008). It elicits fear and anger. It is quite possible that discrimination is directed at Muslims (the perceived terrorist) or

increases to racial and religious minorities as a response to terrorism. If the response to terrorism is directed against the perceived Muslim terrorists, such behavior is retribution. This is a patriotic, nationalistic and authoritarian response. If discrimination increases against minorities in general, it is possible that such behavior is the attempt to maintain dominant group positioning in the system of stratification and by increasing the anguish minorities experience. This becomes a form of liberation as whites reinforce their favorable positioning, control desired resources, and experience the familiarity and benefits of inequality. Stress management requires both tangible (e.g., money to better securitize one's surroundings) and intangible (e.g., the self-efficacy to manage distress) resources (Hobfoll 2001, Hobfoll et. al, 2002). This is an attempt to conserve resources and intergroup threat response becomes relevant. If feelings of safety are liberating, securitization measures that are discriminatory may increase well-being as groups respond to the fear and stress of terrorism.

Securitization and Discrimination

Terrorism is an act of violence against the social structure of a society (Howard et.al, 2008). In an effort to combat terrorism, governments may suspend rights afforded their citizens through its constitution. The scope of the limitation of rights is an additional loss of freedom to those who most benefitted from the society before the terrorist act. In an effort to maintain an advantage, dominant group members may discriminate against minorities. The United Kingdom Anti-Terrorism Act of 2000 expanded police and judicial powers by forcing defendants to prove they are not involved in terrorist activity in-lieu of the government proving their guilt and making failure to report potential

terrorist attacks a crime (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). The subsequent Anti-Terrorism, Crime and Security Bill of 2001 gave the government the power to indefinitely detain foreign nationals who they anticipate to be a terrorist threat and confiscate the money of anyone who associates with a suspected terrorist (Cesari, 2010). Other measures include 'stop and frisk' provisions and 'detention without trial'. The Terrorism Act of 2006 allowed for such detention for up to 28 days. The subsequent Terrorism Act of 2011 diminished the detention to 14 days (Eljkman, 2011).

To be clear, British citizens have a plethora of legislative initiative designed to eradicate the terrorist threat. In 2000, the parliament created the Terrorism Act; in 2001 the Anti-terrorism, CONTEST I, Crime and Security Act; the 2005 Prevention of Terrorism Act; the 2006 Terrorism Act, and 2011 CONTEST II doctrine (Spalek and MacDonald, 2009; Cesari, 2010; Eljkman, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Awan, 2012) Non-terrorist citizens who have unknowingly associated with perceived terrorist may be detained. This law, as written, encourages citizens who do not have a Middle-Eastern heritage to distance themselves from citizens that do have a Middle-Eastern heritage. In this manner, the constructivist process of shaping citizen interaction clarifies the separation among ethnic groups. As the policy reinforces ethno-cultural differences, discrimination against Middle East Muslims is more likely to occur. Middle-Easterners are perceived as suspect and ethno-cultural divisions within the nation-state take place because of the competition for scarce and desired resources (Cesari, 2010). Political terrorism by one Middle-East terrorist cell has a wide variety of negative results for those who are not terrorist. In 2009, Canada created a 'no-fly' list and such securitization measures received repeated

warnings from Canadian Privacy Commissioner, Jennifer Stoddart, that the policy created "serious incursions into privacy laws and civil rights." (Werbin, 2009, p. 614). Given recent securitization measures, newly arriving migrants to the United Kingdom and Canada are confronted with a need to acquire economic vitality through employment juxtapose to the inability to acquire gainful employment without assimilating as non-threatening. Those who migrated prior to 1960 may maintain their ethno-cultural characteristics due to the nature of the social inequality in which Europeans are located in the upper tiers of the systems of stratification (Kallen, 2010; Marger, 2011). More recent migrants, primarily from Muslim nations in Africa, the Middle East, and Asia are more likely perceived as suspect and social integration is much more difficult. It is only post-WWII immigration policy changes that make entering Canada and the United Kingdom a reality for many of them (Kallen, 2010; Cesari, 2010).

Defensive Strategies to Limit Discrimination

Patriotism and national pride are important characteristics of identity formation. Tajfel (1978) states that patriotism is the "part of an individual's self-concept which derives from (the) knowledge of membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 63). Threats to the social order, in the form of war, natural disaster or terrorism, give cause for a collective consciousness to protect the homeland. Such collective identity is a prominent characteristic of self-identity (Cameron, 2004) and impacts self-esteem formation (Cameron, 2004; Cameron et. al; 2008). For Luhtanen and Crocker (1992) collective identity can be embedded in the sense of national pride, loyalty and the patriotism individuals have. Yet, the

discrimination within the social structure of society established prior to the disruptive event could impede the strength of the patriotic collective identity formation. Jiwani (2005) discusses the role of social institutions such as the media and politic in gathering, at the least, a loose patriotic identity formation as a response to terrorism. This loose sense of collective self-embedded in multicultural nationalism seems to be a significant aide in the war on terror. The political response to threats to the nation-state is often war and diplomacy (Ray and Kaarbo, 2005). Policies designed to secure the borders from illegal immigrants and those in response to terrorism that alter civilian rights in liberal democracies may be received with little resistance from citizens given the unusual manner in which war and terrorism are perceived as threats to the stability of the nation (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Yet, immigration policy has an extensive history and to amplify it is a means to placate the masses while offering measures that were in place prior to the event that was a threat to the stability of the nation-state. Examining the success of the restriction of constitutional rights as a response to terrorism offers vague results and this is the reason in which proponents of such restrictions, when the restrictions are already in place, argue that they must remain in place because they are effective. If no future terrorist attacks occur, the proponent makes claim that it was due to the constitutional restrictions. If another does take place, the proponent advocates intensifying the restrictions (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). These constructivist defensive strategies are often implemented as a response to terrorism by the politic of the nation-state. These strategies frequently are discriminatory due to the fact that heuristic political and law enforcement measures require a designated criminal other and in the case of the

response to terrorism, this is usually based upon the stereotyping of Middle Eastern Muslims (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012).

Juxtapose to the constructivist perspective on defensive strategies are the primordialist and essentialist strategies. There are psychological benefits to group identity formation and the affirmation of in-group belonging is important (Reddy, 2011). British and Canadian whites benefit economically and educationally. They benefit in their local and global residential location, and they benefit from inter and intra-national systems of stratification (Marger, 2003; Feltzer and Sober, 2005; Satzewich, 2011; Marger, 2011; Marger, 2012). Stated succinctly, nations with diverse populations have internal systems of stratification in which whites benefit globally and locally; and discrimination provides structural reinforcement that maintains their advantage. In democracies, a plurality of each ethnic group is necessary to enforce anti-discrimination policies successfully. Collective behavior requires not only those who are committed to the issue but also those who are sympathetic (Henslin, 2007). Given the recent changes in human rights laws and anti-discrimination policies in the United Kingdom and Canada, those who were sympathetic to minority issues of egalitarian treatment may become sympathetic to dominant group issues as terrorism alters social behavior. From the essentialist perspective, discrimination occurs when dominant group citizens feel motivated to establish cultural covert and overt norms that provide them social-psychological contentment through the differential treatment of minorities. The July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom may cause an increase in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors against visible minorities. Discrimination against all visible minorities evolves

the discussion of the response to terrorism beyond direct retribution against a particular terrorist cell or those who are motivated by Islamic extremism. Theoretically, Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Integrative Threat theory provide explanatory rational for the amplifying of discrimination beyond any terrorist cell or Islamic extremism. This research examines the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors when comparing the United Kingdom, who had a terrorist attack successfully carried out against its citizens, and Canada who did not.

CHAPTER THREE: THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH CANADA AS A COMPARISON

In the United Kingdom, where two car bombs failed to explode in central London and one failed at Glasgow International Airport in July 2007, officials reported an increasing number arrests of Islamic British nationals. Jacqui Smith, then home secretary, declared that the Security Service estimated the number of people in the United Kingdom believed to be operating terrorists increased from sixteen hundred in 2006 to two thousand in 2007 (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, p.166).

The United Kingdom

Since the 1960s, much of the non-European Union migration to the United Kingdom has been from Pakistan and Bangladesh. In 1991, the United Kingdom conducted a census enumeration of the ethnic composition of its population. These ethnic categories include White (English white, British white, Scottish white, Irish white, any other white), Black (African, Caribbean, black British), Asian (Pakistani, Indian, Bangladeshi, Chinese, any other Asian), Mixed (white and black Caribbean, white and black African, white and Asian), other and not known (New Ethnic Codes, 1991). Much of the visible minority population lives in ethnic enclaves in urban areas and according to the British Sociological Association, visible minorities are those "who are visually distinctive from the majority white group and generally have less political power" (BSA, 2014, p. 6).

The pull factors for the recent tremendous influx of migrants of color to the United Kingdom are involved. In *Frontiers of Fear: Immigration and Insecurity in the United States and Europe*, Chebel d'Appollonia writes "Although the motives for individual migration are more complex than pure socioeconomic gaps between the country of origin and the host country, migration is mainly perceived as a response to growing global

differences between areas. These differences relate to demographic growth, economic opportunity, income disparities, and the protection of human rights" (2012, p.199). Much of the demographic growth and change in both the United Kingdom and Canada is of people of color due to migration, work permits, family reunification and procreation (Modood, 2011, Kallen, 2010). Regarding human rights, Article Two of the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that "everyone is entitled to the rights and freedoms in the Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, language, sex, religion, political or any other opinion" (UN-UDHR, 1948). Both the United Kingdom and Canada are members of the United Nations and therefore, should attempt to be compliant with Article Two. Economic opportunity alone as a pull factor of visible minorities traveling to the UK, however, is not well supported by empirical evidence. According to the Office of National Statistics in 2011, whites were 86 percent of the population and they controlled almost 90 percent of the employed positions. Table 3-1, shows the percentage by ethnic group in the population and Table 3-2 shows the employment by ethnic group. As shown, the remaining ethnic groups, except for the Chinese, had lower percentages of the positions of employment relative to their percentage of the population in the United Kingdom. Given the ethnic group population characteristics in the United Kingdom, whites are marginally over represented in the work force when compared to their proportion of the population.

Table 3-1			
The United Kingdom	Population by Ethnic Group		
		Number	Percentage
	White	48,648,308	86.00
	Black	1,838,453	3.25
	Indian	1,414,195	2.50
	Pakistan/Bangladeshi	1,555,614	2.75
	Chinese	424,258	0.75
	Mixed	820,233	1.45
	Unknown	1,866,737	3.30
	Total	56,567,800	100

Office of National Statistics (2012) Ethnicity and National Identity

2011

Table 3-2			
The United Kingdom	Employment by Ethnic Group (Thousands)		
		Number	Percentage
	White	25,523	89.97
	Black	661	2.33
	Indian	691	2.44
	Pakistan/Bangladeshi	453	1.60
	Chinese	797	2.81
	Mixed	228	0.80
	Unknown	15	0.05
	Total	28,363	100

Office of National Statistics (2013) Labor Market Status by Ethnic

Group.

Information from the United Kingdom Office of National Statistics states that, in 2011,

London and the West Midland regions had the largest non-white populations in the

United Kingdom. Of the local authority districts, Redcar and Cleveland had the largest

white British population with 97.6 percent of the residents being white British. In

contrast, the lowest white British population in an authority district was in Newham with only 16.7 percent being white British. Given the large white British presence in Redcar and Cleveland, one would expect a larger than typical median earning when compared to those authority and unitary districts with a large minority presence. The most recent available data on weekly earnings shows that in 2008, the median weekly earnings in Redcar and Cleveland was £390 and in Newham it was £450. This data suggests that visible minorities would benefit from being in a location in which the median income is higher and that discrimination is not prevalent.

In 2008, Bangladeshi and Pakistani British have the lowest weekly earnings of all British ethnic groups (Hills et al, 2010). The fact that Bangladeshi and Pakistani have lower median weekly earnings could be due to their level of education. If they perform less academically well than British whites and other whites it would be expected that they would get lower wage jobs. If they perform better than whites academically, their lack of earnings power could be due to an 'ethnic penalty (Modood and Salt, 2011). The data shows mixed results. The Secretary of State for Education in England, Michael Grove, stated that employers, university personnel and college personnel have complained about the preparedness of British students. The GCSE has been reformatted to address their concerns. In the 2011-2012 academic year, according to the Department of Education of England's summary in brief, 63 percent of Bangladeshi students received an 'A', 'B' or 'C' grade for the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE). For Pakistani students, 55 percent had a 'C' or better proficiency grade. White British scored between the two groups at 60 percent scoring a 'C' or better. In fact, Chinese, Indians and mixed

whites, and Asians scored best at 76 percent, 74 percent, and 68 percent respectively

(Attew, 2013). Currently, this is the more desired level of academic performance for most

jobs and institutions of higher education (Grove, 2012). This data supports that visible

minorities perform better academically and yet, white British are more likely to have

higher weekly earnings. Differences in earnings suggest an ethnic penalty (Modood and

Salt, 2011).

While these figures support that visible minorities earn less than whites, Bangladeshi and

Pakistani fair worse. The primary reason for the higher median income in Newham seems

to be the white British presence in the London region, in which Newham is situated, and

the fact that the City of London is a global city that attracts business and trade from all

over the world. Visible minorities who practice Islam are perceived as an unusual

circumstance for the British. When discussing the 'Islamic Problem' Cesari (2013)

writes,

"the radicalized, non-Western poors, held politically responsible for systemic changes of
neoliberal globalization in European labor markets in the 1990s, have been fused with
suspect Muslim communities since September 2001. Culturally unassimilated,
ideological inassimilable, and transnationally implicated as disloyal, the racial politics of
the 'War on Terror' has produced intolerable subjects" (p. 140).

Visible minorities of Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin are confronted with the possibility

that racism or religious discrimination is the reason for differential treatment. Modood

and Salt's (2011) work on British ethnic group's education and economic attainment

found that Black Caribbean's of Christian faith suffered an economic penalty for their

ethnicity but Muslims and Sikh Indians experienced discrimination in both educational

achievement and job market access. As stated above, many ethnic groups now

outperform whites academically (Modood and Salt, 2011). Since at least 55 percent of

Bangladeshi and Pakistani British earned 'C' grades they are better they are integrated in

the United Kingdom (Dept. Ed., 2013). They understand the British culture, its school

system and seek gainful employment. Like the Christian Black Caribbean, they face

discrimination but, they are British citizens (Modood and Salt, 2011). Recent visible

minority migrants tend to be younger migrants. In many respects, migrant patterns are

due to the United Kingdom's immigration policy in which preference is given to those

who migrate for academic reasons and those who are acquiring or have credentials in

occupations that have need for migrant skills. These employment opportunities tend to be

in science, technology and business. Older well skilled migrants often work in academia

(Modood and Salt, 2011).

Given the British transitions from racism to multiculturalism in the latter 20th century,

and in the recent to cultural assimilation, the symbolic markers of Islamic religious

practice in the public arena are unenthusiastically received (Cesari, 2013). Yet, phenotype

cannot be extinguished in a similar manner as religious artifacts and symbolic markers.

Visible minorities are segregated and research shows that racial segregation and racial

competition, followed by interracial conflict increases unrest which, when sparked, leads

to violence and riots (Olzak and Shanahan, 1996; Olzak et. al, 1996). In essence, ethnic

groups are separated due to racial and religious differences that create ethnic enclaves

and yet, have the close proximity to engage in social conflict over tangible and intangible

resources. Young Muslims, who desire to be educated and gain employment in the UK

are encouraged to practice 'cultural Islam' in which they merge religious practice with

British norms to better assimilate. Politicians and business owners who are endorsing that

Muslims integrate utilize cultural Islam as the model for good Muslims (Lambert, 2008).

Cultural Islam requires cultural assimilation while proclaiming an Islamic religious

orthodox. While these policies placate business and liberal government, they do not meet

the criteria of the far right's platform that desires stratification that is paradigm in British

whiteness above all other groups. Their position supports policies of segregation and

racist employment practices (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Violent responses are

conceivable when such physical segregation and competition occur (Olzak et. al, 1996).

In the United Kingdom in 2001, due to the economic conditions the Asian population

faced, the Oldham and Bradford riots broke out in which Asians and whites engaged in

bloody confrontation (Webster, 2003). In addition, in August, of 2011 the Manchester

riots took place between Black and white British. The riots were sparked when a Black

youth was shot dead by police in Tottenham (Pieri, 2014). The far right, anti-immigrant,

radical and violent British National Party would use these ethnic feuds and the July 7,

2005 terrorist attacks as the platform to gain national notoriety as a political force in the

United Kingdom (Copsey and Macklin, 2011).

The British National Party

One of the United Kingdom government's response to fascism after World War II was

the loosening of border controls that would allow immigrant streams from Asia and

Africa entry. Given the fact that much of Europe was a theater for the Second World

War, the United Kingdom's war torn and dilapidated infrastructure required laborers and

visible minorities, especially those from the former British colonies, became a prevalent labor migrant stream (Modood and Salt, 2011). As the visible minority presence increased, the United Kingdom, like Canada, would design policies that would provide a framework of diversity, respect and receptivity for groups who had traditionally been denied equality in the United Kingdom (Modood and Salt, 2011; Copsey and Macklin, 2011). The far right would become apprehensive about population shifts and through marches, confrontation and meetings, militant fascist groups would show their opposition to liberal multicultural policy through various manners of violence. Frost (2008) writes "In the context of the UK, racial violence may act as a tool for reinforcing white privilege and maintaining the oppression of those defined as foreign, immigrant, Muslim and other" (p. 549). The British National Party (BNP) evolved from the angst between multicultural doctrine and perceptions of reverse discrimination due to government policies designed to buttress a multicultural United Kingdom (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). By the end of the 20th century, the BNP's tactics of confrontation and propaganda had given the organization recognition, but it had difficulty stemming the tide of multicultural doctrine and therefore, the United Kingdom was not as 'pure' as the far right would desire. The ethnic cleansing or separation of the races in the United Kingdom required control of government. BNP leader, Nick Griffin, began altering the group's public image in the 1990s (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Yet, the almost half-century of demonizing those who were not British whites was not to be an impression easily discarded. The riots in 2001, the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States and the July 7, 2005 terrorism in London changed the trajectory of thought and made even the political left in the government question the multiculturalism strategy. After the July

2005 attacks, for example, well respected left leaning New Labor politician Jack Straw

questioned the multicultural approach declaring that women who wear the hijab are

indicating separatism in the United Kingdom and diluting cohesion within the

community. As Copsey and Macklin (2011) make clear when they reflect Prime Minister

Tony Blair's consternation in his speech about Muslim radicalism when they write

 "with the rise of Muslim extremism, (it is) the duty that immigrants had to conform to
British values. The right to be in a multicultural society was always balanced by a duty to
integrate, to be part of the United Kingdom, to be British and Asian, to be British and
black, to be British and white" (p. 68).

The BNP and the National Front, another extreme far right group, desired the separation

or eradication from British soil of minority groups. The left moved toward a preference

of integration in-lieu of multiculturalism (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Cultural

differences would dissipate over a generation or more as minorities became more

integrated (Marger, 2014) and if the far right had the reigns of political power, the rules

of the culture could be altered to benefit dominant group members whenever minorities

began to become more fully assimilated. The BNP, who since 1999 had begun changing

its public image to seem more moderate in an effort to garner political support, found

integration disagreeable.

In 1999, the BNP's chair, Nick Griffin, attempted to change its image. The British public

would not support the organization's agenda if it was perceived to be along racist lines.

Griffin wanted to attain a softer image and made clear to the BNP constituents through

BNP pamphlets, the organization would not lose its original identity of 'British purity',

but needed to reshape its public image to garner political support. Griffin believed that by feeding members pseudo-scientific genetic superiority literature and presenting information that supported the white working class was on the receiving end of its own government's discriminatory policies to support multiculturalism and integration, the BNP would maintain its core constituency. In addition, by changing the BNP rhetoric from racist and Anti- semantic rhetoric to differences based upon culture, the BNP could grow its constituency to include those who believed that ethnic 'outsiders' should assimilate. In this manner the organization would have the potential of becoming a political force and internal BNP messages support Griffin's dual approach (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). The Bradford riots proved to be the event that pushed Griffin and the BNP into national focus (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Ginning up problems of immigration, assimilation and government apathy became the rally cry for Griffin as leader of the BNP. Copsey and Macklin (2011) write,

"The factors underpinning support for the BNP were not dissimilar to those that had contributed to the growth of the extreme right on the continent, that is to say the socio-political construction of the immigration/asylum problem, popular racism, systematic factors such as political alienation and protest, and most significant of all – since right-wing extremism would remain ghettoized without it – the construction of legitimacy" (p. 7).
    .
Griffin and the BNP seek support in areas that are segregated with large minority populations (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Initially, much of the BNP's support came from young 18 to 25 year olds (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). However, the support has seen recent demographic shifts and currently older, less educated, working class men are its key supporters (Ford and Goodwin, 2010). In the recent, Oldham, Bradford and Burnley have become prime targets for the BNP and National Front because there is a

significant amount of racial residential segregation, education segregation, and the area's textile industries has disintegrated. Frost (2008) writes

"the most fertile wards are those with a very small number of minority residents or all-white areas that have minorities close by. Additionally, it has also been shown that the BNP is one of the few political parties with a near all-male support base" (p. 553).

This strategy is valuable for political reasons to increase support for BNP candidates and encouraging feelings of reverse discrimination. Visible minorities often attempt to find adequate housing and employment in areas with working class whites. Ethnic enclaves between racial and religious factions develop. As areas become racially segregated, they become symbolically color-coded and external hazards are perceived as peripheral racial groups threatening ethnic ownership (Denton and Massey, 1988; Marger, 2003). Neighborhood nationalism in the arrangement of ethnic community formation makes race important (Webster, 2003). According to Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1988) residential segregation has been shown to be a salient characteristic of discrimination against minorities. The more the segregation of housing by race and ethnicity, the more the discrimination against minority populations. Although the far right (e.g., British National Party, National Front) has not been successful in getting a much broader base of support for its agenda, recent migrants are not seen favorably by British whites overall and their segregated but concentrated living arrangements near working class whites heightens the perception of threat. Experts state that low income working class citizens would desire that new migrants do not increase competition for scarce jobs (Copsey and Macklin, 2011) This is some of the conjecture offered by the BNP to support its racial segregation and sterilization policies and could have increased the proportion of whites who looked unfavorably on recent migrants (Marger, 2003; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012).

The July 7, 2005 attacks in London may have given British whites a negative perspective on the multicultural policy platform. Although negative attitudes about migration does not mean British whites discriminate, it could lead to attitudes that encourage hostility toward out-group members which may lead to discrimination. As a result of segregation and discrimination, violence may ensue (Olzak et. al, 1996). Terrorism is a manner of violence that, in its contemporary form, is indiscriminant. The July 7, 2005 London bombing attacks were not singling out politicians or the affluent to make a political statement. Their terrorist attacks were a manner of retribution against the perceived West's unjust treatment of the Islamic world.

The British National Party has used the Bradford riots and recent manners of terrorism to shape perceptions of a changing world view in which British whites are confronted with social norms that marginalize them as citizens of the United Kingdom (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Substantial cultural differences, particularly in religious form, are utilized emphasize perceptions of religious fanaticism. Given that the opposing worldviews between the secular West and the traditional teachings of Islamic doctrine seem substantial, media portrayals of Salafis Muslims are connected to religious fanaticism. The Salafization of Islam teaches against the impurities and adulterations of the West (Cesari, 2013). It also teaches, for example, the role of women in society. Teachings from the Quran passage 4:34 states

"Men are the managers of the affairs of women for that God has preferred in bounty one of them over another, and for that they have expended of their property. Righteous women are therefore obedient, guarding the secret for God's guarding. And those you fear

may be rebellious admonish; banish them to their couches, and beat them. If they then obey you, look not for any way against them; God is All-high, All-great"

The Salafization of Islam teaches subjugation of the self for the edification of the community. These teachings do not comport with the Protestant Reformation movement toward individual spiritual relationships (Cesari, 2013). Salafi Islam is a literal translation of the Quran and Hadith. Media portrayals of Muslims feed into the perception that those who practice Islam are radical fundamentalists who are irrational, do not believe people have the right to freedom, and are willing to take their own life to slaughter thousands of Christians (Lambert, 2008; Cesari, 2013). As a result, Muslims have begun using the technology of the West to clarify their religious orthodox. The ability to transmit the Salafi perception of Islam by new technologies like the internet, and the almost $80 billion Saudi Arabian investment designed to spread Islam throughout the world has highlighted the alternatives between Islamic tradition and Western modernity (Cesari, 2013). The media of the West, however, direct attention to the perceptions of Muslims in a concerted manner. According to Wood and Finlay, 2008, the British National Party and specifically Nick Griffin use literal interpretations of the Koran as support that Islamic practice supports violence. As proof of the perceived danger in Salafis Islamic practice Griffin states

"Terrorism; the slaughter of innocents; war against the unbelievers; mass murder- all are (assuming the words of various Koranic verses are taken to have their ordinary English meaning) 'justified' in the Koran, and anyone who denies this is a liar. How can we say such politically incorrect things? Because we have studied the Koran, and because we in the BNP pride ourselves on telling the truth, no matter what it costs us. (Griffin in Wood and Finlay, 2008).

Although the British National Party is but one far right political party, they have garnered

substantial support winning local elections in England during the 21st century (Copley

and Macklin, 2011). Margaret Thatcher, Nick Griffin, media portrayals, and counter

terrorism strategies place focus upon Muslims as radical terrorist and the West often

portray all those who practice the Islamic faith as those who practice a religion inundated

with radicalizing material. The Rushdie affair, 9/11 and 7/7 are utilized as confirmation

of this discernment of Muslims as the 'other' irrational people whose religion makes

possible and motivates extremism.

Liberal populations are often demonized by the British National Party. Multicultural

doctrine and anti-war demonstrations are stigmatized as diluting the United Kingdom and

causing its decline from prominence (Wood and Finlay, 2008). According to Jeffery

Smucker (2008), large scale antiwar demonstrations do not mean that people coalesce

around peace. As a manner to dilute the strength of the antiwar effort, media portrayals of

white demonstrators as hippie activist were reminiscent of the 1960s. Therefore, the

images of British whites who stood in opposition to the war in the diverse coalition of

antiwar demonstrators, did not ease working class visible minorities' perceptions of

whites supporting discriminatory practices. Media portrayals demonizing British whites

for antiwar positions were temporary. Media portrayals of Muslim radicalism are much

more consistent and comprehensive (Cesari, 2013). Although British Salafis Muslims, for

example, are not ordinarily affiliated with al Qaeda, given their literal interpretations of

and religious practices based upon the Koran, they are often demonized in the media as

radical extreme terrorists (Lambert, 2008; Cesari, 2013). These portrayals encourage

individual discrimination to be perpetuated against Muslims. Given the stance of the far right, getting a one sided coalition is problematic. Their political support for going to war was substantial and maybe more importantly, monolithic. British and American white males were the largest proponents for going to war. Diverse coalitions are much more readily fragmented and more difficult to mobilize effectively. The BNP strategizes to take advantage of the difficulties in maintaining coalitions of the diverse given that authorities who implement important policy issues (e.g., engaging in war) can utilize the historical characteristics of racial, ethnic, and religious stratification to dilute the collective behavior of the demonstration that requires diverse groups to collaborate. Minority members may question the veracity of dominant group members' commitment to the demonstration's central issue (Smucker, 2008). The media can frame the issue and provide images that encourage group fragmentation. Although the negative media images of Muslims are prevalent, British Muslims seem to positively identify as British. According to a 2009 Gallup poll, when British Muslims were asked "How strongly do you identify with your country and religion?" British Muslims were equally likely to identify with both. While 75 percent identified with their Muslim faith, 77 percent identified with the United Kingdom, their country of residence (Cesari, 2013).

These are salient markers that designate "*Why the West Fears Islam*" for Cesari, (2013). Cultural differences along with media portrayals of Muslims as terrorists fuel feelings of distress, fear and anger among British citizens. Contemporary research shows, however, that discrimination of minorities may not be directly linked to terrorism and yet, indirectly minorities receive enhanced scrutiny and are treated as denizens in-lieu of

citizens although they acquired and should be conferred citizenship rights. Research by

Canetti-Nisim et.al (2009) on Palestine citizens in Israel shows that the psychological

distress and perceived threat of terrorist activity enhances the desire for exclusionist

attitudes by the Israeli dominate group which leads to nondemocratic attitudes that

threaten Palestine rights as the minority group. If minorities accept second class status,

dominant groups have diluted their rights through avoidance. If minorities mobilize and

demand equality, there is the risk of confrontation. Responses to social-psychological

anxiety by the dominate group are the fight or flee syndrome in which anger encourages

confrontation while fear induces flight mechanisms. Suppressing political involvement of

Muslims can be a fear produced reaction to their population growth (Aguire and Turner,

2006). While the terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom may not have established a

direct link to overt discrimination, securitization response measures have increased

feelings of xenophobia (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Given the British citizen's behavior

against the perceived Muslim 'other', the rationale for discrimination and xenophobia lies

in the in-group and out-group boundaries in which terrorism provokes feelings of anger

or fear (Cameron, Maslen and Todd, 2013). Anger results in an increased appetite to

engage in military conflict while fear establishes a desire to enhance securitization

measures. Both securitization and military engagement may establish the 'us versus

them' mentality and the lumping of Muslims into the perceived radicalized terrorist 'out-

group' may occur through securitization measures such as British counter terrorism

policies (Spalek and McDonald, 2009, Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Statements in the

media requesting that the public "report anything suspicious" or government officials

claiming "the war on terror" are perceived in the light of the citizen in-group members

against the radicalized Muslim out-group alien. These perceptions that Middle-Eastern Muslims are the radicalized terrorist other occur despite the fact that the July 7, 2005 bombings in the London underground subway were committed by British citizens (Cameron, Maslen and Todd, 2013).

