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Master's Thesis of Public Administration

Do Multicultural Countries Experience More Incidents of Terrorism?

– A Study on the Relationship of
Multiculturalism and Terrorism –

다문화 국가에서는 더 많은
테러사건이 발생하는가?
다문화주의와 테러의 연관성에 대한 연구

August 2020

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Submitting a master's thesis of Public
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April 2020

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Abstract

Do Multicultural Countries Experience More Incidents of Terrorism?

A Study on the Relationship of Multiculturalism and Terrorism

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The concept of multiculturalism is relatively new having evolved in the 1960s. Multiculturalism was largely a result of the increasing number of immigrants to the host country. Yet, the idea was met with harsh criticisms within countries that have adopted multiculturalism as a public policy soon after its implementation. Societies became divided on the issue and political parties started to view multiculturalism as a failure. In addition, many prominent figures denounced multiculturalism as being the cause of terrorism. The rationale behind such claims that multiculturalism is a cause of terrorism was that multiculturalism results to the immigrant population disengaging from the host society which then leads to

radicalization. This study was conducted to determine the basis of such claims.

As far as I know, there has not been a study conducted to examine the relationship between multiculturalism and terrorism. This study attempts to determine that relationship with the use of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) and the Multicultural Policy Index (MCPI)—an index that measures public policies in support of immigrants—with a study design involving two-way fixed effects.

If the argument proposed by the opponents of multiculturalism—that multiculturalism is a cause of terrorism—is correct, then it must follow that multicultural countries should experience more incidents of terrorism. Hence, I hypothesized that multiculturalism increases the occurrences of terrorism within a country. Based on my hypothesis, I expected a positive correlation between multiculturalism and terrorism. However, the study found that the correlation between multiculturalism and terrorism is weak and that the two concepts had a negative relationship—an increase in the MCP index decreased the incidents of terrorism but it was not statistically significant. Consequently, I posit that it is difficult to view multiculturalism as a cause of terrorism.

Keywords : Terrorism, Global Terrorism Database, multiculturalism, Multiculturalism Policy Index, fixed effects
Student Number : 2017-21612

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

On July 7, 2005, three bombs were detonated in the London Underground trains. A fourth bomb went off a short time later in a London double-decker bus. The first incident of suicide attack in modern Western Europe killed 52 people and injured over 700 others (Strom and Eyerman, 2008). Warnings against such attacks were issued by security agencies in the United Kingdom claiming that the issue at hand was not a matter of if but when. Despite the early notice, the terrorist attack devastated the United Kingdom. This was not only because the attack was actually carried out on its own soil but also because three of the four terrorists involved in the attack were British born with Pakistani heritage (Ratcliffe and Scholdery, 2013).

The London bombings, more commonly referred to as 7/7, sparked many debates among scholars, security practitioners and policy-makers as to what caused the attack. Everybody involved searched for clues to provide answers, and one of the rationales put forward as the cause to the attack was ‘multiculturalism’—an idea that promotes a society based on multiple ethnicity and culture largely due to the growing immigrant population in the host country.

Since multiculturalism was pointed out as a possible cause of terrorism, the concept was openly denounced by political figures as a failure. The concept of multiculturalism faced backlashes, immigrant communities became victims of criticisms and, in some cases, were physically targeted by individuals and groups

unwelcoming of foreigners. Despite the increase in criticisms and backlashes against multiculturalism, there was no study conducted to determine whether a relationship existed between the two concepts. Yet, political rhetoric was enough to alter public policies.

Law enforcement agencies in certain countries adopted counterterrorism policies that explicitly targeted the immigrant communities. In one instance, the US Department of Homeland Security (DHS) focused its counterterrorism operations on the City of Dearborn located in the state of Michigan due to its high concentration of immigrant Muslim population. The Dearborn Police Department (DPD) supported DHS operations on the ground only to tarnish its reputation and undermine the trust between DPD and the community (Thacher, 2005). In France, the government's drive for assimilation as the foundation of its counterterrorism program led to the 'Headscarf Ban' and the 'Face Concealment Ban'. Beydoun (2016) argued that, contrary to the goals of the policies, the dissolution of the 'Headscarf Ban' and the 'Face Concealment Ban' was vital in implementing an effective counterterrorism program because the policies in place further marginalize the already isolated immigrant communities.

1.2. Purpose of the Study

Regardless of the criticisms against multiculturalism, it seems inevitable for societies—especially those of advanced countries—to become multicultural. There are some factors that makes this claim reasonable. First, we live in an era of globalization. Multinational companies conduct operations offshore, and their

employees are required to relocate accordingly. Second, technological developments provide new platforms for people to work online or remotely. Such trends eliminate the need for offices and allows online business owners to reside in any country where they seem fit as long as they have internet connection. Third, travel has become affordable. The increase in mobility makes it easier for people to immigrate where possible. Fourth, with the internet revolution, information has become so readily available that people now choose where to live depending on the expected quality of life.

Let us take the case of South Korea as an example. South Korea has experienced an influx of immigrants from the late twentieth century to the early twenty-first century. The influx of immigrants was brought about by (1) hosting of the 1988 Seoul Olympics, which stepped up South Korea's recognition in the international community, (2) establishment of diplomatic relations with China in 1992, allowing Chinese nationals to emigrate to South Korea in search of work and better living standards, and (3) public and private organization projects pursuing 'international marriage' to find partners for South Korean men in the rural areas (Hwang, 2016). Many of the immigrants have taken root in South Korea raising families ever since and currently, South Korea is witnessing the rise of second-generation immigrants in many aspects of its society. In a 2016 study by the Ministry of Defense, there were around 1,000 soldiers in active military duty who came from multicultural families. The ministry further projected that from the year 2028 to 2032, 8,657 men from multicultural families will be eligible to be drafted into the military yearly (Jo, 2016). Moreover, data on multicultural families revealed by Statistics Korea in 2017 showed a slight increase in proportion of international marriage

from 7.4% of total marriages in 2015 to 7.7% in 2016. Considering the fact that marriage and fertility rate are on the decline, the slight increase in the figure should be more significant. This also suggests that the current increase in multicultural families will more or less continue into the future.

As the data have shown, South Korea is headed on a path leading to a multicultural society. Soon, the South Korean government will have to adopt or create policies to address the issues of multiculturalism—including counterterrorism policies. Yet, like the examples above (i.e., US DHS and Dearborn Police Department, France's headscarf ban), wrongfully determining the cause to a problem without proper examination will likely lead to insufficient solutions. Hence, in order to devise effective counterterrorism policies—especially with respect to multiculturalism in this case—studies should be conducted to ensure the existence of a relationship between multiculturalism and terrorism.

As far as I know, there has been no study that was conducted to explore the relationship between multiculturalism and terrorism. Therefore, studying the relationship between the two concepts is an appropriate task especially because law enforcement agencies adopt policies by learning from what other agencies do. Implementing policies without a rational foundation and what is seen by others as ineffective could have unfavorable implications in the region where it is implemented.

Chapter 2. Literature Review

2.1. What is Multiculturalism?

Multiculturalism is a relatively new concept that resulted from the diversification of society after World War II. Multiculturalism is defined as “the presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society” by the Oxford dictionary. Briefly, the term can be defined as “ideas about the legal and political accommodation of ethnic diversity (Kymlicka, 2012)”. Kymlicka also provides a broader definition of multiculturalism as to “[G]o beyond the protection of basic civil and political rights guaranteed to all individuals in a liberal–democratic state, to also extend some level of public recognition and support for ethnocultural minorities to maintain and express their distinct identities and practices (cited in Farrar, 2012).” In a similar vein, Tariq Modood viewed multiculturalism to be the partnership between the state and community. For Modood, multiculturalism was “where the processes of integration are seen both as two–way and as involving groups as well as individuals and working differently for different groups. In this understanding, each group is distinctive, and thus integration cannot consist of a single template (hence the ‘multi’). The integration of groups is in addition to, not as an alternative to the integration of individuals, anti–discrimination measures and a robust framework of individual rights (Modood, 2011).”

However, because a society is multifaceted, various definitions of multiculturalism with respect to certain aspects can also be found in different literatures. In 1993, Friedrich Heckmann broke down the concept of multiculturalism according to the use of the term in Europe:

- (1) Indicators of social change – the change in the ethnic composition of a society (i.e., a homogeneous society becoming heterogeneous).
- (2) Normative–cognitive term – accepting that the state has become a country of immigration, and recognizing that immigration is needed.
- (3) A norm or attitude of friendliness and support towards immigrants while rejecting nationalism, chauvinism and ethnic intolerance.
- (4) Interpretation of the concept of culture wherein culture is seen as a continuing evolution process based on interaction with the other.
- (5) An attitude that views some aspects of the immigrants' culture to be enriching the host culture.
- (6) A political–constitutional principle defining ethnic minorities as a component of political and state organizations. This idea, therefore, pursues ethnic pluralism, distribution of rights and resources to the minorities and objects assimilation.
- (7) For critics, multiculturalism has good intentions but is an illusory concept because it overlooks the necessity of a common identity.

In a simpler manner, Lalande (2006) states that multiculturalism can be seen as (1) an ideology wherein the interpretation of the concept can differ according to an individual or an institution, (2) social reality, defined by Evelyn Kallen (cited in Lalande, 2006), which refers to a society composed of people of different ethnicities, and (3) government policy stated by national governments.

