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Why do they hate us so? The Clash of Civilizations or the Politics of Dominance?

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Working Paper #187. *Russell Sage Foundation*, 112 East 64th Street, New York, NY

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Abstract

There are at least two major ways of understanding the attributions that Arab young people used to explain the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center: a) as a “clash of civilizations,” or an inherent conflict between Muslim and Western values, and b) as a “anti-dominance” reaction to perceived American and Israeli oppression of Arabs in general and Palestinians in particular. We compared the relative validities of these two types of attributions using a sample of Lebanese university students from the American University of Beirut. The results from analysis of variance, multiple regression and structural equation modeling showed strong, clear and consistent support for the anti-dominance attributions, and essentially no support for the “clash of civilizations” attributions.

Keywords: group dominance, terrorism, clash of civilizations.

“Why do they hate us so?”

“Why do they hate us so?” is the question that has been reverberating off the walls of American minds ever since the day that changed world history, September 11, 2001. At least in the United States, one of the most popular and widespread answers to this question is the “Clash of Civilizations” thesis first proposed by Bernard Lewis (1990) and later popularized and expanded upon by Samuel Huntington (1993).¹ In his original formulation of this hypothesis, Lewis (1990) suggested that Islamic hatred of the United States and the West:

“... goes beyond hostility to specific interests or actions or policies or even countries and becomes a rejection of Western civilization as such, not only what it does but what it is, and the principles and values that it practices and professes. These are indeed seen as innately evil, and those who promote or accept them as the ‘enemies of God.’”

Seen from this perspective, the attack of 9/11 is simply the latest and most dramatic manifestation of the very deep and fundamental conflict between rival social and spiritual systems that has lasted since the advent of Islam more than fourteen centuries ago.

Another, but by no means the only, alternative to this “Clash of Civilizations” paradigm could be labeled the “Anti-Dominance” perspective. This perspective begins with the assumption that the relationships between states, just as with the relationships between social groups within states (see Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), can be thought of as hierarchically structured such that dominant states have disproportionate influence over the terms and conditions of international relations compared to subordinate states. As Seifudein Adem Hussien (2001) remarks:

“International hierarchy is in part an extension of an innate human predisposition. Human beings naturally tend to rank and order events, peoples, states collectivities, however more or less systematic the process may be..... there is ample empirical evidence that human perception operates in a context of hierarchy – imagined or real. It could thus make sense for Dumont to argue that we should refer to ourselves as ‘Homo-Hierarchicus’ ” (pp. 33-34).

In contemporary international politics, there is little question that the United States is the dominant power and stands without peer at the top of the hierarchically structured state-system. The military and economic dominance of the United States is now so extreme that this nation is often referred to as a “hyper-power.”

While human social groups, including states in the international state-system, will have a tendency to organize themselves into hierarchical ordered, dominant/subordinate structures, it is also true that these hierarchical structures will not go completely unchallenged by the subordinate members of these systems (see e.g., Scott, 1990). From this perspective, the conflict in the Middle East can be seen as one of several areas around the world where the policies of near-hegemonic American power are now under challenge. Consistent with the results from a recent Gallup poll of public opinion across nine Muslim countries (see BBC News, 2002), there is good reason to believe that Arabs perceive the American support of Israel, the apparent lack of concern for the loss of Palestinian life in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, American hostility towards Iraq and the stationing of American troops in Saudi Arabia as expressions of American desire for continued dominance and hegemony. Thus, from this generalized dominance perspective (see Sidanius & Pratto, 2001), Arab popular support for “terrorist” organizations in

general and the recent attack on the World Trade Center in particular, could be seen as reactions to and psychological resistance against this perceived domination. In other words, “terrorism” can be seen as an anti-dominance project by the weak against the strong (see also Henry, Sidanius, Levin and Pratto, 2002; see also Chomsky, 2001).

Despite the popularity of these two interpretative frameworks, there has been very little, if any, empirical work comparing the relative validities of these competing theoretical perspectives for understanding popular political attitudes in the Middle East. This paper is an attempt to fill this lacuna. Using data collected in Lebanon, we explore the degree to which Arab reactions to the events of September 11th are consistent with the “Clash of Civilizations” perspective or the “Anti-Dominance” perspective.

