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INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES

**Engagement at a Crossroads:
The US Experience Since 9/11**

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July 2012

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IDA Document NS D-4639

H12-000861

Engagement at a Crossroads: The US Experience Since 9/11

Presentation for AIPIO Intelligence 2012:
Anticipating Risk and Influencing Action

24-26 July 2012

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- **PART ONE: Introduction**
- **PART TWO: The Evolution of US Government Engagement with the American Muslim Community since 9/11**
- **PART THREE: New Strategy, New Focus?**

Part I:

INTRODUCTION

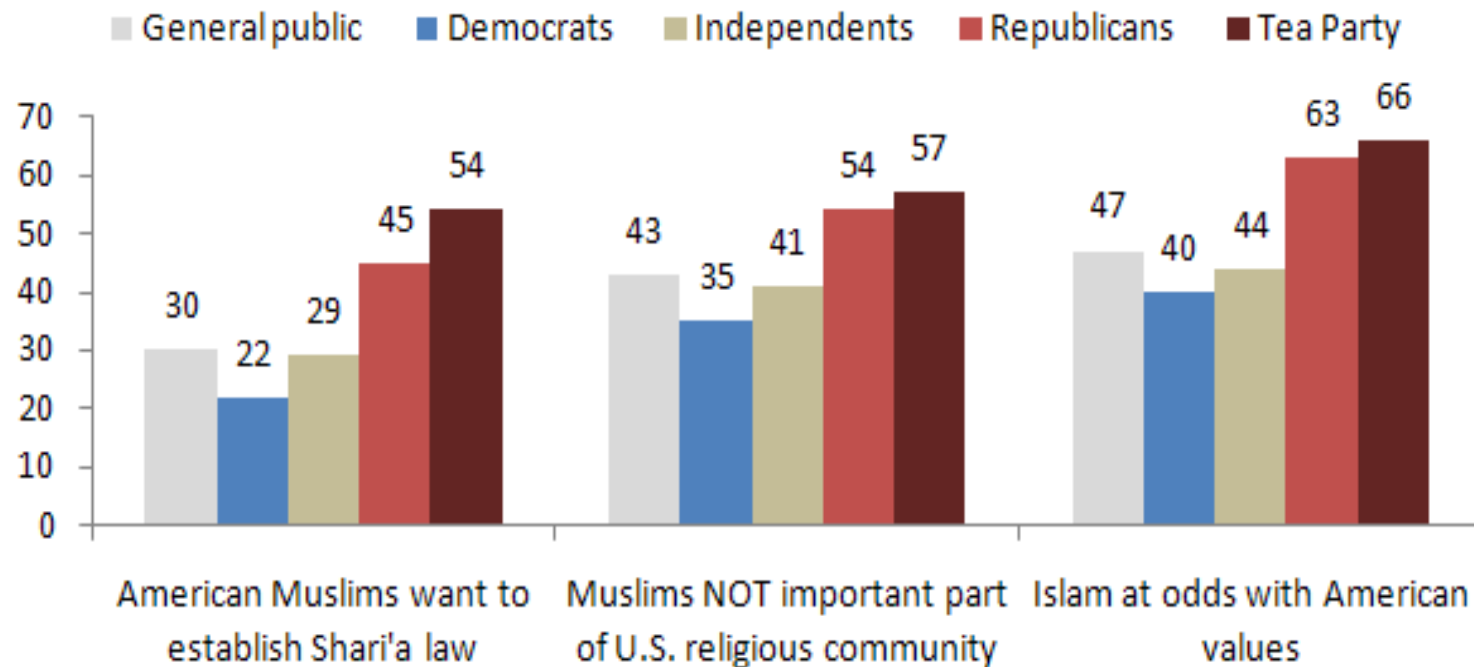
IDA | Community Engagement: The Need for a Reboot

Emerging trends since 2009:

- A growing (and inaccurate) perception of a dramatic increase in Homegrown Radicalization among American Muslims
- Increasingly negative public perception of the American Muslim Community
- American Muslims and Islam in America increasingly a target of bitter ideological rhetoric
 - Increasing tolerance of anti-Muslim rhetoric in public discourse
- A once vibrant program of US Government-Muslim Community engagement is being undermined by mutual suspicion

