

# Assessing the correlation between terrorist attacks and the limiting of Muslim immigration due to anti-Islamic sentiments

2013

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ASSESSING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TERRORIST ATTACKS AND  
THE LIMITING OF MUSLIM IMMIGRATION DUE TO ANTI-ISLAMIC  
SENTIMENTS

by

RATNA V. OKHAI

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Honors in the Major Program in Political Science  
in the College of Sciences  
and in The Burnett Honors College  
at the University of Central Florida  
Orlando, Florida

Summer Term 2013

Thesis Chair: Dr. Nikola Mirilovic

## **ABSTRACT**

In the last 12 years, since the devastating attack on the United States Twin Towers on September 11, 2001, the global community has become increasingly wary. The continuing terrorism on July 7, 2005 on the United Kingdom subway system increased tensions between citizens and immigrants in these countries. I use these two countries to examine the consequences effects that these terrorist attacks have had on, in particular, the Muslim immigrant population. In addition to that, I use Germany as a control, since it has not faced a major terrorist attack, yet has a substantial Muslim immigrant population.

In the United States and United Kingdom, I use public opinion data polls and immigration policies before and after the attacks. In Germany's case, I utilize the same data and to assess any correlation to the other two countries data. Using the literature already written, public opinion data polls and policy initiatives enacted before and after these attacks, I examine the overall effect, if any, on the Muslim immigrant population in these countries.

The intent of this thesis is to explore if the significant changes in immigration policies after the attacks have occurred due to economic or cultural factors. Because public opinion is central to policy changes, I also consider the implications of public's views on immigration after the attacks, along with the effect all this has on the number of Muslim immigrants entering these countries.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First off, I'd like to thank the person who made this possible for me—Dr. Nikola Mirilovic. If it wasn't for his guidance as my thesis Chair, I would have never been able to understand where to go after getting that signature to do Honors in the Major. Along with him, I'd like to thank Dr. Barbara Kinsey and Dr. David Gay, for agreeing to be a part of my thesis journey, reading through multiple drafts, and sitting through my defense.

A special thank you goes to my parents and sister. I assure you, you will not have to read through the entire thesis. And of course, Dulcy, complaining to you about how tough it was helped me realize that I was actually enjoying working on this thesis. Thank you for being there for me when I was contemplating this step in my academic career.

To Grammy, thank you for always encouraging me, giving me an inflated ego about my work, and supporting what I was doing. You helped me get through quite a few times when I was ready to give up on this and I couldn't have done it without you. And Brian, I hope you'll be as proud of me for this as you are with everything else I do. Your support means the world to me.

And lastly, I would like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Robert Bledsoe, who I have only known for a brief period, but helped me navigate through ideas, gave me invaluable advice about my intent to do an Honors in the Major, and led me to find my thesis Chair. Conversations with you proved to be the best help I could ever get to lead me to this point.

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**

Muslim immigration has been a hotly debated topic for the last two decades, especially in the times of national security, because have faced threats to two great nations—the United States and United Kingdom. Many scholars have studied and polled and pondered over the idea of whether Muslims face higher discrimination in these countries because they have to live with the stigma that a small group of their population tried to destroy two great nations in the name of Islam. Studies show that “this notion of incompatibility between Islam and the West has actually intensified in the last 15 years...the consequence is that Muslims are now seen by many as an internal and external enemy both in Europe and in the United States” (Cesari, 2013). While “there is no empirical evidence based on the behaviours of Muslims...that supports this fear” (ibid.), the “securitization” of Western policies after these attacks have created even more tensions between citizens and Muslim immigrants in the West because of a constant fear of another attack (Rodriguez, 2003). This thesis will explore if the significant changes in immigration policies after the attacks have occurred due to economic or cultural factors. Aside from these factors, there are others such as the history or politics that could be taken into consideration, but will not be examined in this thesis.

### **The United States and Muslim Immigration**

The 9/11 attacks on the United States and 7/7 attacks in United Kingdom shook the global community, but it seems that after the fact, the sentiments of the public population, when it comes to views on Islam, have not increased dramatically to “unfavorable”. Polls show [that respondents tend to believe that] that Islam does not encourage more violence than other

religions. In March 2002, 51% of the United States population believed that Islam does not encourage more violence, while 25% believed it does. In August of 2010, 42% believed Islam does not encourage more violence, while 35% believed it does. (“Pew Research Center”, 2010). While the “does encourage violence” increased, the general trend has been fluctuating, never going above the 51% ‘does not encourage more violence’ that was in 2002. While this type of evidence persists, the problem is that discrimination still exists. Though, there are documentations and articles and polls on favorable views toward Muslim immigrants, discrimination still occurs.

### **The United Kingdom and Muslim Immigration**

The United Kingdom has been impacted with immigration just as much as the United States, but “people in Britain are more likely than the people of other nations to view immigration negatively” (Blinder, 2012). When comparing the United Kingdom’s opposition levels to that of the United States, the United Kingdom shows almost 70% of the population saying that “immigration is more problem than opportunity”, while the United States shows just a little more than 50% (ibid.). The fact that the United Kingdom is a big welfare state has made it a prime candidate for migration.

