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CAN STRONG CITIZENSHIP MITIGATE DOMESTIC TERRORISM?

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ABSTRACT

The past five years have seen a rise in domestic terrorism. Governments worldwide are struggling to determine how best to mitigate the potential for new or continued attacks. One theory, suggested by Sir Bernard Crick, posits that instilling strong citizenship and civic virtues in a nation's youth and immigrants will mitigate domestic terrorism. Based on his three requisite tenets of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy, the theory is examined against three case studies involving countries that have fallen victim to domestic terrorists. Following a review of each country's approach to citizenship and civics, the Canadian approach is then examined. The results clearly reflect that Canada's success in mitigating domestic terrorism over the past 30 years is directly related to her approach towards citizenship and civics. Specifically, Canada's multicultural and diversity based citizenship reinforce all aspects of the theory and its three tenets for strong citizenship. The theory is therefore validated and should be considered a proven option for other nations.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since early civilization, people throughout the world have used terror from both above and below in order to achieve political goals motivated by political, social, economic, religious, and ideological grievances.[1] Terrorists from above have included government and religious leaders who suppressed change and reform, institutionalized racist policies and discriminated against people because of who they were. An example of this was the enslavement of black Africans from 1619 to 1865 by colonial America. Terrorists from below have included un-empowered and dissatisfied citizens who used terror to overthrow governments and acquire political power or maintain the social, political, economic, religious, or ideological status quo.[2] The Hutu genocide of Tutsis in Rwanda is a classic example of this type of terrorism. Indeed today's terrorist, whether acting in the international or domestics arenas, does so for many of the same reasons only under newer names and access to more technologically advanced tools.

There are two forms of terrorism: *Domestic Terrorism* – also called national terrorism – refers to acts of terrorism committed within the territorial borders of a country and involving citizens and interests only of that country. *International terrorism* refers to acts of terrorism involving citizens or the territory of more than one country.[3] A search of the National Memorial Institute for the Prevention of Terrorism (MIPT) database revealed that international terrorism worldwide had been declining from 1986 to 2001

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[1] Miki Vohryzek-Bolden, Gayle Olson-Raymer, and Jeffrey O. Whamond, *Domestic Terrorism and Incident Management: Issues and Tactics* (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher Ltd., 2001), 35.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 5.

while, conversely, domestic terrorism rose from 1996 to 2005.[4] Although it is too early

for scholars to analyze this data, it is clear from a layman's perspective that many nations

must now redirect some of their resources in combating terrorism on the home front.

Many Canadians may be surprised to learn that, with the exception of the United

States, there are more terrorist groups active in Canada today than in any other country in

the world.[5] Given our proximity and solidarity with the United States and other Western

democracies in the fight against terrorism, Canada remains vulnerable to terrorist attack.

The absence of domestic terrorism on Canadian territory, since the early 1970s[6], does not

preclude the possibility of future terrorist attacks from within our national borders.

Canada was after all named as a designated target for terrorist action by Osama bin

Laden, the leader of al Qaeda, because of Canada's role in Afghanistan following

September 11, 2001.[7]

The increased security at our national ports of entry, our rigid and more stringent

immigration guidelines, as well as overall security awareness from the Canadian public at

large, have somewhat mitigated the likelihood of international terrorist attacks against

Canada. The ongoing partnership in the North American Aerospace Defence Command

now, more than ever, provides Canada with vigilant eyes on potential air threats of mass

destruction (i.e. World Trade Center). The Canadian Coast Guard continues to work

hand in hand with her American partners in protecting our territorial waters against sea

borne threats. The Canada Border Service Agency, created in 2003 as an agency of

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[4] MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base, http://www.tkb.org/ChartModule.jsp; Internet;
accessed 10 February 2006.
    [5] Canadian Security Intelligence Service, "A World of Challenge: Terrorism,"
http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/priorities/terrorism.asp; Internet; accessed 7 February 2006.
    [6] Front de Libération du Québec domestic terrorist activities in Montréal, October 5, 1970. Data
taken from http://www.tkb.org/Incident.jsp?incID=567.
    [7] Canadian Security, "A World of Challenge…,"
http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/priorities/terrorism/examples.asp; Internet; accessed 7 February 2006.

Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness Canada, is responsible for managing, controlling and securing Canada's borders. Altogether, the Canadian government has made great strides in reducing the possibility of international terrorist threats. It would be foolish and irresponsible however, for the government to completely rule out any possibility of such attacks. Additionally, given Canada's greater vigilance on this type of terrorism, it is equally important to acknowledge the increased possibility of domestic attacks as a means of accomplishing the same terrorist aims.

The events of September 11, 2001 perhaps had some positive outcomes. In efforts to come to grips with ensuring that such terrorist attacks would not recur, nations not only tried to improve their security measures and to track down and destroy the networks of individuals responsible for those attacks in September, but also began to try to understand why people might feel such hatred toward another country.[8] Also, for the first time, rapid international action was taken to deal with the problem of terrorism, in the form of UN resolutions, treaties, and the declaration of a war on terrorism, by a coalition of nations.[9] The will to eliminate international terrorism is now more universal than it ever was and that can only benefit mankind as a whole. But this is really only one half of the terrorism equation. The other half is how to deal with domestic terrorism.

Unlike international terrorism, where many countries pool their resources and work together in the common fight, domestic terrorism is normally a national responsibility to combat. The manner in which a country chooses to attack domestic terrorism is multifaceted and dependent on the will and resolve of its people. Each nation

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[8] Cindy C. Combs, *Terrorism in the Twenty-First Century*, 3rd ed. (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2003), 277.

[9] For example, United Nations Security Council Resolution 1373 (2001) calling for suppressing financing and improving international cooperation in regards to anti-terrorism.

is guided by its own history and societal virtues which often determine how it will approach the challenge. Some may choose to adopt a police state approach towards its citizenry where rights are the purview of the state. Others may opt for a more balanced approach between security and citizen rights. And some may even be forced to endure domestic terrorism due to the lack of government resources, financing or political will. In the end, the nation alone must adopt the course best suited to meet its needs.

One theory for mitigating domestic terrorism is through the instilling of strong citizenship and civic virtues in school aged children and immigrants. This theory, based on research by Sir Bernard Crick, identifies three key tenets for strong citizenship: [10]

- Social and Moral responsibility – learning self-confidence and socially and morally acceptable behaviour.

- Community Involvement – learning about becoming helpfully involved in communities.

- Political Literacy – learning how to be effective in public life, in other words, realistic knowledge of and preparation for conflict resolution and decision making related to the main economic and social problems of the day.

Therefore, a person who is an intrinsic member of their society, a stakeholder in the future of their nation having full and equal rights, and possessing a sense of belonging and partnership with their fellow citizens, is less likely to engage in domestic terrorism.

The paper will argue that this theory is valid. In order to support this argument, the paper will first broadly define domestic terrorism and citizenship. In looking at domestic terrorism, the paper will quickly touch upon the types and causes of terrorism. From the citizenship perspective, the paper will delve into slightly more detail in order to provide a solid foundation from which to compare other definitions of citizenship.

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[10] Department for Education and Skills, "Citizenship: The Natural Curriculum for England," http://www.dfes.gov.uk/citizenship/section.cfm?sectionId=17&hierachy=17; Internet; accessed 11 January 2006.

Specifically, it will look at the meanings of citizenship, the four domains of citizenship, and the role of the community in civic education.

The paper will then look at three specific case studies (France, United Kingdom and the United States) involving domestic terrorism. For each, the paper will provide both a political and terrorism overview and then look at their respective root causes of domestic terrorist attacks. Following a review of how each define citizenship and approach citizenship education, the paper will summarize each case study in the context of Crick's theory.

Finally, the paper will focus on Canada. It will review Canada's current domestic threat and briefly define citizenship within a Canadian context. The paper will show that Canada's approach to citizenship validates Crick's theory and has largely been able to mitigate domestic terrorism over the past 30 years.

CHAPTER 2

DEFINING DOMESTIC TERRORISM AND CITIZENSHIP

The aim of this chapter is two-fold. First, it will concentrate on providing a common understanding of domestic terrorism as a whole. It will do so by providing a generic definition of domestic terrorism and look at three common types and causes of terrorism. Second, it will focus on citizenship. Specifically, it will address the meanings of citizenship, the four domains of citizenship, and the role of the community in civic education.

DOMESTIC TERRORISM

One of the most difficult issues related to any discussion of terrorism is that of the definitional dilemma. Academic experts, criminal justice practitioners, governmental officials, and even terrorists have disagreed on a definition of terrorism.[11] Because terrorism means different things to different people, gaining consensus on one definition has proven rather difficult. A 1991 survey of these various definitions found that they generally fell into one of five categories.[12] There was simple definitions broadly defining terrorism as the use of force to bring about political change. There were also legal definitions suggesting that terrorism was a form of criminal violence that violated legal codes and was therefore punishable by the state. From an analytical perspective, some definitions sought to identify the problem through specific factors, such as the use of unacceptable violence aimed at innocent targets. State-sponsored definitions maintained

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[11] Miki Vohryzek-Bolden, Gayle Olson-Raymer, and Jeffrey O. Whamond, *Domestic Terrorism and Incident Management: Issues and Tactics* (Springfield: Charles C. Thomas Publisher Ltd., 2001), 5.

[12] *Ibid.*, 5.

that small states, especially those states backed by members of the former Communist bloc, used terrorism to attack Western political viewpoints and interests. Finally, there were state definitions holding that various Western states, especially the United States, supported terrorist regimes that used repression and terror to maintain their power.

While it has not been possible to create a universally acceptable definition of terrorism, there is general concurrence that terrorism is a unique form of political violence, a political campaign backed by threats and acts of violence seeking to influence a wide audience by generating fear.[13] This description has a number of crucial components in that it involves an act of violence, an audience, the creation of a mood of fear, innocent victims and political motives or goals. Domestic terrorism can therefore be said to incorporate these components within the territorial borders of a country and involving citizens and interests only of that country.

Types and Causes of Terrorism

Terrorist groups develop ideologies or belief systems to advance their aims and objectives.[14] Regardless of their aims or ideological orientations, their objectives are to gain recognition at a local or national level, intimidate or coerce both the target population and the government, and provoke the government to overreact so as to generate greater public support. Three principal strands have generated the ideological fuel required to spawn and sustain terrorist campaigns.[15]

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[13] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 4.
[14] *Ibid*., 8.
[15] *Ibid*.

Ideological Terrorism

Ideology plays a crucial role in a terrorist's target selection; it supplies terrorists with an initial motive for action and provides a prism through which they view events and the actions of other people.[16] Ideology can be based on the beliefs, values and objectives by which an individual or group defines its political identity and aims. Because their intended victims seldom share their own ideological beliefs, it provides these terrorists with a sense of justification for their violence onto their victims. While most groups hold unique ideologies, there are some broad categories used to classify them. They are separatism, religion, liberalism, anarchism, communism, conservatism, fascism, single-issues, and organized crime.[17]

Ideological terrorism can also be classified as either left or right-wing ideologies. Left-wing ideologies, fueled by Marxism, Leninism and Maoism, seek to overthrow existing regimes and establish communist and socialist states. Examples of these included the Communist Combatant Cells (CCC) of Belgium, the Red Brigades (RB) of Italy and Action Direct (AD) of France.

Most right-wing groups are neo-Nazi, anti-Semitic and racist groups attacking immigrants and refugees, mostly of Asian and Middle Eastern descent. Overall, this group poses a low threat compared to the other categories of terrorism.[18] The bulk of these groups are located in North America and Western Europe.

In the end, terrorist targeting is very much linked to their ideology and the depth of ideological differences between them and their intended target. It is this ideology that

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[16] C. J. M. Drake, "The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no 2 (Summer 1998): 53-85.

[17] *Ibid.*, 53-85.

[18] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 9.

shapes the way they see the world and how they judge those around them. Despite this, they are normally apprehensive to jeopardize the security of the environment in which they operate, their traditional sources of support, and their logistics.[19] Clearly their actions must outweigh the risk of losing any of these three enablers.

Ethno-nationalist Terrorism

Nationalist terrorism is "traditional" terrorism, also called revolutionary terrorism, which is practiced by individuals belonging to an identifiable organization with a well-defined command-and-control structure, clear political, social or economic objectives, and a comprehensible ideology or self-interest.[20] Their targets tend to be selective and discriminate - ambassadors, bankers, dignitaries - symbols they blame for economic or political repression. While this type of terrorism may be easier to understand, ethno-nationalist terrorism is less rational and comprehensible. Ethnic nationalism, which is rooted in ethnic identity as the basis for a cause, has become a dominant model of terrorism in the 21st Century, and is called ethno-nationalist terrorism, or more simply, ethnoterrorism.[21]

At the end of the Cold War, ideological terrorism lost its support and raison d'etre, however, the "depolarization" of the world allowed several ethno-religious conflicts, some centuries old, to manifest themselves in terrorism, insurgency, regional instability,

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[19] C. J. M. Drake, "The Role of Ideology in Terrorists' Target Selection," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 10, no 2 (Summer 1998): 53-85.
[20] T. O'Connor, "Nationalistic Terrorism," [article on-line]; available from http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/429/429lect12.htm; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.
[21] *Ibid*., accessed 19 February 2006.

and civil war.[22] Contemporary groups driven by ethno-nationalism can be divided into three sub-categories: groups fighting for autonomy, for unification, or for reunification.