Specifically, we explored the relative plausibilities of the “Clash of Civilizations” and “Anti-Dominance” perspectives in four ways. First, we simply asked a sample of Lebanese university students to indicate whether they thought “Clash of Civilizations” or “Anti-Dominance” attributions were the most plausible causes of the attacks on 9/11. Second, we examined differences between Lebanese Muslims and Christians in their attributions for the WTC attack. If the WTC attack was caused by a “clash of civilizations” between the Muslim/Arab world and the Christian/Western world, Lebanese Muslims should endorse “Clash of Civilizations” attributions for the WTC attack at significantly higher levels than Lebanese Christians. Third, we used multiple regression analysis in order to explore the relative importance that “Clash of Civilizations” versus “Anti-Dominance” attributions had in determining the degree to which Arab students felt that the attack on the World Trade Center was justified. If the popular “Clash of Civilizations” paradigm is correct, we should expect this attribution to

have the most important connection to the perceived justification of the WTC attack. Fourth, in order to explore more general reasons for support of the WTC attack, we used structural equation modeling to examine whether reactions to the WTC attack are, at least in part, determined by general support for “terrorist” organizations (e.g., Islamic Jihad) and opposition to “anti-terrorist” efforts, and whether these sentiments are in turn partly determined by membership in the Muslim vs. the Christian community. In this final analysis, we explored the relative power of “Clash of Civilizations” versus “Anti-Dominance” attributions to explain reactions to the World Trade Center attack, while simultaneously considering the manner in which generalized terrorism attitudes are affected by and affect other factors.

Method

Respondents

A questionnaire assessing reactions to the September 11th attacks on the Pentagon and the World Trade Center and attitudes toward “terrorist” organizations and “anti-terrorism” efforts was collected from 145 of 596 randomly sampled graduate and undergraduate students at the American University of Beirut in the late fall of 2001. The questionnaires were placed in the student mailboxes at the University. The analyses were restricted to members of the two largest religious communities: Christians (N= 61; 27 females and 34 males) and Muslims (N= 63; 39 females and 24 males). The average age of the students was 20.51 years. The questionnaires were written in English and most students at this university are fluent in Arabic, English and French.

Measures

World trade center attack attributions. All respondents were asked to indicate why they thought the hijackers attacked the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001. The stem question read: “There are many possible reasons why the hijackers attacked the World Trade Center in New York. Using the scale from 1 (not at all a cause) to 7 (very important cause), please rate how important each possible cause of the attack was.”

The respondents were given eight possible attributions to choose from. All attributions were assumed to fall within one of two attributional categories: a) “Clash of Civilizations” attributions and b) “Anti-Dominance” attributions. The “Clash of Civilizations” attributions were: 1) “Clash between Islamic and Western values (e.g., role of women in society),” 2) “The conflict between Christianity and Islam,” and 3) “The attackers’ dislike of democracy.” The “Anti-Dominance” attributions were: 4) “American support of Israel,” 5) “The Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” 6) “American mistreatment of Iraq,” 7) “The presence of American soldiers in Saudi Arabia,” and 8) “Anger at American imperialism and arrogance.”²

WTC attack justified. All respondents were asked to indicate the degree to which they felt that the September 11th attack on the World Trade Center was justified. The response scale ranged from “1-Not at all justified” to “7-Very much justified.”

Support for “terrorist” organizations. Respondents were asked to indicate their support for four organizations listed as “terrorist” by the United States Department of State as of February, 2002. The organizations were: a) Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), b) Hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement), c) Islamic Jihad (al-

Jihad), and d) Hezbollah (Party of God). Ratings ranged from “1-Strongly oppose” to “7-strongly support” (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .93$).

Support for “anti-terrorism” policies. Support for “anti-terrorism” policies consisted of support for military action carried out by the United States and Israel and targeted against “terrorists” and their organizations. There were eight items comprising this “anti-terrorism” scale: 1) “Osama bin Laden should be found by the U.S. military, arrested and tried in the U.S.,” 2) “Afghanistan should be invaded or bombed until they surrender bin Laden,” 3) “The U.S. has no right to bomb Afghanistan,” (reverse coded), 4) “Israel should stop targeted assassinations of Palestinians,” (reverse coded), 5) “Military action in response to the events of September 11th should be led by the U.S.,” 6) “The U.S. should not engage in any military action that will kill civilians, no matter how few,” (reverse coded), 7) “The U.S. should cease bombing Afghanistan and offer to negotiate,” (reverse coded), and 8) “Osama bin Laden must be stopped by any means necessary” ($\alpha = .83$).