### **Germany and Muslim Immigration**

The only one of my three examined countries that has not faced a major terrorist attack in the name of Islam, Germany has been sieged with its own problems. The German nation’s conflicts ended in the 19<sup>th</sup> century with a Protestant majority. Today however, “immigration has led to the emergence of a sizeable Muslim population, particularly from Turkey” (“Berkley

Center”, n.d.). When it comes to state support, in theory, Germany has a “public law corporation” (PLC) that it grants to religious institutions. Through this PLC status, religious institutions can collect 8-9% of a religious member’s income tax as a registered member fee. “Most notably Islam—[has] had difficulty attaining PLC status and the benefits that come with it” (ibid.). Clearly, the economic losses that the Muslim institutions face are great.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature, data polls, and statistics utilized in this thesis will examine if terrorist attacks by Muslim extremists have affected citizens' opinions of the entire Muslim immigrant population in those countries and how this has impacted the immigration policies set in place. The thesis does not negate that "Immigration politics in liberal democracies exhibits an expansionary bias..." (Freeman, 1995), but rather delves into one specific group that is seen in a negative light by citizens of particular countries and focuses on how that group is affected and what variables account for the negative sentiments.

Gary Freeman's (1995) article, "Modes of Immigration Politics in Liberal Democratic States," notes that immigration can be divided into categories based on three types of states. The United States fits in the one that has been relatively open to immigration. Because it was created as an immigrant nation, it has traditionally accepted its role as a country of immigrants. United Kingdom and Germany on the other hand, were relatively slow to be exposed to non-European minority immigration. Freeman's article, "Migration and the Political Economy of the Welfare State," (1986), discusses why welfare states' citizens are averse to immigration in general—it hurts the state's economy because when immigrants receive the same benefits from that the citizens are entitled to, the economy becomes strained. His argument that "national welfare states are by their nature meant to be closed systems" (Freeman, 1986) is accurate, however, not complete. Immigrants coming into these countries receive the benefits of the citizens and this causes citizens to want reduced immigration. The 9/11 and 7/7 attacks in the United States and United Kingdom respectively, have not only changed the way these nations looked at

immigration, but also how their citizens viewed the ethnic group of Muslims. Freeman's article adeptly reasons with why there is disconnect between negative public opinion and immigration policies that fail to address their concerns. That being said, his work does not extend past this explanation to include security issues that affect public opinion, especially opinion of particular ethnic groups. The attacks on the United States and United Kingdom on 9/11 and 7/7 brought the Muslim population to the forefront in a negative limelight and the fact that their foreign culture is difficult to accept for the West made the security issues even more important. Terrorism has changed the way these three countries look at immigration and I will be discussing the impact of terrorist attacks on the immigration policies of these countries, along with the effect that the Muslim immigrant population's culture has on the public opinions. While Germany has been the victim of many attempted attacks, it has never faced successful major terrorist attacks by Muslim extremist groups, and so I will be examining how its immigration policies were affected when the United States and United Kingdom suffered.

While Freeman elaborates on the economic effects of immigration on the examined countries, another, Yasemin Soysal (2012), speaks of the "significant shift in the very foundations of good citizenship and social justice". This means that there are both economic and cultural effects of immigration. I will look at the question of whether immigration policies have been driven by economic factors or cultural ones. I will add to the literature that already discusses public opinions on immigration, and more specifically Muslim immigration, the change in immigration policies after terrorist attacks, and how this has affected the immigration of the Muslim population to these countries. I will use literature, research and data polls to improve the understanding of why immigration has taken the course it has after terrorist attacks

in United States and United Kingdom, and how it has affected Germany, who has never faced a major attack. In addition to that, I will use my information to contrast the economic versus the cultural factors that seem to affect the immigration policies, and come to a conclusion of which is responsible for the way are behaving towards their Muslim immigrants.

While the United States has always been open to immigration, there is a “widespread discomfort with Islam and a reluctance to accept Muslims” amongst American citizens (Khan, 2011). Ten years after 9/11, things seem normal; however, Khan’s article uses Pew Research Center data to show that the cultural scare that was instilled on 9/11 still persists. Along with that, the Department of Justice has evidence of numerous hate crimes inflicted upon Muslim immigrants in America since 9/11. In the report “What it means to be American,” Jones, et. al (2011) provide surveys on comfort level with Muslims in society, the impact of immigrants in local community and the views on immigrants. “Muslim American/American Muslim Identity: Authoring Self in Post 9/11 America” explains how the Muslim faith, culture and identity in the United States has been under attack after 9/11 (Ali, 2011).

Europe is often clumped into one because the European Union countries are all interdependent on each other. This seems to hold true for the way their public feels about immigration. Moodood, Triandafyllidou and Zapata-Barrero’s book “Multiculturalism, Muslims and Citizenship,” (2006), takes a look at the European scene and how the public has dealt with the influx of immigration over the years. The citizens of both United Kingdom and Germany have shown difficulty adapting to the changing dynamics of their populations because they were not traditionally societies that accepted non-European minority immigration. In addition to that, “the deadly attacks by Muslim extremists...brought renewed attention to a host of political issues

associated with how European states have accommodated the religious needs of their Muslim populations” (Soper & Fetzer, 2007) and “positioned Muslim culture counter to Christian morals and values” (Croucher, 2013).

The United Kingdom has dealt with its own tensions regarding Muslim integration since before the attacks of 7/7. As it refers to United Kingdom specifically, the “emergence of Muslim political agency has thrown British multiculturalism into theoretical and practical disarray” (Modood, 2006). British citizens are still trying to come to terms that their country has more immigrants today, and they have a cultural learning curve. A briefing by Dr. Blinder (2012) on the public opinion toward immigration depicts that “large majorities in Britain have been opposed to immigration since at least the 1960s,” and part of the reason is because they feel Muslims do not wish to assimilate into British culture.