Historically, these types of campaigns have been directed against colonial rulers.[23] In comparison to the other categories, ethno-nationalist conflicts produce the largest number of fatalities and casualties, internally displaced persons and refugee flows, the biggest human rights violations, and pose a significant threat to their opposing ethnic communities and governments.[24]

O'Connor argues that ethno-nationalist terrorism has some built-in advantages that make it the most dangerous kind of terrorism.[25] Although there are several, there are three which will prove to be common during the case study review. The first is that ethno-nationalist terrorism polarizes ethnic conflict and accentuates a primal fear of race war. The second, that well-timed and well-placed symbolic attacks reinforce the ethno-nationalist issue. The third, that there are no innocent bystanders (anyone not identifying with the right ethnic group is the enemy).

The main point to be drawn is that countering ethnoterrorism is quite difficult given that ethno-nationalists almost always hold the high ground on morality. O'Connor

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[22] Neal Pollard, "The Future of Terrorism," [article on-line]; available from http://www.terrorism.com/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=5658; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.

[23] Examples include the Irgun opposing the British rule in Palestine, the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigade fighting for independence from Israel, and the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ) fighting for an independent Quebec from Canada.

[24] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 9.

[25] T. O'Connor, "Nationalistic Terrorism," [article on-line]; available from http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/429/429lect12.htm; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.

suggests that empowering the ethnic community, winning over moderates to the political system, and encouraging self-policing may be the solution to this challenge.[26]

Politico-Religious Terrorism

Terrorism motivated in whole or in part by religious imperatives often leads to more intense acts of violence producing considerably more fatalities than the relatively discriminating acts of violence perpetrated by secular terrorist organizations. For the religious terrorist, violence is first and foremost a sacramental act or divine duty executed in response to some theological demand or imperative.[27] Its perpetrators are therefore seldom deterred by political, moral, or practical constraints.

These groups are fueled by their religious beliefs and interpretations and stem primarily from the Christian, Jewish, Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist, and Islamic faiths. To justify violence, politically motivated religious leaders propagate corrupt versions of religious texts, often misinterpreting and misrepresenting the great religions.[28] Of the religious category of groups, Islamists are predominantly the most violent (i.e. Hamas or the Palestinian Islamic Jihad).

It is perhaps not surprising that religion should become a far more popular motivation for terrorism in the post-cold war era as old ideologies lie discredited by the collapse of the Soviet Union and communist ideology, while the promise of munificent benefits from the liberal-democratic, capitalist state -apparently triumphant at what

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[26] T. O'Connor, "Nationalistic Terrorism," [article on-line]; available from http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/429/429lect12.htm; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.
[27] Bruce Hoffman, "Old Madness New Methods: Revival of Religious Terrorism Begs for Broader U.S. Policy," *Rand Review* (Winter 1998) [journal on-line]; available from http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/rr.winter98.9/methods.html; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.
[28] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 10.

author Francis Fukuyama has termed the "end of history"- fails to materialize in many countries throughout the world.[29] The pattern of religion-inspired terrorism over the past few years alone suggests that nations cannot ignore the many facets that fuel this type of terrorist violence.

There are perhaps hundreds of definitions for terrorism. Each nation, state or province has their own definition or interpretation. Despite some differences, there are repetitive themes and commonalities. As discussed earlier, there is a consensus that terrorism involves an act of violence, an audience, the creation of a mood of fear, innocent victims and political motives or goals.

To suggest that all domestic terrorists can be classified within one category would be misleading. Ideological, Ethno-nationalist and Politico-Religious ideologies are three which remain broad in nature and reflect or classify the majority of today's terrorists. There are however those individuals who fall within other categories such as pathological terrorism (to kill or terrorize for the sheer joy) or counterterror terrorist (hit squads killing suspected leaders of militant groups). Nevertheless, terrorism has many different forms and causes which cannot be justified through the atrocities committed against the innocent.

Many terrorist will continue to argue that their cause is noble and therefore justified. This reinforces the need for nations to understand the psychology of the domestic terrorist. Although the psychology of terrorists' remains poorly understood, there are commonalities in the areas of ideology, socialization and grievances which can

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[29] Bruce Hoffman, "Old Madness New Methods: Revival of Religious Terrorism Begs for Broader U.S. Policy," *Rand Review* (Winter 1998) [journal on-line]; available from http://www.rand.org/publications/randreview/issues/rr.winter98.9/methods.html; Internet; accessed 19 February 2006.

form a starting point for governments to begin understanding the root causes.[30] An

understanding of the root causes will assist governments in developing actions plans to

combat domestic terrorism and perhaps define new methods and approaches to

citizenship.

CITIZENSHIP

In today's contemporary world, there are numerous definitions and meanings of

what citizenship is. Broadly speaking, citizenship may be defined as a social contract

involving a transaction between individuals and the state.[31] Citizenship therefore has two

dimensions. First, the one which links the individual to the state by reinforcing the idea

that it is "their" state – that they are full members of an ongoing association that is

expected to survive the passing generations.[32] Second, the one which positively identifies

citizens with one another as valued members of the same civic community. This is where

citizenship reinforces empathy and sustains solidarity by means of official statements of

who is "one of us."[33] Citizenship therefore binds the citizenry to the state and each other.

There are of course various meanings of citizenship but four are particularly

relevant to this paper. The first, and perhaps most familiar meaning, is the seminal one.

Here, a citizen is a person with political rights who participates in the process of popular

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[30] Michelle Maiese, "Suicide Bombers," (June 2005) [essay
on-line]; available from http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/suicide_bombers/; Internet ; accessed 11
February 2006.
[31] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott, *Unequal Relations : An Introduction to Race and
Ethnic Dynamics in Canada*, 4th ed (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 358.
[32] Alan C. Cairns, et al, editors, *Citizenship, Diversity and Pluralism : Canadian and
Comparative Perspectives*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 4.
[33] *Ibid.*, 4.

self-governance and generally participates in political debates as an equal community member.[34]

The second meaning is citizenship from a legal perspective. Here, citizens are people who are legally recognized as members of a particular community entitled to protection from that community's government. Under this meaning, citizenship is understood to be effectively equivalent to possessing nationality.[35]

A third meaning of citizenship refers to those belonging to any political community or other group. Be it a university association, a dart league or other social clubs, the term citizenship is treated as an alternative and equally valid meaning.

The fourth is citizenship referring not only membership but also standards of proper conduct. There are two distinctions for this particular meaning. One involves those who contribute to the well being of the community (i.e. neighborhood watch, church club, soup kitchen) and are subsequently seen to be 'true' citizens.[36] The other encompasses those who free-ride on the efforts of others and fail to understand the full meaning of citizenship. In this context, the implication is that only good citizens are genuine citizens.

The concept of citizenship defines to what or whom we give our loyalty, how we relate to other citizens, and our vision of the ideal society.[37] How good a citizen is varies not only in time but from one nation to another. Given the added complexities of culture,

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[34] Engin F. Isin and Bryan S. Turner, editors, *Handbook of Citizenship Studies*, (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 105.

[35] *Ibid*., 105.

[36] *Ibid*., 106.

[37] Canadian Education Association, "Citizenship Education," http://www.cea-ace.ca/media/en/Citizenship_Education.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.

gender, and politics, defining citizenship has become even more difficult to achieve. To provide some clarity, it is worthwhile to review the four major domains of citizenship.

Domains of Citizenship

Since T.H. Marshall's (1950) seminal study on Citizenship and Social Class, citizenship has been associated with three basic kinds of citizen rights or domains: civil rights strictly speaking (civil liberties), political rights (rights of political participation), and social and economic rights (the right to social security and welfare).[38]   His paper was an empirically informed analysis that examined the associations between the institutions of citizenship and social class from a historical and comparative perspective.[39]   A fourth domain, cultural or collective dimensions, has emerged since then.

Civil Domain of Citizenship

The civil domain of citizenship refers to a way of life where citizens define and pursue commonly held goals of democracy and society. It is based on fundamental community values, governmental decision making limits in relation to individuals, and the rights of private interest groups and associations. Key tenets are freedom of speech, expression and equality before the law, as well as freedom of association and access to

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[38] W. Ulrich, "Critical Systems Thinking for Professionals and Citizens," [article on-line]; available from http://www.geocities.com/csh_home/cst_brief.html; Internet; accessed 20 February 2006.

[39] The London School of Economics and Political Science, "T.H. Marshall," http://www.lse.ac.uk/resources/LSEHistory/marshall.htm; Internet; accessed 20 February 2006. Marshall, a British sociologist, analyzed the development of citizenship in the context of civil, then political, then social rights claiming that a citizen was only a full citizen if they possessed all three kinds of right, and that this possession of full rights was linked to social class.

information.[40] It is in this civil domain that such traditional civic institutions as

foundations, schools, churches, public-interest organizations and other voluntary

associations properly belong. It is a space defined by such activities as attending church,

mosque, or synagogue, doing community service, contributing to a charity, or being a

member of a sports club. Voluntary associations serve as social spaces in which the

members of the association reinforce their social webs and articulate their (moral)

relationships.[41] This is fully in line with Crick's tenet of community involvement.

Political Domain of Citizenship

The concept of citizenship as political participation and – more generally – as

civic practice places the active and responsible citizen in the foreground: the citizen as

member of a self ruling democratic community of free and equal citizens.[42] It involves

the right to vote and to political participation. The fundamental key to this domain is free

elections and the right to seek, unhindered, political office. In its most common

conception, electoral participation is taken to include voting, running for office, holding a

seat in an elected assembly, and involvement in political parties.[43] Indeed, the right to

vote and stand for election remains one of the principle demarcations between citizens

and non-citizens, further asserting the centrality of electoral participation to any

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[40] Canadian Education Association, "Citizenship Education,"
http://www.cea-ace.ca/media/en/Citizenship_Education.pdf; Internet; accessed 2
February 2006.
[41] Percy B. Lehning, "European Citizenship: Towards a European Identity?", Working Paper in
European Studies 2, no 3 [paper on-line]; available from http://uw-madison-ces.org/papers/lehning.pdf;
Internet; accessed 20 February 2006.
[42] Alfons Fermin, *Citizenship and Integration Policy*, Report Prepared for the European Research
Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations [report on-line]; available from
http://www.ercomer.org/publish/reports/EN_Re_38.html; Internet; accessed 20 February 2006.
[43] Erin Toley, "Expressing Citizenship Through Electoral Participation: Values and
Responsibilities," *Canadian Diversity* 2, no.1 (Spring 2003).

conception of citizenship.[44] This domain promotes political socialization, legitimacy, authority, and better policies for the greater good. It is also reflective of Crick's tenet of political literacy.

Socio-Economic Domain of Citizenship

Marshall's theory of social citizenship suggests two propositions. First, a common sense of community is a necessary condition for the emergence of social citizenship rights. Second, social citizenship also reinforces a sense of common community and serves, therefore, as an instrument of social integration in divided societies.[45] The socio-economic domain of citizenship refers to the relationship between individuals in a societal context and to rights of participation in political spaces where the definition of social and economic rights includes the rights to economic well-being, the right to social security, to work, to minimum means of subsistence and to a safe environment.[46]

Because social citizenship refers to the relations between individuals in a society and demands loyalty and solidarity, it promotes 'social capital,' or the voluntary connections between individuals and families. Social capital has also been linked to reduced crime, higher levels of public involvement and interpersonal trust.[47] This reflects Crick's social and moral responsibility tenet as well.

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[44] Erin Toley, "Expressing Citizenship Through Electoral Participation: Values and Responsibilities," *Canadian Diversity* 2, no.1 (Spring 2003).

[45] Alan C. Cairns, et al, editors, *Citizenship, Diversity and Pluralism : Canadian and Comparative Perspectives*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 111.

[46] Canadian Education Association, "Citizenship Education," http://www.cea-ace.ca/media/en/Citizenship_Education.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.

[47] Liviana Tossutti, "A Tradition of Social Capital in Minority Communities," *Canadian Diversity* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2003).

Economic citizenship refers to the relation of an individual towards the labour and consumer market and implies the right to work and to a minimum subsistence level.[48] It includes fair access to the labour market (including public sector employment); opportunities for self-employment and small business formation; and the provision of social welfare resources (including programmes for financial assistance, training, health, housing, insurance, and old age pensions).[49]

Cultural Domain of Citizenship

Cultural citizenship examines the formative role of culture in constructing and understanding citizenship practices such as identity formation and the altruistic behaviours that contribute to a collective's ability to live together.[50] Cultural citizenship focuses on cultural expression and participation through which citizenship develops and lives. In this cultural or collective domain, the collective well-being is reflected in universal access to healthcare, which derives from policies of social justice, and is promoted by social movements that strive to create and improve institutions that deliver services to all citizens, irrespective of means.[51]

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[48] Canadian Education Association, "Citizenship Education," http://www.cea-ace.ca/media/en/Citizenship_Education.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.

[49] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities (MPMC)," http://www.unesco.org/most/p97.htm; Internet; accessed 18 February 2006.

[50] Nancy Duxbury, "Cultural Citizenship and Community Indicator Projects: Approaches and Challenges in the Local/Municipal Context," (September 2005) [article on-line]; available from http://www.creativecity.ca/cecc/downloads/Duxbury-metropolis-2005.pdf; Internet; accessed 21 February 2006.

[51] Isaac Prilleltensky, "Promoting Well-Being: Time for a Paradigm Shift in Health and Human Services," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health* 33, Suppl 66, [article on-line]; available from http://people.vanderbilt.edu/~isaac.prilleltensky/sjph2005.pdf; Internet; accessed 20 February 2006.