Results

WTC Attack Attributions

To establish whether or not the eight WTC attack attributions actually defined the two distinct attributional dimensions of “Clash of Civilizations” and “Anti-Dominance,” we performed a confirmatory, two-dimensional factor analysis using LISREL 8.03 (see Jöreskog & Sörbom, 1993). The results of these analyses confirmed expectations and showed that a two-dimensional “Anti-Dominance” and “Clash of Civilizations” structure gave a very good fit to the data (i.e., $\chi^2(19) = 25.60$, $p < .14$; GFI = .95, AGFI = .91). As can be seen in Table 1, all five “Anti-Dominance” indicators were significantly

related to the latent dimension of “Anti-Dominance,” with this dimension being most strongly defined by views about American support of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Similarly, all three items hypothesized to define the “Clash of Civilizations” dimension were strongly and significantly related to this latent continuum. It is also noteworthy that these two factors were essentially orthogonal to one another (i.e., $f = .07$, n.s.). We took the unweighted averages of the items defining each dimension to operationalize measures of “Anti-Dominance” and “Clash of Civilizations.”

Having established that we have theoretically congruent measures of two distinct dimensions, our first approach to the relative validities of the “Clash of Civilizations” vs. the “Anti-Dominance” interpretation of Middle-Eastern opinion was simply to inspect the degree to which respondents attributed the attack on the World Trade Center to each of the eight possible causes (see Table 2). The attributions in Table 2 are arranged in the order that the respondents endorsed them as attributions for the WTC attack.

The first thing of note in Table 2 is the fact that respondents assigned greater importance to “Anti-Dominance” rather than “Clash of Civilizations” attributions for the attack on the WTC. Secondly, even though Christians and Muslims assigned slightly different relative importance to “Clash of Civilizations” vs. “Anti-Dominance” attributions for the attack on the WTC, both Christians and Muslims were in strong agreement that the WTC attack was more attributable to “Anti-Dominance” explanations (e.g., “American support of Israel,” “anger at American imperialism”) than to “Clash of Civilization” explanations. The degree of attributional profile similarity in the means of the attributions for the two religious groups was quite high ($r = .92$, $p < .01$), as can also be seen in Figure 1.

To formally test the significance of the differential importance assigned to Anti-Dominance versus Clash of Civilizations attributions for the attack on the World Trade Center, we used the composite “Clash of Civilizations” and “Anti-Dominance” scores and performed a 2 x 2 ANOVA with repeated measures over the two attributions and the groups factor consisting of the contrast between Muslims and Christians. Consistent with the impression given in Figure 1, there was a very powerful and statistically significant difference in the amount of importance assigned to Anti-Dominance vs. Clash of Civilizations explanations for the attack on the WTC (i.e., $\underline{M} = 4.76$ vs. $\underline{M} = 2.32$; $\underline{F}(1,117) = 194.53$, $\underline{p} < 10^{-12}$, $\eta^2 = .79$). Furthermore, the interaction between religious group membership (i.e., Muslim vs. Christian) and attributional importance was also statistically significant. Thus while both Christians and Muslims felt that Anti-Dominance motives were more important than Clash of Civilization motives, Muslims gave more importance to Anti-Dominance motives than did Christians ($\underline{M} = 5.05$ vs. $\underline{M} = 4.47$), while Christians gave more explanatory power to Clash of Civilizations motives than did Muslims (i.e., $\underline{M} = 2.81$ vs. $\underline{M} = 1.84$; interaction effect: $\underline{F}(1,117) = 19.81$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\eta^2 = .38$).

This last finding is theoretically import because if the Clash of Civilizations interpretation of reactions to the WTC attack is correct, we should expect to find Muslims endorsing this attack attribution to a greater extent than Christians and not the reverse. However, not only did Muslims show very low mean endorsement of this Clash of Civilizations attribution in absolute terms, but the degree to which Muslims endorsed this attribution was significantly lower than that found among Christians, and the effect size of this group difference was far from trivial ($\underline{F}(1,117) = 13.23$, $\underline{p} < .001$, $\eta^2 = .32$).

WTC Attack Justification as a Function of WTC Attack Attributions

Our next approach to the broad question at hand examined the relationship between the respondents' attributions for the terrorists' motives for the attack on the WTC and the degree to which they themselves felt that the attack on the WTC was justified. This is an indirect way of assessing what motives the respondents felt would justify such an attack.

To accomplish this, we used ordinary least squares regression (OLS) and regressed the degree to which the respondents felt that the WTC attack was justified upon the demographic background variables (e.g., gender, social class, age, and religious community – i.e., Muslim or Christian) and the Clash of Civilization and Anti-Dominance attributions for the WTC attack (see Table 3).

The results of this multiple regression analysis suggested the same conclusions we found above. Namely, there was no significant net relationship between the degree to which the WTC attack was perceived to be motivated by “Clash of Civilization” concerns and the degree to which the respondents felt this attack to be justified. Quite the contrary, to the extent that these variables were related at all, the relationship contradicted the “Clash of Civilizations” hypothesis: The more the WTC attack was perceived to be motivated by “Clash of Civilizations” reasons, the less justified the attack was perceived to be ($\beta = -.12$, n.s.; $r = -.14$, $p < .10$).

