LAW ENFORCEMENT & ARAB AMERICAN COMMUNITY RELATIONS AFTER SEPTEMBER 11, 2001

Technical Report

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This project began in 2002 when a group of researchers, led by Rob Davis, began to think about the ways in which the events of September 11, 2001, had changed policing. Drawing from our experiences working with other communities, we felt it was important to explore the ways in which Arab American communities were being impacted. The final proposal was largely written by Rob Davis, and though he moved on from Vera during the course of the project, we are indebted to him for his ideas, mentorship, and dedication to improving police community relations.

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Executive Summary

Recent decades witnessed a growing commitment among local police agencies and communities throughout the United States to community-oriented policing. However, heightened public fear and government policies implemented following the events of September 11, 2001, placed new pressures on law enforcement. These new policies and concerns also changed the landscape in which Arab American communities, in particular, found themselves.

This study, the first to examine the effects of September 11 on law enforcement agencies and communities with high concentrations of Arab American residents, seeks to understand and document promising outreach practices involving local police and Arab American communities. It also provides an opportunity to better understand current relations between Arab Americans and local and federal law enforcement, as well as the challenges that each of these stakeholders faces in responding to pressures that are increasingly global in nature.

Vera researchers used several qualitative methods to explore these issues. We began by conducting a telephone survey with community leaders, local law enforcement officials, and field office agents from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in 16 representative sites around the country. Four of the sites were then selected for in-depth study involving additional interviews, facilitated focus groups, and observation of police-community relations.

Our inquiries indicate that September 11 had a substantial impact on Arab American communities. In every one of the sites, Arab Americans described heightened levels of public suspicion exacerbated by increased media attention and targeted government policies (such as special registration requirements, racial profiling by law enforcement, and the detention and deportation of community members). Their accounts were largely supported by local and federal law enforcement participants. While community members in most sites also reported increases in hate victimization, they expressed greater concerns about being victimized by federal policies and practices.

Similarly, members of local police agencies reported feeling the greatest pressure to change how they work after September 11. Although patrol officers described few changes in their daily routines, law enforcement leaders reported a blurring of the traditional lines separating local law enforcement and federal agencies. Several of the participating departments resisted participation in explicit counterterrorism activities, citing financial constraints and concerns that doing so would compromise their primary mission. Nevertheless, police officials and FBI agents alike described an increase in dialogue between them, usually in the context of Joint Terrorism Task Forces.

Relations between Arab American communities and law enforcement agencies overall fell into two qualitative categories. Toward local police agencies, Arab Americans reported a fair amount of good will, even in jurisdictions where the two have little interaction. Where departments acted on this good will, evidence indicates that their efforts have already paid dividends in the form of reduced tension and improved rates of reporting. Community perceptions of federal law enforcement, on the other hand, were less positive. Even though most of the FBI field offices in the study had reached out to Arab American communities, many Arab Americans remained fearful and suspicious of federal efforts.

Despite the challenges enumerated above, our research also found that both community members and law enforcement respondents want to improve relations. In fact, a select number of police departments have already implemented promising practices to do so, such as providing police officers with cultural sensitivity training relevant to their work, recruiting Arab American officers, and establishing police-community liaisons. However, more jurisdictions could benefit from these and similar undertakings, including, for example, creating clearly defined policies for dealing with issues relevant to immigrant communities, conducting consistent outreach to Arab communities, and demonstrating cultural awareness during community interactions. Where adopted, such efforts can lead not only to increased dialogue but also to meaningful partnerships that, consistent with community policing philosophy, better address concerns about local and national security.

With the shadow of September 11 unlikely to lift anytime soon, the need and opportunity for improving relations among Arab American communities and local and federal law enforcement agencies persists. We hope that this report will be accepted as a useful step in that process.

Table of Contents

Acronyms

ADC	American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
ADIC	Assistant Director-in-Charge
ASAC	Assistant Special Agent-in-Charge
CAIR	Council on American Islamic Relations
CLEAR Act	Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal
DOJ	U.S. Department of Justice
DHS	Department of Homeland Security
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
ICE	Immigration and Customs Enforcement
IIRIRA	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
JTTF	Joint Terrorism Task Force
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NCIC	National Crime Information Center
SAC	Special Agent-in-Charge
USA Patriot Act	The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act

Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the last 20 years, local police agencies in the United States have worked to increase and improve community-police relations. Communities in their own right have sought out partnerships with their local police departments in the spirit of keeping their neighborhoods safe and improving quality of life. Generally, these efforts have focused on local problems such as burglary, vandalism, and drug sales—all of which take place at the neighborhood or even block level. Solutions to these problems necessarily require local knowledge and attention to community-based resources.

Recently, a different kind of concern about safety and security has emerged: communities—from small towns to large cities—throughout the United States are now concerned with how terrorism and the effects of international conflict impact their communities. In the months and years following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, many people across the nation felt a sense of vulnerability and anxiety about their safety that they had not experienced before. The 2001 attacks pulled the United States into a new era of increased security activity and heightened attention to threats of terrorism. The massive reorganization of federal agencies has led to the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), and the United States has engaged in two wars, one in Afghanistan and one in Iraq.[1] Federal agencies such as the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and DHS engaged in visible counterterrorism efforts and used intelligence-gathering powers broadened by federal legislation.[2] Much of these efforts have been aimed at domestic investigations, and in many jurisdictions, local law enforcement has played a role in counterterrorism enforcement. Local law enforcement agencies and personnel have been tasked with making significant changes in the way they work and have had to take on more responsibility at a time when resources are limited. In fact, it is possible that the expansion of local police powers will soon become federally mandated.[3]

While the changing structure of federal and local law enforcement has impacted many communities, Arab American communities across the country have felt the reverberations of September 11 in a way that other Americans have not experienced. But, what do we know about the experiences of Arab Americans since September 11, 2001? Similarly, what do we know about local policing in a post-September 11 environment? Little is known about how Arab American communities have managed apart from what we hear in the news or what we learn from advocacy groups.

In order to learn more empirically about the current state of relations between local law enforcement and Arab American communities in the post-September 11 era, with funding from the National Institute of Justice, the Vera Institute of Justice embarked on a research project that aimed to identify innovative or promising approaches emerging from communities across the nation that bridge gaps and foster mutually beneficial relationships. Vera researchers sought to

[1] On October 8, 2001, President Bush established the Department of Homeland Security by Executive Order 13228.
[2] The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism (USA Patriot) Act of 2001.
[3] Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal (CLEAR) Act, sponsored by Representative Charles Norwood (R-GA) and currently being debated in Congress, calls for broadened police powers, including immigration enforcement and detainment.

understand how police departments, patrol officers, and the local FBI field offices could build trust and respond to the concerns of Arab American communities—including hate crimes—while gaining support from these communities in their responses to crime and public safety challenges. We also aimed to learn more about how Arab American communities have been affected by the events of September 11, 2001, by talking to community leaders, representatives, and members of advocacy groups about attitudes and experiences that may reduce willingness to work with local law enforcement. Over the course of this project, we also identified obstacles to cooperation between law enforcement and Arab American communities in addition to promising ways to overcome those obstacles.

Section 1. The need for this project and key research questions

The goal of this project was to assess the reciprocal relationship between local law enforcement and Arab American communities and to identify innovative approaches to bridging any gaps between the two. While other studies have addressed these issues,[4] we believe that by employing a multi-method qualitative approach and including the perspectives and experiences of Arab American community leaders and residents, police administrators and patrol officers, FBI field agents, and community outreach specialists, we have added to the existing literature and provided a tool for communities and law enforcement agencies to use as they seek to build mutual trust and strengthen relations.

Arab American communities post September 11, 2001

Though we can begin to get a picture of how Arab American communities have fared since September 11 by examining secondary sources, many questions have been left unanswered. Among them, we sought to explore the following:

- *How have Arab American communities been affected by the events of September 11, 2001?*
    - What do we know about fear within Arab American communities?
    - According to the perceptions of community members, how prevalent are hate and bias crimes targeted at Arab American communities?
- *How are Arab American communities working with law enforcement on issues of public safety?*
- *What is their current level of trust in both federal and local law enforcement?*
- *What kinds of attitudes and experiences within Arab American communities may inhibit trust in police?*

[4] Ramirez, D.A., Cohen O'Connell, and R. Zafar, *Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide*: 17, 80.

- How do attitudes and experiences affect the degree to which communities are open or willing to working with local law enforcement?

- *What barriers do Arab American communities face when working with law enforcement?*

    - What, in community members' opinions, would help to overcome these barriers?

Law enforcement agencies post September 11, 2001

The few studies, which are often single case studies, that have looked at relations between Arab American communities and law enforcement theorize that there are limits to involving local enforcement agencies in homeland security because the makeup of communities and the degree to which particular jurisdictions perceive local safety often take precedence over national concerns over terrorism.[5] Our study includes a more representative sample than previous studies, and we hope to address an even broader range of questions such as:

- *Have law enforcement agencies serving communities with high concentrations of Arab American residents changed the way in which they work since September 11, 2001?*

    - If so, to what extent?

- *What role do local law enforcement agencies play in working with Arab American communities on issues of crime and public safety?*

    - Have local agencies taken on a greater role in intelligence-gathering? What role have patrol officers played in this effort?

    - Have agencies taken on a greater role in enforcing immigration violations? What role have patrol officers played in this effort?

- *What kinds of cooperation do law enforcement agencies need from Arab American communities in order to respond to issues of crime and public safety?*

    - What perception do law enforcement officials have of the level of reporting from within Arab American communities?

- *What major barriers, if any, do law enforcement agencies face when working with Arab American communities?*

[5] Thacher, David, "The Local Role in Homeland Security," *Law and Society Review* 39 (3) (2005): 635-676.

    - Have local and federal authorities found it more difficult to engage residents of Arab descent since September 11, 2001?

    - Have law enforcement agencies found ways of overcoming these barriers, and if so, how?

- *What is the perception among local police departments concerning cooperation with the FBI since September 11, 2001?*

This study is one of the first qualitative attempts to gain insight into the experiences of Arab American communities and law enforcement practitioners in a post-September 11 environment. We found that this approach had particular advantages in getting behind the limited statistics available on questions of perceptions and experiences. The exploratory nature of the study allowed us to collect a substantial amount of rich interview and observational data. Although we do not make any causal inferences, we can begin to unpack the complicated issues facing communities and law enforcement.

Chapter 2: Law enforcement policies and practices: Trends before and after September 11, 2001

Section 1. Federal policies and initiatives

Since the events of September 11, there has been a call coming from some police practitioners, scholars, and legislators for a fundamental shift in law enforcement, particularly at the local level. In a number of departments across the nation, this shift has already taken place. In the following section, we will discuss changes in federal policy and explore the ways in which these changes have affected local policing and federal law enforcement (for a complete timeline of federal policies and initiatives, see Appendix B). In addition, we will provide a brief overview of American policing to place discussions of changes since September 11, 2001, into context.

The USA Patriot Act

Following the attacks, there was a sense among legislators, law enforcement practitioners, and the general public that national security and counterterrorism efforts needed to be strengthened in order to prevent future acts of terrorism. The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act (USA Patriot Act)—passed shortly after September 11—represented an attempt to address this need. Specifically, the USA Patriot Act gave law enforcement agencies broader authority for gathering information and conducting investigations.[6] According to a U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) report, the act updates certain legal provisions in order to account for recent technological advances, allowing law enforcement to more effectively collect, study, and share terrorism related intelligence. It also facilitates the sharing of terrorism-related information between intelligence investigators and law enforcement officials.[7]

At a press conference in June 2004, President Bush lobbied to renew several provisions in the USA Patriot Act that were set to expire, citing evidence of its effectiveness by saying, "Since September the 11th, federal terrorism investigations have resulted in charges against more than 400 suspects, and more than half of those charged have been convicted."[8]

There has been some debate about whether figures cited by the president overstate the number of convictions, as they relate to terrorism. Shortly after the president's press conference, the *Washington Post* published a series of reports based on an analysis they conducted of Justice Department data. The report concluded that based on the data made available to them, of 361 cases classified as terrorism investigations, 39 led to convictions on terrorism or national security charges.[9]

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[6] U.S. Department of Justice, *Report from the Field: The USA Patriot Act at Work,* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, July 2004: 1.
[7] Ibid., 1.
[8] Office of the Press Secretary, "President Discusses Patriot Act," press release Washington, DC: Office of the Press Secretary, June 9, 2005.
[9] Eggen, Dan and Julie Tate, "US Campaign Produces Few Convictions on Terrorism Charges: Statistics Often Count Lesser Crimes," *Washington Post*, June 12, 2005, A01.

Voluntary interviews

In November 2001, then Attorney General John Ashcroft asked federal, state, and local law enforcement to conduct interviews with 5,000 young men from Middle Eastern countries in the U.S. on temporary visas. The interviews, said to be voluntary, targeted men aged 18 to 33 years old who had arrived in the United States since January 1, 2000, on student, tourist, or business visas.[10] In March 2002, Ashcroft announced a second round of 3,000 interviews.[11] He specified that while the interviews would focus on people who may have information relating to terrorism, none of the individuals were suspected of criminal activities. The Attorney General expected that the interviews would likely assist investigators in the September 11 attacks and interrupt any potential terrorist plans.[12]

Absconders Apprehension Initiative

In December 2001, in an effort to locate absconders, people who overstayed their visas, and undocumented persons, the federal government moved to work with local law enforcement by entering civil absconder warrants into the National Crime Information Center (NCIC) database, a system that, in that past, only dealt with criminal warrants.[13]

Special registration

In December 2002, immigration authorities began a three-month long campaign to register, fingerprint, photograph, and question male foreign nationals from countries that the U.S. identified as supporting terrorism or harboring terrorist groups. Tens of thousands of men from countries such as Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Libya, Sudan, and Syria, among others, participated in the "special registration" effort, which was designed to disrupt and deter foreign-born terrorists and their activities in the U.S.[14] Including a companion effort at U.S. airports and other U.S. ports of entry, this registration processed over 175,000 men, aged 16 years and older and primarily of Middle Eastern descent. According to the Justice Department, the registration was intended to help government officials better understand who enters and exits the country.[15] Immigration authorities put nearly 14,000 of those registered into deportation proceedings and found that nearly 150 registrants had committed crimes.[16]

Detention and deportation

As a result of the USA Patriot Act, special registration, and individual investigations, non-citizens of Arab descent have experienced arrest, detention, and, in some cases, deportation for being out of status or having other visa troubles. Generally, the USA Patriot Act broadens the circumstances under which non-citizens, who are deemed threats to national security, can be

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[10] Wilgoren, Jodi, "Michigan Officers Fear Pressure of US Plan," *New York Times,* November 17, 2001.
[11] Frieden, Terry, "U.S. to interview 3,000 more 'visitors' in terror probe," *CNN.com,* March 20, 2002, Available at: <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/US/03/20/ret.ashcroft.terrorism/?related>.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ferrell Jr., Craig E., "Immigration Enforcement: Is It a Local Issue?" *The Police Chief* 71 (2) (February 2004).
[14] Eggen, Dan and Nurith C. Aizenman, "Registration Stirs Panic, Worry: Some Muslim Foreign Nationals Risk Arrest to Meet INS Deadline," *Washington Post*, January 10, 2003.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.

detained.[17] In December 2002, as many as 700 Middle Eastern men in Southern California were arrested and detained for overstaying their visas after registering with immigration authorities.[18]

Section 2. Changes in federal law enforcement since September 11, 2001

The importance of the FBI for this study comes in part due to their investigative mandate. The FBI has jurisdiction over all civil rights allegations, counterterrorism issues, foreign counterintelligence, organized crime, financial crimes, and other major/violent crimes.

A recent Government Accountability Office (GAO) report highlights the shift in FBI priorities away from traditional criminal investigations such as organized and financial crimes to counterterrorism initiatives. According to the GAO, from 2001 to 2003, the Bureau's counterterrorism investigation increased 183 percent while traditional investigations such as major drug importation activity decreased by 60 percent. This was due largely in part to the purposeful shift of FBI manpower away from traditional activities to counterterrorism positions. By 2004, fully 3,959 special agents were assigned to counterterrorism initiatives. This is an increase of 1,405 agents over fiscal year 2002 figures.[19]

With calls for greater communication and cooperation between law enforcement, the FBI created the Office of Law Enforcement Coordination (OLEC) in 2002 and appointed a former chief of police to head the office. The mission of OLEC is to build and strengthen relations between law enforcement agencies.

