

UNIVERSITY OF TARTU  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies

Laura Laumets

**THE EFFECTS OF INGROUP LOVE –  
OUTGROUP HATE: 2005 LONDON  
TERRORIST ATTACKS**

Bachelor's thesis

Supervisor: Maili Vilson, MA

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## **Abstract**

Western Europe in the 21<sup>st</sup> century has seen a terrifying rise of terrorist attacks, many of which are claimed to be Islamist by the perpetrators and extreme Islamist organizations. Nevertheless, the damage of none of these attacks is comparable to the damage done through 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA in 2001. The reasons of the so called 'Islamist' terrorist attacks have been discussed by several authors. Nevertheless, the author of current thesis is not aware of any previous research that has tried to capture the social ingroups and outgroups and the intergroup relations regarding Muslims in the political discourses.

The aim of the thesis was to show the discourses regarding Muslims and Islam in the British parliamentary debates post 9/11 terrorist attacks. The author wanted to point out potential social ingroups and outgroups deriving from these discourses to see if the intergroup relations were constructed in a way that would have an impact on triggering the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London, United Kingdom in 2005. The main research question was: which social ingroups and outgroups regarding Muslims and Islam derived from the British parliamentary debates from 9/11 until 7/7 and how were the intergroup relations constructed?

To answer the main research question, the author of the thesis conducted a critical discourse analysis on five British parliamentary debates from 2001-2005. The coverage of Muslims and Islam in these debates was viewed through several theoretical explanations of ingroup and outgroup formation and intergroup relations.

The analysis revealed that Islam and the majority of Muslims were portrayed in a rather positive manner in the British parliamentary debates. Although it was clear that Muslims are perceived as an outgroup in British society, the will to help and integrate Muslim community was evident. The intergroup relations in the parliamentary discourses were not constructed in a way that would have an impact on triggering the 7/7 terrorist attacks.

The thesis contributes to the wider research of ingroup and outgroup formation and intergroup relations. Likewise, it contributes to the research of possible triggers for radicalism and terrorist movements.

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## **Introduction**

The aim of the thesis is to show the discourses regarding Muslims and Islam in the British parliamentary debates post 9/11 terrorist attacks. Furthermore, the author wanted to reveal the emergence of potential social ingroups and outgroups deriving from these discourses to see if the intergroup relations were constructed in a manner that would have an impact on triggering the 7/7 terrorist attacks in London, United Kingdom in 2005.

The topic of current thesis is important to investigate because several brutal terrorist attacks have been carried out in the 21st century. A significant amount of the perpetrators of these attacks claim to have done it in the name of their religion, Islam. One of the most shocking of these terrorist attacks took place in the USA on 11 September 2001. Previous research has looked into how the perception of Muslims changed after these attacks and widely shows that it became more negative and suspicious towards them. The perception of Muslims among politicians or political institutions has not been researched as thoroughly as the public attitude. The strategic political actions following the 9/11 terrorist attacks can easily be found, but the discourse(s) leading to the decisions are yet to be investigated. The social concept of ingroups, outgroups and intergroup relations has been researched by many scholars resulting in a number of theories. Nevertheless, according to the knowledge of the author, ingroup love and outgroup hate have not been specifically researched in connection to terrorism.

Therefore, the thesis asks the following research question: which social ingroups and outgroups regarding Muslims and Islam derived from the British parliamentary debates from 9/11 until 7/7 and how were the intergroup relations constructed?

To follow the aim of the thesis, the author conducts a critical discourse analysis using a selection of transcripts from the British parliamentary debates. The timeframe of the chose debates is between the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks, the first being the attack with the most civilian casualties in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and the last being the first remarkable Islamist (claimed by the perpetrators) terrorist attack on the UK in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The sample of debates is compiled according to the topics discussed: ‘Muslim’ and ‘Islam’ being the keywords for the search. Among many debates consisting these terms, the most relevant ones for current thesis are picked out. The transcripts of the debates are retrieved from Hansard, the official online platform of the British parliamentary debates. The final

sample of the debates consisted of five parliamentary debates, one from each year from 2001 to 2005. Despite the sample being rather small (the format of current thesis would not have fit the analysis of a larger sample), it shows consistent results throughout these years. The findings of the analysis are explained through the theoretical knowledge presented in the first chapter.

The theoretical framework gives an overview of how the social group identity is developed and how the intergroup relations can be explained. The Social Identification model by Tajfel and Turner, the Image Theory by Alexander et al., the Integrated Threat Theory by Stephan and Stephan and the concepts about ingroup love and outgroup hate by Marilynn B. Brewer are explained in depth and signs for their characteristics looked for in the analytical part. For understanding the background of 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist attacks better, the official reports of UK Government are used. The critical discourse analysis is conducted according to the instructions of Phillips and Jorgensen (2002).

The thesis consists of four main chapters. The first chapter gives an overview of the theoretical framework including some of the relevant theories explaining the intergroup attitudes. The second chapter explains the methodology of the thesis. The third chapter contains the critical discourse analysis of the primary sources and in the last chapter the results of the analysis are discussed.

## **1. Theoretical explanations to ingroup and outgroup formation**

The ingroup-outgroup concept in social psychology is a concept according to which people identify themselves with a group that they perceive to be an ingroup and often subconsciously oppose themselves to (an)other group(s) with different qualities that are perceived as outgroup(s). This has developed from the more general idea of ‘self’ and ‘other’ which doesn’t require groups for identification but can also be thought of on individual level. Psychologists have been looking into this social group dynamics for more than a century now coming up with various theories about the reasons and development of ingroups and outgroups and love and hostility between them. This chapter gives an overview of some of the most prominent authors’ ideas and theories as they will be helpful for analyzing the intergroup dynamics in the current case study.

The Social Identification model derives from the research on intergroup relations conducted by Doise, Tajfel and Turner throughout the 1970s. According to this model a social group starts from two or more individuals who identify themselves similarly or socially categorize themselves in the same way (Tajfel, 1982: 15). In a social identification process an individual can define him- or herself to one or more social categorization and the sum of these social identifications can be called his or her social identity (Tajfel, 1982: 18). The model assumes that people construct their perception of others and themselves according to abstract social categories and then begin to consider the categories as aspects of their self-concepts. Behaving according to these self-concepts leads to group behavior (Tajfel, 1982:16).

Marilynn B. Brewer (2001: 17) says that ingroup formation is separate and takes place before outgroup formation. The outgroup is usually represented stereotypically (but not necessarily negatively). Self-categorization creates attachment to ingroups and detachment from outgroups which is believed to be the first step toward outgroup discrimination and ingroup bias (Brewer, 2001: 20). Brewer believes that “human beings have two powerful social motives: a need for inclusion --- and an opposing need for differentiation” (Brewer, 2001: 21). The ingroup can either be motivated to seek gains for itself or to harm the outgroup. According to the literature the motivation to benefit is more dominant than the motive to harm the other group. Nevertheless, Brewer states that “wars of conquest, pogroms and ethnic cleansing require explanation that goes beyond that of

achieving positive distinctiveness for the ingroup” (Brewer, 2001: 26-28). According to Brewer (2001: 33) the combination of feeling morally superior and afraid of invasion or even loss of distinctiveness leads to potential hatred, expulsion or even ethnic cleansing.

One of the most prominent psychologists who investigated the prejudice towards outgroups was Gordon W. Allport, who wrote a monograph “The Nature of Prejudice” in 1954. Allport argued that hostility toward outgroups is not always required in the differentiation of the two groups but said that preferring the ingroup already leads to the feeling that the outgroup is not as “good” (Allport, 1954). A sociologist, William G. Sumner claimed that “the relation of comradeship and peace in the we-group and that of hostility and war towards others-groups are correlative to each other.” (Sumner, 1906). According to this understanding the hostility against outgroup grows together with the love towards the ingroup. Most research on prejudice and intergroup relations seems to support this idea (Brewer, 1999: 430).