While these data showed no support for the “Clash of Civilization” explanation, they did show relatively strong support for the Anti-Dominance model. Namely, the more the WTC attack was attributed to Anti-Dominance motives, the more justified the attack was perceived to be ($\beta = .38$, $p < .01$; $r = .38$, $p < .01$).

Causal Models of WTC Attack Justification

Our final approach to the question expanded upon the regression analyses above and used structural equation modeling to explore the degree to which the respondents thought the WTC attack was justified as a function of their WTC attack attributions, their general support of “terrorist” and anti-“terrorist” activities and their religious affiliations (i.e., Muslim vs. Christian).³ We included the respondents’ attitudes about terrorist organizations and anti-terrorist policies in order to see if the WTC attack attributions could explain the degree to which the respondents felt the WTC attack to be justified over and above these generalized attitudes towards terrorism. Among other things, this structural equation approach will allow us to test the degree to which both the “Clash of Civilizations” and “Anti-Dominance” models provide statistically adequate fits to the empirical data, as well as to explore the direct and indirect effects on WTC attitudes of one’s religious community membership (i.e., Christian vs. Muslim) and one’s generalized support of terrorist organizations and anti-terrorist policies.

The correlation matrix used to produce both the “Clash of Civilizations” and “Anti-Dominance” models is found in Table 4. In both models, one’s religious community was assumed to be related to support of “terrorist” organizations and anti-“terrorist” activities, which in turn were assumed to be related to WTC attack attributions and ultimately to feelings that the WTC attack was justified.

Clash of Civilizations Model. The major idea behind this model is that Clash of Civilization attributions are assumed to affect WTC attack justification, while the effects of Anti-Dominance attributions on WTC attack justification are constrained to 0 (see Figure 2).

This model showed that Muslims were indeed more supportive of “terrorist” organizations than Christians ($\beta = .64, p < .05$), while being less supportive of American anti-“terrorist” activities than Christians ($\beta = -.53, p < .05$). Support for “terrorist” organizations was positively related to both endorsement of Anti-Dominance attributions ($\beta = .31, p < .05$) and thinking that the WTC attack was justified ($\beta = .35, p < .05$). Support for anti-“terrorism” was positively related to Clash of Civilizations attributions ($\beta = .26, p < .05$), while being negatively related to thinking that the WTC attack was justified ($\beta = -.19, p < .05$). However, support for anti-“terrorism” was not significantly related to Anti-Dominance attributions ($\beta = -.12, n.s.$).

Despite a number of significant and expected relationships among these variables, there are several aspects of these findings that cast doubt on the validity of the Clash of Civilizations model. First and consistent with the results in Table 3, the Clash of Civilizations attribution was still not found to make a statistically significant contribution to feeling that the WTC attack was justified, and to the extent that these variables were related at all, the nature of this relationship contradicts the “Clash of Civilizations” model. Once again, net of the other factors in the model, the more the WTC attack was perceived to be motivated by “Clash of Civilizations” motives, the less justified it was felt to be ($\beta = -.08, n.s.$). Second, the Clash of Civilizations framework should also expect that those supporting “terrorist” organizations should also be those most likely to endorse clash of civilizations attributions. However, the exact opposite trend was found. While not statistically significant, the data indicated that those who supported “terrorist” organizations were less and not more likely to endorse Clash of Civilizations attributions ($\beta = -.18, n.s.$). Third and finally, this Clash of Civilizations model was found to give a

rather poor fit to the data as a whole ($\chi^2(5) = 15.59$, $p < .008$; Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) = .82).

Anti-Dominance Model. The only way in which this Anti-Dominance model differs from the Clash of Civilizations model above is that the Anti-Dominance attributions are assumed to affect WTC justification, while Clash of Civilizations attributions are constrained to 0. While most of the coefficients remained stable over the two models, the results also show that the Anti-Dominance model gives a much better fit to the data (see Figure 3). First, we see that Anti-Dominance attributions for the WTC attack were significantly related to feeling that the WTC was justified ($\beta = .32$, $p < .05$), even after simultaneously considering the effect of generalized support of “terrorist” organizations ($\beta = .26$, $p < .05$). Net of the other factors in the model, the more respondents felt that the WTC attack was motivated by reactions to Anti-Dominance, the more justified the attack was seen to be.