This domain of citizenship refers to the manner in which societies take into account the increasing cultural diversity in societies, diversity due to a greater openness to other cultures, to global migration and to increased mobility.[52] It is based on shared norms, values and identities. Given the potential for diversity, relationships are based upon human rights, dignity, and the affirmation of legal equality against all forms of discrimination regardless of membership in any particular group or category. This aspect encompasses both the social and community tenets of Crick's theory which will be highlighted later on when discussing Canada.

The aforementioned domains are not without challenges. For example, the political domain assumes that there is some knowledge of the political system and that the individuals possess attitudes and skills which promote democracy. This may not be the case depending on the age of the young student or the background of the immigrant. The socio-economic domain presupposes inherent vocational training and skills that lend themselves to the existing economy while the cultural domain assumes knowledge of the cultural heritage and basic literacy skills. Both of these are large leaps of faith given the target audience: youth and immigrants.

Although many of these challenges can be addressed through formal government or school programs, schools alone cannot satisfy this monumental task. The community can play a vital role in complementing the existing educational systems.

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[52] Canadian Education Association, "Citizenship Education," http://www.cea-ace.ca/media/en/Citizenship_Education.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.

The Role of Community in Civic Education

> Civic education should have a broader definition than merely knowledge about governmental structures and procedure. It needs to encompass training individuals to participate in the whole of community life; teaching individuals their voting rights is necessary, but so is providing individuals with the wherewithal to form and participate in community organizations, volunteer activities, and non-governmental decision making.[53]

Because civic education is not aimed solely at youth, the job of civic education cannot reside solely within the confines of the school system. It must be a partnership between the private, public and nonprofit sectors in the communities. The end-state of a community's civic education activities should be to engender within the community residents a commitment to participating in the betterment of that community.[54]

For many countries, schools have been the primary means of teaching and promoting civic virtues to its citizens. This focus has perhaps ignored the role that many other institutions play in educating youth and immigrants in the area of citizenship. Equating education with schooling relieves the rest of society from educative and civic responsibility.[55] Longo recognized the importance of this objective and took a very broad definition of education reaching:

> [B]eyond the schools and colleges to the multiplicity of individuals and institutions that educate—parents, peers, siblings, and friends, as well as families, churches, synagogues, libraries, museums, summer camps, benevolent societies, agricultural fairs, settlement houses, factories, radio stations and television networks.[56]

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[53] National Civic League, "Life-Long Learning for Life-Long Civic Participation," http://www.ncl.org/common/scripts/printpage/printpage.php; Internet; accessed 21 February 2006.
[54] National Civic League, "Life-Long Learning …," accessed 21 February 2006.
[55] Nicholas V. Longo, *Recognizing the Role of Community in Civic Education: Lessons from Hull House, Highlander Folk School, and the Neighborhood Learning Community*, Circle Working Paper 30 (April 2005) [paper on-line]; available from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP30Longo.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.
[56] *Ibid*., accessed 2 February 2006.

The community can play a key role in this process. And it should given the premises that what happens at school is a reflection of what happens in the community. They are interconnected and should complement each other in their common aim. To better illustrate the concept of community-based civic learning, it is worth examining a successful example from St. Paul, Minnesota.

The Neighborhood Learning Community is a network of people and organizations working collaboratively to strengthen learning on the West Side of St. Paul, Minnesota.[57] The theme of this network has been to connect community learning with civic engagement in order to foster an environment ownership and pride. The practices of the Neighborhood Learning Community recognize the importance of relevant learning especially with youth and when working with immigrant youth and adult groups. One of the key initiatives of their program has been the public work approach to engaging the community. It is centered on the premise that culture, age, gender, class and racial diversity are ingredients to solving public problems. This approach maximizes the talents and instincts of non-professionals, promotes the idea of reciprocal relationships between community members, and instills a sense of flexibility and trust in the democratic process. [58]

This is but one example of community involvement in citizenship education. There are similar initiatives in the United Kingdom where communities formally engage with schools through what they call parent governors. Here the parents provide valuable support to teachers of citizenship education, complementing what they often term as

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[57] Nicholas V. Longo, *Recognizing the Role of Community in Civic Education: Lessons from Hull House, Highlander Folk School, and the Neighborhood Learning Community*, Circle Working Paper 30 (April 2005) [paper on-line]; available from http://www.civicyouth.org/PopUps/WorkingPapers/WP30Longo.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.
[58] *Ibid*., accessed 2 February 2006.

active citizenship or service learning.[59] The aims are the same but reflective of the various cultures and values of their nation.

The role of community is becoming more vital in the education of youth and immigrants. The knowledge and resources that can be synergized in support of the state educational institutions are often surprising. As communities begin taking some responsibility for the task of civic education, the community as a whole will benefit from increased citizen participation and stronger community leadership. Citizens who are educated about their community, their government, and their history will come to believe that their actions matter and that they can make a difference.[60] This is a key tenet of Crick's theory.

Summary

The aim of this chapter was two-fold. First, it provided a common understanding of domestic terrorism by generically defining it and looking at three common types and causes. Clearly, there is a consensus that terrorism involves an act of violence, an audience, the creation of a mood of fear, innocent victims and political motives or goals. Many terrorists will continue to argue that there cause is just and noble regardless of the risk to themselves or others. Despite a broad understanding of the three main terrorist ideologies (Ideological, Ethno-nationalist and Politico-Religious), nations must make a concerted effort to understand the psychology of the terrorist in order to find new ways to mitigate the root causes.

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[59] Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, "Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Review of Research, Policy and Practice 1995-2005," (British Educational Research Association Academic Review Paper, 2005), 29.

[60] National Civic League, "Life-Long Learning for Life-Long Civic Participation," http://www.ncl.org/common/scripts/printpage/printpage.php; Internet; accessed 21 February 2006.

Second, it focused on citizenship. The chapter addressed the meanings and domains of citizenship, as well as the role of the community in civic education. Because citizenship has seminal, legal, communal and conduct based meanings, it can further challenge nations in fully understanding how best to educate its citizenry. The community plays a key role in this aspect. Citizens who are educated about their community, their government, and their history will come to believe that their actions matter. This sense of equal partnership and community belonging, coupled with strong civic virtues, reinforces the theory that learned social and moral responsibility, active community involvement and political literacy builds strong citizenship. This is particularly important to a nation's school aged youth as well as its new immigrants. Instilling strong citizenship and civic virtues are keys to mitigating domestic terrorism. This is the essence of Crick's theory.

Broadly understanding domestic terrorism and citizenship is essential in order to appreciate how some nations may choose to define these complex terms. Given this general foundation, the paper will now look at three specific case studies.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDIES

This chapter will look at the citizenship and civic education policies of three countries that have been subjected to domestic terrorism. These case studies will be based on the experiences of France, the United Kingdom and the United States. For each, the paper will provide political and domestic threat overviews, followed by an examination into some of the root causes behind their domestic terrorist attacks. Given a review of how each define citizenship and approach citizenship education, the paper will summarize each case study in the context of Crick's theory.

FRANCE

The French Republic is a democracy organized as a unitary semi-presidential republic with the fifth largest economy in the world. Since the mid-1970s, French politics have been characterized by the two politically opposed groupings: one left-wing, centered on the French Socialist Party, and the other right-wing, centered on the Rassemblement pour la République (RPR) and its successor the Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP).[61] It is important to note that in the early 1980s, the right-wing party made significant inroads by seizing on voter concern over the perceived decline of France and national dissolution as a result of immigration and globalization.

At the moment, France is the third most populous country of Europe, behind Russia and Germany. Demographers now estimate that by 2050 metropolitan France's

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[61] Wikipedia contributors, "France," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=France&oldid=40800010; Internet; accessed February 23 2006.

population will be 75 million, at which time it will be the most populated country of the European Union.[62]

Many new nationalities have migrated to France since the 19th century. It is currently estimated that about 40% of the French population descends in varying amounts from these different waves of migrations, making France the most ethnically diverse country of Europe. Nevertheless, the immigrants from other European countries have an easier time blending in, while the 'non-European' groups tend to assimilate at a slower pace, because of greater cultural barriers and social discrimination which is, according to left-wing thought, tied to economic exploitation.[63]

France has traditionally been a predominantly Roman Catholic country. Freedom of religion, however, is a constitutional right under their Declaration of Rights of Man and of the Citizen. The French government concept of the relationships between the public sphere and religion is that government institutions (such as schools) should not endorse any particular religion or intervene in religious dogma, and that religion should refrain from intervening in policy-making.[64]

Domestic Terrorism in France

According to the MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base, France was subjected to 556 domestic terrorist events between 1981 and 2006.[65] Since the 1980s, terrorist acts perpetrated on French soil have come from three fairly distinct types of groups. The first

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[62] Wikipedia contributors, "France," *Wikipedia*, *The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=France&oldid=40800010; Internet; accessed February 23 2006.
[63] *Ibid*., accessed February 23 2006.
[64] *Ibid*., accessed February 23 2006.
[65] MIPT Terrorism Knowledge Base, http://www.tkb.org/ChartModule.jsp; Internet; accessed 10 February 2006.

group comprises those which espouse a radically leftist philosophy. They are home-grown and ideologically committed to the overthrow of the capitalist system and to the downfall of the American-led imperialism.[66] The second group is comprised of those regional separatist groups that advocate independence for specific regions of France such as the Basque Country or Corsica. The terrorists in this group are deemed the most persistent domestic terrorists accounting for hundreds of attacks over the years and primarily focused on attacks against poverty. The third group comprises those involved in international terrorism and will not be discussed in this paper.

There is perhaps a fourth group emerging in France and Europe as a whole. That is the *domestic Muslim terrorist*.[67] Currently under debate, is whether the recent Muslim rioting that took place across France should be classified as civil unrest or domestic terrorism? These events do identify with the social-economic unrest within France. The actions have been committed by resident citizens, have instilled terror in the local communities, and forced the government to invoke certain emergency measures for the safety of its citizens. This fourth group, the domestic Muslim terrorists, has since forced the French government to revisit its citizenship policies as a whole. They will form the basis for the French case study.

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[66] Jeremy Shapiro and Bénédicte Suzan, "The French Experience of Counter-terrorism," *Survival* 48, no. 1 (Spring 2003): 68.
[67] First came across the term and its context while researching assimilation and integration in Europe. See internet site http://72.14.207.104/search?q=cache:5cstVyBDiHAJ:www.ui.se/lecture7.htm+%22domestic+muslim+terrorism%22&hl=en&gl=ca&ct=clnk&cd=6.

Root Causes

Immigration proper in France dates back to the nineteenth century where newcomers were eventually assimilated in the medium or the long term, and their demographic contribution to French society was positive – even essential.[68] By 1976, the number of immigrants had reached 3.7 million (7 percent of the total population) until the economic slump put an end to the legal flow of immigrants. Although immigrants continued to contribute positively to France's economic growth, their numbers triggered strong political reactions. As a result, immigration became heavily politicized, and was seen to represent a danger to civil peace, the unity of the country, and even the very existence of the French national community.

According to the French High Council of Integration, France's Muslim population is said to be between 4 and 5 million, mostly of Maghrebin descent (Arab or Berber). That makes one in every twelve person in France a Muslim. Roughly half of the 5 million Muslims living in France today are not citizens. Many are under 18 years of age or recent immigrants and tend not to register to vote. As a result, Muslims are not a political force in France.

Like every other immigrant population in France, Muslims exhibit strong cleavages based on the country of their origin, their social background, political orientation and ideology, and the branch or sect of Islam that they practice. With the exception of the French Council for the Muslim Religion (CFCM), an institution created by the State for purely religious purposes, there exists' no common association or central

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[68] Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Winter 2005): 63.

representation for French Muslims.[69] As a result, there still remain inequalities of being

immigrants or new citizens in France. Muslims continue to face pressure to abandon

their religious rituals and their faiths. This observation was particularly clear in 1999

during the Islamic festival of Eid El Kabir (the slaughter of a sheep during the feast of the

Sacrifice). Actress turned animal-lover, Brigitte Bardot, was quoted as saying that "there

are too many Muslims in France" which only accentuated the already xenophobic and

racist sentiments against Muslims in France.[70] Although later fined by a Paris court for

inciting racial hatred, it nevertheless drove a wedge into a deepening social divide.

The vandalism, arson and rioting that began in the ghettos of Paris and rolled

across France, touching 274 cities and towns, should not have surprised anyone according

to Doug Ireland's article *Why is France Burning?:*

> …for it is the result of thirty years of government neglect – of the failure of the
> French political classes, both right and left, to make serious effort to integrate its
> Muslim and black populations into the French economy and culture; and of the
> deep-seated, searing, soul destroying racism that the unemployed and profoundly
> alienated young of the ghettos face everyday of their lives, both from the police
> and when trying to find a job.[71]

This social unrest was costly with 200 million euros in damage and over 10,000 cars

destroyed. But the unrest was not about religion or politics; it was about the social living

conditions of the young and about discrimination.[72] For the young, they are caught

between two cultures and belong to neither. Born in France and often speaking little

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[69] Justin Vaisse, "Unrest in France, November 2005: Immigration, Islam and the Challenge of Integration," (January 2006) [presentation on-line]; available from http://www.brookings.edu/views/testimony/fellows/vaisse20060112.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 February 2006.

[70] Chouki El Hamel, "Muslim Diaspora in Western Europe: The Islamic Headscarf, the Media and Muslims' Integration in France," *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 3 (2002): 295.

[71] Doug Ireland, "Why is France Burning?" *The Nation* (November 2005): 29.

[72] Vaisse, "Unrest in France…," accessed 15 February 2006.

Arabic, they have little knowledge of their parent's country but feel marginalized or excluded in France.