In this study, multiculturalism should be understood as the second and third components of multiculturalism given by Lalande—social reality and government policy. This is because the study defines multiculturalism as “the presence of multicultural policies adopted by governments to address the reality of their societies being composed of different ethnic groups—immigrants”.

2.2. Roots of Multiculturalism

The ideas pertaining to multiculturalism were already in existence since the ancient history of mankind. Humans with different religions, languages and cultures have been living side-to-side throughout the years. But the modern ideas of multiculturalism first emerged in the 1960s as some of the Western countries started to discuss multicultural policies to address the increasing ethnocultural diversity in their respective societies. According to Farrar (2012) the modern ideas of multiculturalism first emerged in the 1960s in the United Kingdom but the term ‘multiculturalism’ was first officially used in Canada in 1971 to describe the society it perceived to be in.

The United Kingdom has deep roots of immigration in its history, however, ethnic groups immigrating to the United Kingdom became more diverse after the Second World War. Prior to the war, the majority came from Europe but after the war and the decolonization in the following decades, there was an influx of population from the Caribbean, Africa and South Asia (Panayi, 2011). The increase of immigrant population and communities effected racial tensions in the United Kingdom and violent assaults took place in 1958 in Notting Hill.¹ Due to this incident and having witnessed the civil rights movement in the United States, then Home Secretary Roy Jenkins gave a speech in May 1966 to the National Committee for the Commonwealth Immigrants wherein he envisioned a harmonious British society through the integration, not assimilation, of different cultures. In this speech, Roy Jenkins states:

Integration is perhaps a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own characteristics and culture. I do not think we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced version of the stereotypical Englishman. I...define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance (cited in Joppke, 2008, p. 480).

¹ A.k.a. Notting Hill Race Riots or Notting Hill Riots, violence started due to the hostilities and attacks perpetrated by white working-class called 'Teddy Boys' against people of color (University of Warwick, 2015).

On the other hand, Lalande (2006) claims that the beginnings of multiculturalism can be traced back to the discussions of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada during the 1960s. Canada faced demands of secession in the 1960s due to the emergence of revolutionary independence movements such as Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN; translated as Rally for National Independence), Comité de libération nationale, Action socialiste pour l'indépendance du Québec (ASIQ) and the Front de Liberation du Quebec² (FLQ) because the francophones did not share the same identity with the anglophones. These separatist movements led to the creation of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (hereafter referred to as the B&B Commission) on July 19, 1963 (Lalande, 2006). Another group that contributed to the creation of the B&B Commission was the Ukrainian population residing in Canada. The Ukrainians were very much interested to preserve their language and culture, and they expressed their concerns through letters to politicians, speeches and active participation in the debate for multiculturalism. Following these events, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced the enactment of the country's first multicultural policy making Canada the first country in the world to officially adopt the concept in the public sphere on October 8, 1971.³

² Among the secessionist groups, the FLQ is probably the most well-known as the group was involved with more than 200 bombings in between 1963 and 1970 (The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2014).

³ Examining both claims (the claims that multiculturalism started either in the United Kingdom or Canada), I find it reasonable to conclude that the ideas and discussion of multiculturalism started in the United Kingdom but was first officially announced as a public policy in Canada.

Since then, other countries started adopting multicultural policies in accordance with the growing immigrant population in their respective countries. It is difficult to show how the immigrant population have grown over the years using data provided by national government agencies because (1) some countries forbid collecting information on race and ethnicity for reasons of equality and discrimination (e.g., France), (2) censuses are conducted at different time periods (i.e., some countries conduct censuses every five years while some every ten years), and (3) countries use different methods to collect data on racial demographics⁴. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), however, collects and publishes country data (including population, demographics and ethnicity) through the CIA World Factbook. This is probably the only official source publicly available wherein data on ethnicity can be found⁵. Though the platform does not provide time-series data, it should be possible for one to comprehend the current trend of countries examined in this study. The aggregated data based on the CIA World Factbook is presented in Table 1.

According to the Multicultural Policy Index⁶ (MCP index) published by the Queen's University, there are 19 countries⁷ that

⁴ Let us take 'Asian' as an example. The US uses 'Asian' as an ethnic category in its census. UK, however, identifies 'Indian' and 'Pakistani' separately. On the other hand, Australia chooses to categorize 'Chinese' while all other Asians are categorized as 'other'.

⁵ There are other online platforms that provide similar data such as World Atlas, but I made use of the CIA World Factbook for credibility reasons.

⁶ The index is based on the dataset collected by Dr. Daniel Westlake for his doctoral research at the University of British Columbia. The index has since then been made public for researchers.

⁷ These are Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States. Denmark and Japan, though on the list, had an index of '0' hence, were not counted.

have multicultural policies in place as of 2010. However, there are only five countries (Australia, Belgium, Canada, Finland and Sweden) that explicitly state a multicultural approach in their constitution or legislation while two countries (New Zealand and Spain) have a limited recognition of multiculturalism in their constitution or legislation.

Table 1. Ethnicity Data by Country (CIA World Factbook)

Country	Ethnicity
Australia	Australian 25.4%, English 25.9%, Irish 7.5%, Scottish 6.4%, Italian 3.3%, German 3.2%, Chinese 3.1%, Indian 1.4%, Greek 1.4%, Dutch 1.2%, other 15.8% (Australian aboriginals included), unspecified 5.4% * 2011 est.
Austria	Austrian 80.8%, German 2.6%, Bosnian and Herzegovinian 1.9%, Turkish 1.8%, Serbian 1.6%, Romanian 1.3%, other 10% * 2018 est.
Belgium	Belgian 75.2%, Italian 4.1%, Moroccan 3.7%, French 2.4%, Turkish 2%, Dutch 2%, other 10.6% * 2012 est.
Canada	Canadian 32.3%, English 18.3%, Scottish 13.9%, French 13.6%, Irish 13.4%, German 9.6%, Italian 4.6%, Chinese 5.1%, North American Indian 4.4%, East Indian 4%, other 51.6% * 2016 est. * more than 100% because more than one answer
Finland	Finn, Swede, Russian, Estonian, Romanian, Sami * no percentage data
France	Celtic and Latin with Teutonic, Slavic, North African, Indochinese, Basque minorities * no percentage data
Germany	German 87.2%, Turkish 1.8%, Polish 1%, Syrian 1%, other 9% * 2017 est.

Greece	Greek 91.6%, Albanian 4.4%, other 4% * 2011 est.
Ireland	Irish 82.2%, Irish travelers 0.7%, other white 9.5%, Asian 2.1%, black 1.4%, other 1.5%, unspecified 2.6% * 2016 est.
Italy	Italian (small clusters of German–, French–, and Slovene–Italians in the north and Albanian–Italians and Greek–Italians in the south)

Country	Ethnicity
Netherlands	Dutch 76.9%, EU 6.4%, Turkish 2.4%, Moroccan 2.3%, Indonesian 2.1%, German 2.1%, Surinamese 2%, Polish 1%, other 4.8% * 2018 est.
New Zealand	European 64.1%, Maori 16.5%, Chinese 4.9%, Indian 4.7%, Samoan 3.9%, Tongan 1.8%, Cook Islands Maori 1.7%, English 1.5%, Filipino 1.5%, New Zealander 1%, other 13.7% * 2018 est. * more than 100% because more than one answer
Norway	Norwegian 83.2% (includes about 60,000 Sami), other European 8.3%, other 8.5% * 2017 est. * total population 5.4 million (2018 est.)
Portugal	White Mediterranean, less than 100,000 black Africans, Eastern European * total population 10.4 million (2018 est.)
Spain	Spanish 86.4%, Morocco 1.8%, Romania 1.3%, other 10.5% * 2018 est.
Sweden	Swedish 81.5%, Syrian 1.7%, Finnish 1.5%, Iraqi 1.4%, other 13.9% * 2017 est.
Switzerland	Swiss 70.3%, German 4.2%, Italian 3.2%, Portuguese 2.6%, French 2%, Kosovar 1%, other 18.7% * 2017 est.
United	White 87.2%, black/African/Caribbean/black British

Kingdom	3%, Asian/Asian British: Indian 2.3%, Asian/Asian British: Pakistani 1.9%, mixed 2%, other 3.7% * 2011 est.
United States	White 72.4%, black 12.6%, Asian 4.8%, Amerindian and Alaskan native 0.9%, native Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.2%, other 6.2%, two or more races 2.9% * 2010 est.

2.3. Backlash Against Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism was met with criticism shortly after the concept was implemented in the 1970s. The backlash first appeared in the United Kingdom in the 1980s with the Honeyford Affair⁸ and the Rushdie Affair⁹ to name a few (Vertovec and Wessendorf, 2009). Soon, political rhetoric against policies to aid the ethnic minorities appeared in the Netherlands in the 1990s. This was due to an influx of immigration into European countries in the 1980s (Prins and Slijper, 2002), and the murder of Theo van Gogh—a

⁸ Ray Honeyford was the former headmaster of Drummond Middle School in Bradford, UK. He wrote an article for *The Salisbury Review* in 1984 criticizing multiculturalism for causing harm in the school system and the formation of ghettos in British cities. The article framed Honeyford as a racist forcing him to resign, and he was never allowed to teach again (Miller, Kite, Orr, Goswami & Nikkhah, 2006).

