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Fear of terrorism: Legislation and perceived loss of civil liberties

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LIBERTIES

Fear of Terrorism: Legislation and Perceived Loss of Civil Liberties

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Fear of Terrorism: Legislation and Perceived Loss of Civil Liberties.
Finola Richardson
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Abstract

Terrorism is a fear-inducing element of the current Australian political agenda.

There are concerns about counter-terrorism legislation employed in Australian

since the September 11th attacks on the United States, (9/11) and the effects these

laws have on the civil liberties of Australian citizens. The literature presents two

views one identifies the low risk of terrorism in Australia as no justification for

strict new legislation. An alternative claim is increased security following 9/11 is

essential in ensuring Australia is not viewed as a 'soft target'. The psychological

experience of fear following terrorist attacks can influence the public's response

to Government initiatives regarding security. The aim of the current study was to

explore the experiences of terrorism-related-fear, perceptions about security and

the counter-terrorism legislative effects on the civil liberties of Western

Australians. Using a phenomenological approach, semi-structured interviews

were conducted with eight men and six women of various ages. Interpretative

phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used in the analysis phase. Five major

themes emerged relating to participant's levels of fear, ideas about security and

civil liberties; psychological effect of 9/11, risk, security, social identity and civil

liberties and perceived effect. The findings suggest terrorism-related-fear was

moderate in participants, and they did not feel concerned about legislation

impacting their civil liberties, as they recognised some civil liberties needed to be

sacrificed in order to achieve desired safety levels.

Keywords: terrorism, fear, security, counter-terrorism legislation,
perceptions.

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List of Tables

Table of Contents

Fear of Terrorism: Legislation and Perceived Loss of Civil Liberties.

"The September 11 attack has created a resolve in America and elsewhere to end terror everywhere. But the history of terror does not inspire much confidence that this determination will be successful." (Rapoport, 2001, p. 419).

In the contemporary environment of fear concerning international security (Altheide, 2006) it is easy to overlook the legislative changes proposed in the counter-terrorism white paper, (Michaelsen, 2005) and the effects these laws may have on the civil liberties of Australian nationals (Wolfendale, 2007). Understanding the psychological elements of fear, (Lerner, Gonzalez, Small, & Fischoff, 2003) and how fear of terrorism in contemporary society is unique, can shed light on the public's perspectives on new security measures (Josiger, 2006) and the potential trade off between counter-terrorism legislation and civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2004).

Qualitative investigation into public attitudes towards terrorism, (Abadie, 2006) and how these ideas combine to create fear (Ganor, 2002) is essential to understanding the impact of terrorism on the individual psyche (Lerner et al., 2003) and the potential effect terrorism may have on decision-making with regard to security (Berkowitz, 1967). Psychologically, terrorism can be defined with the presence of six elements; terrorism is a category of *violence*, perpetrated *indiscriminately* against *non-combatants*, (Gunaratna & Chalk, 2002) causing *psychological stress* (Hanser, 2006) and *imminent threat* to *living victims* (Jenkins, 1974). Understanding the complexities of fear in response to the terrorist threat is essential (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009; Gringart, 2009) in preparing for the psychological impact of future international, or domestic terrorism on the Australian public (Ursano, Fullerton, & Norwood, 2003). Society's response to

terrorism is dependent on the Government in power, how terrorists are characterised and the motives underpinning violent action at the time (Krueger & Maleckova, 2009). This point is significant in the examination of societies' resolve against contemporary terror (Dershowitz, 2002).

Noting the origins of terrorism-related-fear and societies' reaction towards contemporary terrorism, can determine how international attacks on Western targets affect Australians (Weiten, Lloyd, Dunn, & Hammer, 2008). Furthermore, explaining how fear contributes to the current climate of terror within society is invaluable in attempts at international risk management (Kunreuther, 2002). Although statistics recognise Australia is at a limited risk of enduring a terrorist attack, the perceived danger and sense of threat within society has continually been represented in the literature as high, or imminent (Stevens et al., 2009; Wolfendale, 2007). Qualitative inquiry into this emotional carry-over from international terrorism (Baldino, 2007) to the Australian community is important when reviewing public perceptions on increased security and counter-terrorism legislation, as when viewing terrorism statistically there is a low probability of attack in Australia (Stevens et al., 2009). Understanding this fear-effect may highlight the reasons for society's sacrifice of some civil liberties, in exchange for protection over events with a low likelihood of occurrence (Wolfendale, 2007).

The increase in counter-terrorism legislation in Australia proceeding 9/11 can be viewed as having significant implications on the Australian way of life (Baldino, 2007). The psychological effects of terrorism on society and associated fear as well as anxiety can affect decision-making both personally and politically (Todd, Wilson, & Casey, 2005). Although Australians generally recognise a low

probability of personal involvement in a terrorist incident, literature reports people still fear terrorism occurring in Australia, and experience increased levels of alarm when abroad (Baldino, 2007; Wolfendale, 2007). Additionally, debate ensues as to whether the feelings presented by Australians with regard to terrorism can be accurately defined as fear, with Howie (2005) suggesting a notion of dread to be a more accurate description (Howie, 2005). Although this suggestion may be correct, few studies have investigated the emotional experience of Western Australians towards terrorism and counter-terrorism legislation (Stevens et al., 2009). Investigating West Australians' possible fear towards terrorism, given the isolated nature of Perth and low probability of a terrorist incident, is an important area of research that has been neglected in the literature thus far (Lerner, et al., 2003).

The current study aimed to investigate terrorism-related-fear in response to the defining elements of the terrorism definition utilised: *violence, indiscriminately non-combatants,* (Gunaratna & Chalk, 2002) *psychological stress,* (Hanser, 2006) *imminent threat* and *living victims.* A literature review of research on the psychology of fear as a response to terrorism and public attitudes in the context of security and civil liberties is presented. Following, a qualitative study is reported that attempted to answer these questions: what is the Western Australian public experience with terrorism and the threat of terrorism? How do the participants feel about counter-terrorism legislative changes employed in Australia post 9/11? And how do participants perceive the potential threat that these laws pose to their civil liberties, and that of the wider community?

Literature Review

The History of and Effects of Terrorism

"Even a brief acquaintance with the history of terrorism should make us more sensitive to the difficulties ahead" (Rapoport, 2002, p. 1).

Al Qaeda is the contemporary face of terrorism in the West, whether justified in this label or not, this group symbolises everything that Westerners fear and is associated with the most shocking terrorist attack in history (Martin, 2009). Terrorism has come to represent an idea of violence, although having existed for thousands of years, before 9/11 Western society had not seen terrorisms' true ability to affect their lives (Corlett, 2003). No longer reliant on state sponsorship, Al Qaeda and groups like the Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, are established networks embraced by sympathetic revolutionaries worldwide (Simon, 2003). Although supported by some Western governments historically, terrorist acts are now internationally condemned by the West and is no longer viewed as an appropriate expression of political disdain or a celebrated revolutionary action (Josiger, 2008). The varied reactions to terrorism over time validate the view that it is a socially constructed concept (Ursano et al., 2003). The following review of the evolution of terrorism through reference to the 'waves theory' denotes the nature of terrorism's effect as individual (Rapoport, 2002). The four 'waves' of terrorism show an evolution from common associations with freedom fighter, to a word that is now strongly connected to the events of 9/11, making Western societies' negative construction of the action and associated views unlikely to ever change (Tucker, 2001).

The act of terrorism is as old as civilisation and as new as this second (Slater, 2003) and although its social construction has changed over time its

fundamental principles are the same, most noteworthy the infliction of fear to induce change (Speckhard, 2004). Whilst a challenging concept to consider, terrorism has contributed to positive change and is viewed admiringly in some instances. An example of this is the Algerian terrorists in the 1960's who were seen as heroes for achieving Algerian independence from the French (Griset & Mahan, 2007). Western views on contemporary terrorism seldom achieve this, with largely negative associations overriding any possible positive effect (Speckhard, 2004). Although some support for terrorisms' aims will forever be evident, sympathisers of modern terrorism are now viewed by Western societies, that historically supported such acts depending on the outcome, as violent extremists who deserve no mercy (Lutz & Lutz 2009). Acknowledging the latter, views on terrorism are still dependent on the individual, with some researchers recognising that 9/11 contributed to posttraumatic growth, (Vazquez, Perez-Sales, & Hervas 2008) and the collective trauma experienced resulted in increased community cohesion in certain areas of America (Schmierbach, Boyle, & McLeod 2005). The psychological impact of terrorism is recognised as diverse, in both the immediate vicinity of attacks, nationally and internationally (Martin, 2009).

The noted individual nature of views on terrorism adds value to the qualitative investigation of public perceptions and associated fear (Silke, 2001). As Neilson (1981) illustrates, influences on support or condemnation of terrorism are dependent on whether society views it as a politically effective weapon in the social struggle of the time. The Irgun Zionist group operating between 1931 and 1948, found social support through a change in terminology from terrorists' to freedom fighters (Cronin & Ludes, 2004). Morally, the discussion of terrorism

has divided many (Gearty, 2004). Valls (2000) draws a parallel between

politically motivated war and politically motivated acts of terrorism as similar

entities that could be justified in the same vein, as both include innocent civilian

casualties. Walzer (1992) argues terrorism can never be legitimate as it breaks

the moral rules of violent engagement, where victims do not have the ability to

defend themselves, and initially have not agreed to take part in the conflict, a

noted alternative to nations involved in war. Viewing the disparity of opinion in

terrorism literature solidifies the notion that, the way terrorism is viewed depends

on the individual (Ganor, 2002). Society's understanding of terrorism influences

ideas about terrorist attacks, an understanding that is generally fractured and

superficial according to Stout (2002). How terrorism is understood impacts levels

of terrorism-related-fear, and determines the psychological impact of terrorism

on communities (Boyle & McLeod, 2005).

Individual response to terrorism is influenced by social and psychological

condition, Chomsky (1999) stating support for terrorism is often apparent

following wars or economic downturn, when a country's future is resting on the

psychology of an oppressed and fragile society. The emergence of terrorism and

extremist views as a last resort in a hopeless time, is a view challenged by

theories of power and control, some of which state charismatic leaders of

extremist groups desire dominance and idolisation from followers, and that this

is their motivation (Breen, 2007). Additionally, a public perception that the risk

of social insignificance is high in the presence of an overbearing group can lend

a justification to violence, not usually overlooked (Gupta, 2008).

Acknowledging that terrorism is not homogenous, recent research

indicates international terrorist attacks have increased dramatically since the

United States and allies invaded Iraq, a suspected result of increased

destabilisation of the international community (Bergen & Cruickshank, 2007)

and fear induced by an injured sense of security (Gringart, 2009). In line with the

latter, historical enquiry into terrorism can show the alignment of certain social

factors as precipitators of attacks (Laqueur, 2001). The 'waves theory' examines

terrorist activity as occurring in a pattern (Rapoport, 2002). Supporting this

evaluation, Harrow (2010) sees the evolution of terrorism throughout history as

an ideologically driven social movement, where terrorist ideology conflicts with

the society of the time, thus providing a catalyst for action by way of violence.

Although more pertinent to inter-state acts of terrorism, conflict over the

influence of Western governments internationally, is more suitable in explaining

contemporary attacks (Martin, 2009). The waves theory considers the ideology

of terrorist groups (Akerboom, 2003) and the psychological motivation of

different terrorists cells, factors that influence social reaction and support (Stout,

2004). Support for terrorism influences fear, which in turn contributes to the

extent of psychological stress an individual feels regarding possible attack

(Breen, 2007).

Whilst most literature concentrates on how terrorism affects society,

(Morag, 2006; Berinsky, 2010) a topic of equal importance is how societal

conditions influence terrorist action and its continuation (Gofin, 2005). Rapoport

(2002) suggests social response to violence during the first wave of terrorism

from 1880 to 1920, influenced its course. Social groups sympathised with the

anarchist terrorists (Rosenzweig, 2004) supporting their targeted group

(predominantly the rich and powerful) lower classes saw them as revolutionary

figures striving for a better life (Thompson, 1984). Terrorism was a 'popular'

expression of some people's social disdain towards the faults of capitalism and often corrupt governments, allowing a somewhat positive social construction of groups who attacked political entities (Josiger, 2008). The idea of 'having no ruler' in the minds of the Russian people, who were living in misery during 1880 to 1920, was an attractive offer, and also welcomed in Europe by newly arriving immigrants during intense political rivalry (Gupta, 2008). The targeting of groups that had caused abundant suffering to the lower class through greed and unfair political influence, allowed a certain level of moral disengagement in society, (Bandura, 1990) and thus support for terrorism (Rapoport, 2002). Although poor social conditions have been some of the main antecedents to revolutionary movements involving terrorism historically and currently, generalising this association is dangerous as it could suggest people who are suffering, compromise their moral code simply in support of extreme violence (Piazza, 2006). This is not the case (Arian, 2003).