Image theory talks about intergroup stereotypes arising from specific patterns of behavior of the social groups (Alexander et al, 2005: 781). Image theorists have come up with five different stereotypical images of the outgroups that are most likely to arise in intergroup relations. These are *ally*, *enemy*, *dependent*, *barbarian* and *imperialist*. *Ally* image portrays the outgroup as democratic, cooperative and trustworthy. The *enemy* image on the other hand portrays them as hostile, untrustworthy and manipulative. This stereotype appears in a situation where both groups are equally powerful and competitive in political and/or cultural status (Alexander et al, 2005: 782). The *dependent* image portrays the outgroup as lazy and incompetent, justifying the need to exploit them in order to help or protect them (Alexander et al, 2005: 783). The *barbarian* image portrays the outgroup as “violent, ruthless, irrational, and wantonly destructive”. According to the theory, these characteristics also justify isolating the ingroup from the outgroup (Alexander et al, 2005: 782). The *imperialist* image is formed when the ingroup feels weaker and lower in cultural status than the threatening outgroup. Instead of direct attack towards the outgroup it is more logical to rebel or sabotage them because of their strength (Alexander et al, 2005: 783). This thesis relies on the five categories of images to make sense of the perceptions of ingroups and outgroups in the empirical part.



The Integrated Threat theory of Stephan & Stephan consists of four types of threats that might play a role in causing prejudice. These are *realistic threats*, *symbolic threats*, *intergroup anxiety* and *negative stereotypes* (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 25). *Realistic threats* are threats to the existence of the ingroup, the physical well-being of its members and its political and economic power. Stephan & Stephan are talking about perceived realistic threats as the perception can lead to prejudice even if it is not accurate (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 25). *Symbolic threats* arise from the difference of the worldviews of the two groups. This happens because the ingroup believes that its' system of values is morally right, and the outgroups' system of values is wrong. The threat develops because the ingroup feels that the outgroups immoral values are dominant or becoming dominant in the society (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 25). The prejudice caused by *intergroup anxiety* comes from the perceived personal threat towards the self. This means that a person might feel anxious and threatened around outgroup members and thus becomes prejudiced toward the outgroup without acknowledging it (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 26). According to the integrated threat theory, *negative stereotypes* create the fear of negative consequences (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 26). This supports the ideas from the Image theory explained above. Stephan & Stephan also argue that previous conflicts pave the way to all of the four mentioned threats and the higher the conflict, the bigger the probability of physical confrontations (2000: 38).

Marilynn B. Brewer (1999) argues that outgroup hate will form under coexistence of certain sociologic and psychologic conditions. She is analyzing the formation of outgroup hate and hostility in conditions such as *moral superiority*, *perceived threat*, *common goals*, *common values and social comparison* and *power politics*. The *moral superiority* condition means that ingroup always feels more trustworthy because it is familiar and better understood. When the ingroups get larger they start to act as a moral authority consequently justifying or legitimizing their hostile behavior against outgroups (Brewer, 1999: 435). As for the *perceived threat* condition, Brewer says that "an outgroup constitutes a threat to ingroup interests or survival" (Brewer, 1999: 435-436). In such a situation the hostility against an outgroup increases as significantly as the love toward the ingroup (Brewer, 1999: 436). The *common goals* condition comes into picture in a situation where both groups have a common goal (or threat). This situation might bring the groups closer to each other as it might be easier to reach the goal of fight the threat

together. Nevertheless, it might also give ground to negative intergroup relations because if the attempt to reach the goal should fail, the ingroup tends to blame it on the outgroup. This is highly likely to happen if the ingroup has formed negative feelings towards the outgroup already before the appearance of a common goal or threat (Brewer, 1999: 436). The *common values and social comparison* condition comes from the social identity theory according to which social groups strive for positive distinctiveness. This means that two social groups having very similar goals can lead to competitive behavior which can cause outgroup hate (Brewer, 1999: 437). When talking about *power politics* Brewer says that political group leaders can have a great role in mobilizing people. The political decisions can also change the attitude of an ingroup towards a certain outgroup, especially when a politician or a political institution that is trusted in the ingroup shows distrust and fear towards an outgroup (Brewer, 1999: 437-438).

Brewer also brings attention to the results of several studies of ethnic and racial prejudice confirming that “compared to ingroupers, outgroupers are less likely to be helped in ambiguous circumstances, more likely to be seen as provoking aggression, less likely to receive the benefit of the doubt in attributions of negative behaviors and likely to be seen as less deserving in public welfare.” (Brewer, 1999: 438). This is the case with Muslim groups in Britain, where they are likely to live in poor areas, have poor health, tend to have a lower education compared to the average of the society and are often unemployed or working on low-income jobs (Abbas, 2004: 27). It is important to keep in mind that the large-scale immigration to Western Europe started with the import of low-paid foreign labor in the first place. Despite this idea being temporary, economic migrants started to settle in Europe by the 1960s (Bowen, 2010: 218-219). Because of deindustrialization, internationalization of capital and labor and technological innovation it is highly unlikely for the situation to get better for the Muslims. This has led to young Muslim generations to question the religious and cultural values of their parents (Abbas, 2004: 28). The misplaced feeling as a Muslim in British society might influence young people to find a new meaning of Islam for themselves. This meaning might be jihad (the movements are called Salafi-jihadi). In jihadi thought, religious beliefs and military strategies are combined to act similarly to the first Muslims (Nesser, 2018: 6). It is interesting to know that according to the Salafi-jihadi ideological principle called “covenant of security”, the Muslims who are being protected by a non-Muslim country’s citizenship are forbidden to

harm this state or its' citizens (Nesser, 2018: 33). Nevertheless, there are still Muslim Western citizens who follow the jihadi thought and end up being homegrown terrorists (Nesser, 2018: 6-7). According to the official report about 7/7 terrorist attacks published by the UK Government, homegrown terrorists were also the perpetrators in the mentioned case (UK Government, 2006: 13-18).

When investigating the opinions (both public and political) on Muslims and the connections between Muslim minority and terrorism in the UK, the perceived threat and power politics seem to be main reasons for possible outgroup hostility. In this context the ingroup would be non-Muslim majority and outgroup would be the Muslim minority. As several (but not all) of the terrorist attacks in the western countries since 9/11 were carried out by Muslims (mostly in the name of jihad), non-Muslim western people started to perceive Muslim minority as a threat. Several sources indicate to the fact that after these attacks Muslim people and Islam itself was depicted as negative and dangerous in Western societies (Abbas, 2004: 26; Kilp, 2011: 216). Kilp (2011: 207) emphasizes that the terrorist attack itself is not an 'agent' that is responsible for the consequences. He argues that the responsibility of constructing the perceptions and taking action upon them is on the shoulders of the politicians. Literature on the causes of terrorism indicates that the existence of grievances among a minority group is one condition for it (Crenshaw, 1981: 383; Newman, 2006: 750). Moreover, studies show that the feeling of injustice can lead to violent behavior (Crenshaw, 1981: 383). Most importantly, Crenshaw (1981: 384) states that "there does seem to be a common pattern of government actions that act as catalysts for terrorism".

## **2. Critical discourse analysis as a method for studying group formation**

This chapter will first introduce critical discourse analysis, the method chosen for the empirical analysis. The chapter will also outline the research questions, explain the sample development and justify the chosen timeframe.

The methodology for carrying out this research is critical discourse analysis. The aim is to explain how discourses regarding Islam and Muslims developed in the UK parliamentary debates and sittings in the period of 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 to 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2005 and which ingroups and outgroups could be detected in these discourses. From the theoretical background covered in previous chapter we can draw a clear conclusion that the formation of social ingroups and outgroups is natural everywhere. Thus, it is logical to assume that mentioning of differentiable social groups can be detected in the official discourses. Official discourses represent the views of the UK Parliament members presented on official meetings in the Parliament. At the same time, the MEPs can influence the perceptions of the public and create narratives that may be adopted by wider audiences. The thesis asks the following research question: which social ingroups and outgroups regarding Muslims and Islam derived from the British parliamentary debates from 9/11 until 7/7 and how were the intergroup relations constructed? After answering this question, the author will further see if the intergroup relations were constructed in a manner that would have an impact on triggering the 7/7 terrorist attacks.