Second, as was the case with the model above, those supporting “terrorist” organizations were still less and not more likely to endorse Clash of Civilizations attack attributions (i.e., $\beta = -.18$, n.s.). Interestingly enough, endorsement of “Clash of Civilization” attributions was most likely among those supporting anti-“terrorism” (i.e., $\beta = .27$, $p < .05$). Finally and in contrast to the Clash of Civilizations model, the Anti-Dominance model provided a strong fit to the empirical data as a whole (i.e., $\chi^2(5) = 7.16$, $p < .21$; AGFI = .92).

Finally, in order to see if the addition of Clash of Civilizations effects could still increase the fit of the model over and above Anti-Dominance attributions, a third model was run in which the path from Clash of Civilizations attributions to WTC justification

was added. The results showed that this additional path did not significantly improve model fit (i.e., change in $\chi^2(1) = 1.01, p > .31$). Therefore, the Clash of Civilizations model must be rejected.

Summary and Discussion

This paper has examined the comparative validities of two competing models of public opinion in the Middle East concerning the bloody events of September 11, 2001. These competing explanations have been labeled the “Clash of Civilizations” and the “Anti-Dominance” hypotheses. Regardless of whether one directly asks the respondents why the “terrorists” attacked the World Trade Center, or one examines the relationships between these perceived attack motivations and the respondents’ sense that the attacks were justified, all analyses support the same general conclusions. Arab reaction to the events of September 11th was clearly more related to perceived Anti-Dominance attributions than to any perceived “Clash of Civilization” attributions. Thus in the minds of these Arab students, the ferocious and deadly attack on the United States was primarily driven by reaction to American support of Israel and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and anger at American imperialism, arrogance and disregard for the lives and welfare of people in the Arab world. Not only were both Lebanese Christians and Muslims unlikely to attribute the events of September 11th to “Clash of Civilizations” considerations, but contrary to the general assumptions of this model, Muslim respondents put even less weight on these motives than did Christians.

Thus, while the “Clash of Civilization” perspective does appear to comprise a meaningful and coherent dimension of Middle-Eastern public opinion, not only does this dimension of public opinion appear unrelated to Arab reaction to the 9/11 events, but this

“Clash of Civilization” perspective also has relatively little to do with the degree of support for “terrorist” organizations (e.g., Islamic Jihad, Hamas) in general. Thus, while those supporting “terrorist” organizations were more likely to understand the events of 9/11 as a reaction against American Middle-Eastern policy, support for these organizations was clearly not associated with the tendency to view Islam as locked in some millennial conflict with the West. Even more tellingly, to the degree that Clash of Civilizations attributions and “terrorism” support were related at all, they tended to be negatively rather than positively correlated. This is to say that the more respondents endorsed the “Clash of Civilization” attributions, the less they supported “terrorist” organizations. Clearly then, understanding Arab reaction to the events of September 11th as a rejection of Western values, a rejection of democracy, or some vague desire to return to the 14th Century would appear to be a serious misreading of public opinion among Arab youth.

That these Arab students frame the events of 9/11 in anti-dominance rather than in dominance terms is given further support by the results of Henry, Sidanius, Levin and Pratto (2002) using the same data. In this paper, Henry and his colleagues explored the relationship between social dominance orientation (i.e., the desire to establish hierarchical and dominant/subordinate relationships among social groups; see Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001) and support for “terrorist” organizations and the attack on the World Trade Center. In line with an anti-dominance interpretation of these data, the researchers found that support of “terrorism” and the attack on the WTC were associated with low rather than high levels of social dominance orientation. In other words, these forms of “terrorism” were most strongly supported by

those who rejected hierarchical and dominant/subordinate relationships among social groups.

Having said this, however, we must also add two strong caveats. First, and most obviously, while sampling the opinions of university students is extremely valuable due to the fact that these are the people most likely to be involved in “radical” or “extremist” politics (e.g., Dunlap, 1970; Keniston, 1968), we must also keep in mind that we have only sampled opinion from one nation within the Middle East. The degree to which these conclusions hold across a broader section of the Arab world is yet to be determined. On the other hand, one could also argue that if the “Clash of Civilizations” argument is valid, Lebanon is one of the most likely countries in the Middle East where this phenomenon should be detected. This argument is based on the fact that Lebanon has had a large and politically mobilized Christian population since before the time of the crusades, and the fact that Lebanese Christians and Muslims – among others – have been recently engaged in very bitter and bloody inter-communal strife lasting for more than 15 years. These facts would imply that Christian vs. Muslim identity is probably a more chronically salient distinction in Lebanon than in almost any other country on earth.