While Joint Terrorism Task Forces (JTTFs) have existed in the FBI for many years, they have recently been expanded as part of an effort to increase the communication between local and federal law enforcement. Prior to September 11, there were approximately 35 JTTFs across the United States, but that number was increased to nearly 70 in post September-11 restructuring. In its present day form, the JTTF operates in every field office and approximately 10 additional resident agencies. Each JTTF is headed by an experienced supervisory special agent and combines the resources of the FBI with other federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. A GAO report on the security clearance process found that the FBI has enhanced this process and that the agency has decreased the timeframe for completion of top secret and secret applications for clearance.[20]

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[17] U.S. Congress, H.R. 3162, Washington, DC, (2001): Section 412.
[18] Murphy, Jarrett, "Feds detain hundreds of immigrants," *CBS News*, December 19, 2002; American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU calls immigrant registration program pretext for mass detentions," December 19, 2002.
[19] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *FBI Transformation*, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, August 2004, GAO-04-1036.
[20] U.S. Government Accountability Office, *Security Clearances: FBI Has Enhanced Its Process for State and Local Law Enforcement Officials*, Washington, DC: U.S. Government Accountability Office, April 30, 2004, GAO-04-596.

Section 3. Changes in local policing since September 11, 2001

Local police departments in jurisdictions across the United States have increasingly become involved in intelligence gathering, immigration-related arrests, and detainments.

The blurring of lines between the traditional domains of local law enforcement and federal agencies in certain locales is happening at a time when high profile federal legislation and activities are largely focusing on Arab Americans and American Muslims.

Local involvement in voluntary interviews

While most local police agencies did assist federal agencies in the voluntary interview process, the initiative also worried some police chiefs and Arab American community leaders. Police chiefs from some cities speculated about the effectiveness of using police officers untrained in intelligence gathering and the impact that an unexplained canvass would have on their community building efforts. A few jurisdictions, including Portland, Oregon, refused to participate.[21] Community groups voiced concern about ethnic and religious profiling, while pointing out that the interviews could fuel public suspicion of Arab American and American Muslims as terrorists.[22]

Local involvement in immigration enforcement

In a deliberate way, several states, including Florida, Alabama, and Virginia, began working with the Department of Homeland Security to give local law enforcement officials the power to arrest and detain undocumented immigrants.[23] Under a provision of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996, it was decided that states could enter into a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with the federal government to allow state and local police to enforce civil immigration violations. Under current regulations, police can arrest immigrants involved in criminal offenses only.[24]

The collaboration came at a time of growing interest among some people to view undocumented immigrants as potential terrorist threats.[25] Recent investigations had suggested that the September 11 attacks were perpetrated by 19 foreigners, three of whom were undocumented. Responding to this concern and with the awareness that federal immigration authorities were understaffed, Florida, Alabama, and Virginia formalized MOUs.[26]

However, unlike the interviews, this initiative affected all groups with significant immigrant populations—not just Arab and Muslim groups—and community organizations, immigrant coalitions, and certain law enforcement agencies have been very vocal in their criticism. Not

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[21] Butterfield, Fox, "A Police Force Rebuffs F.B.I. on Querying Mideast Men," *New York Times*, November 21, 2001; Frieden, Terry, "U.S. to interview 3,000 more 'visitors' in terror probe;" Wilgoren, Jodi, "Michigan Officers Fear Pressure of US Plan."

[22] AbiNader, Jean and Kate Martin, "Just the Facts, Mr. Ashcroft," *Washington Post*, July 25, 2002: A21; Wilgoren, "Michigan Officers Fear Pressure of US Plan."

[23] National Immigration Law Center, "Alabama State Troopers said to receive 'clear authority' in civil immigration enforcement," *Immigrants' Rights Update,* 17 (7) (November 24, 2003); Sheridan, Mary Beth, "Va. Seeks New Role Against Illegals; Police to Enforce Immigration Law," *Washington Post,* April 24, 2004.

[24] National Immigration Law Center.

[25] Sheridan, "Va. Seeks New Role Against Illegals; Police to Enforce Immigration Law."

[26] Ibid.

only has a lack of police resources been cited as problematic, but critics also warn that the very involvement of local police in these partnerships could deter undocumented immigrants from reporting crimes and could easily lead to racial profiling activities.[27] Responding to the criticism, Virginia has since halted its MOU negotiations.[28]

The CLEAR Act. Many Arab American community groups, as well as immigrant organizations more generally, fear that these state initiatives may be formalized at the federal level with the passage of the Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal (CLEAR) Act.[29] Most significant to this discussion, the CLEAR Act affirms state and local police authority "to investigate, apprehend, detain, or remove aliens in the United States" and enables the enforcement of civil immigration violations.[30]

U.S. Representative Charles Norwood (GA-09), who introduced the bill, argues that the presence of undocumented immigrants in the U.S. poses a risk to public safety.[31] The Act would give state and local police the appropriate training, access to data on undocumented immigrants, and funding needed to carry out their new mandate.[32]

What is the CLEAR ACT?

Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act of 2003 or the CLEAR Act of 2003 — States that: (1) State and local law enforcement personnel are fully authorized to investigate, apprehend, or remove aliens in the United States (including interstate transportation of such aliens to detention centers) in the enforcement of U.S. immigration laws; and (2) a State that does not have a statute permitting enforcement of Federal immigration laws within two years of enactment of this Act shall not receive certain Federal incarceration assistance.

For a complete summary of the Bill, see Appendix A

Source: Bill Summary from the Library of Congress online http://thomas.loc.gov/[33]

As with federal-state MOU agreements, the CLEAR Act has received sharp criticism regarding funding concerns and the appropriate role of police in immigration enforcement. Again, critics argue that an active police role in immigration activities will deter residents,

[27] Alonso-Zaldivar, Ricardo, "Police may join hunt for illegal migrants; advocates see a way to boost enforcement, but officers and civil rights groups fear abuses," *Los Angeles Times*, November 11, 2003; McGann, Chris, "Police balk at watching for illegal immigrants," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Reporter,* May 2, 2002; Sheridan, "Va. Seeks New Role Against Illegals; Police to Enforce Immigration Law."
[28] Sheridan, Mary Beth, "Va. Police Back Off Immigration Enforcement," *Washington Post*, June 6, 2005, B01.
[29] National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, "Fact Sheet: What the CLEAR Act Will Do," April 2004, available at <http://www.nnirr.org/registrations/en_fact_sheet.html>; American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU Statement on H.R. 2671," October 1, 2003; National Immigration Forum, "Organizations Opposed to the CLEAR Act."
[30] U.S. Congress, H.R. 2671, Washington, DC: 2003, Section 101.
[31] Office of Congressman Charlie Norwood, "News Release: CLEAR Act Pointed to as Solution to Criminal Alien Crisis at House Hearing," October 1, 2003.
[32] U.S. Congress, H.R. 2671.
[33] Retrieved October 20, 2005, from Library of Congress at <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d108:HR02671:@@@L&summ2=m&>.

particularly those from immigrant communities, from reporting crimes and working in partnership with police.[34]

Within the law enforcement community, there are arguments for and against increasing and expanding the role of local police agencies in immigration enforcement.[35] Proponents argue that utilizing local police agencies allows front-line officers to capitalize on their unique position to gather information, compensates for a lack of manpower from federal agencies, and enables willing police to take a more active role in counterterrorism efforts.

In opposition, several well-known policing associations have taken a clear stance on the issue. In December 2004, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) issued a press release stating, "The IACP opposes any plan that would coerce local and state law enforcement agencies to enforce federal immigration laws without their approval."[36] Joining these organizations, the Major Cities Chiefs Association cautioned in a 2002 report, "state and local authorities should vigorously resist current INS suggestions to authorize local police to arrest illegal aliens."[37] Opposition to the bill has not only come from police organizations but has also been registered by local police departments and state-level police associations.[38]

Those opposed to the bill and other efforts say that blurring the lines between the activities of federal agencies and local police may jeopardize local law enforcement's first mandate to maintain public safety and control crime. They argue that instead of looking toward local law enforcement for help and protection, residents—especially those from immigrant populations—may associate the police with federal authorities like immigration and the FBI and hesitate to report crimes.[39]

Perspectives on the role of local law enforcement

While some local law enforcement executives and community leaders have been vocal about the impact that increased pressure to engage in counterterrorism has had on their communities, discourse on the implications of such a strategy is limited. Opinions among policing scholars and practitioners who have written about the issue are mixed. Henry[40] and Sloan[41] start with the

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[34] American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU Statement on H.R. 2671."
[35] Parker, Laura, "Police departments balk at idea of becoming 'quasi-INS agents,'" *USA Today,* March 7, 2002.
[36] International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), "Police Chiefs Announce Immigration Enforcement Policy," press release, Washington, DC: IACP, December 1, 2004.
[37] Major Cities Chiefs Association, *Terrorism: The Impact on State and Local Law Enforcement*, Published Report from the Major Cities Police Chiefs Association Intelligence Commanders Conference, June 2002: 3.
[38] Letter to Senator Dianne Feinstein voicing opposition to CLEAR Act from the California Police Chiefs Association, available on Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) web site, accessed on October 31, 2005 at <http://policeforum.mn-8.net/default.asp?link=%2Fdocs%2Fdocapp%2Easpx%3F%5Fcommand%3Dlist%26fid%3D6807>.
[39] McCarthy, Rebecca, "Immigration status not local matter. Police, others resist US legislation to have them enforce law," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* May 17, 2004; Sheridan, "Va. Seeks New Role Against Illegals; Police to Enforce Immigration Law;" Alonso-Zaldivar, "Police may join hunt for illegal migrants; advocates see a way to boost enforcement, but officers and civil rights groups fear abuses;" Lyons, William, "Partnerships, Information and Public Safety: Community Policing in a Time of Terror," *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies and Management,* 25 (3) (2002): 530-531.
[40] Henry, Vincent E., "The Need for a Coordinated and Strategic Local Police Approach to Terrorism: A Practitioner's Perspective," *Police Practice and Research* 3 (4) (2002): 319-336.
[41] Sloan, Stephen, "Meeting the Terrorist Threat: The Localization of Counter Terrorism Intelligence," *Police Practice and Research* 3 (4) (2002): 337-345.

premise that a terrorist attack could potentially happen anywhere in the United States, even small cities and rural areas. Given this assumption, they argue, along with other scholars, that local police agencies are uniquely situated to respond to this new threat and should play an integral role in gathering intelligence.[42] Henry essentially argues that local police agencies need to broaden their mission from responding to local crime and violence concerns to include fighting terrorism.[43] While all three articles mention training on intelligence gathering and improving access to information for local agencies, there is no mention of the role of communities or community policing.

On the other hand, while Murray agrees that local police agencies can play a role in counterterrorism efforts, he cautions against the paramilitarization of local policing.[44] He suggests that community policing offers the most "sensible and effective" response to dealing with the new pressures placed on local law enforcement because it promotes mutual respect among communities and police, a condition that is likely to foster an open exchange of information and is oriented toward prevention. In a similar vein, Lehrer argues that local agencies have something to teach the FBI when it comes to community outreach; he suggests that intelligence gathering efforts at the local level, which have primarily dealt with conventional crime concerns, have been effective because police officers understand how to engage the community by simply making themselves "accessible to tipsters."[45]

David Thacher describes the current pressure for local departments to engage in counterterrorism as the tension between "community protection" and "offender search." Thacher argues that if the federal government wants to ask local departments to engage in "offender search[es]"—mainly intelligence gathering and surveillance—this "would require fairly deep structural changes in American government, and even then federal expectations would probably need to be modest."[46]

Critics of an expanded local mission focused on counterterrorism caution that the expansion of powers could easily lead to ethnic profiling and threaten to further compromise an already tenuous relationship between communities and law enforcement.[47] Because intelligence gathering and counterterrorism efforts have largely targeted people of Arab descent as well as American Muslims, this tension is likely to persist, particularly in areas with large Arab American communities.

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[42] Henry, "The Need for a Coordinated and Strategic Local Police Approach to Terrorism: A Practitioner's Perspective;" Sloan, "Meeting the Terrorist Threat: The Localization of Counter Terrorism Intelligence;" Chambers, James, "Homeland Security: Strategic, Operational, and Tactical Partnerships," in *The Homeland Security Papers: Stemming the Tide of Terror*, eds. Michael W. Ritz, Ralph G. Hensley Jr., and James C. Whitmore, Alabama: USAF Counterproliferation Center, 2004: 163-190.

[43] Henry, "The Need for a Coordinated and Strategic Local Police Approach to Terrorism: A Practitioner's Perspective."

[44] Murray, John, "Policing Terrorism: A Threat to Community Policing or Just a Shift in Priorities?" *Police Practice and Research* 6 (4) (2005): 347-361.

[45] Lehrer, Eli, "What Cops Can Teach the FBI," *The Weekly Standard*, July 29, 2002: 17.

[46] Thacher, David, "The Local Role in Homeland Security," *Law & Society Review* 39 (3) (2005): 635-676, 672.

[47] McCarthy, "Immigration status not local matter. Police, others resist US legislation to have them enforce law;" Sheridan, "Va. Seeks New Role Against Illegals; Police to Enforce Immigration Law;" Alonso-Zaldivar, "Police may join hunt for illegal migrants; advocates see a way to boost enforcement, but officers and civil rights groups fear abuses."

Section 4. American policing: Past and present trends

There are several different estimates for the number of law enforcement agencies in the U.S., ranging from about 19,000 to over 21,000 federal, state, and local agencies.[48] Consequently, American policing is a highly fragmented, decentralized "industry" that has evolved over time in response to a range of conditions.[49]

Models and styles of policing have changed over time. Some of these changes were natural developments, as was the case with advances in technology, while other events demanded new ways of working, as in the aftermath of scandal, because of increasing demands from communities and in response to a growing body of social science research on policing.

Professional policing emerged in the early 1930s, at a time when suspicion of police corruption was high and public opinion of police effectiveness was low. Policing historian Craig Uchida explains that the reform movement introduced a more scientific approach to policing. While this model increased the use of technology and helped elevate education levels among officers, the creation of a more centralized and hierarchical structure, specialized units, and car-centered patrol weakened police-community connections.[50]

Critics argued that police departments were isolated, both bureaucratically from other government agencies that were attempting to address social problems and from the citizenry, due to an over reliance on motorized patrol. This isolation reduced police effectiveness by constricting information flow between the police and the public and made attempts to address hostilities between the police and the public much more difficult—especially in communities whose residents were primarily people of color.[51] Indeed, urban unrest in the 1960s led some critics of big city departments to describe the police as an occupying force rather than as public servants.

The emergence of community policing. Community policing, the popular policing philosophy in the United States today, is relatively young and grew out of a response to "professional policing," which was the dominant model at the time.[52] By the early 1970s, the foundations of community policing—the need for community engagement and partnership—were being discussed in articles and books; however, it was not until the early 1990s that community policing became the prevailing model in the U.S.[53] Community policing ushered in an emphasis on police-community partnerships and collaborative problem solving.

In 1994, Congress authorized the creation of a federal agency, the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS), to support community policing reforms in jurisdictions

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[48] Ibid.
[49] Skogan, Wesley and Kathleen Frydl, eds., *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press, 2004.
[50] Uchida, Craig D., "The Development of the American Police: An Historical Overview," in R.G. Dunham and G. P. Alpert, eds., *Critical Issues in Policing*, 3rd Ed. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland, 1997: 18-35.
[51] Grinc, Randolph, "Angels in Marble: Problems Stimulating Community Involvement in Community Policing," *Crime & Delinquency* 40 (3) (1994): 437-468.
[52] Skogan, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence*: 85; Trojanowicz, Robert, *et al.*, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective 2nd Edition,* Ohio: Anderson Publishing Co., 1998: 42-43; Uchida, Craig D., "The Development of the American Police: A Historical Overview."
[53] Trojanowicz, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective 2nd Edition*, 55.

across the country. According to surveys at the time, as many as 85 percent of all law enforcement agencies in the United States had implemented or planned to implement community policing strategies. Over the last decade, COPS has invested over $7 billion in building capacity for community policing within law enforcement agencies.[54] However, practitioners and scholars alike acknowledge that implementation has been more uneven than the rhetoric may suggest.[55]

Community policing programs have sought to actively engage residents in developing crime prevention strategies and to foster a relationship of trust, thereby increasing the flow of information needed to solve and prevent crimes.[56] Multiple studies have shown that the cooperation of residents to assist police investigations and to provide information directly relates to the formation of trusting relationships and ongoing communication.[57]

Engaging the community in problem-solving efforts and, thus, expanding the role of policing beyond a system that simply reacts to incidents of crime, community policing prioritizes the idea of reducing fear of crime along with incidents of crime. As community policing scholar Robert Trojanowicz once explained, recognizing that fear can immobilize community action and can contribute to perceptions of public safety, police departments that embrace a community policing model make special efforts to decrease fear among their neighborhoods.[58]

Another defining characteristic of community policing is the importance of beat and patrol officers in developing and maintaining trusting relationships with the people they serve. The entire police department—from the chief down to the patrol officer—adopts this philosophy for it to be most effective. In the same way, relationship-building must happen at all levels within the community, from active representatives to ordinary residents. In fact, valuable information is most often contained in the outlying corners of communities, and these more marginalized sections must also be engaged.[59]

One of the main difficulties with the community policing model is its amorphous form—it is defined by the above philosophy rather than any one set of activities or programs. Examples of activities that increase face-to-face interactions and build community relationships can include, but not necessarily, bike and foot patrols, liaisons with particular ethnic groups, substations placed in high crime areas, working groups, and monthly forums.