Germany’s “increasingly secular society and a thoroughly organized religious sector” (Berkley Center, n.d.) have come to a clash since the growth of Muslim immigration into the country. “The future of migration and integration policy in Germany” by Dr. Rita Süßmuth, (2009), describes that immigration does have a significant impact on society. This is aided by the knowledge that, “since 9/11...integrating Muslim immigrants and Islam into German society has often been discussed within the framework of security issues...the attempted suitcase bombings in 2006 by Islamic terrorists fueled the perceptions of Muslims as a security threat in Germany” (Abali, 2009). Public opinion is generally wary of Muslim immigration in Germany because they fear that they will be attacked, just as the United States and United Kingdom were.

There is a “persistent predisposition in the West to link Islam to un-civic behavior and to see assertive Muslims as internal enemies” (Cesari, 2013) and Cesari’s article speaks to why this

occurs. The idea of Islamism comes into play here, and this is affecting how the West views the Muslim population in their countries. Baran & Tuohy's "Citizen Islam: The Future of Muslim Integration in the West," (2011), tries to explain why there is a culture gap between citizens of the West and Muslims, and how this affects the state decisions.

The threat of terrorism used to be a relatively mild concern of the West before this attacks occurred, but ever since 9/11, Christopher Rudolf (2003), says that the "politics of international migration have changed. The West is more wary, and this has negatively impacted the Muslim immigrant populations. While immigration from Islamic states is not completely cut off, the attacks created the idea that Muslims and immigration must be scrutinized with the strictest policies. However, it seems that the immigration policies are not restrictive enough to appease the public (Counihan, 2007).

Multiple Pew Research Center data and a Gallup poll assist in my findings of how many people, before and after the terrorist attacks, have felt about Islam and Muslims. Dr. Blinder's briefing in 2012 also depicts figures that show the comparable views of immigration amongst United States, United Kingdom and Germany. Another study, this one on Germany, reveals just how threatened German citizens feel because Muslim immigrants are viewed as aloof and unwilling to integrate into German culture.

Two articles by Somerville, et. al (2007 & 2009) discussed how the immigration policies have changed in the United Kingdom since early 2000, and there is a clear indication that things became stricter after 9/11 and again after 7/7. There have been cultural and economic impacts from these policies and I aim to show which one has been the one responsible for the anti-

Islamic sentiments. Dr. Süssmuth's report also makes indications as to what policies have been put into place and how they have been aimed to work on the issue of immigration.

All three examined countries have, in the last thirteen years, implemented policies that have aimed to restrict immigration. Prior to 9/11, immigration was based on an "optimistic view of the triumph of political and economic liberalism..." but of course that all changed with the terrorist attacks. (Rudolph, 2003). While policies are increasing in regards to immigration, tensions are also increasing (Rodriguez, 2008). Robyn Rodriguez outlines how post-9/11 policies have impacted the ethnic and racial relations, and how to approach this culture clash. On the other hand, Massey, et. al (1993) argue that immigrants create an economy that allows for the exploitation of labor, and this affects citizens, which in turn creates negative public opinion of immigration. Lowenstein's "The Immigration equation" (2006), supports this by saying, "the more job seekers from abroad mean fewer opportunities, or lower wages, for native workers..." J.S. Nielsen (1997) discusses how immigration creates a separation of cultures, which in turn leads to economic issues.

While there are public opinions on both ends of immigration, particularly Muslim immigration, there is no doubt that the number of Muslim immigrants is growing in all three countries. In the United States, even though obtaining permanent residency is more difficult, the number of Muslim immigrations has not dropped since 9/11. According to a Pew Research Center study in 2013, the percentage of Muslim immigrants grew between 5-10%. The British census, shows that despite negative attitudes towards immigration, fear of Muslim extremism and restrictive policies, the number of Muslim immigration has not stopped growing since 2001

(Kern, 2011). In Germany, Muslims today are at 5.22% of the population, making them the largest minority in the country, and the biggest concentration in Europe (Kettani, 2010).

### III. PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion in the United States, United Kingdom and Germany does have a similar pattern. While these three countries have had their own experiences and have different histories of immigration, it is clear that public opinion is somewhat wary. This has historically been the case for all immigration, but the events of 9/11 and 7/7 made the West even more wary of the Muslim immigrant population in particular. The following figure shows a comparison of my three examined countries and their opposing views on immigration (Blinder, 2012):