As Third Country Nationals migration increased the aggregate minority population, the conservative British National Party (BNP) focused legislation on anti-immigrant policy (Soper and Feltzer, 2005). In the 2001 elections, candidates of the BNP were not successful in their bid to obtain parliamentary power and thus, their anti-immigrant policy did not become law. The paradigm had been established, however, that fueled anti-immigrant sentiment. While most Britons do not believe that they are prejudice, according to a recent 2010 British Citizenship Survey, 46 percent of respondents believed there was more religious prejudice in 2010 than there was in 2005 (Rutherford, 2011). The prejudice of British citizens can also be found in perceptions of migration. Over twice the percent of British Whites believe immigration to be a pressing issue when compared to British minorities (Health and Khan, 2012). In 2008, the United Kingdom changed its immigration policy to give preference to high skilled workers. Mimicking the Canadian system, the British system is a multi-layered point system in which those with wealth and business owners get preferential treatment and those who are well educated are in the next tier (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). Irrespective of the migration policy and discriminatory behavior, the migration flows to the United Kingdom from Bangladesh and Pakistan have been two of the three largest migration waves in the 21st century. Table

3.3 shows the number of migrants (in percentages) to the United Kingdom between 1991

and 2011 by the country of last residence.

Table 3.3: Top ten non-UK country of birth by year of arrival (Pre-1990 & 1991-2011)

NATION	Pre-1990	1991-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	2007-2009	2010-2011	Percent Total
India	43.6	11.0	9.2	13.4	14.1	8.7	100
Poland	4.9	3.3	6.0	45.4	31.8	8.6	100
Pakistan	41.1	19.8	9.5	12.3	11.3	6.0	100
Ireland	77.0	8.2	3.0	3.8	4.7	3.3	100
Germany	54.4	17.0	5.1	8.2	10.0	5.3	100
Bangladesh	46.2	20.9	9.2	8.9	10.9	3.9	100
Nigeria	21.6	20.2	12.1	18.7	19.0	8.4	100
South Africa	23.2	26.1	18.4	15.2	13.1	4.0	100
United States	23.2	16.7	9.2	12.3	23.3	15.3	100
Jamaica	64.9	16.8	12.2	2.2	2.8	1.1	100

ONS (2011) Figure 3: Top ten non- UK: Immigration Patterns of non-UK born

populations 2011

As previously stated, discrimination can be examined on a continuum ranging between

verbal assaults, to denying of resources, aggression and lastly to genocide (Marger,

2003). According to the British Crime Survey research in 1993, 1995 and 1999, Pakistani

and Bangladeshi Muslims were more likely than Whites, Blacks or Indians to be the

victim of a hate crime incident in the United Kingdom (EUMC, 2006). In 1999, for

example, they were three times as likely to be the victim of vandalism and more than

twice as likely to be threatened with assault when compared to Blacks. In 1999, the

violence victimization rate against Muslim adults was 129 per 100,000. In an attempt to

eradicate such discriminatory behavior, those who were in office during former Prime

Minister Tony Blair's tenure attempted to implement structural reforms to diminish anti-

immigrant hostility. Liaisons between church and state took on new significance. As a

means to promote education, the Association of Muslim Schools, the Islamic Home

Schooling Advisory and the Muslim Educational Trust provided assistance to enhance

the academic delivery of services to Muslims. In addition, the Inter-faith Network is

attempting to integrate the diverse religious communities while leaders in the Christian,

Jewish and Muslim communities have developed interdependent organizations (EUMC,

2006).

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British Discrimination and Islam

Once the large migration influxes of colored minorities to the United Kingdom began in

the 1960s, social justice doctrine embedded in a multiculturalist view became salient and

there have been various positions on what constitutes fairness, egalitarianism and equality

for minority groups. For some, social justice is perceived covered adequately in the

British 1976 Race Relations Act which prohibits discrimination on racial or ethnic

reasons. However, this act does not cover all manner of discrimination and such

discrimination is not as transparent as the judiciary may desire (Feltzer and Soper, 2005).

When focusing on religious differences, the complexities of religious norms and secular

law establish an interesting paradox. Islamic religious law prescribes individual

responsibilities for the edification of the collective. British western-centric secular law

prescribe collective behavior to protect individual rights. Take, for example, honor

killings in which Islamic religious practices allow men to control the lives of their

daughters and wives throughout their lives and even may allow for the taking of their life

due to the perception of preserving the family name. The brutality of honor killings have

been a significant topic of discussion throughout the latter 20th century in the United

Kingdom (Cesari, 2013). It is difficult for the state to separate religious practice from citizenship rights. Less violent practice under Islamic doctrine, allows for arranged marriages and affords its male followers polygamous relationships. Men may marry several wives and if divorce is to be granted, the husband must agree to divorce in order that it may be carried out. Under British culture and common law, love relationships may evolve into marriage and martial relationships are monogamous. In addition, both women and men may file for divorce. Thus, the citizenship rights conferred by the state diverge with the religious law of Islamic scripture. Islamic law is perceived by many Britons as oppressive and sexist; in contrast, to repudiate those who practice Islam of the right to consummate relationships according to their faith creates perceptions of oppression and discrimination against Muslims that is conducted by the British state. Since the 1998 Human Rights Act prohibits religious discrimination by the state, its application could allow the Islamic religious practice of polygamous marriages and divorce only through patriarchal application. Such an implementation of the Act, however, would contradict British cultural practice and law regarding monogamous marriage and gender equality in the right to seek a divorce (Feltzer and Soper, 2005). The 2009 Islamic assemblage named 'Shari'a for the United Kingdom', held that divorce should be instigated by men only and that equality between men and women is immoral (Cesari, 2013). As an important initial phase in an attempt to reconcile differences between British and Islamic divorce practice, the Muslim Laws Shari'a Council (MLSC) and the Islamic Shari'a Council (ISC) arbitrate such cases so that divorce, when irreconcilable, may be finalized even when promulgated by the wife (Cesari, 2010). Irrespective of such accommodations, the implementation of Islamic law can be discriminatory against women. As a response to

the incongruence between Islamic religious practice and secular juris prudence, Baroness

Caroline Cox, in 2011 introduced legislation called 'One Law for All' (Cesari, 2013).

Given the history of minorities and the post-WWII attempt to recognize the rights of

those who were under British colonial rule, equality in citizenship rights have been

aligned with perceptions of human rights and freedom and are important factors in

international discourse (Borgwardt, 2005). Since the support for human rights and

equality, the discussion of what constitutes social justice for minority groups in the

United Kingdom diverges along either equality of opportunity or equality of outcomes

(Craig, 2007). When analyzing opportunities and outcomes for citizen minorities in the

United Kingdom; the history of Bangladeshi and Pakistani Muslims is one in which many

have suffered from a lack of political responsiveness by elected officials, less economic

access and an unequal education system. When examining Muslim equality of outcomes

in a 1999 survey conducted by Wellman, Feldman and Purdam for example, Feltzer and

Soper (2005) write "Muslim groups experienced a consistently higher level of unfair

treatment than any other religious community in every aspect of education, employment,

housing, law, and in all the government services covered in the questionnaire" (p. 32). In

their analysis of France, Germany and the United Kingdom, Soper and Feltzer (2005)

found that the levels of education and religious affiliation were significantly associated

with support for public accommodation of Muslim religious practice. However, in the

United Kingdom specifically, only religious affiliation was significant. The level of

education was not significantly related to support for or against public accommodation

for Muslim religious practice. The traditional church-state relationship that was

established in the 16th century may have laid the foundation for the receptivity of

religious diversity in the United Kingdom. Attempts at finding commonality amongst

religious factions in an attempt to have peaceful coexistence are a matter of equal rights

and justice. According to Cesari, (2010), while British perceptions of Muslim religious

practice is of the nature of inclusion in general, behaviors that do not conform to

established British cultural practice exacerbate xenophobic perceptions, prejudicial

attitudes and discriminatory behaviors. According to a 2005 Pew survey, 61% of Britons

believe that Muslims want to be distinct and 63% believe that they have a distinct and

separate identity. In addition, 70% of Britons are concerned about Muslim extremism.

Such perceptions fuel xenophobia and highlight cultural differences. One of the more

compelling examples was the clash between free speech and Islamic religious practice in

the 1988 Rushdie Affair (Cesari, 2010).

According to Islamic law, it is forbidden to show pictures and sacrilegiously portray the

prophet Muhammad in a negative manner. Similarly, British legal doctrine made it illegal

to blaspheme Christianity. Muslims in the United Kingdom, however, were not given

similar legal protection for Islam (Feltzer and Soper, 2005). The lack of such protection

for those who practice Islam highlights the incongruence between British applications of

law buttressed by secular perceptions of what should be publicly accommodated in

practice. While Feltzer and Soper (2005) report support for religious accommodation,

British law is not applied consistently when comparing Christianity and Islam. This

difference in legal protection was highlighted in the latter 20th century when; in 1988,

British secular perception and Islamic religious belief diverged due to the Rushdie Affair

(Soper and Feltzer, 2005). '*The Satanic Verses'*, a novel written by Salmon Rushdie, was considered blasphemy by Ayatollah Khomeini and a bounty was placed upon the life of Rushdie. Rushdie had included several characters in his novel that were similar to people in the Koran. These characters seemed to portray the Islamic prophet Muhammad and his twelve wives in a manner that angered the Islamic people in various nations. As a result a fatwa was placed upon Rushdie and he was placed under British protection. As the issue escalated, relations between the United Kingdom and Iran broke down. In addition, British Muslims supported the fatwa Khomeini had placed upon Rushdie while British citizens perceived it censorship of free speech (Kelly-Spurles, 2006). Rushdie would spend the next decade under British protection as the issue fueled antagonisms due to the institutional support for the protection of Christian orthodoxy and the lack of such protection for Islam. The incongruence between Islamic language censorship due to religious belief and British freedom of speech doctrine fueled the xenophobic perceptions that had been established prior to the Rushdie Affair.

Integration and Discrimination

The population increase of South Asian groups into the United Kingdom post-1960 has created legal, political and economic struggles that have confronted the minority communities and government officials at present. The fear-anger nexus that confronts the response to terrorism establishes xenophobic and discriminatory behaviors as demographic population characteristics change in the United Kingdom. Far right groups, similar to the British National Party are adept at stoking the ire's of xenophobic paranoia and encouraging acts of hate, discrimination and violence against visible minorities

(Copsey and Macklin, 2011). As minority population numbers increase, the core group develops an awareness of cultural and physical differences which enhances the sense of threat they perceive and discrimination becomes prevalent (Aguirre and Turner, 2006). In Dumont et al's (2003) research, when the victims of an event were part of the subject's in-group members, levels of fear increased and the subjects reported an enhanced desire for information-seeking behaviors. Muslims, who are out-group members and the perceived cause of terrorist activities, are retaliated against through discrimination and xenophobia. Such perceptions increase the pressure for securitization measures. As government and police officials attempt to separate the radicalized Muslim from the peaceful Muslim, citizens who receive their information via media outlets will lump or stereotype all Muslims as terrorists (Cameron, Maslen and Todd, 2009). Those who are angry will often retaliate in verbal and physical forms of hate crimes. Laws that have been erected to confront terrorism and extinguish discrimination; may also eliminate many citizenship rights of those who are believed to promote and/or participate in terrorism or enhance the suspicions of citizens who confront Muslims who they believe have been radicalized. When government officials seek anyone who has accessed information on terrorism or radicalization of Muslims, the student of terrorism may well be denied citizenship rights as a perceived threat to society. It is difficult to distinguish between someone who is looking at terrorist propaganda for education, entertainment or radicalization. Yet, the implementation of CONTEST II may be questioned for enhancing discrimination against Muslims. As stated in CONTEST II, discrimination against

Muslims becomes the breeding ground for Islamic radicalization and the perpetuation of

recruitment for terrorist activities (CONTEST II; May, 2011).

While xenophobic perception is believed to have increased in the United Kingdom, the

population of Muslims has grown larger by over 85 percent in the time period between

2000 and 2011 (Berman, 2012). As a member of the European Union, both British law

and European Union law make clear the issues of fair receptivity of third country

nationals: In the Official Journal of the European Union, Chapter Two, Article 79,

Section 3 states:

> *The Union shall develop a common immigration policy aimed at*
> *ensuring, at all stages, the efficient management of migration flows, fair*
> *treatment of third- country nationals residing legally in Member States,*
> *and the prevention of, and enhanced measures to combat, illegal*
> *immigration and trafficking in human beings.*

The European Union mandate supports fair treatment of migrants from non-European

Union nation-states and post-1960 British immigration policy does also. The legislative

mandates have allowed the tremendous increase of Muslims, primarily from Bangladesh

and Pakistan to make substantial gains integrating into British politics. About 80 percent

of Bangladeshi and Pakistani British are registered to vote in political elections and their

primary voting affiliation is with the liberal Labor Party (Heath and Khan, 2012). The

public sector is much more egalitarian of the Muslim community than is the private

sector. Recall, part of CONTEST II design is to separate the radicalized Muslim from the

peaceful Muslim by making the attributes that support radicalization (e.g., propaganda

designed to sustain terrorist behavior) illegal. However, the private citizen often 'lumps'

all Muslims into the radicalized category unless they have a significant amount of social

engagement with them (Cameron, Haslen and Todd, 2009). This perpetuates the out-group bias that, in many respects, has made it difficult for Muslims to translate their political engagement into more advantageous economic, residential and education results (Feltzer and Soper, 2005).

The inability to transform any political mobilization into effective economic, residential and education results has left many in the Muslim community at odds with the more dominant group and practices believed to be discriminatory in nature. As part of the 'prevention' strategy in CONTEST II, the British government has evolved a grievance process to create a mechanism in which grieved Muslim minorities may express their perceptions of social injustice in an effort to develop remedies through legitimate means (Spalek and McDonald, 2009). While terrorism is an illegitimate means of remedy so too is discrimination an illegitimate means of remedy by dominant group members who may utilize it out of fear of other or as a punitive measure due to feelings of anger against the Muslim community (Canetti-Nisim et.al, 2009). Securitization, in an attempt to prevent terrorist activity as a means of eliminating the possibility of radicalization, can diminish the right of free speech and thus be discriminatory against non-radicalized Muslims whom authorities perceive to be inciting radicalization. Given that such a grievance remedy mechanism falls within the parameters of 'prevention' of terrorism embedded in CONTEST II; there is an implication that the legitimate means of remedy of discrimination are within the parameters of government mandated policies (Spalek and McDonald, 2009). These legitimate government concerns embedded in CONTEST II do not focus on the perceived justifiable concerns of Muslim minorities regarding access to

adequate housing, jobs and schools, but in fact focus on the policing of Muslims and non-Muslims, which may increase the desire to establish anti-government positions that the terrorist utilize as recruiting and radicalizing apparatus.

This section has focused on the United Kingdom, which is the primary research setting in this dissertation. In order to examine the impact of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom, however, it is necessary to compare trends and patterns to another, similar society. Given the similarity in culture and government structures, and because it has not experienced a terrorist attack in the present era, Canada is a logical and appropriate choice. Therefore, the next section summarizes the Canadian context as background for the dissertation.

Canada as a Comparison

Canada is thought to be one of the more tolerant nations regarding the receptivity of cultural plurality. Yet, it too has a history of racial classification schemes that favored whites from Europe and the United States (Kallen, 2010; Satzewich, 2011). Similar to the British and Irish struggles in the United Kingdom, Canada had strains between the French and British Canadian. It was this struggle in Canada that made pluralism rational and at present there are three ethnic facets in Canada. The first are the European (English-French) population, the second are the aboriginal population (Native Indians and Eskimos), and the third are the more recent visible minorities of color (Asian, Caribbean and East Indians). These ethnic groups constitute the Canadian vertical mosaic (Kallen, 2010; Satzewich, 2011, Marger, 2012).

British – French Divisions in Canada

Like the United Kingdom, Canada had problems with a large European white population and the differences between the French and British established the foundation upon which pluralism became the dominant manner of handling racial and ethnic diversity from the 17th century until the present (Marger, 2012). After the American Revolution, British loyalist migrated to Canada. As they moved north into Canada, they traveled into the then French enclave which is currently located in Ontario. The large influx of American British strained the established separation between the British Canadians and French Canadians that was established after the French-British War that ended in 1759. The area south of Ontario, Quebec, became the area in which the French would establish a nation within a nation and be relegated to minority status in Canada. The religious teachings of Catholicism were conducive to the agrarian lifestyle of the French Canadian in Quebec and the partitioning from the Protestant British was firmly established. During the 19th century, as Montreal and Ontario industrialized, the English speaking Canadian capitalist industrial movement began to spill over into Quebec (Marger, 2012). The growth of industrialization created new difficulties as British Canadians migrated to Quebec in search of employment. In addition, Quebec became a province of two worlds, one French Canadian and the other British Canadian. The cultural differences between groups heightened ethnocentric separation. The 1960s brought about the 'Quiet Revolution' in which the French mobilized politically and created a structure to better position French Canadians educationally and economically.

Visible Minorities

Canadian immigration laws after the 1950s made capable the increase of migrants from the global South (Kallen, 2011). Fueled by a changing world view about the harm of discrimination after World War II, Canadian officials desired a more egalitarian pluralistic mosaic of ethnic Canada in which cultural heritage and ethnic diversity became important. Like the United Kingdom, Canada experienced an influx of migrants of darker phenotype from the global south. Recent migrants to Canada include those from Asia, East India and the Caribbean (Marger, 2012). As colored minorities arrived in Canada, race became a more prominent post-WWII issue that confronted White Canadian citizens. By the 1980s and 1990s, the influx of non-European colored migrants outpaced those of white ancestry from Europe. In 1991, a study by the Angus Reid Group used the Emory Bogardus Social Distance Scale to examine the level of comfort Canadians had with non-Canadian groups. Findings show that Arabs and Sikh were rated less favorable when compared to Germans, Italians, or the French. Kallen's (2010) work offers an experts position on racism against visible minorities in Canada when she writes,

 "Over time, non-white minorities, in a white racist society, become locked into their inferior and subordinate social position. This social fact is then used by whites to justify differential and unequal treatment of non-white minorities by pointing to their inability to get ahead in white society" (Kallen, 2010, p.60).

Immigration

Since the 1960s, Canada has wrestled with issues of diversity. Immigration laws have been erected to control the immigration of foreigners. Prior to the 1962 Immigration Act, Canadian immigration policies were overtly discriminatory. The 1962 Act dismantled access based upon the ascription of racial and ethnic classification and focused upon the

skill level and educational achievement of migrants. Evolving out of the 1962

Immigration Act, a point system was established that gave numerical value to education,

fluency in English or French, and the likelihood of employment for migrants. The 1962

Act altered immigration policy from the racial ascription of the migrant to the achieved

status of the migrant. Yet, the policy was designed to restrict migration to Canada. The

1976 Immigration Act, the cornerstone of current immigration policy, placed focus on

who could migrate into Canada instead of who could not. The Act focused on abiding by

the UN treaty on humanitarian rights while establishing goal standards based upon

cultural, economic and demographic factors (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 1900-

1977). The 1976 Act established a legal citizenship status for migrants based upon four

categories. Migrants could acquire citizenship due to 1) immediate family reunification,

2) refugee status, 3) independent status which was measured via the point system and 4)

distant relative immigrants who have family sponsors. The more recent motivations to

open borders for migration are of two directions. When migration is independent status

voluntary, it is often buttressed in economic criteria and is driven by the private market

rather than government policy (Freeman, 1997). Pluralism is more likely and the business

community benefits from a cheap labor supply. When migration is politically driven, it is

often due to refugee status and the criteria for entry become one of the ability to

assimilate (Globerman and Pool, 1995). In 2002, the immigration policy removed one of

the more onerous vestiges of possible discriminatory policy the 'personal suitability'

criteria, in which the immigration officer could subjectively award a migrant up to ten

points (Satzewich, 2011). The 2013 Immigration and Refugee Act places more emphasis

on the independent migrant point system criteria. The age, education and skill levels of

new migrants are of salience with younger and better educated migrants receiving more point value.

According to the 1901 Canadian decennial census, ninety-six percent of the population was designated as white; reds were two percent, with yellow and blacks constituting the remaining percentages. There were 55,747 immigrants (Duhamel, 1967). This undeveloped racial classification was altered in its categorical make-up and by 1951 European whites were 97 percent of the population, one percent Native Indian, with Asians and Negros rounding out the census data (Backhouse, 2010). Immigration had increased to 194,391 migrants (Duhamel, 1967). Most migrants were British (34 percent), French (3 percent), Italian (7 percent), German (4 percent), Greek (4 percent), Portuguese (5 percent) and American (8 percent). Thus, two-thirds of all migrants were European or from the United States of America. According to the immigration statistics by the Minister of Public Works and Government Services Canada (1999), by 1996, the top seven sending nations to Canada were Hong Kong (15 percent), India (8 Percent), China (6 percent), Taiwan (4 percent), Philippines (7 percent), Pakistan (2 percent) and Sri Lanka (2 percent).The majority of the most current Canadian migrants are not from the European nations and practice religions other than Christianity. Table 3.4 shows the number of permanent Canadian residents by the top ten source countries 2003 to 2012. The largest migration flows who gained residency are from China, India and the Philippines. A third of all permanent residents in the decade from 2003-2012 were from these three nation-states.

Table 3.4: Canadian Permanent Residence by Country of Origin (2003-2012)

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
China	36,251	36,429	42,292	33,078	27,013	29,338	29,050	30,196	28,695	33,018
Philippines	11,987	13,303	17,525	17,718	19,067	23,727	27,277	36,580	34,919	32,747
India	24,594	25,573	33,141	30,746	26,047	24,548	26,117	30,251	24,964	28,943
Pakistan	12,351	12,793	13,575	12,329	9,545	8,051	6,213	4,986	6,074	9,931
U.S.A	6,013	7,507	9,263	10,943	10,494	11,216	9,723	9,243	8,830	9,414
France	4,127	5,028	5,430	4,915	5,520	6,383	7,299	6,933	5,866	8,138
Iran	5,651	6,063	5,502	7,073	6,663	6,010	6,064	6,815	6,840	6,463
U.K.	5,199	6,062	5,864	6,541	8,128	9,243	9,565	9,499	6,550	6,365
Haiti	1,945	1,657	1,719	1,650	1,614	2,509	2,085	4,552	6,208	5,599

Government of Canada (2012) – Immigrant facts and Figures

The push and pull factors of migration are often associated with economic criteria (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). In the mid-1990s and in part as a response to the possibilities of economic power within the European Union, people in charge of large corporations in North America along with the political leadership of Canada, the United States of America and Mexico established a liberal trade system (Harvey, 2005). In 1994, these nations established an economically integrated region named the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). The free trade agreement allows goods to be sent between the United States, Mexico and Canada without tariffs. Dollar denominations had to be stable between nations and the Mexican maquiladoras, just south of the American border, would shift the American and Canadian manufacturing bases to Mexico as capitalist would benefit from cheap labor, lax business regulations, stable monetary exchange rates and free trade. Traditionally, Canada had a strong union base but NAFTA was utilized by corporations to mitigate their effectiveness by threatening relocation (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberal economic policy of open markets and no government regulation would dilute worker rights, union solidarity and environmental regulation (Faux, 2006). While the 2001 Immigration and Refugee Act requires a five year residency before the possibility of citizenship, professional workers can stay indefinitely

under NAFTA provisions (Martin, 2006). Canadian business would benefit from cheap

labor due to NAFTA and the regional collaboration would seem to be a benefit to

Mexican labor in that capitalist would hire more employment cheaply, trade goods

without tariffs, and ship goods at low cost throughout the region. Regional economies

that reduce trade barriers are promoted by the International Monetary Fund, the G7, and

neoliberal doctrine. Although the G7 nations are democracies, regional economic trade

agreements are not designed to promote democracy and human rights (Harvey, 2005). As

neoliberal policy shifts the tax burden to ever increasing fiscally burdened populations,

democratic governments are faced with difficult choices and diminishing tax revenue

with which to meet citizen needs. NAFTA has led to bifurcated labor forces with more

income inequality in all three nations. In 1994, the Canadian gini coefficient was .28. A

decade later, it was .32. The United States and Mexico had inequality increases in the

same ten year period (OECD, 2011).

Like the United Kingdom, according to Statistics Canada (2012), the Canadian

population is aging. The percentage of people 40 years of age or older increased

significantly more than those under 40 years old (see Figure 3.1). An aging population

makes immigration desirable for business interests.

Figure 3.1: Graying of Canada: The Percentage of Population by Age Groups

Statistics Canada (2012) Population by Age and Sex
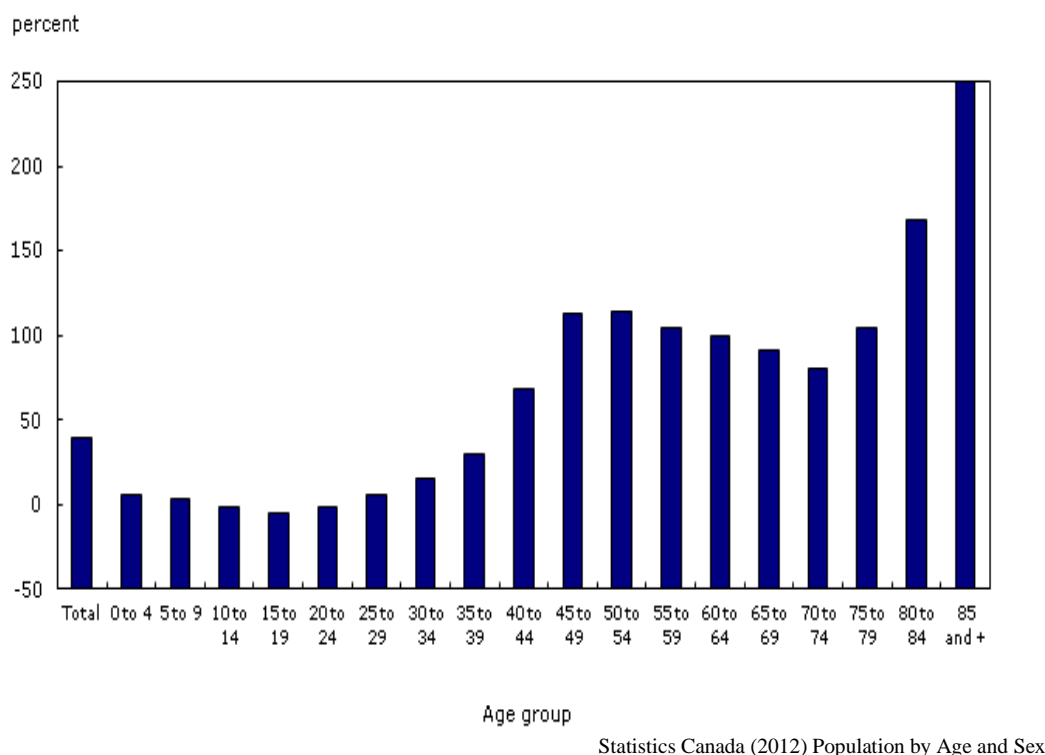
Shown in Figure 3.2, labor migration diminishes the wages of labor. When the supply of

labor is prior to migration (supply one), the red line shows that seven workers will get

employment at $12 per hour. When migration increases the amount of labor to supply

two, wages drop from $12 per hour to $6 per hour (the blue line). Businesses desire to

hire more workers at $6 per hour. Only three workers from the home nation, however, are

willing to supply their labor at $6 per hour. The remaining eight positions get filled by

migrant labor. In this case, the migrant pool was large and business gained a worker

(from seven workers pre-migration to eight workers post-migration) at the cheaper labor

price. Citizens from nations in the global south migrate to Canada in search of

employment. Many are unskilled, are not professionals and do not have college degrees

and the provisions of NAFTA that would allow Mexican professionals to remain in

Canada are not available to them. Uncontrolled migration flows can increase the angst of

dominant group members.

Figure 3.2 : WHAT HAPPENS TO WAGES WITH AN INCREASE IN LABOR DUE TO MIGRATION?