Currently terrorists' ability to terrorise is borderless with media and communication abilities allowing the impact of a single terrorist attack to be felt internationally (Martin, 2009). Alternatively, the anarchist terrorists' of the first wave, used propaganda to gain *support* as mass communication became available (Crenshaw, 1995). Terrorism in the first wave was still negatively defined, (Kropotkin, 2002) however Hudson (2005) argues it was less psychologically damaging to society as the use of mass media characterised anarchist terrorists as transparent, explaining their ideologies and aims in new ways. These communications in Ireland in the 1880's, specifically an anarchist newspaper called 'Freedom', reduced social fear of terrorist violence (Colls & Dodd, 1896). The Irish people saw anarchists' as fighters in their land struggle and were

encouraged to support anarchy as an acceptable political system (Griset &

Mahan, 2007). Empowering an oppressed society made the idea of revolution by

way of terrorism in some ways attractive to the peasants in Ireland (DeLeon,

2006). Although there is limited consideration of the long-term psychological

effects of terrorism in the first wave, survival from poverty (Gupta, 2008) was a

more immediate issue for Russian and European societies of the time (Cronin &

Ludes, 2004).

Anarchist groups were organised networks telling society it was

honourable to stand up to the injustices of the government and aspire to a free

way of living (Gupta, 2008). The idea of courage and notion of strength that

anarchist terrorism emitted encouraged society to support its operation, (Cronin

& Ludes, 2004) introducing the philosophy of justified violence against the state

and civilians who failed to join the revolution (Aly, 2009). The transformation of

communication and travel patterns in the first wave allowed the anarchists'

revolutionary message to travel quickly (Gupta, 2008). Having acknowledged the

danger of generalising an individual's ability to compromise morals, Hudson

(2005) concludes support for anarchism internationally in the first wave was

linked to societies' psychological state, concluding in social crisis all manner of

seemingly positive development is applauded. Using the example of the rise of

the Third Reich, Maier (1997) supports this notion explaining, German society's

state of poverty and social dissolution following their defeat in the First World

War, made Hitler's presentation of a bright future with increased national pride

attractive to some. The togetherness of similar social groups (Willer & Feinberg,

2008) and justification of questionable counter-terrorism legislation during times

of crisis is an effect noted in Australian respondents. Participants tended to

support strict immigration laws when considering the threat of lifestyle alteration and perceived cultural ties to terrorism that new immigrants may have (Davis & Silver, 2003).

Unlike the first wave, the second wave of terrorist violence following World War One (WWI) was territorial, after the treaty of Versailles reduced some countries' borders drastically (Orend, 2002). The anti-colonial wave lasting from the 1950s through the 1980s saw terrorist violence adopting a nationalist component (Rapoport, 2002). Behind the shroud of positive territorial gains, a seemingly justified pursuit, terrorists operating in this era were often referred to as freedom fighters (Ganor, 2002). Debate continues as to whether the Irish Republican Army (IRA) were terrorists or freedom fighters, as they received significant support from society during the early years of the second wave (Cronin & Ludes, 2004). Saul's (2006) use of the freedom fighter terminology denotes support for terrorists is based on their psychological motivation. Terrorist ideologies that reflect the majority of society's view find increased support, as seen in Ireland during British occupation and in British-ruled India following WWI (Harrow, 2010). Gupta (2008) argues direct claims to improving the political system's accountability to the people results in increased support for terrorist organisations. The psychological significance of a change in expression, from terrorist to freedom fighter directly encourages societal support under the positive notion of freedom (Kennedy, 1999).

> "Terrorism is considered the only effective weapon available to the weak and disempowered, who cannot hope to win by regular methods against modern, well-resourced, militarized States" (Saul, 2006, p. 3).

Characterising terrorism as a last resort, as Saul (2006) does, assists some in moral disengagement, a process by which people justify their behaviour if it fulfils a higher societal need (Bandura, 1990; Brown, 2010). A common concept encouraging support for terrorism historically and contemporarily is a commendation for the end result, which allows a moral justification for immediate violence, as it is seen to eventuate in a better future (Ryan, 2009). The notion of the ends justifies the means is commonly used by Western governments during military assaults and even against their own people, as seen in American Atomic bomb testing on citizens in 1954 (Titus, 2001) The ends justifies the means has been seemingly abandoned by Western society in evaluation of contemporary supporters of terrorism. Where the history of the second wave saw 'freedom' as the defining element of terrorist movements, contemporary terrorists' are viewed as violent extremists. The psychological effect of the second wave of terrorism was dependent on personal risk (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). The direction of terrorism towards particular groups within society, mostly police and military personnel, decreased the risk of violence to the public, therefore reducing their fear of terrorism and increasing their support for its aims (Harrow, 2010). As noted by Lerner et al. (2003) the experience of terrorism related fear is dependent on how the individual perceives their personal threat, a notion consistent with current social response to terrorism and historical views of terrorism.

Much like the second wave, the third wave of terrorism was operational in the fallout of a war, the Vietnam War (Rapoport, 2002). The Viet-Cong's success stimulating hope in international minorities who wished to rise up against their governments (Aly, 2009). Again, terrorists in this era had specific

motivations and a flexible but generally stable target group (Gupta, 2008).

Terrorism evolved to concentrate on political change and profit, with hijackings

for ransoms paid by companies to spare their kidnapped executives, (Dischman,

2001) and assassinations of government officials increasing from 1970-1989

(Weinberg, Pedahzur, & Hirsch-Hoefler, 2004). Although civilians were still

utilised as bargaining chips, the targeting of prominent government officials was

more popular (Norris, Kern & Just, 2003). Perhaps the most noteworthy was the

kidnapping of former Italian Prime Minister Aldo Moro by the Red Brigades,

Prime Minister Moro's body was later dumped in the streets after the

government refused to co-operate with the terrorists' demands (Cronin & Ludes,

2004). Although not in the above instance, state-sponsored terrorism resurfaced,

as Western governments began to sponsor third world tyranny groups to ensure

their stakes in foreign commodities (Byman, 2005) and destabilise rival countries

following the Cold War (Enders & Sandler, 1999). Cronin (2003) argues

contemporary terrorism is the fault of globalisation and state-sponsored support.

This support allowed the stabilisation of terrorist groups as worldwide networks

(Richardson, 2006). As contemporary terrorism increases Western societies'

fears, government responsibility for Middle Eastern terror groups, mainly the

United States' alleged training of the Mujahideen in the 1980's has been raised

many times, as the psychological desire to blame increases with attacks (Sealing,

2003).

The fourth and current wave of terrorism has been labelled the religious

wave, (Josiger, 2008) with research noting Islamic fundamentalism as the central

point of concern within societies (Gottschalk & Greenberg, 2008; Sheridan,

2006). Although the recent focus on Islam as associated with terrorism is

concerning for its potential to provide justification for aggressive foreign policies against certain ethnicities (Smith, 2008), this term is widely accepted as a descriptor for the current wave (Martin, 2009). Cronin and Ludes (2004) suggest the recent success of Islamic terrorist attacks has influenced fanatical religious groups worldwide to engage in violence. This point is debated by Morgan (2004) who notes terrorisms' contemporary characteristic of religiously motivated violence has been operational since the beginning of terrorism itself and although it has increased since 1980 it has not been significantly more successful previously. Additionally, Lutz and Lutz (2009) argue the true success of contemporary terrorism is questionable, with mass social support for its methods and aims not widespread, forcing groups into underground operations. Gearson (2002) identifies two reasons for this lack of support. First, the worldwide condemnation of the 9/11 attacks and second, the use of religion to justify violence has been a point of contention with Western society recently (Bandura, 2004; Borum, 2007; & Juergensmeyer, 2003). The evolution of terrorist activity throughout history has come from a focus on destabilising governments and violently objecting to political processes, to its current form of anti-Westernism and radical religious fanaticism (Crenshaw, 2002). The National Commission on Terrorism comment contemporary terrorism differs from history in its unrestricted methods, and religious fanaticism outweighing political agendas in ideology and psychological motivation (Morgan, 2004). Additionally, it was noted that terrorisms' conventional goals have changed to focus on destruction and chaos as the end state, reducing support and increasing fear (Tucker, 2001).

Historically, even at times when society was affected negatively by terrorist violence, sympathisers within the very same society could see the

positives in such actions (Mythen & Walklate, 2008). For example, this claim is

consistent with the operations of the IRA. Throughout history societies' fear of

terrorism has fluctuated on the basis of terrorist motivation (Ursano et al., 2003),

terrorist targets (Gupta, 2008), the outcome of terrorism (Morgan, 2004) and the

personal and situational risk presented (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). Terrorisms'

contemporary targeting of civilian casualties heightens the risk to everyone in

society, therefore increasing fear (Morgan, 2004). The latter notion is new, where

historically civilians were regarded as victims to pass on a message to

governments; modern terrorism sees attacking victims and their core values as

arguably one of the sole objectives (Cronin, 2003). The characteristics of the

current wave include high mass casualty counts, with 9/11 an example of this

where destruction was arguably the main point of the attack (Morgan, 2004). The

evolution of societies fear towards terrorism is essential in understanding, to

determine the psychological effects of contemporary terrorism on the Western

world (Vazquez, et al., 2008).

Terrorist activity has evolved over the years to better achieve the

terrorists' various goals (Young, 2006) and it seems that throughout history

society at times viewed terrorism positively, (Ganor, 2002) believing violence

deserved some justification in light of a progressive ideology that may have not

been seen before (Aly, 2009). Modern terrorism by contrast has seen huge

psychological detriment to the Western world and the existence of terrorism

daily presents the notion that one cannot escape its violence (Crenshaw, 2002).

While terrorists throughout history have been linked to some astonishing acts of

violence, these groups were never shown to desire the complete destruction of

the West and all governments internationally. The evolution of terrorism to its

current state and the specific targeting of Westerners has increased fear,

seemingly causing the acceptance of questionable security measures and

restrictions on personal freedoms (Jensen, 2009). This is the view of civil

libertarians, who believe the current risk of terrorism to Australia is minimal

(Wolfendale, 2007). The latter is an assessment based on a statistical evaluation

of risk and does not recognise general society's measurement of risk is based on

emotional and personal appraisal (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). Although its

meaning has changed throughout history, the word 'terrorism' currently holds

negative connotations and is capable of evoking mass panic and lasting

psychological fear, affecting what security measures societies would protest, and

what they choose to overlook (Bongar, 2007).

The Psychology of Fear of Terrorism

> *"The oldest and strongest emotion of mankind is fear"* (Lovecraft, 1926,
>
> p. 1).

There is some confusion in the literature about how to define fear

(Saunders, 2007). Some state it is an uneasiness of the mind at the expectation or

thought of violence, (Marcus & Mackuen, 1993). Other definitions note fear as

an emotion of anticipation of specific pain or danger (Gray, 1987). Medically,

fear is defined as a psychological and physiological emotional state experienced

in response to real external threat or danger (Saunders, 2007). By this definition

everyone is likely to experience fear with elevated physiological condition

(Davis, 1992) causing the body's fight or flight response to either defend or flea

(Tomkins, 1958). The ensuing psychological experience, however, is mediated

by appraisal, with indivdiuals assessing and responding to potential risks

differently (Ruiter, Verplanken, Kok, & Werrij, 2003). Fermont (2005) sees

terrorism-related fear as a result of its defined elements, each of which individual

perceives differently, thus determining their personal fear levels and

psychological effect. The experience of fear is a personal phenomenon and its

outcome, much like other emotions is dependent on personality, perception and a

variety of other individual attributes (Pastor, 2004).

Contrary to the history of terrorism where many times specified groups,

military organisations or government officials were targeted (Fromkin, 1974) the

focal preference of contemporary terrorists is to preferably target civilians as

seen on 9/11, planting a growing fear of terrorism in the minds of *living victims*

(Mythen & Walklate, 2008). The evolving nature of contemporary terrorism is

what participants in several studies have continually highlighted as highly fear

inducing (Howie, 2005; Speckhard, 2004). Viewing this concept psychologically

Stout, (2002) like Fermont (2005) has indicated fear depends on individual

response. Hudson (2005) supports this notion, stating that social reaction to

being targeted by terrorism can vary drastically. Some who have direct long-term

experience with terrorist violence suffer lasting psychological effects, (Martin,

2009) with more recent and short-term experience resulting in extensive fear,

even when identified risk was low (Speckhard, 2004). To the layperson 9/11 was

seen as an unprovoked attack, as knowledge of international conflict is limited.

The experience of such sudden and extensive violence is not common in Western

society, increasing the fear response (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). Australian

sample populations in terrorism studies are unique in the sense that although they

have not had direct experience with terrorism inside Australian borders, Islamic

groups have identified them as targets (Wolfendale, 2007). The varied responses

to terrorism internationally (Ross, 2004) further validate efforts to uncover the

origins of individual fear towards terrorism and its influence on behaviours (Gabriel & Greve, 2003).