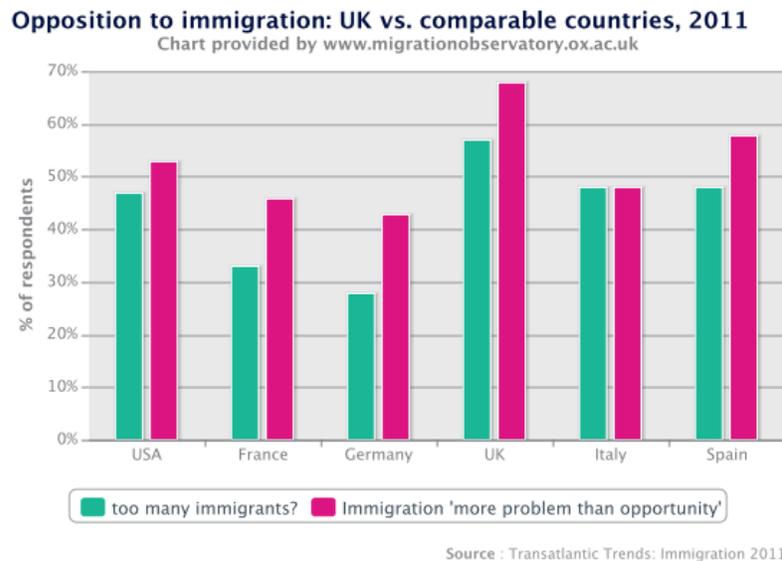


Figure 1 Opposition to Immigration, Comparison of the three countries

#### The United States Public Opinion

Since the United States was created as a settler society, immigration has always been a part of its history. There was never a question if immigration would be limited because this was a nation of immigrants. However, over the last few decades, terrorist attacks have changed how the United States views immigration allowances.

There were several terrorist attacks that preceded the disaster of 9/11 and a Gallup poll taken weeks after the 9/11 attacks reported on this. Months after the March 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, “a July 1993 Gallup poll found that nearly two-thirds of Americans believed that there were “too many” immigrants from Arab countries entering the United States” (Jones, 2001). In general, Americans have held lower opinion of Muslim immigrants due to the connection of some of them with the terrorist attacks in the United States. The events of September 11, 2001 led people to become even more confused. “A plurality of Americans (46%) believe[d] that Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence among its believers” (Pew Research Center, 2004).

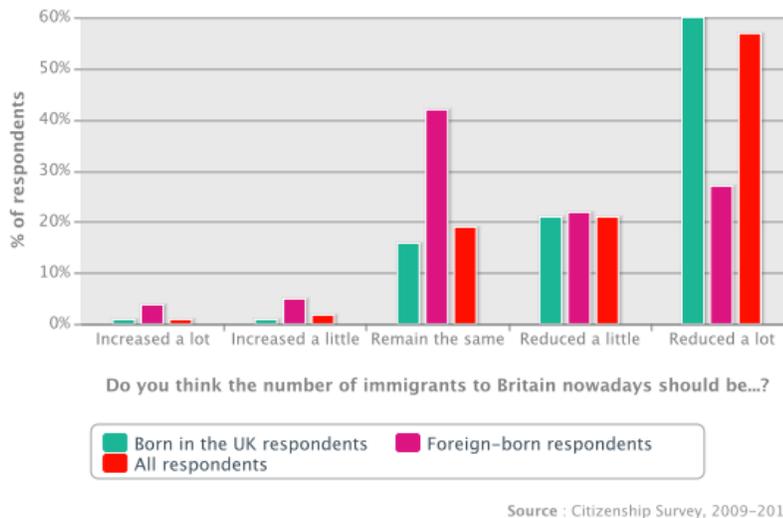
By 2010, the American people were still conflicted. While less people had favorable views of Islam, more people were confused. In 2005, 36% of the United States population had an unfavorable view of Islam, while 23% said “Don’t Know”. By August 2010, 38% had an unfavorable view of Islam, but 32% said they didn’t know (Pew Research Center, 2010). While there was a 2% jump in unfavorable views, there was a 9% jump in people who didn’t know what to believe. This confusion indicates that Muslim immigrants still face the discrimination of the American people, because 9/11 may have created suspicions about the whole group, but even American Muslims say “suicide bombing and other forms of violence against civilians are never justified in order to defend Islam from its enemies” (Khan, 2011). Despite the conflicting views, there was no sharp increase in numbers of citizens that considered Muslims dangerous after the attacks in the United Kingdom (Pew Research Center, 2004). This indicates that terrorist attacks are not solely responsible for the anti-Islamic sentiments that Muslims face in the United States.

## The United Kingdom Public Opinion

The United Kingdom had a large empire for a long time, which has some implications for immigration today. To the citizens of the United Kingdom, immigration has been one of the most important issues for the last 15 years, and most have been opposed to it for decades now.

“Approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the British people favor reducing immigration” (Blinder, 2012).

The study compiled by Dr. Blinder for the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford showed that the attitudes over the last 15 years have not changed. The following figure displays just how negative the attitudes are towards the number of immigrants in the United Kingdom:



**Figure 2 United Kingdom Attitudes toward immigration levels, 2009-2010**

These attitudes reflect the amount of attention that the government has had to spend on Muslim immigrants whether the issue was with religious-education classes, cultural practices such as the *hijab*, or support of their multicultural backgrounds (Soper & Fetzer, 2007). In addition to that,

the attacks of 7/7 created a rhetoric that Muslims do not wish to assimilate into British culture, which aggravates the negative public opinions of citizens.

The United Kingdom is also notorious for “increased prejudice and hostility toward a minority group” because of the perceived threats (Croucher, 2013). The 7/7 attacks were successful; however, there have been others after that were not, yet they left the mark of terror on citizens. Because of these negative opinions, it becomes even easier for the anti-Islamic sentiments to persist.

### **Germany Public Opinion**

Germany has never faced a major attack like the United States or United Kingdom. “Something of a hybrid...Germany has been more willing...to accommodate the cultural and religious needs...” (Soper & Fetzer, 2007). Despite that, Germany stands on similar ground as the United Kingdom when it comes to its history with immigration, therefore its “population has consistently called for restricting immigration” because the country “remains highly skeptical about the integration of Muslim immigrants in Germany” (Abali, 2009).

The attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 brought the immigration and security question to Germany just as much as other Western countries, but the attempted 2006 German suitcase bombings by Islamic terrorist made the citizens perceive Muslims even more negatively. While there is “no recent data evidence that negative sentiments toward immigrants might become stronger again.” (ibid.), the negative sentiments do exist. Germans feel that their identity is being threatened because of immigrants’ presence and their reticence in coming into contact with Germans

(Croucher, 2013). This has even led many Germans to perceive Islam as more “undemocratic, backward, intolerant of other faiths, and fanatic” (Abali, 2009).

## **IV. IMMIGRATION POLICIES**

Immigration policies in the West have generally been known for their expansionary bias. According to Gary Freeman (1986, 1995), as economies grow, policies become more permissive. In addition to that, because democratic states are more liberal, their immigration policies tend to favor that economic growth, even if it clashes with public opinion.

### **The United States Immigration Policies**

Going in line with its history with immigration, the United States was always more open regarding its immigration policies. The events on 9/11 seemingly changed all that, and created a more firm nation that placed the utmost emphasis on security. While many steps were taken to ensure that terrorist attacks like 9/11 would not be repeated and “public opinion polls took a dramatic swing supporting more restrictive immigration policies,” there is a misperception: While many believe the creation of the Homeland Security Department and the likes of USA Patriot Act have strengthened immigration policies, “the post-9/11 period is most striking for the lack of change” (Counihan, 2007).

Despite the outcry from the public, the immigration policies set in place by the United States government have not aimed to reduce immigration, but rather make it more difficult for uneducated and displaced immigrants to come in. In a more specific case, the “rhetorical and regulatory bias against Muslim migrants... would fall disproportionately on refugees coming from Muslim countries” (Counihan, 2007). In addition to that, the United States government has placed the issue of security so high, that it has become difficult for immigrant to have the same freedoms American citizens have. For example, the USA Patriot Act has “enhance[d] the

surveillance of immigrants living in the United States (Rodriguez, 2008). In addition to that, these policies have effectively characterized by legal scholars as “anti-Muslim” (ibid.)

Sociologist Louise Cainkar argues that “homeland security policies have specifically targeted Muslims and Arabs” which has caused them to become “socially marginalized from mainstream U.S. society” (ibid.)

On the other hand, the “anti-Muslim” immigration policies do not seem to be as effective as they should be. The United States, as mentioned previously, has always been open to immigration, and Freeman’s idea that its liberal nature encourages it to increase immigration despite terrorist attacks help persist the question why Muslim immigrants still face discrimination. The immigration policies in the United States have certainly been created with the idea of restricting immigration in mind.

### **The United Kingdom Immigration Policies**

“Immigration to the United Kingdom in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is larger and more diverse than at any point in its history” (Somerville, Sriskandarajah & Latorre, 2009) and this has caused policy makers to scrutinize how their immigration policies have been effective in their goals. Up until 9/11, this welfare nation was just as lax as the United States on immigration, however, that all changed when terrorist attacks began to rock the globe.

The events of 7/7 in the United Kingdom created a system of immigration that was more complex, but still attainable. Despite the fact that two-thirds to four-fifths of the public wants less immigration, policies continue to try and attract educated and highly skilled immigrants to participate in the British economy (ibid.) Immigration Acts such as the Antiterrorism, Crime and Security Act did make a concession that “suspected terrorists who were immigrants could be

interned” (Somerville, 2007) and this has especially affected the British Muslim population. Even though the Racial and Religious Hatred Act of 2006 tried to curb the violent acts committed towards Muslim populations in the United Kingdom, the “preventing extremism” clause still exposes the population to assimilation difficulties (Somerville, Sriskandarajah & Latorre, 2009).

Just as in the United States, the United Kingdom’s immigration policies have aimed not to reduce immigration, but rather make it more difficult. In the grand scheme, Muslim immigrants get the short end of the stick because of the reception they get from the citizens of these countries.

### **Germany and Immigration Policies**

“The Future of migration and Integration Policy in Germany” by Dr. Rita Süßmuth shows that since 2000, “the German government has undertaken a series of steps to reform laws...” (Süßmuth, 2009) Despite all the occurrences in the United States and the United Kingdom, Germany created the Immigration Law in 2005 that seemed to be fashioned after the United Kingdom’s innovative ways to gain more educated immigrants (ibid.) According to the Law, Germany put a tighter regulation on immigration, but made more allowances for those wishing to continue their stay in Germany. By 2007, the Labor Law eased “restrictions for work...for citizens of the A8” (ibid.; McNeil, 2013). The A8 countries are eight countries with low per capita incomes that were given admission into the European Union in 2004. The countries—Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia—now have the ability to immigrate freely in the European Union countries. It is also important to note that the income gap brings more incentive for these predominantly Christian

countries' citizens to migrate. This clearly shows that Muslim immigrants from places such as Turkey get the shorter end of the stick because Germany has an incentive to accept A8 countries' immigrants.

Even though Germany seeks high-skilled laborers to immigrate, it has seen a lot of "large-scale, Turkish, low-skilled, and labor-driven" immigrants (ibid.) Since most Turkish immigrants are Muslim, this creates the air of tension because it means Germany's immigration policies are not doing what they were intended to do. And since immigration policies affect the society at large, immigrants are becoming even more marginalized rather than integrated into German society. As Yasemin Soysal (2012) notes, European welfare nations need to reconsider how they face the increasing disillusionment of an immigrant population that is disadvantaged from society at large.