Second, even if our conclusions were generalizable across a broad section of the Arab world, this does not mean that these conclusions are generalizable to those actively engaged in “terrorist” organizations. While anti-American hostility within the “Arab street” might be primarily motivated by reactions to perceived American domination and the mistreatment of Arab peoples, we clearly have no empirically supported way of knowing the degree to which this also applies to the actual perpetrators of “terrorist” attacks against American, Israeli and Western interests. Hopefully further research will

be able to address this critical question. Nonetheless, regardless of what actual “terrorists” think, relatively few of these Lebanese students felt that the attack on the World Trade Center was justified, a finding which is quite consistent with public opinion across the Arab world (see BBC News, 2002).

However, these reservations notwithstanding, the results before us here have some rather important potential implications. Among the most important of these implications is that we should have some reason for optimism concerning the present “terrorism wars.” Rather than regarding the present conflict between “East” and “West” as intractably “cultural” and millennial, our results suggest that this conflict is actually more situational and “political,” and therefore susceptible to changes in public policy (e.g., a resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict perceived as “just”).

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Footnotes

¹ For a closely related thesis entitled “Occidentalism,” see Margalit and Buruma (2002).

² See confirmatory factor analysis of these items below.

³ Because of the large number of indicators associated with some of the latent constructs (e.g., Anti-Terrorism), we used modified path analyses with simulated latent factors. The fact that the latent variables are not measured with perfect reliability was dealt with by inserting the square-roots of the Cronbach a reliability estimates in the appropriate places in the γ_y matrices and the error variances in the prediction of the manifest variables from the latent constructs were inserted in the appropriate places in γ_e matrices. The a reliability estimate of the latent construct “Clash of Civilization” was found to be 0.76 while the reliability estimate of the latent construct “Anti-Dominance” was 0.75 (see Herting, 1985). Religious group membership (i.e., Muslim vs. Christian) and Justification of the WTC Attack were assumed to be measured without error and are consequently treated as strictly manifest variables.

Table 1.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis of World Trade Center Attack Attributions

Items	Anti-dominance	Clash of Civilizations
American support of Israel	.86**	0.00
Israeli-Palestinian conflict	.73**	0.00
American mistreatment of Iraq	.66**	0.00
American soldiers in Saudi Arabia	.40**	0.00
Anger at American imperialism & arrogance	.38**	0.00
Clash between Islamic & Anti- values	0.00	.81**
Conflict between Christianity & Islam	0.00	.84**
Dislike of democracy	0.00	.55**

** $p < .01$

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Lebanese Muslims and Christians on EightAttributions for the Attack on the World Trade Center on 9/11

Variables	Muslims		Christians	
	M	SD	M	SD
Anti-Dominance Attributions				
1. American support of Israel	5.97	1.27	5.53	1.59
2. Anger at American imperialism	5.42	1.77	5.03	1.90
3. Israeli-Palestinian conflict	5.31	1.81	4.61	2.11
4. American mistreatment of Iraq	4.77	2.02	4.32	1.97
5. American soldiers in Saudi Arabia	3.64	2.07	2.74	1.79
Clash of Civilizations Attributions				
6. Conflict between Christianity & Islam	2.03	1.47	3.17	2.34
7. Dislike of democracy	1.97	1.49	2.44	1.69
8. Clash between Islamic & Anti- values	1.47	.98	2.64	2.04

Table 3

Feeling that the WTC Attack was Justified Regressed upon the Clash of Civilizations andAnti-dominance Attributions among Christians and Muslims

Independent Variables	Standardized Beta	Product-moment r
Gender (female = 1, male=0)	.08	.01
Age	-.06	-.01
Social class	-.05	-.04
Muslim (Muslim = 1, Christian = 0)	.05	.19*
Clash of Civilization attribution	-.12	-.14+
Anti-Dominance attribution	.38**	.38**
R ² _{adj.}		.13**

+ p < .10; *p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations used for Structural Equation Modeling

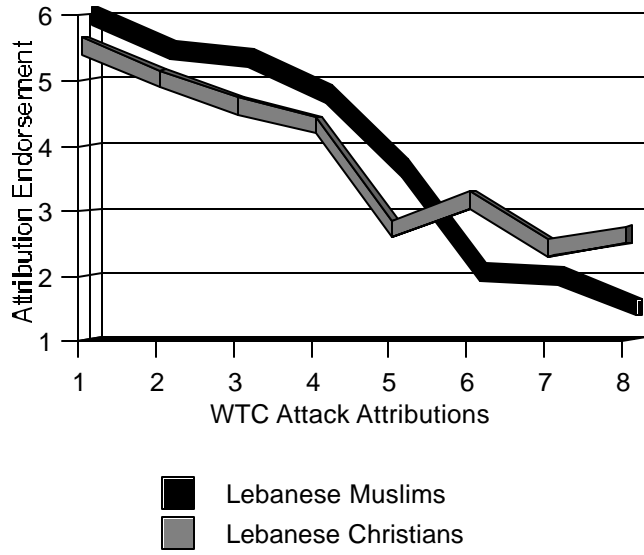
<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>		World Trade Center Attack Justified	Anti-Dominance	Clash of Civilizations	Terrorism Support	Anti-Terrorism	Muslim
2.77	1.98	World Trade Center Attack Justified						
4.79	1.33	Anti-Dominance	.39					
2.24	1.51	Clash of Civilizations	-.22	-.04				
3.15	1.80	Terrorism Support	.45	.30	-.26			
2.70	1.28	Anti-Terrorism	-.36	-.21	.27	-.45		
.31	.50	Muslim (Muslim=1, Christian=0)	.23	.23	-.29	.62	-.48	