WAGES PER HOUR

$30
$28
$26
$24
$22
$20
$18
$16
$14
$12
$10
$8
$6
$4
$2
$0

Supply - 1

Labor supplied by migrants

Supply - 2

Demand

0 − 1 − 2 − 3 − 4 − 5 − 6 − 7 − 8 − 9 − 10 − 11 − 12 − 13 − 14 − 15 − 16 − 17

QUANTITY OF LABOR

Derived from N. Greg Mankiw, 2008
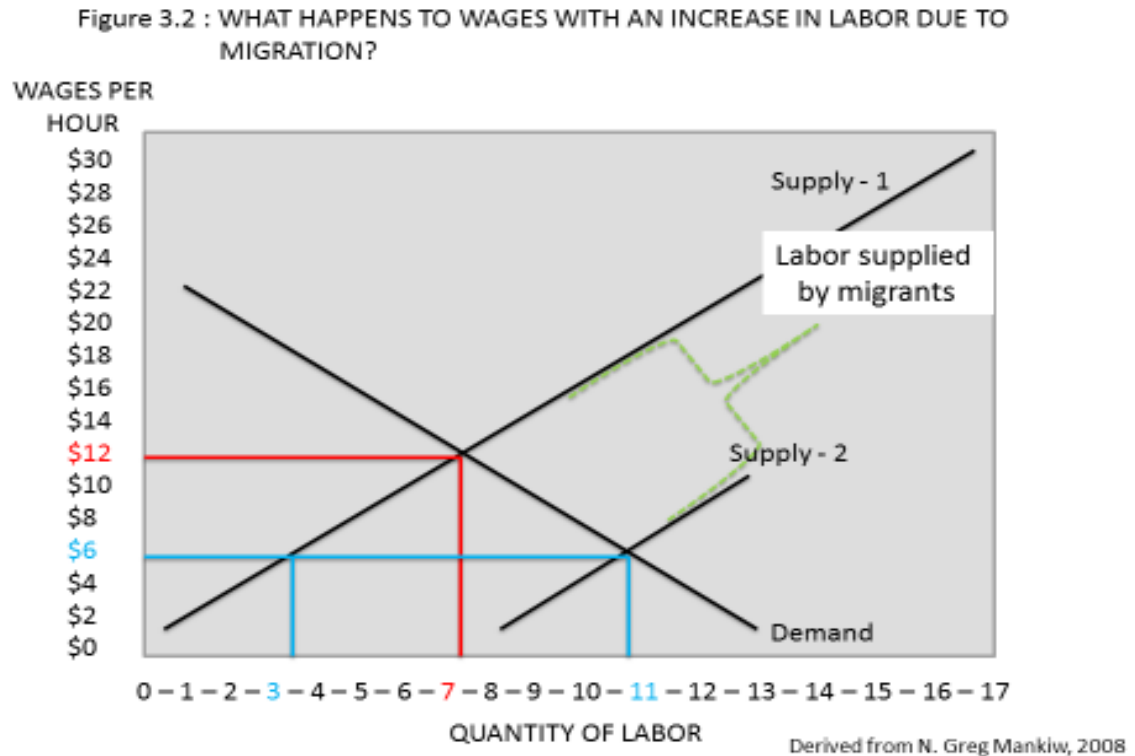
The differences between the professional and the common laborer are more pronounced

due to neoliberal policy (Harvey, 2005). Edna Bonacich (1973) discusses the manner in

which labor is separated along racial characteristics. Low wage labor is typically people

of color and managerial labor is often of white professionals. The few business owner

elite control a dominant portion of wealth and leave a meager percentage of it for the

racial groups to compete over. Given both groups desire to enhance their position, racial

strife ensues. Although the Canadian per capita GDP was $39,830 in 2010, (OEDC,

2013) the gini coefficient was .32 (OEDC, 2011). Compared with other industrialized

nations, this is a high gini coefficient. Thus, NAFTA has made middle class jobs less stable in Canada and the struggle at polar ends intensifies race relations.

Canada Discrimination and Islamophobia Pre-21st Century

Since the 1980s there has been a focus upon implementing legislation that protects the human rights of Canadian minorities. In order for the laws to be effective, the criminal justice system must effectively implement them and prosecute offenders. Kallen (2010) distinguishes old racism in which groups directly implement racist practices and new racism that is much more covert. While old racism is perpetuated by discriminatory organizations like the Aryan Brotherhood and Ku Klux Klan, the new form of racism is polite discrimination in which the culture of a minority people is utilized as support for differential treatment. Similar to the United Kingdom's British National Party and National Front right wing organizations, Canada has far right groups who have a history of using violence to meet political ends. Don Andrews, cofounder of the Nationalist Party of Canada, found solace in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States because he believed it to be a motivation to rally for a pure white Canadian population. The war in Afghanistan offered additional reassurance given that the loss of Canadian soldiers, as a response to aggression against those of European heritage in the United States, would bolster his position. In Maclean's December 2001 article, Andrews stated "Overall, for the country's culture and preservation of the European heritage, it is a good thing" (p. 30). Right wing activist Paul Fromm heads the Canada First Immigration Reform Committee. His anti-immigration and xenophobic rhetoric gained traction as a response to the global war on terrorism. According to Fromm, proof that his far right

stance is validated and gaining traction is the double digit growth in the number of new

members and newsletter subscribers post-9/11 (Gibson, 2001), and the Northern Alliance,

another far right group, is an assembly that has been affiliated with white supremacist

organizations (Lucio, 1999). In 2005, they were at a Canadian Gay Pride parade in which

they intimidated participants and provoked violence (Sher, 2005). The Northern Alliance

believes that Canada, the United Kingdom and the United States should have a pure

British heritage. Such bigotry permeates throughout many social institutions in a manner

that is perceived as a legitimate use of power. Grosfoguel and Mielants (2006) discuss

how biological racism in Canada has been reinvented in the form of cultural

discrimination. Without the focus on phenotype, differences in values, beliefs, norms,

food tastes, language, religion, and music taste are utilized as justification for differential

treatment by the dominant group. This manner of discrimination is covert in that minority

group cultural differences are stereotyped as deviant and validate negative treatment in a

façade suggesting equality. As example, Gilroy (1991) contends that law enforcement

propagates a perception of being non-discriminatory in its application and an advocate of

equality in its protection. Yet, by focusing on and identifying crimes that are perpetuated

by economically disadvantaged blacks, the results are discriminatory. To combat a

perception of racist practices, law enforcement couches its discriminatory practice in the

guise of the inner city culture being at fault. According to a Canadian Race Relations

Report (2001), Canadian law enforcement personnel are more likely to 1) stereotype

minorities as criminal, 2) stop and search minorities, 3) arrest minorities more frequently,

4) minorities are more likely to be denied bail and 5) be falsely imprisoned.

Integration in the 21ˢᵗ Century

The diversity of cultures threatened the traditional Eurocentric way of life and the

stereotyping of Jamaicans as a criminal underclass became salient and reinforced the

Westernized world view of a permanent black criminal species (Satzewich, 2011). Such

prejudice was particularly detrimental to the Jamaican because the primary pull factor for

migration to Canada was economic opportunity. Vilifying Jamaicans as sinister and

criminal diminished the prospect of finding the gainful employment the Jamaican migrant

desired. With the legitimate means to economic vitality blocked, illegitimate criminal

activity was an alternative means. This self-fulfilling prophecy provided justification for

more law enforcement security and thus the politicizing of black crime in what Henry and

Tator (2010) refer to as the Jamaicanizing of crime.

Although Jamaicans receive much of the focus of discriminatory acts, they were not the

only arrivals to be stereotyped negatively. In a longitudinal study, Bullock and Jafri

(2000) found that between 1972 and 1982, Arabs were portrayed in a negative and

uncivilized manner in the media. As terrorism gained prominence and the Middle East

Muslim became the target of discrimination, the media magnified and reinforced such

perceptions. The Canadian political response to the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks

in the United States was the Canadian Anti-Terrorism Act of December, 2001. The Act is

designed to identify, deter, disable and prosecute terrorists. Similar to the British

CONTEST II Act, the zealousness of application may have destabilizing consequences

that increase xenophobia and the subsequent backlash of Muslim radicalization that

increases the desire to perpetuate terrorist activity. Given the focus on Middle East

Muslims, Satzewich (2011) states that Muslims have become the new political black in Canada. Muslims are under a higher level of scrutiny which, if perceived as discriminatory against them, may lead to a backlash against non-Muslim whites. The xenophobic behavior has been coined in the United Kingdom in the 1970s as Islamophobia. After 9/11 in the United States, Islamophobia has evolved into a contemporary form of discrimination in the Western nations. Many social scientists believe that the discriminatory treatment of Muslims may be a primary recruiting tool used by terrorist organizations. (Badhis, 2003; Satzewich, 2011; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). In an attempt to disrupt the discrimination-recruitment radicalization loop, many Muslims are reaching out to alter the social perception of Islam (Cesari, 2010). The belief is that by educating the public about the nature of Islamic practice, Canadians who were ignorant of the religious practices would diminish their resistance. Michael Banton (2002) refutes the premise that education (or media socialization) can eradicate discriminatory behavior. He believes that the primary means of ending discrimination is to make the behavior illegal and given the history of discriminatory behavior in Canada, the legislature established laws to eliminate it. The 1977 Canadian Human Rights Act prohibits discrimination based upon race, ethnicity, age, religion, sexual orientation and disability. When complaints of discrimination are made, the Canadian Human Rights Commission has the responsibility of investigating and if charges are warranted, will recommend that the case be heard before a Canadian Human Rights Tribunal. Another layer of the human rights protection mechanism is the 1986 Federal Employment Equity Act. The Federal Employment Equity Act places emphasis on employment discrimination in businesses that employ 100 people or more and receive government

contracts (Satzewich, 2011). Yet, Banton's (2002) premise does not appear substantiated. With respect to employment equality, in the latter 20th century, foreign born visible minorities earned almost $8,000 less, on average, than did Canadian born whites. Aboriginal people did less well earning almost $9,000 less (Kunz, et. al, 2000). Recent data in the 21st century, in 2006, Galabuzi reported that racialized Canadians earned 12.3 percent less than did non-racialized Canadians.

Given the political and social similarities between the United Kingdom and Canada, these two nation-states are appropriate for an examination of the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. As previously stated, much of the literature discusses the historical incongruence in perceptions of the West versus Islam, modernity versus tradition and the liberal secular versus religious dogmatism (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2013). Terrorism is a vehicle that amplifies this angst. Is the response to terrorism confined to terrorist or does it manifest to a sustained Islamophobia or permeate to other visible minorities? This research examines these questions by using the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks and comparing the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom with the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in Canada.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

FAIR, the UK's leading NGO on Islamophobia, recorded over fifty cases of violence against Muslims property, including places of worship, and over one hundred cases of verbal threats and abusive behavior in 2004-2005. In the aftermath of the London bombings, there was an upsurge in "faith hate" incidents. Furthermore, new antiterrorist legislation was used overwhelmingly against Muslim defendants (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, p. 171).

Rationale for Research Questions

As the response to terrorism, governments may amplify security measures while at the same time diminishing constitutional rights and altering immigration policy. These changes, which are often a consistent Westernized reaction to terrorism, have not been proven nor disproven convincingly, and may encourage discrimination by the manner in which they are written and implemented (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012) These government policy mandates are nationalistic, holistic and motivated by a patriotic and ethnocentric response. The citizens of the nation-state and the government establish a system of social support and in-group affiliation, which are important factors in mitigating the stress of an environment perceived laden with the uncertainty brought about through uncomfortable events like terrorism (Schachter, 1959; Canetti-Nisim, et. al, 2009). If the affluent perceive that terrorism requires retribution against terrorists, law enforcement, military and political institutions will frame the response to an attack specifically for those who committed the terrorist act. The politically driven securitization policies to terrorism in the United Kingdom, however, seem to ratchet up anti-Muslim sentiment and British citizens seem to discriminate against all Muslims (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, Cesari, 2013). This research examines the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors due to the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom

when compared to Canada. It is possible that the ability to discriminate becomes diluted as whites direct limited resources toward eradicating terrorism. Terrorism creates uncertainty and instability. This uncertainty creates distress and this research examines the possible response to this distress in the manner of attitudinal and behavioral forms of discrimination. Does discrimination increase after terrorism and if so, is it directed at Muslim religious groups and/or racial groups? In an attempt to maintain or re-establish social equilibrium, society must make sure all of its positions are filled and the more important and lucrative positions are predominantly and disproportionately held by whites. Since terrorism creates significant social disruption, whites may desire to reinforce the inequalities that are characteristics of racism and religious discrimination.

The racial and religious composition of Canada and the United Kingdom has changed in the last half century. As stated earlier, since 1960, the majority of Canadian immigrants are from Asia and the Middle East. In the United Kingdom, non-European Union migrants are primarily from India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. In addition to the physically distinctive features between host and sending nation populations, the majority of new migrants are from countries that have alternative religious practices. Naturalized visible minorities with citizenship in the United Kingdom and Canada are also confronted with discrimination. As these nations become more 'colored' those of traditional European stock who are core group members in dominance have intensified their resistance to multiculturalism and full assimilation (Cesari, 2010; Craig, 2007, Backhouse, 2005). The growth of the visible minority populations in both Canada and the United Kingdom have consistently outpaced the population growth of whites of European stock. Aguire and

Turner (2006) state that minority group population growth enhances the perceived threat of other in dominant group perceptions. As the number of non-skilled and skilled migrants increase they pose a problem to the dominant core in a democracy. Political power for visible minorities can be mobilized through elections. In addition, social scientist posit that visible minority group population growth, education attainment, wealth acquisition and cultural distinctiveness enhance the perception of threat that core group members experience (Aguirre and Turner, 2006) and thus, visible minorities are more susceptible to rigid caste like models of stratification in which they find the claims of fluidity in the meritorious class based systems of Canada and the United Kingdom are less likely to occur when compared to dominant group members. Institutionally enforced norms that prohibited the full participation of visible minorities were prevalent until a little over a half century ago.

Institutional discrimination reinforces inequalities through policies that maintain structural barriers to racial and religious equity. The British school system has a legacy of the less than equitable opportunity at academic success for its visible minority population (Spencer, 1998; Pilkington, 1999) and the results are similar in Canada (Henry and Tator, 1994). Since education discrimination impedes the acquisition of human capital, the several other important attributes that are correlated with academic performance are also encumbered. Canada's multicultural approach to education has encouraged negative discriminatory responses by the white majority (Satzewich, 2011). In addition to the established relationships between income and education, recent research indicates that visible minorities who live in close proximity to dominant group

members (Denton and Massey, 1988; Sampson, 2009), and who have similar levels of education, income and occupational prestige as those who are affluent are less likely to be confronted with and experience the negative effects of discrimination (Marger, 2013). This process of cultural assimilation indicates a non-threat status to core group members. Yet, as more visible minorities reach some education-income-residential location threshold, they may enhance the sense of threat of the dominant group's acquisition and control of resources.

Marger (2003) distinguishes individual discrimination from institutional discrimination. Prejudicial attitudes can lead to discriminatory behaviors due to a perceived loss of national identity and resources although institutional norms may prohibit discrimination in ways they had not in the past. Income, occupational prestige and quality of housing stock are attributes of resource allocation. These attributes have a legacy of access embedded in ethnocentric similarity. Internationally, the British and Canadians fair better than do the Pakistani and Ethiopian for example; and intranationally, whites fair better than people of color and a dissimilar faith. As population demographics shift due to minority resident procreation and migration increases, dominant group perceptions and attempts to protect and preserve resources become more salient. Actual and perceived loss of resources have been theorized to increase hostilities (Sherif et al., 1961; Canetti-Nisim et.al., 2009) and research consistently supports that race is one of the most important characteristics as motivation for hate crimes (Gerstenfeld, 2011; Aguire and Turner, 2006; Marger, 2003). Religion, in a post-9/11 world, has also been shown to be motivation for hate crimes (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Gerstenfeld, 2011). Laws

created to eradicate discrimination encourage more egalitarian attitudes but perceptions of the loss of one's cultural way of life and resources intensify angst and the likelihood of violence against minorities (Hobfoll et.al., 1991; Canetti-Nisim, et. al, 2009). According to the Canadian Center for Justice and the Crown Prosecution Services of the United Kingdom, discrimination in the form of verbal and physical abuse as well as destruction of property motivated by racial and religious characteristics are of significant concern. Several social scientists theorize that the post 9/11 Middle Eastern focus upon terrorist activity has increased discrimination against Muslims (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2010). This research examines the likelihood that discrimination extends to all visible minorities after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks.

In the 21st century, terrorism has caused significant levels of disruption in nation-states. While there has been a 'global' preoccupation with terrorism, there is a social-psychological distinction afforded those nations who actually experienced the horrors of terrorist activity and those who have not had such an experience. After the July 7, 2005 terrorist bombings, the citizens of the United Kingdom could coalesce around defeating external threats (e.g., terrorism) as patriots with a national identity (Lawrence, 2005), or the more ardent authoritarian members of society may lead against those who are a threat to the traditional culture (Altemeyer, 2006), or the level of intergroup conflict may increase ethnic divisions (Stephan et.al, 2009). Whether through a collective consciousness embedded in a national identity, an authoritarian ideology, or the threat against ethnic group culture, the result may be discrimination after a significantly destabilizing event like the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. The

social-psychological distinction brought about through terrorism may motivate retaliation against the terrorist who perpetuated the acts, discrimination against Muslims and/or discrimination against visible minorities. Socio-demographic racial and religious characteristics facilitate group commonalities and the motivation for establishing in-group attributes of similarity in contrast to out-group disparities. Race and religion are salient with the possibilities of resource acquisition or loss (Marger, 2003; Marger, 2012).

The July 2005 London Bombings: The Independent Variable

For the analysis of theoretical perspectives, discriminatory attitudes and discriminatory behaviors, the independent variable is the July, 2005 terrorist attacks in London. Utilizing terrorism as a treatment variable requires a statistical model that can 'difference out' the general trend of what would have happened had the terrorist attack not occurred and then the additional difference due to the theoretical changes in attitude and behavior as a response to terrorism. An appropriate statistical strategy in this context is the difference-in-difference regression (Angrist and Pischke, 2009; Van Ryzin, 2012; Pedace, 2013). In 2012, for example, Van Ryzin used the difference-in-differences regression model to examine if the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States would boost job satisfaction in public or private employees. Using terrorism as the treatment variable, he differenced out the increase in job satisfaction among public employees beyond what would have occurred if the terrorist attacks had not transpired. Given that public employees have a history of low job satisfaction when compared to private employees, it is noteworthy that terrorism could cause such a large increase in job satisfaction (Van Ryzin, 2012). This research uses a similar approach to study the theoretical applicability

of Authoritarianism theory, Nationalism theory, and Integrated Threat Theory when examining discriminatory attitudes and behaviors.

Examining the Theoretical Perspectives.

This section states the indicators used for examining the theoretical applicability of nationalism, authoritarianism, and integrative threat theories. The indicators are derived from the World Values Survey. Each of the theories has indicators constructed upon the fundamental factors of the theory as previously stated in the literature review in chapter two of this dissertation.

Nationalism Theory

As stated in the literature review, nationalism may occur because the group establishes the essence of a collective whole traditionally due to a common religious heritage or because a governing body coalesces around a common perception of citizenship (Smith, 1991; Lawrence, 2005). Nationalism theory suggests an evolution of a national identity due to a comprehensive unitary citizenship based upon a common identity (Smith, 1991). With contemporary forms of democracy and recent human rights laws embedded in United Nations doctrine, discrimination is less likely to be perpetuated through the law and more likely to be protected against by legal channels in both the United Kingdom and Canada (Shaw, 2008). At its foundation, Nationalism defends against the ambitions of neighboring foes while protecting the culture and independence of the homeland (Kedourie, 1993). Therefore, discrimination against naturalized citizens should not occur unless ethnic nationalism becomes prominent. Plum (2011) discusses Luis Alverez's longitudinal study on the American zoot suitors during the middle of the 20th century and

the militarization of nationalism as a response to World War II. She states that Alverez found during times of war, that African American and Latino American subculture zoot suitors supported the American military effort by enlisting in military service and working in the military industrial complex. Although the zoot suit fad was an evolutionary backlash of anti-discrimination expression by minorities, nationalism became pronounced when confronted with the war effort. Conversi (2007) places emphasis on nationalism's existence primarily due to the homogenizing dominion of military authority and the social structures that made military engagement imperative.

For Gellner (in Lawrence, 2005) nationalism was shaped by economic and political forces promulgated around the French Revolution. There was the commitment to a common community and culture that is within a defined territory with a shared history (Miller, 1995). The Industrial Revolution brought about an economic nationalism and according to Boyer (2005) economic nationalism through banking and financial institutions was an important factor in establishing a common demos in Canada in the immediate aftermath of WWI. Boyer writes

"Imperialist rhetoric emphasized the glory and honor of serving one's country through participating in the First World War as a soldier, and in the post-war period policy and public opinion favored handing back jobs in the white collar workplace-by then a feminized sector of the economy-to men. However… women in the English Canadian banking sector were able to establish their right to employment during and after the First World War by situating themselves as actors in a story of nation building" (2005, p. 196).

Yet, to Marger (2003), the very nature of slave systems and colonialism of the past was paradigm in economic rationale and its remnants linger manifest in the contemporary

manner of discrimination. Dingley and Morgan (2005) discuss the ethnic national

identities of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland as the central motivation for an

ethnic nationalism that permeates discrimination given its systematized stratification. For

them, discrimination will persist as long as two opposing nationalist factions compete for

the same resources. Religion is often an important characteristic of identity formation as

well as is race. Although race is ascribed through birth, religious beliefs can be

transmitted and permeate boundaries. The characteristics often embedded in the

commonality of territoriality and religious traditions are also attributes of ethnic and

racial division (Smith, 1991; Kedourie, 1993). While nationalism suggests a holistic

community, ethnic nationalism supports that when discrimination occurs, it is more likely

through the ethnic divisions discussed by Smith (1991) in the literature review.

Nationalist cohesion coalescences around a commonality of citizenship belonging.

Anthony Smith (1991) offers clarity that nationalism resides in 'lateral ethnic groups'

formation in which an elite strata were above all other groups (aristocratic or totalitarian

rule formation) or 'vertical ethnic groups' in which a single culture dominants with a

religious passion. For Smith, nationalism evolved due to a religious commonality or an

elite oligarchical structure. For both ethnic group types, it is the cultural attachment that

is symbolic of nationalism. Smith elucidates the importance of race and religion in

national formation when he writes

"It is only when we come to the varying elements of a common culture that differentiate
one population from another that more objective attributes enter the picture. Language,
religion, customs and pigmentation are often taken to describe objective cultural markers
or difference that persist independently of the will of individuals, and even appears to
constrain them. Yet it is the significance with which color and religion is endowed by
large numbers of individuals that matters more for ethnic identification … as the growing

political significance of language and color over the last two or three centuries demonstrates" (1991, p.23).

For Smith, nationalism is imbued in cultural similarity and yet, phenotype racial markers and linguistic cultural characteristics are of significant importance when declaring nationhood. This highlights the possible theoretical applicability of nationalism to analyze discriminatory attitudes and behaviors.

Terrorism, when successful, magnifies threats to this national identity and encourages xenophobia. Perceptions that occur as a response to terrorism may instill a nationalistic response or ethnic divisions. The leaders who monitor the socio-political characteristics of nationalism desire to adopt a more militarized, totalitarian manner of governing in which oligarchical militarize structures become salient. Utilizing World Values Survey data on national cohesiveness and ethnocentric beliefs about citizenship employment partiality, this research examines the utility of Nationalism theory to offer insight on the complexities of discrimination before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. Several central characteristics of Nationalism theory are collective perceptions of 'giving the military the power to govern' when confronted with terrorism, the salience of 'maintaining national order' when faced with the instability brought about through terrorism, and 'the desire to segregate resource allocation based upon citizenship' due to increasing xenophobia. The World Values Survey asks several questions that are also used to examine the applicability of Nationalism theory.

C002- Job scarce (employers should give preference to nationals over immigrants)

E003- Respondents desire to maintain order in the nation

E116 – It is a good idea to have the army govern the citizens of the nation

These World Value Survey questions are used to create indicators to analyze nationalism's theoretical applicability before and after July 7, 2005. The 'employer should prefer national people over immigrants for employment' was recoded so that those respondents who agree with the statement were given a value of one and all other possible responses were given a value zero. Higher coefficient scores indicate support for Nationalism theory. The WVS variable 'respondent's desire to maintain order' had response possibilities of 1) maintain order in the nation, 2) giving people more say, 3) fighting rising prices, and 4) protecting freedom. The variable was recoded into a dichotomous variable with a value of '1' for maintaining order and '0' for all other attributes. The 'desire to maintain order' variable was recoded so that the desire to maintain order equals one, all other response possibilities equal zero. Higher coefficients support Nationalism theory. The variable on military rule was recoded so that those who answered having the army govern is a 'very good' idea as four, those who stated it was a 'fairly good' idea had a value of three, those who stated a 'fairly bad' idea had a value of two and those who stated having the army govern was a 'very bad' idea were coded with a value of one. Higher coefficients indicate support for the Nationalism theory according to this model.

Authoritarianism Theory

Contemporary terrorism requires new norms to combat its effect and make citizens feel safe. Altemeyer (2006) discusses that authoritarians desire traditional norms. Traditional systems of stratification, and a strict adherence and obedience to authorities who support such convention, are the desire of authoritarians (Altemeyer, 2006). Authoritarians find solace in tradition and given perceptions that social relationships in the world are precarious and that the world is dangerous, they desire to transmit conventional norms in present situations. Religious fundamentalist are likely to be authoritarians and yet may advocate discrimination (Altemeyer, 1998). Discussed previously, recall that Altemeyer asked a sample of fundamentalist parents if they should adhere to the Gospel of Matthew when in the King James Bible he states "Judge not that ye not be judged". These parents agreed with the biblical verse and yet, "only two pages later in the survey these parents were advocating discrimination against homosexuals" (1998, p. 132). Feldman's (2003) work on Authoritarianism theory finds that social conformity to group norms cannot manifest authoritarianism unless and until there is the perceived threat against the social group. Yet, Feldman makes clear that authoritarians exist in a climate in which "prejudice and intolerance should be observed among those who value social conformity and perceive a threat to social cohesion" (2003, p.41). Thus, those who have been socialized into authoritarian views are consistently seeking evidence to confirm their suspicions of the fragmentation of the moral order (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009). Terrorism is a perceived threat and may trigger authoritarian views associated with discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Given terrorism's ability to create uncertainty and dilute perceptions of security; a reaction that authoritarians may utilize is a highly punitive one

in which retaliation takes the form of higher scrutiny and less freedom against minorities.

Highlighting the importance of social conformity for authoritarians, Feldman writes

"One factor that should lead to a desire for conformity is a more pessimistic view
of human nature. It is not necessary to believe that people are inherently anti-
social; one must simply believe that, left to their own devices, people pursuing
their self-interest and behaving as they chose will not produce a stable social
order" (2003, p. 48).

Authoritarians believe that authority figures should create social norms in-lieu of chaos,

limit diversity and seek a familiar normative order. In addition, those with an

authoritarian personality should be the state's gate keepers. Through defining who is a

citizen and who is not, establishing the citizen's dependence upon the political apparatus,

taxing citizens and demarcating who is a rival; the state reinforces its authoritarian

durability. The state becomes the conduit for the authoritarian regime. The few who

control the state's apparatus, in effect, create a structure that reinforces authoritarianism.

The perennial nature of authoritarian power is a traditional order in which, once

established, invents new mechanisms to revive its conventions (Slater and Fenner, 2011).

It is in this manner that the effects of non-conformity on the social order, and its

perceived threat to tradition, stability and normalcy, that motivates authoritarianism in a

manner that may lead to discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. In the face of social

instability brought about through terrorism, authoritarians are willing to throw out the

constitution to reclaim tradition and order (Altemeyer, 2006). Authoritarians believe there

are two types of people, the weak and strong, leaders and followers (Adorno, 1950;

Altemeyer, 2006). In the challenge of the realistic terrorist threat, Hetherington and

Suhay (2011) discuss the coalescence of those without an authoritarianism predisposition

and those who are high in authoritarianism agreeing on defensive strategies. Such

agreement creates a negative relationship between authoritarianism and the policies that

citizens support to confront terrorism. Hetherington and Suhay (2011) state,

"In the absence of a threat perceived by a wide range of citizens, the opinions of the more and less authoritarian ought to differ a great deal. However, when a grave threat emerges, the opinions of the more and less authoritarian ought to converge with respect to policies perceived by citizens as grappling with the threat. Statistically, we expect a negative interaction between threat and authoritarianism" (p. 549).

Given that 'obedience to authority', 'conformity to rule', and 'respect of authority' are

important characteristics of Authoritarianism theory, the World Values Survey makes

possible a pre and post 2005 assessment of citizen responses to queries on perceptions on

obedience, respect for authority and perceptions about 'the importance of independence

as a quality a child should possess' to explore the applicability of Authoritarianism

theory.

A029 – Independence is an important quality for a child to have

E018- Respondents perceptions on greater respect for authority in the future

Y003- Obedience to authority versus autonomy

The Authoritarianism indicators are comprised of these questions from the World Values

Survey. To mimic the American National Election Survey (Hetherington and Suhay,

2011) the Authoritarian scale was comprised by using World Values Survey data and the

following variables were selected and coded as follows. First, greater respect for

authority was recoded so that respondents who thought 'greater respect for authority' to

be a 'good thing' were given a value of 'three', those who 'did not mind' either way were given a value of 'two', and those who thought it was a 'bad thing' were given a value of 'one'. Higher scores meant support for greater authority in the future and an authoritarianism orientation. Second, independence is an important quality for a child to have variable was recoded so that respondents who believed 'independence for a child was an important quality' were given the value of 'zero' and those who did not state this to be an important quality were given the value of 'one'. Therefore, higher coefficients would show support for Authoritarianism theory. The obedience to authority versus autonomy index was recoded so that those who believe autonomy important had lower values and those who believe obedience important will have higher values. Therefore, larger coefficients on the obedience to authority versus autonomy index show a higher desire for obedience to authority and support Authoritarianism theory.