Discourse analysis is the best suitable method for current research because in political debate the politicians tend to construct an ingroup and oppose it to an outgroup to get the support of a part of the society (Brewer, 1999: 437-438 & Van Dijk, 1997: 30). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is being used for studying the relations between social developments and discourse (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 60). Discursive practices have an important effect on the constitution of social identities and relations. These practices have an impact on the social and cultural change, but also reflect the current social structures (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 61). According to CDA “discursive practices contribute to the creation and reproduction of unequal power relations between social groups” (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 63). It is ‘critical’ because it tries to contribute to social change in order to have equal power relations in the communication between social groups (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 64). According to Fairclough’s CDA theory, next to

social identities and social relations, the discourse also contributes to knowledge and meaning system (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 67). In his theory the analysis should focus on following:

1. The linguistic features of the text.

Meaning the analysis of the vocabulary, grammar, syntax and sentence coherence.

2. The processes relating to the production and consumption of the text.

Meaning the analysis of the discourses and genres used for the consumption and production of the new text.

3. The wider social practice to which the communicative event belongs.

Meaning the consideration about whether the process described in the previous point led to constructing new discourses or restructuring the already existing ones. (Phillips & Jorgensen, 2002: 68-69)

Current discourse analysis will be conducted according to these three principles named above. As one of the aims of the research is to detect the ingroups and outgroups in the political discourses and discourse analysis is the best method for analyzing speech and its' meaning(s), it proved to be the best suitable method.

The author will use transcripts of the debates and sittings held in the Parliament of the United Kingdom, both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords to map out the discourses. The first step of the analysis will be showing the vocabulary and the structure of the sentences that the MEPs use in their speeches. This helps us to understand the general attitudes of the speakers towards the topic that is being discussed. Furthermore, the structure of the sentences can show the importance of the topic for the speaker. The second step will be showing the discourses and points of views that the speakers refer to in their speeches. The purpose of this step is to understand which topics are covered in the speeches and how the speakers perceive them. The third step of the analysis will be showing how the discussions and ideas on the covered topics developed throughout the chosen time period. By the end of the third step we should then be able to say if (and how) the discourses changed and whether new discourses developed from the existing ones. After mapping out the discourses the author will consider the theoretical approaches described in the first chapter and explain which (if any) of them describe the intergroup relations between non-Muslim and Muslim communities in the UK the best. The last step

of the analytical part of the thesis will be to consider whether we can detect any intergroup behavior from these analyzed discourses that might have had an impact on planning and carrying out the 7/7 terrorist attacks.

The official transcripts of all the sittings and debates can be found on the web page of UK Parliament (the sub-page called Hansard<sup>1</sup>, which holds all the official reports of all parliamentary debates). The author used the search engine on Hansard to find sittings and debates during chosen period where the terms 'Islam' and 'Muslim' were discussed. This was done in order to discover the contexts in which Islam and Muslims were mentioned in Parliament discourses, so that the author would not presuppose any connections, but they emerge from the texts. Three debates with the most references to 'Islam' and 'Muslim' were then chosen from each year for the initial stage of mapping the usefulness of the texts for the purposes of this thesis. After reading the debates the author chose one from each year (2001-2005), five debates in total, that would bring out the discourses most explicitly. After the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA the political debate in the UK on these topics rose significantly (Hansard). The statistics of the references to these terms throughout 2000-2004 is showed on Figure 1.

This shows that there was a significant increase of the coverage of these topics after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Thereupon the development of these discourses should be analyzed. The debates were analyzed, and the results presented according to the timeline starting from 2001 and finishing with 2005 debate. As one of the aims of the research was to see the development of the discourses, it was logical to analyze them chronologically.

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<sup>1</sup> UK Parliament. Hansard. <https://hansard.parliament.uk/>

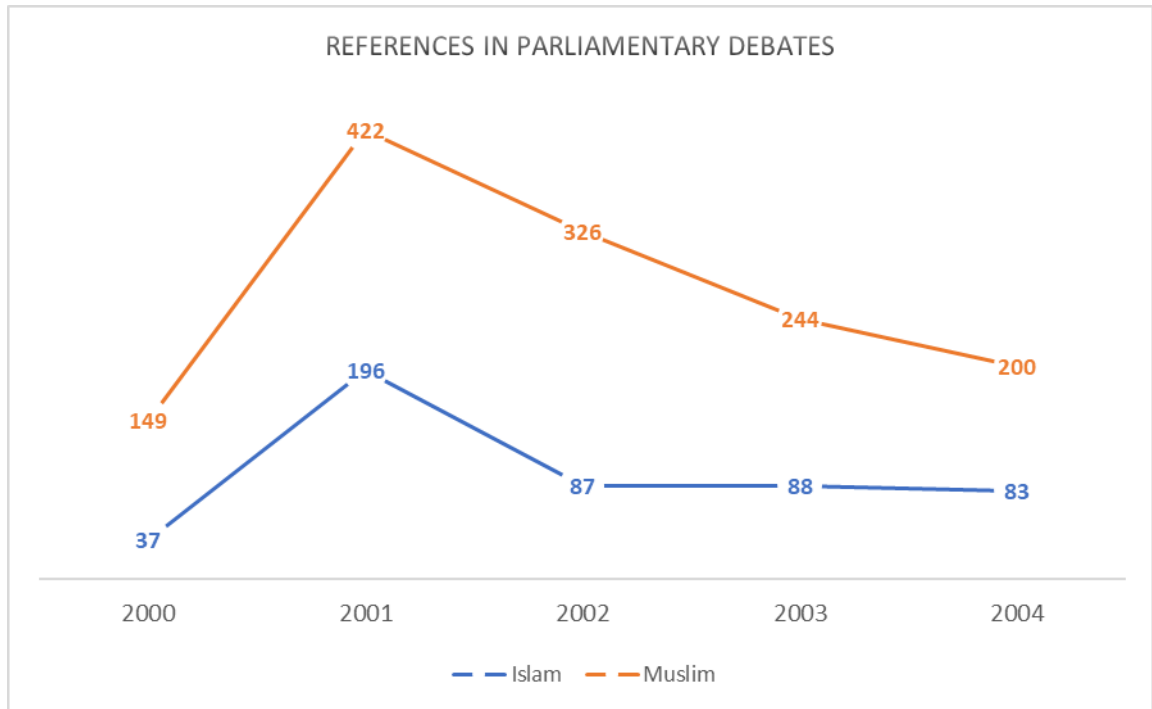


Figure 1. References of 'Islam' and 'Muslim' in the UK parliamentary debates in 2000-2004 (Source: Hansard, compiled by author).

Shortly before the London attacks took place, the Home Secretary issued a statement emphasizing that the terrorist threat to Britain is high. The Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in March 2005. Around that time the Security Service website of the UK warned that the most significant threat to Britain is posed by al-Qaeda which hosts both British and foreign nationals (2006 :9).

The period between 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 to 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2005 was chosen because on 9/11 multiple terrorist attacks were carried out in New York City, United States of America in which approximately 3000 people including around 100 British nationals lost their lives (UK Government, 2001) and on 7/7 multiple terrorist attacks were carried out on London transit system where 52 people were killed and approximately 700 more injured (UK Government, 2006). After the attacks in the USA in 2001 the attitude towards Muslim communities changed in British society (Abbas, 2004: 26). Prejudice and discrimination against them increased significantly with most of the media coverage portraying Muslims and Islam persistently negative. Words like 'extremism', 'radicalism' and 'fanatic' became frequently used when talking about Muslims (Hewstone & Schmid, 2014: 321). The 7<sup>th</sup> of July 2005 attacks in London were the first immense Islamist terrorist attacks carried out in the United Kingdom. One of the perpetrators of the 7/7

terrorist attacks, Mohammed Sidique Khan recorded and uploaded a video<sup>2</sup> where he says the following:

*“Our driving motivation doesn’t come from the tangible commodities that this world has to offer...Your democratically elected governments continuously perpetrate atrocities against my people all over the world. And your support of them makes you directly responsible...Until we feel security, you will be our targets. And until you stop the bombing, gassing, imprisonment and torture of my people we will not stop this fight”* (Kirby, 2007: 422).