Terrorism-related-fear is an interesting concept to investigate in the Western world, (Ai, Cascio, Santangelo, & Evans-Cambell, 2005) as terrorism has been used as a fear-evoking tool to induce behavioural change for thousands of years (Horgan, 2005). Speckhard (2004) argues that until 9/11 Western targets had not yet realised the violence terrorists were capable of inflicting. Alternatively, some arguments indicate Westerners did not care, as terrorism was not directly affecting them, personal risk assessment was low and as such fear was not apparent (Ai et al., 2005). Todd, Wilson, and Cacey (2005) found the individual experience of 9/11 to Westerners caused initial shock and resulted in lasting psychological fear in some respondents towards actions engaged in on a daily basis, travelling, and working in big cities for example. Targeting symbols and behaviours that cannot be avoided introduces the dilemma that terrorism can never be evaded (Huddy, Khatib, & Capelos, 2002). Some Australians saw this as a reason to let go of fear, while others' fears intensified (Wolfendale, 2007). Similarly Todd et al. (2005) indicated both British and Australian individuals fear levels increased, identifying limited control over their personal risk as the reason.

Psychologically, terrorism cannot be mediated by locus of control and as people felt they have no control over terrorism, behavioural modification to avoid its occurrence is meaningless (Wolfendale, 2007). Psychologically, the ability to cope with threats and violent events is mediated by perceived control, eventuating in increased self-efficacy and subsequent reduction in fear arousal (Bandura, 1982). It was noted by Huddy, Feldman, Capelos, and Provost (2002)

that participants surveyed in America, Britain and Australia felt the low levels of

control they had over future occurrence of terrorism made it impossible to reduce

their levels of psychological stress and fear with regard to terrorist incidents.

Wolfendale (2007) indicates the experience of psychological stress and

anticipation of future attacks can influence public acceptance of questionable

security measures, in attempts to reduce fear, through implementing some

control. This effect has been viewed in Australia despite no attacks having

occurred on Australian soil (Davis & Silver, 2002).

Experience with Terrorism and Related Fear

Although Australians have not had direct experience with terrorism

domestically, Howie (2005) shows the 'threat' of terrorist violence occurring

within Australia has not created fear but instead a climate of *psychological stress*

and dread within the workplace in the city of Melbourne. Both stress and dread

can influence behaviour (Wolfendale, 2007). Dread can generally be defined as:

an anxious anticipation of terrifying or dreadful events, that may or may not

occur in the future (Kierkegaard & Lowrie, 1957). Psychologically, fear and

dread are dissimilar, according to Kierkegaard (1944) who notes fear has a

rational or a root cause whereas dread is a fear of something that has not

happened, and might never happen. This point is debated by Dadlez (1996) and

Whiting (2009) who indicate, fear and dread can be purely psychologically based

and do not require rational logic (Dadlez, 1996; Whiting 2009). Using the

example of being scared of horror films, Joyce (2000) notes that by the definition

of fear we are not actually at risk or threatened physically; our fear is only

psychological. Additionally, the experience of emotion is individual and lacks

substance if viewed collectively (Martin, 2009). It is tempting to assess fear

based on a population or study sample and generalise findings to a state or

nation, however inaccurate, this is a tactic used by governments to grant

sweeping powers of security and pass questionable legislation (Wolfendale,

2007). Emotional reaction to terrorism must be viewed and assessed individually,

however much neglected by current literature (Davis & Silver, 2003).

The psychological response to terrorism within Australia as noted by

Howie, (2005) involves feelings of dread about the potential that terrorist

violence will occur domestically and worry about the influence of international

terrorism on the Australian way of life. Whilst some studies support this claim,

(Abbas, 2004; Viscusi & Zeckhauser, 2003) others note definitive admissions of

feelings of fear in Australians qualitatively (Davis & Silver, 2002; Wolfendale,

2007) have shown a tendency to overlook legislative modification that impact

personal freedoms, in exchange for security to reduce their fear levels (Davis &

Silver, 2003). Fear of ethnic minorities and acceptance of racially guided security

strategies are consistent with some Australian respondents perception that,

culturally, certain ethnic groups could have links to terrorism. Specifically, fear

of Muslims, termed Islamophobia (Abbas, 2004), is a phenomenon that has been

noted in Australian sample populations (Massumi, 2005; Davis & Silver, 2003).

Research concentrating on society's concerns of the potential effect of counter-

terrorism legislation on the Australian lifestyle, is a topic which is much less

explored than fear, noting lower levels of concern amongst the public (Viscusi &

Zeckhauser, 2003).

Societal reactions to terrorist threats are strongest when influenced by

fear, as fear is necessary for survival (Lupton & Tulloch, 1999). When a person

is threatened environmental fear stimuli are present, which pose a direct threat of

physical harm to the person (Saliba, 1980). Borgeson and Valeri (2009) comment that the presence or absence of a physical threat defines fear as rational or irrational. Ichheiser (1944) disagrees with this notion, explaining the feeling of fear that someone may harm us is usually rationalised on the basis of personal assessment of probability, not requiring actual stimuli, and being different to each person. For Australians, fear of terrorism cannot be categorised as rational or irrational, as some studies argue (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009; Josiger, 2008). Whilst the Australian public is not currently experiencing a physical threat, terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and Jemaah Islamiyah have mentioned Australia as a future target (Wolfendale, 2007). Being an identified target of groups claiming responsibility for 9/11 and the Bali bombings in 2002, creates fear and dread about the possibility of being involved in something similar (Howie, 2005; Pastor, 2004). Multiple psychological studies e.g. Davis & Silver, 2002; Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2007, have shown that the perceived threat and experience of fear and dread can alter decision-making with regard to behaviour, lifestyle choices and political attitudes, although this effect is yet to be adequately researched in Australia (Wolfendale, 2007).

The fear effect is well documented, within the United States and internationally in the aftermath of 9/11, in individuals with both direct and indirect experience of the attacks (Josiger, 2008; West & Orr, 2005). Americans presented with symptoms consistent with trauma including fear, concentration problems, insomnia and dreaming about the events up to three years after the attacks, (Lerner et al., 2003; Marshall & Galea, 2004) with both metropolitan and rural participants indicated similar fears. Of over a thousand New Yorkers surveyed one year after 9/11, 47.5% reported being very concerned about both

biological and nuclear terrorism occurring in the future, (Boscarino, Figley, &

Adams, 2003) 13% of participants suffered post-9/11 panic attacks up to a year

after the event, additionally widespread psychiatric issues were documented in

the aftermath of the attack. Country residents in Kansas, far from the 9/11

attacks, stated, when viewing terrorism from a personal basis and possible

involvement they were supportive of counterterrorism policies, such as increased

airport security. Nonetheless personal risk was the strongest predictor of

terrorism-related-anxiety and support for counter-terrorism policy (Davis &

Silver, 2003; Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2007).

The effect of fear on decision-making and lifestyle choices varies

between individuals; those closer to attacks seemed to employ more drastic

lifestyle alterations than those further away (Greenberg, Craighill, & Greenberg,

2004). However, even the threat of a terrorist attack occurring is enough to cause

behavioural modification e.g. not travelling, not working in cities and becoming

house bound, even if the probability of attack is statistically negligible (Kerr,

2003). The risk terrorism poses to Australia has been consistently referred to a

statistically unlikely (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). However, the psychological

assessment of risk to the individual is unique with personal consideration of

involvement in terrorist incidents determined by a hierarchy of issues that are

most fear inducing to the person (Huddy et al., 2005). Marshall et al. (2007)

argues some individuals are able to reduce their fear levels by employing or

avoiding certain behaviours relating to past targets. Psychological research by

Vlaeyen and Linton (2000) considers the alternative view that behavioural

modification is fear avoidance, not fear reduction. That instead of reducing fear

levels, the activity of avoiding certain locations or altering behaviours is

employed by the indivdiual. This is supported by studies on individuals who became house bound agoraphobics following 9/11, and although they avoided all possible targets they continued to experience terrorism-related fear (Ferrnando et al., 2010). Attempts at employing fear avoidance strategies were shown immediately following 9/11 as international travel dropped significantly, an effect still apparent four years after the attacks (Neiman & Swagel, 2009). In the absence of experience with terrorism in Australia, strategies employed to reduce fear and dread cannot be enacted (Stevens, et al., 2009) only avoidance of fear inducing actions is possible (Ferrnando et al., 2010).

Behavioural modification in order to reduce risk can diminish fear arousal significantly (Bandura, 2004). Studies on fear of violence have shown environmental elements that can be influenced by the experiencing individual give them a sense of control in what happens to them, (Gabriel & Greve, 2003) where they often employ behaviours that reduce the chances of them becoming a victim (Koskela, 1999). Unfortunately, this is almost impossible to do in consideration of contemporary terrorism without drastic lifestyle modification, i.e. not travelling ever, choosing not to work in big cities or becoming house bound (Deisler, 2002). Many of the latter behaviours have been documented in American samples (Franz, Glass, Arnkoff, & Dutton, 2009). An Australian study found the intensity of an individual's fear did induce behavioural modification; however as respondents identified lower personal risk versus national risk, research in this area is limited (Davis & Silver, 2003). Although international likelihood of involvement in a terrorist incident is marginal at best, the presence of such fear that induces behavioural modification has been shown to influence opinions on security and acceptance of legislations that reduce civil liberties, if

the security is perceived to increase levels of national control over terrorism

(Greenberg et al., 2005; Wolfendale, 2007). The latter is a finding also present in

Australian studies (Davis & Silver, 2003).

Fear and Threat

The *imminent threat* people feel with regard to terrorism continually

increases as society evolves. Where fear may decrease with lower frequency of

attacks, the threat of terrorism is always present and increasingly threatening as

technology advances (Willis, 2005). New York participants were concerned

about the prospect of several thousand being killed in nuclear and biological

attacks (Boscarino et al., 2003). This possibility was also noted as fear inducing

for Australians (Wolfendale, 2007; Wright-Neville, 2006). The literature is

divided at this point, some studies claiming Australians see 9/11 as a benchmark

and believe future attacks will be as significant, (Write-Neville, 2006) others

stating Australians rarely consider the possibility of domestic attack (Head,

2002). This is a possible result of Australians views being assessed collectively

rather than individually (Martin, 2009).

The assessment of threat both personal and national is significant in

individual psychological experience, fear levels and behavioural alternation

(Greenberg et al., 2005). Lavanco, Romano, and Milio (2008) found participants

feelings regarding terrorism occurring in their country of Italy was termed a

national threat and the likelihood of themselves or family being involved in a

terrorist incident deemed a personal threat. Participants reported feeling

increased levels of fear when considering personal threat and anticipation when

considering national threat. Personal threat was also found to have a greater

influence on behavioural modification than national threat. Public perceptions of

personal risk with regard to terrorism have not been largely investigated within

Western Australia, although Australian studies on national risk indicate an over-

inflated idea of the threat domestically (Lerner et al., 2003; Wolfendale, 2007).

The perceived national threat of terrorism in Australia has had a significant

influence in terms of counter terrorism legislation (Josiger, 2008). Absent of an

actual attack on Australian soil the Australian government has implemented

arguably some of the most draconian laws seen since World War Two, the

perception that the threat of terrorism is imminent can explain powerful political

decisions (Wolfendale, 2007).

Terrorism-Related-Fear and Control

Although recognising statistically the probability of being involved in a

car accident is exponentially greater than being involved in a terrorist incident,

many Australian drivers do not have insurance and are not fearful of driving

(Chen et al., 2010). Albright, Buehler, and Higgins (2002) suggest this

psychological disparity can be explained by the concept of control and absolute

certainty. Some studies report lack of control influences fear, explaining fear

differentials between driving and terrorism in that control over terrorist incidents

is low, (Bassiouni, 2002) but perceived control over driving ability is high (Chen

et al., 2010). Wolfendale (2007) claims the knowledge that absolute protection is

impossible, accounts for the fluctuation in fear response towards terrorism

amongst Australians. Although the actual threat of domestic terrorism within

Australia is low, fear is still experienced by many, even if participants are unable

to explain why (Jodi, Meeker, & Ashley, 2009). Michaelsen (2005) argues

although statistically unlikely, terrorism is random and the targeting of civilians

that may live or work in major cities, or who travel regularly, influenced

Australian respondents' fear levels with participants indicating terrorism is a fear

inducing thought that is present at the back of their mind to varying degrees. The

diversity of reactions towards terrorism within Australia makes it qualitatively

important to investigate why some Australians feel fear and others do not

(Howie, 2005).

The unpredictable nature of terrorism and the notion from which it

operates, being surprise, supports the concept of dread as a terrorism-related

emotion (Howie, 2005) and increased fear in the Australian community when

considering possible future attacks (Deisler, 2002). Stevens et al. (2009) found

over 30% of Australian participants surveyed in 2007 believed a terror attack

was very, or extremely likely to occur in Australia, additionally 47% believe

themselves or their family would be a direct victim of terrorism, and 26% had

altered behaviours and their lifestyle to try and reduce the perceived risk of

terrorism. Viewing the actual assessed threat of terrorism to Australia some

studies indicate the identified fear some Australians feel towards terrorism is

irrational (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009; Lupton & Tulloch, 1999). Although

Australia has not yet been targeted, the experience of the Bali bombings in 2002

and the identification of Australia as a target by Al Qaeda, were identified as

factors increasing the fear of terrorism amongst Australians, (Todd et al., 2005)

and as such were seen as psychologically rational by Howie, (2005) and Baldino,

(2007). An over-inflated perception of risk and its impact on responses to

security has not been adequately investigated within Australia to this point

(Wolfendale, 2007).