Figure Captions

Figure 1. The perceived importance of eight attributions for the attack on the World Trade Center among Lebanese Christians and Muslims.

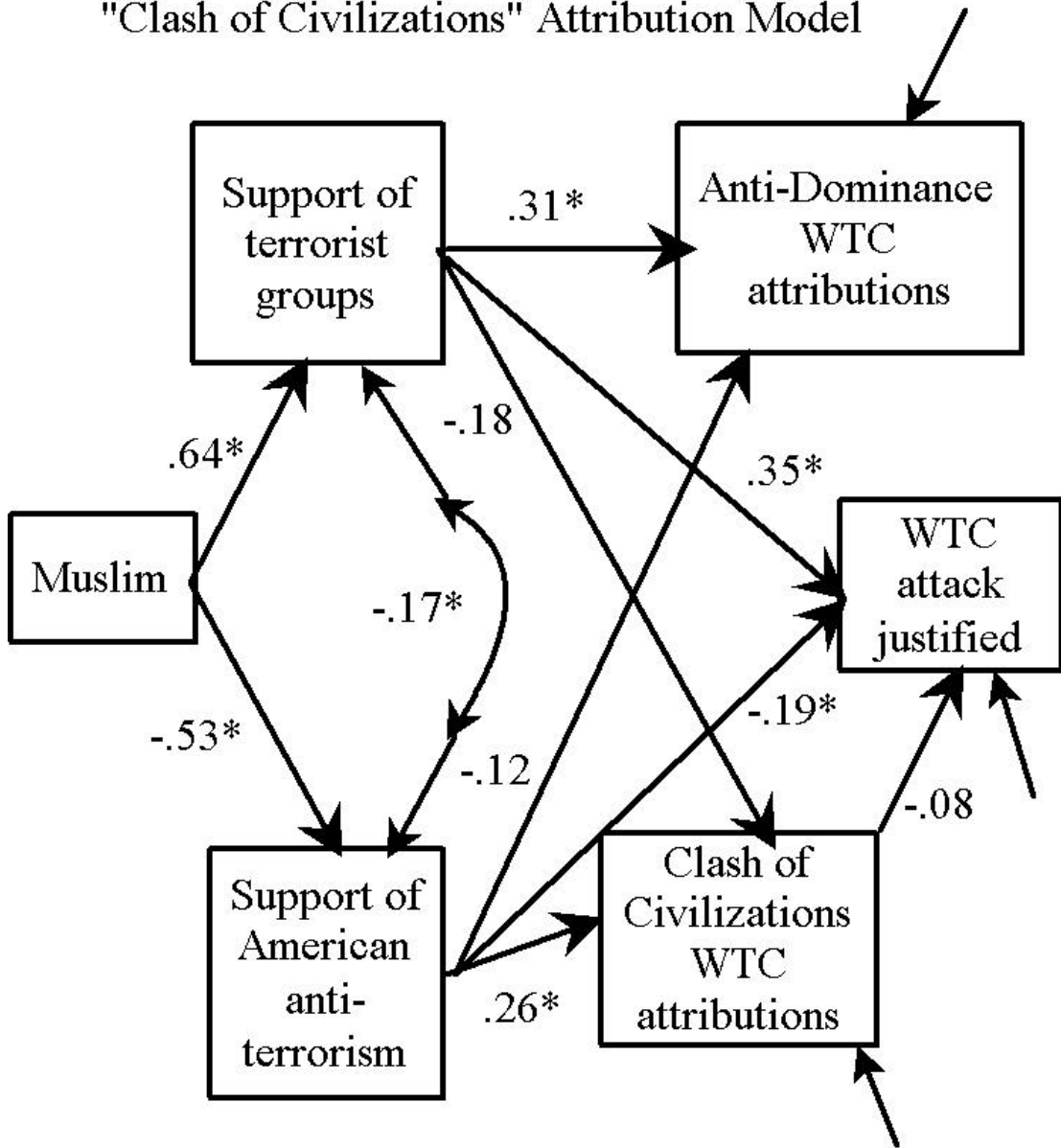
Figure 2. “Clash of Civilizations” attribution model for the World Trade Center attack.