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[54] McEwen, Tom, *National Assessment Program: 1994 Survey Results,* Research in Brief, Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, 1995; Thurman, Quint and M.D. Reisig, "Community Oriented Research in an Era of Community Oriented Policing," *The American Behavioral Scientist* 39 (1996); Zhao, Jihong, Matthew C. Scheider, and Quint Thurman, "National evaluation of the effect of COPS grants on police productivity 1995-1999," *Police Quarterly* 6 (4) (2003): 387-409.

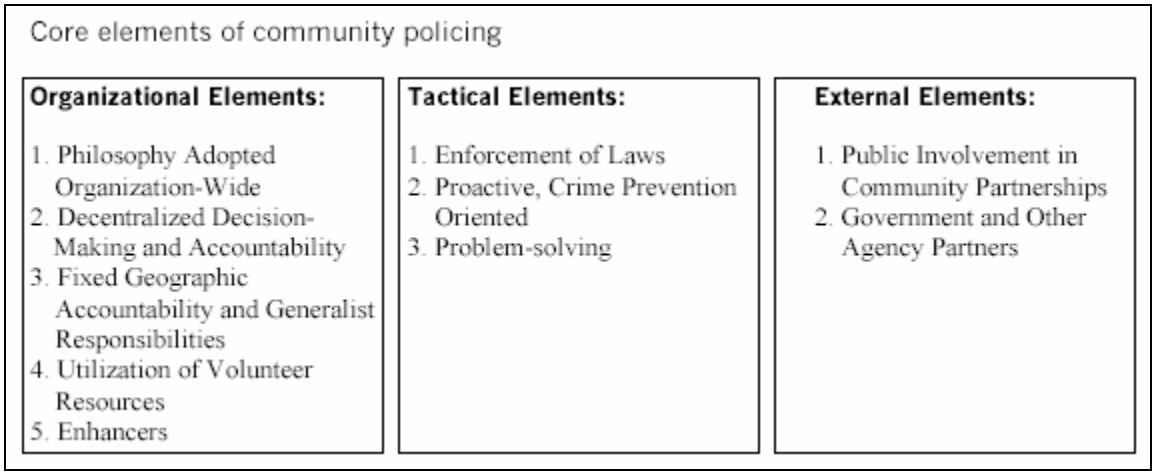
[55] Zhao, Jihong, "National evaluation of the effect of COPS grants on police productivity 1995-1999."

[56] Greene, Jack R. and Stephen D. Mastrofski, eds., *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality?* New York: Praeger, 1988.

[57] Glaser, Mark A. and Lee E. Parker, "The Thin Blue Line Meets the Bottom Line of Community Policing," *International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior* 4 (1&2) (2001): 163-195; Hahn, Harlan, "Ghetto Assessments of Police Protection and Authority," *Law and Society Review* 6 (2) (1971): 183-194; Lyons, "Partnerships, Information, and Public Safety: Community Policing in a Time of Terror," 533.

[58] Trojanowicz, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective 2nd Edition*, 107-131.

[59] Lyons, "Partnerships, Information, and Public Safety: Community Policing in a Time of Terror," 530.



Source: "What is Community Policing?," the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services

In general, they are time intensive, and the payoffs are often delayed. Faced with increasing budget cuts, police departments are finding it more and more difficult to prioritize neighborhood outreach.[60] While many departments have adopted the language of community policing, few have fully incorporated the philosophy into a department-wide approach.[61]

Even those precincts engaged in community policing efforts have found it difficult to enlist substantial community participation, and it has been particularly tough to effectively connect with black and Hispanic groups.[62] Studies have consistently shown that black Americans report the most negative views of law enforcement.[63] While research has ranged substantially about whether racial bias exists consistently over time, numerous studies suggest that minorities often experience disparate treatment, including a significantly higher likelihood of arrest and use of lethal force.[64]

Section 5. Chapter summary

National security concerns following September 11 have prompted debate among policing scholars and practitioners about whether local agencies should take advantage of their unique street-level position to be more involved in intelligence gathering and immigration enforcement. Federal policies and practices that have involved local police, such as voluntary interviews and immigration enforcement, as well as a heightened public awareness to terrorism concerns, have introduced a focus on "offender search"—surveillance and intelligence gathering—into police work for some agencies. In addition, the shift of the FBI further toward counterterrorism concerns and the expansion of JTTFs, which work with local police agencies, have further changed the landscape of law enforcement activities.

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[60] Butterfield, Fox, "As Cities Struggle, Police Get by With Less," *New York Times,* July 27, 2004; Williamson, Elizabeth, "Frederick Police Caught in a Squeeze: While City Grows, Federal Aid Falls," *Washington Post,* April 10, 2005.
[61] Trojanowicz, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective 2nd Edition,* 2.
[62] Skogan, Wesley G., *Disorder and Decline: Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighborhoods,* New York: Free Press, 1990.
[63] Grinc, "Angels in Marble: Problems in Stimulating Community Involvement in Community Policing," *Crime & Delinquency* 40 (3) (1994): 437-468; Skogan, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence,* 123.
[64] Skogan, *Fairness and Effectiveness in Policing: The Evidence,* 123.

Community policing—the engagement of communities in problem-solving partnerships to address crime and public safety concerns—has been the dominant policing philosophy in the United States for the past two decades. Given the increasing emphasis on national security and terrorism, scholars and practitioners have been debating whether police departments can continue to build trusting partnerships, particularly with immigrant communities, if they are also going to engage in intelligence gathering and enforcement of immigration violations.

Chapter 3: Arab American communities before and after September 11, 2001

Section 1. Changes in Arab American communities since September 11, 2001

In the aftermath of September 11, Arab Americans in particular were confronted with the "reality that the local is global and the global is local," as events with roots in the Middle East began to have an impact on Arab American communities across the US.[65] In the immediate months following September 11, reports of bias crimes and discrimination flooded newspaper articles and television news stories.[66] With the heightened media focus came increasing public vigilance and suspicion.

In addition, the blurring of lines between the traditional domains of local law enforcement and federal agencies in certain locales happened at a time when high profile federal legislation and activities were largely focusing on Arab Americans and American Muslims. And while community and advocacy groups debate the basic assumption that terrorism related information is contained within these communities, the focus on Arab American communities continues.[67] The following section begins by examining federal policies and initiatives, hate crimes, heightened public vigilance, and community reactions to these issues. It concludes with some background into Arab American communities.

Community reactions to changes in federal policy

The broadened powers and increased activity of the FBI and immigration authorities have greatly concerned some Arab Americans and American Muslims. For example, among the most controversial of provisions in the USA Patriot Act is the ability to more easily obtain personal information about possible terrorist-related suspects through wiretaps, property searches, surveillance, and e-mail and Internet account monitoring and the ability to detain foreign nationals and hold them without public acknowledgement.[68] As allowed under the Act, detentions of Arab American and American Muslim men, some of whom are said to be held on

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[65] Naber, Nadine C., "So Our History Doesn't Become Your Future: The Local and Global Politics of Coalition Building Post September 11th," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5 (3) (October 2002): 220.

[66] To name just a few: Goodstein, Laurie and Gustav Niebuhr, "Attacks and Harassment of Middle-Eastern Americans Rising," *New York Times,* September 14, 2001; Lewin, Tamar and Gustav Niebuhr, "Attacks and Harassment Continue on Middle Eastern People and Mosques," *New York Times,* September 18, 2001; Cooperman, Alan, "September 11 Backlash Murders and the State of Hate; Between Families and Police, a Gulf on Victim Count," *Washington Post,* January 20, 2002; "A Nation Challenged: The Immigrants: More Insulted and Attacked After September 11," *New York Times,* March 11, 2002.

[67] Human Rights Watch, *We are not the enemy: Hate crimes against Arabs, Muslims, and those perceived to be Arab or Muslim after September 11,* November 2002. Available at <http://www.hrw.org/reports/2002/usahate/usa1102.pdf>; Pierre, Robert E., "Fear and Anxiety Permeate Arab Enclave Near Detroit; Muslim Americans Feel They Are Targets in War on Terror," *Washington Post,* August 4, 2002.

[68] Reid, Alexander, "City Urged to Back Revised Patriot Act," *Boston Globe,* November 14, 2004; American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, "ADC Fact Sheet: The Condition of Arab Americans Post 9/11," March 27, 2002.

minor visa violations and paperwork mishaps, have become rallying points for some civil rights organizations and Arab American groups.[69]

Concerns over these broadened powers often stem from fears that civil liberties are being threatened.[70] In fact, community groups advocating for greater transparency around the use of the USA Patriot Act for intelligence gathering have sued the Justice Department under the Freedom of Information Act.[71] According to information released in October 2005 as a result of the suit, in 13 cases detailed in the documents, the FBI carried out investigations and surveillance without proper paperwork or oversight.[72] Among the violations reported, agents allegedly "seized bank records without proper authority and conducted an improper and unconsented physical search."[73]

Further, participants in a Justice Department community meeting held in Dearborn, MI, expressed more worry over their civil liberties and new federal legislation than racial slurs and harassment. In some Arab American communities, the anxiety and concern over federal policies and practices has hindered law enforcement attempts to reach out to the community. For example, an effort by the FBI to recruit Arabic-speaking agents in New Jersey was met with suspicion by community members upset by the detention of relatives, friends, and acquaintances by federal authorities.

Since September 11, there has been an increase in reports filed by Arab Americans charging police with using excessive force with ethnic overtones. In Dearborn, MI, a city of 100,000 people, three lawsuits were filed in 2001 alone.[74] Community groups and residents worry that racial profiling, previously decried when African-Americans were the target, is being practiced with those who appear to be of Arab descent.[75]

Hate and bias crimes

Reports ranged substantially regarding the magnitude of increase in hate crimes against Arab Americans and American Muslims, with studies suggesting anywhere from a three-fold to 17-fold increase.[76] Underreporting may explain some of these discrepancies. For instance, victims of bias crimes may not want to cause trouble with immigration authorities if they are undocumented

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[69] American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, "ADC Fact Sheet: The Condition of Arab Americans Post 9/11;" U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Implementing the USA Patriot Act of 2001: Civil Rights Impact,* June 19, 2003: Chapter 5.

[70] The Institute for Social Policy and Understanding, *The USA Patriot Act: Impact on the Arab and Muslim American Community,* 2004.

[71] To obtain records relating to the Patriot Act, the Electronic Privacy Information Center (EPIC) sued the Justice Department.

[72] Eggen, Dan, "FBI Papers Indicate Intelligence Violations Secret Surveillance Lacked Oversight," *Washington Post*, October 24, 2005, A01.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Wilgoren, "Michigan Officers Fear Pressure of US Plan."

[75] Sheridan, Mary Beth, "Bias Against Muslims Up 70%," *Washington Post*, May 3, 2004, A12; Schmitt, Ben, "Arab men accuse cops of ethnic intimidation," *Detroit Free Press,* March 26, 2004; Leonard, Mary, "Arab Americans feel sting of profiling, Michigan community protests bias and even hate crimes," *Boston Globe,* October 19, 2001.

[76] Arab American Institute, "In the Aftermath of the Tragedy: Anti-Arab and Anti-Muslim Attack Incidents," Online on September 19, 2001 at <http://www.aaiusa.org/Tragedy/incidents.html>; Sachs, Susan, "For Many American Muslims, Complaints of Quiet but Persistent Bias," *New York Times,* April 25, 2002.

or have recently applied for citizenship. Additionally, immigrants may have a poor understanding of the U.S. legal system, may fear reprisals from the perpetrators, or are likely to have negative associations with law enforcement because of experiences with corrupt police in their home countries.[77]

Anti-Arab backlash has ranged from ethnic and religious slurs and workplace discrimination to the destruction of mosques, Arab-owned businesses, and even beatings and killings.[78] After an Arizona man was killed because the turban he was wearing reminded the murderer of news images of Osama bin Laden, some Muslims, Sikhs, and others perceived to be Arab began dressing in western attire and temporarily removed signs of their religion, such as headscarves, turbans, and beards.[79] Moreover, Arab Americans and American Muslims have suggested that a quiet but persistent bias, like an undercurrent in work and social interactions, is commonly felt.[80]

Heightened public vigilance

At a time when many Arab Americans have felt anxiety and worry about recent counterterrorism efforts by law enforcement and federal agencies, community groups say the pressure to apprehend terror suspects has prompted public hostility and suspicion. In fact, soon after September 11, government officials appealed to the public to be extra vigilant about possible terrorist planning.[81] Authorities say that these efforts are an integral part in counterterrorism efforts.[82]

However, critics worry that neighbors, schoolmates, and other ordinary citizens have become informants, resulting in an environment of racial profiling and heightened public scrutiny for many Arab Americans.[83] They point to a restaurant diner's hasty reporting of three Muslim medical students in Florida, which brought media attention to some of the risks of deputizing the public without appropriate training.[84]

Whether or not heightened citizen vigilance is a positive step in counterterrorism efforts is up for debate, but it is in this environment of watchfulness and suspicion in which some Arab Americans feel that they now navigate.[85]

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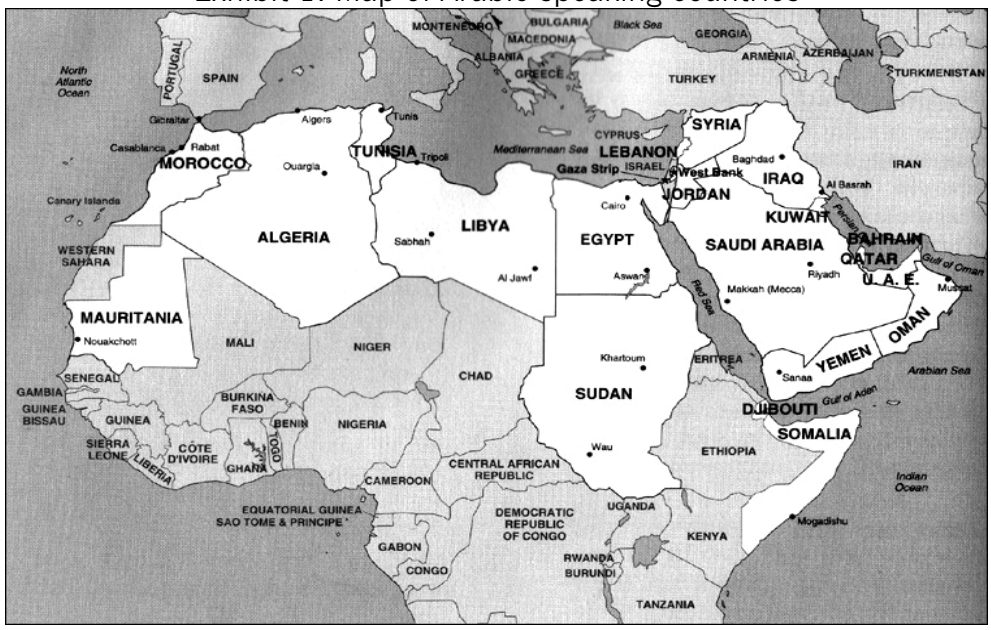
[77] Bruner, Karla Tasgola, "'Anti-Muslim' incidents on rise in US, group says; some in metro area complain," *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* May 1, 2002.
[78] Arab American Institute, "In the Aftermath of the Tragedy: Anti-Arab and Anti-Muslim Attack Incidents."
[79] Tharoor, Shashi, "Letter from America; Our Writer Reflects on Being 'Brown in America,'" *Newsweek,* October 29, 2001.
[80] Sachs, Susan, "For Many American Muslims, Complaints of Quiet but Persistent Bias."
[81] Operation TIPS was one Justice Department initiative for expanding public vigilance. Described in Bush, George W., "Securing the Homeland, Strengthening the Nation," 2002.
[82] Crary, David, "Terrorism Tipsters Face a Dilemma; Line Between Vigilance and Paranoia is Blurry," *The Associated Press,* September 17, 2002.
[83] Liptak, Adam, "A Nation of Informers—or Alert Citizens," *New York Times,* September 22, 2002; "Terrorism Tipsters Face a Dilemma; Line Between Vigilance and Paranoia is Blurry."
[84] Ibid.
[85] Liptak, "A Nation of Informers—or Alert Citizens?;" Bruner, "'Anti-Muslim' incidents on rise in US, group says; some in metro area complain;" Sachs, "For Many American Muslims, Complaints of Quiet but Persistent Bias."

Section 2. Arabs in the United States

While Arab Americans have been, to some degree, thrust into the public eye only recently, Arab American communities are fairly well established across the United States. Arab Americans established a presence in the U.S. beginning in the late nineteenth century. Nationally, a little over 1 million persons claimed Arab first ancestry on the 2000 Census. While this represents only 0.42 percent of the total U.S. population, various sources, including the Arab American Institute (AAI), suggest that the number of Arab Americans is higher than Census figures suggest.[86] Using a formula to adjust for Census undercount, AAI estimates that the population is closer to 3.5 million people.