Integrative Threat Theory

The final theoretical perspective is the Integrative Threat theory. Terrorism, by its design, establishes realistic and symbolic threats. Successful terrorist attacks establish a reality of destruction that is indiscriminate. In addition, terrorism establishes a phobia of uncertainty in citizens who are its targeted victims (Howard and Forest, 2008). Intergroup threat theory finds that ethnic divisions are motivated by symbolic and realistic threats and places emphasis on threats that can realistically dilute the position of the core group or those that symbolically dilute this position (Stephan et al, 2009). Realistic threats are hazards to group resources and power. Symbolic threats are those that attack the core group's belief systems, religious ideology and worldview (Stephan et al, 2009). Tausch et

al make clear the salience of realistic threat as encouragement for discriminatory attitudes when they write "intergroup anxiety and realistic threat emerge as proximal predictors of prejudice" when examining Hindu-Muslim relations in India (2009, p. 83). Gonzalez et al, (2008) add support when they state that "in the context of Israel, realistic threat … predicted prejudice toward immigrants. In Northern Ireland, symbolic threat … significantly predicts (such) attitudes" (p. 679). Out-groups who are formidable and have the capability of causing the in-group difficulty or altering their cultural way of life are of particular concern (Stephan et al, 2009). The desire to be near in-group members is important and as Denton and Massey (1988) make clear, residential segregation is of particular concern as well as the loss of or lack of control of tangible resources that intensifies intergroup anxiety (Stephan et al, 2009) when examining prejudice and discrimination. The anxieties from the realistic threat posed by terrorism encourage the paranoia that is embedded in symbolic threat perception. When the social structure of society does not support resource acquisition or maintenance, social distress motivated through the realistic or symbolic threat of resource loss will occur. Specifically, distress occurs when 1) there is threat of resource loss, 2) there is actual loss of resources or 3) when people invest resources but fail to gain resources from their investment (Hobfoll and Lilly, 1993). Intergroup formation becomes more important and diminishes tolerance for and trust in out-group members. Collaboration and discussion centers on issues in which the group may coalesce. Post- July 7, 2005 interaction will focus upon a group response of and political response to the attacks. World Values Survey data affords the opportunity to examine the theoretical applicability of Integrative Threat theory. The WVS asks respondents questions about income inequality, if respondents do not desire

immigrants as neighbors and perceptions of trusting others. Significant characteristics of ITT are 'stress over income loss', 'not wanting immigrants as neighbors', and 'decreasing trust of out-side others'.
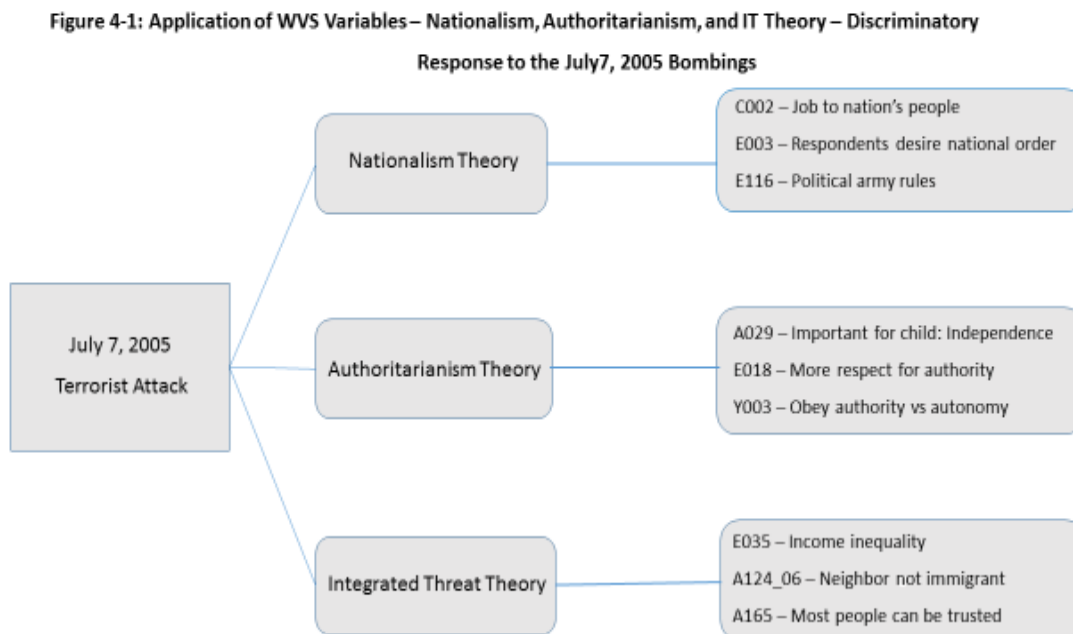
E035- Income inequality

A124_06- Neighbors not immigrants

A165- Most people can be trusted

The Integrative Threat theory would support an increase in income inequality as the specter of terrorism encourages resource acquisition by the dominant group. The 'income inequality' variable had values ranging from one to ten. Higher scores on the 'income inequality' question indicate more support for inequality. The desire for income inequality is supported by Integrative Threat theory as people desire to amass resources. The next variable is 'the respondent does not want immigrants as neighbor'. Respondents who stated they did not want immigrants as neighbors were coded as one and those who did not state they did not want immigrants as neighbors were coded as zero. Higher coefficients support that respondents may discriminate as a response to the realistic and symbolic threats brought about through terrorist activity. The same for the variable most people can be trusted with those who stated 'can't be too careful' given a value of one and respondents who stated 'people can be trusted' are given the value of zero. Lower scores indicate the respondent chose the 'people can be trusted' response and higher scores are for those respondents who chose 'can't be too careful' as their response.

Income inequality, anti-immigrant sentiment, and lack of trust are operationalized so that

higher scores on the model support Integrative Threat theory.

Figure 4-1: Application of WVS Variables – Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and IT Theory – Discriminatory Response to the July7, 2005 Bombings

July 7, 2005 Terrorist Attack		
	Nationalism Theory	C002 – Job to nation's people E003 – Respondents desire national order E116 – Political army rules
	Authoritarianism Theory	A029 – Important for child: Independence E018 – More respect for authority Y003 – Obey authority vs autonomy
	Integrated Threat Theory	E035 – Income inequality A124_06 – Neighbor not immigrant A165 – Most people can be trusted

Summary Information

Table 4.1 below is a statistical summary of each of the World Values Survey questions

that were used as indicators for each of the theories included in this research. Questions

with responses of 'yes' or 'no', and questions with responses of 'mentioned' or 'not

mentioned' and questions converted into dummy variables of 'high' or 'low' have

minimum and maximum scores of zero and one. The remaining questions that were

coded by the World Values Survey researchers have minimum of one and the maximum

range with possibilities up to ten depending upon the operationalization of the question.

The 'income inequality' question has a minimum and maximum range of one to ten. The

question on 'having the army rule' has a minimum and maximum of one to four. The

'greater respect for authority' variable had a minimum of one and maximum of three. The

'autonomy index' ranged from one to five. The number of respondent observations

fluctuate from a low of 5146 respondents answering the scale of incomes question

(X047) to a high of 6229 respondents answering questions on 'importance of children

being independent' (A029), the autonomy index (Y003), and 'not wanting immigrants as

neighbors' (A124_06). The modal number of respondents shown for the entirety of

summary statistics is also 6229. Therefore, most of the indicators had the largest possible

sample sizes given the total sample sizes in each of the four wave years (Britain, 1998,

Canada, 2000; Britain, 2005; and Canada, 2006). The mean scores range from .07 for

'not wanting immigrants as neighbors' to 5.41 for the indicator on 'income inequality'.

The most substantial variability is shown in the standard deviation of 2.61 for 'income

inequality?' The least about of variability around the mean score is for the Integrative

Threat indicator question that respondents state whether they 'do not want immigrants as

neighbors?' Table 4.1 shows that the standard deviation for the indicator 'do not want

immigrants as neighbors?' is .26 and the mean, as previously stated, is .07.

Table 4.1 : Summary Statistics					
			Std.		
Variables	**Obs**	**Mean**	**Dev**	**Min**	**Max**
Nationalism Theory					
Employer give priority to national over immigrant - C002 Recoded	6070	1.61	0.68	0	1
Political System - Having army rule - E116 Recoded	5967	3.64	0.67	1	4
Respondent first aim to maintain order in nation - E003 Recoded	6172	2.35	1.06	0	1
Authoritarianism Theory					
Independence is important quality for child have? – A029 Recoded	6229	0.58	0.49	0	1
Future change - Greater respect for authority - E018 Recoded	6082	1.33	0.59	1	3
Autonomy Index - Authority versus Autonomy -Y003 Recoded	6229	2.62	1.12	1	5
Integrative Threat Theory					
Income Inequality -E035	6106	5.41	2.61	1	10
Don't want as neighbor (Immigrant) - A124_06	6229	0.07	0.26	0	1
Most people can be trusted - A165 Recoded	6112	1.64	0.48	0	1
Control Variables					
Highest Education Level - X025 - Recoded	6025	0.48	0.50	0	1
Scales of income - X047 - Recoded	5146	0.50	0.50	0	1
Ethnic Group - X051 - Recoded	6218	0.09	0.28	0	1

Sources of Data

This section states the types of data used to examine the research issue. The sources cover

a variety of nation-states and were culled for data that was from the United Kingdom and

Canada and concentrated on attitudes about religion and race. The data assesses attitudes

on religious conflict, residential segregation due to religion and race, hate crimes, racial

and religious discrimination, and the indicators for theoretical assessment.

World Values Survey

To examine the applicability of these theories this study uses data from the World Value

Survey (WVS) to observe indicators in the UK relative to Canada, as a comparison

country, before and after the July 2005 bombings in London. This is possible because the

WVS is implemented in waves to over 50 countries and at present five waves have been

published. Wave one occurred between 1981 to 1984, wave two occurred between 1989

and 1993, wave three was 1994 and 1999, wave four was 2000 and 2004, and wave five

was from 2005 to 2008. The survey questions include attitudes about immigrant

employment and income stratification. Specific questions about 'employer preference'

and 'what types of people subjects do not want as neighbors' were asked of respondents.

The results of these surveyed attitude responses are used as indicators of each theoretical

perspective. To get pre-2005 terrorism data, the survey data used is from the third wave

(1994-1999), and the fourth wave (2000-2004) data sets. The British pre-terrorism data

was from the 1998 year in the third wave. The pre-terrorism Canadian data is from the

year 2000 from the fourth wave data set and was used as the comparison group given that

they did not have successfully implemented terrorist attacks. The sample size for the

United Kingdom in 1998 was 1093 respondents and for Canada in 2000 the sample size

was 1931. The 1998-2000 British and Canadian ethnic composition in the samples were

95 percent and 90 percent White in the United Kingdom and Canada respectively. For the

United Kingdom two percent of the sample was Indian, Hindu, Bangladeshi, Pakistani

and another 2.2 percent were Black. In Canada, 2.6 percent are Indian, Hindu,

Bangladeshi, Pakistani and 2.2 percent were Black. The sample was representative and

diverse. For the post-terrorist activity dependent variables, the fifth (2005 to 2008) wave

was used for both the United Kingdom and Canada. The 2005 wave year was used for the

British data set. According to the World Values Survey codebook, the British Survey was

conducted between December 1, 2005 and December 18, 2005 (Medrano, 2005).

Therefore, the survey was conducted five months after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks.

In 2005 the sample size was 1041 in the United Kingdom. The sample size was 2164 in

Canada and the Canadian survey was in 2006. The ethnic composition of the samples in

the 2005-2006 wave years were diverse with Whites constituting 88 percent of the British

sample and 86 percent of the Canadian sample. In the United Kingdom 7.5 percent and

2.8 percent of the sample were Asian and Black; while in the Canadian sample, 8.6

percent and 2.8 percent were Asian and Black respectively.

In systems of stratification, intergenerational and intragenerational mobility have been

used as measures of upward mobility. In caste systems of stratification, there is little

movement between strata and in class systems the boundaries are fluid and therefore,

allow for increasing levels of education and income (Macionis, 2010; Marger, 2014).

Both the United Kingdom and Canada are designed to be meritoriously based class

systems of stratification. Yet, it is clear that discrimination establishes a system of caste

for the minority group who is on the receiving end of the intolerance. Therefore, given

that the United Kingdom and Canada are class systems; education and income are

important contributing variables of upward mobility. Ethnicity is also salient. To this end,

the control variables in this research are the highest education level attained (WVS

X025), the level of income (WVS X047), and the ethnicity of the respondent (WVS

X051). Education is scaled from 1 to 8. The number 1 is for respondents who

'inadequately completed elementary education', the number 2 for those who completed

elementary education', the number 3 is 'incomplete secondary school', the number 4 for

those who 'completed secondary school', the number 5 is for those with 'incomplete

secondary-university preparation', the number 6 is for respondents who 'completed

secondary-university-preparation', the number 7 is for 'some university without degree',

and the number 8 is for those who went to 'university with degree'. In 1998, there were

940 respondents who answered the education question in the third wave British response.

There were 1919 Canadians who responded in wave four and 3205 (N=2164 for Canada

and N = 1041 for the United Kingdom) in the wave five for both Canadian and British

respondents who answered the education question. The World Values Survey income

data is in ten step strata. The lowest income group is in the first strata, the second income

group is in the second strata. The next income group in the third strata, etc… until the top

earning group being in the tenth strata. The income variable was recoded into a dummy

variable with respondents in the first, second, third, fourth and fifth strata given a value of

zero, and those in strata six, seven, eight, nine and ten recoded and given the value of

one. This dichotomizes income into a variable with attributes grouped by respondents

who are more and less wealthy. Respondents who did not know or did not answer were

omitted. The total number of respondents answering the income variable were 800 British

in 1998, and there were 1714 Canadians in 2000, and 815 British and 1800 Canadian

respondents in 2005-2006. The ethnicity variable was recoded into a dummy variable so

that 'white' equals zero and 'non-white' equals one. There were 938 British respondents

in 1998 and 1919 Canadians in 2000 who answered questions about their ethnicity. For

2005-2006, the total number of Canadian (N = 2164) and British (N = 1041) respondents

was 3205 for the ethnicity variable.

Examining Discriminatory Attitudes – EVS, WVS, ISSP, and ESS Data

The European Values Survey (EVS) asks many of the same questions as the World

Values Survey (WVS). There are occasions, however, when the EVS will ask United

Kingdom respondents a question but the WVS will not ask the same question for United

Kingdom respondents. The rationale is likely that the question was asked by the EVS in

the approximate time period the WVS was being administered and given the question is

exactly the same, it is expected the results would be similar. For example, the EVS data

from 1999 (pre-terrorism) and 2008 (post-terrorism) asks the question "On this list are

various groups of people. Could you please sort out any that you would not like to have

as neighbors?" Possible responses include 'other races' and 'Muslims'. The EVS data is

from the 1999 wave and the 2008 wave was used for examining British respondent's

desires for residential segregation from 'Muslims' and 'other races'. The question could

have been asked of United Kingdom respondents in the 2000 year on the WVS but the

findings, likely, would be similar. Therefore, the WVS did not ask UK respondents this

question. The EVS and WVS are designed so that they can be merged to create an

integrated survey data set (Medrano, 2005). This dissertation research, however, did not

merge these data sets. For Canada, the World Values Survey (WVS) asks respondents the

same question. The Canadian data is from the fourth (1999- 2004) and fifth (2005-2009)

WVS waves. Specifically, Canadian data is derived from the years 2000 and 2006 for the

pre-post assessment. The same question "On this list are various groups of people. Could

you please sort out any that you would not like to have as neighbors?" with possible

responses including 'other races' and 'Muslims', was asked of Canadian respondents.

These variables are indicators of the desire for residential segregation due to race and

practicing Islam. This data will be shown in graph form.

The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) surveys respondents in a variety of

nation-states throughout the world on a variety of social issues. The United Kingdom was

included as one of the 32 nation-states that participated in the 1998 survey and one of the

44 nation-states surveyed in 2008. In the 1998 religion study, one of the questions asked

United Kingdom respondents was "religions bring about more conflict than peace?" and

there were 767 United Kingdom respondents to the question. The 2008 religion survey

asked respondents if "religion brings about conflict?" and 1905 respondents answered in

the United Kingdom sample. This question establishes the changing intensity in the

perceptions of United Kingdom respondents about religion bringing about conflict. This

data will be presented in graph form.

The European Social Survey (ESS) includes data in which 'race' and 'religion' are

possible response categories. Respondents to the ESS were asked "On what grounds was

your group discriminated against?" Respondents are offered the possible response

categories of both race and religion in each survey year. This question was asked in 2002,

2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012; and the ESS allows for trend analysis of

discrimination biannually over the ten years from 2002 to 2012. In 2002, the number of

United Kingdom in the sample was 2052 respondents. In 2004 there were 1897

respondents from the United Kingdom. After the 2005 terrorist attacks, the ESS

questionnaire implemented in 2006 had 2394 respondents, in 2008 there were 2352. In

2010 and 2012 the number of United Kingdom respondents was 2422 and 2286

respectively. Therefore, the ESS samples are robust and allows for an assessment of

perceptions on racial and religious discrimination over an entire decade which includes

the 2005 terrorist bombings in the United Kingdom. This data is presented in graphical

form as well.

Examining Discriminatory Behaviors- Hate Crimes Data from Canada and the UK

In 1996, section 718.2(a)(i) of the Canadian criminal code was amended to allow the

courts to consider the motivation of a crime with regards to prejudice, race, ethnic origin,

religion and sexual orientation as an aggravating circumstance in criminal activity.

According to Silver, et.al. (2002) Canadian offenses regarded as hate crimes are

genocide, assault, property theft, car theft, hate crimes as aggravated assaults, criminal

damage, offences against public order and harassment. The 1998 Crime and Disorder Act

in the United Kingdom made illegal racial hate crimes (Legislation.Uk.gov, 1998). In

2001 the Act was amended to include religiously aggravated offenses and increases the

sentence imposed upon those convicted of crimes motivated by the hatred of another due

to race or religious practices (CPS- Monitoring, 2009). Hate crime offenses that criminal

justice personnel in Canada and the United Kingdom recorded as racially or religiously

motivated is the data used as the dependent variable.

Hate crimes data was derived from the Canadian Center of Justice Statistics (2002, 2006,

and 2010) and the Crown Prosecution Services for the United Kingdom (2002, 2006, and

2010), again representing the periods before and after the July 2005 bombings in London.

The data are a count of the number of police reported racial and religious motivated hate

crimes in each nation. According to the Canadian criminal code hate crimes are acts that

are motivated by hatred against an identifiable group, including those distinguished by

color, race, and religion (Silver et al., 2002). The Canadian hate crimes data for 2002 was

a study in which 12 MSA policing forces submitted hate crime arrests data. The police

forces covering Calgary, Edmonton, Toronto, Halton Regional, Montreal, Regina, Winsor, Winnipeg, Sudbury, Ottawa, Waterloo and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). In 2006, hate crimes data was collected from each police force in nine MSA areas in 2006 in Canada. The nine largest Canadian MSAs are Calgary, Ottawa, Toronto, Edmonton, Hamilton, Vancouver, Montreal, Quebec and Winnipeg. In Canada, the ethnic groups most likely to suffer a racially motivated hate crime are Blacks, Asians and Arabs (Dauvergne, et. al, 2006) A little less than 38 percent of all hate crimes against Blacks and Asians were crimes of violence but Arabs were most likely to have violent crimes perpetuated against them as 49 percent of all hate crimes against Arabs were violent hate crimes (Dauvergne et. al, 2006). Of the 928 reported hate crimes, the majority (57%) of hate crimes were racially motivated and 43% were religiously motivated hate crimes. In 2006, Canadian police forces reported 892 hate crimes of which 502 were racially motivated and 220 were religiously motivated (Dauvergne et al., 2006). According to Statistics Canada, in 2010, over half of all hate crimes were racially provoked (N = 707) and another 395 were religiously influenced. Religiously motivated hate crimes showed that Jews and Muslims were the most likely victims.

In the United Kingdom, the Crown Prosecution Services (CPS) annual report shows racially and religiously motivated hate crimes. In the United Kingdom, hate crimes data was collected from 44 police districts for both 2002, 2006 and 2010. Unfortunately, the CPS did not separate racially motivated from religiously motivated hate crime types until 2009. For the 2001-2002 data reported, there were 3728 racial-religious hate crimes. In 2005-2006 there were 7430 racially-religiously motivated hate crimes and in 2010, there

were 12,131. For the purpose of similarity between the United Kingdom and Canada the number of hate crimes will be explored as the number of hate crimes per 100,000 population in each of the nation-states in 2002, 2006, and 2010. The data from both the United Kingdom and Canada will be converted into racial-religious hate crimes per 100,000 populations for each of the designated years since, given the proportion of hate crime response differences between the United Kingdom and Canada, the data in hate crimes per 100,000 residents in the population allows for comparisons between nation-states.

Statistical Methodology

This section discusses the statistical approach used to examine the research issue. When available, appropriate data are used to compare the United Kingdom with Canada. In addition, difference-in-differences regression is used to examine the theoretical applicability of nationalism, authoritarianism, and integrative threat theories.

Theoretical Perspectives: Statistical Approach

This research utilizes the July 2005 attack in the United Kingdom as the treatment variable to difference out the disparity in pre-post attitudes that have been theoretically linked to discrimination when comparing the United Kingdom (who experienced a terrorist attack in 2005) and Canada (who has not experienced terrorism over the same time period). The dependent variables are question from the World Values Survey (WVS) that are used to analyze important theoretical characteristics. WVS data has dichotomous variable counts which can reach 6,136 respondents. A difference-in-

difference regression will be used to examine if the theories discussed above and more comprehensively in the literature review significantly increase in explanatory value in the United Kingdom when evaluated with Canada before and after the 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. Specifically, a difference-in-differences regression will be used to examine if Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Integrative Threat theory increased in explanatory power after the 2005 terrorist attacks.

A difference-in-differences regression measures the dissimilarity between groups of scores for specified time periods. In essence, the "difference-in-difference regression analysis estimates the before-after change in a treatment group relative to a control group to gauge the net effect of a treatment on an outcome of interest." (Van Ryzin, 2012, p.5). The premise of the difference-in-difference model lends itself to this assessment for comparing the United Kingdom and Canada when examining changes in attitudes theoretically linked to discrimination before and after the 2005 Subway terrorist attacks in London, England. Given that randomization of the populations is not possible since populations are typically fixed in many respects for Canadians and the British, difference-in-differences regression factors out general trend alterations and time period effects (Pedace, 2013). Similar to the difference-in-difference regression of David Card, in which Card regressed teen employment in Pennsylvania and New Jersey before and after the 1992 New Jersey minimum wage increase (Card in Angrist and Pischke, 2009), this research regresses important theoretically relevant WVS questions in the United Kingdom and Canada pre-post July 2005 (British terrorist attack). The dependent variables from the World Values Survey waves from 1998 for the United Kingdom and

2000 for Canada were used for the pre-terrorist assessment. The 2005 data for the United

Kingdom and 2006 for Canada were used in the post-terrorism design. The formula for a

difference-in-differences regression is:

$$Y = \alpha + b_s\,S + b_p\,P + b_{int}\,(S * P) + b_{ci}\,CI + \ldots\ B_{cj}\,CJ$$

Where 'Ŷ' is the expected change in the WVS dependent variable, 'α' is the intercept, 'b

s S' is a dummy variable indicating the country where respondents reside, with 0 =

Canada and 1 = the United Kingdom; b $_p$ P is a dummy variable that refers to the time

period with 0 = before the 2005 terrorist attack and 1 = after the 2005 terrorist attack; b

$_{int}$ (S * P) is the interaction term; and 'b $_{ci}$ CI' through 'b $_{cj}$ CJ' are control variables. The

slope 'b $_s$ S' indicates the slope prior to the terrorist attacks and is assumed, as the null

hypothesis would indicate, to be constant without any change over time. The 'b $_p$ P' slope

estimates the before-after change in Canada and discriminatory attitudes should remain

constant given no terrorist activity. 'b $_{int}$ (S * P)' is the interaction effect that differences

out the change in the United Kingdom if terrorism increased discriminatory attitudes. The

'b $_{ci}$ CI' … 'b $_{cj}$ CJ' control variables are the ethnicity of the respondent, the level of

income, and the highest year of education of respondent. See Table 4-2 for an illustrative

example of this difference-in difference model.

Table 4-2: Difference-in-Differences Econometric Example Model

NATIONS		
THE UNITED KINGDOM & CANADA	Initial Theory Difference	Pre-Terrorism and Theory (Initial difference in theoretical perceptions between nations)
Due to theory THE UNITED KINGDOM (+ TERROR) & CANADA	Rate of Theory Change	Post-Terrorism in the United Kingdom-Canada and Theory (Projected difference plus increase in the United Kingdom)
THE UNITED KINGDOM (+ TERROR) - CANADA	**Difference in Theory Change**	**Difference in Discrimination between projected and actual due to Terrorism in UK**

Illustrated in Table 4-2 by establishing an initial difference before the London bombing, difference in difference regression allows a projection of what the difference would be without a terrorist event and any change in each of the indicators that are theoretically associated with discrimination are attributed to the London terrorist attack.

Discriminatory Attitudes Statistical Approaches

The focus of this research is on the impact of the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Valuable trend data on racial and religious discrimination is available from the WVS, EVS, ISSP and ESS data for the United Kingdom. Continuing the pre-post assessment model to examine if terrorism increases thoughts of discrimination, data from 1998 and 2008 is used. This data will be presented in figure form and will illustrate if there was a change in the perceptions of British and Canadian citizens about not wanting other races and Muslims as neighbors.

To examine residential segregation based upon attitudes about race, the percentage of respondents to the question "On this list are various groups of people. Would you mention any that you would not like to have as neighbors?" in the World Values Survey (WVS) is used. Possible responses include 'people of a different race' and another possible response was 'Muslims'. The European Values Survey (EVS) asks respondents the same question and the EVS is designed to be integrated with the WVS. The data from the 2000 WVS wave four is used for the pre-terrorism assessment and the 2006 WVS wave five is used for the post-terrorism assessment for Canada. For the United Kingdom, the 1999 and 2008 EVS data are used for the pre and post-terrorism assessment. Percentage Figures of pre and post-terrorism attitudes about racially motivated residential segregation will be examined to see if British respondents increase their desire to be segregated from other racial groups after July 7, 2005. Canadian percentages will be shown for comparison purposes.

 World Values Survey, and European Values Survey percentages will be placed into figures to look for trends in the desire for residential segregation from Muslims over a period before and a period after July 7, 2005. British perceptions about residential segregation, based upon Islamic religious practices, are a central factor in conflict and the WVS and EVS data sets ask questions about residential segregation due to this religious difference from nations that are primarily Christian. The desire for religious segregation in the United Kingdom (gathered from EVS data in 1999 and 2008) and Canada (gathered from WVS data in 2000 and 2006) will show if there is a post-terrorism rise in discrimination as is one of the hypothesis of this dissertation.

The International Social Survey Program (ISSP) asks British respondents if "religion brings about conflict?" in 1998 and in 2008. The data allows for a pre-terrorism and post-terrorism percentage figure design to see if attitudes about religion bringing about conflict change after the July 7, 2005 terrorist event. If perceptions about terrorism in the United Kingdom are believed to be associated with Islam as stated in chapter two, it is postulated that attitudes about religion bringing about conflict will increase post-terrorism.

The European Social Survey (ESS) offers trend data on the percentages of respondents who believe racial or religious discrimination is being implemented against their group. The data is from 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012. This data provides an important contrast with the WVS and EVS data because it examines the respondent's attitudes about discrimination being visited upon them in-lieu of them being the perpetrator of discrimination. This data is rich in that it removes the social stigma from acknowledging discriminatory attitudes from the respondents, as in the WVS and EVS data, to getting responses from those who believe they are being harmed.

Discriminatory Behaviors Statistical Approaches

When analyzing discriminatory behaviors, the hate crimes data is the variable for this research. The 2002 Canadian hate crimes data was compiled from the Canadian Center for Justice Statistics (Silver et al., 2002). In the United Kingdom, the Crown Prosecution Services (CPS) Annual Report shows racially and religiously motivated hate crimes. Unfortunately, the CPS did not separate these hate crime types until 2009. For the

purpose of similarity between the United Kingdom and Canada the number of hate crimes will be explored as the number of hate crimes per 100,000 population in each of the nation-states in 2002, 2006, and 2010. Figures will be used to show any changes in hate crimes per 100,000 population before and after the London subway terrorist bombings.

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDINGS

*Ethno-nationalist movements seek to define nationality as an inherent trait, creating …
an impermeable 'us' versus 'them' boundary. Therefore, it is not surprising that
aggression, warfare, brutality and sustained violence often accompany nationalist
movements. (Pettincchio, 2012, p. 719).*

This chapter will present the empirical findings from this study. Initially, the hypothesis

to be examined are stated. After establishing the foundation that British citizens believe

that religion brings about conflict, data on discriminatory attitudes based upon a desire

for residential segregation from out-groups is examined. These findings are from those

who are behaving discriminatory. Data on those who are the victims of discrimination is

examined using ESS data. Next, the hypothesis for the theoretical perspectives are tested

by using the World Values Survey data applying difference-in-differences regression

models to measure the theoretical relevance of each theory before and after July 7, 2005.

This section analyzes discriminatory attitudes. Emphasis is on the years before and after

2005. The hate crimes measure discriminatory behaviors. The chapter examines which

theory has the most explanatory power when examining changing attitudes about

discrimination before and after July 7, 2005.