This leads us to believe that political discourses regarding Muslims in the UK can potentially reveal attitudes and statements of politicians that might have had an impact on the perpetrators’ motivation to carry out 7/7 terrorist attacks.

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<sup>2</sup> Mohammed Siddique Khan’s ‘martyrdom video’. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jHXLai08G3I> (last visited May 5, 2019)



### **3. Main discourses of Muslims in the UK Parliament 2001-2005**

The aim of this chapter is to conduct an empirical analysis on how the discourses regarding Islam and Muslims changed in the British parliamentary debates after 9/11 terrorist attacks. This chapter is divided into five parts, each of which contains the analysis of one parliamentary debate from 2001-2005. Full sources of the debates can be found from the list of references in the end of the thesis. Each debate is also cited with a footnote on the starting page of the analysis. As each subchapter talks about one certain debate, intext citations are not used. The authors of specific quotes are mentioned before the quote.

#### **3.1. International Terrorism Debate. 4 October 2001.<sup>3</sup>**

The debate held in the House of Lords of the Parliament of the United Kingdom on 4 October 2001, three weeks after the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA, focuses on terrorism and the steps to be taken regarding it in the future. The main arguments of the debate focus on the response to the attacks, airline security, the usage of identity cards, regulating the migration and most importantly in the context of current thesis, the relationship between Islam and terrorism.

Many of the lords had normative and inclusive statements mentioning the unity of all the world communities no matter what religious beliefs they have. Some stated that the attacks of 9/11 were attacks on everyone and that the way how people all over the world have united in the aftermath, makes them belong to one big community. It was emphasized that it is the job for everyone to fight for justice, democracy and freedom, no matter the religion, beliefs or politics.

The outgroup portrayed strongest in the debate is terrorists (including Osama bin Laden, Al Qaeda and Taliban). It was argued that terrorists reject our way of life and want to destroy our values, beliefs and remarkable work done for protecting human rights. On the other hand, it was put under a question how exactly to define a terrorist as we shouldn't connect it to a country or nationality, but there are clearly some countries funding and harboring terrorist organizations. This question derived from the statement that who we call terrorists might be considered freedom fighters somewhere else. Lord Clinton-Davis

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<sup>3</sup> Hansard. "International Terrorism." 4 October 2001. Volume 627.

called terrorists “the new enemy of the modern world”. It is stated by several of the speakers that terrorists should not be defined by their religion, but their acts. It was further argued that the terrorists that claim to be fighting for Islam have in fact corrupted religious purposes for the good of their own.

A clearly distinguishable social group in the debate is the people of Afghanistan. It is so because of the base of Al Qaeda being situated there and the discussions about a possible attack against terrorism regard fighting on the ground of Afghanistan. Although some of the speakers say that the enemy is not only the terrorists but also the countries harboring them, there are more that point out the importance of protecting and helping the people of Afghanistan. In the opening speech of the debate, Baroness Symons says:

*“(...) Britain is working hard to forge a coalition of equal importance: a humanitarian coalition to help the Afghan people now, in the current crisis, and, as importantly, in the future, in rebuilding their economy, their country and their lives.”*

Baroness Park later on in the debate also points out the importance of doing good for the people in need while attacking the evil ones. On the other hand, some of the speakers pointed out that even though there has been a long period of civil wars in Afghanistan and people are fighting each other, they would still unite against the whole world if someone were to attack their country in any way. It was proposed only to help Afghan people with needed aid and letting them clear out the situation in the country without any military activity. One lord later on emphasized that Afghans are not generally fundamental Islamists and that extreme Islam is only the characteristics of the Taliban movement.

One of the most important social group distinctions from the debate is the distinction between Muslims and the Christians of the west. Several expressed their concerns about the topic saying that not only are the values of these two religions different, but the Christian community has taken the path of compromise with the materialist world. Islam on the other hand has not taken this road yet and that the biggest fear to the Muslim community seems to be losing the values of their religion among the materialist ones.

Several speakers were bringing attention to the fact that many Muslim leaders have strongly condemned the attacks and assured that they support USA in their fight against terrorism in any possible ways. The Lord Bishop of Bradford was emphasizing that his

Muslim friends are shocked by what happened in the United States and also by the fact that some Islamist organizations attempt to influence young Muslims in their city.

The Parliament members who attended the debate drew attention to several public attitudes and actions that had outgrown from 9/11, but also to the opinions of several political leaders such as Tony Blair and Margaret Thatcher. What concerned many of the speakers, was how the media portrayed Muslims after the attacks in the United States. They brought attention to the fact that 'Islam' and 'terrorism' can't be allowed to become interchangeable terms. Lord Ahmed, who is also a representor of the Muslim community said the following:

*"However, in the aftermath of the carnage of New York, I was disturbed to see that some of the media, including the BBC, continued to use derogatory terminology such as "Islamic terrorists", "Islamic militants" and "Islamic extremists", so much so that "terrorism" and "Islam" became interchangeable terms."*

Lord Jenkin among some other speakers referred to an article in The Times where the former Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Margaret Thatcher, had questioned the compassion of the Muslim communities regarding the attacks:

*"I was dismayed to read in The Times this morning that there are prominent people who seem to doubt that. Those who argue that we have not heard enough from Muslim clerics are inaccurate, unfair and profoundly unwise. They are inaccurate because it simply is not true."*

From some speeches it turned out that there had not only been negative media coverage on Islam, but that several unjustified violent attacks on the Muslims have occurred after 9/11. According to MPs who were actively in touch with the Muslim communities, many of them were terrified these days and afraid to leave their homes because of the negative attitudes towards them.

What was agreed on among all the speakers of the debate, was that Islam and terrorism cannot be considered the same thing. Furthermore, it was emphasized many times by different members of the Parliament that any possible future action against terrorism and terrorists is not going to be an attack on Islam and Muslims. Deriving from this understanding, it was agreed upon that the world including all nations, countries, religions and beliefs should unite to fight against and destroy terrorists.

Even though it was known for all that the terrorists of 9/11 claimed to have carried out the attack in the name of Islam, most of the speakers said that Islam cannot be taken as an excuse for such horrific actions. The topic of Muslim communities in Great Britain but also worldwide was addressed with the idea that there should be no discrimination based on religion, race or nationality and that every person should feel safe and as a part of the society where they live. It was pointed out that the failure to integrate Muslims into the society might give ground to further extremism and possible terrorist attacks in the future.

Although it was agreed upon that there is a need for quick action against terrorism, it was pointed out that aggression towards the countries harboring terrorists might not be the solution or even cause further problems. It was discussed that western presence has caused many tensions in the Middle East before and in case of military action there could be civilian casualties which would furthermore create conflict between the west and the Muslims.

From the perspective of the Social Identification Model, it can be said that many speakers make a distinction between the identities of 'us' (the west, the Christians, the British society) and 'them' (Muslims, Middle-Eastern people). Nevertheless, in this debate there were no strong stereotypes regarding Muslims nor negative attitudes towards them. There was also a clear distinction between the social groups of 'terrorists' and 'Muslims' meaning that at least in current debate such generalization was not made even though the terrorists claimed to have acted in the name of Islam.