⁹ “*The Satanic Verses*”, a novel written by British author Salman Rushdie in 1988, was seen as blasphemous by many Muslim authorities (Panayi, 2011). Copies of the book were burned by Muslims in the United Kingdom as a protest in 1989, and Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran issued a fatwa to kill the author and publishers of the book. Salman Rushdie had to go into hiding under its government’s protection program, and the Muslims who were devoted to killing the author instead firebombed the publishing office and bookstores that stocked the book. The incident established a view dividing Muslims from Westerners due to how freedom of speech and expression is understood in the two cultures.

filmmaker who was critical of Islam—by a Dutch–Moroccan Muslim further exacerbated views on multiculturalism. In the next millennium, riots in the United Kingdom¹⁰, 9/11 attacks, death of Pim Fortuyn¹¹, Madrid bombings¹², London bombings¹³ and other terrorist incidents ignited further backlash on multiculturalism.

Prins and Slijper (2002) aggregated discourses about how or in which aspect of a society multiculturalism fails. According to their analysis, there are five subjects of debate regarding multiculturalism. The five subjects are (1) clash of cultures, (2) ethnic diversity and national identity, (3) socioeconomic position of immigrants, (4) policies of immigration and asylum, and (5) debates on the debate itself. Following are some of the debates.

First is the debate on the clash between cultures. This concerns the difference in thinking between the minority groups, more specifically Muslims, and the host society—the Western society. The issues involved in this debate were primarily about attires (e.g., hijab, burqa), honor killing, forced marriages, gender

¹⁰ In May 2001, British Bangladeshi and Pakistani youths were pitted against the White youths during the riots, and the resulting Cantle Report suggested that multiculturalism caused parallel lives in the British society.

¹¹ Pim Fortuyn was a Dutch politician who had a critical view on multiculturalism, immigration and Islam in the Netherlands. Fortuyn was assassinated on May 6, 2002. The murderer Volkert van der Graaf testified that he murdered Fortuyn for using Muslims as scapegoats.

¹² Ten bombs went off in the commuter trains in Madrid, Spain on March 11, 2004. One bomb did not explode and the police conducted a controlled explosion after retrieving the bomb. In this incident, 191 people died from the bombings and more than 1,800 people were injured (CNN, 2019). It is still not clear who was behind the attack.

¹³ The retreat from multiculturalism became more evident after the London bombings of July 7, 2005. The London bombings was a radical moment, which completely changed the anti-migrant discourse and debates on multiculturalism. Multiculturalism discourse tended to focus on economic and cultural issues but after 7/7, security became the biggest concern (Aly, 2011).

(i.e., LGBTQ), etc. but the arguments have evolved into the possibility of Muslims committing acts of terrorism against Westerners since the 9/11 attacks.

The second issue of debate is the relationship between ethnic or cultural diversity and national identity. Here, the opponents of multiculturalism regard cultural diversity as a threat to a cohesive society due to the migrants' unwillingness to assimilate with the host culture and the affinity for their country of origin. Consequently, multiculturalism, for the critics, is related with ghettoization, segregation, isolation and marginalization which then leads to racial tensions.

The next debate involves the socioeconomic position of immigrants. In this theme, poor immigrants and their descendants are seen as burdening the welfare state. Moreover, the impoverished immigrants, having resorted to crime, create insecurity in the community. Critics who adhere to this theme further argue that the cause of the migrants' poor condition is either a problem of the individual (e.g., lack of responsibility, failing to raise their children properly) or the culture.

The fourth strand focuses on immigration and asylum policies, and debates differ depending on the country. In Southern Europe, immigration is relatively a new phenomenon therefore immigration takes up a bigger portion in the discourse. Conversely, in Northern and Western Europe where immigration is an older phenomenon, asylum seekers, who actually are economic immigrants in disguise in the view of critics, are seen as the problem.

Finally, the fifth discourse is about the debate on the debate. There are three aspects that need to be mentioned: (1) the

progressives debate amongst themselves whether to engage in discussions with the far-right (anti-immigration) parties as that would give the far-right parties more recognition, (2) the accusation of racism demands a definition as to what is racist and what is not racist (i.e., are all negative remarks examples of racism?), and (3) there are concerns if problems of a multicultural society should be publicly discussed at all as it may stigmatize immigrants.

Some argue that multiculturalism isolates ethnic cultures, which in turn segments the society and exacerbates issues of racism. Neil Bissoondath argued in his 1994 book “Selling Illusion: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada” that the government’s promotion of diversity encouraged a “psychology of separation” from the mainstream culture among immigrants (cited in Dewing, 2013). In support of this argument, a survey conducted in 2015 by ICM Research for a documentary broadcast “What British Muslims Really Think” in the United Kingdom found in its analysis that British Muslims indeed shared different values than that of the majority non-Muslims. Significant dissimilarities according to the results (Channel 4, 2016) were:

- (1) More than 100,000 British Muslims sympathize with suicide bombers or other people who commit terrorist acts.
- (2) 23% of Muslims believe that the Sharia law should replace the British law.
- (3) Almost a third (31%) of Muslims think that polygamy should be legalized.
- (4) One in three Muslims refuse to completely condemn the stoning to death of women who have committed adultery.

Another author, Melanie Phillips, wrote in her 2017 book “Londonistan How Britain Created A Terror State Within” that multiculturalism policies in the United Kingdom allowed minorities to take over the culture of the host society by regarding anything against the minority culture as an act of racism. This claim was further supported by Douglas Murray in his 2017 book “The Strange Death of Europe Immigration, Identity, Islam” in which he argued that unless the migrants are ejected out, Europe will be committing a civilizational suicide.

Well-known politicians joined in the discourse to criticize state multiculturalism. These are Chancellor Angela Merkel (Germany), Prime Minister David Cameron (United Kingdom), former President Nicolas Sarkozy (France), former Prime Minister John Howard (Australia) and former Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar (Spain). It is an interesting fact that all of them are members of the political right.¹⁴ Next, I try to examine the reason behind their comments and the background for their actions individually.

On October 16, 2010, Angela Merkel, chancellor of Germany, addressed multiculturalism as an utter failure¹⁵ in a speech during a meeting with young members of her party—the Christian Democratic Union (Siebold, 2010). Marquand (2010) traces the cause to Merkel’s response to the anti-immigration sentiments that grew in Germany as a response to a difficult job market which was

¹⁴ Angela Merkel: Christian Democratic Union, center-right; David Cameron: Conservative and Unionist Party, center-right; Nicolas Sarkozy: Union for a Popular Movement, center-right; John Howard: Liberal Party of Australia, center-right; Jose Maria Aznar: People’s Party, center-right.

¹⁵ Merkel’s remarks were criticized by Kymlicka (2012) because Germany did not practice multicultural policies.

further exacerbated by the book “Germany Abolishes Itself” written and published in 2010 by a leftist central banker Thilo Sarrazin. In the book, Sarrazin stated that Turkish and Arab immigrants contribute only to the fruit and vegetable industry and are more of a harm to the German state. As the controversy grew, Merkel faced pressure from within her own party and its allies to take a stronger stance for immigrants to do more to integrate with the German mainstream society (BBC, 2010). In addition, the terrorist and criminal incidents involving immigrants—the mass sexual violence on New Year’s Eve of 2015, the terror attack on the Berlin Christmas market on 19 December 2016, etc.—impacted the public’s take on multiculturalism.

Merkel’s statement was followed by David Cameron, then prime minister of the United Kingdom, on February 5, 2011 through a speech given at the Munich Security Conference. Here, David Cameron highlighted multiculturalism as the cause to a weakened national identity which in turn led to the radicalization of Muslims in the United Kingdom and Europe:

In the UK, some young men find it hard to identify with the traditional Islam…also find it hard to identify with Britain…the doctrine of state multiculturalism…tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values…And this all leaves some young Muslims feeling rootless…Now for sure, they don’t turn into terrorists overnight, but what we see—and what we see in so many European countries—is a process of radicalization (The National Archive, 2011).

David Cameron's speech shares many similarities with a speech given by former Prime Minister Tony Blair in 2005 after the London bombings, and the issue (violent extremism) was still a cause of divide in Cameron's party as much as it was for Blair because there was no consensus on how to approach the issue (Doward, 2011). This seems to imply that Cameron's attack on multiculturalism was an intention to unite his party under the principle that he believed in because Cameron also suggested in his speech that his government will take a new approach in renewing the Prevent Strategy¹⁶ (Wright and Taylor, 2011).

Nicholas Sarkozy, the president of France at the time, immediately echoed Cameron's remarks during a TV interview on February 10, 2011 claiming that European countries have been too considerate to immigrants and their identities without giving enough attention to the national identity of the state (France 24, 2011). Nicolas Sarkozy's comment on multiculturalism came as a surprise because France rejected multiculturalism and advocated for assimilation. Some analyses regarded Sarkozy's remarks as a campaign to gain votes from the far-right for the elections in the following year (Heneghan, 2011).

Other leaders like John Howard, former prime minister of Australia, and Jose Maria Aznar, former prime minister of Spain, also denounced multiculturalism as being a failure. John Howard and Jose Maria Aznar, both already had anti-multiculturalist views long

¹⁶ Prevent is one of the four strands of United Kingdom's counterterrorism strategy called Contest. The four strands are Prevent, Prepare, Protect and Pursue. Prevent aims to build relations between the police and related government bodies with community organizations (e.g., church, school, hospital) across the United Kingdom so that the community organizations could report suspicions to a local Prevent body.

before they responded to Cameron's speech. John Howard became the prime minister of Australia in 1996 in part due to his critical view of multiculturalism. His views are probably influenced by the White Australia Policy.¹⁷ Jose Maria Aznar was quoted as saying "Multiculturalism is precisely what splits society (cited in Tremlett, 2002)." In 2002, Spain was still experiencing threats from the Basque separatist group Euskadi Ta Askatasuna (ETA), and it is possible that the crisis affected Aznar's views.