The experience of terrorism-related fear within Australia has been noted

in the literature as significant. Concluding statements in studies by Wolfendale,

(2007) and Write-Neville, (2005) indicate surprise at respondents' extent of fear, and willingness to overlook the loss of certain personal liberties in order to reduce anxiety. Boscarino et al. (2003) states Australians share similar fears of terrorism with that of Americans and British people; opinion polls revealing the vast majority of those surveyed believed that the threat of terrorism to Australia is imminent and were fearful about this concept (Wolfendale, 2007). Other indications of the level of fear within the Australian community include a survey by the Sydney Morning Herald in 2005, which indicated 68% of those who participated believed Australia was at definite risk of a domestic terrorist attack (Seccombe & Dodson, 2005). Slone and Shoshani (2008) suggest indirect victimisation in Australia through sharing many commonalities with American victims both culturally and politically can somewhat explain this experience of fear. Additionally, the experience of violence witnessed on 9/11 and the months following is not a commonly experienced event in the West (Hocking, 2004). Participants identifying a continued threat of similar violence in the future were more likely to support increased security measures, perceiving that counter-terrorism legislation would increase their protection (Speckard, 2004)

Fear and Being a Target

The fear Australians feel when considering the threat of terrorism is a result of terrorisms' *indiscriminate* nature (Howie, 2005). Although terrorism does target specific populations, choosing to abandon selection of specific victims as seen in the past increases the element of surprise, in turn increasing the fear or 'terror' response (Hoffman, 2006). The unpredictable nature of terrorist attacks, psychologically presents difficulties in reducing fear in society as essentially no one can be protected from terrorism during peace or conflict

(Bongar, 2007). Internationally, studies reflect participants' concerns lay in the unrestricted nature of terrorism and its absence of geographical boundaries (Eisenman et al., 2009). Pre-9/11 the best ways to combat terrorism and efforts to understand its processes internationally was not a concern for the layperson (Spencer, 2006). Studies on Western attitudes towards terrorism overseas were not an area of extensive enquiry unless the West was involved (Reich, 1998). Now terrorism's effect on the Western world is a central field of literature (Emerson & Tocci, 2003; Hoffman, 2006) and fears are increasing internationally about the possibility of another terrorist attack like 9/11 (Katona, Intriligator, & Sullivan, 2006). There is general consensus in the security literature that the main way society is dealing with this anticipation is by overlooking questionable legislation and parting with some civil liberties to decrease perceived risk (Baldino, 2007).

Bali: Australia's First Experience

The qualitative exploration of public attitudes within Australia towards terrorism is important to investigate as (Bull & Craig, 2007) since being directly targeted in the Bali bombings in 2002, public support for immigration restrictions and increased security have been topical issues (Poynting & Mason, 2006). Differences in attitudes towards terrorism and related fear and anxiety following the attacks in Bali, could indicate how the Australian public's support of increased legislative changes in response to threat (Wolfendale, 2007). Preceding the Bali bombings the Australian Government enacted national security measures that can be seen as impacting to heavily on personal freedoms (Baldino, 2007). These changes included increased military and intelligence exchanges with Indonesia and legislation allowing the Australian Security

Intelligence Organisation (ASIO) to detain people without accusation or reasonable cause (Chalk & Rasenau, 2004). Driven by emotionally charged events, new laws that would be fiercely rejected on human rights and personal liberty grounds are currently being accepted, as personal freedoms are increasingly seen as unaffordable luxuries (Davis & Silver, 2004). Literature regarding public opinion about questionable increases in legislation in times of insecurity, generally divide two ways (Davis & Silver, 2002; Perl, 2004): people feel increased international involvement by their governments places them at a higher risk of future attacks, increasing their fear (Willer & Feinberg, 2008). Alternatively, some accept security increases as necessary in the current climate (Wolfendale, 2007). Qualitative studies within Australia in this area are limited (Willer & Feinberg, 2008).

Lasting fear associations have been shown to advance political agendas on immigration and security within Australia following 9/11 and the Bali bombings. The extreme *violence* used by terrorist networks provides powerful and vivid imagery resulting in lasting psychological effects (Bongar, 2007). Violence is discussed by Altheide (2006) as being cumulative throughout our lives, whereby classical conditioning is active in making strong fear associations with violence, depending on our experiences with it. Consistent repetition of pain and suffering tied to specific events such as terrorism, condition individuals to eventually fear the word and concept of terrorism absent of the associated imagery (Matsaganis & Payne, 2006). Terrorism is then the conditioned stimulus causing fear in populations with no domestic experience with terrorism, for example, Australia. This lasting fear has been shown to advance security and

some political agendas following 9/11 and within Australia preceding the Bali

bombings (Hocking, 2003).

The 9/11 attacks were shown to cause lasting fear in American college

students nationwide. In a study by Lerner et al. (2003) positive feelings caused

fear associations to reduce over time and negative emotions increased ideas of

terrorist risk in the future (Lerner et al., 2003). Using the 9/11 attacks as an

example, Altheide (2006) indicates, fear is a psychological response to the

associations people make with violence generally at a young age. The instinct to

survive is what makes human fear so behaviourally influential (Neimeyer, 1994).

The effect of 9/11 on those who identify as Americans was first had, Davis and

Silver (2003) concluding the effects of this terrorist violence was experienced not

only in immediate attack zones, but also geographically throughout the United

States. The Australian experience of fear is different to the American people, as

Todd et al. (2005) argues Australians are living with the expectation that terrorist

violence will occur. Supporting this conclusion, surveyed Australians have stated

the thought of the terrorist violence that could be inflicted upon them increases

their fear, especially when considering the extent of the violence that took place

on 9/11 (Write-Neville, 2006). Hocking (2004) noted, the fact participants saw

9/11 as the current benchmark for terrorist attacks against the West; speculation

about possible future attacks increased levels of terrorism-related fear drastically

(Wright-Neville, 2006).

Counter-terrorism Legislation and Emotional Influence

Emotions, particularly fear, have been shown to influence politics

internationally since the beginning of government rule (Joslyn & Haider-Markel,

2007). Australia has experienced not only an emotional carry-over of fear,

psychological disturbance, dread and imminent threat in the fallout of

contemporary terrorism, but has also drastically altered its legislation to address

the perceived threat of terrorism to Australia post-9/11 (Wolfendale, 2007).

International communities have seen similar fallout, in the United States,

acceptance of broad and sweeping powers of security have been enacted on the

back of an emotionally raw public, and thus have been met with little restriction

(Davis & Silver, 2003). Privacy and personal rights have been impeded by new

legislation that is arguably as serious as those seen during World Wars

(Wolfendale, 2007). The psychological impact of 9/11 on the American people

has made strict legislative response acceptable and justified, as a preventative

measure to ensure atrocities such as 9/11 do not happen again (Viscusi &

Zeckhauser, 2003). Until recently public support for all security measures

deemed necessary has been widespread, however, civil liberty activists can see

problems in the recently resurrected guilty until proven innocent approach

(Huddy et al., 2005). Davis and Silver (2002) claim America is betraying its

commitment to democratic principles and constitutional rights. The predominant

theme of literature in this area recognises that during times of peace civil liberty

issues are unlikely to be continually reflected on, (Davis & Silver, 2003) but

within a particular context civil liberties issues assume an immediacy directly

effecting public support for security strategies. American participants saw

violence as a threat to their lifestyle, causing contradictory acceptance of civil

liberty restrictions in the desire for security (Davis and Silver, 2002).

The Importance of Context

Research on public opinions of security versus civil liberties generally

indicates support and concern fluctuate in response to context (Davis and Silver,

2002). Although an undercurrent of support for democratic principles is

consistently present in some nations, a willingness to overlook social injustices

in favor of the safety of the majority is more popular in the West (Hurwitz &

Peffley 1987; Sniderman, Fletcher, Russell, & Tetlock, 1996). The experience of

9/11 has provided critical insight into public commitment to take preference for

democratic principles over personal values (Davis & Silver, 2002). Perhaps the

most astonishing example of favor of democratic wishes above personal values is

Nazi Germany, when some German people were willing to accept the activities

of the regime under the promise of a better future (Maier, 1997).

The influence of context on public attitudes towards security and civil

liberties is evident in many studies, (Davis & Silver, 2002; Howie, 2005;

Wolfendale, 2007) respondents heavily impacted by events such as 9/11,

consistently mentioning such events when asked about their views on increased

security and why it was necessary. Maslow (1954) found participants

accustomed to broad personal freedoms were willing to sacrifice some civil

liberties to ensure a standard of their quality of life was maintained during times

of insecurity. Hurwitz, Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) argue the importance of

competing values plays a major role in individual civil liberty judgments, finding

that Americans with higher levels of patriotism would sacrifice more civil

liberties to preserve their country. Noting this, Davis and Silver (2002) found

great disparity in willingness to sacrifice civil liberties in the Australian public,

further demonstrating the need for more qualitative enquiry in this field. Marcus

and Mackuen (1993) concluded fear and threat significantly influence voting

decisions in democratic countries. Similar findings were documented following

9/11, when the United States administration had a 90% approval rating in

American public polls (Abramson, Aldrich, Rickershauser, & Rohde, 2003). This

fear-effect has been shown to cause drastic alterations to behaviour and lifestyle

(Wilson & Little, 2008; Laws, Prideaux, & Chon, 2007).

Counter-terrorism and Civil Liberties

Psychologically, the most dominant factor influencing people to sacrifice

civil liberties for security is fear (Davis & Silver, 2002). Threat and fear evoke

intense defensive reactions, 9/11 creating a profound sense of threat and

apprehension when considering future attacks (Howie, 2005). Public attitudes on

the issue of civil liberties versus security have been shown to fluctuate depending

on the degree of trust in the government, belief in the threat of terrorism, fears

about personal involvement in a terrorist incident and (Huddy et al., 2005)

perceptions of threat from abroad (Willer & Feinberg, 2008). Multiple studies

have shown threat and fear are the psychological experiences most likely to drive

people to sacrifice civil liberties for personal protection (Davis & Silver, 2004).

This is a suspected result of rankings on Maslow's (1954) hierarchy on needs,

security rates higher than self-actualisation and personal freedom (Willer &

Feinberg, 2008).

Generally the public would prefer a proactive response to terrorism rather

than a reactive one; this preference caused the American public to support

increased security and surveillance, even when it meant a decline in their civil

liberties (Grono, 2003). The emotional experience of 9/11 caused widespread

anxiety and concern among Americans (Baldino, 2007). As the stimuli of

terrorist risk and threat cannot be reduced psychologically, efforts to decrease

emotional discomfort have made reactions involving increased security popular

(Huddy et al., 2005). Psychological and emotional reactions to threat have been

shown to result in greater support for personal security even at the cost of personal freedoms (Gibson 2006; Huddy, et, al, 2005). Although emotion is a significant influence on opinions about civil liberties, support for their sacrifice is generally heavily influenced by a sense of belief in democratic institutions and feelings of trust and confidence in government (Davis & Silver, 2003). In times of public dissatisfaction with the government, questionable legislation is rarely supported, however when a national crisis has taken place citizens tend to support the government. Studies on the public's support for the Government following 9/11 shows the American people rallied around their leaders in a time of danger, giving the government more legislative flexibility (Willer & Feinberg, 2008). This effect was seen in Australia following the Bali bombings, in which the government enacted strict immigration restrictions with the approval of the majority of the public (Howie, 2005; Wolfendale, 2007).

A Response To International Incidents

It has been argued by Write-Neville (2006) that Australia lacks a long-term counter-terrorism strategy to prevent future incidents of terrorism, but seems to have employed legislation in line with international government measures enacted in response to actual attacks (Write-Neville, 2006). Stevens et al. (2009) support this suggestion, claiming the threat and risk of terrorism to each country is unique, and a blanket approach to counter-terrorism is ineffective (Steven et al., 2009). Wolfendale (2007) describes Australia's drastic legislative response to terrorism as an over-reaction, noting the actual threat of terrorism to Australia does not warrant this response. Additionally, Wolfendale (2007) notes the emotional influence of the Australian community has been disproportionate with regard to the actual risk and perceived threat of terrorism. This fear-induced

response has caused the Australian government to pass major legislation that arguably affects the civil liberties of the public, which it was enacted to protect.