The term 'Arab' identifies groups of people who speak Arabic. Arabic-speaking people span two continents—Asia and Africa—and represent an incredibly diverse range of cultures, religions, and ethnicities. Exhibit 1 shows the geographic dispersion of Arabic-speaking people.

Exhibit 1: Map of Arabic-speaking countries

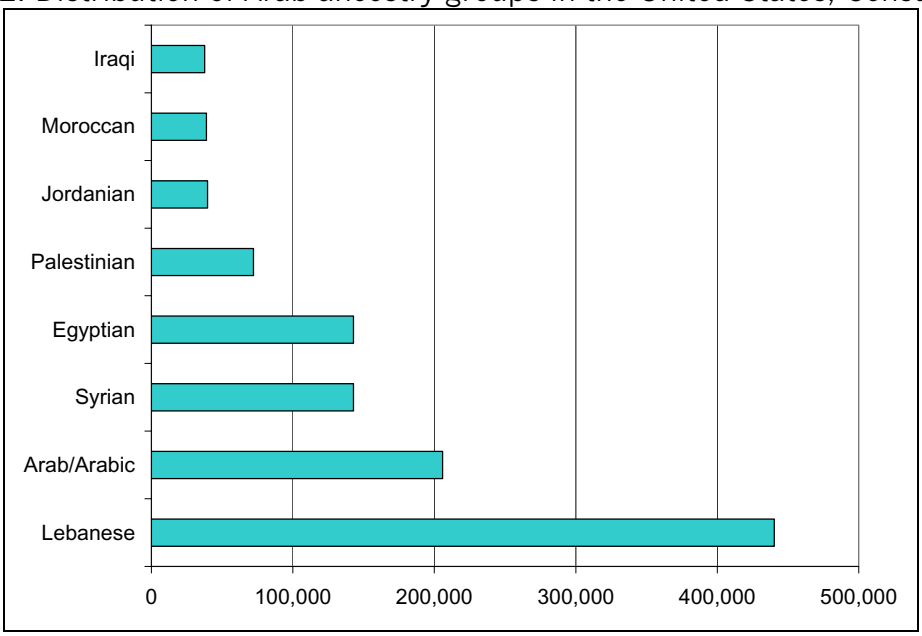


From the Arab American Encyclopedia, see http://www.accesscommunity.org/arab_world.html.

Over a quarter of all Arab Americans claim Lebanese descent. While most Arab Americans originate from seven countries—Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, and Syria—Arab Americans come from any of the 22 Arabic speaking countries shown above. Exhibit 2 depicts the distribution of those claiming Arab ancestry on the 2000 Census.

[86] The Arab American Institute (AAI) works closely with the U.S. Census Bureau and estimates that due to non-response, undercounting may account for the different figures. For more information see <http://www.aaiusa.org/demographics.htm#undercount>; Nagel, C. and L. Staeheli, "Citizenship, identity and transnational migration: Arab immigrants to the US," *Space and Polity* 8 (1) (2004): 3-24.

Exhibit 2: Distribution of Arab ancestry groups in the United States, Census 2000



Those claiming Syrian and Egyptian ancestry represent the next largest groups, with each contributing 12 percent to the total population. Persons claiming Palestinian, Jordanian, Iraqi, and Moroccan descent rounded out the list of country-specific ancestry. Finally, about one-fourth (24 percent) of people claimed one of two catchall categories of "Arab/Arabic" or "other Arab."[87]

Migration to the United States

The story of Arab immigration to the United States is not unlike that of other groups that have come to America for new opportunities, to flee persecution in their home countries, and to seek a better life for their families. According to Naber, Arab immigration to the U.S. occurred in three phases, and it is only recently that a distinct Arab American identity has emerged.[88]

The first wave of immigration took place in the period between 1880 and 1945. These immigrants were mainly Christians from the Levantine lands better known today as Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine.[89] There were a few craftsmen among them; however, most were unskilled. Like other ethnic groups, including the Italians and the Irish, these early immigrants arrived during a period of assimilation and made great efforts to integrate into American society by associating themselves with the white majority and altering their surnames.

The second surge occurred after the Second World War and coincided with changes in U.S. immigration policy. This group differed from the first in that it consisted primarily of professionals and university students. Muslims and women were also better represented in this wave of immigrants. They came for educational and economic purposes and had the intent of

[87] These two broad categories are comprised of people from Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros Islands, Djibouti, Kuwait, Libya, Mauritania, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.
[88] Naber, N., "Ambiguous insiders: an investigation of Arab American invisibility," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (1) (January 2000): 37-61.
[89] Curtiss, Richard H., "Two Arab-American Groups Merge for 'Political Empowerment' in 21st Century," *The Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* XIX (2) (March 2000): 33-34.

returning to their home countries until the Palestine War of 1948, which prompted a removal of Palestinians. Naber observes that it was within this group of immigrants that an Arab identity began to be a priority as Arab nations sought to obtain a certain level of political autonomy.[90]

The 1960s heralded the most recent segment of Arab immigration. The newest groups of immigrants are diverse and include refugees stricken by civil wars, educated individuals attracted by occupational opportunities not available to them back home, as well as others from a multitude of religious, cultural, and economic backgrounds around the Arab region. According to scholars, this group is acutely aware of the political nature of their circumstances as a result of the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and the development of U.S.-Middle East relations.

Arab American identities

While the Census Bureau identifies this population as "Arab," a number of researchers cite a distinct "Arab American" consciousness, which developed in 1970s.[91] Arab Americans have confronted the persistently false perception of the Arab American population as a monolith despite their varied backgrounds. Nagel and Staeheli assert that Hollywood film productions and media coverage of Arabs have helped build and perpetuate negative stereotypes.[92] They argue that these negative stereotypes have influenced public perceptions of Arabs as "terrorists, murky oil sheikhs, flag-burning fanatics, and submissive veiled women." Another common misconception is to conflate Arab with Muslim when, in fact, it is estimated that two-thirds of the Arab American population is Christian.[93]

That this latter detail is a little known fact is a consequence of the group's successful assimilation into the American national identity, which some allege is partly owed to the ambiguous categorization of Arabs as both white and non-white. For one, the Census Bureau classifies Arabs as whites, and there are Arabs who physically can pass as racially white. Still, there are many Arabs who do not consider themselves white because of their distinct cultural background or who are not considered so by others because of their skin color. Naber argues that the lumping together of all Arabs and imposing a label of whiteness renders the community "invisible."[94] Some caution the Arab American community that by allowing the above to continue, they will never find a strong voice within American society. Of course, therein presents the issue of whether or not Arab Americans themselves want to be identified as a group despite numerous differences.

As with any other group, and maybe more so, divisions within the Arab American community exist. For example, Naber described that after September 11, some Christian Arabs sought to dissociate themselves from Muslim Arabs and made statements such as "this is a Muslim issue and we don't have anything to do with all of this."[95]

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[90] Naber, "Ambiguous insiders: an investigation of Arab American invisibility."
[91] Nagel, "Citizenship, identity and transnational migration: Arab immigrants to the U.S."
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Naber, "Ambiguous insiders: an investigation of Arab American invisibility," 37-61.
[95] Naber, Nadine C., "So Our History Doesn't Become Your Future: The Local and Global Politics of Coalition Building Post September 11th," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 5 (3) (October 2002): 217.

Besides the difficulties raised by religious and ethnic divisions, rifts caused by generational differences exist. In a study about identity among Arab American adolescents, Ajrouch used focus group and individual interviews to investigate how second-generation Arab Americans navigate the boundaries of race.[96] Young Arab Americans distinguish themselves from both whites and other Arabs who do not take on an American identity. However, Ajrouch astutely recognized that these Arab youths may be forced to align themselves with one group or the other as they grow older and that this undertaking is all the more driven by events like September 11, which allow the public to label Arab Americans as alien and un-American or as "the other."

Further, clashes between traditional Arab and American culture are prominent when Arab Americans must confront issues including homosexuality and feminism. In addition, tension may arise when younger Arab Americans deviate from traditional customs and settle down with individuals from other cultural backgrounds. Bringing together third-generation Arab Americans, who are largely fully assimilated, newer immigrants who often choose not to conform, and everyone in between has been a challenge to community building efforts.[97]

Community organizing and mobilization. Scholars suggest that the realization of a more visible Arab American consciousness emerged following the 1967 Arab-Israeli War and that Arab solidarity grew from a shared interest in the Palestinian cause.[98] The mobilization of Arabs in the U.S. transpired soon after, driven by late twentieth century events like the 1973 Arab oil embargo; the decision by the U.S. in 1975 to take an anti-PLO stance; the Abscam operation in 1978 in which the FBI impersonated Arab businessmen in order to uncover corrupt politicians; the 1979 hostage situation in Iran; the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon; and the Gulf War in the 1990s.[99] These developments produced a growing focus on tensions in the Middle East and had the effect of generating both anti-Arab sentiment and Arab American dissent at U.S. instituted policies and actions in the region. According to Shain, the two greatest issues of concern for Arab Americans are "U.S. foreign policy and the community's place in the American system."[100]

Thus, the events of the last three decades galvanized communities and led to the formation of Arab American organizations in the 1970s and 1980s. Early attempts at collective action led to the establishment of the National Association of Arab Americans (NAAA) in 1972 and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in 1980.[101] September 11 has triggered an even wider response by the Arab American population to organize and "expand the possibilities for coalition building."[102] Yet, even though the events of September 11 have

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[96] Ajrouch, K.J., "Gender, Race, and Symbolic Boundaries: Contested Spaces of Identity among Arab American Adolescents," *Sociological Perspectives* 47 (4) (2004): 371–391.
[97] Zogby, James, "A question of identity: What defines an 'Arab American'?," *The Arab American News* 13 (599) (March 1997): 4; Broder, Jonathan, "Arabs in America—On the Defensive," *The Jerusalem Report,* August 26, 1993: 28.
[98] Shain, Yossi, "Arab-Americans at a Crossroads," *Journal of Palestine Studies* 25 (2) (April 1996): 46-59.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid., 51.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Naber, Nadine C., "So Our History Doesn't Become Your Future: The Local and Global Politics of Coalition Building Post September 11th," 217.

stimulated members of the Arab American community to mobilize, historical relationships with external groups like law enforcement have sometimes made it difficult to reach out.

Arab Americans and law enforcement

Academics acknowledge there is a tendency for community members to possess an initial distrust of law enforcement groups. Research has consistently shown that this distrust is particularly true for immigrant communities. Individuals from immigrant groups may carry negative associations with law enforcement, a result of experiences in their home countries, and may not feel comfortable approaching the police.[103] Along with memories of negative experiences, language and cultural differences may hinder cooperation with law enforcement.[104] These make up the cultural baggage that many Arab American and other foreign-born communities carry with them.

Section 3. Chapter summary

Prior to September 11, scholars proposed that Arab Americans were largely invisible politically and culturally in the American mainstream, perhaps partly owing to their success at assimilation. Establishing a presence in the United States beginning in the late nineteenth century, Arab Americans currently number slightly over 1 million according to the 2000 U.S. Census. However, the Arab American Institute estimates that the Arab American population is closer to 3.5 million people. Although often viewed as monolithic, Arab Americans come from 22 Arabic speaking countries. An estimated two-thirds are Christian, yet media portrayals more often associate Islam with the Arab American population.

The events of September 11 brought increased focus on Arab American communities. Federal policies and activities, including the USA Patriot Act, special registration, voluntary interviews, detention, and deportation, seem to be focused on citizens and non-citizens of Arab descent. There was an increase in reported hate and bias crimes directed at Arab Americans and those perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent, yet the prevalence of victimization is difficult to measure as there are large discrepancies between numbers reported by community based organizations and the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. In addition, calls for heightened public vigilance by the government further created an environment of watchfulness and suspicion, in some cases leading to hasty reporting.

There is little, if any, existing literature on law enforcement and Arab American communities prior to September 11. However, research has consistently shown that immigrant communities are often distrustful or wary of law enforcement, a result of experiences in their home countries as well as language and cultural differences. Considering the impact of hate crimes, heightened public scrutiny, and the implementation of certain federal policies, examining the current state of

[103] Davis, Robert C. and Nicole J. Henderson, "Willingness to Report Crimes: The Role of Ethnic Group Membership and Community Efficacy," *Crime and Delinquency* 49 (4) (October 2003): 564-580; Pogrebin, M.A. and E.D. Poole, "Culture conflict and crime in the Korean American community," *Criminal Justice Policy Review* 4 (1990): 69-78; Song, J., "Attitudes of Chinese immigrants and Vietnamese refugees toward law enforcement in the United States," *Justice Quarterly* 9 (1992): 703-719.

[104] Culver, L., "The impact of new immigration patterns on the provision of police services in Midwestern communities," *Journal of Criminal Justice* 32 (2004): 329-344.

relations between law enforcement and Arab American communities is a timely and important endeavor.

Chapter 4: Research design

Due to the global nature of the events surrounding September 11 and the federal-level policy responses to them, the study took on a dual focus looking at both national and local level law enforcement. In order to chart general trends, topics, and sentiments on the national level, as well as tease out some of the more complex issues, we employed a largely qualitative study design, including a telephone survey in 16 sites across the country and face-to-face interviews and focus groups in four cases study sites.

The need for a qualitative study

Initially, we envisioned a study design employing both quantitative and qualitative methods utilizing a closed-answer survey instrument across 16 sites for the first stage of research. However, given the current national environment and sensitive nature of the study topic, Vera's Institutional Review Board (IRB)[105] felt that a closed-answer survey may cause participants to feel uncomfortable or unsafe.

Further, as we conducted background research into existing relations between law enforcement agencies and Arab American communities we found little substantive work. As a result, we felt that a grounded theory approach—or entering the study without preconceived notions and letting themes emerge from the collected data—would be more appropriate for this particular project.[106] We generally began the project with few predefined themes, though it is important to note that we did hold several hypotheses about the role of community policing in outreach efforts.

In response, we revised the interview instruments to include semi-structured open-ended questions in order to allow respondents to talk about concerns and issues on their own terms, without the constraints of a predetermined line of questioning.

Other modifications to the original research design

Institutional Review Board requirements. As noted above, given the sensitive nature of some of the issues explored in this project, Vera's IRB was particularly concerned about participant confidentiality. As a result of the IRB's concerns, we agreed to never identify participants by name. Additionally, we agreed not to disclose the names of the sites from which study subjects are drawn in this report. We hope that in reporting our findings by placing primary emphasis on the interesting practices and characteristics that cut across sites, rather than on individual sites themselves, we will still accomplish our main objectives of discovering barriers to communication and identifying innovative and promising practices for creating ways of expanding the methods and quality of communications between law enforcement and Arab American communities.

[105] The National Research Act of 1974 mandated that all research institutions have their own Institutional Review Board (IRB). IRBs review and approve the ethical use of human subjects in all applicable research studies sponsored by the institution.

[106] Glaser, B. and A. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory,* Chicago: Aldine, 1967.

Focus of the study. At the completion of the telephone interviews and planning for the next research stage of case studies, we became conscious of two issues, which led to a slight change in the project's focus. We had originally planned to focus primarily on identifying and highlighting examples of good practice, yet after completing the telephone interviews, we learned that the majority of our sites were still grappling with how to respond and many were at the beginning stages of reaching out to Arab American communities. In the end, only a select few sites held examples of promising practice. In response to this concern, we decided that rather than detailing only promising practices, we would also explore broader issues affecting the state of relations between law enforcement agencies and Arab American communities and highlight some of the obstacles to building effective relationships.

In addition, we had been in touch with some colleagues at Northeastern University (NEU) who were conducting research in the same area of study. The Northeastern project, culminated in a comprehensive guide entitled *Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide*, which provided a good deal of information on existing community and law enforcement initiatives. [107] The NEU study focused only on three sites with examples of promising outreach and primarily drew from experiences and examples at the community leader and law enforcement administrator level.

As a result, in order to avoid duplicating research, we focused more closely than initially planned on the experiences and perspectives of *community members* and law enforcement *line staff*.[108] In addition, our study places a greater emphasis on the role that community policing plays in outreach efforts rather than issues relating explicitly to counterterrorism, which was a key component of the NEU study.

Methods of data collection. Our experience with conducting phone interviews also led us to redesign the second phase of the research. Instead of the face-to-face interviews and focus groups we eventually used, we had originally planned a door-to-door survey using community residents as interviewers.

Based on the difficulties encountered during the telephone interviews, we realized that a door-to-door survey of 75 community members in each of the four jurisdictions was not feasible. In phase I, contacting members of the community and arranging phone interviews was an extremely challenging process. Although most people did agree to participate, it often required numerous calls to arrange the telephone interview, even after the participant had received a letter explaining the study.