Taken from the perspective of Image Theory, the Muslim outgroup in current debate seems to be portrayed as an *ally* because most of the lords desecrated them to be trustworthy and with them (the ingroup of western democratic people) in the fight against terrorism. Terrorists on the other hand are clearly portrayed as the *enemy* outgroup. As mentioned above, Lord Clinton-Davis even uses this exact word for describing terrorists. Even though the speakers can be said to have a rather neutral or even positive attitude towards the Muslim outgroup, it draws from their discussions that it has been different in the media and also in the British society. This is supported with the citations from the newspapers and facts from the Muslim community leaders stating violent actions against Muslims. We cannot say for sure how the society then perceived the Muslims, but it is

logical to assume with the information given in the debates that it could be *barbarian* image of an outgroup.

Similarly, the types of threats from the Integrated Threat Theory cannot clearly be detected from the attitudes of the speakers in the debate, but with given discussion can be assumed to exist in the discourse regarding Muslims in the media and hence in the society.

What can clearly be noticed in the debates though, is how the speakers feel *moral superiority* in the world describing the western values (such as democracy, freedom and human rights) as an ideal that the terrorists have tried to sabotage and in protection of which everyone has to unite for now. The condition of *common goals* described thoroughly in the theoretical framework can be detected from the attitudes of the Parliament members. It is present in the context of ‘the whole world against terrorism’ where the speakers emphasize that terrorists are the threat for everyone no matter the religious or national identity. Although Marilyn B. Brewer says that the presence of a common goal (or in this case a common threat) can cause tensions and outgroup hate (Brewer, 1999:437), such attitude doesn’t come out from current debate. The *perceived threat* condition is clear in the attitude towards terrorists.

### **3.2. Terrorism: Terminology Debate. 16 December 2002.<sup>4</sup>**

The 16 December 2002 Terrorism debate in the House of Lords focused on the definition of terrorism. Much of the discussion was about whether ‘Islamic terrorism’ is a proper term and whether terrorism can be talked about in connection or an excuse to a religion.

In this debate the distinction between Muslims and terrorists remained clear. Nevertheless, some lords were concerned about some terrorist organizations defining themselves as Islamic because of that leading to a public misunderstanding that Islam is a violent religion and is trying to excuse carrying out terrorist attacks.

Muslim community was portrayed rather positively in current debate. The Lord Bishop of Oxford for example said the following:

*“The vast majority of Muslims in this country and around the world are honest, godly, decent people. They need a better voice in this country.”*

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<sup>4</sup> Hansard. “Terrorism: Terminology.” 16 December 2002. Volume 642.

It was emphasized by many that Islam is the faith of peace and that terrorist acts are contradicting the values of the religion. It was even pointed out that the Organization of the Islamic Conference which is the broadest grouping of Muslim states, strongly condemned the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

When a question was raised about the Governments thoughts about extremist Muslim community leaders in the UK, such as Abu Hamza<sup>5</sup>, Baroness Symons replied saying that such outbursts shouldn't be taken as an expression of the whole religion or community. On the other side, she emphasized the importance of stopping the terrorist perpetrators from convincing and making their actions appealing for moderate Muslims.

Some of the lords made suggestions for practical remedies to take into use for integrating and protecting Muslims in the British society, but also for promoting the religion as a separate phenomenon from terrorism. Baroness Symons added that they are welcoming ideas on how to better the communication with the Islamic community and stated that an Islamic media unit has been established for trying to overcome the problems. Furthermore, she drew attention to the Prime Minister Tony Blair's words from 12 November 2002, when he had talked about "creating bridges of understanding between religious faith".

The need to fight discrimination against Muslims was brought up by many. It was argued that discrimination against Christians had had an impact on the actions of IRA and if the discrimination against Muslims should be ignored, it might lead to further attacks.

The discussion of this debate is more about the two social groups: Muslims and terrorists. Terrorists are certainly perceived as a negative and dangerous outgroup. The discussion over how to solve the problem with discrimination based on religion indicates that the speakers consider Muslims as an equal part of the community that deserves to have equal rights and treatment as anyone else. On the other hand, pointing out the issue of religious discrimination and hatred shows that the society is not taking Muslims as an equal part of the community.

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<sup>5</sup> Abu Hamza Profile. 9 January 2015. <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-11701269>. (last visited May 5, 2019).

### 3.3. Religion And Global Terrorism Debate. 9 April 2003.<sup>6</sup>

This debate focused on the relationship between religion and terrorism. There was discussion over whether terrorism and religion can be talked about in the same context at all. The lords also addressed several issues concerning the roots of terrorism, war activity in the Middle East and integration of the Muslim communities both in the UK and worldwide.

There were no new distinctions between social groups in this debate, that haven't been mentioned and discussed already in the previous chapters written on the previous debates. In order not to repeat these points, I will further only talk about the Muslim social group (portrayed both as an ingroup and outgroup by different speakers).

Similarly to the previous debates, most of the lords emphasized that Islam is a religion of peace and that its values have nothing to do with terrorism. One of the outstanding arguments of the debate is that Muslims are good people like anyone else who stands against violence. Baroness Symons said:

*"The fact is that the majority of Muslims—indeed, the majority of all people—abhor any violence of that nature."*

Majority of Muslims were also portrayed as "peaceable, law-abiding and often renowned for gracious hospitality". The importance of understanding different religions and uniting in a peaceful society was emphasized. Lord Wallace mentioned that Muslims are being discriminated and this needs to be changed for them also to feel safe in Britain or anywhere else in the world. He concluded this idea with saying:

*"I am proud that my children have grown up with a large number of Muslim and Hindu friends and have understood that others have systems of belief which are also liberal, and which are worthy of respect."*

Several speakers showed their regret over the fact that even though many Muslim leaders had strictly condemned terrorist action, the media tended to give more light to the statements of extremist leaders. It was argued that this furthermore creates islamophobia in the society as people take the extremist ideas as the only (or at least dominating) truth about Islam.

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<sup>6</sup> Hansard. "Religion And Global Terrorism." 9 April 2003. Volume 647.

On the other side, several lords expressed their concerns about the increase of fundamentalist Muslims. The Lord Bishop of Oxford said that the terrorists will only gain support if what they're promoting appeals to the wider Muslim community. He said that until there are unresolved political questions and oppression in the Muslim countries or communities, the threat of young Muslims sympathizing with the fundamentalist ideologies is especially high.

Lord Ahmed, who is a representative of the Muslim community in Great Britain, also pointed out that young Muslims are being influenced by extreme ideologies in educational institutions. It was agreed upon that there should be more control over which Muslim community leaders are allowed to spread their word in UK. An idea was brought on the table that there should be a backup check combined with interviews about their interpretations of Islam and understanding of the Quran. This means that even though the MPs claim not to take Muslims as terrorists, they feel the need to check if the ones spreading their religious word in the UK have extremist interpretations of the Quran.

Some lords raised the question of what could be done to hear out the Muslims, avoid any discrimination on the basis of religion and help them feel more as an equal part of the society. It was emphasized that it is vital to encourage and cherish the Muslim presence in the country. According to Baroness Symons, the Foreign Office had taken several steps to help Muslims. The Lord Bishop of Oxford argued that it is important to ensure that the public bodies and main institutions have representatives from the Muslim communities to speak publicly for themselves and be heard more.

In this debate there was a lot of discussion over the roots of terrorism. There were several explanations such as the poverty and low education, but also political aims and the feeling of oppression. Lord Avebury expressed his opposition towards military action in Iraq and Afghanistan by citing Mubarak:

*"(...) as President Mubarak has said, we are creating 100 Bin Ladens by that process. Instead, we must consider the doctrines that motivate terrorists and the means by which they are spread around the Islamic world."*

Several, on the other hand, argued that low education and poverty cannot be taken as root causes for terrorism as the profiles of the perpetrators and members of Al Qaeda prove that they are mostly well-educated elite. Lord Alton on the other hand said that the



terrorist behavior is neither coming from low education, poverty or religious extremism, but from oppression:

*“If there is state oppression, individuals often strike back in the name of their religion. The discontent motivating fundamentalist Islamic militarism is not primarily or even significantly the result of religious persecution; it is more a product of oppression, frustration, poverty, lack of a political voice and damaged pride.”*

Many agreed that the western military action in the Middle East might give a temporary solution to the conflict in these countries but will not give the feeling of safety to their people, who might later on still take extreme actions such as terrorism.