Additionally, other literature state perceptions of threat and feelings of endangerment are strong predictors of support for involvement in war and legislation that restricts civil liberties (Gordon & Arian 2001; Herrmann, Tetlock, & Visser 1999; McFarland 2005). Stevens et al. (2009) explain the disproportionate Australian response to risk and threat of terrorism as a consequence of limited government communication. The influence of the public on national policy is concerning given the lack of statistical communication between governments and society. Attempting to better understand the response of the public to international terrorism incidents and its rational basis is essential is enacting appropriate legislation (Stevens et al., 2009). Literature has shown public knowledge of terrorism statistics and the specifics of counter-terrorism legislation is limited, participants continually noting that their knowledge of increased security post-9/11 was based on what they had physically observed at airports when travelling, and increased security at some sporting events (Davis & Silver, 2004).

Accused of a reactionary approach, the Australian government has increased security following all international terrorist incidents on Western targets and following the Bali bombings in 2002 and Marriot hotel bombing in 2003 (Baldino, 2007; Martin, 2009). The increases in security and intelligence gathering, including surveillance of citizens by ASIO are all processes the Australian public has little knowledge about. ASIO, is now able to detain people believed to have information relevant to terrorism for two weeks, a time that can be extended on application to a judge (Hoking, 2003). Increased powers to ASIO

include the detention of anyone 16 years and older who, once apprehended, can be strip searched and interrogated for up to 24 hours without break where previously this time was 12 hours (McCulloch & Tham, 2006). The right to remain silent is revoked and the detained can serve up to five years jail if they decide not to answer questions. Now, opposite to general criminal law, the onus of proof is on the defendant to prove their innocence (Baldino, 2007). Noting public support for drastic security measures internationally, the Australian Government has been accused of adopting a reactionary approach to counter-terrorism measures (Wolfendale, 2007).

Counter-terrorism Legislation; Public Opinion

Although Australian studies indicate participants have limited knowledge of counter-terrorism legislation, the majority of respondents still had formed opinions regarding security increases (Joslyn & Haider-Markel, 2007). Emotions were seen to be a significant predictor of concerns regarding increases and possibly lapses in security (Davis & Silver, 2003). The latter was supported by an American study by Sadler, Lineberger, Correll, and Park (2005) in which American participants who reported being angry supported aggressive military counter-attacks against terrorism, however fearful and participants feeling sadness about terrorism felt hasty military action could put them at and increased risk (Sadler et al., 2005). Additionally, Huddy, Feldman, Taber, and Lahav (2005) found perceptions of terrorism threat and terrorism-related-anxiety were predictors of support for counter-terrorism legislation in America. Participants who believed there was a high threat of future terrorism but reported low levels of anxiety regarding this, supported counter-terrorism measures including national identification cards and government phone taps. Alternatively,

participants indicating they had high level of anxiety were more concerned about aggressive military action and discriminative counter-terrorism measures, feeling it put them at an increased risk (Huddy et al., 2005).

Rationale for the Current Study

The review of the literature indicates research has not yet explored the fears Western Australians feel in relation to terrorism, and their perceptions of how increased security and counter-terrorism legislation affects their civil liberties (Head, 2002). There is a need for more qualitative enquiry in the field of fear of terrorism, exploring the psychological impact of fear on public attitudes towards increased security (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). Further exploration is necessary as following 9/11, the literature generally concentrates on the effect of terrorism statistically on big cities and large sample populations of the American people (Stevens et al., 2009). Qualitative research on public fear of terrorism and how this impacts decision making would be beneficial to individuals in better understanding their feelings, (Willer & Feinberg, 2008) and psychologically for mental health services and Governments by moving towards a more informed understanding of the effect of terrorism on Western populations (Wolfendale, 2007).

To date, only a small number of qualitative studies have been conducted in Australia to investigate the impact of secondary victimisation on Westerners who have not yet been domestically attacked (Head, 2002; Howie, 2005). Only one of those that was found was qualitative. Additionally, only a small number of Australian studies investigate the feelings of the public towards new counter-terrorism legislation and its possible effects on their civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2003; Wolfendale, 2007). The sparse research on Australian population

samples, particularly in Western Australia, considering the issue of terrorism

makes the current study of high importance. Given international literature

indicates diversity of opinion in fears of terrorism and attitudes towards

increased security and civil liberties, qualitatively the Australian experience is

invaluable in determining the unique experience of fear within Australian

communities (Chalk & Rasenau, 2004; Poynting & Mason, 2006). Furthermore,

the isolated nature of Western Australia, Perth in particular, makes the qualitative

investigation of the Perth public's views essential to the field. Following is a

report of a qualitative investigation employing phenomenological principles to

further understand the Western Australians' perspectives on terrorism and civil

liberties (Langdridge, 2007).

Method

Design and Theoretical Orientation

To investigate the experience of terrorism-related-fear, and perceptions of civil liberties versus security in a population sample from Perth, Western Australia, a qualitative study was conducted using individual semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured approach utilised was chosen for its in-depth enquiry (DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006) enticing the participant to share their psychological and social world unrestricted (Britten, 1995). Additionally this method encourages participants to reflect on their own experiences (Ajjawi & Higs, 2007) with increased security and fear of terrorism.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) was used in this study for its unique ability to draw meaning from individual experiences following data collection. IPA is an analysis that investigates the experiences and perceptions of participants thoroughly (Langdridge, 2007). According to Smith and Osborn (2007) IPA analysis concludes in a detailed account of how participants make sense of their personal and social world from their perception of the events that impact them. This approach is specifically suitable assessing views on terrorism as it assumes a connection between an individual's conscious voicing of issues, their perception and their emotional state, in which their selection of what to discuss reflects what most concerns them (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Thematic analysis was used in conjunction with IPA to enhance methodological rigour through clear documentation of all that was revealed in interviews and through stage-by-stage analysis of the study procedure. Participants were gathered through the use of a snowballing technique, in order to enrich the diversity in the sample (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Sample Selection

The current research aim was to explore Western Australian public's fear of terrorism nationally and internationally where a varied sample was recruited (Patton, 2002). Participants aged 18 and over were recruited from various areas of Perth, drawn from security fields, religious organisations, universities and businesses. Information sheets were attached to notice boards in the above locations with contact details provided. After indicating their interest participants were provided with a detailed explanation of the study (Appendix A) those agreeing to partake were given a consent form to sign (Appendix B).

Participants

Initially 10 participants were recruited, eight men and two women, however due to the gender disparity the researcher aimed to recruit more female participants to balance the gender disparity (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). An additional four women were interviewed resulting in a total of fourteen interviews when data saturation was met, a total of eight male and six female participants. This sample size has been shown to be sufficient for qualitative research of this nature (Hoffman & Deleeuw, 2006). Participants were between the ages of 18 and 64 years of age. Female participants had an average age of 29 and male participants had an average age of 30. All but three had travelled internationally since 9/11 and all currently resided in Perth, Western Australia. Of the participants, one identified as being Muslim. Seven participants stated they travelled regularly, (every year) with three having lived in cities or countries with active terrorist violence during their lives, including London, Bosnia and Africa. The participants gathered were considered a varied sample for the current study in terms of life experience and age.

Materials

A semi-structured interview schedule was used for data collection (Appendix C). Interviews were tape recorded to ensure accuracy and emotional concerns could be analysed following the interviews (Britten, 1995). The interview schedule developed was based on a guide noted in phenomenological literature. The interview was constructed with a number of open-ended questions focusing on participants' experience with terrorism-related-fear and the personal impact of increased security and legislative changes (Langdrige, 2007). Concentrating specifically on semantic meaning when identifying major themes, and using a notebook to document participants demeanour, for later consideration (Smith & Osborne, 2007).

Procedure

After being granted ethics approval, the researcher distributed information sheets at various locations in the metropolitan area, including gyms, universities and businesses. Initially, interested participants contacted the researcher by phone after reading an information sheet on noticeboards in various locations. When an adequate number of potential participants made contact, a snowballing technique was implemented, by way of initially interested participants referring friends that may be suitable for the study (Streeton, Cooke, & Campbell, 2004). A time suitable for both the researcher and the participants was discussed on the phone. The interviews were conducted over a two and a half month period at library private meeting rooms or in outdoor semi-public areas, such as parks. The beginning of the meeting was characterised by a second explanation of the study and an opportunity for the participant to ask any questions that had become apparent between reading the information sheet and

the present meeting. Participants were asked if they were still comfortable proceeding, additionally they were informed they could withdraw from the procedure at any time.

The interview began with establishing rapport with the participants, an important feature of qualitative interviews (Langdrige, 2007). Each interview commenced with the first open-ended question "when you think of terrorism what comes to mind?" Probes were used as required to clarify and detail more in-depth accounts of the participant's perceptions (Merriam, 2009) about terrorism and experience of terrorism-related-fear. Interviews lasted between 20 and 60 minutes, following which participants were thanked for their time. Following data collection taped interviews were transcribed verbatim with those who partook validating the final transcripts (Patton, 2002).

Data Analysis

The phenomenological approach aims to be specific, identifying the most important experiences and how the individual perceives them (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Based on the value of personal knowledge and subjectivity, phenomenology notes the importance of personal perspective and interpretation (Lester, 1999). Langdrige (2007) indicates thematic analysis is the principle analytic technique used in conjunction with IPA, identifying major themes through a four-stage process. The first stage of analysis involves reading and then re-reading transcripts, commenting on the meaning of particular sections. Stage two of analysis allows themes to emerge, where by stage one notes are converted into more meaningful statements. Stage three, themes are listed separately and common links are established. The final stage of analysis involves producing a table of themes linked to the original transcripts.

The current study enhanced the rigour of the phenomenological approach by involving thematic analysis (Smith & Osborn, 2007). The thematic technique is based on three levels of analysis, accuracy of data collection, identifying meaning units and the generation of themes (Langdrige, 2007).

Initially transcripts were read to achieve an understanding of the feelings presented in the raw data (Langdrige, 2007). Following this, a second read of the interviews solidified some raw meaning units and some presenting central themes (Langdrige, 2007). During this process meaning units were highlighted, as they were telling participants' experiences and perceptions of those experiences (Smith & Osborn, 2007). Meaning units identified through the use of thematic analysis, provided answers to the research questions validating the use of thematic analysis in the current study. Each participant's main concerns and perceptions were individually grouped into initial themes, with a review of similarities across participants complied into a central thematic index (Giorgi, 1997). Upon the interpretation of central themes a list was complied noting the final themes, which were then viewed in conjunction with the original transcripts in a summary of each idea (Langdrige, 2007) to identify the individual areas of concern, perceptions of terrorism and experience of terrorism-related-fear and security.

Reflexivity

Whilst it is impossible to completely eliminate researcher bias, this researcher had aimed to reduce some bias by acknowledging its influence on the research outcome. The researcher is a 22-year-old female born and brought up in Oxford, England. Having lived in France, Africa and areas across the Middle East (mainly Dubai) for approximately two years at a time, until moving to

Australia in 2004. Currently residing in Perth, Australia but travelling regularly, the researcher acknowledges the impact of visiting the site of the twin towers in New York in 2005 and the impact of the London bombings personally, having lost a family member in the latter attacks.

Practicing reflexivity is essential in research, and recognition that, the scope of the question and the way in which it is asked can limit the scope of the participants answer and also introduced suggestively (Sullivan, 2002). This effect has been reduced through the use of open-ended questions, which allowed the participant to discuss what they feel appropriate during the interview (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). The current study has ensured methodological rigour through clearly documenting all that is revealed in the interviews with the participants, and through stage-by-stage analysis of the study procedure. Additionally interpretive rigour was enhanced through clear justification of all processes of interpretation and further analysis with original data to ensure themes have been accurately assigned (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005).

Findings and Interpretation

The current research uncovered five main themes relating to participants' fear, perceptions about security and civil liberties in response to terrorism. These themes were (1) Psychological impact of 9/11, (2) Risk, (3) Security, (4) Social identity and (5) Civil liberties and perceived effect. Table 1 lists the above themes, and additionally the sub themes that emerged from the data under interview analysis. The themes and sub themes presented answer the research question.

Table 1.

Themes and Subthemes

Main Themes	Sub Themes
Psychological Impact of 9/11	Ethnic associations. Symbolic associations. Fear and threat.
Risk.	Perceived risk. Personal involvement.
Security.	Government trust. Knowledge of Legislation.
Social Identity	Being a victim. Personal experience.
Civil Liberties and Perceived Effect	Personal Effect. Future.

1. Psychological Impact of 9/11

Traumatic experiences promote psychological associations that can become concrete and unchangeable, often these cognitive pairings are a subconscious manifestation of the individual experiencing them, but can change the persons' way of viewing the world dramatically (Van Der Hart, Nijenhuis, Steele, & Brown, 2004). Of the emotional, ethnic and symbolic relations participants made when discussing fear and terrorism, many were revealed to be

a direct response to the 9/11 events. This fear resulted in stereotypes *"straight away I think about the Middle East"*, and recognition of fear-inducing locations that were not previously associated with fear *"I'm not really scared. But I mean in the suburbs. But the airport defiantly, I mean you never know what they're up to."* The forming of these and similar associations have been supported in terrorism studies by Abbas (2004), referring to fear of Muslims as Islamophobia and post-9/11 fear of airports and travelling due to associated travel risks has been noted by Ito and Lee (2005). Perhaps the most notable comment indicating the psychological impact of 9/11 on Westerners is the following *"when you check the time and it's eleven minutes past nine you think of 9/11, that's the psychology of it"*. This 24-year-old participant identified the strong psychological result of 9/11 in this statement, supporting research stating the effects of 9/11 are international and long lasting (Head, 2002; Howie, 2005; Willer & Feinberg, 2008).