According to colleagues doing similar research and according to what participants themselves have told us, one potential reason for the difficulty we faced may be that mail and phone contacts from strangers are initially treated with some suspicion. While the door-to-door surveys were to be conducted by community members recruited by local organizations, we strongly suspected these unexpected visits would not have been met warmly, or worse, might have been considered threatening or suspicious to communities that were already feeling

[107] Funded by the Open Society Institute.

[108] We expected that this approach would provide some insight into how policies and practices play out on the ground during routine encounters, particularly because people who have direct experience with the police help to shape community opinion of the police when they retell their stories to family, friends, and relatives.

vulnerable due to increased scrutiny. For example, given the current climate, we had good reason to be concerned that our surveys could be confused with existing federal law enforcement initiatives involving the nationwide interviews of Arab Americans and American Muslims.[109]

In addition, using community members would compromise our ability to ensure confidentiality. Though we would have trained the interviewers and managed the survey remotely, it was unlikely that we would have been able to supervise the interviewers as closely as necessary to insure the integrity of our data.

Therefore, in order to tap into the community perspective, we instead decided to conduct focus groups of community members. We also added focus groups of police officers and patrol officers, which were not originally planned. The structure of focus groups has been shown to allow richly layered discussion, providing a forum for participants to challenge the opinions of their peers or modify their own. We also valued the ways in which focus groups can reveal evidence of conformity, inconsistency, and ambivalence about certain complex issues.[110] Given this, triangulation between phone interviews and focus groups would be more effective than phone interviews and a door-to-door survey.

Position within the current discourse

Apart from the media and community based organizations, few studies have explored relations between law enforcement and Arab American communities since September 11. In addition to the Northeastern study mentioned above, RAND has also published a comprehensive quantitative study, which focused exclusively on law enforcement.[111]

Both the NEU and RAND studies look at non-Arab ethnic and religious groups that have been similarly impacted by the events of September 11. In contrast, this project focuses exclusively on Arab Americans. There is no doubt that American Muslims, Sikhs, South Asians, and others who may be similarly targeted because of appearance, have also been the victims of hate crimes and discrimination since September 11. In addition, we chose to focus in detail on one subgroup—likely the most important of all the subgroups—in place of a more superficial coverage of many.

First, for practical reasons, the 2000 Census collected statistics, for the first time, on persons of Arab descent. Fitting with our study methodology, we used Census figures to draw up a representative sample.

Second, looking at a particular ethnic group rather than a religious group (i.e., American Muslims) allowed us to see similarities and differences, if any, among various religious affiliations. Considering the context of the current environment, we felt that cutting across religions might provide an interesting set of comparisons.

Finally, scholars like Akram suggest that while "perpetrators of hostile acts or aggression" tend to target "brown-skinned people" no matter their ethnicity or religious affiliation, she

[109] Sheridan, Mary Beth, "Interviews Of Muslims To Broaden: FBI Hopes to Avert A Terrorist Attack," *Washington Post*, July 17, 2004, A01.
[110] Kidd, Pamela S. and Mark B. Parshall, "Getting the Focus and the Group: Enhancing Analytical Rigor in Focus Group Research," *Qualitative Health Research* 10 (3) (May 2000).
[111] RAND Corporation, "When Terrorism Hits Home: How Prepared are State and Local Law Enforcement?" 2004.

argues, "the public perception of 'Arabs' as responsible for most terrorism against Americans and American interests results in Arab-Americans feeling the greatest impact of this hostility."[112]

Section 1. Study sample and Arab Americans

As we mentioned earlier, the Northeastern *Promising Practices Guide* is one of the first studies to explore relations between law enforcement and Arab American communities. While the Northeastern study began by selecting three sites in which law enforcement agencies "recognized the need to build the bridges required for effective communication" with American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh communities,[113] our project begins with a slightly different premise. Rather than beginning with promising sites, we conducted a Census analysis and identified areas with high concentrations of Arab American residents, the results of which guided site selection. Therefore, the first most basic question we hoped to answer was whether law enforcement agencies serving jurisdictions with large Arab American populations did, in fact, recognize the need to build effective communication and whether or not they had made steps to address this need.

Site selection and Census analysis

Researchers utilized Census 2000 data to identify 37 communities within the United States that had the highest concentrations, based on percentage and number, of Arab American residents. From these 37 sites, we compiled a sample of 20 jurisdictions for analysis. The locations were selected in an attempt to compile a diverse sample based upon geographic region, size, and demographic make-up of the Arab American community.

The sample of 20 sites included four major cities with a total population greater than 500,000, four second-tier cities with a total population between 250,000 and 500,000, four third-tier cities with a total population between 100,000 and 250,000, and four small cities with a total population under 100,000. Of the 20 sites included in the initial sample, law enforcement agencies in four sites declined to participate in the study, leaving a final sample of 16 municipal jurisdictions. In this study, these 37 concentrated areas account for 25 percent of the total U.S. Arab population while the representative sample of 16 sites accounts for 9 percent of the total U.S. Arab population.

Geographic dispersion

The Arab American population in the United States is evenly dispersed in terms of regional geography. On the 2000 Census, approximately 27 percent of Arab Americans reported that they live in the Northeast. An additional 26 percent reported that they reside in the South, 24 percent reported that they reside in the Midwest, and 22 percent reported that they live in the West. The sample did achieve diversity with all regions of the United States represented. Using the U.S. Census regions, two sites were in the West, four in the Midwest, four in the Northeast, and six in the South.

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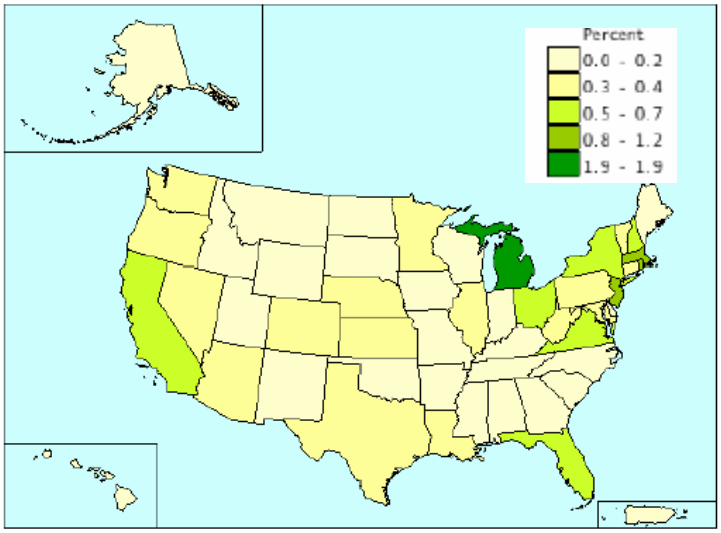
[112] Akram, Susan M., "The Aftermath of September 11, 2001: The Targeting of Arabs and Muslims in America," *Arab Studies Quarterly* 24 (2&3) (2002): 67.

[113] Ramirez, D.A., Cohen O'Connell, and R. Zafar, *Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide*. Boston: Northeastern University, 2004: 2.

Exhibit 3 depicts the percentages of Arab Americans residing in each state. As is evident by the map, Michigan is the lone standout with nearly 2 percent of the state's population reporting Arab ancestry.

Exhibit 3: Percentage of Arab ancestry by state, Census 2000

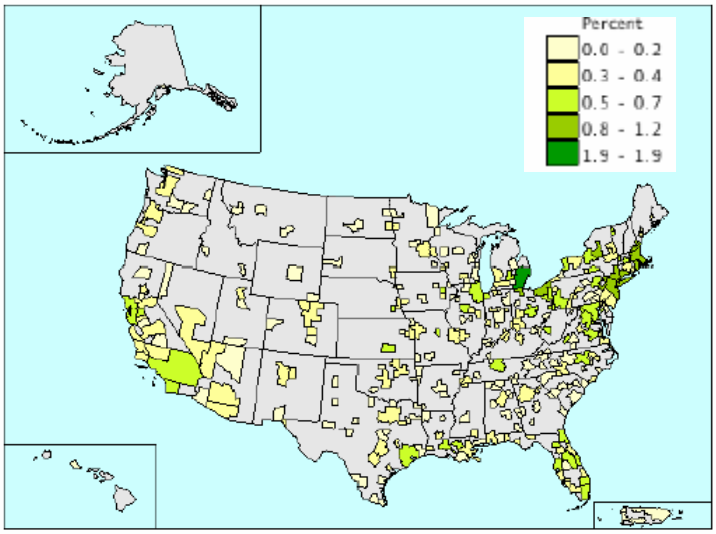


A micro-level analysis of geographic dispersion within this community reveals a more detailed clustering pattern. It appears that settlement patterns within Arab American communities mirror that of many other immigrant groups with tight clusters in many states and in certain cities or neighborhoods within cities.[114]

In fact, in some states, Arab Americans residing in one or two adjoining counties make up all of the Arab Americans residing in the state. As a result of this clustering, many cities across the United States have large and distinct pockets of Arab Americans residing within them. In some cases, the Arab American population soars to nearly 30 percent of the total population in a given city. Exhibit 4 depicts national community level concentrations of Arab Americans.

[114] Logan, John R., Wenquan Zhang, and Richard D. Alba, "Immigrant Enclaves and Ethnic Communities in New York and Los Angeles," *American Sociological Review* 67 (2) (April 2002): 300.

Exhibit 4: Percentage of Arab ancestry, metropolitan statistical area, Census 2000



According to the map, many states contain one or two metropolitan statistical areas with high concentrations of Arab Americans. While we do not name the 16 sites of study, this map shows how findings from our study, which focuses on a sample of communities with high concentrations of Arab Americans, can be generalized to a broader sample of areas with large Arab American populations.

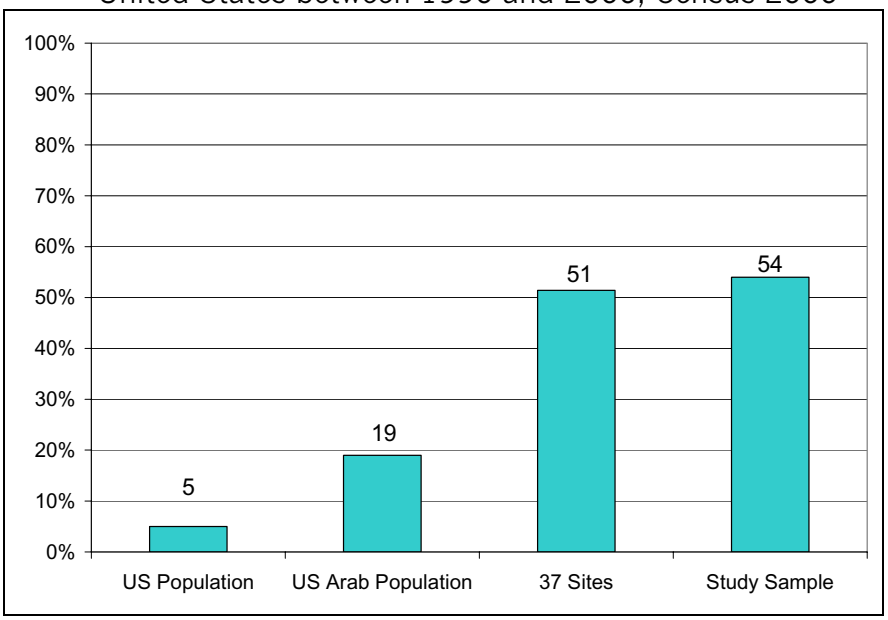
Sample comparisons

The study sample was carefully selected to represent Arab Americans residing in concentrated communities and not the entire U.S. Arab population. In the following section, we use Census data to make some general observations about the U.S. population in general, Arab American communities nationwide, the 37 concentrated communities, and our study sample of 16 sites.

Immigration patterns. The number of people of Arab ancestry immigrating to the U.S. has been steadily increasing. In the 10 years between the 1990 and 2000 Census, the Arab population in the United States increased by nearly 40 percent.

As Exhibit 5 shows, nationally approximately only 5 percent of people immigrated to the United States between 1990 and 2000. Among people of Arab descent nationwide, this figure is much higher, with approximately 19 percent immigrating during that 10-year period.

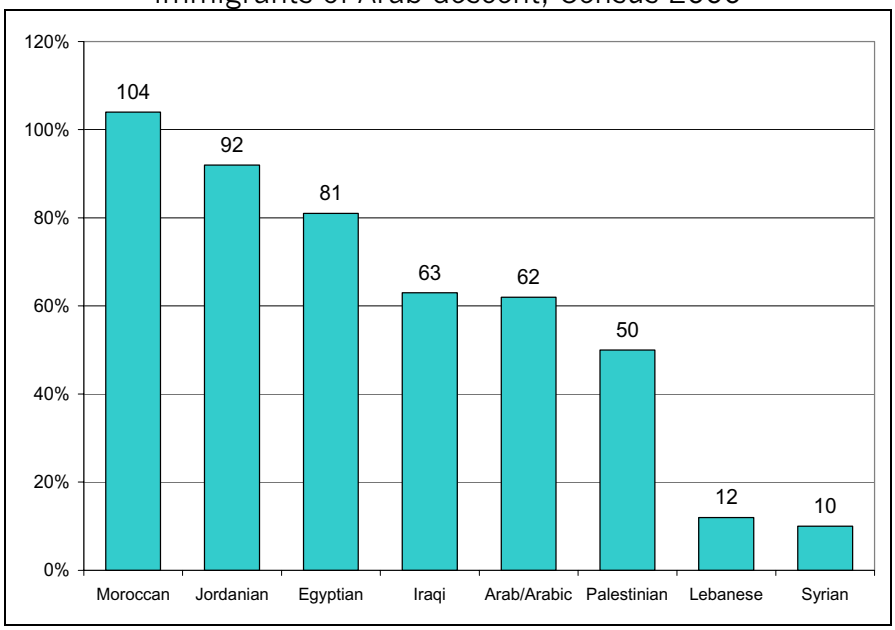
Exhibit 5: Percentage of people who immigrated to the United States between 1990 and 2000, Census 2000



When we compare these figures to the 37 concentrated communities and our study sample, we see that the immigration patterns are drastically different. In concentrated communities, 51 percent of the Arab population immigrated during this period. The study sample closely mirrors this immigration pattern with 54 percent of Arab residents reporting that they immigrated between 1990 and 2000. This suggests that concentrated communities are made up of newer immigrants and that the study sample closely mirrors immigration patterns in the concentrated community population.

Although as a whole the U.S. Arab population experienced large increases between 1990 and 2000, according to Census 2000, the Egyptian, Moroccan, and Jordanian ancestry groups experienced the greatest growth due to immigration with each of these groups reporting increases of 80 percent or more. Exhibit 6 depicts the percent increase for various Arab ethnicities from the 1990 to 2000 Census.

Exhibit 6: Percentage increase in immigration among immigrants of Arab descent, Census 2000

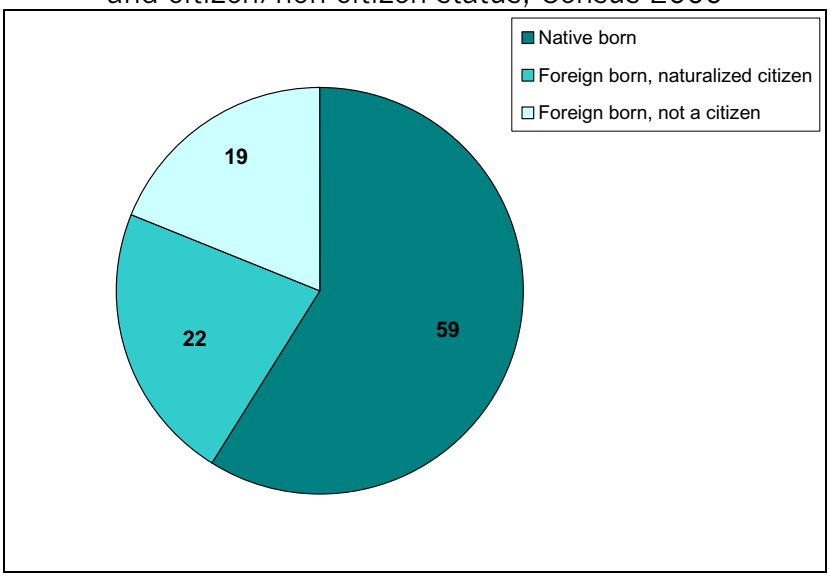


The largest proportional increase occurred in the Moroccan ancestry group, which experienced an increase of over 100 percent during this period. This wave of immigration contributed to the population growth among people claiming Arab ancestry to a figure above 1 million for the first time.

Citizenship. Arab Americans have had a presence in the U.S. for more than a century. Arabs first began to immigrate to the U.S. in the late nineteenth century and established a sizable presence in the U.S. by the end of the First World War. As a result, many Arab Americans in this country are second or third generation Americans. This fact shines through when Census 2000 figures are explored. According to the Census, more than half of all people of Arab ancestry residing in this country were born in the United States. Of the more than 1.18 million people of Arab ancestry, only 41 percent are foreign born.