2.4. Support for Multiculturalism

Though politicians and other critics have attacked multiculturalism, Kymlicka (2012) states that there has not been any retreat of state multicultural policies. To support his argument, Kymlicka points to the MCP index. The index, having a scale of '0' as lowest and '8' as highest, clearly shows that indeed countries have expanded multicultural policies since the 1970s. The average score for the 21 countries (including Denmark and Japan) constantly increased from 1.33 in 1970 to 3.62 in 2010. Table 2 shows the development of MCP index. Furthermore, Kymlicka argues that because Canada was the first country to adopt multiculturalism and is a country that still ranks high¹⁸ on the index, adverse effects of multiculturalism should show up in Canada. Yet, what we see is just the opposite.

¹⁷ The policy is based on the Immigration Restriction Act that came into law on December 23, 1901. The Act aimed to limit non-British migration into Australia.

¹⁸ Canada has a score of 7.5 and is only outranked by Australia with a score of 8.

Vertovec and Wessendorf (2009) also states that despite the fact that right and center-left politicians distanced themselves from multiculturalism, there has not been “a complete paradigm shift away from multiculturalism in public debate”. They further claim that the term multiculturalism became less visible in official documents, however, the use of ‘diversity’ has been growing instead.

Table 2. Development of the MCP index from 1980 to 2010

Country	Total Score			
	1980	1990	2000	2010
Australia	5.5	8	8	8
Austria	0	0	1	1.5
Belgium	1	1.5	3.5	5.5
Canada	5	6.5	7.5	7.5
Finland	0	0	1.5	6
France	1	2	2	2
Germany	0	0.5	2	2.5
Greece	0.5	0.5	0.5	2.5
Ireland	1	1	1.5	4
Italy	0	0	1.5	1.5
Netherlands	2.5	3	4	2
New Zealand	2.5	5	5	6
Norway	0	0	0	3.5
Portugal	0	1	3	3.5
Spain	0	1	1	3.5

Sweden	3	3.5	5	7
Switzerland	0	0	1	1
United Kingdom	2.5	5	5	5.5
United States	3.5	3	3	3

* Data source: Queen's University

Manning (2011), through the use of a relatively recent survey conducted by the Home Office of the United Kingdom in 2007, provided empirical data as shown in table 3 below to support multiculturalism. Manning suggested in his analysis that the astonishing finding was that the sense of belonging felt by white British people and other minority groups were similar. He further interpreted this as a success for Britain in making the minority groups feel that they are a part of the society.

Table 3. Sense of belonging by ethnicity in the United Kingdom

Ethnicity	Fairly or very strongly feeling they belong to Britain	Fairly or very strongly feeling they belong to local area	Agreeing one can belong to Britain and maintain a separate/religious identity
White British	85%	72%	66%
Indian	89%	75%	84%
Pakistani	89%	81%	89%
Bangladeshi	87%	78%	86%
Black	84%	75%	77%

Caribbean

Black African

84%

66%

82%

* Data source: Home Office of the UK (cited in Manning, 2011)

Some other facts also support the need for a multiculturalist approach. First, the continuing trend of globalization will result to immigration. Indeed, when multinational corporations expand their businesses into other countries, employees from the country where the company is based are tasked to work in the country where the company expands. It is common for the employees to take their families with them, and in some cases, they settle in those countries. Second, migrants, once settled, cannot easily return to their home country or move on to another country. This could be due to economic reasons (e.g., employment opportunity), and it could also be affected by the education of their children.¹⁹ Third, it is usually the case that first-generation immigrants invest on their children's education. The more immigrants are educated, the more they will make demands for equal rights. Fourth, it is difficult to change state policies after having been adopted. The difficulty of changing policies lies on the fact that policies create stakeholders. For politicians, stakeholders are constituents and gaining their votes is vital for politicians to stay in power. Moreover, just like passing a law is a long and difficult process, repealing a law is not easy. Fifth, some developed countries face low fertility rates and need to rely

¹⁹ In most cases, children are provided with better education in more advanced countries. Parents also consider whether their children will be able to adapt to a new environment in critical times (i.e., transitioning to the next level of education from high school to college).

on immigrants to maintain population. Canada is an example of such state—it admits 250,000 immigrants per year to maintain its workforce (Canada Visa, 2007). Sixth, many of the native population in advanced economies do not apply for 3D²⁰ jobs and employers have to resort to immigrants for labor. Even for jobs that require higher skills, employers sometimes favor immigrant workers to save on labor wages. Finally, foreign policies that ignite conflicts in other regions (e.g., Iraq, Syria, Yemen) could lead to refugees.

2.5. What is Terrorism?

Terrorism, based on the word ‘terror’ originates from the Latin word ‘terrere’ meaning “to frighten” according to the Oxford dictionary. The word was later used in the French language in the fourteenth century and first entered the English language in the fifteenth century.

In 1937, the League of Nations proposed the first legal definition of terrorism, yet until this day an agreed definition of terrorism does not exist. Consider the quote “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter.²¹” As the quote literally implies, terrorists are seen as freedom fighters or terrorists and vice versa depending on the political perspective or the interests at stake for

²⁰ The term usually refers to blue-collar jobs performed by immigrants. 3D stands for Dirty, Dangerous and Difficult (sometimes interchanged with Demeaning).

²¹ Gerald Seymour introduced the quote in his book “Harry’s Game” published in 1975.

the state or party involved. The differences in perspectives lead to different definitions of terrorism.

Schmid (2011) identifies three preferred definitions of terrorism: (1) 1988 academic consensus definition (ACD) of terrorism²², (2) UN draft definition of terrorism²³, and (3) US State Department's definition of terrorism. Yet, according to the survey results conducted by Schmid in the same study, all three definitions were still highly debated among practitioners and scholars because

²² The 1988 ACD defines terrorism as “an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal, or political reasons, whereby—in contrast to assassination—the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are generally chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat- and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention, depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought (cited in Schmid, 2011).”

²³ The international community convened to define terrorism since the 1930s. The first was conducted by the League of Nations in 1937 in which it defined acts of terrorism as “all criminal acts directed against a State and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons, or a group of persons or the general public (cited in Schmid, 2011).” This definition, however, did not receive support as only 1 state (colonial India) ratified the convention. Efforts to define terrorism was taken up by the United Nations in 1972 after the terrorist attacks at the Munich Olympic Games yet, even to this date, the United Nations failed to arrive at an internationally-agreed definition of terrorism. The latest draft of the Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism includes the informal text of article 2 as for the definition of terrorism:

- a. Death or serious bodily injury to any person; or
- b. Serious damage to public or private property, including a place of public use, a State or government facility, a public transportation system, an infrastructure facility or to the environment; or
- c. Damage to property, places, facilities or systems referred to in paragraph 1 (b) of this article, resulting or likely to result in major economic loss; when the purpose of the conduct, by its nature or context, is to intimidate a population, or to compel a Government or an international organization to do or to abstain from doing any act.

the definitions were non-exhaustive. Moreover, acts of terrorism change with time hence, certain components within these definitions are deemed out of date.

Even within a country, institutions define terrorism in a manner that would best fit their goals. To give a vivid example of this case, the US Department of State views terrorism as an act committed “to intimidate or coerce a civilian population” in 18 U.S. Code section 2331 (Office of the Law Revision Counsel, not dated). Conversely, the US Department of Defense does not mention ‘civilian’ in its definition and states that terrorism is an act that targets governments or societies (Homeland Security Digital Library, 2010). Though it is not explicitly stated, it seems reasonable to assume that the Department of Defense excluded ‘civilian population’ from its definition of terrorism because it wanted to include attacks against uniformed personnel as acts of terrorism.

This study uses the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) in its analysis, therefore, I define terrorism as it is defined in the GTD. Terrorism is “the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation (Global Terrorism Database, not dated).”

2.6. History of Terrorism

Early records of terrorism dates back to nearly 2,000 years ago when the Sicarii fought against Roman rule in Judea (Garrison, 2003). The word ‘Sicarii’ came from the Latin word for dagger

‘sica’. Sicarii later became synonymous with assassins because the Sicarii were known to use daggers to kill either the Roman legionnaires or Jews who collaborated with the Romans. Note here that the purpose of the acts committed by the Sicarii was to instill fear in the Jewish society and induce change in behavior—for Jews to not cooperate with Romans.

In the late 18th century, Maximilien Robespierre and the Committee of Public Safety used terrorism²⁴ to exercise control over France. During the ‘Reign of Terror’, nearly 17,000 people suspected of being enemies of the Revolutionary government were executed.

More recently, Rapoport (2002) classified the modern history of terrorism into the ‘Four Waves of Terrorism’. The four waves are what he dubbed as (1) anarchist, (2) anti-colonial or post-colonial, (3) New Left, and (4) religious.

The anarchist wave began with the founding of ‘Narodnaya Volya (People’s Will in Russian)’ in 1878. The group was against Tsarist rule and most of its targets were Russian government officials. Narodnaya Volya was successful in assassinating Tsar Alexander II on March 1, 1881.