1. (a) Ethnic Associations

Literature indicates that placing blame and directing anger towards specific groups in the fallout of terrorist attacks assists secondary victims in moving on and reducing fear (Bassiouni, 2002). All participants mentioned the Middle East or religion during discussions on terrorism, some of these associations were recognised by participants, a 53-year-old woman stated *"You can't help but think of Muslims when you think of terrorism, because of 9/11"*, others were less conscious of the bias in their views *"well there's a lot of Muslim terrorists, I mean it's basically... they want to live one way and... Muslims they don't like the Western way of life, and they want to bring everyone back to the dark ages because that's the way their religion is"*. Additionally, solely

describing Muslims in association with terrorism was evident in some responses, a 34-year-old off-shore worker stated *"I just don't like getting patted down* (at airports) *by people that could you know from a racial profiling, probably terrorists themselves, you know getting patted down by Muslims"*. This trend in referring only to people of the Muslim faith when discussing terrorism was recognised in the dialogue of all of the young interviewees (Kull, 2009). A suspected cohort effect, due to the 9/11 attacks being the only frame of reference for young participants when discussing terrorism (Comer & Kendall, 2007).

Many participants felt uncomfortable discussing their associations with terrorism and the Muslim religion, especially if this pairing was the first idea they mentioned when asked about terrorism. Some respondents recognised their views and thoughts as stereotypical for example, a 21-year-old university student commented *"Honestly straight away I think about the Middle East, I know that might sound a bit like, stereo-typical, but because of 9/11.. how it was like Al-Qaeda..., that's what I think about straight away."* Additionally other participants acknowledged the psychological impact of 9/11 in influencing their own and others' fear associations, recognising that it was some-what justified, *"It's not really the British nationals fault, fear breeds racism. You can't help but think of Muslims... and I don't think we can hold that against the British people, yes it's stereotyping, but it's just a natural progression."* Davis and Silver (2003) noted this effect in Australian, British and American participants, whereby fear of the unknown aspects of terrorism and ethnic minorities within communities caused negative stereotypes towards culturally diverse citizens. Additionally, Davis and Silver (2003) noted that acceptance of questionable counter-terrorism measures that at times specifically targeted certain ethnic groups, was justified

by some participants to preserve the national identity and lifestyle within the country in question.

In addition, older participants discussed the development of their associations with terrorism pre and post 9/11 *"I am more heightened and more aware of it* (terrorism), *definitely, definitely…. I'm more concerned about potential threats overseas and I'm weary overseas where I go"*. Younger participants revealed having little knowledge of terrorism and the groups perpetrating attacks pre 9/11, a 24-year-old male stated *"it* (terrorism) *wasn't even something I even thought about, until, that* (9/11)*.. took place, which I think was mostly because I was pretty young at the time… it ushered in a new age really"*. Both younger and older participants noted significant changes in awareness and thoughts about terrorism post 9/11 *"threats were always there, so it seems like most of the countries I have lived in there has been a threat of terrorism before 9/11 and since 9/11 we can see it globally"* A 53-year-old woman commented. Generational differences were found in older participants who generally had a more informed view of terrorism, given experiences of attacks pre-9/11. Younger participants had limited knowledge of terrorism pre-9/11 and as such had formed strong ethnic associations with terrorism *"well, I was in year seven when 9/11 happened, like I'd just graduated from primary school, so I was not thinking about it before"*. All young respondents (little to no experience with terrorism prior to 9/11) reflected on how the events of 9/11 significantly affected their lives, most having not considered the threat of terrorism to the Western World pre-9/11 *"before September 11th, like it wasn't really a huge issue… ever since everyone has been made aware of it, that's the first thing I think of when I think of terrorism, 9/11"*. The effects of 9/11 on

young generations are evident in psychological literature. Comer and Kendall (2007) noting that younger populations solely have the 9/11 attacks as a reference when discussing terrorism contemporarily, a factor influencing strong terrorism and ethnically based associations towards people of the Muslim faith (Saroglou & Galand, 2004).

Older participants mentioned non-Muslim organisations, noting groups such as the IRA and discussed terrorist attacks pre-9/11 that impacted them personally, a 54-year-old woman stated *"we've had terrorism in the UK for years, as I said the Lockerbie. We've also had the threat of terrorism from the IRA.. there was bombs on the underground, there was bombs in pubs there was car bombs. There's been a lot of terrorist activity and I've lived amongst... I've lived in London when the terrorists were there... but 9/11 stands alone and you can't not think of the Middle East when you think of modern day terrorism"*. The unique elements of modern day terrorism in the sense of high mass casualty counts and technologically based attacks like 9/11, were identified as influential to the following 64-year-old male participant *"attacks are now better planned, better resourced, and have significant more impact on the number of casualties they create. If you go back to the Munich Olympics ...it seems quite, insignificant compared to what happened in the States..."*.

These comments indicate that although older participants had lived through other terrorist attacks, 9/11 was still significant to them and caused similar associations as younger participants, both ethnically and geographically (Akram & Johnson, 2003). Updegraff, Silver and Holman (2008) note older participants also build views based on autobiographical memories of terrorism witnessed post-911. This finding was consistent with the current study, with

older respondents mentioning experience of IRA attacks and those across the United Kingdom historically, that had assisted in forming their current views about terrorism.

Public fear of ethnic groups thought to be associated with acts of terrorism is a modern issue demonstrated in several studies (Larson, 2005; Sheridan, 2007). Limited understanding of different cultural groups further concretes fear *"the more atrocities you hear about.. in different countries, you always wonder if that's Al Qaeda, or is that you know, Palestinian groups, who's responsible for that?"* Whilst the above female participant had strong fear associations towards Middle Eastern terrorist groups the following two male participants had definite ideas about Muslims and their potential to become violent *"you know if you're not a Muslim then you don't mean shit so, it's ok to kill them* (Westerners) *and blow them up.. "*. Another male participant commented, *"As I said there's 250 million Muslims just up there* (Indonesia), *and without America's protection we'd struggle to hold them off"*. Fear of Muslims (Islamophobia) and their potential to become terrorists was noted by some participants, a 38-year-old security officer stated *"The more we seem to have stable ties with our neighbours who are largely Muslim, we seem to be ok, but it's not always going to be that way so. I suppose there's worries internationally which I hadn't really thought of that much, but if it starts to get nuclear and a country like Pakistan becomes unstable.. then obviously it becomes a problem know matter where the strike happens"*.

A belief that all Muslims are violent, or have the potential to become terrorists has been noted by Dunn, Klocker and Salabay (2007). Additionally Sheridan (2006) found anti-Muslim sentiment in Australia is a result of rehearsed

stereotypes of Islam, perceptions of threat and ideas that the 'Other' (Australian

Muslims) does not belong within contemporary Australian society. Islamaphobia

in Australia was also linked to threat perception and the construction of ideas

about the 'other' (Sheridan, 2006).

1. (b) Symbolic Associations

Fear of locations or objects that have been symbolically linked to

terrorism through the acts of 9/11 (Van Der Hart et al., 2004) emerged as a sub-

theme in the current research. One male participant who identified as travelling

regularly commented *"I mean it's not really whether they get on a plane or not,*

they can still you know, say an explosion at the airport at the security check

point would be just as damaging to people travelling, as an aeroplane blowing

up, and then people would be scared to go to the airport". Additionally, a young

21-year-old female participant who had not yet been travelling noted their fear

"when I go travelling in a few years time, I will be a bit fearful, within the

airports.. " Older participants who had travelled regularly (in their life) pre and

post-9/11 noted travelling and aircraft in particular as their biggest fear when

considering terrorist attacks *"my biggest fear is that it's, on an aircraft, that's my*

biggest fear, and because so many people use the.. airports daily, the activity and

the traffic through the airports is huge" additionally the same participant noted

their fear of airports *"the busy airports, that's the biggest fear for me, airports*

and the fact that the terrorists get trained to fly planes. You always worry who's

actually going into the cock-pit, who's there? " One older male participant

identified his perceived high risk of terrorism occurring when travelling and as a

result had altered his behaviours drastically to reduce his risk *"I've been a real*

home bod since 2001 um, 2001 was the last time I actually did go over seas" he

added *"you know I'd really like to um travel to places like Iran and Pakistan, and even Israel and Egypt ... and, I used to think about going to work in the Middle East, but, um, no I just don't, you just, I'm not sure whether you can relax, the.. possibility of being caught up in something... I just don't want to put myself at risk"*. By reducing his perceived level of personal risk and employing avoidant behaviours this participant felt safer.

The effect of 9/11 on international travel was seen immediately with international visitors to the United States dropping substantially (Laws et al., 2007; Wilson & Little, 2008). The on-going effect of questionable safety of air travel and security is still seen today, with many individuals stating they will not travel to certain places and some stating they do not feel the desire to travel again (Cornwell & Roberts, 2010). These findings are also consistent with research by Van Der Hart et al. 2004, who found trauma-associated avoidance post-9/11 resulted in a drastic reduction in domestic flights within the United States and inbound, internationally.

1. (c) Fear and Threat

The perceived threat and risk of terrorism to the individual determines their fear (Beck, 2002). The events of 9/11 have defined terrorism as a threat to the Western world on a great scale and although disparity between real and imagined risk, recognition of the terrorist threat by some participants increased their levels of terrorism-related-fear. *"I think it's because it (9/11) occurred in a Western country that it really effected me, because I could relate to them so much, whereas like if it had happened you know in a Middle Eastern country or something I probably wouldn't have taken that much notice"*. This young female participant went on to say *"I wouldn't fear terrorism as much if I didn't think we*

were a target". The current study found that many participants' self-identified levels of fear increased when reflecting on 9/11 and, the fact it happened to the most powerful nation on Earth. A young male participant discussed this *"9/11, I feel fear, seriously that's the first thing that comes to mind I don't know what it is about it just that it happened I guess."* Australia being identified as a target was amongst some respondents' concerns *"Australian involvement in things overseas gives us more of a reason to be a target"*. This concern is noted in the literature, studies indicating the Australian experience of the Bali bombings raised fear levels within the city of Melbourne and Sydney (Howie, 2005; Todd, et al., 2005).

Australia's close ties to the United Sates in both lifestyle and culture made Perth participants' ability to sympathise with Americans after the 9/11 attacks much more personal (Wright-Neville, 2006). *"Globalisation is sweeping the world and sure enough these things are hitting home, like New York places that you or I could potentially be living, so it is a concern, defiantly"*. A female participant added *"Australia being mentioned by Al-Qaeda as a target is definitely something that increases my fear"*. Alternatively, some interviewees suggested more worldly influential nations like the United Sates and Britain existing as targets reduced their fear, believing Australia's global influence was minimal *"I feel like we would be overlooked in favour of say a target like the United Kingdom or America, potentially somewhere easier to reach like we're quite isolated"* another participant commented *"I'm not fearful; because I think it's a million to one that anything will happen in Australia, I mean what's there to attack, we don't have massive stakes in the world economy, attacking Australia wouldn't cripple the world, there would be no point to it"*. Most

participants identified a threat of terrorism to Australia, however, many assessed

the risk as low which reduced their fear *"I do think the risk is more international*

than domestic, but I still think that Australia could be a target, (pause) um, I

don't really fear it though when I'm here, to be honest... yeah I don't really think

Australia has the resources to warrant an attack of significant nature, and I think

that is comforting, and that definitely determines my level of fear with regards to

a domestic incident of terrorism" Although identifying a clear threat, the low

risk concluded with lower levels of fear for this participant *"the threat is always*

there, and I think even though you know it doesn't happen that often statistically

speaking, there's still fear". The literature notes that perceived levels of risk

influence fluctuations in individuals' fear levels (Baldino, 2007; Lavanco et al.,

2008).

2. Risk Influences Fear

Psychologically, two responses to threat are noted in the literature,

statistical analysis to assess risk (Boscarino et, al, 2003) and alternatively an

assessment of risk based on emotions (Greenberg, Dow, & Bland, 2009). The

events of 9/11 established a clear target on Westerners providing a visual

stimulus that no one will forget, both of these elements heighten the assessed

level of risk to those using emotions (Boscarino et al, 2003). Over-inflated ideas

of risk in the current study were shown to absolve statistical evidence in the

minds of the individuals assessing the existing terrorist threat, which is supported

by other literature (Sjöberg, 2007). Statistically, the odds may be in favour of the

individual (Furedi, 2008) however, concern overrides low likelihood and the

potential consequences given the memory of 9/11 determine the rationality of a

person's fear response (Brader & Valentino, 2010).