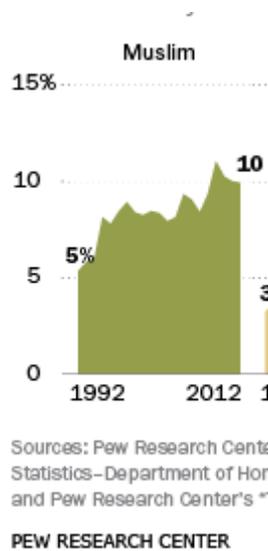
The Muslim immigrant population is trying to get dialogue with the government in order to get better results for their immigration, but this is difficult due to the internal issues that the different Muslim sects face (Berkley Center, n.d.) Until then, German immigration policies continue to attract educated workers and students wishing to be educated, and subtly disadvantaging the Muslim immigrant population that is uneducated (OECD, 2012).

## V. IMMIGRATION OUTCOMES

Despite negative public opinions and immigration policies that have tried to restrict the types of immigrants coming into these three countries, the United States, United Kingdom and Germany have all seen a steady growth of immigrant populations. Despite the dips in immigration during the times of the terrorist attacks, both the United States and United Kingdom have continued growth in Muslim immigrant populations to their nations.

### The United States Immigration Outcomes

As seen below, between 1992 and 2012, the Muslim immigrant population has doubled, even though the United States government tries to place restrictions on the influx (Pew Research Center, 2013). The following figure shows the growth of religious composition:



**Figure 3 Number of Muslim Immigrants entering the United States, 1992-2012**

Even though 10% seems daunting, the actual percentage of the U.S. population that are Muslim immigrants went from 2% to 2.8% from 2000 to 2010. In numbers, the population went from 5,756,844 to 7,242,217 (Kettani, 2010).

## **The United Kingdom and Immigration Outcomes**

The United Kingdom has seen an increase in the amount of “Islamic jurisprudence” throughout Britain. Even though efforts are underway to “crack down on widespread abuses of the immigration system,” it is very difficult, because liberal democracies such as the United Kingdom take time to change policies (Kern, 2011; Freeman, 1995).

In the last two decades, the Office of National Statistics has recorded that the Muslim immigrant has doubled from 2001-2011 to over 11% (Kern, 2011). “The average annual growth rate of the Muslim population in the United Kingdom between 2004 and 2008 was 6.68%, which is ten times the rate of increase” (Kettani, 2010). Clearly, terrorist attacks have not quelled the number of immigrants coming in. Many immigrants are coming into the United Kingdom under bogus student visas or as dependents of underage marriages. The British prime minister has even noted that it is his goal to cut the number of immigrants entering by placing an “annual immigration cap” (Kern, 2011; OECD, 2012)

## **Germany and Immigration Outcomes**

Germany has seen a lot of immigration in the last two decades as well, especially from Turkey. According to Kettani, (2010), the number of Muslim immigrants increased from 3.2% to 5.22% of the population, or 3.2 million to 4.3 million people.

Despite immigration policies that allowed more immigration, the level of immigrants in Germany is haphazardly recorded, and the system needs to be fixed (Süssmuth, 2009). Even though terrorist attacks in the United States and United Kingdom have not decreased the number of Muslims entering in Germany, they are going in without any knowledge what economic and cultural challenges await them. Because they have no idea of the language and social barriers

that will hinder their integration into Germany, unskilled Muslim immigrants from Turkey are becoming even more isolated when they actually reach their destination (ibid.)

## VI. ECONOMIC EFFECTS

Jocelyne Cesari for the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs claims that “while scholarly work has debunked the idea of incompatibility of Islam with Western values, it has not really changed this dominant perception pervading political discourse and policy making” (2013). This begs the question then, are economic reasons the sole fact why immigration is looked at so negatively? And if so, why is the Muslim immigrant population facing more negative attitudes? This chapter examines the aforementioned economic effects that Gary Freeman speaks of in his two articles.

Freeman discusses that, “whatever the state of the public opinion about immigration...no liberal democratic state voluntarily consults the public directly over immigration policy” (1995). What he tries to say here is that the public of these types of states, no matter what their views are, can never truly make the decision about immigration. This affects the economy because this decision brings in more immigrants that utilize welfare benefits, thus alienating its citizens. As in the United Kingdom, while the citizens keep clamoring for more restrictions on immigration, and the government keeps promising solutions, nothing seems to change (Kern, 2011). The people are not “well articulated” enough to have a say in the immigration decisions (Freedman, 1995). Another thing is that as welfare nations grow, they invite more immigration because immigrants are cheaper labor. The benefits of the welfare state are reserved for its citizens, therefore immigrants that come in face the discrimination of less benefits. Despite this fact, “more job seekers from abroad mean fewer opportunities, or lower wages, for native workers” (Lowenstein, 2006).