Hypothesis

The legacy of discrimination in the United Kingdom and Canada has, in many respects,

been implemented along racial lines. Since July 7, 2005 the terrorist activity thought

perpetuated by Middle Eastern Muslim extremists is believed to encourage xenophobia

and the likelihood of discrimination against Muslims of Middle Eastern descent, which

will motivate a subsequent backlash in the recruit for and mobilization of terrorist activity

(Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012, Cesari, 2013). Securitization is amplified by diminishing democratic practices, rights and placing increased scrutiny on Middle East Muslims; which in turn, motivates Middle Easterners to fight discrimination and encourage the radicalization of Muslims into terrorists. The process, although negative, might be self-sustaining until the nation-state eradicates the terrorism. Terrorists, however, are typically clandestine and it is difficult to measure terrorism's termination (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012) Juxtapose to the terrorism-Islamophobia nexus, theoretical considerations also would support an increase in discrimination being directed against all racial and religious groups, in-lieu of only Muslim minorities after a successful terrorist event due to amplifying the dominant in-group perceived sense of threat of loss. In essence, the fight against terrorism places dominant groups in a defensive posture which may encourage discrimination against all minorities. Given the surreptitious clandestine nature of terrorism, such behavior could dilute the effectiveness of the war on terror. Given a foundation that an increase in discrimination does occur post-terrorism, the type of motivation is examined through three theoretical perspectives. Analyzing discrimination through the theoretical lens of Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and Intergroup Threat could increase the understanding of the motivation behind discrimination post-terrorism in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada. These theories have been proven to associate with discrimination and these theoretical considerations, summarized here and covered more fully in previous sections, lead to the following hypothesis:

H_1: Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on perceptions of religion bringing about strife in the United Kingdom post-July, 2005.

H_2: Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on the desire for residential segregation from Muslims in the United Kingdom after July 7, 2005.

H_3: Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on the desire for residential segregation from racial minorities in the United Kingdom post-July, 2005.

H_4: Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on racially motivated discriminatory attitudes in the United Kingdom post-July, 2005.

H_5: Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on religiously motivated discriminatory attitudes in the United Kingdom post-July, 2005.

H_6: Due to the social disruption, terrorist activity will increase hate crimes against racial and religious populations.

H₇: Based upon Nationalism theory, terrorist activity will increase the desire for order in

the nation, job preferences for nationals and the desire to increase military rule.

H₈: Based upon Authoritarianism theory, terrorist activity will increase authoritarian

attitudes, such as obedience, respect for authority, and the view that children should

not have independence.

H_{9:} Based upon Integrative Threat theory, terrorist activity will increase distrust of

others, support for increasing income inequality, and less respect for others as

important qualities in children.

To recap, the theoretical explanations are that the social disruption will enhance the

likelihood that an authoritarian response against all minorities will occur, heightened

levels of ethnocentric and xenophobic behaviors due to an analysis of the threat to the in-

group, or that a patriotic response of anger due to terrorism will be directed at the

religious-ethnic group(s) deemed responsible. The terrorist activity in the United

Kingdom caused social disruption and therefore, citizens in the United Kingdom would

experience increased social anxiety. This supports the possibility of discrimination

against all visible minorities, or a response against the affiliated religious groups of

terrorists, or only those who were terrorist. Much of the literature suggests a ratcheting up

of discrimination against Muslims (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari,

2013). This position stems from a linear response to terrorism in the form of

securitization and anger about terrorist activity and the response is against all Muslims.

Each theoretical perspective in hypothesis seven (Nationalism Theory), hypothesis eight

(Authoritarianism Theory), hypothesis nine (Integrative Threat Theory) use indicators

from the World Values Survey to assess its utility in explaining the motivation for

increasing discriminatory attitudes and behaviors[1]. The central question in this

dissertation is 'what is the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and

behaviors in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada?"

Perceptions about Religion Bringing About Conflict

Attitudes about religious conflict in the United Kingdom can be dated far before the 2005

terrorist attacks. In addition to the disagreement between Irish Catholics and British

Protestants, the more contemporarily highlighted religious struggle is that with Islamic

radicalism (Cesari, 2010, Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012). The International Social Survey

Program (ISSP) gathers information about a variety of social issues. In 1998 and again in

2008, they gathered information from a sample of British respondents. Figure 5.2 shows

that in 1998, over 28 percent of British respondents 'strongly agreed' that religion

increased conflict and another 50 percent 'agreed' that religion increased conflict. Almost

mirroring the earlier survey results, in 2008, more than 78 percent of British respondents

'agreed and strongly agreed' that religion brings about conflict. The primary difference

between the 1998 and 2008 results was that for those who 'strongly agreed' that religion

brings about conflict there was an increase from 28.4 percent in 1998 to 33.2 percent in

2008. The 'neither agreed nor disagreed' attribute remained relatively stable at 12.4

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[1] For a more comprehensive discussion of the theoretical relevance of the indicators, see the appendices section.

percent of respondents in 1998 and 12.5 percent of respondents in 2008. In 1998, 8.1

percent 'disagreed' that religion brings about conflict and 1.2 percent 'strongly

disagreed'. In 2008, 7.1 percent 'disagreed' and 2 percent 'strongly disagreed'. The trend

supports that British attitudes about religion bringing about conflict became more

extreme at the polar ends of the variable continuum and very much so when examining

the growth in the number of respondents who strongly agreed with the statement that

religion brings about conflict in which there was a five percentage point increase.
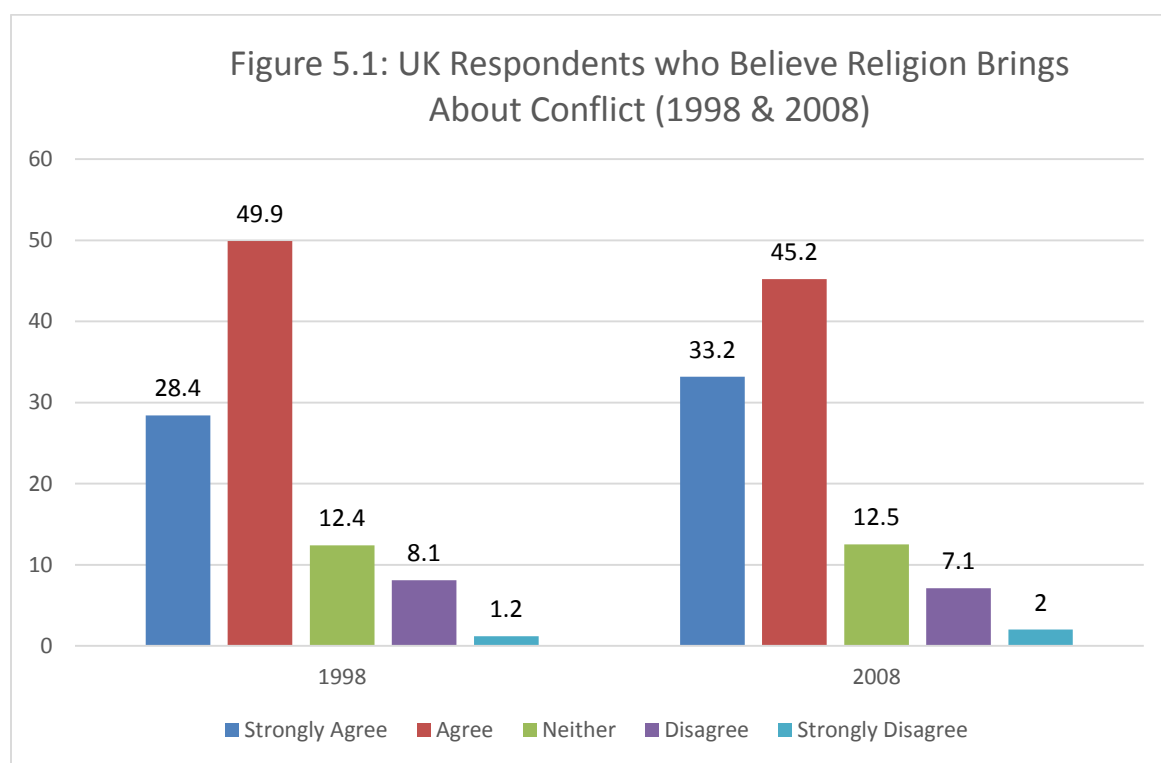

Figure 5.1 is derived from ISSP data years 1998 and 2008.

Although data in Canada that asks the same question about 'religion bringing about

conflict' would allow for a comparison between nation-states, there is no comparable

data for a pre-post terrorism assessment. Canada is used as the comparison nation-state,

however, and it is yet clear from the data offered that the perceptions about religion
bringing about conflict in the United Kingdom increased in intensity over the decade.

**Attitudes of Social Distance – Not Wanting Racial Groups and Muslims in
Respondents Neighborhood**

Figure 5.2 is the percentage of British respondents who do not want Muslims as
neighbors according to the European Values Survey. Stated in the literature review,
Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1988) maintain that residential segregation is an
important factor when examining discrimination against minorities. The more the
segregation of housing by race and religion, the greater the discrimination. Prior to the
2005 terrorist attacks in London, in 1999 over 14 percent of British respondents did not
want Muslims residing as their neighbors. Three years after the terrorist event, in 2008
the percentage who desired to be residentially segregated from Muslims was 12.7
percent. This is over a one percent decrease in the desire for residential segregation from
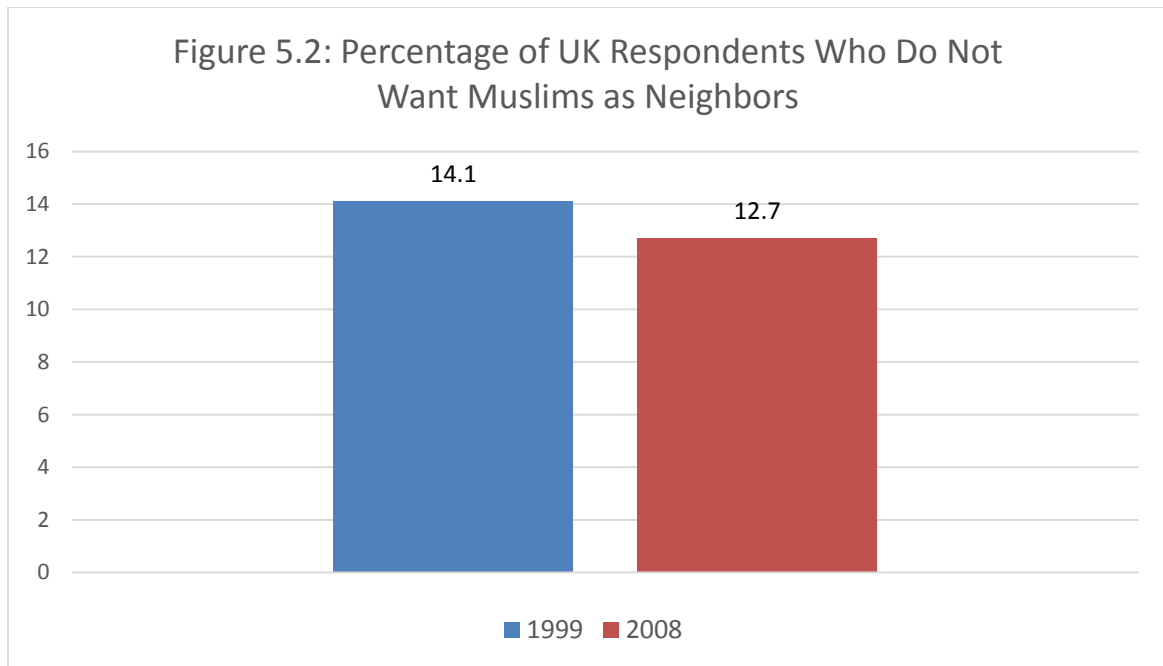those who practice the Islamic religion.

Figure 5.2: Percentage of UK Respondents Who Do Not Want Muslims as Neighbors

Figure 5.2 is derived from EVS data years 1999 and 2008.

The World Values Survey asks respondents many of the same questions as the European Values Survey and fortunately they asked the same question about living next to Muslims. The question is "On this list are various groups. Can you list any you would not like to have as neighbors?" The list of possible responses includes both Muslims and people of another race. According to Figure 5.3, for Canada, the percentage of respondents (N = 1931) who said that they did not desire Muslims as neighbors was 6.5 percent. The level of pre-terrorism desired residential segregation is significantly larger in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada. In 2006, Canadians (N = 2164) who mentioned that they desire that Muslims were not their neighbor increased to 11.1 percent. Attitudes about being segregated from the Muslim community had converged when comparing The United Kingdom and Canada. While the United Kingdom had a

modest decrease, Canada experienced a substantial increase from 6.5 percent to 11.1
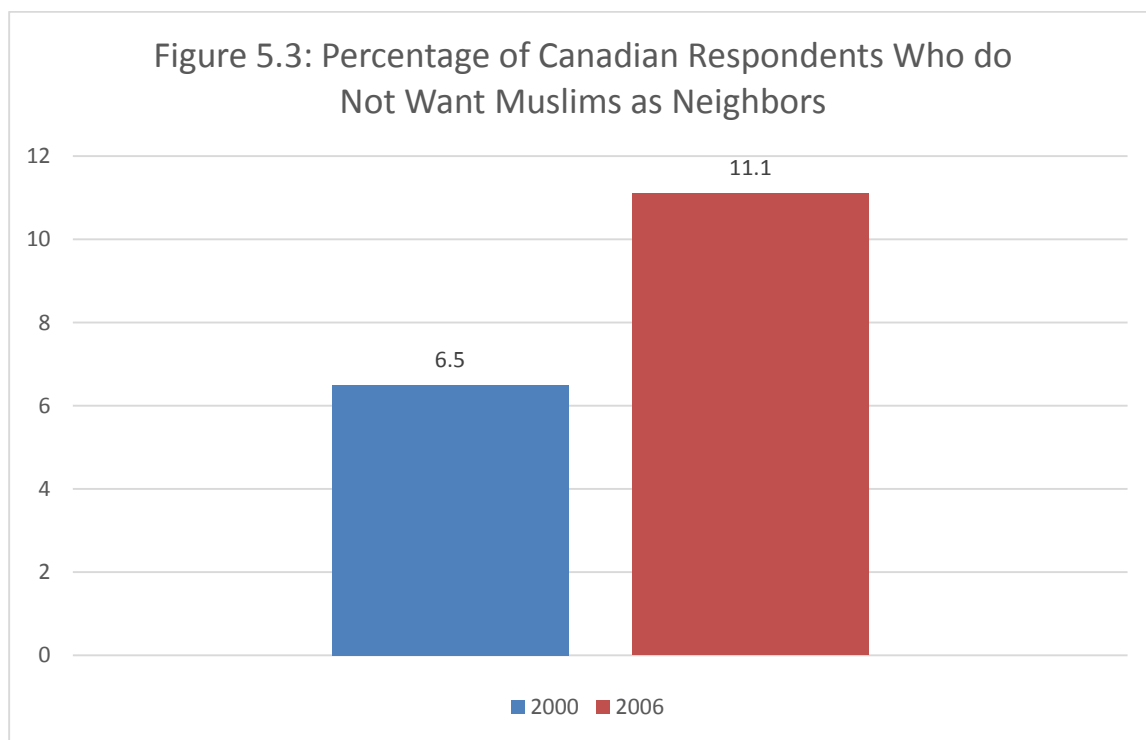
percent.

Figure 5.3: Percentage of Canadian Respondents Who do Not Want Muslims as Neighbors

Figure 5.3 is derived from WVS data years 2000 and 2006.

When examining racial segregation, Figure 5.4 shows that attitudes about residential

segregation decreased between 1999 and 2008. In 1999, prior to the terrorist bombing in

the United Kingdom, 9.2 percent of respondents mentioned that they desired segregation

from people outside their race. By 2008, the percentage had dropped to 5.8 percent in the
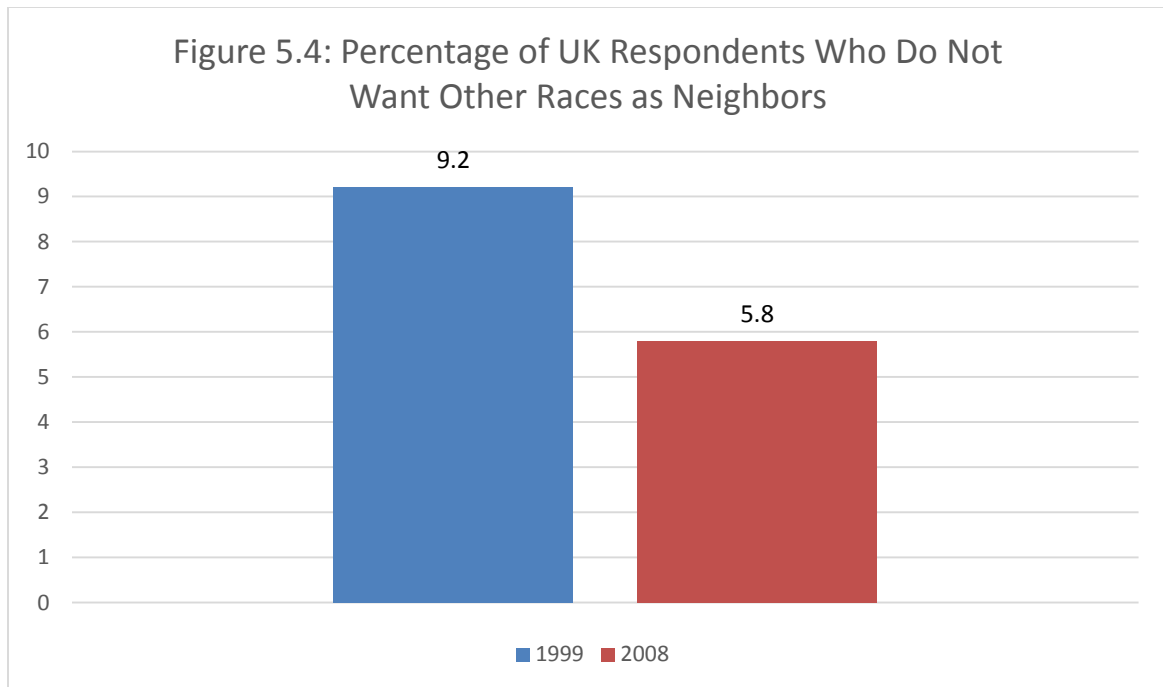
United Kingdom.

Figure 5.4: Percentage of UK Respondents Who Do Not Want Other Races as Neighbors

Figure 5.4 is derived from EVS data years 1999 and 2008.

According to Figure 5.5, those who mentioned not wanting someone outside their race as a neighbor in Canada in 2000 was 3.4 percent. The percentage of respondents who had this view in 2005 had diminished to 2.2 percent. The data support diminishing attitudes for the desire of residential segregation based upon differences in phenotype characteristics.
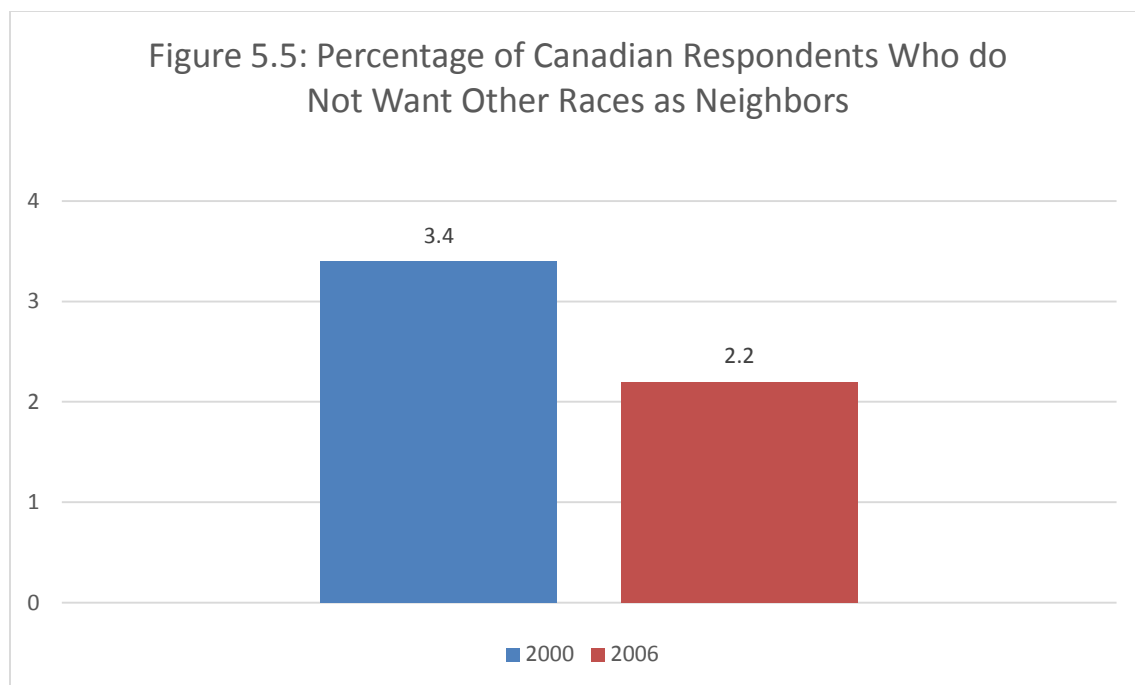
Figure 5.5: Percentage of Canadian Respondents Who do Not Want Other Races as Neighbors

Figure 5.5 is derived from WVS data years 2000 and 2006.

For every wave year comparison between the United Kingdom and Canada, British respondents have higher percentages of respondents who desire segregation based upon those who are Muslim and those of another race. When the EVS 1999 wave is compared to the 2000 WVS wave on respondents attitudes about not having Muslims reside as their neighbor, the percentage of respondents who prefer they do not is higher in the United Kingdom. In the post-terrorism comparison, the Canadian percentages in 2006 are similar to those of the 2008 British percentages and they converged toward and almost mirror one another. Segregation, as a characteristic of Islamophobia, is more prevalent in the United Kingdom than in Canada. Racial segregation proved resilient in the United Kingdom also. In the pre-terrorism wave years, the United Kingdom proved to have a

larger percentage of respondents who mentioned the desire for residential segregation due to racial differences.

Attitudes of Racial and Religious Discrimination in the United Kingdom

The European Social Survey collects survey data on a series of important social issues every two years. The 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, and 2012 data allows for a trend analysis to see if discriminatory attitudes change after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in England. Figure 5.6 graphs a line offering information on both racial and religious discrimination. Both racial and religious discrimination increase post-2005, with racial discrimination having a more pronounced increase. It levels from 2006 to 2008 and then racial discrimination declines more significantly than religious discrimination. By 2012, both discrimination types are near 2.5 percent of respondents who reported racial or religious discrimination against their group.

Unfortunately, there is no comparable and reputable survey data that exists for Canadian respondents who may or may not perceive that their racial or religious group has been discriminated against in successive years for a trend analysis. However, Canada is the comparison nation-state and therefore, since the primary interest is in changes in the attitudes of United Kingdom respondents due to the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in London, these findings are important in examining discrimination in the United Kingdom. Figure 5.6 shows discrimination did increase the year immediately after the terrorist attack.
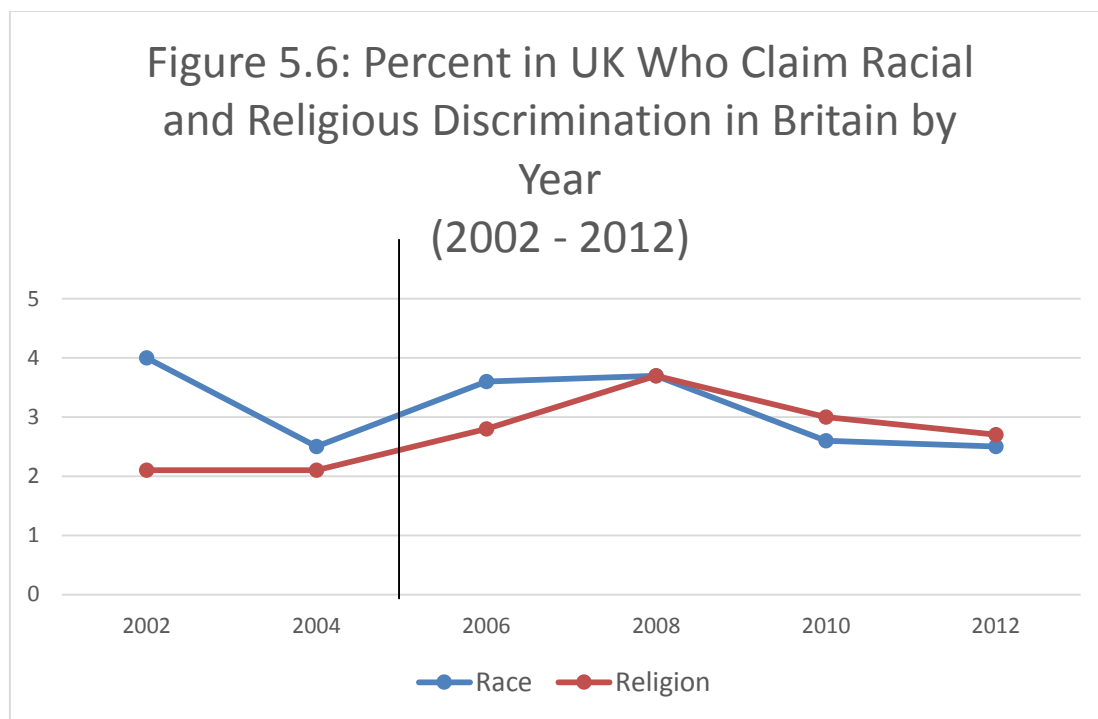
Figure 5.6: Percent in UK Who Claim Racial and Religious Discrimination in Britain by Year (2002 - 2012)

Figure 5.6 is derived from ESS data years 2002 to 2012.

This analysis supports an increase in racial and religious discriminatory attitudes in the United Kingdom immediately after the July 7, 2005 terrorist bombings in London. Figure 5.7 below is a trend analysis of hate crimes in both the United Kingdom and Canada for 2000, 2006 and 2010. In order to convert the number of hate crimes for comparison purposes, the crimes are presented per 100,000 people in the population. Hate crimes data is from Crown Prosecution Services for the United Kingdom and Statistics Canada for Canadian hate crimes. The data supports a dramatic increase in hate crimes in the United Kingdom post terrorism.

According to Figure 5.7, in 2002 there were 2.85 racially and religiously motivated hate crimes per 100,000 people in the population. The United Kingdom had 7.51 hate crimes per 100,000 people in the population. In 2006, there were 2.22 Canadian hate crimes of

racial and religious motivation. Therefore, a decrease in hate crimes. In contrast, the

United Kingdom had a significant increase from the 7.51 hate crimes per 100,000 in

2002, almost doubling to 14.64. Some of this increase could be due to the 2005

MacPherson laws giving police more discrecenary power to define crimes with racial and

religious motivation. The purpose of offering the 2010 data was to examine if the post-

terrorism findings from 2006 were an anomaly due to the MacPherson laws on hate

crimes in the United Kingdom or a consistent tend motivated by post-terrorism attitudes.

The data supports that more hate crimes occurred post-terrorism and that the MacPherson

law alterations in the UK are likely not the only reason for the pre-post differences. The

Canadian hate crimes rate in 2010 remained stable at 2.21 per 100,000. The United

Kingdom's hate crimes rate increased to 23.22. As is apparent, the United Kingdom had

substantially more post terrorism hate crime increases and they remained persistent.

Figure 5.7: United Kingdom & Canada- Racially and Religiously Motivated Hate Crimes per 100,000 in Population (2002, 2006, & 2010).
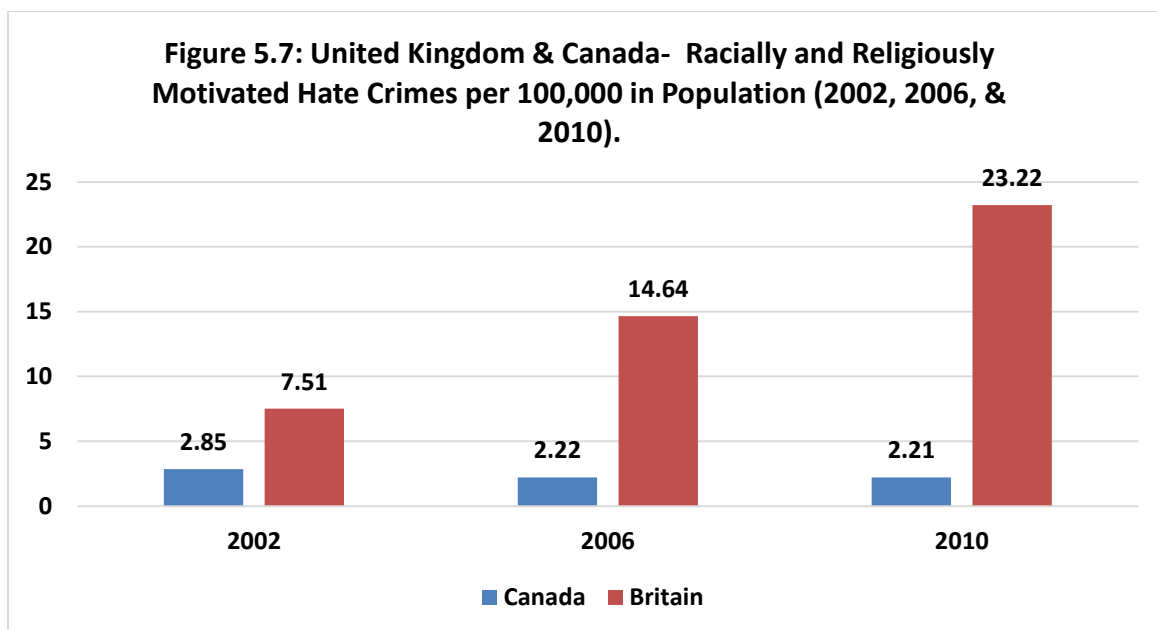
Figure 5.7 is derived from Statistics Canada and UK Crown Prosecution Services data source years 2002, 2006, and 2010.