2. (a) Perceived Risk

Whilst anxious individuals are likely to perceive greater risk, research on individual fear of crime has consistently shown the level of perceived risk heavily influences participants fear (Boscarino et al, 2003). As demonstrated in the current study, participants that believed the risk of terrorism was high reported higher levels of fear *"I definitely think so, (risk of domestic terrorism) I mean it might be on the east coast but then again you think of Perth being isolated, um, maybe they think there would be lapses in security here and .. because people will think, they'll never do that, because they're too isolated"*. Other participants noted the low likelihood of terrorism but stated it doesn't effect their fear in a positive sense *"with regard to the fear that I have towards terrorism, I've been told that it's not statistically likely... but I think that the fear I have is... determined by statistics and probability it's um, just the images of 9/11 that um, have stayed with me"*.

This finding supports research in the area of terrorism and the psychology of fear. Generally, people are unable to explain the origins of their fear when reflecting on the low level of risk both national and personal (Eisenman et al., 2009). As a young woman indicated *"I'm not too sure, where my fear really comes from"*. An older female participant reflected on her feelings *"I think it's just the idea that you know with certain attacks that have happened in the past, just with the amount of people that... that they can get in one place"*. Participants assessing the risk of terrorism to Australia based on historical occurrences or from a statistical basis reported lower levels of fear *"Well at the moment, I'm not feeling much fear, because.. Australia hasn't really been attacked by a terrorist attack, like recently"*. Assessing risk based on past events and statistical evidence

generally presented lower levels of fear in the literature (Kerr, 2008; Willer &

Feinberg, 2008).

2. (b) Personal Involvement

Participants' fear levels fluctuated in response to their thoughts about

being personally involved in a terrorist incident. The literature indicates that both

personal and national risk determine individuals fears (Lerner et al., 2003;

Wolfendale, 2007). One young female participant indicated her fear was

dependent on the risk terrorism posed to her personally *"I guess I don't really*

feel that fearful because, um, we live in Perth, and I think if there was to be a

terrorist attack occurring in Australia it would be in a more populated area like

Sydney or Melbourne… Also I'm not very fearful because I live in Australia, but

I think in the future when I go travelling I will be a bit more fearful."

Additionally, a young male respondent commented about his low level of

fear with regard to terrorism living in Perth *"I think a lot of people have fear, but*

like emotions personally… I wouldn't say I was fearful, it just seems very far

removed from my life and definitely my life here in Perth". Assessing their

personal risk through noting the places they spend most of their time and

determining the likelihood of these places being attacked was the rational used

by some respondents *"look in general it doesn't seem to effect my day-to-day life*

very much… I don't work in the city, I just don't see to many areas that I

frequent being targets, and probably not on this side of the country so much".

Research has noted that those assessing personal risk are generally less fearful

than those assessing overall risk (Eisenman et al., 2009). Other participants

commented on overall and personal risk, *"yeah… concern, but I don't know if it*

would be a fear that would weigh on my mind, it would, I'd acknowledge the

risk, but I'd also accept it… Although what's the real risk? Even in America, I don't think there's a, a real risk of being in a terrorist attack, but it's say, more likely than Australia" Additionally a young male participant discussed the statistical likelihood of terrorism influencing his fear *"I mean you know, if, you talk about terrorism against Western targets, the chances of you being involved in a terrorist attack are so slim that.. there's always a concern that it could happen, but… it's not something I think about everyday, or …worry on too much, it's just so unlikely"*.

Other participants reflected on their personal experiences when travelling and how, as their personal risk increased so did their fear, which is consistent with the literature (Borgeson & Valeri, 2009). *"I was more worried about it when I was in New York, than I ever have been here, I don't know I think we're pretty removed, so it doesn't really effect me as much when I'm here, but while I was there I was definitely freaking out (pause). Like on the subway, I was like anyone could walk on there with like a (pause) bomb, peak hour, and there's nothing stopping them, so that freaked me out a bit"*. Additionally this participant added *"I think that was the main thing, was that it could just happen any minute, and there'd be nothing you could do about it"*. A young female supported this view stating *"I would say I'm more fearful of terrorism when I'm travelling, because I do think the risk is more international than domestic"*. As people assess both personal and overall risk their perception about their own safety influences their feelings about terrorism related security (Sjoborg, 2005).

3. Security Equals Safety

Literature on public perceptions of safety continually demonstrates views consistent with the belief that security increases safety (Sjoborg, 2003).

Psychologically this can be explained by security being a feeling, not

mathematically or statistically based, but based on personal psychological

reactions to both risks and countermeasures (West, 2008). This concept has been

further supported by the results of the current study, one participant commented

"it's always best to increase security within.. the airports, so there's a lower risk

of.. anything happening". An older respondent agreed *"Well I think that they can*

always look at new ways of stepping up security" One of the most telling

revelations about participants feelings regarding security from terrorism was

summarised in the sentence *"I have no problem with it* (security), *I'd rather be*

safe than dead"

3. (a) Government Trust

Whilst the current study confirmed most participants believed increasing

security was the best way to ensure safety and reduce the risk of terrorism

occurring in Australia, the study also discovered respondents views concerning

security and its increase was related to their trust in the Government as supported

by Willer and Feinberg (2008). One participant demonstrated they were quite

trusting of the Government *"I just think that they need to continually keep.. the*

airports safe and to try, always look for the unexpected area... I think that the

intelligence needs to be watching all those people... I think, a step up in

intelligence and raising awareness.. so they can make life a bit more secure for

people".

Other participants were satisfied with their limited knowledge of security

as they trusted security forces *"Well yeah, um when I fly I don't think about it at*

all, and I feel pretty safe, I feel like they're doing their job and nothing will

happen, I think the AFP is pretty on to it over here". Trust in Government was

shown to be a main factor influencing acceptance of legislation perceived to affect civil liberties in Americans (Davis & Silver, 2003; Willer & Feinberg, 2008) and in Australians (Wolfendale, 2007). Fear of abuse of power within security fields was noted by some participants *"The laws themselves are very open to manipulation, very open too abuse, far to open.* This effect was less recognised in the literature, as Willey and Feinberg (2008) note, citizens generally support their Governments in times of great insecurity.

The need for visible security was an issue that found disparity between participants *"you definitely need to have that presence I think as soon as people realise gee, it is as easy as that.. even then if we don't have sleeper cells and stuff in Australia I think I still think it's really important that national security is strong, particularly in this climate"*. The above participant found comfort in noticeable measures of security presence, even when acknowledging there might not be a great risk, consistent with the literature (Wolfendale, 2007). The following two middle-aged women respondents found visible security as more un-nerving *"I think I would start thinking why the increase, yeah it might make me more scared... because it would make me wonder why and what's been going on and that they haven't said to the public"*. Another participant stated visible security made her more afraid of the potential terrorism risk when travelling *"Probably because it's just not something we see over here, so um... so I think I prefer the more hidden security, probably. So like when you go to the international airport in Perth, or domestic, you know security is there and you feel safe in your own country, but over there* (Indonesia) *the guns are out.."*
Another female participant mentioned, *"Statistics don't really comfort me at all, security doesn't really comfort me, I think if there was no security I would be*

more afraid". All participants that noted increased security would make them more fearful of terrorism and the potential for attacks were female. When encouraged to elaborate, the young women were unsure why they felt more afraid when considering an increase in security. One of the participants stated they felt security was just a precaution and they didn't believe it to be overly effective, but an increase would cause them increased fear, as they would believe something had happened to cause the increase. The latter finding has been something not found by the researcher in any other literature.

3. (b) Knowledge of Legislation

Limited knowledge of security and anti-terrorism related legislation in the general public has been demonstrated consistently in the literature, with both positive and negative effects on participant's feelings towards safety (Morgan, 2006). An older female participant reflected on not knowing and how this increased her fear *"I am fearful because.. I feel that the authorities... they've obviously got secret operations going on that they don't discuss with the public... we don't know about that"* Additionally this participant added *"you don't know there's screening machines and everything, but you just never know, the terrorists are one step ahead of the authorities and I'm frightened Australia may have taken their finger off the pulse, and because we don't know* (about security), *who knows we wouldn't be next"?* Some of these feelings of fear towards not knowing were further enhanced by personal experience *"I'd like at least to have some knowledge about what's going on with your baggage, something could be placed into your baggage.. I don't know what security measures are in place there... you have a stop over who handles it then? I mean there, there's obviously several different sectors handling your baggage"*. In addition to the

fear of not knowing, the ability to relate to victims of terrorist attacks increased

participants' fears. This finding is supported by literature noting social identity

and similarities with victims causes participants to fear terrorism on a more

personal level (Katona, Intriligator, & Sullivan, 2006). Australian participants

stated their close ties with America in lifestyle and culture increases their

feelings of anxiety that they could be next (Davis & Silver, 2003; Wolfendale,

2007).

4. Relating to the Victim

Studies on fear of crime show ability to relate to the victim causes

increased fear in individuals (Updegraff et al., 2008). When elderly people are

victims of crime there is often a surge in the instillation of home security systems

by older people, fearing they could be next (Karmen, 2009). Heightened security

reactions amongst American, British and Australian people were found following

9/11, incuding some people buying gas masks and storing food in fear of a

biological attack (Updegraff et al., 2008)

4. (a) Being a Victim

The aim of terrorism is not only to cause mass casualties but also to result

in lasting psychological effects to secondary victims (Hocking, 2004). The

events of 9/11 impacted secondary victims internationally as the world viewed

terrorism live on every channel (Howie, 2005). Watching the fear of the

American people as the attacks unfolded allowed the world to experience the

terror, having lasting psychological effects *"I feel fear because, um, I could see*

myself living in the US at some point in my life, and I've lived in the UK, in the

places where the bombings happened, that's definitely a concern when you can

put yourself in the place of where the terrorist attacks happened". This young

female respondent went on to say *"you know they* (9/11 victims) *were just at work, you could imagine yourself at work, just trying to make a livin' and um something like that happens, so that was really very, very sad. I still feel fear... I can imagine myself being a victim, and I think that is where the fear comes from"*. Another young female participant stated *"I think what I remember most is the people jumping out of the building in their work clothes, in their suits, they just went to work. That could be any of us"*. The targeting of American civilians, that many Australians can identify with, has made the threat of terrorism in participants' minds genuine and the fear real. Davis and Silver (2003) found the closer the ties with victims of terrorism, the more intensive fear response in secondary victims. Additionally positive relationships between countries influence the fear levels of a population and government legislative action (Todd et al., 2005; & Wright-Neville, 2006).

4. (b) Personal experience

Participants that travelled regularly, and specifically those having travelled to the United States or had experience living in countries with terrorist violence, reported increased levels of fear. A young male reflected on his time in the United States at ground zero *"Um I felt pretty removed from it, it was a long time ago, but going over there and seeing the museum and memorial was pretty full on"*. Research on the value of qualitative enquiry in this field, reports what participants chose to focus on, is what concerns them most (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2009). This was present in the current study with participants noting what was most fear inducing for them *"I knew all the places they were talking about, I knew all the tube stations... I know the underground back to front, because I lived in London, I'm familiar with the streets, it was just horrific it was*

really scary cus I know how frightening it is in the underground, it had a huge impact on me, because I lived there for a couple of years" Another English interviewee spoke about her fears having both lived in London and visited ground zero *"I've lived in the UK, in the places where the bombings happened in London, so I think that that's definitely a concern. When I went to the 9/11 memorial, that was really um, fear evoking, because you're there and you know, it's like a grave yard really, all the people there that… their ashes make up the soil, and the dirt there, and I think that, that is um, it's really fear evoking"*. Personal experience with tragedies relating to terrorism has been noted in the literature as causing more intensive fear responses, whether this experience is recent or in years gone by (Greenberg, Craighill & Greenberg, 2004)

5. Civil Liberties and Effect

As participants generally associated terrorism with certain ethnicities, they found it difficult to imagine that they would be affected by reduced civil liberties in the light of new counter-terrorism legislation. *"Well, um in terms of security I don't necessarily fear where it's going, I'm not afraid of a snowball effect, I don't mind a little bit of inconvenience but in terms of um, my civil liberties, I honestly haven't considered that as much as I've considered the prospect of another terrorist attack occurring with me in the general vicinity when I'm travelling, like I think more about terrorism when I'm travelling than I do about having to take off my shoes at airports, or tip out my water, I'm not really concerned about that"*. The way in which participants prioritised their need for safety was shown to influence their acceptance of security measures that reduced civil liberties. Maslow (1954) argued a sense of security is highly placed

on the hierarchy of needs and the importance of competing values plays a major

role in individual civil liberty judgments (Hurwitz and Peffley, 1987).