In 1990, Socialist president Francois Mitterrand acknowledged the despair of the youth living in ghettos. Now fifteen years later, the alienation is deeper and more rancid still.[73] President Chirac's government, with no Socialist opposition, compounded years of neglect by further slashing even deeper into social programs that offer subsidies to neighborhood groups and police who work with youth in ghetto areas. His own Interior Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, further fueled the unrest by calling for tougher repression measures and encouraging arrests.[74]

In the end, the youth who rampaged through the towns and cities did not appear to have religious or political agendas. No churches or synagogues were deliberately targeted nor were there any references made to Iraq or Palestine. So what was it about? A comparative study of urban riots in the west suggests a common phenomenon of "double exclusion" based on both ethnic and economic factors is to blame.[75] Given this analysis, the paper will now examine how France set out to address these problems.

Citizenship and Civic Programs

France's immigration policy has been at the crossroads of three considerations. First, is a logic of values, of political principles that distinguish among asylum, labor migration, and population immigration, and guarantees residence of the immigrant.

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[73] Doug Ireland, "Why is France Burning?" *The Nation* (November 2005): 29.
[74] *Ibid*., 30.
[75] Justin Vaisse, "Unrest in France, November 2005: Immigration, Islam and the Challenge of Integration," (January 2006) [presentation on-line]; available from http://www.brookings.edu/views/testimony/fellows/vaisse20060112.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 February 2006.

Second is a logic of demographic politics, based on the principle that France needs population to remain or become again a world power. Young people likely to start families or with young families are welcome. Their children, born in France or coming at an early age, will be raised and educated in France. Furthermore, some demographers differentiate among the ethnic groups that are more likely to be integrated or assimilated into French society. Third is logic of economics, which is looking for male, single, flexible, usually low-paid workers, preferably in good health, who can adapt to the contradictory needs of the various economic sectors. In a nutshell, French immigration policy has been shaped through the conflicting choices of the *performing state* and the republican principles of the egalitarian *law state*.[76]

France has adopted what seems to be a fair model to integrate non-Europeans in its society as full-fledged citizens.[77] But the concept of citizenship as belonging to the national collective is being challenged as there appears to be no conformance between the territorial definition of citizenship and the nationalist definition. It is a negative citizenry for Muslims.[78] The citizenship model installed by the state does not take into account the immigrant's cultural experiences. As a result, the immigrants fail to see themselves as full, equal and integrated partners of the French society leaving them to rely or focus on their backgrounds. The citizenship model must therefore accept, respect and include the cultural identities of its citizenship in order to be effective. Indeed, the French High Council of Integration recommended that France maintain a doctrine of equality between individuals, which is in France's tradition, principle, and genius, and it goes further in the

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[76] Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Winter 2005): 63.

[77] Chouki El Hamel, "Muslim Diaspora in Western Europe: The Islamic Headscarf, the Media and Muslims' Integration in France," *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 3 (2002): 305.

[78] *Ibid*., 306.

fulfillment of the individual rights than the acknowledgement of minority rights, the value of which is not to be underestimated.[79]

Unfortunately, the rise of the right-wing in France has rekindled a racist and xenophobic environment against immigrant communities. One of the more popular parties, The National Front, advocates the expulsion of immigrants and the preservation of authentic national French culture. This party's policy proves that France is still reluctant to accept Islam as part of the west.[80] Given that Muslims in France already face a variety of contradictory identities, parties such as the National Front further exacerbate the struggle for allegiance and emphasize their own separateness. Many Muslims now plan their lives in two countries: to work hard in the host society and retire with a good pension in the country of origin. The feeling of exclusion and disintegration has further promoted a divisive diversity in France.[81] So how is France addressing this?

Historically, during the 1960s and 1970s, France's policy toward immigrants was geared towards assimilating them into French society, where they were expected to adhere to traditional values and cultural norms. This policy was abandoned when it became clear that most immigrants were refusing to either return home or adopt the required values.[82] From the mid-1980s onward, France pursued an integrationist policy that encouraged immigrants to abide by the law and retain their distinctive cultures. This however fuelled right-wing political leaders who, by 2000, began pushing an agenda of assimilation based on a perception of increased immigrant crime. Following the unrest in

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[79] Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Winter 2005): 71.

[80] Chouki El Hamel, "Muslim Diaspora in Western Europe: The Islamic Headscarf, the Media and Muslims' Integration in France," *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 3 (2002): 304.

[81] *Ibid*., 305.

[82] Sylvia Zappi, "French Government Revives Assimilation Policy," [article on-line]; available from http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/print.cfm?ID=165; Internet; accessed 28 February 2006.

November 2005, the French government faced a new dilemma and opted for a different solution.

France's center-right government is trying to create a model Muslim citizenry. Their theory is that by integrating Muslims into French society it will avoid a culture clash that could contribute to terrorism.[83] This, in the government's view, serves two purposes in that it provides Muslims with a place at the table while maintaining the ability to monitor and regulate their activities. The hope is that it will create a home-grown citizen that identifies more with French culture and tradition. The driving force behind France's campaign to make its Muslim citizens more French is to curb political radicalism and terrorism, both inside and outside the country.[84]

Subsidies to local associations have also been reinstated and the fight against discrimination has been intensified. Changes are underway on the economic front, with new free zones in the poor neighborhoods, more flexible employment contracts, and significant efforts to renovate housing projects.[85] These of course are long-term initiatives and only time will judge their success.

In the nearer-term, schools continue to be the primary means of acculturation in French values and social accomplishment. Since the 1789 revolution the French state has used its school system to make French citizens out of people from the country's many

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[83] Elaine Sciolino, "France Envisions a Citizenry of Model Muslims," *New York Times*, 7 May 2003.

[84] *Ibid*., 7 May 2003.

[85] Justin Vaisse, "Unrest in France, November 2005: Immigration, Islam and the Challenge of Integration," (January 2006) [presentation on-line]; available from http://www.brookings.edu/views/testimony/fellows/vaisse20060112.pdf; Internet; accessed 15 February 2006.

different regions.[86] The wars, colonial struggles and economic cycles of the 20th century

brought new generations of children into French schools: east European Jews, Poles,

Spaniards, Portuguese, Vietnamese, Senegalese, and Algerians. And there are successful

examples of "assimilation by education" in many fields of French national life – from

soccer to cinema, literature to politics.

Unfortunately, many Muslim students have ended up in technical education,

which is not particularly promising in elitist France.[87] Further, a French-born and

French-educated Muslim or Arab may not get the same career opportunities as a Jean-

Pierre or Marianne. Therefore the notion of individual equality in the French Republic

does not take into account the flawed bigotry of ethnic bias and discrimination making

communautarisme the politically incorrect answer in France.[88] Consequently, not only is

Paris burning, but two of the most cherished notions of the French political system—the

idea that a state-centered economy can promote prosperity for all, and the expectation

that a model of citizenship that ignores ethnic origins can provide equal opportunity and

social order—are also going up in flames.[89]

In order for France to deal with this dilemma in the long term, and ensure that

France's immigrant suburbs do not become breeding grounds for the jihadists who would

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[86] Johannes Willms, "France Unveiled: Making Muslims into Citizens?" *Open Democracy – Free Thinking for the World,* [article on-line]; available from http://www.opendemocracy.net/content/articles/PDF/1753.pdf; Internet; accessed 28 February 2006.
        [87] Dominique Maillard, "The Muslims in France and the French Model of Integration," *Mediterranean Quarterly* (Winter 2005): 73.
        [88] *Ibid.,* 73.
        [89] Philip H. Gordon, "On Assimilation and Economics – France Will Need New Models," *The New Republic*, (November 9, 2005) [article on-line]; available from http://www.brookings.edu/printme.wbs?page=/pagedefs/8effdb54762cff3f5c80cf050a1415cb.xml; Internet; accessed 28 February 2006.

love to make inroads there, it will have to address issues that have long been taboo.[90]

Specifically, France will have to make its labour markets more flexible, reduce

bureaucracy in order to create more jobs, and take far reaching measures to promote

opportunities for Muslim minorities. This balance of economic management and social

integration measures will no-doubt be attacked by the far-right however, maintaining the

status quo would be the surest way to guarantee those problems that led to the riots to

worsen. So as France struggles to integrate its Muslim population, it may well find that

domestic terrorism has less to do with religion and more to do with an overwhelming

sense of alienation and rage linked to joblessness and discrimination.[91]

The term "domestic Muslim terrorists" emerged following the Muslim unrest

throughout France in late 2005 and forced the French government to revisit their

citizenship policies as a whole. The root causes of this unrest appear to be the

inequalities that immigrants face in France fueled partially from the pressure they face to

abandon their religious beliefs and their faiths. It is the result of some thirty years of

neglect by the French political classes to make any serious effort to integrate its Muslims

and black populations into the economy and culture.

While France has adopted what it feels is a fair model to integrate non-Europeans

into its society, the model fails to take into account the immigrant's cultural experiences.

It is therefore considered to be a negative citizenry for Muslims leaving many of them

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[90] Philip H. Gordon, "On Assimilation and Economics – France Will Need New Models," *The New Republic*, (November 9, 2005) [article on-line]; available from http://www.brookings.edu/printme.wbs?page=/pagedefs/8effdb54762cff3f5c80cf050a1415cb.xml; Internet; accessed 28 February 2006.
[91] Elaine Sciolino, "France Envisions a Citizenry of Model Muslims," *New York Times*, 7 May 2003.

feeling excluded and unequal partners of the French society. While the concept of creating a model Muslim citizenry is aimed at curbing political radicalism and terrorism, France has failed to promote the social and moral responsibility inherent in citizenship. It has instead taken a band-aid approach to a problem requiring extensive surgery. The lack of community focus or involvement has minimized a key enabler to solving this type of terrorism. Faced with Muslim political apathy and low political literacy, France is unlikely to mitigate future domestic threats of this nature.

France's approach to citizenry does not meet the three tenets of Crick's theory. It fails to instill strong citizenship and virtues in its youth and immigrants as well as promote social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. This case study provides a clear contrast to Canada's approach to citizenry.

THE UNITED KINGDOM

The United Kingdom (UK) is a constitutional monarchy and unitary state composed through a political union of four constituent entities: the three constituent countries of England, Scotland, and Wales on Great Britain, and the province of Northern Ireland on the island of Ireland. While the monarch is Head of State and theoretically holds all executive power, it is the Prime Minister who is the head of government. Since the 1920s, the two largest political parties in British politics have been the Labour Party and Conservative Party. The Liberal Democrats are the third major party in the parliament and actively seek a reform of the electoral system to address the dominance of the two-party system.

As of the April 2001 Census, the United Kingdom's population was 58,789,194, the third-largest in the European Union (behind Germany and France) and the twenty-first largest in the world.[92] Anglicanism has been the state religion since 1534 during the reign of King Henry VIII. Almost one-third of the population lives in England's prosperous south-east and is primarily urban and suburban. Contemporary Britons are descended mainly from the varied ethnic stocks that settled there before the eleventh century.   The predominant language is English however the United Kingdom has the largest number of Hindi-speaking peoples out of the Indian subcontinent.

The United Kingdom has a highly developed economy, the fourth-largest in the world. Children are generally given a free education between the age of 5 and 16 across the United Kingdom. Although education is universal for all, achievement in British education still tends to be better for higher social classes.[93]

Domestic Terrorism in the United Kingdom

In the United Kingdom Terrorism Act of 2000, terrorism means the use or threat of action that is designed to influence the government or to intimidate the public or a section of the public within or outside of the United Kingdom. It further defines terrorism as the use or threat of action for the purpose of advancing a political, religious, or ideological cause.[94]

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[92] Wikipedia contributors, "France," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_kingdom; Internet; accessed February 23 2006.
[93] *Ibid*., accessed February 23 2006.
[94] Graeme C. Steven and Rohan Gunaratna, *Counterterrorism: A Reference Handbook* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO Inc., 2004), 6.

By this definition, the United Kingdom views terrorism in its purest form. That is to say that although it acknowledges that acts can either be domestic and international in nature, it views them as one and the same.

Over the past 30 years, the United Kingdom has experienced thousands of domestic terrorist incidents, most of which have been related to Northern Ireland. This violence has claimed the lives of nearly 4,000 people and maimed and injured at least a further 50,000 people.[95] Although mostly contained to the population of Ulster, many terrorists did find new targets in England's cities and towns.

Since the cease-fire of 1994, and the on-going peace process between the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) and the British government, there has been a dramatic reduction in the level of violence. That is not to say that domestic terrorism has totally ceased. On the contrary, the single most destructive bombing of the past thirty years occurred during this very cease-fire era in August 1998.[96] The Omagh bombing claimed the lives of 29 civilians and was carried out by a PIRA dissident group called the "Real" IRA. Although it is impossible to predict the final outcome of the Northern Ireland peace initiative, there are a number of UK-based extremist groups motivated by domestic causes other than the Northern Ireland situation.[97]

Western European countries, including Britain, are now confronted with a domestic terrorism based within a religious minority, some recent immigrants, and many native-born citizens. The domestic religious threats, the issues of Islam, immigration, and

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[95] Andrew Silke, "The Psychological Impact of Terrorism," in *Meeting the Challenges of Global Terrorism: Prevention, Control, and Recovery*, ed. Dilip K. Das and Peter C. Kratcoski, 189-202 (Oxford: Lexington Books, 2003), 190.

[96] *Ibid*., 190.