The numbers increase drastically when citizenship is considered. According to the 2000 Census, the vast majority of people claiming Arab ancestry reported that they were citizens of the United States. Of the 1.18 million people claiming Arab ancestry, a little more than 80 percent are citizens of the United States. Of the 41 percent of foreign-born Arab Americans living in the U.S., a little more than half have become naturalized citizens of the United States. Exhibit 7 shows the nativity and resident status for the total U.S. Arab population as reported by Census 2000.

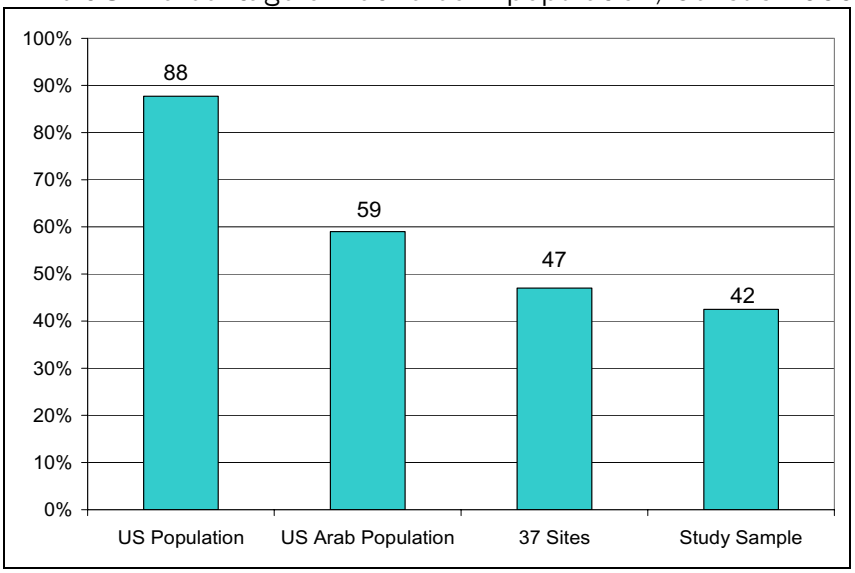
Exhibit 7: Percentage of Arab Americans reporting U.S./foreign nativity and citizen/non-citizen status, Census 2000



As is evident, more than three-quarters of the population are U.S. citizens either because they were born in the U.S. or naturalized.

Nationally, nearly 90 percent of Americans report that they were born in the United States. For Arab Americans nationwide this figure is considerably lower with 59 percent reporting that they were born in the United States. Again, the notion that concentrated communities often contain newer immigrants was evident when looking at citizenship (see Exhibit 8).

Exhibit 8: Percentage of native-born population, Census 2000

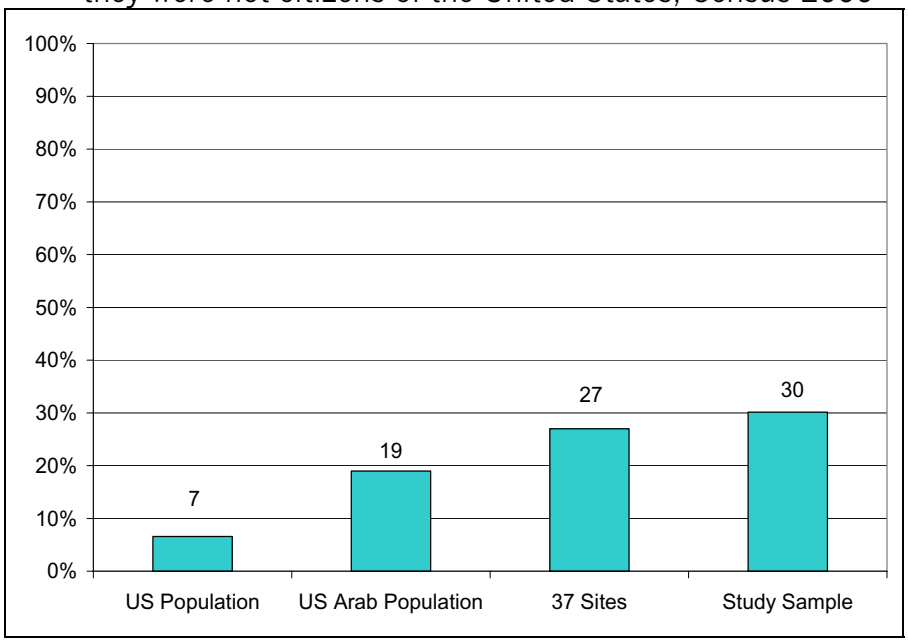


In the 37 concentrated communities, 47 percent of those claiming Arab ancestry were born in the United States, and in the study sample 42 percent of residents reported being native born.

About 7 percent of the U.S. population reported that they were not citizens of the United States on the 2000 Census (see Exhibit 9). For people of Arab descent nationwide, this figure

rises to 19 percent. In contrast, in concentrated communities 27 percent of Arab residents reported that they were not citizens, and in the study sample this figure rose to 30 percent.

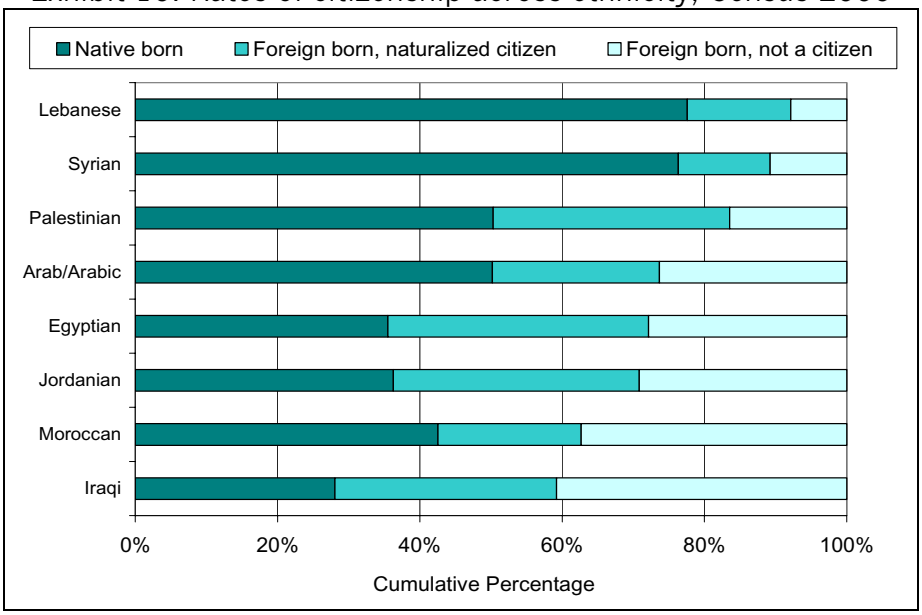
Exhibit 9: Percentage of persons claiming that they were not citizens of the United States, Census 2000



Again, this suggests that our study, which focuses on areas with high concentrations of Arab American residents, is looking at communities with newer immigrants populations and at groups where immigration status is undocumented. This dynamic becomes even more apparent when we examine other variables.

Rates of citizenship vary across ethnicities. Exhibit 10 illustrates the variation of citizenship among different Arab ancestry groups.

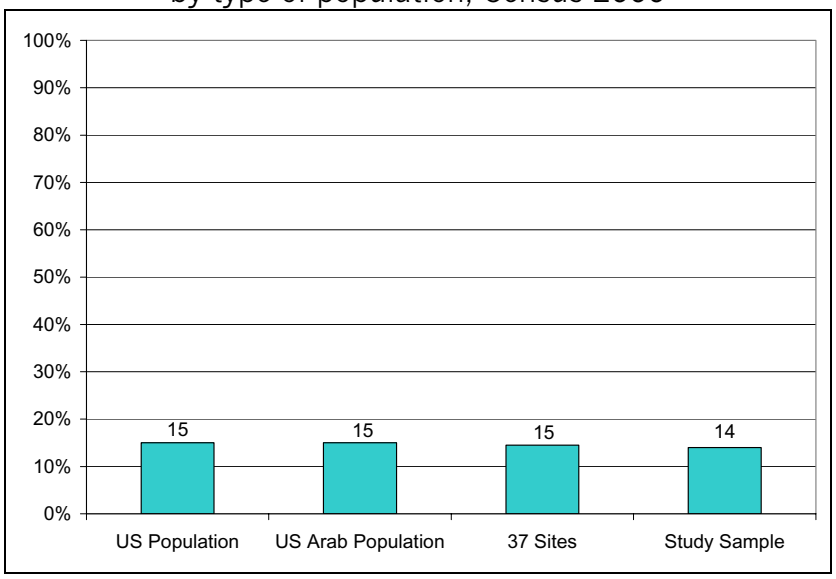
Exhibit 10: Rates of citizenship across ethnicity, Census 2000



For example, 65 percent of Lebanese and 59 percent of Syrians report that they were either born in the U.S., or born abroad to U.S. citizen parents. In contrast, among Iraqis and Egyptians, only about a quarter reported that they were born in the U.S.[115] Naturalized citizenship also varied considerably across ethnicities.

Educational attainment. Education appears to be the one constant for all our levels of data. Nationally, 15 percent of the population has earned a bachelor's degree. Exhibit 11 shows the percentage of people with bachelor's degrees across population type.

Exhibit 11: Percent with bachelor's degrees by type of population, Census 2000

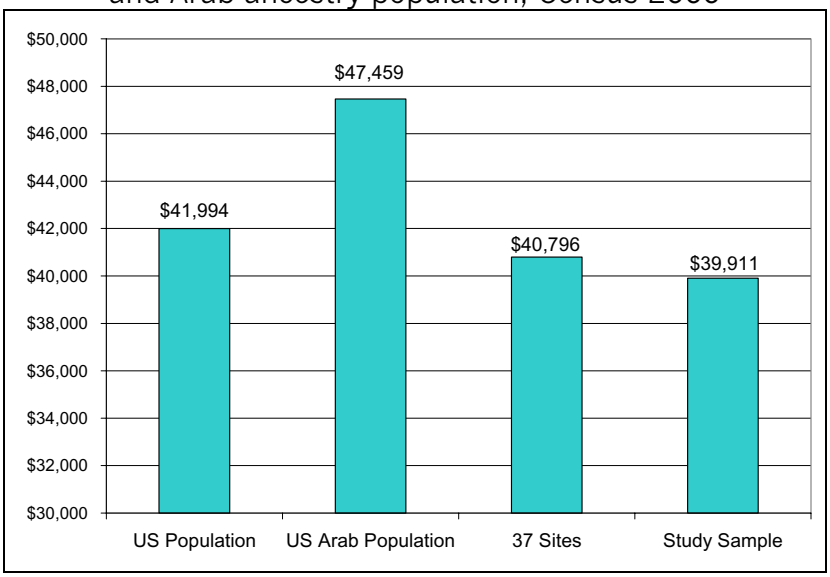


This mirrors the national figures for Arab Americans and the figures for the 37 concentrated communities. The number of Arab Americans who have earned a bachelor's degree in the study sample was only one percentage point lower. This holds true for advanced and professional education, with all four data levels reporting approximately 10 percent of the population with an advanced degree.

Income. On average, Arab Americans nationwide reported that they had a higher median income than that of the general U.S. population. Exhibit 12 illustrates varying income levels across population types.

[115] Brittingham, Angela and G. Patricia de la Cruz, "We the People of Arab Ancestry in the United States." U.S. Census Bureau, March 2005. Online on June 25, 2005 at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2005pubs/censr-21.pdf>.

Exhibit 12: Median income, total U.S. population and Arab ancestry population, Census 2000



Arab Americans reported median income figures that were nearly $6,000 higher than the general population. This trend did not hold true for the 37 concentrated communities. In those communities, the median income was just over $1,000 less that the U.S. median income. Median income levels for the sample were slightly lower than that.

Section 2. The policing environment in study sample sites

In addition to census data, we used data from the FBI's Uniform Crime Report (UCR) and the Bureau of Justice Statistics' Law Enforcement Management and Administration Statistics (LEMAS) study to gain insights into the policing environment in our study sites.

Local law enforcement

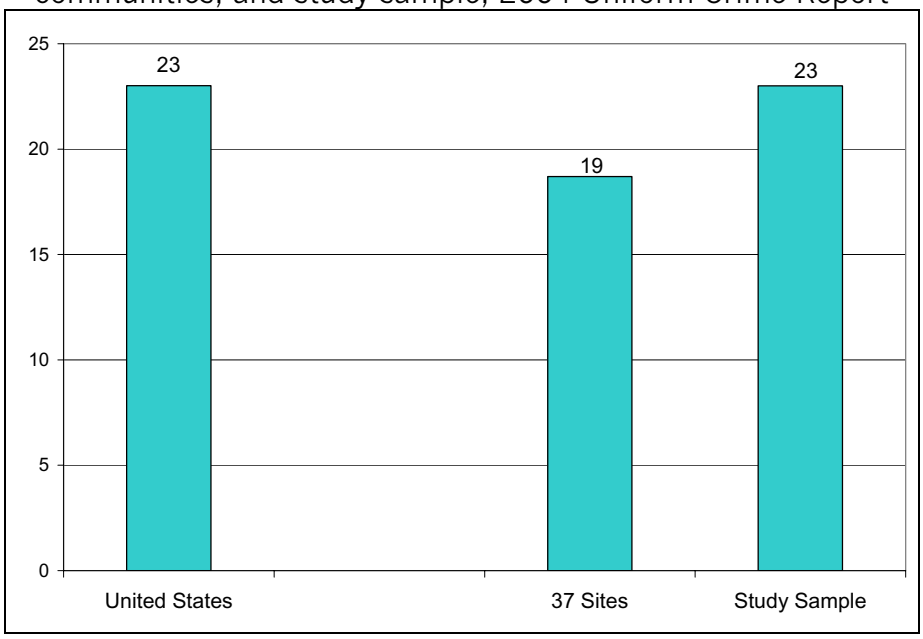
Each of our sample sites had a distinct police agency responsible for delivering all police services for that site. Just as the sites differed from one another on demographic variables, the police agencies in those sites also differed from one another in significant ways. Among key differences were size, policing philosophy, and crime environments.

The size of the police agencies in our sample ranged from a high of just over 5,000 officers to a low of 42. This has obvious impacts on the dynamics of the policing environments in each site. Larger agencies tend to have more bureaucratic structures with multiple layers of officers in addition to a patrol force. These agencies have the ability to assign officers away from the patrol force to more ancillary positions such as outreach positions or community liaison positions. This does not mean that smaller agencies do not or cannot create these positions. Nor does it mean that smaller agencies perform poorer in these areas. Many times, to the contrary, smaller agencies are able to respond to community concerns faster than larger agencies due to the shortening of bureaucratic communication lines.[116]

[116] Iannone, N., *Supervision of Police Personnel (5th Ed.),* Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1994.

In order to better assess the ability of a police agency to provide a sufficient number of officers to respond to community concerns, standardized measures of police per citizens are often compared. Nationally, there are about 23 police officers for every 10,000 residents (see Exhibit 13).

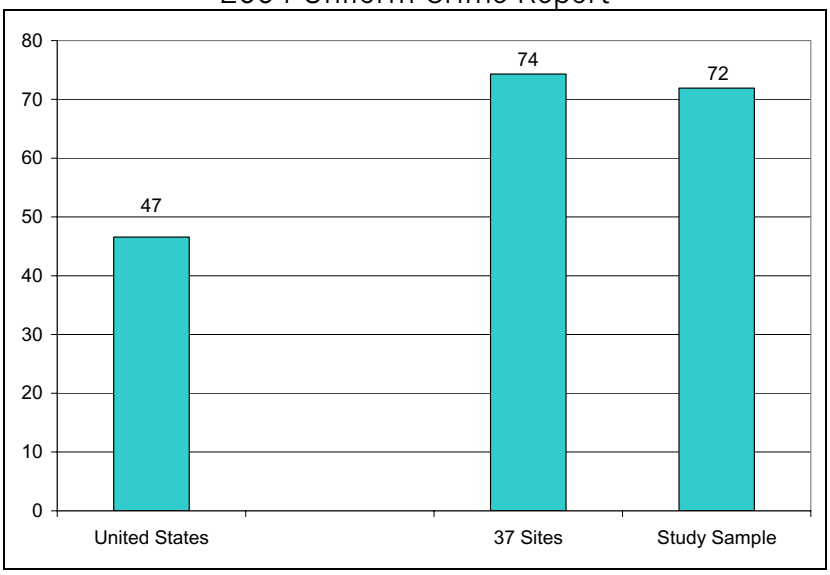
Exhibit 13: Police per 10,000 residents for the U.S., 37 concentrated communities, and study sample, 2004 Uniform Crime Report



In our sample of 16 sites, the number of officers per 10,000 community residents was also 23. This was higher than the number of officers in the 37 concentrated communities. In those sites, the number of officers per 10,000 residents was a little less than 19. Although this is not a definitive measure of effectiveness, it does shed some light on the ability of an agency to provide officers for duties extending beyond the core patrol function.