After the end of the Second World War in 1945, people of former colonies of the West indulged themselves with nationalist goals which in turn led them to organize liberation movements. This marked the beginning of the anti-colonial wave. Liberation movements, however, were rooted in Woodrow Wilson’s proclamation given after concluding the First World War through defeating the Ottoman Empire. Here, Wilson proclaimed that

²⁴ Contrary to the Sicarii, what occurred in France was state terrorism.

everyone had the right to live their lives under a government that they themselves organize.

The third wave—New Left—began in the 1960s with the opposition against the Vietnam War. Radical groups engaged with New Left terrorism pursued to spread Marxist–Leninist–Maoist political agendas. Most of the groups came to an end with counterterrorism operations implemented by governments.

The last wave—religious—started with the Iranian Revolution in 1979. Most of the groups involved are Islamist (e.g. Al Qaeda, ISIS, Hezbollah, Hamas), and the wave is still ongoing.

2.7. Causes of Terrorism

Many researchers endeavored to find the root causes of terrorism. Here, I discuss only the major variables that were cited as root causes.

(1) *Poverty*. After 9/11, then President George W. Bush linked poverty as a root cause of terrorism in his speech addressing the United Nations in 2002. President Bush stated in his speech that the international community (at least those siding with the US) should “fight against poverty because hope is an answer to terror (Pbs.org, 2002).” Yet, in a study conducted by Krueger and Maleckova (2003), the authors were not able to find any compelling evidence to link poverty as a root cause of terrorism. Indeed, one can easily find examples of real-life terrorists, who have wealthy

backgrounds. Osama bin Laden—the founder of al Qaeda—whose father was the founder of the construction company Saudi Binladin Group is a quintessential example.

(2) *Education.* Berrebi (2007) claimed that one could possibly expect individuals who have the lowest market opportunities to resort to crime and terrorism. Since an individual's level of education is one of key factors employers look for when hiring employees, it can be deduced that people who lack education have fewer market opportunities. In turn, then it must follow that uneducated people are more likely to become criminals or terrorists. Such rationale was the conventional thought. Former US Secretary Colin Powell stated that he believed that “terrorism does come from situations...where there is ignorance, where people see no hope in their lives (US Department of State, 2002).” However, there have been a number of studies that showed countervailing evidences against the claim that terrorists are uneducated.

While serving as an international relief worker in Palestine and other Middle Eastern territories since the late 1980s, Hassan (2001) conducted interviews with men involved in suicide bombing and other terrorist operations. Hassan noted that none of the men matched the profile of a suicidal person nor were they uneducated. To the contrary, many came from the middle class and held regular jobs. Krueger & Maleckova (2003) and Berrebi (2007) also found that there is no direct link between education and terrorism. Menachem Begin, former prime minister of Israel, and Nelson Mandela, former president of South Africa, are a few examples of terrorists who are undoubtedly individuals people would regard as educated (Menachem Begin was a member of Irgun, a Zionist paramilitary group that fought against the British for an independent

state of Israel. Nelson Mandela served as the leader of the military wing of the African National Congress also referred to as MK).

(3) *Religion*. The religion of Islam is frequently associated with terrorism, and the use of 'Islamic terrorism' have become commonplace. Jackson (2007) states that the discourse of 'Islamic terrorism' can be traced back to three sources: (1) studies of 'religious terrorism' based largely on David Rapoport's 1984 article "Fear and Trembling: Terrorism in Three Religious Traditions", (2) literature on orientalist scholarship which expanded rapidly in the 1970s and 1980s, and (3) hostile media representations of Islam and Muslims—especially since 9/11. In addition, the hostility towards Islam is, in part, due to many of the significant terrorist organizations in modern times being based in the Middle East and the majority of the members being Muslims.

Jackson (2007) argued that the notion of 'Islamic terrorism' is flawed because (1) there is too much variation (i.e., Muslims come from more than 50 countries with different culture and tradition) within Islam to be able to make generalizations, (2) there is a large number of studies that show that the doctrines and practices of Islam is not necessarily violent, (3) all religions have scriptures that can be interpreted in a violent manner, (4) there are empirical evidences confirming a weak link between religion and terrorism, and (5) qualitative research suggests that jihadist literatures have political aims and the use of religion is instrumental.

(4) *Psychological Factor*. There has been a long debate as to whether there is a causal connection between mental illness and terrorism. But the majority of the literature on this subject accepts that there is little evidence to link the two (Weatherston & Moran, 2003). Weatherston & Moran (2003) further cited that it is rather

possible that terrorist activities (e.g., witness to serious injury and death of others, exposure or actual harm to one's self, incarceration) entail certain stresses that could result to psychological disorders such as Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). In addition, going back to Hassan's (2001) statements—none of the men being suicidal and holding regular jobs—it becomes clear that empirical evidence shows not all terrorists are mentally ill.

2.8. Multiculturalism as a Cause of Terrorism

In a discussion defending multiculturalism, Norman Vasu posited that multiculturalism may actually be the bulwark of terrorism if performed well. He believed that to “counter extremist thought, one needs a countervailing set of ideas that emphasize the common humanity of all people, regardless of color and creed (Vasu, 2008).” Petro Georgiou also argued in favor of multiculturalism saying that the idea became a scapegoat after the London bombings yet no hard evidence was presented to prove a relationship between the two concepts (Georgiou, 2005). For the proponents, multiculturalism is seen as an idea preventing alienation of ethnic minorities and promoting interaction, which, therefore, has nothing to do with the development of a separate identity and in turn terrorism.

However, many against the idea of multiculturalism reasoned against such claims purporting that multiculturalism eventually leads to terrorism. Melanie Phillips (2017) wrote in her book that multicultural policies, with legislation and implementation of public policies, allow minority culture and religion to thrive in the midst of

the host culture. According to her, such measures, in turn, make everyone's lifestyle to be of equal value and, the idea of an accepted social norm or value is considered to be racist and discriminating. Melanie Phillips further states that acceptance of every culture builds a psychology of separatism from the host culture among immigrants. The reason is because when given the liberty to choose which culture to indulge in, one finds himself in a state of identity loss. Developing on this regard, Malik (2015) expressed this concern in his lecture as follows:

We live in a far more atomized society than in the past; in an age in which there is a growing sense of social disintegration and in which many people feel peculiarly disengaged from mainstream social institutions; and, in which, for many, moral lines seem blurred, identities distended, and conventional culture, ideas and norms detached from their experiences. The real starting point for the making of a homegrown jihadi is not 'radicalization' but social disengagement, a sense of estrangement from, resentment of, Western society. It is because they have already rejected mainstream culture, ideas and norms that some Muslims search for an alternative vision of the world...It is not, in other words, a question of being 'groomed' or 'indoctrinated' but of losing faith in mainstream moral frameworks and searching for an alternative."

Malik (2015) also argued that extremism provides a sense of identity and belonging to people who find themselves in between

the host culture and that of their ethnic culture. In a similar vein, other studies have found that immigrants who fail to integrate with the mainstream society are vulnerable to extremism and radicalization because of the inner conflict they experience (Silber and Bhatt, not dated). Olsson (2013) further supports this argument by stating that “in-betweeners”—young persons who experience a transitional phase in one or more aspects in their lives—are particularly vulnerable to radicalization. This is because transitional phases like advancing to the professional realm from college, having a divorce or losing a job for “in-betweeners” are overwhelming and they find themselves helpless. Such people are more susceptible to persuasion and accepting new ideas and behaviors (Olsson, 2014). Figure 1 illustrates the mechanism behind multiculturalism as a cause of terrorism based on the arguments made by those who oppose multiculturalism.

Figure 1. Mechanism behind multiculturalism as a cause of terrorism



Chapter 3. Data and Study Design

3.1. Independent Variable

The objective of this study is to look into whether a relationship can be found between multiculturalism and terrorism. To answer this question, I make use of the Multiculturalism Policy Index (MCP index) as the independent variable.

The MCP index, based on a dataset compiled by Daniel Westlake of Queen's University in Canada, is an index that scores multicultural policies aimed at immigrant minorities, indigenous peoples and national minorities. However, because the majority of the arguments made against multiculturalism are aimed against immigrant communities, this study will use the MCP index on immigrant minorities only.

The MCP index for immigrant minorities tracked multicultural policies in 21 countries from 1960 to 2011. These are (1) Australia, (2) Austria, (3) Belgium, (4) Canada, (5) Denmark, (6) Finland, (7) France, (8) Germany, (9) Greece, (10) Ireland, (11) Italy, (12) Japan, (13) Netherlands, (14) New Zealand, (15) Norway, (16) Portugal, (17) Spain, (18) Sweden, (19) Switzerland, (20) United Kingdom, and (21) United States. MCPI tracked multicultural policies by assessing (1) the constitutional or legislative acknowledgment of multiculturalism at the central and/or regional levels of government; (2) adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum; (3) mandate for representation and sensitivity towards ethnic minorities in public media or media licenses; (4) accommodation of traditional or religious attire; (5) permission of

dual citizenship; (6) state funding for ethnic groups and their activities; (7) state funding for bilingual education; and (8) affirmative action policies for immigrant minorities (Queen's University, not dated). Each aspect was given a score of '1' if the policy was adopted, '0.5' for partial adoption and '0' if the policy was not adopted with the exception of the mandate of media and affirmative action. These two components were scored either '1' or '0' depending on whether the policy was implemented or not. The MCP index is the sum of all scores with '8' as being the highest.