[97] MI5, "The Threats," http://www.mi5.gov.uk/output/Page2.html#; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

terrorism have become linked.[98] Unfortunately for Muslim immigrants, many of them

are seen as a fifth column at war with the country in which they live. This was proven to

be the case in the July 7, 2005 London bombings when four male suicide bombers, three

from Leeds and one from Aylesbury, planted and detonated three bombs in the London

Underground and one aboard a double-decker bus. While three of the men were British

citizens of Pakistani descent, the fourth was Jamaican-born. In a taped statement

prepared one week prior to the bombings, one of the suicide bombers (Mohammad

Sidique Khan) stated:

> Your democratically elected governments continuously perpetuate atrocities
> against my people all over the world. And your support of them makes you
> directly responsible, just as I am directly responsible for protecting and avenging
> my Muslim brothers and sisters.[99]

Two weeks later, four more explosions occurred on the London underground and a bus.

Fortunately, only the detonating devices went off without triggering the bombs

themselves. Five males were tracked down and arrested. While all were residents of the

Greater London Area, three were naturalized British citizens of Somalian, Eritrean and

Ethiopian descent.[100]

Shortly after the 7 July 2005 bombings in London, the New York Daily News

published an article entitled *Tolerance vs. Terrorism*.[101] In it, the writer highlighted that

one of the suicide bombers was a 22 year old Muslim son of a first-generation Pakistani

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[98] Wikipedia contributors, "Terrorism," *Wikipedia*, *The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Terrorism&oldid=42071250 ; Internet; accessed 28 November 2005.

[99] *Ibid.*, accessed 28 November 2005.

[100] British Broadcasting Corporation News, "21 July Attacks," http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/uk/05/london_blasts/investigation/html/suspects.stm; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.

[101] Mort Zucherman, "Tolerance vs. Terrorism," *The New York Daily News*, [article on-line]; available from http://www.nydailynews.com/news/ideas_opinions/story/331125p-283021c.html; Internet; accessed 18 December 2005.

immigrant to Britain who betrayed the trust of his country, namely England. The article went on to state that while Britain gave many Muslim immigrants a new start, nurtured their children as Britons, and listened to the venom of militant Muslim leaders who assumed the mantle of citizenship, it must confront the reality of homegrown terrorists in its midst. This aspect will form the basis for the United Kingdom case study.

Root Causes

Hostility towards Islam and Muslims has been a feature of European societies since the eighth century. There are four key factors related to this hostility. The first is the presence of some 15 million Muslims in western European countries. The second is the increased economic leverage on the world stage of oil-rich countries, many of which are Muslim in their culture and traditions. The third is the abuse of human rights by repressive regimes that claim to be motivated and justified by Muslim beliefs. And the fourth is the emergence of political movements that similarly claim to be motivated by Islam and that use terrorist tactics to achieve their aims.[102] Many widespread and negative stereotypes continue to manifest anti-Muslim sentiment.

Islamophobia is a term referring to a fear, and accompanying hostility, towards the religion of Islam and its adherents. Some consider this to be the product of ignorance, irrationality, or mere prejudice, while others claim that they are wholly or partly justified.[103] In the United Kingdom, the term "Islamophobia" was not used in government policy until 1997, when the United Kingdom race-relations think-tank

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[102] *Report by the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia*, Dr. Richard Stone, Chair (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 2004), 7.

[103] Wikipedia contributors, "Islamophobia," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Islamophobia&oldid=41887348; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.

Runnymede Trust published the report "Islamophobia: A Challenge For Us All". In a section entitled "The Nature of Islamophobia," the report itemized eight features that Runnymede attributed to Islamophobia:[104]

- Islam is seen as a monolithic bloc, static and unresponsive to change.
- Islam is seen as separate and "other". It does not have values in common with other cultures, is not affected by them and does not influence them.
- Islam is seen as inferior to the West. It is seen as barbaric, irrational, primitive, and sexist.
- Islam is seen as violent, aggressive, threatening, supportive of terrorism, and engaged in a 'clash of civilizations'.
- Islam is seen as a political ideology and is used for political or military advantage. Criticisms made of the West by Islam are rejected out of hand.
- Hostility towards Islam is used to justify discriminatory practices towards Muslims and exclusion of Muslims from mainstream society.
- Anti-Muslim hostility is seen as natural or normal.

Today, Britain's 1.6 million Muslims are living on a diet of death, hypocrisy and neglect that is traumatizing and radicalizing an entire generation.[105] The Muslim Council of Britain maintains that very little has been done since the release of this report to tackle the challenges of Islamophobia in the United Kingdom. All attempts to improve things over the last five to ten years have been completely dismantled following 9/11.[106]

Islamophobia can have the effect of undermining young men's self-confidence and self-esteem, their confidence in their parents and families and their respect for Islam.

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[104] Wikipedia contributors, "Islamophobia," *Wikipedia*, *The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Islamophobia&oldid=41887348; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.
[105] *Report by the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia*, Dr. Richard Stone, Chair (Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books, 2004), vii.
[106] *Ibid*., 4.

It makes extremist organizations, however, attractive in ways that they wouldn't be otherwise. Parents of these young men are often accused of having neglected their religious training, leaving them bored and alienated from the religion itself. The result are gangs of around 20-30 of these young Muslim men who are listless, on the streets and turning to drugs to escape the despair of racism, Islamophobia and unemployment.[107] In his article *Don't Neglect Domestic Terrorism*, J. Singh-Sohal highlights the great influence of Islamic militant groups currently in the United Kingdom.[108] Having himself grown up in an ethnic area of Birmingham, it is clear to him that the underlying beliefs of the Muslim community support jihadism. He notes that Muslim youth tend to be openly anti-American and anti-Semitic, that they are proud of their defiance of Western ideas, and that a minority even believes in practicing jihad. Richard Reid, the convicted British "shoe bomber" was an example of this. Singh-Sohal opines that for many British Muslims, their allegiance lies more with their faith than their country despite that many are third generation Britons. These concerns raise the obvious question of how can the British government address these challenges?

Citizenship and Civics

Following the bombings in London (July 2005), a national consensus emerged in Britain that a renewed sense of patriotism was necessary to combat terrorism.[109] Codes of citizenship and a shared belief in Britain's values, proponents argued, would reduce

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[107] Inservice Training Education and Development, "British Muslim Identities: Pressures and Choices for the Young," http://www.insted.co.uk/british%20muslim%20identities.pdf; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

[108] J. Singh-Sohal, "Don't Neglect Domestic Terrorism," (May 2004) [article on-line]; available from http://www.heritage.org/Press/Commentary/ed050704a.cfm; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.

[109] George Monbiot, "The New Chauvinism," *The Guardian*, August 10, 2005 [article on-line]; available from http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=6125; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

the risk of domestic terrorism. The argument posited that patriotic people did not turn on each other. In other words, if there are codes of citizenship and a belief in Britain's virtues, acts of domestic terrorism are unlikely to happen.[110] Subsequently, the editors of The Daily Telegraph in London published an article entitled *Ten Core Values of the British Identity*.[111] In it they made reference to Muktar Said Abrahim, one of the five men arrested for attempting to blow up a bus in London just a few weeks before. Mr. Abrahim had lived in London since the age of 12 and applied for citizenship in 2003. The aim of the article was to outline the 'core values and qualities of citizenship' that Muktar Said Abrahim applied for. They were, according to the editors, as follows:

1. The rule of law. No one is above the law - not even the government.
2. The sovereignty of the Crown in Parliament. There is no appeal to any higher jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal.
3. The pluralist state. Equality before the law - no one should be treated differently on the basis of belonging to a particular group. Conversely, all parties, sects, faiths and ideologies must tolerate the existence of their rivals.
4. Personal freedom.
5. Private property.
6. Institutions. Freedom and character are immanent in British institutions.
7. The family. Stable families are the essential ingredient of a stable society.
8. History. British children inherit a political culture, a set of specific legal rights and obligations. They should be taught about these things.
9. The English-speaking world. The atrocities of September 11, 2001, were not simply an attack on a foreign nation; they were an attack on all who believe in freedom, justice and the rule of law.

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[110] George Monbiot, "The New Chauvinism," *The Guardian*, August 10, 2005 [article on-line]; available from http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=6125; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

[111] Editorial, *The Daily Telegraph*, July 27, 2005, [article on-line]; available from http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2005/07/27/dl2701.xml; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.

10. The British character. Shaped by and in turn shaping our national institutions is our character as a people: stubborn, stoical, and indignant at injustice.

This article was of course written during a time of significant public emotional distress amongst Londoners and Britons in general. Two nearly identical sets of bombings within weeks of each other, committed by similar groups of Muslim men, sharing common ideologies, was cause for great concern. Especially since they had all lived inconspicuously within their communities for many years. The public reaction was swift calling on renewed immigration measures reminiscent of the Bradford Riots of 2001.[112]

It has been 5 years since those events took place. Britain has once again come full circle in trying to find a way in which shared values and common citizenship can help bind diverse ethnic communities. Fears of domestic terrorism and pressures on the welfare state continue to challenge multiculturalist and integrationist ideas. Regardless, in 2003 the United Kingdom pushed ahead with a citizenship test for all newly-arrived immigrants seeking British nationality. A research team, selected by the Home Office and headed by Sir Bernard Crick, provided recommendations as to the content of the citizenship classes and the test.

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[112] During April to July 2001, violent confrontations in the towns of Bradford and Oldham, between young Asians and the police, culminated in a three day clash which injured 200 police officers. The clashes were prompted by racist gangs attacking Asian communities and the failure of the police to provide protection from this threat. In the end, the Asian community was blamed for a lack of leadership, an inability to control their people, and an inherent separatism of Islamic culture working against integration. This immediately led to calls for forced integration prompting the British Home Secretary to consider making citizen classes a condition of citizenship for new immigrants.

According to Cricks' recommendations, immigrants taking citizenship should join classes where they could learn about:[113]

- Everyday Britain, schools and how they get help or support.
- Employment in Britain, including their rights and the minimum wage.
- The basics of the English or Scottish legal system.
- The rights and duties of a citizen.
- Basic history of British institutions such as the Monarch and Parliament.
- The face of Britain in view of its modern history, principles of equality, fairness and justice.

The emphasis of these classes was to gain practical knowledge that helped to engender a sense of citizenship. Crick maintained that new citizens should be equipped to be active citizens. Although the British government accepted his recommendations, there were some that differed or disagreed with his theory.

For Mohammed Aziz, the founding Chief Executive Officer of the Forum Against Islamophobia and Racism (FAIR), his real question was: how should Britain seek to integrate British Muslims? As a starting point, he suggested a four pronged approach. [114] The first limb was to accept that Islam and Muslims were 'integrateable'. Despite arguments to the contrary for the right-wing, he suggested that they were able to integrate on three grounds:

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[113] British Broadcasting Corporation News, "UK Citizenship Test Unveiled," http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/2713349.stm; Internet; accessed 27 December 2005.
[114] RSA Economist Debate, "How Should the UK Deal with Immigrants: Integration, Assimilation or Alienation?" (23 September 2004).

1. Islam is an Abrahamic faith and is from the same family of religions as Judaism and Christianity. If it is possible to integrate Christianity and Judaism it should be possible to integrate Islam.

2. The central values and objectives of Islam are compatible with British and European values. The key values of Islam: protection of life, intellect, faith, family and property, in that order, and the objectives of the Shari'ah, Islamic law, listed as three: individual development, social justice and community development. Not only are they compatible but at the heart of British and European values.

3. There is a requirement within Islam to develop the outer form of Islam within the context of time and space.

The second limb was to accept that integration would be difficult, if not impossible, without challenging, over and beyond biological racism, prejudice, hate crimes and discrimination faced by Muslims in Britain. He referred to Islamophobia which he saw in at least four forms: Islamophobic harassment and violence, direct and indirect Islamophobic discrimination, institutional Islamophobia and entrenched disadvantage, and Islamophobic meta-narratives.[115]

The third limb was to accept that even if British Muslims and their religion was a short-term problem, they were a part of the long-term solution in Britain again, on several grounds. One key aspect surrounded the role of British Muslims in the war against terrorism. While the war against terrorism is a concern for Muslims as it is for any other British person, Muslims as a group are still seen as possible perpetrators and not as people who can contribute to fighting this terrorism.

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[115] These were the stories about British society with reference to 'the other', thereby leading to prejudice and discrimination against certain communities.

The fourth and final limb was to accept that the question of integrating British Muslims needs to be seen in the broader context of redefining a new national identity with shared values that reflects British society today. In other words, who are they as a nation and who is included in this nation? Clearly his perspective was less about citizenship classes and more about social understanding and harmony.

The United Kingdom has probably witnessed more domestic terrorism over the past 30 years than any other country. Although the majority of acts were based predominantly from the IRA, the past decade saw an increase in Muslim unrest within Britain. This gave rise to the concept of Islamophobia.

Islamophobia has had a very negative and destructive impact on Muslims and has traumatized an entire generation, specifically young Muslim men. All of the advances of integration prior to 9/11 were all but dismantled following those attacks. There is now greater despair amongst Muslim communities and even subtle signs of greater allegiance to their faith than to their country. The July 2005 bombings in London by Muslim immigrants did nothing to advance the cause of integration into British society.

Britain's response to this problem was to introduce citizenship classes and tests for all immigrants. The classes would oblige new immigrants to learn English and challenge their deeply held beliefs. Although the program was well designed, it was not well presented and many immigrants were insulted and drew further into their own communities. FAIR recommended a different approach to Muslim integration based on social-political lines versus one of assimilation. Despite this, citizenship testing has been approved as a requirement for acquiring citizenship in the United Kingdom.