Just in the United States, George Borjas studied that high school dropouts compete with immigrants for the same low-wage jobs. This not only causes harm to lower-income Americans, but affects all other wage categories as well because as you “add to the supply of labor...price goes down” (ibid.) The West has experienced a boom in general immigration but “governments control immigration primarily through policies...that seek to raise incomes at the origin (through long-term development programs), or those that aim to increase the costs of migration” (Massey et. al, 1993). This indicates that the economy can be controlled through government policies. The only reason that immigration is not as regulated as the public would like it because it would require regulation of overseas activities and that would cause international disputes (ibid.; Rudolph, 2003)

Even though the economic reasons for immigration are relevant, they are not enough. The governments of these welfare nations are open to immigration despite opposition from their citizens, yet they do have the ability to change that if they want. Muslim immigrants that are coming in these nations reap the same benefits that citizens get, and this is a plausible reason for the anti-Islamic sentiment, but there is more to it. There is a cultural rift between these populations and terrorist attacks in recent years have only exacerbated the feelings of animosity that have already existed. It is imperative to note that while economic factors do play a significant role in the shaping of Muslim sentiments, there are other factors that have contributed significantly to the anti-Islamic sentiments as well.

## **VII. CULTURAL EFFECTS**

Immigration has always carried with it cultural effects. Many citizens of the United States, United Kingdom and Germany believe that Muslim immigrants in particular, do not wish to assimilate into the society at large. Intriguingly, there is no evidence that says Muslims in the West behave differently than their Western counterparts, yet, preexisting notion that Muslims are not to be trusted still persist (Cesari, 2013). While the cultural effects help a lot in understanding these anti-Islamic sentiments, they are by no means comprehensive of all the reasons. Each country's different historical experiences

### **The United States**

“American Muslims are ethnically and racially diverse” (Khan ,2011) and Americans see that as a discomfort. Despite the fact that public opinions show a relatively neutral response towards Muslim immigrants, 9/11 changed the way that Muslim immigrants were received. A U.S. Department of State report released a notice that they have “investigated over 800 incidents since 9/11 involving violence, threats, vandalism and arson against Arab-Americans, Muslims...” (Department of State, n.d.) Islamic culture is considered so foreign and dangerous that people are taking matters into their own hands, and 9/11 only gave them a justification to do so.

### **The United Kingdom**

The United Kingdom has become home to many South Asian “neighborhoods” in the last few decades. Because they have their own community, there is an even less chance of Muslim immigrants interacting with their British counterparts, In addition to that, British citizens are

outraged about the fact that many Muslim immigrants come in illegally and somehow manage to be entitled to welfare benefits that they don't deserve (Kern, 2011). This causes the citizens to be even more outraged, which in turn causes them the negative emotions about the whole population and culture persist. Even though the Muslims in the United Kingdom are trying to be more active politically and make people more aware of their culture, many British simply ignore the commonalities between them and the Muslim population (Modood, Triandafyllidou & Zapata-Barrero, 2006).

## **Germany**

In Germany, Islamist terrorism expert Guido Steinberg argued that Muslim men go through the education system but then are still relegated to small jobs, which turn some of them into criminals, and eventually have a radical attitude towards society (Baran & Tuohy, 2011). Nielsen (2007) describes the typology that is created that fits the 'radical attitude' Muslim immigrant men end up having, and attests it all to "social marginalization".

Unlike the United States and Great Britain however, Germany seeks to have more of a connection with their Muslim counterparts. The issue that arises in this is that German citizens still believe that Muslim immigrants don't "also advocate this two-way process" (Süssmuth, 2009). This leads to the conclusion that the citizens may advocate understanding the Muslim population, but have a problem with communication.

## VIII. SECURITY ISSUES

According to Christopher Rudolph's "Security and the Political Economy of International Migration" (2003), the security environment affects how immigration policies are formed. In addition to that, he argues that "understanding the politics of international migration and border control policies [is] important [because it]...reveals changing conceptions of sovereignty and the role of state in policy development" (ibid.) This also creates a tension in the cultural aspect because it "produce[s] new sets of ethnic and racialized conflicts" (Rodriguez, 2008).

While security is necessary and obvious for the economy of these welfare states, "societal security" has not received as much attention. This is how the public reacts to ethnic communities that come into their societies and how those ethnic communities behave in regards to their Western environment (Rudolph, 2003). In the United States, before 9/11, immigration policies were not focused on security. The attacks of 9/11 made security-related immigration issues a national priority, but also created an atmosphere of fear, which has led to the public living with the knowledge that any Muslim immigrant could potentially be a terrorist.

In the United Kingdom and Germany, the case is not as severe as the United States but there are still more security policies included in immigration than before the 9/11 and 7/7 attacks. In the United Kingdom, security was accelerated after 9/11, and new visa controls were introduced (Somerville, Sriskandarajah & Latorre, 2009). This 'restrictive framework' gave greater powers to the UK Borders Agency, but along with that, gave the public a sense that immigration in the United Kingdom will be reduced, which has not happened. The policies have "selective openness", which has made the public feel as though the fear of another terrorist attack

has not been solved, even though security measures are stricter (ibid.; Kern, 2011). Germany on the other hand, has worked to not only change, but also improve their immigration policies in order to culturally include their immigrants. While monitoring immigration is a given after the terrorist attacks on the United States and United Kingdom, Germany's government is actively pursuing better public opinion by creating a dialogue that stresses the similarities between them and their Muslim counterparts (Süssmuth, 2009). Along with that, the idea of security is not as emphasized in their immigration policies, most likely because they did not have to go through the breach of their current immigration security like the United States and United Kingdom did.

## IX. CONCLUSION

“The gap between these sentiments and government policy is notable” (Jones, Cox, Galston & Dionne Jr., 2011) because as Freeman put it, citizens are never really in charge of the immigration policies that are placed in effect. It is still essential to understand that terrorist attacks have only served as an impetus to act on sentiments that have already existed. While the economic effects of immigration affect the citizens, the cultural effects have equal responsibility. After all, politics and economics do not affect daily lives as much as inclusion in society and culture.