IDA | Changing Public Perception of American Muslims

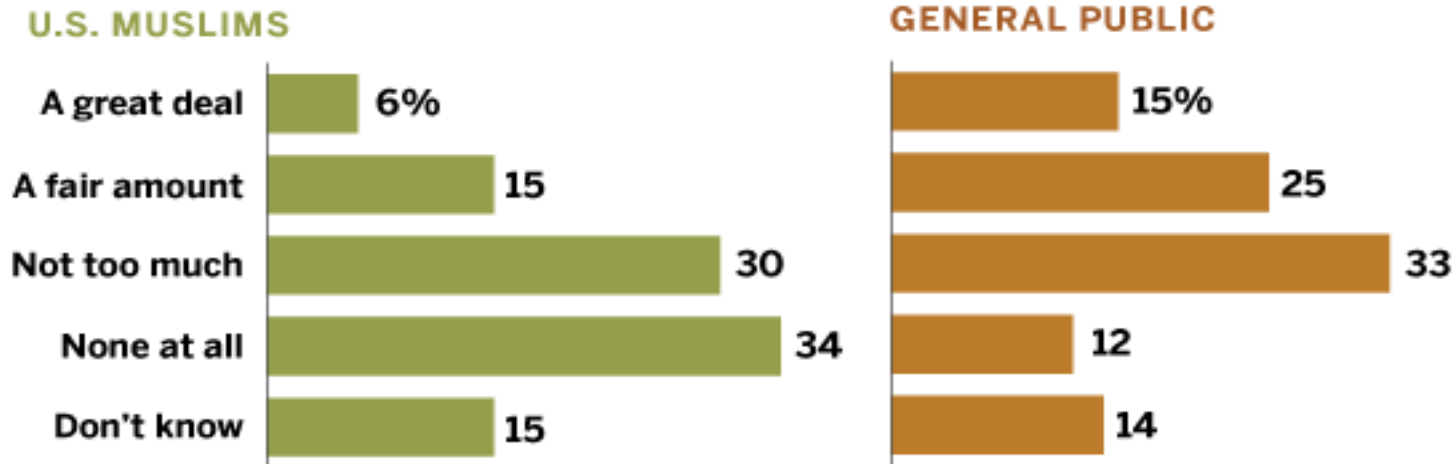
Views about Islam and American Muslims



Source: Public Religion Research Institute, Pluralism, Immigration, Civic Integration Survey, August 2011 (N=2,450)

IDA | Perception of Muslim Support for Extremism

Perceived amount of support for extremism among Muslims living in the U.S.



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IDA | Developments in 2011-12

- Anti-Islamic rhetoric in early political campaigns
- Focus shifting to economy in general election campaign
- Concern over “blowback” from Afghanistan, Pakistan drone attacks, other incidents
- Continuing tension over the issue of racial and religious profiling
- Fall out from a series of Associated Press (AP) investigative reports on the activities of the NYPD Intelligence Unit
- Civil liberties concerns related to FBI use of informants

IDA | Key Findings from AP reports on NYPD

- NYPD Intelligence Unit operates far outside its AOR and in ways that violate federal civil liberties rules
 - With no local, state, or federal oversight
- CIA involvement blurs lines between foreign and domestic spying
- Use of “rakers” and “mosque crawlers” raises “Probable Cause” concerns
 - Innocent businesses and individuals targeted
- Targeted individuals known to cooperate with local and federal CVE efforts

IDA | NYPD Ethnic Mapping

- Mapped mosques, businesses, Muslim student associations, and “potential terrorist hot spots”
 - Businesses with “devout clientele” or that are “popular meeting location for political activities”
 - “Moroccan Initiative” compiled data, photos, reports on Moroccan owned businesses and others that hired Moroccans, Moroccan cab drivers
- Focus on 28 ethnic groups, nearly all Muslim, considered “ancestries of interest”
 - Included “American Black Muslim”
- Tracked and “red flagged” legal name changes to or from “Arabic-sounding names”