While there is greater political literacy in Britain than in France, the aspect of peaceful conflict resolution is still lacking. This was obvious in the Bradford riots of 2001 and the London bombings of 2005. Clearly, the government failed to instill social and moral responsibility as part of its citizenship education. From the immigrant's perspective, the government failed to act on the main social problem of Islamophobia. Despite repeated complaints of racism and discrimination, the government has responded with citizenship classes and testing for all immigrants. This approach enraged the Muslim population risking further acts of domestic terrorism. This case study reinforces Crick's theory that the British government could have mitigated the domestic terrorism had it promoted strong citizenship and civic virtues in its youth and immigrant population. Britain's approach to citizenship is also quite different than Canada's which will be evident later in the paper.

THE UNITED STATES

The United States is a constitutional republic and the nation operates as a presidential democracy. The federal government is comprised of a Legislative Branch, an Executive Branch, and a Judicial Branch. There are three levels of government: federal, state, and local. The two largest political parties are the Republicans (conservative) and the Democrats (liberal). The Republicans currently hold the majority of seats in both the Congress and the House of Representative, and the current President is a Republican.

The United States is a dominant global influence in economic, political, military, cultural and technological affairs, and is often regarded as the sole world superpower.[116] It has a per-capita annual gross domestic product of $41.7 billion (2nd Quarter 2005) and its largest trading partner is Canada (19%) where about $1.1 billion dollars worth of goods cross the U.S.-Canada border each day, making the two the largest trading partners in the world.[117] Since the 1980s, the United States has increased the use of liberal economic policies that reduce government intervention and reduce the size of the welfare state.

According to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the 2005 population of the United States is estimated at slightly over 285 million.[118] It is a very ethnically diverse country having 31 ethnic groups with at least one million members each. The majority of Americans descend from white European immigrants who arrived after the establishment of the first English colonies. Although there is no official religion in the United States, Christianity is the predominant religion, with polls estimating 80% of Americans to be Christians of various denominations. The United States has no official language but English is the most widely spoken language followed by Spanish.

In the United States, education is a state, not federal, responsibility, and the laws and standards vary considerably. In most states, students are generally obliged to attend mandatory schooling starting with kindergarten, which is normally entered into at age 5,

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[116] Wikipedia contributors, "United States," *Wikipedia*, *The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=United_States&oldid=42335447; Internet; accessed 22 February 2006.
[117] *Ibid*., accessed 22 February 2006.
[118] Central Intelligence Agengy, "The World Factbook," http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2119rank.html; Internet; accessed 22 February 2006.

and following through 12th grade, which is normally completed at age 18. Public schools are highly decentralized with funding and curriculum decisions taking place mostly at the local level through school boards.

Domestic Terrorism in the United States

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) defines domestic terrorism as activities that involve acts dangerous to human life that are a violation of the criminal laws of the United States or of any state; appear to be intended to intimidate or coerce a civilian population; to influence the policy of a government by mass destruction, assassination, or kidnapping; and occur primarily within the territorial jurisdiction of the United States.[119] The Department of State defines it as premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.[120] The Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) defines domestic terrorism as an act involving groups or individuals whose terrorist activities are directed at the government or population without foreign direction.[121]

For the United States, defining domestic terrorism has become extremely challenging given the range of government departments who are engaged in the fight against it.[122] Lieutenant Commander S. Presley (USN) captures this very dilemma in

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[119] Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Terrorism 2000/2001," http://www.fbi.gov/publications/terror/terror2000_2001.htm; Internet; accessed 3 March 2006.
[120] US State Department, "1996 Pattern of Global Terrorism," http://www.mipt.org/pdf/1996pogt.pdf; Internet; accessed 5 March 2006.
[121] Federal Emergency Management Agency, "Hazards Backgrounder: Terrorism," http://www.fema.gov/hazards/terrorism/terror.shtm; Internet; accessed 6 February 2006.
[122] There were over 20 U.S. definitions identified throughout my research.

Rise of Domestic Terrorism and its Relation to the United States Armed Forces.[123] While

he states that domestic terrorism has existed and influenced the political and social

structure of the United States since the country's inception, he points out that the ability

to quantify and qualify it rests with clarifying the definition of domestic terrorism. To

further complicate this, many Americans do not differentiate between domestic and

international terrorism. For them, it is simply an attack on America which must be dealt

with on all fronts.

Prior to September 11, 2001, domestic terrorist attacks in the United States

included the bombings of the World Trade Center in New York City, the Alfred P.

Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, the United States Capitol Building in

Washington, D.C., and the Centennial Olympic Park. Up until 2001, the attack on the

Federal Building remained the worst domestic terrorist incident carried out by Americans.

The majority of the others were primarily right-wing based domestic attacks motivated by

racial supremacists or anti-government sentiment.[124]

Since then, the most significant incident of domestic terrorism in the United

States was the homeland attacks in New York City, Washington D.C., and rural

Pennsylvania. The attacks were carried out by pre-positioned terrorist cells that had

entered the United States and lived among the civilian population for some time. [125] A

total of 19 men, all of Arab origin and Muslim faith, were later identified as the domestic

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[123] Lieutenant Commander Steven M. Presley (USN), "The Rise of Domestic Terrorism and Its Relation to the United States Armed Forces," *U.S. Marine Corps Command and Staff College* (1996) [paper on-line]; available from http://www.fas.org/irp/eprint/presley.htm; Internet; accessed 23 February 2006.

[124] Gus Martin, *Understanding Terrorism: Challenges, Perspectives, and Issues*, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2003), 312.

[125] *Ibid.*, 338.

terrorists. The public backlash against Arabs and Muslims in the wake of 9/11 was very

negative. The measures instituted by the United States government, to prevent future

domestic terrorist attacks from this demographic, will be the subject of this case study.

Root Causes

In February 1998, Saudi exile Osama bin Laden and fugitive Egyptian physician

Ayman al Zawahiri arranged for an Arabic newspaper in London to publish what they

termed a *fatwa* issued in the name of the World Islamic Front.[126] Claiming that America

had declared war against God and his messenger, they called for the murder of any

American, anywhere on earth, as the individual duty for every Muslim who could do it in

any country in which it was possible to do it in.[127] Many Americans wondered what had

led him and the Islamic Front to espouse such hate. Bin Laden responded that America

was responsible for all conflicts involving Muslims (i.e.: Israelis and Palestinians) and

equally responsible for the governments of Muslim countries seen as American agents

(i.e.: Saudi Arabia). Only by abandoning the Middle East, converting to Islam, and

ending the immorality and godlessness of its society and culture, could America protect

itself from the fatwa.[128]

The Council on Foreign Relations, an independent non-partisan think-tank,

looked at eight specific areas in an attempt to understand the possible causes of 9/11.[129]

These included U.S. Power and Arrogance, U.S. Support for Israel, a Clash of

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[126] A fatwa is normally an interpretation of Islamic law by a respected Islamic authority.
[127] National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report to the President and Congress* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office), 47.
[128] *Ibid.*, 51.
[129] Council on Foreign Relations, "Causes of 9/11," http://cfrterrorism.org/causes/muslim.html; Internet; accessed 5 March 2006.

Civilizations, World Poverty, U.S. Support for Repressive Regimes, U.S. Troops in Saudi Arabia, U.N. Sanctions on Iraq, and Muslim Militant Extremists. A cursory review of the first four revealed a general consensus that these were not primarily responsible for the attacks. The last four however revealed some interesting opinions.

Beginning with the issue of U.S. Support for Repressive Regimes, bin Laden and al Qaeda followers have long opposed the regimes ruling Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Many are also infuriated by America's support for Egyptian President for Hosni Mubarak, who they see as godless, treasonous, and anti-Islamic for backing Egypt's peace with Israel. U.S. friendship is important and key to both these country's foreign policy. Egypt alone receives $2 billion of America's $14 billion annual foreign aid budget.[130] While Saudi Arabia receives no money from the U.S., it does enjoy protection from foreign attack through the American troops stationed there.

The presence of about 5,000 U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia, home to Islam's two holiest sites, is one of Osama bin Laden's bitterest grievances against America. The thought of "infidel troops" standing guard over Islam's holiest sites is offensive to him.[131] Although the U.S. mandate is to deter Iraq from attacking Saudi Arabia and monitor the no-fly zone, bin Laden knows the U.S. presence makes it harder for him to topple the Saudi monarchy. Some Middle East analysts note that a U.S. withdrawal from Saudi Arabia would hand bin Laden a victory.[132]

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[130] Council on Foreign Relations, "Causes of 9/11," http://cfrterrorism.org/causes/muslim.html; Internet; accessed 5 March 2006.
[131] *Ibid*., accessed 5 March 2006.
[132] Council on Foreign Relations, "Causes of 9/11," http://cfrterrorism.org/causes/muslim.html; Internet; accessed 5 March 2006.

The U.N. sanctions on Iraq were implemented in August 1990 following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. This grievance is the one most frequently mentioned by Osama bin Laden. The United States was the leading advocate for maintaining these sanctions. During his declaration of war on America and its allies in 1998, bin Laden insisted that a great devastation had been inflicted on the Iraqi people. While experts say that the sanctions may not have been a direct cause of September 11, they do agree that the perception that they are responsible for the misery of the Iraqi people – are a wellspring of anti-Americanism in the Middle East.[133]

Lastly, is the issue of Muslim militant extremists. There is consensus that a religious motive did exist behind the September 11 attacks. Viewed as a radical and politicized form of religion, it gained little support from Muslim clerics who widely condemned the attacks. Many analysts feel that the attacks actually hurt the radical Islamist groups. Before September 11, Arab states such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Algeria had beaten back their Islamist domestic foes and driven them to places such as the Sudan and Afghanistan. The attacks on America prompted a further crackdown on Muslim extremists by governments across the world, including in the Middle East.[134]

America is no stranger to domestic terrorism. The magnitude of the 9/11 attack, and the resolve of its perpetrators to continue such attacks, is now first and foremost in the eyes of the current U.S. government. Although the fight against terrorism is being waged both internationally and domestically, it approaches both of these rather differently. Internationally, the U.S. government has initiated a war against terrorism and

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[133] Council on Foreign Relations, "Causes of 9/11," http://cfrterrorism.org/causes/muslim.html; Internet; accessed 5 March 2006.
[134] *Ibid.*, accessed 5 March 2006.

its sponsors, targeting Osama bin Laden and his al Qaeda organization. Domestically, the task is much more challenging given the size of the U.S. population, its numerous ports of entry, and the need to balance civil liberties against security. As one pro-immigration interest group stated in January 2002:

> The challenge for the Administration and Congress is to implement measures that will make our country more secure without turning away from our tradition as a nation of immigrants, and to keep closer watch on the home front without seriously damaging our reputation as the land of the free.[135]

There have also been numerous policies, laws and acts passed since September 11. Some of these include the USA PATRIOT Act and the Enhanced Security and Visa Entry Reform Act which were subsequently followed by a number of executive orders and administrative decrees.[136] Additionally, as part of the governments plan to enhance security, the Immigration and Naturalization Service was transferred from the Department of Justice to the newly created Department of Homeland Security.

There are approximately 6 to 7.5 million Muslims in the United States who identify themselves as American. This community consists of a combination of immigrants and second- and third-generation Arab, Latino, Asian, European, African, and African-American Muslims.[137] With the recent attention on European Muslims in France as well as the London bombings of July 7, 2005, there is now a focus on how Western Muslims integrate, assimilate, and contribute to society.

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[135] John Greenya, "Immigration Law in Post – 9/11 America," *District of Columbia Bar* (August 2003) [article on-line]; available from http://www.dcbar.org/for_lawyers/washington_lawyer/august_2003/immigration.cfm; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

[136] *Ibid*., accessed 1 March 2006.

[137] Qamar-ul Huda, "The Diversity of Muslims in the United States: Views as Americans," *United States Institute for Peace Special Report* no 159 (February 2006): 1.

Citizenship and Civics

During the current climate of Muslim suspicion, most American Muslims favor political involvement and are open to being involved in civil society institutions.[138] This mirrors the current American belief that civic knowledge, civic intellectual skills, civic participation skills, and civic virtue on the part of the United States citizenry are all crucial for the vitality of a healthy representative democracy.[139]

According to the Center for Civic Education, free society must rely on the knowledge, skills, and virtue of its citizens and those they elect to public office. Civic education is therefore seen to be vital to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy.[140] For them, the key is the need to pay greater attention to the values and principles that unite them as Americans in order to narrow the gap between their ideals and the reality of daily life in their communities and nation. As such, a great emphasis is placed on civic learning in schools as the most effective way to prepare American youth for active participation in their democracy.

The Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools believes that to keep American democracy strong, they must reverse the decline in civic participation and engage the next generation of citizens. They believe that if their schools at are the heart of their

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[138] Qamar-ul Huda, "The Diversity of Muslims in the United States: Views as Americans," *United States Institute for Peace Special Report* no 159 (February 2006): 3.

[139] United States, Library of Congress, *Hubert H. Humphrey Civic Education Act S. 1238,* (Washington D.C.: GPO, 2001) [bill on-line]; available from http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/thomas; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

[140] Center for Civic Education, "The Vital Importance of Civic Education," http://www.civiced.org/campaign_intro.php; Internet; accessed 2 March 2006.

democracy, then civic learning must be the heart of their schools.[141] The United States Institute of Peace believes that schools must also teach America's youth about terrorism, its causes and responses. As such, they have published a *Teaching Guide* to provide teachers with lesson plans, bibliographic sources, and factual material to assist them in teaching students about terrorism.[142] Clearly the new education trend for America's youth, whether naturalized or an immigrant, is a simultaneous approach to civics and terrorism. But what of the adult immigrant, especially one of Middle Eastern or Arab origin?