3.2. Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is the incidents of terrorism in each country. For this variable, I make use of the Global Terrorism Database (GTD). GTD initially based their data on the information collected by the Pinkerton Global Intelligence Services (PGIS) for the period 1970–1997. Unfortunately, the GTD dataset does not include incidents in 1993 because PGIS lost much of the data when it moved offices in 1993, and the data was never fully recovered (Global Terrorism Database, not dated). To make up for the missing data, I make use of the mean imputation method to estimate terror incidents in 1993. Hence, I substitute the mean of terror incidents for each country as the observed number of terror incidents for 1993 of that respective country instead of '0'.

GTD has data available from 1970–2018 (it takes START approximately one year to compile terror incidents occurring within a year and 2019 data should be available at the end of 2020). On the other hand, MCP index has data available from 1970–2011. To

match the two datasets, I will only use data for the period 1970–2011. Furthermore, I will exclude Denmark and Japan because the two countries have an index of zero (Denmark had an index of 0.5 from 1976 to 2001 for partially allowing mother–tongue instruction but state funding was eliminated in 2001; Japan never adopted any multicultural policy).

3.3. Other Variables

In addition to the independent and dependent variables, I tried to include other variables as covariates to explain more variation in the model—also to increase the precision of the study. The variables are the gross domestic product (GDP), total population, poverty rate, education index, and religion.²⁵ The rationale for including the covariates is that these are (1) common variables used to compare different countries (GDP and population), and (2) variables that measure some of what have been discussed—at least they are argued—as possible causes of terrorism (i.e., poverty, religion, psychological factor and education).

The World Bank was the source of data for GDP (in current US dollars), total population and poverty rate per country, which has a database with data available from the years 1960 to 2018. Note here that the World Bank has several measures of poverty rate (i.e., rate using the national poverty line, poverty rate using an

²⁵ Psychological factor was excluded because there was no available data. The absence of data makes sense because medical records should be kept confidential.

international measure, etc.) and I use the ‘poverty gap at \$1.90 a day (2011 PPP²⁶)’ as the measure for poverty rate.

For religion, I made use of the ‘Religious Composition by Country, 2010–2050’ published by the Pew Research Center in 2015 as many countries do not account for religion in the census. According to the projection, the religious composition does not change much over the period of four decades. For example, Christianity is the biggest religion in Australia, and Christianity composes 67.3% of its population in 2010. This figure drops every decade to 61.7% in 2020, 56.5% in 2030, 51.5% in 2040 and 47% in 2050 yet Christianity still remains to be the biggest religion.²⁷ The same pattern is observed in all other countries included in this study, and similarly, data shows that Christianity is the biggest religion. Based on this observation, I assumed that the religious composition is similar in the past as well—Christianity is dominant. The data and my assumption allowed me to treat religion as a dummy variable (i.e., either Christianity is the dominant religion or not) yet, I had to exclude religion because, with Christianity as the dominant religion in all countries, there was no variation to derive meaningful results.

On the other hand, the education index is made available by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the index is calculated using the mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling. The education index had data available from 1980 to 2013.

²⁶ Purchasing Power Parity

²⁷ In general, only Islam and the unaffiliated show an increase in its size while all other religions—Buddhism, folk religion, Hinduism and Judaism—show a decline.

Again, to match the data with the data available for the MCP index, I only included data for the years 1970 to 2011 for the analysis. There were no missing data for GDP and total population but there were many missing data for the poverty rate and education index. I made use of the multiple imputation method to derive values for the missing data.

3.4. Hypothesis of this Study

As stated earlier, many have stated (i.e., former Prime Minister David Cameron, Melanie Philips, etc.) that multicultural policies allowed immigrant minorities to live a life separated from the mainstream society.²⁸ As public figures openly denounced multiculturalism as a failure, attacks on multiculturalism became common in the mainstream media. Yet, their claim—that multiculturalism leads to terrorism—lacked objective perspective because there was no study conducted to determine if a link existed between multiculturalism and terrorism. The absence of such a study is still the case even up to this date, and this study attempts to fill in those gaps and determine whether a relationship can be found between the two variables using a data-driven method.

To conduct the study, I assumed what the opponents of multiculturalism argue—multiculturalism effects immigrants to disengage themselves socially with the host or mainstream society, which then leads the immigrants to radicalize and commit acts of terrorism—to be true.

²⁸ In some cases, criticisms against multiculturalism extend to ethnic minorities as well, but the focus of this study is immigrants.

Table 4. Multicultural and non-multicultural countries according to the median MCP index value in 1980

Multicultural (MCP Index)	Non-multicultural (MCP Index)
Belgium (1)	Austria (0)
France (1)	Denmark (0)
Greece (0.5)	Finland (0)
Ireland (1)	Germany (0)
Netherlands (2.5)	Italy (0)
Portugal (1)	Norway (0)
Sweden (3)	Spain (0)
United Kingdom (2.5)	Switzerland (0)

* Data source: Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2016)

Recently, Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2016) found evidence to this claim—that due to multiculturalism, immigrants disengage themselves with the host society—by analyzing a sample of 465 immigrants (346 Muslims and 119 Christians) living in multicultural and non-multicultural countries in Europe. For their study, the authors made use of the MCP index to identify multicultural and non-multicultural countries. Specifically, they calculated the median MCP index of 16 countries²⁹ in 1980, which gave them a value of

²⁹ These were Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United Kingdom. The other five countries (Australia,

0.25. All countries with an MCP index above the median value were classified as multicultural. Conversely, the countries with an MCP index below the median were classified as non-multicultural³⁰. Table 4 separates the 16 countries used in the study into the multicultural and non-multicultural along with their index values.

The authors conducted the study using a survey, and they focused on four issues that are relevant to first- and second-generation immigrants: (1) religiosity (how religious a person is), (2) gender norms (whether the person has biases against females or accepts that men should have priority/privilege over women), (3) probability of feeling discriminated by the host society, and (4) probability of being unemployed or inactive. Religiosity was measured with a scale of 0 to 10 with 0 being very religious; gender norms used a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 being biased against women.

The analysis found that the divergence was bigger among the younger generation, who lived in multicultural countries. To state it more clearly, the findings can be summarized as: second-generation Muslims in multicultural countries (1) being more religious, (2) being more likely to favor men over women, (3) having a higher probability of feeling discriminated by the host society, and (4) having a higher probability of being unemployed or inactive compared to their Christian counterparts. What I find more interesting is that these observations were true when compared to their parents (first-generation immigrants) as well. In other words,

Canada, Japan, New Zealand and the United States) were excluded as they are not located within Europe.

³⁰ Adida, Laitin and Valfort used the term ‘assimilationist’ in their study, however, I make use of the term ‘non-multicultural’ because the fact that a state did not adopt any multicultural policy does not necessarily mean that the state pursues assimilation.

second-generation immigrants were more disintegrated with the mainstream society relative to first-generation immigrants. This is surprising because it seems plausible to assume that second-generation immigrants, having been subject to the host culture, would have more or less assimilated with the host society.

Table 5. Trends for Muslim and Christian immigrants in non-multicultural and multicultural countries in Europe

Issue	1st-gen Immigrants (a)	2nd-gen Immigrants (b)	Evolution (b-a)
<u>Non-religiosity (scale of 0 to 10, 0 being very religious)</u>			
Non-	2.71-3.43=-0.72	1.78-3.36=-	-0.86
multicultural		1.58**	
Multicultural	3.74-3.64=0.10	0.91-3.28=-	-2.27**
		2.37***	
<u>Gender Norms (scale of 1 to 5, 1 being biased against women)</u>			
Non-	2.61-3.55=-	3.60-4.37=-	+0.17
multicultural	0.94**	0.77***	
Multicultural	3.13-3.60=-0.47	3.15-4.20=-	-0.58
		1.05**	
<u>Probability of Feeling Discriminated</u>			
Non-	0.27-0.08=0.19**	0.36-0.07=0.29***	+0.10
multicultural			
Multicultural	0.25-0.40=-0.15	0.34-0.11=0.23	+0.38**

Probability of Being Unemployed or Inactive

Non-	0.31-	0.36-0.07=0.29***	+0.10
multicultural	0.10=0.21***		
Multicultural	0.20-0.23=-0.03	0.89-0.73=0.16*	+0.19*

* Data source: Adida, Laitin and Valfort (2016)

Table 5 shows the results of the study. Using the highlighted example, each cell should be interpreted as follows: In non-multicultural countries, the mean value for non-religiosity of first-generation Muslims is 2.71 and 3.43 for Christian counterparts. The difference between the two groups is -0.72. *, ** and *** indicate significance at 0.10, 0.05 and 0.01 level respectively.

Based on the arguments made by public figures and with the supporting evidence provided by Adida, Laitin and Valfort, I hypothesized that if this claim is correct, then it must follow that multicultural countries should experience more incidents of terrorism. Hence, I argue that “multicultural policies increase the occurrences of terrorism within a country”.

3.5. Comparison of Summary Statistics

Before examining the relationship between multiculturalism and terrorism, I first tried to simply compare the descriptive statistics between groups of multicultural and non-multicultural countries with respect to the incidents of terrorism. To do so, I first created a multicultural group to compare with the non-multicultural group. The multicultural group was based on the 19 countries—

excluding Denmark and Japan—that are listed under the MCP index. On the other hand, the non-multicultural group was selected from a list of 205 countries included in the GTD. A simple randomization method was used to select 19 countries to match the number of countries in the multicultural group. Because 19 countries forming the multicultural group had to be excluded from the GTD list, the total number of countries equaled to 186 ($205 - 19 = 186$). From this list, a country was selected using an interval of 10 ($186 \div 19 = 9.8$ or 10). The countries forming both the multicultural and non-multicultural groups are listed in Table 6.