From the viewpoint of Muslims, we can detect some characteristics of the *imperialist image* of the Image theory in current debate. According to the imperialist image the outgroup is perceived too powerful and strong to directly attack it so the more logical way to fight is to rebel (Alexander et al, 20015: 783). Terrorism is a clear way of rebellion rather than direct attack.

According to the Integrated Threat theory, the Muslims living in these Middle-Eastern countries which were being attacked by UK and USA, such as Iraq and Afghanistan, would perceive West as a *realistic threat*. The definition of a realistic threat is a threat to the existence, physical or economic well-being (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 25). All of these conditions are always present for the people of countries under attack in a war situation.

From the perspective of the western countries, such as UK itself, terrorists were considered as a *symbolic threat*. Several members of the Parliament talked about how the aim of terrorism is to destroy the most sacred values of the liberal West such as human rights, freedom and democracy. What is important to acknowledge and what also became evident from the debate is that the attack on terrorism via attacking some Middle-Eastern countries, is not only an attack on terrorism, but also on the local people (most of whom are Muslims).

In the debate the term ‘Islamist terrorism’ was used several times. Even though most of the speakers agreed that this term should not be used (as Islam and terrorism share no common values), the usage of it in the media (as discussed by several lords), but also in the parliamentary debates draws a link between these two.

### 3.4. Muslim Communities Debate. 22 June 2004.<sup>7</sup>

This debate took place in The House of Commons and the discussion was about the general situation of Muslim communities in the British society. The Parliament members shared the problematic issues concerning Muslims in their constituencies and offered ideas on how to solve them.

The first speaker of the debate, Ms. Karen Buck gives a very good description of a large Muslim community living in Britain:

*“Some are refugees, but many are not. Some are relatively recent arrivals, but others, such as those in the Bangladeshi community, have been a settled feature of local life for decades. Some are from severely impoverished countries and failed states, such as Somalia. Others, such as those from Iraqi and Kosovan communities in particular, are disproportionately likely to have professional and highly educated backgrounds. Some of the communities that have settled around the Edgware road in central London have extremely wealthy backgrounds. Some of the Muslim communities are secular. Some attend mosque but keep their faith largely private; others are informed by their belief in every aspect of their political and daily lives. A few are extremists.”*

Although a rather long description, it gives a very good overview of the different background of the Muslims in the society. With her last sentence, Ms. Buck also makes a point about extremist Muslims, admitting that they exist, but she emphasizes that ‘a few’ are extremist (for all previous characterizations she used the word ‘some’).

From the speeches of the MEPs it is clear that the economic situation of the Muslims in Britain is not well. It is stated that approximately 75% of Pakistani and Bangladeshi families in Britain are living in poverty and 35% of Muslim children live in households where there are no working people at all. These issues are considered extremely important to deal with because they are feared to lead to low education and dissatisfaction which both can give breeding ground to extremism.

Ms. Sarah Teather criticized the government saying that according to what she has heard from Muslims of her constituency, the words do not match the real actions. She quoted the Muslim Council of Britain which had said that:

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<sup>7</sup> Hansard. “Muslim Communities.” 22 June 2004. Volume 422.

*“It is the view of the Muslim Council of Britain that very little progress has been made in tackling the horror of Islamophobia in the United Kingdom /--- / we strongly feel that the government has done little to discharge its responsibilities under international law to protect its Muslim citizens and residents from discrimination, vilification, harassment, and deprivation.”*

The Parliament members who spoke in this debate expressed their concerns about Muslims being discriminated in various ways. Ms. Karen Buck was describing the situation with the words of the Muslim Council of Britain saying that there has been "a relentless increase in hostility towards Islam and British Muslims". She said that according to the statistics the attacks against Muslims increased 41 percent since the 9/11 terrorist attacks and took place even in the places of worship:

*“(...) a meeting attended by Moroccan and Somali residents last week reported an increase in attacks on places of worship since 11 September, including abuse of and assaults on women wearing the hijab (...)”*

MEP Sarah Teather said that from her conversations with some representatives of the Muslim community she has found out that their main concern is the section 44 in the Terrorism Act 2000<sup>8</sup>. This act regulates the ‘stop and search’ by the police rules. Ms. Teather gave the statistics of the use of this act:

*“Searches of individuals suspected of terrorist offences rose from just over 10,000 in 2001–02 to more than 32,000 in 2002–03, which is an increase of more than 200 per cent. The vast majority of those stopped were in London, but just 1 per cent. of those stopped and searched under section 44 were arrested /---/”*

The concerns were argued against saying that there is an action team working out a plan on how to make the use of section 44 more effective and less uncomfortable for people being investigated. It was confirmed that everyone should know why this method is being used and that no one should suffer because of feeling targeted or accused.

The speakers of the debate also discussed the social discrimination of Muslims taking place through poor living and working conditions and religious and ethnic discrimination

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<sup>8</sup> Liberty. Section 44 Terrorism Act. <https://www.libertyhumanrights.org.uk/human-rights/justice-and-fair-trials/stop-and-search/section-44-terrorism-act>. (last visited May 1, 2019).

when hiring. Ms. Buck quoted Bashir-Ebrahim Khan, the deputy director of the North Kensington Muslim cultural heritage center, who had said that

*"(...) decades of social exclusion in North Kensington has produced an underclass of people cut off from society's mainstream, without any sense of shared purpose (...)"*

Some speakers of this debate also touched upon the topic of Iraq war and how it is perceived among the Muslim community. Several said that in their opinion going into the war was the right thing to do because it was clear that the people of Iraq were oppressed and could not have freed themselves in any way on their own. They argued that even though the war has brought civilian casualties, even more people would have died if there had been no military intervention. Ms. Sarah Teather argued strongly against this point:

*"Given the backdrop of the war on terror and the attack on Iraq, which many Muslims perceive, rightly or wrongly as an attack on Islam, we must understand that they see terrorism legislation as a direct attack on them."*

Her point of view was that the people of Iraq and Muslims overall do not feel like the war is helping them, but rather perceive it as an attack.

In this debate we can see several intergroup attitudes that are hard to categorize according to given theoretical background. The problem of educational and economic discrimination of Muslims does not seem to fit into any mentioned categories of outgroup hate. Even though there are clearly negative stereotypes regarding Muslims, Image theory doesn't seem to capture a specific image for named phenomena. Having read and analyzed the previous debates it is logical to assume that Muslims were perceived as a *symbolic* and after 9/11 a *realistic threat* to the western society, precisely to UK. This can easily lead to discriminating them in everyday life such as in the job market even though the negative attitude lies in an explanation that has nothing to do with the job market.

As for the discussion about the Iraq war, Britain clearly portrayed Iraq as the *dependent* outgroup. Mr. Dismore proved it perfectly when stating that Iraqi people couldn't have fought against the oppressing regime on their own. He portrayed Britain as a savior rather than perpetrator in the case of the Iraq war. Nevertheless, from the speech of Ms. Teather it drew that the Iraq people themselves did not seem to take Britain's actions positively. Their feeling of Islam being attacked under the statement of 'war against terror' can be

explained with the condition of *symbolic threat* meaning that Muslims feared the values of their religion to be attacked in the shadow of the Iraq war.

### **3.5. Iraq Debate. 16 March 2005.<sup>9</sup>**

The debate about Iraq held in the House of Lords was focusing on the strategic, humanitarian, economic and political issues with the military intervention in Iraq that started in 2003 (Britannica). The UK involvement on the intervention was supported by 412 and voted against by 149 Parliament members (Tempest, 2003). From this debate we can learn a lot about the situation of the local people in the warzone and their perceptions of the west, mainly the US and the UK whose forces were still present in Iraq by the time of the debate. Despite Islam not being specifically discussed in this debate, it was chosen for the analysis part because approximately 95% of the Iraqi population are Muslims (World Population Review).