Post 9/11 political sentiment had a significant effect on immigrants already in the U. S. when potentially beneficial reforms, such as a guest-worker program or higher H1-B visa cap, were put on indefinite hold.[143] Even individual States were attempting to tackle some immigration issues on their own, such as driver's licenses and college tuition for undocumented residents. The fact that the 19 Muslim terrorists who had hijacked those planes had not applied to immigrate or become U.S. citizens, but were there on temporary visas, only worsened the scrutiny against Middle Eastern males.

Since the 9/11 attacks, the most disturbing legal trend is the growing disparity in how American Muslims are being treated under the law on many different levels.[144] For immigrants from the Middle East, the levels of harassment are considerable given the so-

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[141] The Civic Missions of Schools, "Educating for Democracy," http://www.civicmissionofschools.org/campaign/educating.html; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.
[142] United States Institute of Peace, *Teaching Guide on International Terrorism: Definitions, Causes and Responses*, (Washington D.C.: The Institute, 2001), 1.
[143] Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, "U.S. Immigration and Economic Growth: Putting Policy on Hold," *Southwest Economy* Issue 6 (November/December 2003): 7.
[144] Council on American-Islamic Relations. *Unequal Protection: The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 2005*. (Washington D.C., 2005), 5.

called migration-security nexus.[145] The result has been the spotlight of politics and mass

media directed towards them and public debates on the foreign versus domestic

rootedness of Muslim organizations, the use of violence and gender relations.[146] These

reactions stemmed in large part from the USA PATRIOT Act. Passed by Congress only

45 days after the September 11 attacks, the Act was officially entitled "Uniting and

Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and

Obstruct Terrorism."[147] Within months, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft rounded

up and imprisoned well over 1200 Muslim and Arab men nation wide based solely on

pretextual immigration violations. He further directed the FBI and other federal law

enforcement officials to seek out and interview at least 5000 men between the ages of 18

and 33 who had legally entered the United States on non-immigrant visas in the past two

years and who came from specific countries linked by the government to terrorism.[148]

Lastly, in June 2002, the National Security Entry Exit Registration System (NSEERS)

was instituted. It required all male nationals over the age of 14 from 25 countries to

register and be fingerprinted. With the sole exception of North Korea, every single one

of these countries was Muslim or Arab.[149]

The Council on American-Islamic Relations, along with the American Civil

Liberties Union, has seemingly endless accounts of racist and xenophobic reactions that

have resulted with the implementation of the USA PATRIOT Act. Clearly there is

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[145] Thomas Faist, *The Migration-Security Nexus: International Migration and Security Before and After 9/11,* Willy Brandt Series of Working Papers in International Migration and Ethics Relations 4/03 (Sweden: Malmö University, 2004), 1.

[146] *Ibid.*, 2.

[147] Council on American-Islamic Relations. *Unequal Protection: The Status of Muslim Civil Rights in the United States 2005*. (Washington D.C., 2005), 12.

[148] *Ibid.*, 10.

[149] *Ibid.*, 11.

documented evidence that American Muslims, or persons of Middle Eastern origin, have and continue to bear the brunt of American backlash since the September 11 attacks. Further, the challenge of how to successfully integrate new immigrants from that demographic has almost become a non-issue. Statistics from the Office of Immigration Statistics show a decline in the number of people admitted to the United States from African or Middle Eastern countries since 2001.[150] Given the measures currently in place, and the stigma associated with being from a country associated with al Qaeda terrorists, it is unlikely that, in the short term, the United States will have to contend with how to integrate new immigrants from this demographic. As for the current Muslims and people of Arab origin already in the United States, integration continues to stand in the shadow of numerous security and identification measures. There are however, signs that the U.S. Immigration Service is softening its approach and returning to a more inclusive and fundamental citizenship methodology.

In November 2003, during a speech at the Nixon Center, the Director of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services defined citizenship as a condition of allegiance to, and participation in, a governmental jurisdiction. Specifically, it was a pledge of loyalty, commitment to actively participate in civics and community, and a willingness to serve when and where called upon.[151] Although there were many general comments espousing the virtues of American citizenship, he did emphasize four key points.

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[150] Department of Homeland Security, "Yearbook of Immigration Statistics," http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/statistics/yearbook/index.htm; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

[151] Eduardo Aguirre, *Civic Integration – Citizenship After 9/11,* Prepared remarks for the Nixon Centre (November 2003) [speech on-line]; available from http://uscis.gov/graphics/aboutus/congress/testimonies/2003/EA111303.pdf; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

First, was the creation of an Office of Citizenship. Mandated by the Homeland Security Act of 2002, its role was to promote public awareness on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. As a sub-set of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, this office would oversee such initiatives as the Immigrant Orientation Program aimed at providing legal immigrants with informational packets upon their initial arrival.

Second, was the subtle shift from assimilation into what he defined as civic integration – the main difference between the two being the choice of allegiance.[152] He contended that under assimilation the government essentially defined for the immigrant what it meant to be American conceding that this was as much an individual right as freedom.[153]

Third, was the intent to test potential new citizens in English, civics and history. Having selected a committee of university professors to identify the questions that best captured America, it was deemed a necessary undertaking in order to replace the current naturalization test. The latter was perceived as arbitrary and somewhat meaningless.[154]

Fourth, was that by choosing to become a citizen, immigrants entered into a covenant with the United States. And this covenant reserved the call to serve and bear arms and demanded loyalty to the Constitution and U.S. laws.[155] The aspect of military service is clearly defined in the *Guide for New Immigrants* where all male permanent

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[152] Eduardo Aguirre, *Civic Integration – Citizenship After9/11*, Prepared remarks for the Nixon Centre (November 2003) [speech on-line]; available from http://uscis.gov/graphics/aboutus/congress/testimonies/2003/EA111303.pdf; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.
[153] *Ibid*., accessed 1 March 2006.
[154] *Ibid*., accessed 1 March 2006.
[155] *Ibid*., accessed 1 March 2006.

residents, between the ages of 18 and 26, are responsible to register with the Selective Service.[156] Although service is voluntary, registration is mandatory.

This speech, two years after September 11, shows the position that America is still faced with today. The difficult task of trying to balance two fiercely opposing camps: one who feels that those seeking to tear down America will try and take advantage of the immigration system and the need to stop them; the other who insists on keeping the welcome mat out for those who come legally to join America in building the nation.[157] Although the United States has addressed the need to revitalize civics in its youth through the school system, it has not found or promoted a community approach for current adult Muslim immigrants. Instead it has been pre-occupied with detaining and investigating a good majority of them. This has further stigmatized the Muslim community and made integration all the more challenging.

The United States does not define domestic terrorism as a stand-alone event. Rather, it sees terrorism holistically emanating either at home or abroad but as having the same detrimental impact on its security. As such it applies its counter measures equally against both sources.

Since 1998, the United States has been threatened by the religious extremism of Osama bin Laden. Fueled by the American led victory in Gulf War One and the continued presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia, al Qaeda openly called for the

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[156] United States, Department of Homeland Security, *Welcome to the United States: A Guide for New Immigrants* (Washington D.C., 2005), 8.
[157] John Greenya, "Immigration Law in Post – 9/11 America," *District of Columbia Bar* (August 2003) [article on-line]; available from http://www.dcbar.org/for_lawyers/washington_lawyer/august_2003/immigration.cfm; Internet; accessed 1 March 2006.

killing of Americans worldwide. The domestic attacks of September 11 were the events that energized America in the global fight against terrorism.

Although the U.S. government is currently fighting international terrorism abroad, it has passed sweeping legislation and policies at home aimed at securing itself from further attacks. These policies are not aimed at integration or assimilation of new immigrants but rather on extreme security control measures for all immigrants. They include the USA PATRIOT Act and the Enhanced Security and Visa Entry Reform Act.

The impact to immigrants, specifically of Arab or Middle Eastern origin, has been quite detrimental. The need for national security and the fight against terrorism has overshadowed any attempts to positively integrate immigrants into American society. The suspicion and lack of trust aimed at this demographic has given rise to increased racism, racial profiling and harassment. The result has been reduced immigration, self-segregation and fear of guilt by association.

The United States is perhaps one of the greatest advocates of community involvement and civic education as means for fostering a healthy and patriotic democracy. And although its schools and community organizations have the ability to impart the importance of social and moral responsibilities onto its current and prospective citizens, the police state-like security control measures of the USA PATRIOT Act have instilled apprehension in new and current immigrants and forced many into seclusion for fear of racial profiling, racism and continued discrimination. The U.S. solution to mitigating domestic terrorism ignores the promotion of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy needed for strong citizenship. As a result, its actions

reaffirm Crick's theory and further highlight the difference in approaches to citizenship from those in Canada.

Summary

France's current domestic terrorism problems stem primarily from Muslim unrest due to years of government social and economic neglect. Its current citizenship policies fail to consider immigrant cultural experiences while pressuring them to abandon their religious beliefs. France's short term solution remains the creation of a model Muslim citizenry aimed at curbing political radicalism and terrorism. France's failure to instill strong citizenship and virtues in its youth and immigrants is directly related to her inability to promote social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy. Until France can build a strong citizenship it will most likely continue to face domestic terrorism and therefore reaffirms Crick's theory.

The United Kingdom's current domestic terrorism problems stem primarily from the effects of Islamophobia following the September 11 attacks. Clearly, the government failed to instill or promote socially or morally acceptable behaviour as part of its citizenship education and failed to act on the main social problem of Islamophobia. The British government could have mitigated domestic terrorism had it promoted strong citizenship and civic virtues in its youth and immigrant population.

The United States domestic terrorism problems stem primarily from its involvement in the first Gulf War and its continued presence in Saudi Arabia. Its solution has been to focus citizenship and civics education on school age children while imposing

sweeping security and control measures on all current and prospective immigrants. There has been particular focus on immigrants of Arab or Middle Eastern backgrounds. The U.S. solution to mitigating domestic terrorism ignores the promotion of social and moral responsibility, community involvement and political literacy needed for strong citizenship within its immigrant population. As a result, its ignores the tenets of Crick's theory and risks further domestic terrorism.

Each of these countries has been subjected to domestic terrorism. They have all failed, in one measure or another, to instill into their citizenry: social and moral responsibility, the need and importance of community involvement, and the absolute necessity for political literacy. The results were, in hindsight, predictable and will mostly likely occur again unless they dramatically change their approaches to citizenship and citizenship education. Perhaps Canada's approach is more reflective of Crick's theory.

CHAPTER 4

THE CANADIAN WAY

The aim of this chapter is to look at Canada's approach to citizenship. It will first provide a political and domestic threat overview. Citizenship will then be defined within a Canadian context by examining the aspects of diversity and multiculturalism. Finally, the chapter will conclude with a brief summary of Canada's citizenship approach with respect to Crick's theory.

CANADA

Canada is governed as a parliamentary democracy and constitutional monarchy, the latter represented by the Governor General. The head of the government is the Prime Minister. The country is divided into ten provinces and three territories with each having its own Premier. The major political parties at the federal level are the Conservatives, Liberals, New Democrats and the Bloc Québec.

Canada defines itself as both a bilingual and multicultural country. The majority of its population speaks English or French. While multiculturalism is the official policy, one must be able to speak either to become a citizen. Much of Canada's history can be traced through the founding nations of Britain and France. As of January 2006, Statistics Canada estimated the population to be 32.4 million[158] - three quarters of who live within 150 kilometers of the United States border. Ethnically diverse, the 2001 census has 34

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[158] Statistics Canada, "Latest Indicators," http://www.statcan.ca/start.html; Internet; accessed 22 February 2006.

ethnic groups with at least 100,000 members each.[159] Although there is no official

religion, 77% of Canadians identified as being Christians with 6% identifying with

Sikhism, Hinduism, Judaism and Islam.

Canada is a high-tech industrial society whose market-oriented economic system

closely resembles that of the United States, it biggest trading partner. Since 2001,

Canada has successfully avoided economic recession and has maintained the best overall

economic performance in the G8. It has also been ranked as one of the best countries to

live in by the United Nations. Canada has had a long history in peacekeeping and has

contributed more troops to peacekeeping operations worldwide than all other nations

combined and currently serves in over 40 peacekeeping missions, including

Afghanistan.[160]

Domestic Terrorism in Canada

On September 12, 2001, the U.S. Attorney General accused Canada of having

become a transit point for terrorists. Canada immediately reminded the United States that

they, the U.S., had in fact admitted the terrorists from their own border crossing.[161]

Regardless, the issue dealing with terrorism was thrust into Canada as a direct result of

these attacks. Although Canada has not often been targeted specifically for a terrorist

attack, it is vulnerable to terrorism for the following reasons:[162]

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[159] Wikipedia contributors, "Canada," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Canada&oldid=43050366; Internet; accessed 22 February 2006.
[160] *Ibid*., accessed 22 February 2006.
[161] H. Peter Oberlander, "Does the World's Longest Open Border Need Fixing Post 9/11?" *Public Affairs Report University of California* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 17.
[162] Canadian Security Intelligence Service. "Examples of the Terrorist Threat to Canada," http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/priorities/terrorism/examples.asp; Internet; accessed 7 February 2006.