The data trend post-July 7, 2005 shows marked increases in hate crime behaviors in the UK when compared to Canada. In Canada 17 percent of all hate crimes in 2002 were committed against Canadian blacks. Regarding religiously motivated hate crimes, 11 percent were against Muslims in Canada. In the United Kingdom, 2002 data did not separate racial hate crimes from religious hate crimes. The data does bare out other important information to examinine discriminatory behaviors. Most British hate crimes were committed by British whites. According to Civitas Crime factsheet, 75 percent of all racially motivated hate crimes in the United Kingdom were committed by British whites and in 2006, many of the defendants plead guilty before the case was brought to trial (73 percent) and another 15 percent were convicted at trial (CPS, 2006-2007).

Analysis of Theoretical Perspectives - Differences in Differences Regression

Nationalism Theory

As mentioned in the previous chapter, a difference-in-differences regression estimates the before-after change in a treatment group relative to a control group to gauge the net effect of a treatment on an outcome of interest. The premise of the difference-in-difference model lends itself to this assessment for comparing the United Kingdom (the "treatment group") with Canada when examining changes in attitudes theoretically linked to discrimination before and after the 2005 Subway terrorist attacks in London. This section presents the results of this difference-in-differences strategy, using data from the World Values Survey.

The first WVS variable used to examine nationalism theory is agreement with the statement that is 'employers should employ national citizens before migrants', and the difference-in-differences regression analysis of this question appears in Table 5.1. The key result is the coefficient on the interaction term, which represents the difference in difference—that is, the change in attitudes in the UK above and beyond the change in the control country, Canada. As Table 5.1 shows, in the model without control variables, the difference-in-difference regression coefficient (the interaction) reveals a statistically significant 6 percentage point increase over the period in expressed preference for employment of national citizens in the UK when compared to Canadians during the same period. The analysis is repeated in Table 5.1 with controls for ethnicity, income and level of education. The difference-in-difference (interaction) coefficient again shows that there is a statistically significant 6 point increase in desiring only national citizens be employed in Britain, post July 2005, when compared to the trend in Canada as a control country. These findings clearly support nationalism theory given the 'us' versus 'them' perception embedded in the theoretical discourse and the premise of its amplification due to July 7, 2005.

TABLE 5.1: Nationalism examine with WVS – Employer hire national over migrants

Nationalism C002

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	-0.0571	0.0158	-3.63	0.001	-0.0340	0.0165	-2.06	0.040
UK	0.0120	0.0191	0.63	0.529	-0.0110	0.0226	-0.49	0.627
Interaction	0.0642	0.0271	2.37	0.018	0.0602	0.0305	1.97	0.049
Education					-0.1701	0.0148	-11.49	0.001
Income					-0.0619	0.0148	-4.18	0.001
Ethnicity					-0.2486	0.0252	-9.83	0.001
Constant	0.5139	0.0114	44.98	0.001	0.6401	0.0142	44.94	0.001

Table 5.2 shows the response to the attitudes about military rule. The WVS question asks

respondents "would you say it is a very good, fairly good, fairly bad or very bad way of

governing this country (by) having the army rule?". The results of the difference-in-

differences regression shows that the interaction term is robust and significant. In the

model without control variables, the difference-in-difference regression coefficient is

statistically significant at p<.001. The coefficient shows that there is a 21 percent increase

in the citizens in the United Kingdom's preference having the army rule after July 7,

2005. With control variables added, the effect yet shows a 21 percent increase in favoring

having the army rule. The table suggests that the effects of terrorist activity may increase

the UK citizen's desire for security and xenophobic discernments against foreigners.

These findings offer substantial corroboration for nationalism theories support of

xenophobic behavior in a post-terrorism environment.

TABLE 5.2: Nationalism examined with WVS – Having the army rule citizens

Nationalism E116

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	0.0337	0.0214	1.57	0.116	0.0483	0.0224	2.15	0.031
UK	-0.0665	0.0258	-2.57	0.010	-0.0889	0.0304	-2.92	0.004
Interaction	0.2092	0.0366	-5.72	0.001	0.2072	0.0411	5.04	0.001
Education					-0.1806	0.02	-9.02	0.001
Income					-0.1023	0.02	-5.11	0.001
Ethnicity					0.1906	0.0341	5.59	0.001
Constant	1.327	0.0155	85.38	0.001	1.4424	0.0195	74.12	0.001

According to Table 5.3, the difference-in-differences coefficient behaves as hypothesized

but the findings are not statistically relevant. The interaction has a .0328 coefficient and

is positive and shows a rise in British citizen's desire for national order after the terrorism in July of 2005. The coefficient, however, is not significant. Notice the robustness of t-scores on the Canadian and interaction variables. After adding the control variables the interaction is yet statistically insignificant at p<.05. Both ethnicity and income have positive coefficients and given their significance, income increases the desire for national order by .0266 and ethnicity is associated with a .132 increase in the desire for national order. Although the model has a good fit given the level of standard error on all the statistically significant variables, and Table 5.3 shows that maintaining order in the nation is more important than protecting free speech, and fighting inflation; without statistical significance, the findings do not support a difference between Canada and the United Kingdom on the desire for order in the nation in the aftermath of the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom.

TABLE 5.3: Nationalism examined with WVS – Respondent desires national order.

Nationalism E003

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	-0.0066	0.0134	-0.49	0.621	-0.0063	0.0142	-0.44	0.657
UK	0.0759	0.0162	4.70	0.001	0.0614	0.0193	3.18	0.002
Interaction	0.0328	0.0229	1.43	0.152	0.0335	0.0261	1.28	0.199
Education					-0.0107	0.0127	-0.84	0.399
Income					0.0266	0.0127	2.09	0.037
Ethnicity					0.1322	0.0216	6.11	0.001
Constant	0.2141	0.0098	21.96	0.001	0.1930	0.0123	15.70	0.001

When examining the indicators for nationalism theory, United Kingdom citizens increased support for army rule. When analyzing the coefficients without control variables, the difference-in-differences interaction findings are statistically significant at

p< 05. Almost a 21 percent difference-in-differences increase shows that post-terrorism the desire for army rule was salient in the United Kingdom. When looking at the regression models with control variables, increased support for army rule shows that more educated respondents, ethnic minorities and those with more income were more likely to have a favorable disposition. The interaction remained at about a 21 percent difference between the United Kingdom and Canada that supports this increase difference because of terrorism in the United Kingdom. Their preference for hiring nationals over immigrants also showed marked increases. Two of the three indicators support that British respondents were motivated in a manner supported by nationalism theory. Overall, the theory lends itself as a reliable perspective in examining discriminatory attitude and behavior changes as a response to terrorism.

Authoritarianism Theory

The Authoritarianism theory maintains the importance of conformity to authority over independence. Although authoritarians may profess a fondness of liberty, the ideal of liberation must be constrained. One of the WVS variables used to examine Authoritarianism theory is the 'importance of children having the quality of independence' shown in Table 5.4. As stated in chapter four, those who did not mention independence to be an important quality for a child to have were coded with a value of one and those who mention independence to be important were coded with a value of zero. With Canada as the comparison nation-state at 1.3801, citizens in the United Kingdom are 12.7 percent more likely to favor the importance of children not having the quality of independence before terrorism occurred. The negative difference-in-differences

coefficient (-.1341) shows a decrease in United Kingdom citizen's belief in the importance of children not having the quality of independence after the terrorism in July of 2005. In essence, UK citizens were more likely to favor independence as a quality for children to have post-terrorism. This interaction shows highly statistically significant results. There is a 13 percent decrease in attitudes about independence not being an important quality for children to have after the terrorist attacks and this inverse relationship shows that post July 7, 2005; authoritarians in the United Kingdom diminished their desire that children not be socialized to be independent or that Canadians increased their desire that children be socialized not to be independent after July 7, 2005. When examining the difference-in-differences model with control variables, interestingly, the more educated respondents and those with above the average income shows highly statistically significant results and are more likely to believe independence in children to be important. When evaluating the two models with and without control variables, the interaction loses about a percentage point as the difference-in-differences coefficient diminishes from 13.4 percent without control variables to 12.4 percent with control variables. The findings remain significant at $p<.001$.

TABLE 5.4: Authoritarianism examined with WVS – Important Quality for Child to Have: Independence?

Authoritarianism A029								
	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	0.0422	0.0154	2.74	0.006	0.0392	0.0165	2.38	0.018
UK	0.1277	0.0186	6.85	0.001	0.1192	0.0225	5.31	0.001
Interaction	-0.1341	0.0263	-5.10	0.001	-0.1249	0.0302	-4.13	0.001
Education					-0.0530	0.0147	-3.60	0.001
Income					-0.0584	0.0250	-3.96	0.001
Ethnicity					1.42E+00	0.0142	2.83	0.005
Constant	1.3801	0.0112	123.18	0.001	7.872	0.0884	99.51	0.001

Table 5.5 examines if there is an attitude change in greater respect for authority in the future due to the July 2005 terrorist attacks in London. Higher scores indicate an increase in authoritarianism in the United Kingdom. Notice that in the model without control variables, the interaction of -.0688 shows that United Kingdom residents decreased their desire for greater respect of authority post-terrorism when compared to Canada. Canada, as the comparison nation-state, has a 2.608 coefficient. The United Kingdom, in the before terrorism phase is 16 percent higher in their desire for greater respect for authority in the future. Since the -.0688 coefficient indicates the difference in greater respect for authority decreases beyond what would be expected without terrorism, citizens of the United Kingdom showed less desire for greater respect for authority post-terrorism. All the results in the first model without control variables are statistically significant at the p<.05. Unlike previous models that maintained statistical significance; when including the ethnicity, income, and education control variables, the interaction statistic changes

substantially. While the direction is inconsistent with the hypothesis, it also becomes

insignificant statistically.

TABLE 5.5: Authoritarianism examined with WVS – Greater respect for authority?

Authoritarianism
E018

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	0.0392	0.0184	2.13	0.033	0.0533	0.0199	2.68	0.007
UK	0.1621	0.0225	7.22	0.001	0.1293	0.0273	4.73	0.001
Interaction	-0.0688	0.0317	-2.17	0.030	-0.0535	0.0367	-1.46	0.146
Education					-0.1887	0.0178	-10.6	0.001
Income					-0.0358	0.0178	-2.01	0.044
Ethnicity					2.36E-02	0.0303	0.78	0.436
Constant	2.6080	0.0133	195.84	0.001	2.7116	0.0171	158.35	0.001

The autonomy index was defined and recoded so that higher scores are indicators of

higher levels of obedience to authority. This information is presented in Table 5.6. The

negative difference-in-differences coefficient shows that United Kingdom residents had

marked decreases in their attitudes about obedience to authority after July 7, 2005. The -

.1747 difference-in-differences shows an inverse coefficient and when adding the control

variables, the coefficient decreases to -.2252 and is very significant. While refuting the

hypothesis in this dissertation in one respect, as discussed in chapter two these findings

support Hetherington and Weiler (2009) and Hetherington and Suhay (2011) premise on

when the specter of threat is apparent, low authoritarians will support changes in

legislation that they, under normal circumstances would not support. The discussion on

the importance of these inverse relationship findings is elaborated on later in this chapter

and more fully in chapter six. Both models in Table 5.5 prove statistically significant.

When including control variables; minorities, the less-educated, and those below the

median income strata support self-determination over obedience.

TABLE 5.6: Authoritarianism examine with WVS – Autonomy Index- Obedience vs. Self Determination

Authoritarianism Y003								
	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	0.0126	0.0035	0.36	0.720	0.0596	0.0366	1.63	0.104
UK	0.2832	0.0424	6.69	0.001	0.2569	0.0497	5.16	0.001
Interaction	-0.1747	0.0598	-2.92	0.003	-0.2252	0.0669	-3.36	0.001
Education					-0.4198	0.0327	-12.86	0.001
Income					- 0.2224	0.0326	-6.81	0.001
Ethnicity					3.65E-01	0.0555	6.57	0.001
Constant	2.5484	0.0255	100.09	0.001	2.8007	0.0316	88.77	0.001

In conclusion about Authoritarianism theory, the autonomy index showed an inverse

relationship between obedience to authority decreasing. United Kingdom respondents

also showed an inverse relationship for greater respect of authority. The question about

the importance of independence in children also showed decreasing coefficients in the

United Kingdom post-terrorism. The income and education control variables resulted as

predicted for all three tables examining authoritarianism. According to Federico and

Tagar (2014) education is a moderator for authoritarianism and liberal leaning democratic

policies have a negative relationship with authoritarian values. Henry's (2011) findings

show that income and education are negatively associated with authoritarian views.

Furthermore, as stated previously, Hetherington and Weiler (2009) and Hetherington and

Suhay (2011) provide an alternative justification for these findings in Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6. A more comprehensive discussion of the Authoritarianism theoretical model's application according to Hetherington's and Weiler's (2009) and Hetherington's and Suhay's (2011) findings with illustrations occurs later in this chapter and in the conclusion discussion in chapter six.

Integrative Threat Theory

The last theoretical perspective to examine is Integrative Threat theory. In Table 5.7, this model uses the WVS question about "income inequality" If this indicator in the model has good explanatory power in offering clarity about discriminatory attitudes and behaviors it should show a positive interaction given that income inequality would increase due to the realistic and symbolic threat of terrorism. People, according to the ITT model, would become more likely to control resources and diminish access for those outside their racial and religious group orientation. The difference-in-differences interaction statistic, however, shows insignificant for both models with and without control variables. According to Table 5.7 the interaction of the United Kingdom with Canada as the comparison nation, shows statistically insignificant results. The interaction statistic is .0432 and p < .759 for the model without control variables. While the wave and Canadian variables are statistically relevant at p<.001, when differencing out the United Kingdom compared to Canada, the coefficient is not significant. The model with control variables offers a similar result at p <.865 and insignificant for the difference-in-differences result. Income and ethnicity prove important with higher income strata supporting the need for inequality. Being minority also showed support for inequality

modestly at a .277 coefficient. However, the difference-in-differences indicators in both

models are not statistically significant.

TABLE 5.7: IT Theory examined with WVS – 'Incomes should be equal' to 'we need more inequality'?

IT E035

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	0.3083	0.0823	3.75	0.001	0.2106	0.0880	2.39	0.017
UK	-0.2729	0.0997	-2.74	0.006	-0.2730	0.1201	-2.27	0.023
Interaction	0.0432	0.1409	0.31	0.759	0.0275	0.1616	0.17	0.865
Education					0.0700	0.0786	0.89	0.373
Income					0.5113	0.0786	6.50	0.001
Ethnicity					2.77E-01	0.1343	2.06	0.040
Constant	5.3359	0.0596	89.55	0.001	5.0910	0.0758	67.18	0.001

Integrative Threat theory stipulates increases in ethnocentrism in response to realistic and

symbolic threats. According to Table 5.8, for the non-control variable model that

examines the desire to not have immigrants as neighbors, the coefficient is .0385 and is

significant at $p<.01$. The difference-in-differences coefficient is modest but significant

and therefore, supports an increase in not desiring migrants as neighbors post-July 7,

2005 in the United Kingdom. According to Table 5.8, for the model with control

variables, there is a .0293 percent difference between United Kingdom and Canadian

respondents desire to not have immigrants as neighbors beyond what would occur

without taking the July 7, 2005 terrorism into consideration.

TABLE 5.8: IT Theory examined with WVS – Respondent does not want immigrants as neighbor

	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	-0.0039	0.0081	-0.49	0.627	0.0009	0.0086	0.10	0.919
UK	0.0711	0.0098	7.29	0.001	0.0746	0.0116	6.41	0.001
Interaction	0.0385	0.0138	2.80	0.005	0.0293	0.0157	1.87	0.062
Education					-0.3660	0.0076	-4.80	0.001
Income					-0.0121	0.0076	-1.58	0.114
Ethnicity					-0.0380	0.0130	-2.92	0.003
Constant	0.4505	0.0059	7.68	0.001	0.9289	0.0074	9.62	0.001

When examining if people experience diminished levels of trust in others due to the terrorist event, the WVS variable was recoded so that those who stated 'cannot be too careful' were given a value of one and those who said 'most people can be trusted' were coded with a value of zero. Table 5.9 shows statistical significance for every variable other than the difference-in-differences interaction variables. Although close to being significant at p<.089 and the interaction term is positive it is not significant and therefore, this model does not support a difference between the United Kingdom and Canada due to terrorism.

TABLE 5.9: IT Theory examined with WVS – Most people can be trusted

ITT A165

	Coeff	STE	T	p>.t	Coeff	STE	t	p>.t
Wave	-0.0518	0.0151	-3.43	0.001	-0.0327	0.0160	-2.04	0.041
UK	0.0733	0.0183	4.01	0.001	0.0772	0.0212	3.56	0.001
Interaction	0.0439	0.0258	1.7	0.089	0.0165	0.0293	0.57	0.572
Education					-0.1602	0.0143	-11.21	0.001
Income					-0.1210	0.0143	-8.47	0.001
Ethnicity					9.82E-02	0.0243	4.04	0.001
Constant	.63	0.011	57.57	0.001	.7472	0.0138	54.28	0.001

Given a lack of statistical significance in the interaction variables, Integrative Threat theory does not offer substantive explanatory power in better understanding discrimination after the critical July 7, 2005 event. One of the three models without control variables and none of the models with control variables showed statistical significance. The model without control variables for the indicator 'does not want immigrants as neighbors' was significant but the results refuted and did not corroborate the theory.

Chapter Synopsis

This research provides substantive support for the association between the rise of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors against religious groups with specific motivation toward Muslims in the United Kingdom. When examining Figure 5.1, notice that perceptions about religion bringing about conflict remains constant in the United Kingdom in 1998 and 2008. Figure 5.2 asks United Kingdom respondents if they don't

want Muslims as neighbors and the results showed consistency in 1999 and 2008. In contrast, Canadian citizens showed marked increases in desiring Muslims not be their neighbors in the pre-post July 7, 2005 terrorist attack comparison years in 2000 and 2005 respectively. Given the indicators in each theoretical model is statistically significant, the theoretical perspective with significant explanatory power in explaining Islamophobia in Canada is Authoritarianism theory. Authoritarianism against Muslims was previously established in the United Kingdom. In Canada, however, in the 21st century anti-Muslim sentiment increased. The fact that all of the difference-in-differences statistics are negative corroborates the work of several experts on authoritarian theory (Hetherington and Weiler ,2009; Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). With 9/11, the global war on terrorism, and the Toronto 18 terrorist attempt; Canadians became more authoritarian post-2005. This explains the inverse relationship. As a point of demonstration, Figure 5.8 below is a difference-in-differences illustration of one of the Authoritarianism indicators "Independence is an important quality for chldren to have?".

Figure 5.8: Level of Authoritarianism - Important Quality for Child to Have: Independence?
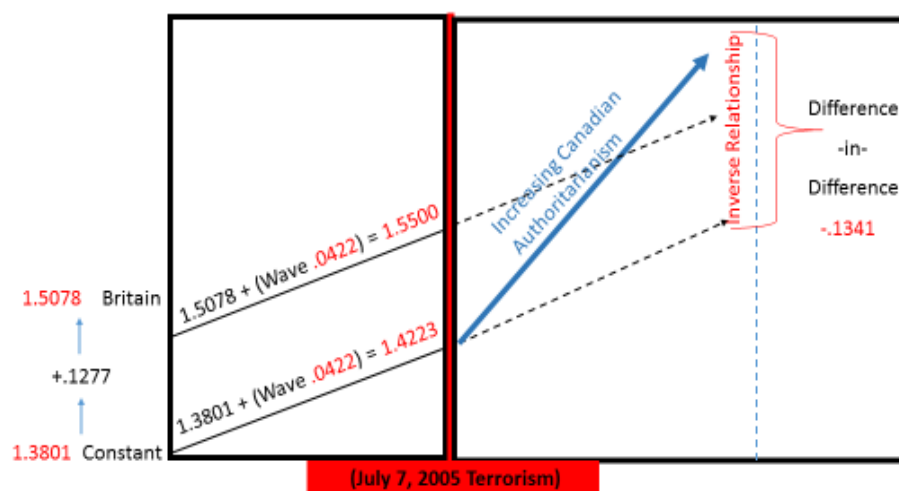
As previously stated, the constant is at 1.3801. The United Kingdom is .1277 above the

constant at 1.5078. The wave is .0422 for both the United Kingdom and the constant.

Both Canada at 1.3801 and the United Kingdom at 1.5078 are expected to have slopes of

.0422. After the July 7, 2005 terrorist attack, the difference-in-differences is -.1341. Even

prior to July, 2005 high authoritarianists desire obedience to authority, inequality and

norms that diminish egalitarian engagement in society (Stellmaccher and Petzel, 2005;

Altemeyer, 2006; Hetherington and Weiler, 2009). It is the changes in how low

authoritarians (Canadians) see the need to obey authority, and support norms that

promote inequality that establish the inverse relationship.

This research is designed to examine the influence of terrorism on discriminatory

attitudes and behaviors in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada. The findings

from Authoitarianism theory provides credible support that Authoritarianism may have

risen in Canada[2]. A highly plausible explanation is that low authoritarians in Canada

became high authoritarians in the 21st century and thus, caused the inverse relationship.

While Authoritarianism theory shows important findings it does not explain the increases

in racial discrimination in the United Kingdom. Figure 5.6 shows that those who are the

victims of racism perceived it had increased in the United Kingdom for the three year

period after the July 7, 2005 bombings. In addition, Figure 5.7 shows marked increases in

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[2] There are a couple possible explanations for these findings on Authoritarianism theory. The United Kingdom may have remained constant in high authoritarian views post-terrorism while Canada may have increased moving from low Authoritarian values to high Authoritarianism values post-terrorism, or the UK may have increased but Canada increased more robustly outpacing the UK. Given the research it is plausible that Canadians increased in Authoritarianism while UK citizens had constancy as high authoritarians. This possibility is further discussed in Chapter six of this dissertation.

hate crimes in the five year period after July, 2005. There were marked increases in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors directed against minorties due to their race in the United Kingdom. Nationalism theory shows robust findings that explain motivations to increase discrimination in the United Kingdom and there were marked increases in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors directed against minorties due to their race in the United Kingdom. Table 5.1 shows a 6 percent increase in the desire that only British citizens be hired in the United Kingdom after the terrorist event. Table 5.2 shows a 21 percent increase in the desire to give the military additional powers to govern immiediately after the terrorist event in the United Kingdom. These two thories, Authoritarianism theory and Nationalism theory, offer the most compelling reasons for changes in attitudes and behaviors, and Nationalism specifically, offers support for increases in discrimination in the United Kingdom.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

In the years following 9/11, surveys have revealed high levels of public support for policies related to the war on terror that, many argue, contravene long-standing … ideals. Extant research would suggest that such preferences result from the activation of authoritarianism. (Hetherington and Suhay, 2011, p. 546)

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors against visible minorities. The study found a number of salient issues. First, it is clear that there was a post-terrorism bounce in discrimination. The increase, however, was not directed against terrorist organizations as may be the case if policies were created that diminished the liberties of terrorist in order to increase the likelihood that they are pursued, captured and future attempts are thwarted. United Kingdom policy, such as the Contest II document makes claim that anti-terrorism strategy is directed only against particular terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda, but the reality of Contest II in practice has also been shown to motivate and increase discrimination against Muslims in general. Given that UK citizens would have difficulty distinguishing terrorist from those who are not terrorist, it is difficult to understand how the United Kingdom government would perceive that discrimination would not be perpetuated against all Muslims. Given their cultural difference, those who are Middle Eastern or whose lineage is from a Middle Eastern nation-state but are currently citizens of the United Kingdom, have been earmarked for discrimination to be perpetuated against them. Additionally, this research supports that discrimination against visible minorities was more likely in the United Kingdom (Figures 5.2 and Figure 5.4) when compared to Canada (Figure 5.3 and Figure 5.5) as British whites had substantially larger proportions before the terrorist attacks who desired residential segregation. In addition, minority

groups in the United Kingdom reported more discrimination against their group post-terrorism (Figure 5.6). When analyzing the theoretical motivation behind the increase in discrimination against visible minorities and Muslims, nationalism proved the most statistically capable. Citizens of the United Kingdom showed marked increases in their desire to prohibit immigrants from getting jobs in the UK and they were more likely to support a military style of rule. Therefore, this dissertation enhances the understanding of the motivations of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors as a response to the credible and emblematic threats of terrorism

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Much of the research on the response to terrorism places focus on a backlash response to terrorism in which the initial phase is that governments demarcate the terrorist organization (e.g., Al Qaeda) as the culprit of a terrorist act against the citizens of the nation-state. The public, given the spectrum of fear, develops Islamophobia. As terrorism remains newsworthy, discrimination against Middle East Muslims occurs. The analysis of Nationalism theory supports a change in attitudes in the United Kingdom as a response to terrorism. United Kingdom citizens were more willing to relinquish their democratic principles for military rule, likely as a response to the insecurities brought about through terrorism. In addition, they were more likely to want employers to deny migrants employment. In addition, according to Figure 5.6, racial and religious discrimination, as reported by those who had it perpetuated against them, increased post-terrorism in the United Kingdom, while increases in Islamophobia are supported, there is a spillover effect that makes discrimination against all visible minorities transpire in the UK.

In addition to the findings on increasing discrimination in the United Kingdom supported by Nationalism theory, Authoritarian theory offers substantive findings about attitude changes in Canada. Interestingly and mimicking Hetherington and Weiler's authoritarian model with WVS variables and using their terminology for authoritarian differences; low level authoritarians (Canadians) were more likely to support policies that reduced civil liberties of Muslims and it is possible that a climate conducive to discrimination against visible minorities was a result. The findings support that United Kingdom citizens have been high level authoritarians due to the perpetual spectrum of terrorism. Interestingly, Canadians became more authoritarian in the post-terrorism assessment. These findings from Table 5.3, Table 5.4, and Table 5.5 support the inverse relationships that Hetherington and Suhay (2011) would expect while Figures 5.2 and 5.3 shows the rise in Islamophobia in Canada as their 2006 increasing desire for residential segregation results converge with the United Kingdom's post-terrorism desire for residential segregation from Muslim results.

Although Islamophobia increased in Canada, post-terrorism discrimination against visible minorities increased markedly in the United Kingdom. To examine the influence of terrorism on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors, this research utilizes a variety of European and global data bases. Given that the ESS, EVS, ISSP, and WVS data sources are used and that the trend supports that discrimination against all visible minorities was more severe and increased in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada, the results have substantial validity and reliability. The United Kingdom and Canada are two nations with similar socio-demographic characteristics, yet the United Kingdom had a major

terrorist event occur on July 7, 2005 but Canada has not had a successfully carried out terrorist attack occur on their soil.

To sum up, after supporting that discrimination did occur in the United Kingdom and to analyze the theoretical motivation to discriminate post-terrorism, the research design examined three leading theories that provide the possible explanation for the complexities of racial and religious discrimination. Nationalism, Authoritarianism, and IT theory provide promise in clarifying how discrimination increased in the United Kingdom after July, 2005. To examine the theories, a difference-in-differences regression model was the appropriate statistical model to investigate these theories that are applicable to discriminatory attitudes and behaviors due to terrorism. The theory providing the most statistical support for discriminatory attitudes and behavior amplification in the United Kingdom was Nationalism theory. Ethnic nationalism increased as minority groups reported increasing prejudicial and discriminatory behaviors perpetuated against them. Furthermore, Authoritarianism theory shows important insights about how low authoritarians in Canada seem to adopt more severe positions that support behaviors that restrict rights and are discriminatory. Pre-post results from Figure 5.3 show a marked increase in the desire that Muslims not be the respondent's neighbor in Canada. Authoritarianism attitudes, in the form of Islamophobia, rose from 6.5 percent who did not want Muslims as neighbors in 2000 to 11.1 percent who did not want Muslim neighbors by 2006.