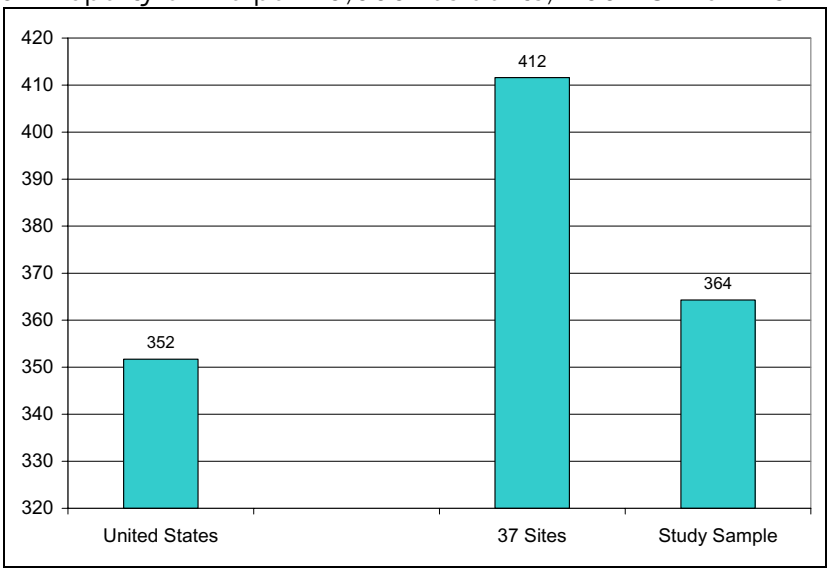
In addition to having sufficient numbers of officers, area crime rates also affect the ability of police agencies to provide for extra services beyond their core function. An analysis of 2004 Uniform Crime Report violent crime figures shows that both the 37 concentrated communities and the sample have greater levels of violent crime than the U.S. average (see Exhibit 14). This is likely due to the fact that this study includes a higher number of urban communities.

Exhibit 14: Violent crime per 10,000 residents, 2004 Uniform Crime Report



Additional analysis on property crimes reveals a different trend. In the 16 sample sites, the rate of property crimes per 10,000 residents is just slightly above the national average of 352 property crimes per 10,000 residents (see Exhibit 15). This is not the case for the 37 concentrated communities.

Exhibit 15: Property crime per 10,000 residents, 2004 Uniform Crime Report



In concentrated communities, the rate of property crimes is nearly 412 per 10,000 residents. This may have implications for the ability of the police agencies in our sample to provide for services beyond their core patrol function.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation

The structure and organization of the FBI lies in stark contrast to that of the local law enforcement agencies in this study. As a federal law enforcement agency, the FBI has nationwide jurisdiction to carry out its duties in all areas of the United States. In practice, this means that all FBI special agents operate under the same legal regulations and departmental policies set by Administrative agents located in Washington, DC. For practical purposes, this means that geographical nuances and site differences may not be as great for the FBI as they are for the local police agencies in this study.

The FBI consists of 56 field offices spread throughout the United States and its territories. In 2002, the Bureau of Justice Statistics reported that there were 11,248 full-time sworn FBI personnel with arrest and firearm authority. The majority of these officers were male (82 percent) and white, with minority officers accounting for 17 percent of the sworn.

In the majority of cases, the FBI locates its Field Offices in the largest city in each state. The Field Office serves as the central repository and administrative agency for all FBI practices occurring within each state. This office is headed by an administrative agent with the title special agent in charge. In addition to this office, larger states will have several smaller offices operating within the state's boundaries. These offices, called Resident Agencies, number about 400 across the United States and are usually located in other major cities throughout each state. These offices are manned by a resident agent and a minimal administrative staff. In addition to these offices, many states will have specialized units such as the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) and Community Outreach Unit.

In more recent years, perhaps following the example of community policing, the FBI has established Community Outreach Units. Currently, each of the 56 FBI Field Offices operates a Community Outreach Unit. According to the FBI, the goal of the unit is to establish a network of resources within the community, create innovative programs to reduce crime and educate the public, and improve the quality of life for the communities served.

The federal law enforcement sample for this study consisted of 16 FBI offices, one for each study site. Detailed information on specific field offices is not available, so it is difficult to make observations about our sample vis-à-vis concentrated communities and the nation.

Section 3. Phase I: National telephone survey

Conducting the interviews

The whole of the interview process was managed through an Access database, which aided efficiency, protected participant confidentiality, and facilitated analysis of a considerable amount of detailed qualitative data.

Each interview consisted of 18 semi-structured open-ended questions across 10 topics including victimization, immigration enforcement policies, police outreach, policing structure, and community structure (see Appendix C for police, FBI, and community interview instruments).

Researchers scheduled and carried out interviews over the phone, with each lasting about 30 minutes. Before conducting the interviews, participants went through a verbal informed consent procedure. The consent promised complete confidentiality and explained that all sites in the

study would be anonymous. Interviewers were required to record that they had read the consent text aloud to the participants, that the respondent had given full verbal consent, and to note any reservations or restrictions about the kind of information participants wished to provide as part of the study before commencing with the interview (see Appendix D for law enforcement and community consent forms).

Interviewers wore telephone headsets, which allowed them to transcribe a respondent's comments in real time into the Access databases, keeping responses in a separate database from identifiers.

Gaining access: Reaching our target population

Gaining access to the three target groups in this study was an on-going process that required constant negotiation and the development of relationships with key stakeholders and members of each group. Across all 16 sites in our sample, interviews were completed with local law enforcement, the FBI, and community leaders (see Exhibit 16).

Exhibit 16: Completed interviews, by site and type of respondent

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Total sites
Police	2	3	2	4	3	3	3	2	4	2	1	2	-	-	4	3	38
FBI	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	16
Community	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	4	3	3	5	3	2	5	3	3	53
Total	*6*	*7*	*6*	*9*	*7*	*7*	*7*	*7*	*8*	*6*	*7*	*6*	*3*	*6*	*8*	*7*	*107*

Local law enforcement. To identify participants, we contacted police departments by sending a letter explaining the project and asking if they would be willing to cooperate. Once we received written or verbal confirmation of the police department's willingness to participate in the study, we attempted to interview the following people: the chief of police or his designee, the administrator in charge of community policing, and the community liaison officer.

The interview process typically began by contacting the chief of police. The chief in turn typically nominated the next three interview subjects based upon our guiding criteria. In local law enforcement agencies, we interviewed police department administrators, such as the chief of police, officers working in specialized units, liaisons to the Arab American community, community outreach officers and administrators, and zone/precinct-level staff (see Exhibit 17). A total of 38 local law enforcement interviews were completed over eight months.

Exhibit 17: Number of interviews with local law enforcement

Police Department Administration	Specialized Units	Liaison	Community Outreach	Zone/Precinct-Level	Total Completed
9	3	3	8	15	38

The FBI. For the FBI, we sent a letter to the local field office explaining the project and asking whether they would be willing to cooperate. Once we received written or verbal confirmation of

the office's willingness to participate, we attempted to interview the special agent in charge of the jurisdiction of interest. In some of the smaller sites, this entailed interviewing the resident agent that covered the jurisdiction. In three instances, we interviewed the individual in charge of community outreach or other appropriate personnel with knowledge of the community of interest (see Exhibit 18). A total of 16 FBI interviews were completed.

Exhibit 18: Number of interviews with personnel from the Federal Bureau of Investigation

Special Agent in Charge	Assistant Special Agent in Charge	Head of JTTF	Supervisory Special Agent/Resident Agency	Community Outreach	Total Completed
2	2	6	3	3	16

Community leaders. Unlike the law enforcement interviews, the process of identifying community leaders necessitated a more nuanced methodology. As we sometimes heard from community interviews, "community leaders" may actually represent a small faction of their community, be self-appointed, or not reflect their community's general sentiments. To address this, we utilized a snowball networking methodology to draw upon a wide range of sources.

Initially, we collaborated with a Washington, DC-based nonprofit organization that works nationally on issues that affect the Arab American community. The initial round of the sampling techniques utilized a combination of sources to nominate relevant contacts, including lists accumulated from outreach organizations and academics, Internet searches, a published national Muslim resource guide,[117] and referrals from other interviewees.

As with local law enforcement and the FBI, community leaders received letters explaining the project and inviting them to participate in the study. The process of sending study information by e-mail, fax, or mail and following-up by phone often needed to be repeated several times before community leaders agreed to participate in the study (see below for further explanation). The final makeup of our interviews consisted of a mix of community leaders engaged in policing issues including leaders representing clergy (Muslim and Christian), heads of community-based organizations, business figures, and local politicians and government personnel (see Exhibit 19). A total of 53 interviews with community leaders were completed.

Exhibit 19: Number of interviews with community leaders

Business	Community-Based Organization	Christian Clergy	Muslim Clergy	Government	Elected or Political Official	Total Completed
14	18	6	2	3	10	53

Challenges in reaching community leaders. In addition to difficulties identifying community leaders, we faced a number of challenges finding leaders willing to participate in this phase of the study. Over the 16 sites, we made contact with 285 community leaders (see Exhibit 20). One hundred sixteen of these contacts were eventually closed due to community member's refusal to

[117] Nimer, Mohamed, *North American Muslim Resource Guide,* New York: Routledge, 2002.

participate, or because the number of phone attempts to re-establish contact exceeded five times. Fifty-three interviews were completed, giving a response rate of 20 percent.

Exhibit 20: Number of community leader interviews: attempted v. completed

	Business	Community Based Organization	Christian Clergy	Muslim Clergy	Government	Elected or Political Official	Total
Attempted	69	112	26	53	4	21	285
Completed	14	18	6	2	3	10	53

Researchers faced a range of challenges when attempting to establish trust with respondents. In particular, interviewers confronted a number of factors when reaching out to community leaders, including:

- Lack of time during regular business hours to participate. A number of community leaders who volunteered their time to community-based organizations in the evenings and weekends found it difficult to find time for an interview. To accommodate irregular schedules, researchers were flexible in setting up interview appointment times in the evening, though there were several community leaders who were simply still too busy to participate.

- Hesitation to participate due to topic. Some community leaders were hesitant to participate after hearing that the study focused on law enforcement. To assuage possible feelings of community anxiety, we made a concerted effort to provide thorough information on Vera as an independent nonprofit organization, unaffiliated with government agencies.

- Hesitation to participate due to method. Establishing trust via phone, e-mail, fax, and mail contacts made it difficult to build rapport. Community leaders confirmed that in-person dialogue might ease some of these challenges, especially when dealing with sensitive issues.

- Language barriers. Given that interviewers did not speak Arabic, language presented a challenge in a handful of instances. This was a problem in only a small number of cases.

Preliminary analysis

Once all of the telephone interviews were completed, we began to identify emerging themes by "charting" interview data.[118] Responses were paraphrased across respondent type—community, police, and FBI—and categorized by site and question. Charting allowed us to identify common

[118] Lacey, Anne and Donna Luff, *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: An Introduction to Qualitative Data Analysis*, Leicester, U.K.: Trent Focus, 2001.

themes and issues across sites and by respondent type.[119] In addition to charting responses, we used a coding method where we read each transcript line by line and highlighted key terms, phrases, and ideas, paraphrasing in the margins.[120] We used both of these methods to identify broad themes and particular topics that we felt needed further exploration and allowed identified themes to guide the focus groups and face-to-face interviews in phase II.

Section 4. Phase II: Case studies

This phase consisted of site visits, face-to-face interviews, focus groups, and observational techniques in four sites.

Sampling

Once data was collected from the telephone interviews, responses were compared across jurisdictions and interview type. From this preliminary analysis, two sites stood out as exemplars in terms of police-Arab American community relations. In these sites, community leaders and police officers described numerous outreach activities and innovative practices.

Although researchers had originally planned to choose four promising sites, these two sites were the only ones that seemed particularly innovative and not overly studied in previous research. As a result, the other two sites were chosen based on a number of factors including the perceptions of the community regarding local law enforcement outreach efforts as well as community demographics. For instance, one site had the most Arab American officers serving within its jurisdiction and a long-established Arab American community. Another site had a fairly young but active community presence, which seemed to be initiating programs, trainings, and other outreach efforts with its police department. These sites were chosen as interesting case studies, which might serve as useful comparisons in looking at the two innovative sites.

Data collection

Data collection in these four sites included information collected via detailed face-to-face interviews, focus groups, and observational techniques with Arab American community liaisons. Collection consisted of two, three-day field visits to each of the four sites. During these visits, we conducted additional one-on-one interviews, held focus groups, and observed key community events or meetings. These are explained in detail below.

First site visit. The purpose of our first visit was to 1) conduct follow-up meetings and interviews with police administrators and community leaders interviewed in the Phase I telephone survey; 2) to conduct interviews with other relevant people identified during the course of Phase I of the research; 3) observe key community events; and 4) begin to build relationship with community leaders to facilitate the second site visit.

[119] Ibid.
[120] Noaks, L. and E. Wincup, *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Methods*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004.

Interviews. Researchers conducted follow-up interviews with participants who were interviewed in the telephone survey and followed up on themes that emerged during phase I interviews but were not explored in-depth (see Exhibit 21). Two to three researchers participated in each interview, with one researcher leading the interview and the other taking notes. Immediately afterwards, researchers debriefed and shared notes to better ensure accuracy and completeness. Interviews were not tape recorded in order to provide additional assurances of confidentiality to the interviewees.

Exhibit 21: Number of follow up interviews by type and by site

	A	B	C	D	All sites
Police	1	3	4	5	13
Community	1	2	4	2	9
Total	*2*	*5*	*8*	*7*	*22*

Observations. The research team also attempted to time the first site visit in order to observe key events at each site, such as meetings involving Arab American community members serving on police advisory boards or police-community forums. During data collection, researchers recorded descriptions of these events and noted how they were structured, the extent of citizen participation, and the role of community leaders in designing and running the programs. After these events, we approached select attendees and asked them to participate in brief one-on-one interviews. During this brief interview, we aimed to ascertain their opinions of the events, learn their ideas about whether they were useful in promoting positive relations between the police and Arab American communities, and gather their ideas for ways the sessions could be improved (see Appendix E for observation instrument). We also observed community leaders and Arab American liaison officers in their neighborhoods, which gave another view of police-community relations (see Exhibit 22).

Exhibit 22: Number of observations, by site

	A	B	C	D	All sites
Number of observations		2	1	2	5

Making the connection. The first visit also offered us a chance to get to know local leaders and police administrators, garner their support, and enlist their help in planning for the second visit. We tried to set a date, or at least an approximate date, for our second visit during the first visit and identified contacts, or "bridge organizations," that could assist in arranging the focus groups during the second visit.

The importance of bridge organizations and community support. We could not have conducted the focus groups during the second visit without the invaluable help of particular community-based organizations. These "bridge" organizations not only helped with the logistics, such as inviting participants, providing space, and offering refreshments, but served to connect

researchers to the site's residents by tapping into their existing networks. Further, the support of these organizations helped to better establish trust among residents and legitimacy to the study, elements that we were somewhat lacking in phase I. The provision of the organization's space also facilitated the discussions since it offered participants a safe, familiar place to convene.

To illustrate the importance of bridge organizations, researchers were unable to find a willing and able partner in one of the four sites after the first visit. It seems that a prominent community leader in the area did not see the benefits of his community's participation and the community followed his cue. After numerous discussions over the phone with community leaders failed, we returned to the site to make another attempt at finding an appropriate bridge organization, again with no results. Without a bridge organization and lack of support from a prominent community leader in that site, we were unable to bring together residents of the area to participate in focus groups.

Community focus groups. With the help of the bridge organizations, residents were recruited by posting fliers, making announcements at community meetings, and making phone calls. Most of the focus groups were held at the bridge organization's facilities. In a few instances, other accommodations were used. For instance, one focus group included two women participants who asked that we travel to a participant's home. In another case, we conducted the group at one of the community's local mosques. For each focus group, the bridge organization or a community leader that we had previously interviewed introduced us to the participants and, at times, sat in on the discussion.

Before conducting the focus groups, participants went through a written informed consent procedure, with researchers also explaining the project using a standardized script (see Appendix F for the community consent form and approach script). The consent form promised complete confidentiality and explained that all sites in the study would be anonymous. Participants read and signed the consent form. Participants were offered $20 stipends to compensate them for their time and cooperation.[121] During the focus groups, at least two members of the research team took notes but did not record any names or identifiers. Before going into the field, we made a conscious decision not to use a tape recorder to capture what was said in the groups. Given the existing skepticism and considerable amount of fear within this community, we felt it was inappropriate to record the focus groups.