Figure 3. “Anti-Dominance” attribution model for the World Trade Center attack.



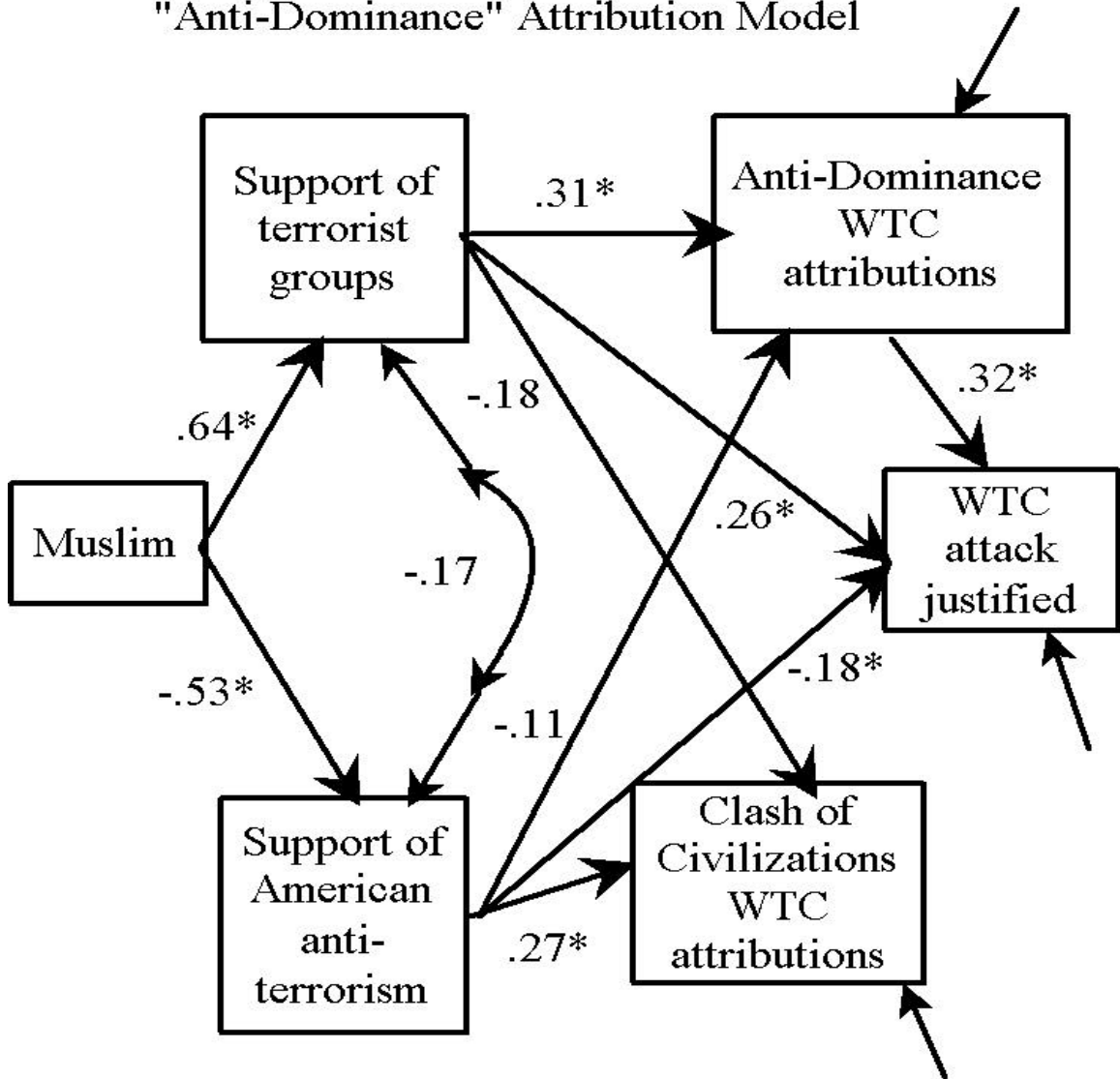
Note: Items 1-5 are Anti-Dominance attributions, while items 6-8 are Clash of Civilizations attributions.

"Clash of Civilizations" Attribution Model



Chi-square = 15.59, $df= 5$; $p < .008$; AGFI = .82

"Anti-Dominance" Attribution Model



Chi-square = 7.16, $df = 5$; $p < .21$; AGFI = .92