Most of the debate was regarding the local people in Iraq and how the war has affected their lives since March 2003 until March 2005 when the debate took place. The people of Iraq were depicted as the ones suffering the most because of the intervention. There was a lot of emphasis on the situation of women in the Iraq society and how their opportunities have changed over the two years of war. Several speakers were also talking about the soldiers of the UK in the context of war casualties. In this debate the terrorists and Hussein's government were not significantly discussed because he had been captured and his government taken down from power already in the end of 2003 (Britannica).

The Lords who had been in contact with correspondents or friends living in Iraq described the situation as extremely chaotic. According to their information there were not enough water supplies nor electricity and the healthcare system including the work of the hospitals was malfunctioning. They stated that the situation of the infrastructure seems to be much worse than how it used to be prior to the intervention. According to several lords the unemployment in Iraq was up to 40% and there has not been a lot done for creating new jobs for the locals. A point that was often stressed was that UK decided to go into Iraq for the sake of helping the locals to build up their country, but this mission seems to have failed. Lord Redesdale expressed his regret followingly:

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<sup>9</sup> Hansard. "Iraq." 16 March 2005. Volume 670.

*“Therefore, those decision makers, we must now conclude, should share some of the responsibility for the apparent mismanagement which has cost the Iraqi people a significant portion of their wealth during the period when we took over the running of their country. In this respect it could be argued that we have in part failed in our duty of care which we implicitly took on when making a "moral case" for the war in Iraq.”*

The situation of women in Iraq was discussed in more depth. Some lords were saying that according to some polls and interviews with the Iraqi women it had turned out that even though Saddam Hussein’s regime was oppressing, it was rather secular, and women had more access to education, jobs and healthcare than after the invasion.

A widely discussed topic of the debate was war casualties, especially on the Iraq side. Many lords stated that there is no statistics about the total amount of civilian casualties including the injured and emigrated people. Some emphasized that not caring for the locals will make them distrust the foreign troops even more in their claim of helping Iraq. Furthermore, some of the lords were talking about the hypocrisy in the difference of how media depicts the casualties of Iraq and the UK. The Lord Bishop of Oxford said:

*“If a US or British soldier is killed or wounded we feel that immediately and deeply—that is only natural. But we need to remind ourselves that every death, whether it is an Iraqi or anybody else in that country, is also the death of a human being. In the moral calculus these deaths also need to be taken into account for the sake of truth as well as humanity.”*

There was discussion about democracy and whether the claimed aim – bringing democracy to Iraq – could be achieved at all. Some of the lords said that according to research, polls and interviews, the people from Iraq are open to the idea of democracy and would like to live in a democratic country. Nevertheless, majority of the speakers agreed that this could happen on a condition that they are free to build the system up on their own and gradually. Some members of the Parliament said that it would be best to withdraw the military forces and, in the future, only assist Iraq in social development.

The depiction of Iraqi people in this debate can best be explained by the *dependent* image from the Image theory. According to this image it is justified to exploit the outgroup in order to help or protect them (Alexander et al, 2005: 783). As many of the Parliament members in current debate emphasize, the main aim of the UK when deciding to go into Iraq was to help the local people get free of an oppressing regime and build up their country. From the perspective of Iraqi people, the foreign troops in their country, UK

soldiers among them, seem to be perceived as a *realistic threat* according to the integrated threat theory meaning that they pose a threat to the existence, physical well-being, political and economic power of the ingroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2000: 25). The existence of Iraqi people was endangered because of the ongoing bombing in the country, the political and economic power because of taking down the former leader, but not yet having a new working government. The shortage of water supplies, and electricity can also be considered as a realistic threat. According to Brewer, the perception of the outgroup as a threat can lead to hostility and hate towards it (1999: 435-436). This draws also from some of the speeches in this debate where the speakers say that Iraqi people do not trust the foreign soldiers a lot and feel that they are not safe with the coalition troops based in their country.

#### 4. Discussion

Throughout all of the five parliamentary debates analyzed above, there were three social groups that were being discussed the most: the Muslims, the terrorists and the West (including the UK). Muslims were mostly depicted as an outgroup (except in cases where the speaker himself was from the Muslim community). The best suitable description to the Muslim outgroup throughout these debates would be the *dependent* image from Image theory. The Muslims in the UK were portrayed in a rather positive way, described with words such as ‘good’, ‘honest’ and ‘peaceful’. It was emphasized often that Islam is a religion of peace and that there should be no connection in anyone’s mind between terrorism and Islam. Nevertheless, the term ‘terrorism’ came up in every analyzed debate regarding Muslims meaning that even though the MPs argued against these terms being interchangeable, a connection had already been made in the public discourse.

The *dependent* image suits for describing the Muslim outgroup because the discussion during the debates showed that they were living in poor economic conditions, lacking good and competitive opportunities for education and were segregated from the wider society in the UK. From the speeches of several MPs it came out that Muslims had been widely discriminated and even violently attacked after the 9/11 events in the USA. The general attitude of the MPs towards the isolated and discriminated Muslim communities was that they need to be helped and their voices more listened to. It was emphasized that they deserve to feel as an equal part of the whole British society, indicating that currently this is not the case. The Muslims living in Afghanistan and Iraq were described quite similarly. It was stated that they are living in poor living conditions, many of them being unemployed and having low education. The general attitude towards them was positive and caring. Nevertheless, they were portrayed as having trouble maintaining their own country and standing up against the oppressive regimes and terrorist organizations in their country. This was also the reason for the UK to join the Iraq military intervention in 2003. Even though the MPs emphasized the importance of caring about and helping the Iraqi people, it turned out that the war casualties on their side were publicly not talked about as much as the casualties of UK soldiers. This seems to show that their lives were considered less important from the lives of the ingroup members (the soldiers of the UK).



The terrorists were clearly portrayed as the *enemy* throughout the debates. Several speakers even referred to them using the word 'evil'. The terrorist outgroup was opposed to the whole world that cares for human rights and freedom no matter the national, religious or political background. Taking that into account, Muslims were also considered a part of the ingroup in this context. Nevertheless, the parliamentary discussions revealed that there has been a lot of negative media coverage about Islam being an extreme and violent religion. According to what was discussed in the previously analyzed debates, there had been discriminative behavior and violent attacks against Muslims following the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA. We can hereby assume that this was caused by the perpetrators of 9/11 claiming to have carried out the attacks in the name of Islam.

From the perspective of the terrorists, the West including the UK and the USA can be best described with the *imperialist* image (from the Image theory) because of seeing them as a stronger outgroup that needs to be rebelled against. It seems logical to assume that the imperialist image of the West derived from the perception of the western liberal democracies as a symbolic threat (from the Integrated Threat theory) to Islam and its values. It was discussed in the debates mainly among the religious leaders that the western values have become quite secular and materialistic opposed to the religious symbolic values that Islam strongly depends on. From the perspective of the Iraqi people, the West seems to have been perceived mostly as a realistic threat (from the Integrated Threat theory) because of the military intervention. The topics discussed on the debates showed that the infrastructure, living conditions and the economic well-being of the Iraq people has worsened during the intervention. Furthermore, the bombings on Iraq cities and villages posed a real threat to the lives of the civilians.

The discourse regarding Muslim communities in the British parliamentary debates did not significantly change during the period from 9/11 terrorist attacks in the USA until 7/7 London bombings. Throughout all of the analyzed debates they were portrayed as good and peaceful people who deserve better living conditions, equal treatment and understanding. Nevertheless, it is clearly seen from the debates that the public attitude and media coverage regarding Muslims took a negative turn after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Secondly, it is clear that the Iraqi people, majority of whom are Muslims, were physically and economically suffering because of the war activity initiated by the western

coalition troops in their country. The discourse shows that the life quality of Iraqi people was better prior to the military intervention which UK participated in.