Limitations of this Research

There are some limitations in the methodological design for this research. Although EVS, ISSP, WVS, and the ESS data offers various measures of relevant public opinions before and after the July 2005 attacks in the UK, these surveys provide only a limited time series for examining societal effects. Secondly, although the World Values Survey (WVS) asks respondents the same questions every five years and is appropriate for examining lengthy trends in public attitudes; the WVS data is limited, however, in the number of and types of questions respondents are asked. Some World Values Survey questions were not asked of the respondents in a nation-state for a particular wave year. When the Canadian respondents were asked questions in 2000 and 2006, but the United Kingdom respondents were asked only in 2005 and not in 1998, a difference-in-differences regression was not possible for that question. Take, for example, the WVS question in which respondents are asked the "chances of escaping poverty?" This question is relevant to IT theory but the 1998 British sample was not asked the question. Therefore, a pre-post terrorism assessment was not possible. Some countries did not participate during each wave. Third, while the WVS is good for this analysis, the questions about 'racial and Muslim neighbor preference' are proxies for discriminatory attitudes. Discrimination questions using social distance proximity scales (Marger, 2003) could provide richer detail about residential segregation and proximity issues. Yet, the questions in the WVS can be representations of discrimination. Fourth, the variables used to analyze the utility of the theoretical perspectives are not perfect. They were selected based upon their relevance to the theory and previous researchers using indicators like these in the past. Jobs and income, for example, proved salient in establishing an economic nationalism

(Lawrence, 2005; Boyer, 2005) that corroborates that United Kingdom citizens would prefer 'employers hire national citizens over immigrants' and Hetherington and Suhay (2011), use an 'obedience versus self-reliance' indicator to measure authoritarianism. The WVS is limited however. Take the autonomy index, for example, in which 'obedience versus independence' is used. While this mimics Hetherington's and Suhay's (2011) authoritarian indicators, the other contrasts do not have corresponding indexes in the WVS. Yet, the questions used as indicators for theoretical inquiry are the most appropriate given the limitations in the WVS survey. Granted the complexities and responses that any survey of discrimination has, limitations due to social perception and actual behavior are possible. Using a variety of data sources, however, supports that this research offers substantive findings about discriminatory attitudes and behaviors before and after the 2005 London bombing. Fifth, while the United Kingdom and Canada are similar in important ways, there are no two nation-states that are exactly alike. The difference-in-differences statistic is designed to take such dissimilarities into consideration, but the idea scenario would be two nations in which the only difference is the treatment condition which, in this case, is terrorism. Yet, that is not possible. Sixth and another limitation is in the difference-in-differences regression model. Through its design, difference-in-differences regression attempts to capture changes due to a treatment variable. The treatment variable is the 2005 London bombings but given the lack of control over the environment, it is possible that some event other than the treatment variable may cause a change in the assessment of theories. This seems unlikely since the literature does not support a considerable event that would alter discrimination in the United Kingdom that differs from Canada. The seventh limitation is the possibility

that Canadian respondents to the WVS conflate racial and religious category responses. This seems unlikely given that WVS asks questions about 'neighbor preference' by including 'from another racial group' and 'Muslims' as two separate responses to the same question. The question asks, 'Of these groups, state those you would not like to have as neighbors?' and given that the subject sees both racial groups and Muslims as responses on the same card makes this conflation of the two categories unlikely. The same possibility of conflation could occur in the EVS with UK respondents. But given the card states both 'Muslims' and 'racial groups' as possible responses to the question 'Of these groups, state those you would not like to have as neighbors?', this seems unlikely. Lastly, when analyzing discriminatory behaviors, the United Kingdom hate crimes data did have racially and religiously motivated crimes combined before 2005. In addition, in the early 21st century hate crime data collection methods lacked some of the uniformity they currently have. It was not until the Macpherson definition of hate crime became law in the United Kingdom in 2005 that the victim of a hate crime, witnesses to the crime, the police force and the prosecutor could designate a crime as racially or religiously motivated. After the Macpherson law went into effect, racially designated hate crimes grew four-fold as crimes in the UK that would not be prosecuted under traditional hate crimes statutes were now prosecuted due to the broadening definition of what constitutes a hate crime (Civitas Crime, 1999-2011). These data collection changes limit the consistency of defining hate crimes and separating racially and religiously motivated crimes prior to 2005. In this research this issue was resolved by combining racial and religiously motivated hate crimes data from the pre and post terrorism time periods and converting the data into hate crimes per 100,000 in 2002, 2006 and 2010. This research

examines if there is an increase in hate crimes behavior when comparing the United

Kingdom and Canada but cannot parse out if the increase is against Muslims, all religious

groups or all racial groups. The Canadian data is more racially and religiously specific

but to maintain uniformity, Canadian data was also converted into per 100,000 population

and by combining racial and religiously motivated hate crimes for 2002, 2006 and 2010.

Motivation for and Conclusion of Research

Much of the contemporary discussion on discrimination and the 2005 London suicide

bombings examines the nature of retaliation against terrorism as defined as Islamic

radicalism which may evolve into discrimination against all Muslims. In response to

terrorism, national governments construct securitization policies that, as a by-product,

may encourage nationalist attitudes to become prominent. They may also encourage

discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. As citizen's desire safety and stability, nationalist

responses become manifest and discrimination may become prevalent in the United

Kingdom. Ethnic nationalism and intergroup conflict is a possible response given the

threats embedded in terrorism. Much of the research on discrimination is based upon a

variety of threat factors and whites benefitting from systems of stratification in which

they acquire most of society's resources. After centuries of such systematic exploitation,

it has become part of the cultural essence that whites have been its predominant

beneficiaries. The manner in which visible minorities are to benefit from the allocation of

resources is that more resources are generated for everyone. The colloquial phrase 'a

rising tide lifts all boats' is an apt metaphor for the perceived cure for much of the

discussion on discrimination, in its economic form, at present. Racial discrimination is

supplanted by cultural discrimination and the lack of life chances are blamed upon cultural differences. Terrorism removes the stability of social systems through its random nature and destructive capabilities. This research differs from much of the current assessment of discrimination because the focus is on 'does terrorism motivate discrimination against all visible minorities?' With the diversity in the United Kingdom and Canada, if visible minorities receive an increased amount of discrimination directed at them in the United Kingdom after the 2005 London bombing, the discrimination is not only a response to terrorism against Islamic radicals but it is discrimination against all Muslims. As a spillover of ethno-nationalist orientation, it may also evolve into a manner of control that impacts all people of color. This may be particularly true if governments have difficulty eradicating the terrorist threat.

This research was designed to examine if terrorism increases the discriminatory attitudes and behaviors of British whites. Comparing populations in the United Kingdom and Canada, two politically and socially similar nation-states, made possible this examination by using the London July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks as the treatment variable to difference out changes in important theoretical ways on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. Indicators were created along three theoretical perspectives utilizing responses from the World Values Survey data from 1998 (wave three), 2000 (wave four), 2005 and 2006 (wave five). The nine hypothesis of this dissertation were designed to examine 1) perceptions that religion brings about strife 2) attitudes about the desire for residential segregation from racial minorities before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom, 3) attitudes about the desire for residential segregation from Muslims;

4) Perceptions of one's racial group being discriminated against by others; 5) perceptions of one's religious group being discriminated against by others; 6) that terrorist activity will have a positive influence on discriminatory hate crime behaviors against racial and religious populations before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom; 7) the theoretical applicability of Nationalism theory before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom; 8) the theoretical applicability of Authoritarianism theory before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom; and 9) the theoretical applicability of Integrative Threat theory before and after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom. Based upon the literature discussed earlier, data from the European Social Survey (ESS), International Social Survey Program (ISSP), European Values Survey (EVS), and statistics from Canadian hate crimes data and Crown Prosecution Services (CPS) hate crimes data were used to analyze discriminatory attitudes and behaviors of respondents from the United Kingdom; and Canada is used as the comparison nation-state. In addition, the theoretical perspectives have been examined for their utilizability in explaining fluctuations in discrimination. Nationalism, in the form of ethno-nationalism, proved the most theoretically applicable in explaining discrimination in the United Kingdom. The analysis of these data sources supports an increase in prejudice and discrimination after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks in the United Kingdom due to British whites who perceive distinctions according to an ethnic-nationalist (in the manner of racial and religious distinctions) purview increasing their support for diminishing the civil liberties of minorities. This discrimination is of the individual and group level variety.

Residential Segregation, Muslim Discrimination, and Racism

In chapter five this research examined the attitudes about residential segregation in the

United Kingdom and Canada. Residential segregation has important implications for

neighborhood security, schooling systems, trash removal and civic involvement.

According to Douglas Massey and Nancy Denton (1988) residential segregation is a

factor in discrimination against minorities. The greater the residential segregation of

housing, the more the discrimination against minority populations. Khattab et al, (in

Modood and Salt, 2011) found that when group identities are constructed through

geographic location and the identities are shaped by racial or religious commonalities,

tensions between groups may increase, and when combined with political, social and

economic advantages or hardships, they exacerbate cleavages between dominant and

minority groups. Systematic forms of employment barriers, residential segregation and

educational impediments based upon race and religion are manners of institutional

discrimination.

In the previous chapter, before the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks 14 percent of United

Kingdom citizens desired to be residentially segregated from Muslims. In Figure 5.3,

only 6 percent of Canadian respondents desired residential segregation from Muslims.

Post-terrorism, in 2008 data shows that 12.7 percent of United Kingdom respondents

desired that Muslims not be their neighbors. In Canada, the post-July 7, 2005 results

show that about 11 percent of Canadian respondents desired residential segregation from

Muslims. Although there was substantial convergence in the post-terrorism attitudes of

respondents, United Kingdom respondents were more likely to discriminate against

Muslims. Central to Nationalism theory is the desire for national order. Islamophobia, when examined through residential segregation, proved persistent in the United Kingdom which showed marginal pre-post changes. Canadians were more erratic in their Islamophobic attitudes given the dramatic rise post-terrorism. This erratic behavior is likely due to low authoritarians taking on high authoritarian attitudes.

In chapter five, racial segregation was examined. After the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks, United Kingdom citizens were less likely to desire racially motivated residential segregation. While the pre-post data on residential segregation percentages were substantially higher for Muslims than they were for race in the United Kingdom (see Figure 5.2), Figure 5.4 does show a drop in the percentage of respondents who desire to be residentially segregated from other races. In 1999, over 9 percent of United Kingdom respondents desired residentially segregated neighborhoods. That percentage dropped to 6 percent by 2008. Figure 5.5 shows a similar trend in Canada. In 2000, a little less than 3.5 percent of Canadians desired that neighbors are not of another racial category. By 2006, the percentage of Canadian respondents who desire residentially segregated neighborhoods was about 2 percent.

When examining residential segregation as a proxy for discrimination and when comparing the levels of Islamophobia and racist attitudes in the United Kingdom and Canada, United Kingdom respondents show higher levels of discriminatory attitudes than do Canadian respondents both before and after the terrorist attacks in July of 2005 in the UK. These findings suggest the form of "nation engendering" Gellner refers to

(Lawrence, 2005, p. 145). Nation engendering occurs when the collective behave as patriots. Yet, it is an ethnic-national form of a loose nation engendering as British whites' patriotism segregates minorities as denizens in some respect. When terrorism or the perceived threat of terrorism occurs, the superordinate group constructed nationality is made prominent but minorities are less likely to be motivated by such nationalism. Hypothesis two states that "Due to the social disruption it produces, terrorism will have a positive influence on the desire for residential segregation from Muslims in the United Kingdom post-July, 2005". Interestingly, the post-terrorism bounce did not occur in the United Kingdom. It is plausible that citizens of the United Kingdom have established a level of high authoritarianism given their history of terrorism and the Rushdie Affair in which there is little room for substantial increases in authoritarian attitudes post-terrorism on Muslim residential segregation. Therefore, Canadians would have opportunity to increase their authoritarian attitudes on residential segregation from Muslims and high authoritarian attitudes in the United Kingdom would maintain constancy. The data on Muslim residential segregation supports that Islamophobia increased in Canada to approximate that in the United Kingdom.

 The primary questions of assessment in this work is "did discrimination increase against those who practice Islam?" and "did discrimination increase against those of minority racial group orientation?" in the United Kingdom after the July 7, 2005 terrorist bombing attacks in London, England, Figure 5.6 is a trend analysis of these important questions. According to the European Social Survey's bi-annually collected data, racial discrimination was more pronounced in 2002 than was religious discrimination (4.0

percent of respondents had perceptions of racial discrimination against their group and 2.1 percent believed their group had been on the receiving end of religious discrimination). In 2004, both racial and religious discrimination converges around 2 percent (2.5 percent for racial discrimination and 2.1 percent for religious discrimination). After the July 7, 2005 bombing both perceptions of religious discrimination and racism increased to 2.8 and 3.5 percent respectively and remained heightened until 2008. After 2010, both begin to descend but religious discrimination less pronouncedly so. Racial discrimination dropped over a full percentage point while religious discrimination decreased by .7 percent. By 2012, both forms of discrimination converge at around 2.5 percent. This data supports an increase in both racial and religious discrimination after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks. Minority religious and racial groups believed there was substantial increases in discriminatory attitudes against them after the 2005 terrorism event in the United Kingdom. This research now turns to discriminatory behaviors in the manner of hate crimes.

Discriminatory Behavior in the Form of Hate Crimes

According to hypothesis six and a central hypothesis in this research was that racial and religious hate crimes will be substantially higher in the United Kingdom than in Canada post-July, 2005. Terrorism creates social disruption and in addition to perceptions of patriotism and a rise in Islamophobia, discrimination against visible minorities may increase since social disruption is intimidating and poses a threat to many important dominant group cultural norms. The data supports that terrorism leads to more group level discrimination in the form of hate crimes. Hate crimes encompass behaviors that are

1) the use of negative words to reference a group or individual of the group, 2) denying minority racial or religious groups access to desired resources, 3) assaults against a racial or religious group, and 4) the murder of the member(s) of a group motivated by their racial or religious characteristics (Marger, 2003; Gerstenfeld, 2010). The 2006 UK Racial and Religious Hatred Act and sections 318, 319, 320.1 and 430 of the Canadian criminal code makes these types of behaviors criminal in nature (CPS.GOV.UK, 2014). This type of discrimination is often not only directed at the perceived perpetrators of the terrorist act, but against the entire religious body of its Islamic members. This research supports that hate crimes rose not only against religious groups thought associated with Islamic extremism (i.e., Muslims) but against all visible minorities in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada.

Summary of Indicators of the Theoretical Perspectives

Table 6.1 below is a summary of the analysis of the theoretical perspectives in chapter five. In this summary table, if either the model with control variables or the model without control variables has indicators that showed statistical significance, the indicator is listed as supportive of the theories applicability. The indicator can support the theory, refute the theory or show no significance which is another manner of disproving the theory. Those indicators that support the theories applicability state 'X' under the support column. Those indicators that refute the theory have 'X' in the column labelled refute. Those indicators that are not significant have 'X' in the column labelled not significant.

For Nationalism theory, the two indicators of 'employers should hire national citizens over migrants' and 'support for having the army rule citizens' are statistically significant and support the theory's applicability. The 'desire for national order' indicator proved insignificant. These findings, along with the information in Figure 5.6, support that racial and religious discrimination increased in the United Kingdom due to an intensification of ethnic nationalism. Authoritarian theory showed inverse relationships on all three indicators. The attitude that 'independence is an important quality for children to have', 'greater respect for authority' (for the first model), and 'the autonomy index' showed statistical significance. These findings, along with the data in Figure 5.2 on Islamophobia changes based upon the desire for residential segregation from Muslims in the United Kingdom and Figure 5.3 on Islamophobia changes based upon residential segregation from Muslims in Canada, support that Canadians became more authoritarian in the 21st century. Integrative Threat Theory had statistically significant results on one indicator, 'respondent's desire to not live near immigrants', and only for the first model without control variables. The other two indicators, 'income inequality' and 'most people can be trusted' did not show significance.

Table 6.1 : Summary of Confirming and Refuting Theoretical Evidence			
	Support	Refute	Not Significant
Nationalism			
Employer hire nationals over immigrants	X		
Political System - Having army rule	X		
Respondent desires national order			X
Authoritarianism			
An important quality for child to have is independence?	X*		
Greater respect for authority	X*		
Autonomy Index - Obedience versus Independence	X*		
Integrative Threat Theory			
Income should be equal' versus ' need more inequality'			X
Respondent does not want immigrants as neighbor	X		
Most people cannot be trusted			X

Discussion of Theoretical Perspectives

Of the three theoretical perspectives; Nationalism theory, Authoritarianism theory, and IT

theory; Nationalism theory offered the most statistically substantial and definitive

theoretical justification in support of an explanation for discriminatory increases in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada. The media portrayals of Muslims as the terrorist other (Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012) creates the 'us' versus 'them' xenophobia that permeated throughout the United Kingdom post-terrorism. British citizens increased in their desire for wanting the safety of military governance and a desire to deny immigrants employment. As governments fail to provide safety against terrorism, military rule provides an environment of dependability on guns in-lieu of diplomacy. Racial and ethnic differences evolved the importance of ethnic-nationalism. Respondents in the United Kingdom reported that their group experienced higher levels of discrimination perpetuated against them after the July 7, 2005 terrorist attacks according to Figure 5.6 and the theoretical analysis of Nationalism theory showed that xenophobia in the form of migrant employment and securitization through militaristic rule increased markedly.

In addition, the Authoritarianism theory indicators proved statistically significant. Yet, the Authoritarianism theory indicators were negatively related. Given that the United Kingdom has a legacy of terrorist activity and the Rushdie Affair, they have a larger concentration of those high in authoritarianism concerned about order and safety, and it was Canadian citizens who were low on authoritarian values that increased in their discriminatory attitudes and behaviors that established the inverse relationship on the indicators (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009; Hetherington and Suhay, 2011). As further support for the inverse relationship between authoritarianism and perceived threat (Hetherington and Weiler, 2009; Hetherington and Suhay, 2011) established prior to the 2005 terrorist attacks, recall the Oldham and Bradford riots in England, for example, and

that they catapulted the British National Party, a far-right faction with authoritarian

policies, into a nationwide political force (Copsey and Macklin, 2011). Authoritarians

supported BNP policies prior to 1998, but those low in authoritarianism in the United

Kingdom began to support the party's platform in response to the riots. Lastly, the data in

Figures 5.2 and 5.3 show that while United Kingdom respondents leveled when

comparing 1999 United Kingdom proportions (14 percent) with 2008 United Kingdom

respondents (13 percent) supporting to be residentially segregated from those who

practice Islam; Canadian respondents increased from 6.5 percent of respondents not

desiring Muslims be their neighbor in 2000 to 11 percent in 2006. Figures 5.2 and 5.3

show the increase in Canadian authoritarian attitudes while United Kingdom authoritarian

attitudes remained stable.

Nationalism Theory

Traumatic events may bring about feelings of detachment and insecurity. The sense of

belongingness that national identity offers may be disrupted by terrorism. The national

identity and the supremacy of its embedded ethnocentric perceptions must be

reestablished. Nationalism theory presents the idea that the collective is the sum of its

parts and those parts, those citizens, are the existence of the nation's identity (Smith,

1991; Lawrence, 2005). From the collectivist position, the nation gets its direction from

those in power, typically the bureaucrat, the bourgeoisie, and the politician. The

essentialist believes the nation's existence evolves from the belongingness and

quintessence of its people (Lawrence, 2005). Discussed earlier in this dissertation, ethno-

nationalism is a manner of group identity in which people coalesce around ethnic and

racial group formation in-lieu of the more comprehensive national identity formation (Connor, 1970). For Gellner (in Lawrence, 2005), the comprehensive manner of nationalism is juxtapose to the disjointed type that occurs due to ethnic and racial divisions. Societies that lack racial and religious diversity may have ethnic group formation that is a holistic manner of nationalism for a territory. Ethno-nationalism in diverse societies, however, is difficult to fashion and may prove challenging to maintain in distressing situations like, for example, terrorism.

This analysis of Nationalism theory supports that the manner of nationalism in the United Kingdom prior to July 7, 2005 was dissimilar from that occurring after the terrorist events. According to Table 5.1 in the previous chapter, the difference-in-differences result in the model without control variables for the indicator 'employer should hire nationals over immigrants' 6 percent increase and statistically significance at .018. The model with control variables also shows a 6 percent increase in the difference between the United Kingdom and Canadian citizen's attitudes about the hiring of nationals over immigrants post-terrorism. Given that most recent migrants into the United Kingdom since the 1980s have been visible minorities, and those from the global south who practice non-Christian religions, these restrictive hiring preferences show negative attitudes against minority populations.

As discussed in the literature review, militaristic nationalism is a manner of coalescing the citizens of a nation due to perceptions of military personnel having the ability to retaliate against those who pose a threat to them and providing a secure environment for

them (Posen, 1993; Jensen, 2000). In chapter five, the indicator 'having the army rule citizens' provided more support for nationalism theory explaining discriminatory attitude and behavior changes. In the model without control variables and the model with control variables the difference-in-differences interaction of .21 percent increases and it was significant at $p< .001$ level. The control variables barely altered the difference-in-differences interaction effect and shows a 21 percent increase after July 7, 2005. The difference-in-differences interaction was statistically significant in both models. The findings show that citizens in the United Kingdom markedly increased their support for the military ruling in response to terrorism. Given their willingness to dilute the salience of democratic government, terrorism is proven disruptive and the citizen response was to diminish minority rights.

 The final indicator 'respondent's desire national order' was not statistically significant on the interaction effect between the United Kingdom and Canada. Although increasing the desire for national order was positive as predicted, the difference-in-difference interactions for both the model with and the model without control variables proved insignificant. Given the findings from the previous indicators on 'hiring nationals over migrants' and 'army rule' being significant while this indicator on 'national order' is not significant, the findings on Nationalism theory support that United Kingdom citizens may have focused upon retribution against the 'enemy other' instead of safety in the UK. Furthermore, ethnic nationalism seems to be a provocation of discrimination in the United Kingdom when compared to Canada. While nationalism suggests an all-inclusive community, ethnic nationalism supports discrimination based upon a lack of

commonality through phenotype differences (Smith, 1991). Nationalist cohesion

coalescences around a commonality of citizenship belonging. Smith illuminates racial

differences when saying,

"It is only when we come to the varying elements of a common culture that differentiate one population from another that more objective attributes enter the picture…. it is the significance with which color and religion is endowed by large numbers of individuals that matters more for ethnic identification … as the growing political significance of language and color over the last two or three centuries demonstrates" (1991, p.23).

For Smith, nationalism is imbued in cultural similarity and yet, race is salient.

Nationalism theory offers a plausible rationale for increases in discriminatory attitudes

and behaviors in the United Kingdom.

Authoritarianism Theory

Since at least the latter 20th century and according to the literature discussed earlier,

during the 21st century, citizens of the United Kingdom have had a plethora of legislative

initiative designed to eradicate the immigration and terrorist threat. Since the Rushdie

Affair in 1988, there have been a series of changes to British Immigration policy

designed to filter out the 'other' typically migrating from non-Western nation-states.

Terrorist policies include; in 2000, the parliament created the Terrorism Act; in 2001 the

Anti-terrorism, Crime and Security Act; the 2005 Prevention of Terrorism Act; the 2006

Terrorism Act and 2010 CONTEST II doctrine (Spalek and MacDonald, 2009; Awan,

2012). Those high in authoritarianism applaud these legislative initiatives while those low

on authoritarianism scrutinize them for their necessity to root out danger. Without

successfully carried out terrorist attacks these two factions (high and low authoritarians)

would diverge from one another when analyzing civil liberties and immigration policies. When terrorism occurs, however, they coalesce around altering civil liberties and policies that increase discrimination.

High authoritarians are temporocentric, believing that historical values, beliefs, and laws provided social stability and are desirable. In the manner that Nick Griffins, an avowed conservative, used the Bradford riots as a platform to give the BNP national notoriety, terrorism increases the support for discriminatory attitudes and behaviors against minorities. As stated in chapter two, these attitude changes in the United Kingdom occurred toward the latter 20th century and were captured in the pre-terrorism data. Therefore, there was not a significant change in United Kingdom respondent's authoritarian attitudes before and after July 7, 2005. Canadians, however, increased their authoritarian attitudes as a likely response to the global war on terror and the close proximity to the United States who were the recipients of 9/11. According to Figure 6.1 below, those high in authoritarianism chronically perceive morality in erosion and are consistently seeking justification for traditional norms which were often discriminatory against minorities. They are likely to desire to limit civil liberties of minority groups irrespective of any perceptions of terrorism.

Figure 6.1: Level of Authoritarianism and Support for Increasing or Decreasing Civil Liberties

(High Authoritarians)

Strong Support Diminish Civil Rights

High Authoritarians

Weak Support Diminish Civil Rights

Not Worried About Terrorism   Somewhat Worried About Terrorism   Very Worried About Terrorism
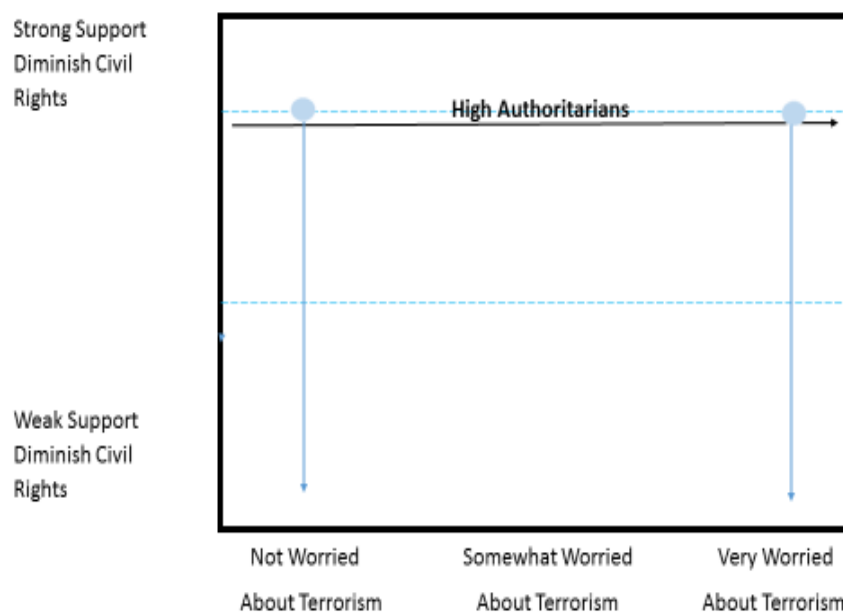
Replicated from the work of Hetherington and Weiler, (2009).

In contrast, those low in authoritarianism who are often the affluent and well educated typically advocate for decreasing discrimination and offer weak support for diminishing civil liberties. Figure 6.2 shows that when there is no need to worry about terrorism, low authoritarians have weak support for diminishing civil liberties (low authoritarianism & weak support for diminishing civil liberties). Yet, if terrorism causes them concern, they will begin to advocate for diminishing civil liberties if they believe it will provide a secure environment for them (low authoritarianism & strong support for diminishing civil liberties). This is an inverse relationship.

Figure 6.2: Level of Authoritarianism and Support for Increasing or Decreasing Civil Liberties

(Low Authoritarians)

Replicated from the work of Hetherington and Weiler, (2009).
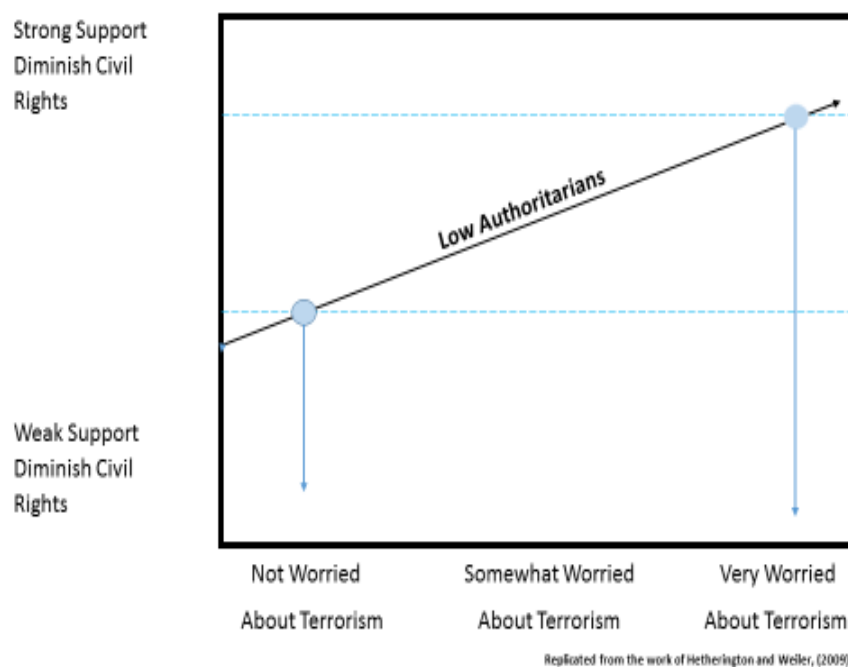
Figure 6.1 shows the positive relationship that Hetherington and Weiler (2009), and

Hetherington and Suhay (2011) refer to. Under typical circumstance, before terrorism,

those low in authoritarian values want policies that diminish discrimination. Those high

in authoritarianism seek to increase policies that have been proven discriminatory.

Initially, low authoritarians have weak support for diminishing civil rights. This too is a

positive relationship. However, while high authoritarians support diminishing civil rights

when they are not worried about terrorism and when they are worried about terrorism,

low level authoritarians increase their support for diminishing civil rights when they

become worried about terrorism. Figure 6.2 shows this relationship between low

authoritarianism and diminishing civil rights as they become more concerned about

terrorism. Notice that those low in authoritarianism move toward discriminatory policies

as a means to provide a safer environment. Hetherington and Suhay (2011) write,

"We expect authoritarianism and threat to carry positive signs: the most authoritarian and the most threatened will be more likely to restrict civil liberties and more supportive of the use of force. However, we expect the interaction term to carry a negative sign as perceived threat increases, those high and low in authoritarianism should adopt increasingly similar positions on civil liberties and the use of force. Our theoretical framework also suggests that the effect of threat will be largest on the less authoritarian and smallest on the more authoritarian; in other words, the negative interaction will be driven by changing preferences in response to threat among those low in authoritarianism" (p. 552-553)

High authoritarians constantly support laws that prohibit immigrants from entering the

nation-state, employment practices that permit those who are power to favor members of

their racial and religious groups, conformity over independence, unwavering respect for

authority and tradition, obedience to those in power over self-determination, and punitive

legal codes that are subjectively implemented by those who carry traditional perceptions

of how society should be fashioned. Low authoritarians, in contrast, would refute these

policies and attitudes. However, under the duress of terrorist threat, low authoritarians

will support laws, attitudes, and policies that are discriminatory. Recall that British anti-

terrorism Contest II policy places specific focus on regions with a large Muslim presence.