Table 6. List of countries consisting the multicultural and non-multicultural group

Item	Multicultural Group	Non-multicultural Group
1	Australia	Angola
2	Austria	Bahamas
3	Belgium	Botswana
4	Canada	Chile
5	Finland	Dem. Rep. of Congo
6	France	E. Guinea
7	Germany	Georgia
8	Greece	Hong Kong
9	Ireland	Jamaica
10	Italy	Lebanon
11	Netherlands	Malaysia
12	New Zealand	Morocco
13	Norway	North Korea

14	Portugal	Qatar
15	Spain	Seychelles
16	Sweden	South Vietnam
17	Switzerland	Taiwan
18	United Kingdom	Ukraine
19	United States	Western Sahara

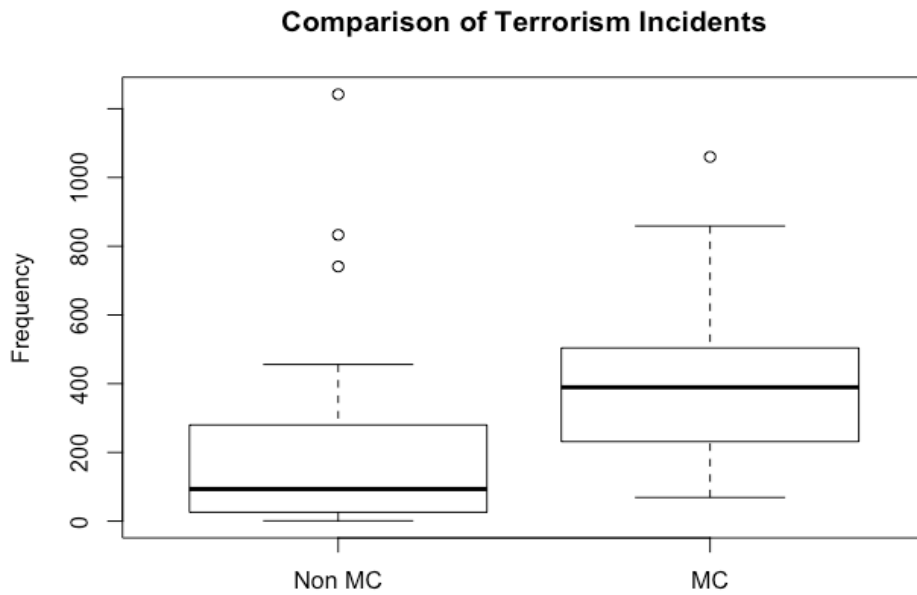


Figure 2. Comparison of terrorism incidents between non-multicultural (Non MC) and multicultural (MC) countries for the years 1970–2017.

After forming the multicultural and non-multicultural group, I compiled the number of terror incidents for each country per year from 1970 to 2017. I then aggregated the data by year for each group (i.e., both multicultural and non-multicultural groups have

one observation for the year 1970, 1971 and so on). Following this process, I calculated the summary statistics (i.e., mean, median, range and total incidents of terrorism) to see how the values differ between the two groups. My rationale for doing so is that if it is true that multiculturalism is a cause of terrorism, then results should show that countries with multicultural policies should experience more incidents of terrorism. Conversely, I expected the values to be similar or less if multicultural countries do not experience more incidents of terrorism compared to non-multicultural countries. Figure 2 gives a vivid illustration of the results.

For the non-multicultural group, yearly observations ranged from 1 to 1,242³¹ incidents and the total number of incidents amounted to 8,635. The mean of terror incidents was 179.9 and the median was 93.5. On the other hand, the multicultural group had observations ranging from 69 to 1,060 and the total number of incidents amounted to 19,173. The mean of terror incidents was 399.4 and the median was 389.5. The numerical values clearly show that it seems reasonable to assume that there is a substantial difference between the two groups due to multiculturalism. In addition, the statistics also seems to support my hypothesis that multicultural policies increase the occurrences of terrorism within a country.

3.6. Two-way Fixed Effects Model

³¹ Notice here that this single observation, an outlier, is higher than the highest value observed for the multicultural group. This value was observed in Ukraine in the year 2014, the time when Russia conducted a military invasion into Ukraine.

Now, with the available datasets, I will conduct a regression analysis using a two-way fixed effects model fixing time (year) and region (country). The independent variable, the coefficient of interest, will be the MCP index and the dependent variable will be the incidents of terrorism as recorded in GTD. The other variables in this study—GDP, population, poverty rate and education index—are included as covariates.

I am able to use two-way fixed effects model because panel data is available and the observations are nested within the units that I fixed. Moreover, it is reasonable to use fixed effects because countries could have systematic differences and secular trends that could have affected the occurrences of terrorism. Country fixed effects control for time-invariant omitted variables that are specific to a country; time fixed effects control for the national secular trends.

Applying the hypothesis that multicultural countries experience more incidents of terrorism, I arrived at the following equation for this study:

$$Y_{st} = \alpha + \beta_0 MC + \delta s + \theta t + \beta_1 X + \varepsilon_{st}$$

wherein Y is the incidents of terrorism in a country (s) at time (t); α is the baseline intercept; β_0 is the coefficient of interest for the MCP index MC; δ is the country fixed effects; θ is the year fixed effects; X is the covariate or control vector (i.e., GDP, total population, poverty rate and education index); and ε is the unexplained variation or error term.

Prior to conducting the analysis, I converted the unit of GDP from ‘US dollars’ to ‘billion US dollars’, and I further converted the unit of population from ‘individual’ to ‘million individuals’ because the numerical value for these coefficients were extremely large compared to the other variables in the study. The analysis tool that I used to run this model was R. Using this tool, I conducted the analysis using the *plm* function³² and derived at the outcome stated in Table 7.

Table 7. Output of the fixed effects model

Coefficient	Estimate	P-value
MCP Index	−0.69	0.64
GDP (one billion US\$)	−0.01	0.02*
Population (one million)	0.18	0.78
Education Index	−37.7	0.02*
Poverty Rate	−6.26	0.18
R ²	0.08	
Adjusted R ²	0.002	

‘*’ indicates significance at the 0.05 level

³² Because this study involves the use of a regression analysis to determine the outcome, the analysis could have been done using the *lm* function in R. If the *lm* function was used, the output would have reported the coefficients for all dummy variables for countries and years as well. However, when using the *lm* function, the output reports the adjusted R² for “overall” and not “within”, which is the reason why I made use of the *plm* function instead. Moreover, the coefficient of interest in this study is the coefficient for the Multiculturalism Policy Index.

Chapter 4. Discussions

According to the output of the analysis, multiculturalism, as it is measured by the MCP index, had a coefficient of -0.69 . This output means that as the unit of multiculturalism increases—which should be interpreted as a country or government adopting more policies supporting multiculturalism—incidents of terrorism decreases. One may infer from this result that when a society is more welcoming and tolerant of immigrants (not only as individuals but also for them to maintain their culture, language, etc. as a group)—again, due to the presence of multicultural policies adopted by governments—immigrants do not engage themselves with terrorist acts. This could be because immigrant minorities do not feel threatened by the host society and rather feel that they are respected. In return, immigrants perceive that they have no reason to commit acts of hostility against the mainstream society. The MCP index, however, was not statistically significant.

GDP, with a unit of one billion US\$, had a coefficient of -0.01 , which was statistically significant at the 0.05 level. This value also showed that GDP had a negative relationship with respect to terrorism, and that it decreases incidents of terrorism by 0.01 as GDP increases by one billion US\$. Because GDP is commonly used to measure the economic welfare and standard of living in a country, one could infer from this result that as the standard of living improves, the likelihood of terror incidents materializing decreases.

Simultaneously, another interpretation of this result could be that increase in terrorist incidents hinders economic growth.³³

The population variable had a positive relationship with terrorism, and the analysis reported that as population increases by a factor of one million people, incidents of terrorism increases by 0.18. This may be because as population increases, a society faces various interests (compare an economy based solely on agriculture and an economy with various industrial sectors). Consequently, it would then be more likely for a society with a bigger population to have a higher number of dissatisfied people in an absolute sense. In a democratic society, people express their concerns through protests and sometimes frustration leads to violent activities. As a result, it becomes necessary for governments to address the concerns. This could be in the form of policy that is a solution to the problem or the use of legitimate force to control the crowd. With this in mind, it becomes convincing to think that it may be difficult for a government to control larger populations because it would need more resources to efficiently implement its policies. Yet, the population variable appeared to be statistically insignificant.

The analysis further reported that the education index of a country had a negative impact on terrorism. Results showed that education was linked to a 37.7 decrease in incidents of terrorism. Moreover, the coefficient was statistically significant at the 0.05 level. There may be many explanations as to why education reduces terrorism. But, just to cite one among many, education builds critical thinking therefore, it should be plausible to think that the likelihood of an individual being co-opted or radicalized would

³³ Abadie and Gardeazabal (2003) found that the GDP per capita in the Basque region declined by about 10% after the rise of terrorist incidents.

decrease as the individual receives more education. Despite this finding, we know for a fact that not all terrorists are uneducated, and that there are many terrorists who are highly educated as well.