There is the very certain possibility that the culture difference between Americans and Muslims causes anti-Islamic sentiments, such as the ones reported by the Department of State. Even though Americans support the idea of religious freedom, many express discomfort with the Muslim faith in particular (Jones, Cox, Galston & Dionne, Jr., 2011; Khan, 2011). The events of 9/11 only gave Americans a reason to articulate their mixed emotions about Muslims. Even though a majority supports religious freedom, they feel the Muslim culture is too uncomfortable to deal with and feel as though Muslim immigrants wish to change the United States rather than assimilate in it.

“Islamism spread in Europe due mainly to the spiritual alienation arising from the failure of guest-worker-parents to pass on their traditional version of Islam” (Baran & Tuohy, 2011). Similar to the United States, the European countries face the same dilemma: confusion about whether Muslim immigrants want to even be a part of their society. As mentioned before, the United Kingdom has pockets of cities that are populated by Muslim immigrant population, and

there are more mosques than British citizens would care to see. Politicians have attacked Islam and “positioned Muslim culture counter to Christian morals and values” (Croucher, 2013), which again, makes the citizens feel as though Muslim immigrants have no interest in taking part of the greater society. And it doesn’t help that Germany has been under the delusion for a very long time that it is not an immigration country (Moodood, Triandafyllidou, & Zapata-Barrero, 2006).

My purpose in examining the anti-Islamic sentiments after two major terrorist attacks was to understand whether terrorist attacks affected the three following areas: public opinion, immigration policies and immigration outcomes. Since public opinion in any of these countries is not overwhelmingly negative, terrorist attacks could have been the reason that the citizens of these countries thought to voice reservations they already had about Muslim immigrants and their integration into the general society. While they did not turn immigration policies into completely restrictive ones, the terrorist attacks of 9/11 and 7/7 gave the public opinion an impetus to point that immigration causes events such as these. Apart from that, Germany seems to be more geared to finding solutions to assimilate the Muslim immigrant population, which might not have been as advocated if they had faced a major terrorist attack. This indicates that terrorist attacks have played a role in the cultural factors that affect public opinions.

In addition to that, there is literature out there that looks at both economic and cultural effects after these terrorist attacks, which I aimed to add to by examining which is more prevalent in the exclusion of Muslim immigrants in larger society. I found that while economic effects create a negative public sentiment towards immigration, immigration policies that the governments make choose to continue allowing more immigrants and being expansionary. These

welfare states could choose to, and recently have begun to place restrictions on immigration in order to attract more educated immigrants who could contribute to the economy.

The cultural aspect however, still remains incomplete. Citizens of these nations agree that immigration is beneficial for the most part, but get an impression that Muslim immigrants do not wish to be a part of their society. These negative feelings have not been as recorded as ones asking about 'freedom of religion', which is why many of these sentiments are never heard of. The cultural aspect of Muslim immigration was downplayed after the attacks of 9/11 and 7/7, which is why the question of what is really causing these negative sentiments has not been thoroughly examined before.

What my thesis has aimed to augment, is the idea that economic reasons are the driving factors for immigration. While policies of welfare states encourage it, the public opposes too much immigration. The terrorist attacks by Muslim extremist groups on the United States and United Kingdom created a new global system of fear and security. While all three examined countries show that public opinion is generally mixed, German public opinion has been working more toward assimilating their Muslim immigrant population and this can be attested to the fact that they have never had to face a major terrorist attack. On the policy side of things, my thesis displayed that all three countries have not reduced Muslim immigration, as displayed by the increasing numbers of Muslim immigrants coming in. Instead, all three countries have created specific immigration policies aimed to encourage skilled immigrants and discourage unskilled ones. Since 9/11 was an attack not just on America but the global community, the United States' immigration policies towards immigrants are certainly more intrusive (Counihan, 2007), but the United Kingdom and Germany have placed their shares of limitations on immigration. While the

immigrants in the United Kingdom face a new ‘tier’ system that assesses how valuable they will be for the productivity of the economy (Blinder, 2012), Germany’s policies have honed in on integration by creating stipulations such as living in Germany for a certain amount of time, or having a grasp of the German language (Abali, 2009).

Overall, the thesis explains that after 9/11 and 7/7, public opinions became sour towards immigrants, even though the three welfare states examined did not do as much as they would like to curb immigration. In addition to that, the thesis shows that anti-Islamic sentiment in particular was more prominent after these attacks in the United States and United Kingdom, but not as harsh in Germany. This indicates that the economy is not the only reason for these sentiments—cultural differences between the Muslim immigrant population and citizens of these countries has led to increased negative sentiments because all three countries’ public feel that Muslims do not wish to assimilate. There needs to be an active effort on both ends to understand that not all Muslim immigrants wish harm on the countries they have immigrated to, but that they “trust in national institutions and democracy,” like their Western counterparts (Cesari, 2013). Apart from that, the fact that security has increased in these countries has not lessened the number of Muslim immigrants coming in. “Analyses of post-9/11 and 7/7 legislation suggests that the new laws...enable local authorities to play a more central role in immigration and national security enforcement” (Rodriguez, 2008) and this has affected the Western culture at large. More Muslim immigrants are treated with suspicion and scrutiny because “securitization” has exacerbated the “fears of terrorism” Western citizens have (ibid.)

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