- Extremists from environmental and animal-rights groups are willing to use dangerous and violent tactics in the fight for their cause (for example, extremists have engaged in arson attacks, tree spiking and spraying of noxious substances in public places so as to forestall logging operations; animal-rights extremists have mailed pipe bombs and letters containing razor blades tainted with poisonous substances to scientists and taxidermists, and hunting outfitters have publicized threats of poisoned food supplies).
- White supremacists have been aggressively opposing the immigration policies of the Canadian government and have used violent rhetoric against the Jewish community.
- Graduates of terrorist training camps in countries such as Afghanistan reside in Canada or continue to seek access to Canada.
- Canadians have been involved in planning terrorist attacks in other countries, either while residing in or outside Canada.
- Pre-operational planning and reconnaissance have been undertaken in Canada on various targets in some of our major cities.
- Osama bin Laden, the leader of al Qaeda, has mentioned Canada as a "designated target" for terrorist action because of Canada's role in Afghanistan following September 11, 2001.

It is also important to realize that the absence of terrorist violence on Canadian territory does not preclude it from attack. Given Canada's fight against international terrorism and the solidarity it has with the United States and other Western nations, there is always a possibility that it may be targeted.

The Government of Canada currently considers religious extremism as the most serious threat to Canadians.[163] While the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) does dedicate many of its counter-terrorism resources to this, it also monitors individuals and organization that might be involved in state-sponsored terrorism, secessionist violence, and other forms of domestic violence.

Canada last faced domestic terrorism from the FLQ, which sought to turn the largely French-speaking province of Quebec into an independent state and set off dozens

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[163] Canadian Security Intelligence Service. "Domestic Terrorism," http://www.csis-scrs.gc.ca/en/priorities/terrorism/terrorism.asp; Internet; accessed 7 February 2006.

of bombs during the 1960s.[164] Then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau invoked the War

Measures Act to protect the public from other potential FLQ targets and prevent further

acts of terror.

According to CSIS, domestic terrorism in Canada today is limited to the potential

for violence stemming from aboriginal extremism, white supremacists, right-wing

intolerance, violence on both sides of the sovereignty debate, and single-issue extremism.

Regardless, Canada passed Bill C-36 in November 2001 which implemented measures

with respect to the registration of charities in the fight against terrorism. The Act

recognized that acts of terrorism constitute a substantial threat to both domestic and

international peace and security. But it also emphasized that while terrorism is a matter

of national concern, measures used to protect Canadians must also respect and promote

the values reflected in, and the rights and freedoms guaranteed by, the Canadian Charter

of Rights and Freedoms.[165]

Given that there is currently no immediate domestic threat to Canada, do the

current citizenship and civic programs reflect Crick's tenets of strong citizenship?

Citizenship and Civics

The Canadian Citizenship Act was the first in the world to ignore a distinction

between native born and foreign born, on the assumption that citizenship was a universal

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[164] Council of Foreign Relations, "Canada, Australia and New Zealand," http://cfrterrorism.org/coalition/canada.html; Internet; accessed 7 February 2006.
[165] House of Commons of Canada, *Bill C-36* (Ottawa: Public Works and Government Services Canada, 2001), 9.

category that transcended particular backgrounds.[166] While national unity was the driving force behind Canada's universal citizenship, it was also directed at fostering a shared loyalty and society-building commitment.

The Government of Canada recognizes that citizenship is more than a certificate or a place of origin. Rather, it is a unique model based simultaneously on diversity and mutual responsibility.[167] The pillars of Canadian policies are based on the values that represent Canadian citizens. These values include sharing, opportunity, tolerance and freedom.[168] There are numerous federal departments that play a key role in promoting this approach. Some of these include Heritage Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

In Canada, while education falls under the jurisdiction of provincial government, the federal government has a vested interest in how citizens are educated and has worked to influence the policy and practice of citizenship education. Some of the federally initiated programs which have shaped citizenship education in Canada are:[169]

- The Official Languages Support Programs.
- The Forum for Young Canadians.
- Encounters with Canada.
- The Canadian Council for Multicultural and Intercultural Education.

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[166] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 344.

[167] Canadian Diversity, "Interview with the Honourable Sheila Copps – Minister of Canadian Heritage," *Canadian Diversity* 1 no. 3 (Spring 2003).

[168] *Ibid*.

[169] Yvonne Hébert and Alan Sears, "Citizenship Education," [article on-line]; available from http://www.cea-ace.ca/; Internet; accessed 2 February 2006.

Immigration is Canada's lifeblood and is key to the social and economic policies of the country. It relates directly to Canada's sovereignty.[170] Canada's policy of multiculturalism has served to provide a more inclusionary discourse around Canadian citizenship, particularly for growing numbers of immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities.[171] Canada has also come to be seen as the place where multiculturalism exists or heralded as the store with the multiculturalism.[172]

People worldwide marvel at two particular aspects of Canada. First, how does Canada maintain its independence and integrity despite proximity to the world's most powerful economic and military machine? Second, how can Canada remain united and prosperous when confronted with daunting levels of multi-layered diversity?[173] Although the answer to the first question would most likely fill numerous pages, it is beyond the scope of this paper. But Fleras and Elliot contend that the second question was perhaps answered by the American economist Tyler Cowen who remarked that the duel ideals of peace and multiculturalism within Canada were one of mankind's greatest achievements.[174]

Clearly from an outsider's perspective, Canada continues to experience an upsurge of racial pride and ethnic affiliation. Canada has transformed itself into one the world's most ethnically diverse societies and has done so without collapsing into

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[170] H. Peter Oberlander, "Does the World's Longest Open Border Need Fixing Post 9/11?" *Public Affairs Report University of California* 42, no. 4 (Winter 2001): 17.

[171] Yasmeen Abu-Laban, "Liberalism, Multiculturalism and the Problem of Essentialism," *Citizenship Studies* 6, no. 4 (2002): 460.

[172] RSA Economist Debate, "How Should the UK Deal with Immigrants: Integration, Assimilation or Alienation?" (23 September 2004), 16.

[173] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations : An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 285.

[174] *Ibid*., 285.

interethnic conflict. [175] It has successfully implemented a bold strategy for securing a

society that is united and distinct as well as diverse and equitable. Multiculturalism and

diversity has been the cornerstone to Canada's success hinged on the following:[176]

- Harmonizing group relations through intercultural exchanges.

- Eliminating discrimination, both personal and systemic.

- Reducing minority disadvantages at the social and economic levels.

- Expanding minority opportunities through institutional participation.

- Assisting individuals in preserving their cultural identities.

- Exposing the public to the virtues of tolerance and cultural diversity.

- Establishing a voice for historically disadvantaged minorities.

- Ensuring that minorities have a say in the rules by which they choose to live.

- Fostering a transformation of the social world in terms of who gets what.

For Canada, multiculturalism is a winning formula. It originated in response to

Prime Minister Trudeau's disdain for British and French nationalism, both of which

compromised individual rights and the glory of the community. He felt that linking

individual rights with equal status under multiculturalism would strengthen the solidarity

of the Canadian people by enabling all Canadians to participate fully and without

discrimination in defining and building the nation's future. [177]

In 1996, the Multiculturalism program was renewed around three strategic goals:

civic participation (participation), social justice (equitable treatment), and identity (foster

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[175] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 279.
[176] *Ibid*.,, 280.
[177] *Ibid*.,, 292.

a sense of belonging to Canada). The civic commitment was subsequently consolidated in a departmental paper entitled *Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship:*

> Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a sense of security and self confidence, making them more open to and accepting of, diverse cultures.[178]

Finally, Multiculturalism Canada advocates changes in Canadian institutions and attitudes by working with community organizations and interested individuals to ensure the fair and equal treatment of all Canadians of every cultural heritage. It conducts initiatives in three main areas. First, through Canadian society at large where it encourages understanding and appreciation of the cultural diversity that comprises the society. Second, through cultural heritage - strengthening cultural retention to ensure Canada's cultural life remains rich and that its distinctive identity and cultural institutions reflect the heritage of all Canadians. Third, through integration where they assist immigrants and members of racial and ethnocultural communities establish themselves as full participants in Canadian life.

Summary

Canada last faced a major domestic terrorist attack during the FLQ crisis of 1970. Although Canada does not believe itself to be totally immune from domestic terrorism, it believes that fighting terrorism must be balanced with maintaining the rights and freedoms of its citizens. Currently, there is no clear and present threat to Canada.

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[178] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 294.

The Canadian Way is commonly used to articulate a commitment to the principles of diversity and inclusiveness.[179] It is based on the idea that it is possible to create a prosperous and cohesive nation by incorporating diversity both in principle and as principle. According to Heritage Canada, Canada's approach to diversity is based on the belief that the common good is best served when everyone is accepted and respected for who they are, and that this ultimately makes for a resilient, more harmonious, and more creative society.[180] Further, that diversity recognizes respect for cultural distinctiveness as an intrinsic aspect of individual self-worth and identity. This in turn leads to achievement, participation, attachment to country and a sense of belonging.

Canada's multiculturalism is based on the principle that a society of many cultures can exist as long as people's cultural differences do not get in the way of equality, participation, and citizenship. It has historically been concerned with improving minority equality and participation in society; initially through the elimination of ethnocentric biases (ethnicity), then through removal of discriminatory barriers and institutional accommodation (equity), and currently through enhancing a sense of belonging and citizenship (civic).[181]

Canada clearly meets Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship. First, when compared to France, the United Kingdom and the United States, Canada's ability to recognize and embrace diversity promotes a common good which in itself bonds the society as a whole. This in turn inspires self-confidence and positive morals within Canadian society and clearly meets the first tenet (social and moral responsibility) for

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[179] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2003), 355.

[180] *Ibid.*, 355.

[181] *Ibid.*, 307.

strong citizenship. Second, active community involvement amongst immigrant groups is a direct result of Canada's ability in enabling all Canadians to participate in activities at all levels without discrimination. This meets the second tenet (community involvement) for strong citizenship. Third, by expanding immigrant participation in all level of governments and ensuring that they have a say in the rules by which they choose to live, promotes political literacy. One need only look at the make-up of Canada's elected official in comparison to those of the three countries discussed in the case studies as proof of Canadian successes in this area. This meets the third tenet (political literacy) for strong citizenship. Summarily, Canada's success in building a strong citizenship over the past 30 years has been a key factor in mitigating domestic terrorism. Canada's approach to citizenship validates Crick's theory.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to argue that strong citizenship and civic virtues could mitigate domestic terrorism. Based on Sir Bernard Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship (social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy), the theory holds that a person who is an intrinsic member of their society, a stakeholder in the future of their nation having full and equal rights, possessing a sense of belonging and partnership with their fellow citizens, is less likely to conduct domestic terrorism against his or her own community or nation.

The paper looked at three case studies involving countries with a history of recent domestic terrorism. The aim of that chapter was to examine France, the United Kingdom and the United States in the context of Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship.

France failed to promote the social and moral responsibility inherent in citizenship. It neglected to recognize the importance of diversity and failed to take into account the immigrant's cultural experiences. The ongoing inequalities that immigrants face in France continues to be fueled partially from the pressure they face to abandon their religious beliefs and their faiths. The 30 years of neglect by the French political classes to make any serious effort to integrate its Muslim and black populations into the economy and culture has also reinforced the importance of community involvement as a key enabler to mitigating domestic terrorism. France's failure to instill political literacy within its immigrant population has led to political apathy. France has not met Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship and is therefore unlikely to mitigate future domestic terrorism from this immigrant group.

The United Kingdom has had some successes in the area of community based civics. While there is greater political literacy in Britain than in France, the aspect of peaceful conflict resolution is still lacking. The British Government failed to instill socially and morally acceptable behaviour as part of its citizenship education and also failed to act on the main social problem of Islamophobia. The issue of citizenship classes and testing for all immigrants enraged the Muslim population and set the ideal conditions for terrorist recruiting and further acts of domestic terrorism. The United Kingdom failed to meet Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship.

The United States has passed sweeping legislation and policies aimed at securing itself from further attacks. Unfortunately, these policies were not aimed at integration or assimilation of new immigrants but rather on extreme security control measures for all immigrants.   The need for national security and the fight against terrorism has overshadowed any attempts to positively integrate immigrants into American society. While the United States is perhaps one of the greatest advocates of community involvement and civic education as means for fostering a healthy and patriotic democracy, its current approach to immigration has all but prevented those very immigrants from taking advantage of these initiatives. The United States all but ignores Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship and will most likely not mitigate future domestic attacks.

Finally, the paper looked at the Canadian approach to citizenship. Based on multiculturalism, Canada ensures that all citizens keep their identities, take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Multiculturalism is fundamental to Canada's belief that all citizens are equal. Acceptance gives Canadians a sense of security and self

confidence, making them more open to and accepting of, diverse cultures. This in turn leads to achievement, participation, attachment to country and a sense of belonging. Canada also believes that fighting terrorism must be balanced with maintaining the rights and freedoms of its citizens. Their success in having met Crick's tenets for strong citizenship through their multicultural approach has resulted in very few cases of domestic terrorism and will likely continue to mitigate the threat of future incidents. Canada clearly meets Crick's three tenets for strong citizenship.

People worldwide need to re-engage as active citizens in order to make informed decisions in their communities and actively participate in the shaping of their nations. Although many governments have sought to address the issue through citizenship education programs with formal schooling, this is but one of several avenues that must complement others as a means of achieving the goal. Specifically, the workplace, community and home also have a key role.

Sir Bernard Crick believed that a disengaged citizenry lacked social self-confidence, had little motivation to be actively engaged within their communities, and lacked the political literacy to effectively resolve conflicts related to the main social and economic problems of the day. This in turn could lead to divisiveness, disenchantment, discrimination and conjure up a recipe for potential violence. Given the facts presented in this paper, Crick's theory that strong citizenship can mitigate domestic terrorism is validated.

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