## **Conclusion**

The aim of this thesis was to show the discourses regarding Muslims and Islam in the British parliamentary debates after 9/11 terrorist attacks and to examine the intergroup relations deriving from these discourses. Furthermore, the aim was to see if the detected discourses had an impact on planning 7/7 terrorist attacks. A critical discourse analysis was conducted to analyze British parliamentary debates regarding Muslims from 11 September 2001 until 7 July 2005. The author conducted a sample of five debates and analyzed them using the instructions for critical discourse analysis from Phillips and Jorgensen (2002). The theoretical framework for detecting the ingroups and outgroups in the discourses consisted of ideas from Social Identity model (Tajfel), Image theory (Alexander et al.), Integrated Threat theory (Stephan & Stephan) and concepts of negative intergroup relations (Brewer).

The author detected two main discourses regarding Muslims and Islam, both of which remained relatively consistent throughout all the debates:

1. Islam and terrorism are separate terms that should not be considered connected or interchangeable. Islam was described as a peaceful religion and majority of the Muslims as good and honest people contrary to the terrorists who were portrayed as violent, evil and inhumane.
2. Muslims as a social group are living in poor conditions, are not treated equally compared to the rest and are discriminated on the basis of their religion. This was evident in both the discussions concerning British Muslim community and the Iraqi people (majority of whom are Muslims).

These discourses did not change or significantly develop throughout the investigated years. Nevertheless, the author of the thesis has pointed out two clearly distinguishable discourses concerning Muslims post 9/11 terrorist attacks. Further research can be conducted to see the development of these discourses. For this we would have to examine debates from a longer period preferably starting from before the 9/11 attacks.

From the first discourse the author could detect three social groups: terrorists, Muslims and the moral world. Outgroup hate could clearly be detected between the terrorists and the moral world. The Muslims were depicted very positively in the first discourse. The

distinction between the social groups of 'Muslims' and the 'moral world' was evident from mentioning them separately. Nevertheless, there was no outgroup hate visible in this intergroup relation.

In the second discourse the western society drew out as an ingroup and the Muslim communities as an outgroup. The author did not notice any outgroup hostility in this relation. The outgroup was rather portrayed as weak and powerless, needing the help and protection from the powerful and helpful ingroup.

The author does not believe that the two detected discourses had a direct impact on the planning of 7/7 terrorist attacks. On the other hand, the triggers of the attacks can only be assumed. In the future it is possible to narrow the specter and look into the relation between Iraq military intervention and 7/7 terrorist attacks.

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## **SISEGRUPI ARMASTUS JA VÄLISGRUPI VIHA: 2005. AASTA LONDONI TERRORIRÜNNAKUD**

Laura Laumets

### **Resümee**

Lääne-Euroopa on 21. sajandi jooksul näinud suurt tõusu terrorirünnakute arvus. Nendest suurt osa nimetavad terroristid ja äärmuslikud terroriorganisatsioonid võitluseks islami ja selle väärtuste säilimise nimel. Vaieldamatult kõige šokeerivam taoline terrorirünnak leidis aga aset Ameerika Ühendriikides 2001. aasta 11. septembril. Islami nimel korraldatud terrorirünnakute tagamaid on uuritud võrdlemisi palju, sealjuures on suuremalt jaolt keskendunud sellele, kuidas suhtumine moslemitesse 9/11 terrorirünnakute järgselt muutus. Eelnevad uurimused on peamiselt keskendunud muutustele avalikus arvamuses.

Käesoleva bakalaureusetöö eesmärgiks oli välja selgitada millised moslemeid ja islamit puudutavad diskursused tulevad välja Suurbritannia parlamendidebattidest 9/11 järgsel perioodil. Autor soovis tähelepanu juhtida nendest diskursustest välja kujunevatele sise- ja välisgruppidele ning gruppidevahelistele suhetele. Leitust tulenevalt soovis autor vaadata, kas gruppidevaheliste suhete iseloom võis kuidagi olla mõjuteguriks 7. juuli Londoni terrorirünnakute korraldamises 2005. aastal. Autorile teadaolevalt ei olnud sise- ja välisgruppide ning terrorismi vahelist seost varasemalt uuritud. Uurimistöö peamiseks küsimuseks oli: milliseid moslemeid ja islamit puudutavaid sise- ja välisgruppe võib märgata Suurbritannia parlamendidebattides 9/11 ja 7/7 terrorirünnakute vahelisel perioodil ning millise olemusega kujutati nende gruppide vahelisi suhteid.

Uurimisküsimusele vastamiseks viis töö autor Phillipsi ja Jorgenseni (2000) instruksioonide abil läbi kriitilise diskursuseanalüüsi kasutades selleks valikut Suurbritannia parlamendidebattidest. Ajaliseks raamiks debattide valikul oli 9/11 ja 7/7 terrorirünnakute vaheline periood. Valim debattidest koostati kasutades otsingusõnu '*Muslim*' ja '*Islam*'. Paljudest esile kerkinud debattidest valiti käesoleva töö teema jaoks välja kõige olulisemad. Debattide transkriptsioonid olid kättesaadaval Suurbritannia parlamendi ametlikul veebiplatvormil Hansard. Lõplik valik koosnes viiest debatist, millest igaüks oli pärit ühest aastast vahemikus 2001-2005.



Käesoleva uurimistöö teoreetiline raamistik annab ülevaate sellest, kuidas kujuneb sotsiaalne identiteet ning kuidas tõlgendada gruppidevaheliste suhete kujunemist. Põhjalikumalt on kirjeldatud Tajfeli sotsiaalse identiteedi mudelit, Alexanderi (et al.) pilditeooriat ning Stephani ja Stephani integreeritud ohtude teooriat. Samuti on lahti seletatud Breweri sisegrupi armastuse ja välisgrupi viha tekkimise kontseptsioonid. Diskursuseanalüüsi tulemusi tõlgendati läbi nende teoreetilises raamistikus välja toodud teooriate ja kontseptsioonide.

Diskursuseanalüüsi käigus tuvastas autor kaks peamist moslemeid ja islamit puudutavat diskursust, mis läbi valitud perioodi püsisid võrdlemisi muutumatuna:

1. Islam ja terrorism on eraldiseisvad mõisted, mida ei tohiks võtta lugeda omavahel seotuks ega samaväärseks.
2. Moslemid eraldiseisva sotsiaalse grupina elavad kehvades tingimustes, on koheldud ebavõrdselt ning on tihti usu alusel diskrimineeritud.

Diskursustest tulid ilmsiks järgnevad sotsiaalsed grupid: terroristid, moslemid, moraalne maailm, Iraagi inimesed, lääne demokraatlikud riigid. Selgelt joonistus välja viha terroristide kui välisgrupi vastu. Moslemeid kui välisgruppi negatiivselt ei käsitletud, küll aga oli kirjelduste põhjal selge, et neid eristatakse moraalse maailma ning lääne demokraatlike riikide sisegrupist.

Käesoleva töö autor ei usu, et väljatoodud kahel diskursusel oli otsene mõju 7/7 terrorirünnakute planeerimisele. Teisalt aga saabki terrorirünnakute puhul taolist mõju pigem oletada kui otseselt mõõta. Antud töö näitab aga kätte mitmed suunad tulevastele võimalikele uurimustele. Näiteks on võimalik fookust kitsendades uurida vaid Iraagi sõja (mida käesolev töö käsitles vaid ühe debati põhjal) mõju 7/7 terrorirünnakutele. Samuti on võimalik süveneda sellesse, kas ja kuidas muutus Suurbritannia parlamendis suhtumine moslemitesse ja islamisse pärast Londonis toimunud 7/7 terrorirünnakuid.

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*Laura Laumets*

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