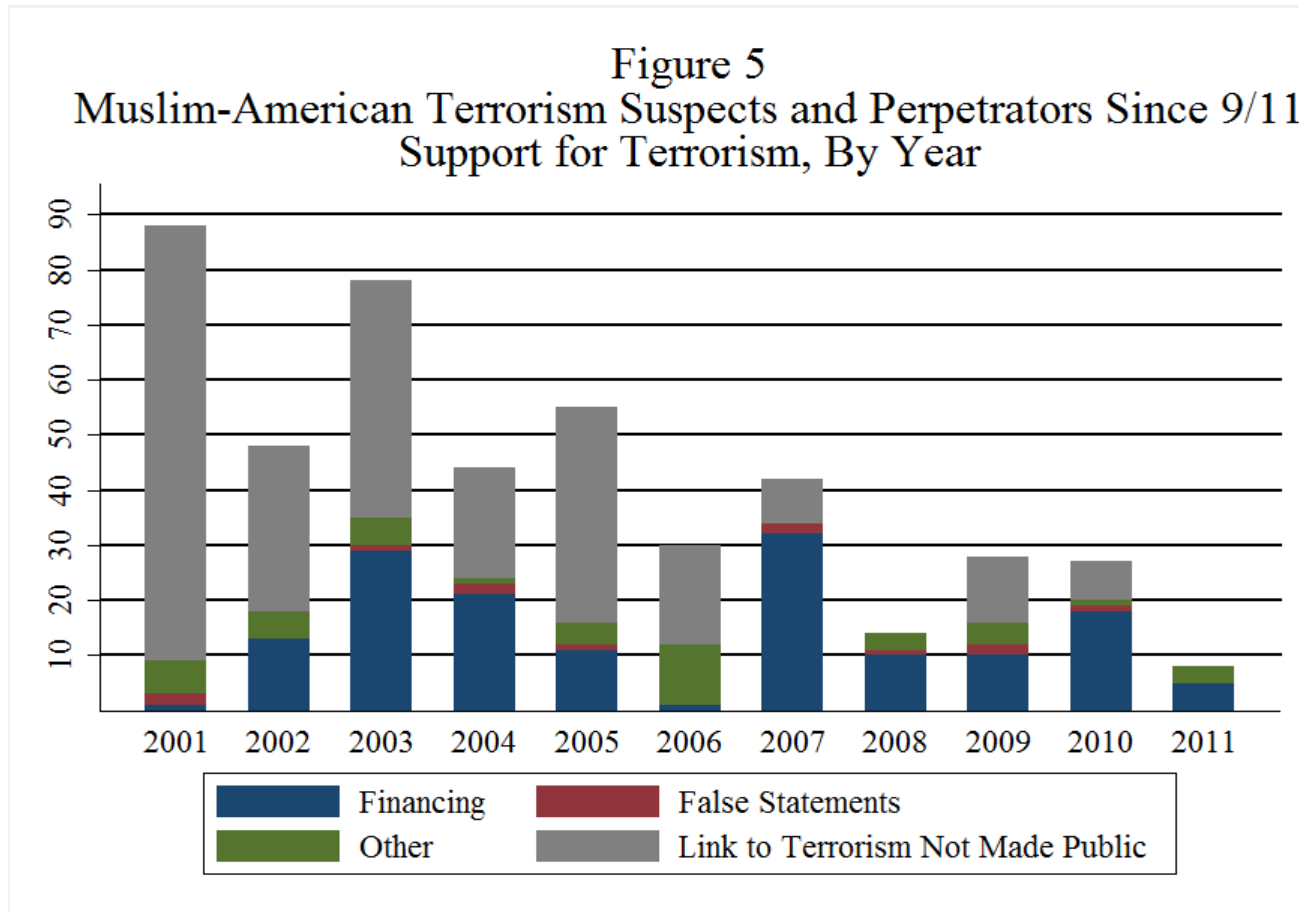
IDA | Outcomes of NYPD Intelligence Activities

- NYPD claims it has disrupted 14 attacks
 - Most thwarted in cooperation with FBI
 - Some through conventional intelligence
- Mapping activities have had less conclusive outcomes
- Use of police informants has made some Muslims less likely to cooperate with police for fear of “entrapment”
- FBI and NYPD often work at cross-purposes, especially when NYPD operates outside its jurisdiction

IDA | Federal Reactions to NYPD Intelligence Unit

- **FBI: activities targeting FBI outreach partners has undermined trust**
- **Congress: CIA has no authority to participate in domestic spying**
- **CIA has pulled its embedded officer after an internal probe in January 2012 concluded the transfer had not been properly approved**
- **White House, DHS, and Justice Department Civil Rights office have all avoided comment**
 - **Justice announced a “review” in February 2012**
- **White House Counterterrorism advisor John Brennan characterized NYPD effort as “heroic”**

IDA | Homegrown Radicalization: The Bottom Line



Source: Charles Kurzman, *Muslim-American Terrorism in the Decade Since 9/11*, (Chapel Hill: Triangle Center on Terrorism and Homeland Security, 8 February 2012).