Contest II states,

"The threat to the UK now comes primarily from four sources; the Al Qaeda leadership and their immediate associates, located mainly on the Pakistani/Afghanistan border; terrorist groups affiliated with Al Qaeda in North Africa; the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq and Yemen; self-starting networks motivated by an ideology similar to that of Al Qaeda, but with no connection to the organization; and terrorist groups that follow a broadly similar ideology as Al Qaeda but which have their own identity and regional agenda" (Spalek and McDonald, 2009, p.125).

In a similar vein, according to Hetherington and Weiler (2009) after 9/11 the Patriot Act in the United States got similar support from those low in authoritarianism and the statistically significant statistical data for authoritarianism theory shown in chapter five (Table 5.4, Table 5.5, and Table 5.6) supports low level authoritarians in Canada consenting to policies that diminish civil liberties as a response to the perceived Muslim threat.

Figure 6.3 below is a visual representation to show the processes that occur in the statistical assessment. Prior to the July 7, 2005 terrorist bombings, low authoritarians decrease support for discriminatory policies and high authoritarians increase support for discriminatory policies. After terrorism, the literature supports that those low in authoritarian views are more likely to support discriminatory policies and therefore, an inverse relationship. It is those low in authoritarianism who cause discrimination to rise. Figure 6.3 depicts Hetherington's and Suhay's (2011) model and what the findings in this research supports. Low authoritarians strengthen their support for diminishing civil rights laws in a post terrorism society and therefore, creating the inverse relationships that are supported by these findings.

Figure 6.3: Low Level Authoritarians and Support for Decreasing Civil Liberties Post-Terrorism

Strong Support Diminish Civil Rights

Low Authoritarian &
Weak Support
Is Positive Relationship

Inverse Relationship

Low Authoritarian & Growing Support for Less Civil Rights

Low Authoritarians

Weak Support Diminish Civil Rights

(July 7, 2005 Terrorism)
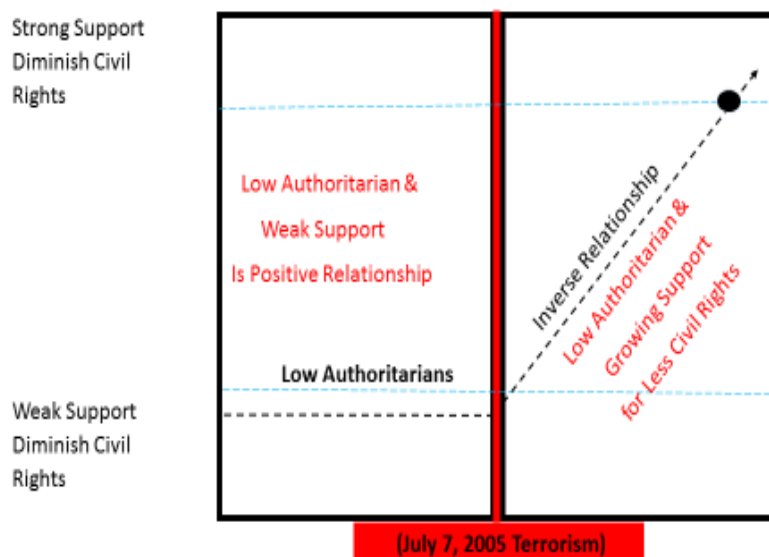
Replicated from the work of Hetherington and Weiler, (2009).

According to Figure 6.4 below, the data from Table 5.4 shows that Canada as the constant is 1.3801. The United Kingdom citizens were 13 percent more likely to support that independence is not an important quality for a child to have when compared to Canadians pre-July 7, 2005 initially. Therefore, UK respondents were more authoritarian pre-terrorism. The wave is .0422 and it is expected that under normal non-threatening circumstances, this gap and wave would maintain constancy. After July 7, 2005 however, Canadians become more authoritarian and therefore, the 13.41 percent negative relationship between the United Kingdom and Canada.

Figure 6.4: Level of Authoritarianism - Important Quality for Child to Have: Independence?
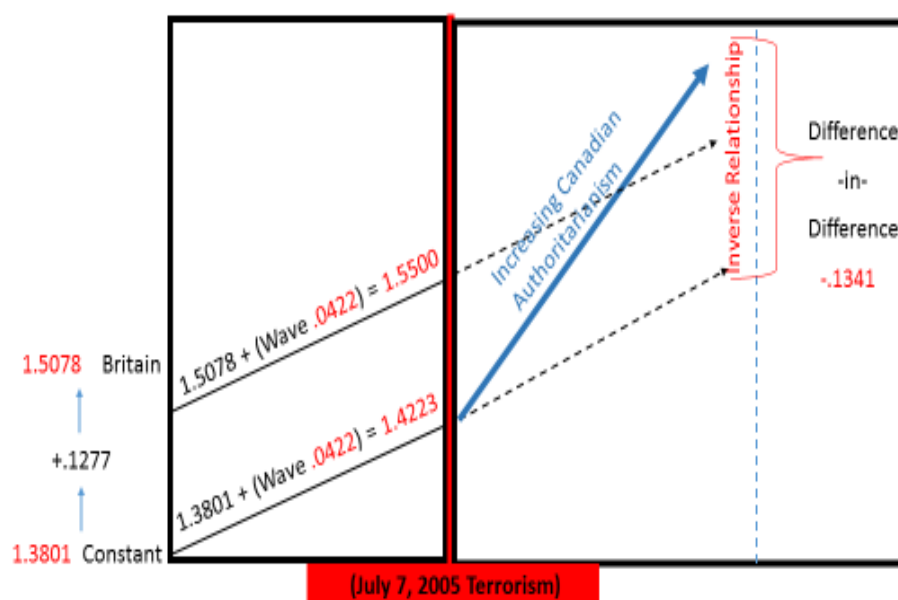
Table 5.5 in chapter five, also shows an inverse relationship. When including control variables, the -.0535 coefficient shows a 5 percent robust and statistically significant decrease in the desire to have greater respect for authority. In Table 5.6, on the one to five scale for obedience versus independence there is almost a 23 percent decrease in the scale score for desiring obedience over autonomy when including control variables. While discrimination was prevalent post-July 2005, according to Table 5.6, the perceptions about being obedient to authority decreased. Without the control variables, the coefficient is -.1747.

Authoritarianism theory, as operationalized by Hetherington and Weiler (2009), is a good fit to explain the social structural changes that evolved due to the July terrorist attacks in London. The model, however, offers an interesting interpretation. When comparing the

United Kingdom with Canada, and given that the war on terrorism does not occur in a vacuum, Canadian citizens were those who were low authoritarians before terrorism in the 2000 sample. The United Kingdom, in contrast, has a legacy of authoritarian values given their history with terrorism perpetuated by the Irish Republican Army before 1999 (Marger, 2003; Howard and Forrest, 2008). Therefore, they were more authoritarian initially and according to Hetherington and Weiler (2009), and Hetherington and Suhay (2011) theoretical application of Authoritarianism, it is the Canadian respondents with their proximity to the United States that became aware of the anxieties of terrorism. The United Kingdom showed to be high authoritarian in the three indicators for the pre-terrorism models and Canada moved toward a more authoritarian orientation as the world increased in danger and the collective response became a war on terrorism. In Table 5.4 the United Kingdom pre-terrorism level of Authoritarianism was 13 percent higher than Canada's level of Authoritarianism. In Table 5.5, the UK was 16 percent higher that Canada in Authoritarianism; and Table 5.6 shows a 28 percent difference with the United Kingdom having the higher level of Authoritarianism. Canadian's, whose pre-terrorism assessment was in 2000, increased Authoritarian views as a response to 9/11 and the global war on terrorism. As previously stated in chapter two, recall that Shahzad (2012) discussed how Canadians perceive the war on terror as if part of a war to defend the civilized west. As part of this war, their citizens became more authoritarian. Consequently, Canadians became more authoritarian and therefore, established the inverse relationship that Hetherington and Weiler (2009), and Hetherington and Suhay (2011), refer to when comparing the two nation-states in this dissertation.

While these findings corroborate Hetherington and Weiler (2009), and Hetherington in

Suhay (2011), they differ in two marked ways. First, methodologically, the regression

design used in this dissertation allows for the comparison of the United Kingdom and

Canada. Hetherington and Weiler (2009) and Hetherington and Suhay (2011) do not have

such a design as they look at respondents from the American National Election Survey in

America. Given the global focus on the war on terror, a more comprehensive analysis

using the difference-in-differences design is appropriate. Examining the attitudes that

evolve due to terrorism offers substantive findings given that the implementation of

terrorism, as an independent variable, is not controlled by an experimenter and comparing

one nation-state that experienced it, the United Kingdom, with another that did not,

Canada. Secondly, Hetherington and Suhay (2011) use contrasting American National

Election Studies data indicators for their authoritarianism analysis. These indicators of

authoritarianism are do children have 'respect for elder' versus 'independence',

'obedience' versus 'self-reliance', 'curiosity' versus' good manners', and being

considerate' versus 'being well behaved'. High authoritarian traits are 'respect for

elders', 'obedience', 'good manners', and 'being well behaved'. As discussed previously,

this dissertation mimics those indicators to a degree but the World Values data did not

allow their indicators to be copied verbatim. This dissertation uses the World Survey

Values variables 'independence', 'respect for authority', and 'the autonomy index'. The

autonomy index provides a Likert measurement scale ranging from 1 to 5 in which '5'

was coded to represent obedience to authority and religious faith, and '1' was coded to

indicate autonomy and independence. Not only does the autonomy index provide scaled

data but it also better supports the other indicators. This provides additional corroboration

for the inverse relationship predicated upon recent perceptions of authoritarianism theory. Canadians became more authoritarian.

Integrative Threat Theory

Integrative Threat Theory allows for the analysis of realistic and symbolic threats groups may experience. As previously discussed, in diverse societies, research supports that dominant groups are threatened by attacks to their lived symbolism. Their normative way of life with its norms, values, taboos, mores, folkways, food tastes, dress styles, etc… and their symbolic connotations are of particular salience to the dominant core group. In contrast, minority groups are particularly concerned with the realistic threat of job loss, and the possibility of incarceration (Marger, 2003; Harrison and Peacock, 2010). The literature supported that in times of distress, people place more scrutiny on the resources they have and unite to establish and/or protect their advantage. Realistic, tangible and symbolic intangible resources increase in salience as citizens are concerned with terrorism. Integrative Threat Theory supports social distress for the group will occur when there is the symbolic threat of the loss of important reserves, or when there is the realistic threat of the loss of resources.

Terrorism, by its disruptive and unpredictable intentions, establishes a symbolic threat of significance for British whites. As a response, it is hypothesized that British whites would dilute the anxiety brought about through this symbolic threat by amplifying the realistic threat implemented against out-groups. Initially, these responses seem rational as they are couched in policies that seem designed to eradicate the terrorist threat. Yet, the policies

may evolve into discrimination against entire group(s) of citizens. The Contest II policies are an apt example of a mandate written to address a particular issue but evolved into a more comprehensive manner of discrimination against Muslims (Cesari, 2010; Chebel d'Appollonia, 2012; Cesari, 2013).

For the analysis of the Integrative Threat theory, only the indicator in Table 5.8 in chapter five proved statistically significant. Table 5.7 which asks if 'incomes should be equal' or 'we need more inequality?' shows no statistical difference between the United Kingdom and Canada of significance. As terrorism enhances social anguish, it establishes uncertainty in the permanence of society, and it is theorized that British whites would be motivated to increase their resource acquisition. This question examines attitudes about the importance of intensifications in resource control by increasing stratification. Recall that the realistic threat of resource loss increases social distress. The results suggest that United Kingdom citizens did not feel the ability to acquire more resources and were not threatened about resource control due to the July 7, 2005 terrorist bombings in London, when compared to Canada. Therefore, citizens of the United Kingdom and Canadian citizens have similar attitudes after the terrorist attacks about income inequality.

The indicator for Table 5.9 asked if 'most people can be trusted' or 'cannot be too careful'. The difference-in-differences interaction showed about a 3 percent increases in both models but neither was statistically pertinent. It is only the indicator that asks 'respondent does not want migrants as neighbors' that proves statistically significant. As previously discussed, there is a substantial amount of residential segregation and new

migrants, who are primarily people of color, are shown to increase the desire of whites to be segregated from them. When asked about 'not wanting immigrants as neighbors' in Table 5.8, the United Kingdom respondents showed a statistically significant .0385 increase over Canadian respondents after differencing out model similarities. Again, this is the only statistically significant interaction between the nation-states in the indicators of IT theory. Yet, when adding theoretically relevant control variables, Table 5.8 loses its explanatory value. Given, that both Tables 5.7 and 5.9 in chapter five had no statistically significant interactions, the Integrative Threat theory did not prove a good fit to explain post-terrorism attitudes in the United Kingdom.

Overall, this theory does not provide substantial justification for discriminatory attitudes and behaviors increasing due to terrorism. Realistic threats are hazards to group resources and power. Symbolic threats are those that attack the core group's belief systems, religious ideology and worldview (Stephan et al, 2009). Threat transgressions by minority group members receive harsh sanction which serves to reinforce in-group biases and diminishes tolerance and trust for out-group others. Minority group dress, religious practice and values may be labeled deviant by dominant group members. Cultural differences are used as the mechanisms to classify the 'other' for differential treatment in the UK (Modood and Salt, 2011). Phenotype markers of race are also formatted as a visible marker for differential treatment (Omi and Winant, 1994). As the realistic threat of terrorism was made apparent through the July 7, 2005 bombings and the symbolic threat as is apparent through the various legislative acts designed to reestablish social stability, British citizens would be expected to desire more income inequality when

compared to the earnings power of out-groups, less trusting of them and less likely to desire them as neighbors. The results support that United Kingdom respondents in Table 5.8 were not more likely to want immigrants as neighbors and none of the other indicators in Table 5.7 and 5.9 were supported.

Future Research Possibilities

Nationalism theory offers a plausible explanation of discriminatory attitude and behavioral changes due to terrorism. Nationalism theory had two indicators of significance. Future research should be upon the role of terrorism in motivating citizens to relinquish democratic rule for a more militaristic governing structure. The most substantial and theoretically relevant difference-in-differences interaction was for the 21 percent increase in the desire for army rule.

This research also may suggest that the threat of terrorism motivates authoritarianism but when there is a sustained reality in which the threat is recurring and intermittently successful, nationalism may become pronounced. Given the threat level and its persistence, authoritarianism may give way to nationalism. Further research could offer clarity on authoritarian views losing salience over time if they do not intermittently bear fruit.

In addition, given the different levels of authoritarianism (low, high), can a persistent threat make low authoritarians into high authoritarians? If authoritarianism is a socialized behavior, it may be possible to create an authoritarian nationalism but, if possible, will it

be perpetual? In the immediate aftermath of terrorism, most citizens are willing to walk lockstep with authoritarians until the perceived threat is eradicated or at least minimized. If the threat is excessive and persistent, will low authoritarians learn, feel comfortable with and become high authoritarians? Does ethnic nationalism give sway to authoritarian values? Ethnic nationalism has much in common with authoritarianism in diverse societies when under the duress of threatening conditions. While nationalism theory is not authoritarianism theory, there is a possibility of overlap between the two. When authoritarians are likely to be in important economic and political positions and race or religion is a demarcating characteristic in that these authoritarians are whites, for example when conservatives are elected to office, ethnic nationalism may become pronounced as minorities mobilize to protect their interests and conservative authoritarians restrict rights. Future research may be directed toward examining such interrelation between these theoretical perspectives and an authoritarian-nationalism.

Given the theoretical relevance that Authoritarianism shows, future research could be directed at examining the possibility of high authoritarians coalescing toward low authoritarians in conditions of sustained distress brought about through lengthy confrontation. Such assessment may require a longitudinal assessment approach. The discussions by Stellmacher and Petzel (2005) and Hetherington et al, (2009; 2011) place focus on authoritarian attitudes shortly after the threatening condition. To examine authoritarianism, Stellmacher and Petzel (2005) studied German psychology students who read a law that limited their ability to practice psychotherapy. Hetherington et al (2009; 2011) used 9/11. Hetherington's premise that low authoritarians only coalesce

toward high authoritarians in times of significant threat substantiate America's response to terrorism. It is possible that other nation-states conform to these findings which are similar to Hetherington and Weiler (2009) and Hetherington and Suhay (2011), but instead of the unilateral direction of low authoritarians displaying the high authoritarian traits; high authoritarians in nation-states other than America may develop a more moderate authoritarianism and may question their philosophy given the possibilities for response fatigue due to perpetual and sustained severe threat. In essence, authoritarianism has primarily been examined in nation-states in which people had the social positioning to display authoritarianism attitudes and behaviors. Dating to its origin, authoritarianism placed focus upon Germany's fascist attitudes against Jews in-lieu of Jewish authoritarian attitudes against Germans. Little research has been conducted on Palestinian authoritarianism in Israel, or Kurdish authoritarianism in Iraq in which measures on those who display high authoritarianism levels but are under significant, consistent and severe distress due to their minority status; may develop more moderate authoritarian levels given the frustration of a lack of success through attempts to implement authoritarian policy outcomes.

In addition, the manner in which discriminatory attitudes and behaviors are configured is multifaceted. While this research provides substantive support that discrimination increased after July 7, 2005; the fact that many Western nations were involved in a global war against terrorism cannot be ignored. Future research could be directed toward similar designs that implement the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale comparing other Westernized nations. Given the importance of 9/11 in the global mobilization of the war

on terror and Mexico's close proximity to the United States, for example, it is possible that the Mexican response to terrorism immediately after 9/11 could mimic that of the United States. Such findings would support that symbolic threats in addition to realistic threats are salient to low authoritarians and may encourage a discriminatory backlash against minorities.

Another possibility is a multi-national comparison to examine the level of discrimination as a response to terrorism through an authoritarian orientation. A multi-national approach could offer rich information on the explanatory power of authoritarianism. Knowledge about the multi-national response to terrorism by authoritarians could be used to predict increases in discrimination and establishing practices and policies to attenuate racism and Islamophobia. Such a design would prove particularly telling if the focus were on Palestinians in Israel, Kurds in Iraq, and Mexicans in the United States. These groups take on particular note since they are part of the population in-which discrimination is visited upon and whose civil rights are restricted. Given the constancy of threat implemented against them, it will be interesting to see if they seek the level of authoritarianism of the dominant group or deviate given the legacy of discrimination against them.

In Summation

The purpose of this dissertation was to examine if discrimination against visible minorities increased as a response to terrorism. Terrorism is a traumatizing experience for citizens and an initial response might be vengeance against its perpetrators. In a short

amount of time, however, the response evolves into a manner of retribution against minorities at-large as the reality of the structural integrity of society is elucidated and the venerability of even the mightiest nation-states are demonstrated. As the beneficiaries of the traditional structure of stability, racial and religious discrimination by whites may be a perceived cogent response to feelings of insecurity. The theoretical indicators modeling nationalism theory support that citizen's ratcheted up discrimination against racial and religious minorities in the United Kingdom after the terrorist attacks on July 7, 2005. Unlike Canadians, the United Kingdom has a legacy of colonialism and more overt discrimination against racial and religious minorities. Yet, post-WWII legislation changes in the United Kingdom should diminish structural forms of institutional discrimination. Individualized discrimination in the manner of ethnic nationalism with its inegalitarian system of stratification that has been paradigm in race and religion, however, would not be eradicated in the immediate aftermath of the London bombings. The resilience of ethnic nationalism as a form of nationalism in this analysis shows to be the salient characteristics that motivated an increase in discrimination in the United Kingdom. In fact, the data shows that racial and religious discrimination increased in intensity in the period after July 7, 2005.

Regarding Authoritarianism theory, the indicators show a convergence between high and low authoritarians. Those in the United Kingdom are high authoritarians with a propensity toward an orientation that is dependent upon strict adherence to social order and submission to authority. The United Kingdom's citizens have been under perpetual tensions of terrorist activity pre-dating the 21st century terrorism that has placed media

attention on the Middle Eastern Muslim in a post-9/11 world. Terrorist activities by the Irish Republican Army against British whites can be dated to at least 1973 (Marger, 2003). While Canadians have not experienced a significant successfully implemented terrorist event on Canadian soil they do not, however, live in a vacuum and are aware of the 21st century global war on terrorism that received significant traction after 9/11. Low authoritarian Canadians became more likely to desire social conformity, order and adherence to authority after the 2000 year baseline for the before terrorism assessment in a post-9/11 world order. Stated succinctly, low authoritarian Canadians adopted punitive and retaliatory values while high authoritarian citizens of the United Kingdom leveled as they could not increase their support for positions they already significantly advocated for prior to July 7, 2005.

Contributions to the Scientific Discipline of Global Affairs

Traditional social science research is often premised on discrimination being motivated by fiscal considerations (Bonacich, 1973; Marger, 2003; Harrison and Peacock, 2010; Marger, 2012, Marger, 2014), yet the control of resources was not a motivation for increasing Islamophobic and racist attitudes and behaviors in the post-terrorism United Kingdom. Neither did the realistic and symbolic threat of terrorism manifest increases in discriminatory attitudes and behaviors as stated in Integrative Threat theory. This research supports that the conceivable peril of the stability of the nation-state that cultivates the national identity of its citizens can increase patriotism and submission to authority. Attachment to one's country and following the directives of those in power are important characteristics of Nationalism and Authoritarianism theories. Yet, prior to the

July 2005 bombing attacks, the United Kingdom had a system of stratification that, due to colonialism and overt discriminatory practices of the past, formulated ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism has shown minorities to be less patriotic than whites (Sidanius et al, 1997) and therefore, attenuates the salience of the common demos. Canadians, however, became more authoritarian as they ratcheted up discrimination against Muslims.

This dissertation research contributes to the discipline of Global Affairs in two substantive ways. First, contrary to perceptions of superordinate goals being a significant motivation for decreasing ethnocentrism (Sherif et al, 1961); ethnic nationalism proved resilient although United Kingdom citizens were confronted with the reality of terrorism. In fact, visible minorities believed that discrimination increased against them post-July 7, 2005. The European Social Survey data in Figure 5.6 is the perception that the respondents of discrimination experience; and therefore does not suffer from the inherit biases of responding in socially desirable ways as those who behave in a discriminatory manner would (Singleton et al, 1993). The discrimination in the United Kingdom was not directed against terrorist cells or terrorist organizations or only Muslims (Cesari, 2014), but against visible minorities in addition to Muslims. Islamophobia and racial discrimination increased in the United Kingdom after the London subway attacks. The persistence of terrorism from at least the 1970s to the more recent terrorist threats of Al Qaeda, along with the shadowy nature of terrorism may have diluted its effectiveness in coalescing the citizens of the United Kingdom, irrespective of race and religion, against a common terrorist foe. Therefore, visible minorities experienced more discrimination against them in the UK.

The second substantive contribution is that Canadians, although not experiencing a successful terrorist attack, became more discriminatory against Muslims. When contrasting Canada and the United Kingdom; Canadian's claim to be an egalitarian, pluralistic, equity based population and citizens of the United Kingdom claim to be liberal, and in a stratified nation that promotes assimilation into the cultural core (Marger, 2012, Marger, 2014). Canada has had a reputation of tolerance for out-groups and yet, the possibility of terrorism increased authoritarian views substantially in Canada during the 21st century. Contrary to contemporary views on Authoritarianism (Duckitt, 1989; Stellmacher and Petzel, 2005) a tolerant Canadian population increased discriminatory attitudes against Muslims during the 21st century although they had not experienced a successfully implemented terrorist event. The war on terror may establish a world order in which the citizens in nations of the west support policies that are discriminatory out of a fear response although they have not had terrorism perpetuated, successfully, against them.

Therefore, this research supports that discrimination may be motivated by fear in-lieu of fiscal provocations, anger or animosity. UK nationalism, given the willingness to accept military rule, is an uncharacteristic threat response in democratic societies. Fighting terrorism is of such consequence that UK citizens were more willing to relinquish their power as common citizens in a democracy for the purposes of safety and social stability. In addition, agreement with authoritarian views that are discriminatory against Muslims in Canada increased not due to the harm of terrorism transpiring, but the trepidation of it

possibly occurring. If discrimination is a response provoked by fear, then terrorism would be a fundamental instigator. Terrorism, if sustained, can attenuate the post-WWII norms designed to create social parity in human rights, anti-discrimination, and hate crime laws. For terrorist, the manifest function of their actions is to create chaos through uncertainty. A latent consequence, however, may be the re-engagement of more traditional manners of discrimination if human rights and anti-discrimination laws become ineffective. Terrorism can undermine social stability and provoke chaos initially and, as this research supports, encourage discrimination that may be sustained and wide-ranging against visible minorities.

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APPENDICES

The Figure below shows the literature that supports the validity of each of the indicators used to examine the relevance of each theoretical perspective.
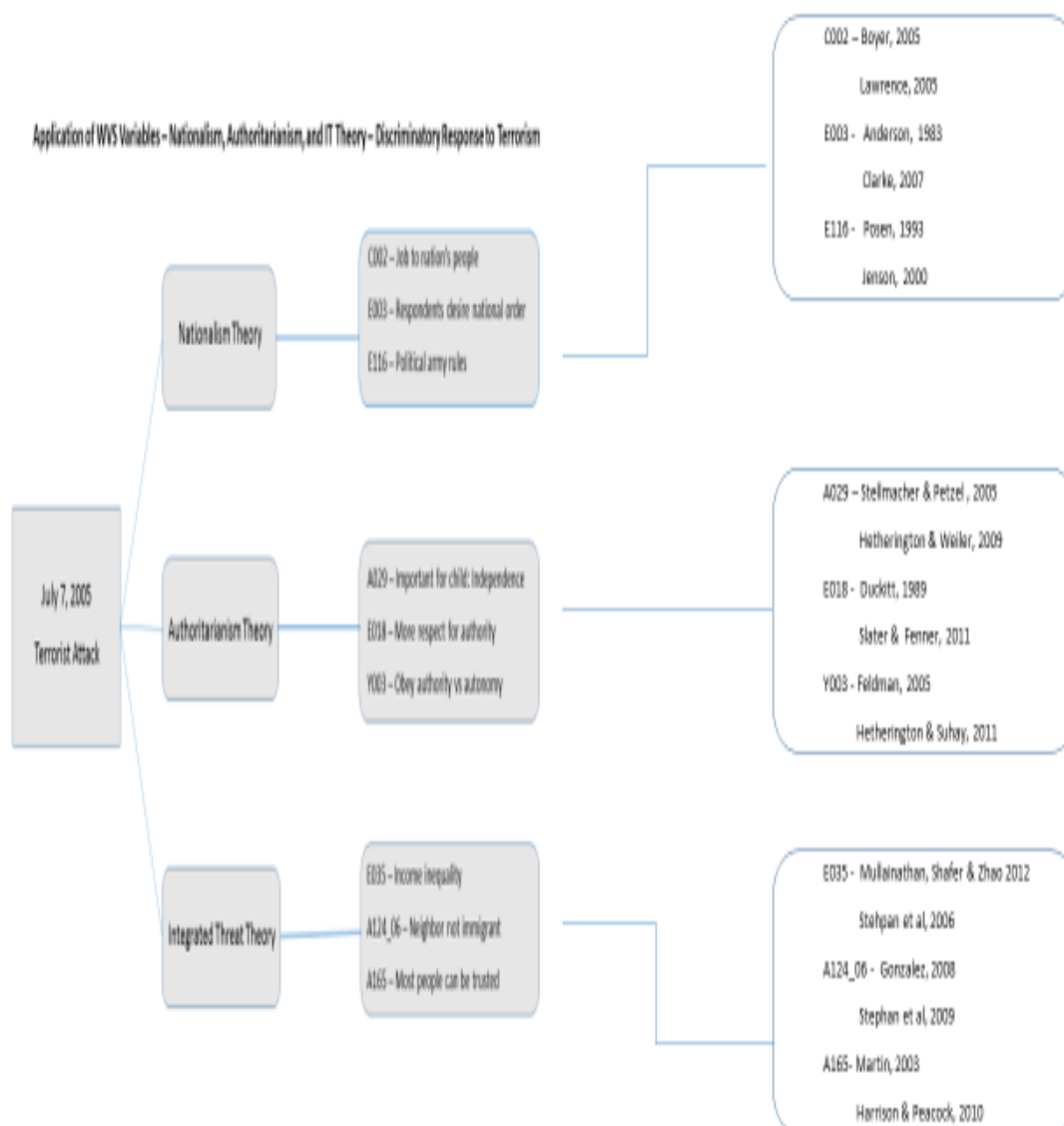
Take, for example, the indicator for Nationalism that jobs should be given to national citizens over immigrants. In the literature review, Boyer's (2005) work is discussed in which economic nationalism is the binding force behind a common demos. For Authoritarianism Theory, as another example, the indicator on obeying authority versus having autonomy is supported by Hetherington's and Weiler's work (2009). Diminishing tolerance of others is supported by Stephan et al, (2009). The other indicators have the necessary support of their relevance as sustained from the literature reviewed in chapter two of this dissertation.