The last covariate, poverty rate, had a negative relationship with terrorism with a coefficient of -6.26 . The value of the coefficient means that as poverty rate increases, the incidents of terrorism decreases by a factor of 6.26. This finding was surprising not because I expected poverty rate to have a positive relationship with terrorism but because it was contradicting the effects of GDP. If better standards of living decreases terrorism, how should one understand a simultaneous decrease in terrorism with a rise in poverty rate? Looking back at the definition of poverty—people living under US\$1.90 per day—it may be possible that terrorist organizations do not find people living in extreme poverty to be an attractive candidate worth recruiting. Indeed, terrorist organizations are strained when it comes to resources because they face restrictions imposed by governments. From this perspective, it seems reasonable to argue that terrorist organizations will not recruit an individual who has nothing much to contribute to the group (e.g., information, financial donation, etc.). On the other hand, it may also be possible that terrorist organizations do not favor impoverished regions to be their areas of operations. Terrorism is theater hence, attacking an insignificant region may not create the effect that they seek.

Finally, the value of the adjusted R^2 comes out as roughly 0.002. This numerical value suggests that less than one percent of the variation in incidents of terrorism is due to changes in the independent variables. In other words, this model explains 0.002 percent of the variation in incidents of terrorism.

The coefficient for the MCP index was the coefficient of interest of this study. Based on the results that reported multiculturalism decreases incidents of terrorism by 0.69, there are two things that need to be emphasized. First, the implementation of multiculturalism (including policies and not just the idea itself) had an impact in decreasing incidents of terrorism. Second, the results were not statistically significant and therefore, it implied that the link between multiculturalism and terrorism is weak. These two points lead us to conclude that the findings of this study do not support the claim that multiculturalism leads to terrorism. Accordingly, I argue that multicultural countries do not experience more incidents of terrorism due to multiculturalism. It is true that the multicultural group had a higher value of total terrorist incidents compared to the non-multicultural group (chapter 3.5 of this study) but other factors may have had an effect. Acts of terrorism could have occurred more if not for multiculturalism.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

In this section, I discuss the limitations of this study, and I suggest improvements so that future researchers could derive at a more meaningful conclusion.

Many of the limitations in this study results from the fact that all 19 countries included in this study are part of the Western civilization which could, by itself, possess characteristics distinguishable from other countries not included in this study. First, one can point out that Western countries are ruled by a democratic government. In a democratic system, sovereign power is held by the people and is characterized by rule of law. Freedom of expression is also another feature of democracy. Such characteristics render these states different from those countries that are undemocratic (e.g., dictatorship, monarchy, communism), and the derived outcome of this study may not be the same for countries that are ruled by other governing principles.

Second, the countries included in the analysis are countries that are more affluent and developed than the rest of the world in general. All 19 countries are members of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and six countries (Canada, France, Germany, Italy, United Kingdom and the United States) in this study comprise the top ten economies in the world as of 2018 according to the World Bank (2019). Advanced countries have better performing systems (e.g., government, industry, etc.) compared to developing countries. As a result, the majority of countries included in this study possess a higher value for many of the variables used in the analysis. Furthermore,

advanced countries are more transparent and more accurate when reporting data/information in most cases.

Third, Western countries share many cultural similarities that differ from the East and the Middle East. Aslani, Ramirez–Marin, Brett, Yao, Semnani–Azad, Zhang, Tinsley, Weingart and Adair (2016) reported in their study on negotiation with different cultures that the West stresses dignity; East values face; Middle East prioritizes honor. Because cultural trends differ, the impact of multiculturalism may turn out differently in regions other than the West.

Fourth, Western countries form alliances and international organizations because they share interests (e.g., NATO, EU). Due to their combined strength and wealth, Western countries are influential in the international arena and are engaged in shaping foreign policies. International affairs and foreign policies have an impact on other countries being affected, and this could have caused terrorists to target the countries included in this study.³⁴ On a similar note, all of the former colonizing countries during the modern colonial era are included in this study.³⁵ These factors could have increased the incidents of terrorism in many of the countries that were part of this study.

For the above reasons, I find that the results of this study cannot be generalized.

As for the covariates, I have included GDP, total population, poverty rate and education index, but additional covariates could be included because doing so will reduce bias and increase the

³⁴ For example, al Qaeda targeted the US for being involved in Middle Eastern affairs.

³⁵ Recall that in the discussion of the history of terrorism, Rapoport states independence movements as the third wave of terrorism.

precision of the model. When discussing the causes of terrorism, I mentioned that other scholars further posited religion and psychological factors among others as being a possible cause of terrorism. These variables could contribute to finding better results however, there were limitations that prevented me to add these variables—either there was no dataset that I could use or there was no variation in the data. Future researchers, should they opt to make use of these covariates, may have to resort to collecting firsthand data by means of survey, interview, etc.

Finally, and probably most important, is the nature of the model of this study. Fixed effects have low external validity because they estimate variation within the fixed units only, and fixed effects do not account for time-varying unobservable variables. Moreover, the 19 countries included in this study cannot be regarded as representative of the whole international community. Therefore, I am not able to claim causality, and again, I am not able to generalize the findings of the study.

The concept of multiculturalism has been criticized by many prominent public figures as being the cause of terrorism. The rationale behind such claims was that multiculturalism results to the immigrant population disengaging from the host society which then leads to terrorism. Openly stating such beliefs affected the attitude of the public which manifested into criticisms and counterterrorism policies targeting the immigrant community. Yet, it was not clear whether there was actual evidence to support the criticisms and changes in policies.

This study endeavored to determine the relationship between multiculturalism and terrorism. As far as I know, a study on the relationship of multiculturalism and terrorism had never been

conducted before. The results of the analysis showed that multiculturalism had a negative relationship with terrorism, and it was not statistically significant. Hence, the correlation between multiculturalism and terrorism was found to be weak. Consequently, I posit that the findings of this study lead us to conclude that multiculturalism is not a cause of terrorism.

Perhaps there is another cause of terrorism hitherto unknown or perhaps there is no single cause of terrorism³⁶—which I think may be more likely. Whatever it may be, further studies are necessary. Even with regards to just multiculturalism as a cause of terrorism, more studies should be conducted to find causality between multiculturalism and terrorism, and until proven, multiculturalism should not be regarded as a cause of terrorism.

Though the results of this study cannot be generalized because causality could not be claimed, the study could be useful, especially for security agencies, in devising or adopting public policies such as counterterrorism measures. At worst, I think it would be unlikely for government organizations to implement programs against multiculturalism based on political rhetoric and public attitude if the results of this study were put into consideration. Indeed, if plans and programs were based on ideas without any supporting data, it would very likely to be inefficient and then would lead to squandering valuable resources.

On a brighter note, this study contributes to data-driven research on terrorism. This could encourage others—individuals and entities—to conduct further studies on terrorism based on

³⁶ With this, I mean that a number of variables that have been currently argued as causes to terrorism (i.e., poverty, education, religion, psychological factors, etc.), when working together, could cause terrorism.

quantitative data—a field where quantitative data analysis itself is scarce.

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국문초록

다문화 국가에서는 더 많은 테러사건이 발생하는가? 다문화주의와 테러의 연관성에 대한 연구

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다문화주의는 1960 년대에 도입된 것으로 비교적 새로운 개념이라고 할 수 있다. 다문화주의는 크게 이민자 유입의 증가에 따른 결과로 보고 있다. 하지만, 다문화주의라는 개념이 공공정책으로 도입된 지 얼마 지나지 않아 거친 비판을 받았다. 그로 인해 사회는 이분화 되었으며 정당들도 다문화주의를 실패작으로 보기 시작하였다. 이와 더불어, 많은 저명한 인사들이 다문화주의를 테러의 원인이라고 비난하였다. 다문화주의가 테러의 원인이라는 주장에 대한 논리적 근거는 다문화주의가 이민자들로 하여금 주류 사회와 동떨어진 생활방식을 고수하도록 하여 결국에는 급진적이며 과격한 사고를 갖게 된다는 것이었다. 본 연구는 이러한 주장이 근거가 있는지 밝히기 위해 실시하게 되었다.

그동안의 선행연구를 살펴본 결과, 현재까지 다문화주의와 테러의 연관성을 주제로 한 연구는 없었던 것으로 나타났다. 본 연구는

이러한 연관성을 탐구하기 위해 Global Terrorism Database (GTD) 및 Multiculturalism Policy Index (MCPI)-이민자들을 지원하는 공공정책을 수치화한 지수-를 사용한 고정효과모형을 통해 분석을 실시하였다.

만약 다문화주의를 반대하는 이들의 주장-즉, 다문화주의가 테러의 원인이라는 것-이 맞다면 다문화국가에서 더 많은 테러사건이 발생하는 것이 합당할 것이다. 이에 따라, 다문화정책이 보다 많은 테러 사건을 유발한다는 가설을 세웠으며 다문화주의와 테러 사이에 정적 상관관계가 존재할 것으로 예상하였다. 하지만, 본 연구 결과를 통해 다문화주의와 테러의 연관성이 약하다는 것과 다문화주의와 테러가 부적 관계를 갖고 있다는 지표를 확인하였다. 즉, 다문화 지수의 증가가 테러 발생 건수를 감소시켰으나 통계적으로 유의하지 않았다. 이로 인해 다문화주의가 테러의 원인이라고 보기 어렵다는 결론에 도달하게 되었다.