Part II:

**THE EVOLUTION OF US GOVERNMENT -
AMERICAN MUSLIM COMMUNITY
ENGAGEMENT SINCE 9/11**

IDA | Evolution of Community Engagement Since 9/11

2001-2003: The Growth of Community Engagement

- Bush administration is outspoken in drawing the distinction between Islam and terrorism
- American Muslim Community seen as valuable partners in GWOT rather than a potential threat
- Community engagement focused on mediating grievances stemming from increased security;
- And mobilizing Muslim community in Public Diplomacy and Strategic Communication

IDA | Evolution of Community Engagement Since 9/11

2003-2007: The Golden Age of Community Engagement in the United States

- American Muslim civil society becomes active partner in Public Diplomacy, Strategic Communication, and nation-building in Iraq
- US Government-Muslim Community relations seen as a role model for other Muslim Communities in the West
 - Strong identification with US civic values
 - High achieving
 - Mature body of legal and religious doctrine on living in the West

IDA | Evolution of Community Engagement Since 9/11

2007: The Shift Begins

- Investigations of 9/11, Madrid (2004) and London Transit (2005) bombings, and liquid bomb plot (2006) raise specter of homegrown radicalization in Western Europe
- July: DHS issues new warnings of threat of terrorist attacks in US by radicalized European (especially UK) Muslims with EU Passports
- US officials still do not express increased concern regarding possible radicalization of American Muslims

IDA | Evolution of Community Engagement Since 9/11

2009: The Perfect Storm

- New Obama administration shifts focus toward repairing relations with international Muslim Communities
- Sharp spike in terrorism and terrorism-related activities by American Muslims (but still tiny numbers: to 47 from 2 in '08)
 - Somali-American youth traveling to fight with Al-Shabab
 - Pakistani youth traveling to Pakistan for terrorist training or to fight with the Taliban in Afghanistan
- Fort Hood Shootings: Nidal Hassan, American-born US Army officer kills 13, injures 29
- Christmas Day “underwear bomber” incident raises concerns over counter-terrorism intelligence

IDA | Evolution of Community Engagement Since 9/11

Strategic and Operational paradigm shifts:

- Strategic shift away from AQAN-focused GWOT toward countering franchised, decentralized terrorism and self-radicalization
- NYPD study on Radicalization in the West (2007) triggers new emphasis on domestic intelligence collection and “preventive” policing
 - Increased FBI use of sting operations and paid informants
 - Undermined Muslim community trust
 - Securitized relationship between Muslim communities and federal law enforcement
 - Local law enforcement slow to embrace new approach; leads to disconnect between local and federal engagement efforts

Part 3:

NEW STRATEGY, NEW FOCUS?

IDA | A New US Strategy for Community Engagement

Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (August 2011)

- Three Pillars of the new strategy
 1. Enhance federal engagement with and support of local communities that might be targeted by violent extremists
 - Not limited to Muslim communities, but AQ/AN main threat now
 2. Build government and local law enforcement expertise for preventing violent extremism
 3. Counter violent extremist propaganda while promoting our ideals

http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/empowering_local_partners.pdf

IDA | The New Strategy: What It Can Accomplish

- Refocus: Key phrase is “Local Partnerships”
- Rebuild trust by balancing intelligence collection needs with establishing stakeholder partnerships
- Foster better interfaith, intergroup understanding through education and political courage
 - Challenge Islamophobic rhetoric in public and policy debates
 - American Muslims aren’t more radical; Islamophobes are
- Balance the need to prevent violent extremism with American civil rights and civil liberties
- Encourage rigorous research and analysis into the radicalization process and its effects on American Muslim communities

IDA | Implementing the New Strategy

Strategic Implementation Plan for Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States (December 2011,

<http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/sip-final.pdf>.

- The blueprint for how to build domestic community resilience against violent extremism
 - Started with National Counter Terrorism Center comprehensive baseline of activities across the USG
 - Explains core objectives
 - Aligns agency and department activities with core objectives
 - Identifies steps to address gaps and expand efforts
 - Outlines current and planned activities to counter violent extremism
 - Assigns Federal Government leads and partners for actions and activities to ensure whole-of-government coordination
- Ensure deliberative and calibrated approaches that give careful consideration to the rule of law, civil rights, and civil liberties

Questions and Comments:

THANK YOU!