5. (a) Personal Effect

Literature indicates the cultural identity of an individual can effect their

decisions about security, noting ethnicity and cultural ties significantly impact

support for legislation that reduce personal freedoms (Davis & Silver, 2003;

Willer & Feinberg, 2008). A young male stated he believed he would be

minimally effected by counter-terrorism legislation when asked if he was

concerned about the effect of increased security on him *"Not me personally, but*

again, I mean it's probably some type of racial profiling going on there, so as,

you know a Caucasian male, I'm not really, but I'm sure it would be different, if

the shoe.. if I was of a different kind of you know background, so personally no".

Some participants' levels of concern depended solely on the perceived effect

counter-terrorism legislation would have on them *"Um, well it hasn't affected me*

at all, so far". Personal evaluations of both risk and effect of security on civil

liberties has been shown to fluctuate depending on perceptions of threat, social

identity and moral values (Willer & Feinberg, 2008). Some participants

evaluated personal and humanitarian effect, concerned about counter-terrorism

legislations' impact on certain ethnic minorities. *"Having not been affected*

there's just an apathy but, the fact that now anyone can be pulled aside by these

laws it's, especially the preventative detention one that one really get me, that's

taking away your freedom, putting you in technically jail for something you

haven't done, that you may have been doing or you may not have been doing, but

there's no, there's no line drawn, they can do it if they want, which is often

unacceptable, anywhere in the world, well most western places in the world"

Concern for how Australia would be viewed internationally following questionable case studies within Australia including the case of Dr. Hanif, an individual suspected of having links to terrorism, ultimately resulting in the end of his career in Australia, this effect was identified as concerning to some respondents *"We've got these real, you know heavy handed legislation, and it's really embarrassing I mean look at that poor Queensland Doctor, it was all hearsay if anything at all, but, um his life's been ruined"*. Older participants were generally more concerned about the possibility of Australia being viewed as racist in the international community *"I mean you look at the politics over here, where the two parties thinks it's ok to be completely racist about boat people, its been blown up to a big huge issue and it just isn't, they just playing on people's fears for security and things like that, so yeah if that starts to escalate through people just trying to manipulate personal freedoms of the population because of that, yes I would have a problem with that"*.

Others were concerned about the effects new laws had on the Australian way of life, for example, *"the laws that they put in are fairly stringent, they, they get the job done, but they're also, kind of... the terrorists have kind of won, by stripping us of certain civil liberties, cuz as a response to terrorism these laws have to be enacted, well, whether or not they're too draconian, what's the other option, less, less surveillance, less you know, looking out for potential terrorists"* A Muslim respondent commented *"It already has affected the lifestyle of Australian people becoming more secure, and being paranoid um, about um, being attacked... the effects are already present, I mean internationally people become more racist is defiantly something that I've seen you know, someone who's, who's Muslim is, is a violent human being, compared to someone who*

lives in Australia, I don't really see the difference" The effect of legislation on the future of Australia and its citizens was a point raised by some participants, consistent with studies on fear of legislative snowballing (Davis & Silver, 2003).

5. (b) Future Effect

Most respondents were confused about how to approach the problem of terrorism within Australia *"Um in terms of measures that could be taken to reduce the threat of terrorism to Australia I think just understanding of what terrorism means and it's social construction of the word and also… try and be informed and not jump to conclusions in terms of racial profiling and this hatred of immigrants and Muslims … I don't think you can ever really secure Australia or anywhere from the risk of terrorism or the threat of terrorism occurring and um I think that's something that we all have to live with, so it's definitely concerning but there's not much you can do really"*. The future impact of terrorism and the escalation of current legislation was concerning to some participants (Head, 2002) *"But you know what can you do if you're not prepared, it's more like fear of what terrorism can cause within your own country. Like Australia hasn't had a significant terrorist attack, and yet we've got some of the strictest legislation in the world, in regards to terrorism, I mean there's been a few prevented but nothing on the scale of 9/11, which you know there had to be a response to that, there couldn't be anything less"*. A young woman commented *"I think they should be more specific with their legislations instead of being so general"*

When asked about the current level of security intensity a young man stated his confusion about how to approach the terrorist threat within Australia *"It's strict but what's the alternative let someone walk around free that's going*

to kill a whole bunch of people? But you know, how can you be sure they were

going to do that? Well, they haven't, but that's not to say they won't, you know, I

mean listening in on phone calls, mm, watching your internet traffic, the whole,

the whole deal, it, it could be going on and you wouldn't have any clue. But, you

know what's, what's the alternative has security gone far enough, or is it just too

broad, with, with the way the laws, the laws are set up to um, you know pretty

much target anyone and everyone instead of profiling perhaps, risk profiling

better, I'm not sure"

Participants' responses indicate moderate fear of terrorism and

willingness to sacrifice civil liberties for increased security, which they have

associated with being safe.

Conclusions

The current study aimed to explore the West Australian public's experience of fear with regard to terrorism, the threat of terrorism and how participants felt about counter-terrorism legislative changes employed in Australia post 9/11, in regard to the potential threat that these new laws posed to civil liberties. The experience of fear of terrorism was found to be moderate in the participants interviewed, fluctuating in response to perceived personal risk, first hand and secondary experience of terrorism-related-violence and the individual's perceived threat of terrorism as posed to Australia. Concerns towards increased counter-terrorism legislation and security's effect on personal civil liberties were found to be low. This was a result of perceived personal effect and Government trust. Generally, participants were more fearful of terrorism when their perceived personal risk increased and less concerned about security's impact on their civil liberties, as they could not picture themselves being affected by the new laws. This is because of ethnically based associations to terrorism.

The findings of the current study support the literature, clearly demonstrating fear of terrorism is a result of individual perception (Fermont, 2005; Hudson, 2005; and Stout, 2002) and concern for civil liberties as security increased was a result of the imagined effect participants recognised this could have on them personally (Willer & Feinberg, 2008). Over 70% of respondents mentioned personal risk when discussing fear of terrorism, reporting lower levels of fear when discussing the threat terrorism posed to Australia, indicating personal involvement in a terrorist incident was most fear inducing for participants. This finding is important as although the majority of participants recognised a low national threat, they demonstrated moderate levels of fear.

Some respondents recognised the statistically low likelihood of involvement in terrorism and stated they were not sure of the origins of their fear. Psychologically, this effect was present in the literature although no clear reason for this fear was demonstrated (Davis & Silver, 2003).

Generational differences are clearly present in the findings, older participants indicating that although the events of 9/11 affected them significantly, their views about terrorism and related fears were a result of a lifetime of experience with terrorism pre-9/11. This resulted in weaker ethnic associations with terrorism and Muslims, contrary to younger participants. Participants having only 9/11 as a frame of reference when discussing terrorism had stronger ethnic associations concerning terrorists and heightened fears of ethnic groups thought to be associated with terrorism. Research by Abbas (2004) and Sheridan (2006) support this finding, referring to fear of Muslims and the Islamic faith post-9/11 as Islamophobia, although no literature has been located on the generational differences in the terrorism-related-fears indicated above.

Participants' fears regarding ethnic groups they perceived to be more involved with terrorism influenced their evaluation of whether Australia's involvement in the war on terror is necessary, and subsequent evaluation of whether security was adequate in support for counter-terrorism policy. All but one participant deemed Australia's current level of security appropriate, even when assessing national risk as low, with ten participants seeing no problem with security increasing from its current state. The desire for this increase was in line with participants' beliefs that security resulted in increased safety. Two female participants stated they would be concerned if security increased drastically from its current state, not because of its impact on personal freedoms, but due to fear

of why it was increased. The latter finding has not been located in other literature by the researcher.

The current study found participants' limited understanding of counter-terrorism legislation did not impact their ability to form opinions on security, a finding consistent with Willey and Feinberg (2008). Participants generally viewed civil liberty sacrifice as necessary bi-product of the times, stating they felt all civil liberties and adequate security could not exist hand-in-hand. Participants who had lived during times of war such as a Muslim man from Bosnia viewed civil liberties as luxuries that Australian citizens are lucky they have, stating his experience of violence from a young age had cause him to view civil liberties as luxuries that he could live without, feeling grateful to have any liberty at all. Some participants demonstrated concern for ethnic groups that may be more heavily impacted by new legislations than themselves, but generally most were not concerned about their personal civil liberties as they did not see themselves as fitting into the terrorist stereotype. Participants did not view the security versus civil liberties argument idealistically, noting somewhere a sacrifice would need to be made and they would rather be safe than enjoy complete freedom, although, most did demonstrate some concern about the future of civil liberties with an increase in terrorism in the future, and predicted increased security.

To conclude, participants in the current study were moderately fearful of terrorism, a fear that increased in line with personal risk assessment. Generally a low likelihood of terrorism occurring in Australia, particularly Perth was identified by respondents making national risk low, although the acknowledgement that terrorism was borderless resulted in some feelings of

apprehension. Participants were not concerned about their civil liberties being too heavily impacted, noting some sacrifice as a necessity of the times. Although, participants did demonstrate some concern about the path counter-terrorism strategies were taking and how this would impact them in the future, this concern was fluid with participants generally stating they would vote security over liberty.

Limitations and Strengths

Qualitative enquiry in the field of terrorism is paramount however lacking in the literature. Although the qualitative approach is invaluable, no causal links can be made between fear of terrorism and willingness to sacrifice civil liberties. Using thematic analysis in conjunction with IPA in the analysis phase increased the validity of findings, identifying major themes through a four-stage process. It is recognised that the use of phenomenology can be restrictive in that it relies on the emotional maturity of participants and their ability to verbalise how experiences affected them. The current study found participants' ability to verbalise their emotions regarding terrorism differed, although commonalities amongst participants' feelings were related to their national identity. The diversity in the participant sample resulted in differences in opinion depending on different ages and life experience, contributing to the richness of the information gathered. The use of volunteers may have created some bias through self-selection and it is recognised that findings cannot be generalised, but are transferable. The sample size of fourteen was relatively large for a qualitative study, although there was a difference in male to female participants, with eight males and six females. Additionally, male participants may have under-stated their fears as not to appear weak in front of a female researcher.

The current study findings are significant in that the views of Perth participants are scarce in terrorism literature. Additionally the fear of terrorism experienced by Perth residents would be different to that experienced by Melbourne or Sydney participants, as Perth is isolated and the likelihood of attack is different to that of cities in Eastern Australia. Additionally participants who indicated increased security would result in more personal fear is not a finding located in other literature.

Future research may wish to concentrate on investigating the effects of international terrorism on societies not yet victimised, e. g., Australia. Additionally, further enquiry into the generational differences between fear and ethnic associations, given older participants experience with terrorism pre-9/11 would be valuable. Lastly, investigation into the notion of increased security resulting in levels of increased fear would be interesting.

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Appendix A

Information Letter

Fear of Terrorism, Legislation and Perceived Loss of Civil Liberties

My name is Finola Richardson and I am an Honours student at Edith Cowan University. This project is being undertaken as part of the requirements of a Psychology Honours Degree.

The aim of this project is to explore the public's perspectives on terrorism by examining the public's perceptions towards increased security as a Government response to the acts of terrorism, and the effect this has on their civil liberties. Understanding the Australian publics perception of safety and the threat of terrorism in the face of losing civil liberties, will assist in the development of counter-terrorism laws for protection with the implementation of safeguards to defend civil liberties.

To take part in this research, participants must have lived in Australia for at least 2 years. Both males and females are encouraged to apply, and all participants must be over the age of 18, no upper age limit is enforced. Participants will be requested to take part in one interview and will be asked a series of questions about terrorism. This research will involve the discussion of terrorism and as such the following counselling information is provided for participants if needed.

Counselling or further support can be obtained from Counselling Services, Building 3 Room 128, ECU Mt Lawley campus.

The results of the study may be published in reports, conference papers and journal articles. The results will not include any information which could identify any of the participants.

If you would like to take part in this research, please complete the informed consent document and return it to:

Finola Richardson

Telephone:

If you have any questions about the research or would like further information about the project please contact me or my supervisor.

If you choose not to participate in the project no explanation or justification is necessary. You are free to withdraw consent to be involved in the research project at anytime. If you do withdraw from the research, you also have the right to withdraw information that has already been collected.

Contact details:

Finola Richardson

Email: finolar@our.ecu.edu.au

Supervisor: Dr. Eyal Gringart

Telephone:

Email:

Appendix B

Informed Consent

I _____ have read the information letter and freely agree to participate in the research conducted by Finola Richardson. I am aware that my participation is voluntary and that I may refuse questions or leave the study at any time without penalty. All questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I give permission for the interview to be recorded and understand that the recordings will be erased once data analysis has been completed. I understand that all information regarding my identity will be kept confidential and that I will not be identifiable should the research findings be submitted for publication.

_____   _____

Signed: Research Participant   Date

Appendix C

Interview Schedule

1. When you think of Terrorism what comes to mind? Can you tell me about your feelings in relation to terrorism?

2. Could you share your feelings with regard to a terrorist attack occurring internationally (Why do you feel this way)?

3. Could you share your feelings regarding a terrorist attack occurring domestically (Why do you feel this way)?

4. In your opinion, what measures could be taken to reduce the threat of terrorism?"

5. What are your views on anti-terrorism legislation?