Each focus group consisted of anywhere from two to 11 individuals, with a mean size of six participants, and lasted between one and two hours. While we aimed to conduct three to five focus groups per site, the number of groups varied according to the size of the site. Also, as mentioned above, we were unable to conduct community focus groups in one site. In all, we conducted seven focus groups in the three sites, reaching a total of 45 community residents (see Exhibit 23).

[121] It should be noted that approximately half of the participants refused to accept the stipends, and they instead donated this money to the "bridge" organization.

Exhibit 23: Number of community focus groups and participants, by site

Site	# of focus groups	# of total participants
A	1	7
B	0	0
C	3	14
D	3	24
Total	*7*	*45*

During these focus groups, researchers asked about differences between new immigrants and established communities. We also explored whether dress and religion played a role in police-resident interactions and probed about the prevalence of general victimization among these communities. These focus groups gave us a snapshot of the sentiment in local Arab American communities and a sense of the kinds of grievances or examples of positive partnerships that existed (see Appendix G for community focus group questions).

Police focus groups. To recruit focus group participants we worked closely with existing contacts within the police departments to identify officers working in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Arab American residents. Again, we solidified these contacts during the first site visit.

The consent process was similar to the community focus groups, with the exception that officers were not offered the stipend for their participation (see Appendix F for the police consent form and approach script). As with community focus groups, we also chose not to record police focus groups. There is a strong precedent for avoiding the use of tape recorders when conducting focus groups with police officers, mainly because it is likely to inhibit honest responses.[122]

Each focus group consisted of anywhere from two to 10 officers, with a mean size of six participants, and lasted about one hour. In one jurisdiction, researchers conducted a separate focus group with Arab American officers. In total, we conducted six police focus groups in the four sites, reaching a total of 35 police officers (see Exhibit 24).

Exhibit 24: Number of police focus groups and participants, by site

Site	# of focus groups	# of total participants
A	2	12
B	1	4
C	1	8
D	2	11
Total	*6*	*35*

During the police focus groups, researchers asked respondents about their experiences with local Arab American communities, their relationships with federal agencies, the level of attendance at community meetings and forums, whether or not the Arab American community

[122]Noaks, *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Methods.*

was well represented compared to other groups, and whether or not Christian Arabs or Muslim Arabs were more likely to attend (see Appendix G for police focus group questions).

For police and community focus groups, two to three researchers took part, depending on the size of the group and the appropriateness of the situation. For instance, two female researchers conducted a small, all-female focus group. During the focus groups, one researcher facilitated the discussion, while the other(s) took detailed notes. Notes were then compared in an attempt to ensure accuracy and completeness.

Section 5. Methods of analysis

Data was analyzed using the constant comparative method.[123] First, we used the technique of charting, grouping the data by site, respondent type, and interview question, as described in the phase I section. We also used a qualitative coding technique, where interview transcripts from phase I and phase II were read line by line, with key points highlighted. Finally, focus group notes were read line by line with salient topics paraphrased. This process was continually revisited by the research team as categories evolved and existing themes were refined.[124]

Utilizing a triangulation of methods—telephone interviews, in person interviews, observations, and focus groups—allowed us to view issues through multiple lenses and explore topics to varying degrees of depth.

Ensuring accuracy

To ensure that perspectives and opinions were accurately described, select community, police, and FBI participants were asked to review the draft report and provide feedback, if appropriate. Researchers reviewed the contact database in the four sites from phase II and for each site selected two to three community leaders who were interviewed in person and were prominent voices within their communities; the police chief and any other pertinent officer(s), such as Arab American officers or community liaisons; and the FBI agent for the site.[125] In total, 24 community, police, and FBI participants reviewed the draft report before final publication (see Exhibit 25). Researchers took seriously the comments of reviewers and incorporated feedback into the report, when necessary.

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[123] Dye, J.F., *et al.*, "Constant Comparison Method: A Kaleidoscope of Data," *The Qualitative Report* 4 (1/2) (2000); Maykut, Pamela and Richard Morehouse, *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide,* Bristol, PA: The Falmer Press, 1994; Lacey, *Trent Focus for Research and Development in Primary Health Care: An Introduction to Qualitative Data Analysis.*

[124] For a summary description of this technique, see Noaks, *Criminological Research: Understanding Qualitative Method*: 130-132.

[125] Five agents rather than four were selected because a recent staff change in one of the four sites necessitated that we consult both the former and new agent in that site.

Exhibit 25: Number of community, police, and FBI report reviewers, by site

Site	Community	Police	FBI
A	2	2	1
B	2	2	1
C	4	3	1
D	2	2	2
Total	*10*	*9*	*5*

Drawing from the work of a group of researchers and practitioners that highlighted the importance and benefit of collaborative research, we developed partnerships and collaborated with participants from the development of research questions, to carrying out the study, to the shaping of the final report and dissemination.[126] Block, *et al*., suggest that true collaboration between researchers and participants improves the quality of research, allows those participating to be invested in the issues the project is addressing, can be in and of itself a catalyst for change, and ultimately increases the likelihood that the study will be accurate and relevant to practitioners and policymakers.[127] Given the nature of this study and the focus on communities and law enforcement practitioners, we felt that working collaboratively with all participants would allow us to craft a report that was not only insightful, but ultimately useful.

Section 6. Chapter summary

The research design—a national telephone survey in 16 sites across the country and focus groups and interviews in four case study sites—was structured to capture general trends and issues at the national level as well as to tease out the more complex issues at the local level. Given the sensitive topic and the lack of existing literature on law enforcement-Arab American community relations after September 11, the study design was largely exploratory in nature. Researchers used a grounded theory approach, entering the study with few preconceived notions, and allowed themes to emerge from the collected data.

Looking at the geographic dispersion of the Arab American population revealed that Arab American communities are largely "clustered" or concentrated in particular cities rather than spread evenly throughout the country. In this study, these 37 concentrated areas represent 25 percent of the total U.S. Arab population while the 16 sites selected for the study sample represent 9 percent.

The 16 sites that comprise the study sample reflect the community demographics and violent crime rates of sites with high concentrations of Arab Americans. A total of 107 telephone interviews were conducted with police personnel (n=38), FBI agents (n=16), and community leaders (n=53) across the 16 sites. Based on interview responses, four sites were selected as case studies. Follow-up interviews were conducted with 22 police officials and community leaders, as well as observations of police and community practices. An additional 35 police officers and 45

[126] Block, Carolyn R., et al., "How to build and maintain practitioner/researcher collaborations," Presented and discussed at the Collaboration Skills Workshop, American Society of Criminology Annual Meeting, Nashville, TN, November 17, 2004.
[127] Ibid.

community members participated in focus groups. A total of 209 contacts were made with the police, FBI, and community.

Data analysis was conducted using the constant comparative method, in which data was continually revisited as categories evolved and existing themes were refined. Utilizing a triangulation of methods allowed us to explore topics through multiple lenses and to varying degrees of depth.

Finally, by collaborating closely with study participants, we believe we have produced benefits for everyone who participated in the research, improved the quality of the research, and increased the likelihood that our findings will be relevant to practitioners and policymakers.

Chapter 5: The impact of September 11, 2001, on Arab American communities

The next chapters, beginning with this one, focus on study findings from both the telephone interviews and the case studies. This chapter examines the effects of September 11 on Arab American communities. Data is drawn primarily from phase I telephone interviews; phase II interviews and focus group discussions are used to supplement or clarify sections as needed and when specified.

Given the substantial shifts in the profile and suspicion of Arab American communities we described in the opening chapters, it is not surprising to find that the experiences and consciousness of this group have gone through some radical changes. These changes were articulated most vividly through the community respondents themselves, though they found some echoes among law enforcement officials too. Some of the key dynamics that characterize this period include,

- increased victimization and harassment,
- heightened suspicion,
- anxiety about place in American society, particularly fuelled by new federal policies, and
- concerns about civil liberties.

Section 1. September 11: A community made "visible"

A number of community members and law enforcement officers described September 11 as bringing greater public attention to Arab American communities. As discussed in chapter 2, the idea that Arab American communities were relatively politically and culturally "invisible" in the American mainstream had been debated prior to September 11. While Arab American community involvement, particularly in local politics, appears quite regional, community members across the country generally agreed with perceptions that Arab Americans are more hidden in relation to other minority groups. One respondent described his neighborhood, saying, "Our community is nowhere near as visible as in New Jersey or Dearborn. I can't think of any Arab store that has Arabic lettering. There's no restaurant that is obviously Arabic. It seems like people really try to blend in a lot more around here. No businesses are easily identifiable."

In this section, we explore ways in which Arab American communities have responded to this heightened visibility, either by disengagement or by greater engagement.

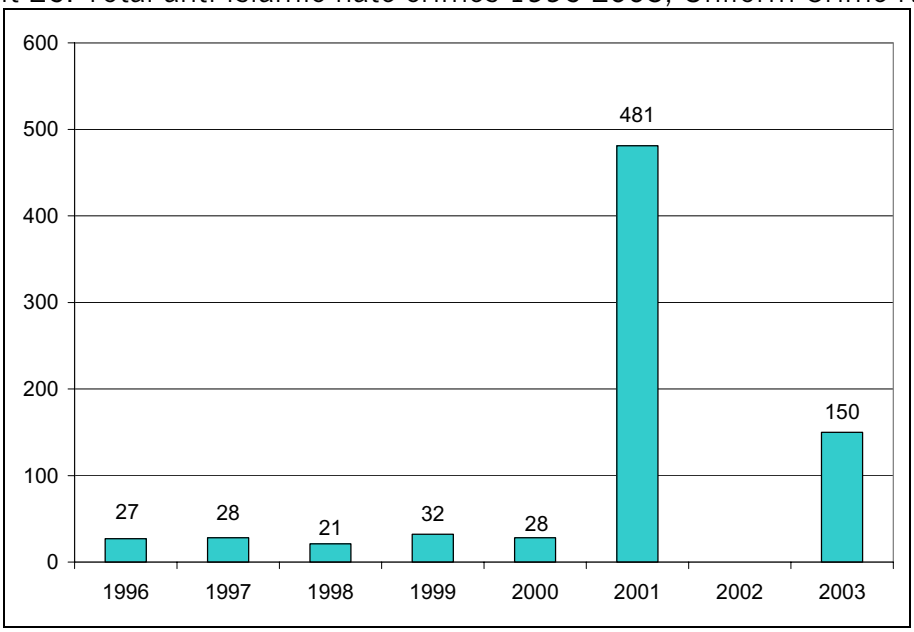
Section 2. Hate and bias motivated incidents and victimization: Community and law enforcement perceptions

Reported victimization

The Uniform Crime Reports (UCR), which collect and report national level data on recorded hate crimes, have a specific category for religiously based hate crimes but do not have a specific category for Arab Americans. The UCR only records two categories for ethnically motivated hate crimes: anti-Hispanic and "all other."

As discussed in Chapter 1, UCR counts of hate crimes are drastically lower compared to figures from community organizations. Exhibit 26 shows the number of anti-Islamic hate crimes reported over a five-year period (unfortunately, data for the year 2002 are missing). While these numbers refer only to anti-Islamic hate crimes and include people of any ethnicity, they give us some idea of recorded hate crimes directed at some members of the Arab American community.

Exhibit 26: Total anti-Islamic hate crimes 1996-2003, Uniform Crime Report



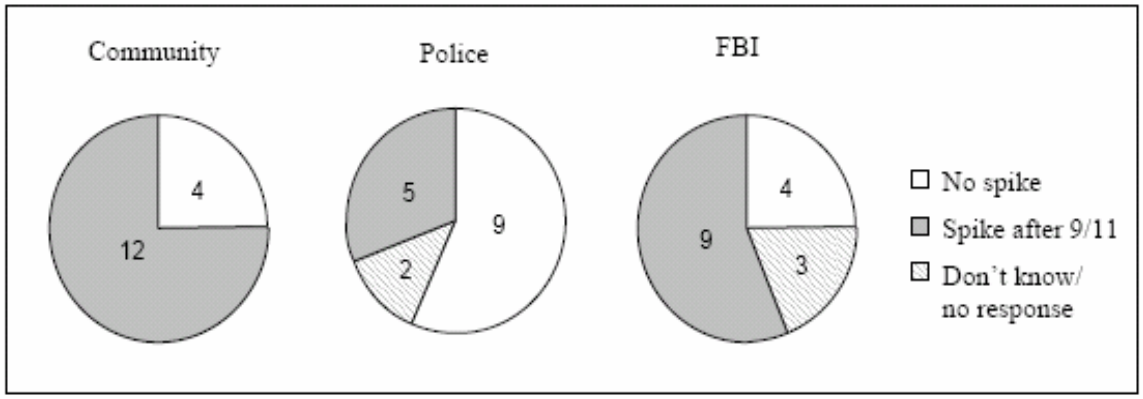
Not surprisingly, the UCR data show a large spike in 2001, the year of the terrorist attacks. Given the difficulties in analyzing hate crime data specifically related to Arab Americans, Rubenstein attempts to estimate the number of Arab Americans present in the UCR "all others" category. Based on the results of a statistical analysis employing the estimated figure for anti-Arab hate crimes, Rubenstein suggests "anti-Arab hate crime in late 2001 reached levels well beyond those reported for any other group in any year since 1996."[128]

Section 3. Perceptions of hate and bias victimization reported by study participants

Interviews from this study reflect the disparity between law enforcement and community perspectives (see Exhibit 27).

[128] Rubenstein, W.B.,"The Real Story of US Hate Crimes Statistics: An Empirical Analysis," *Tulane Law Review* 78 (2004): 1240.

Exhibit 27: Perceived prevalence of hate crimes directed at Arab Americans since September 11, 2001, by number of sites



The perspectives of community respondents

Community leaders from Arab American communities across the nation spoke of September 11 as a pivotal moment in terms of hate crimes and discrimination. Leaders in 12 of 16 sites—keeping in mind that responses were not unanimous in every site—described a spike directly after September 11 and then a leveling off.

Interestingly, the four sites that did not report hate crimes as a local concern were not significantly different from the other 12 sites in community demographics, prevalence of community-based organizations, or policing strategies. The 12 sites that reported a spike in hate crimes varied in community demographics, with a number of highly educated and wealthy sites as well as more impoverished sites. They also varied in terms of representation by community organizations and number of departments engaged in community policing.

The perspectives of local law enforcement respondents

In comparison to community responses, local law enforcement officers in five sites recounted experiencing a spike in hate crimes directed at Arab Americans, while law enforcement respondents in nine sites reported that they received no reports of hate crimes in their jurisdictions.[129] The five sites included four with strong community policing programs, including two with formally assigned Arab American community liaisons. In the site without a community policing program, there was an Arab American captain who acted informally as a community liaison. All five sites engaged in active outreach to their communities, which may explain why their responses were more aligned with the community.

The perspectives of FBI respondents

FBI respondents were slightly more reflective of community perceptions. In 9 of 16 sites FBI respondents reported an increase in hate crimes directed at Arab Americans, while in four sites respondents reported none and in three sites participants stated that they did not know. FBI perceptions of prevalence may be more aligned with community perceptions because of an agency emphasis on civil rights and hate crimes. In addition to specific divisions or departments,

[129] Local law enforcement interviews were not completed in two sites, therefore n=14.

FBI field offices oftentimes had hate crime working groups that involved Arab American community leaders or specific programs that addressed hate crimes and reporting.

Section 4. Types of hate crime or backlash reported by community respondents

When asked about hate crimes, the types of incidents reported by community respondents ranged from graffiti, vandalism, harassment, and verbal threats, up to assaults and other kinds of physical violence. Community leaders reported what they called "verbal assaults" in over half of the sites. Some of these verbal assaults took the form of threatening phone calls. One respondent recounted,

> *It has decreased, but right after 9/11 . . . the first few months, it was very bad. Lots of people received phone calls, and trash was thrown in front of their door. Verbal assaults have been made to me about going back to my country. I get calls saying, "Damn you Arabs, go back home and leave us alone," and I just hang up because they don't know better.*

Along with these types of threats, community respondents across several sites experienced more aggressive types of harassment and violence. Exhibit 28 shows that based on telephone interviews responses, 80 percent of respondents reported that some type of hate or bias incidents were prevalent in their community.

Exhibit 28: Hate and bias victimization reported by community respondents

Type of victimization	% of respondents (n=50)
Harassment	34
Vandalism and destruction	28
Violence	24
Any type of victimization	80

Of these responses, community leaders reported that harassment was the most common type of victimization, followed by more than one-quarter who described local acts of vandalism and nearly another quarter who spoke about acts of violence, including physical assaults, stabbings, and shootings. Examples of harassment, vandalism, destruction, and violence are described below.

Examples of hate crimes & bias incidents occurring after September 11

Harassment

- Muslim women getting their hijab forcibly pulled off their heads
- Threatening phone calls
- Racial slurs

Vandalism and destruction

- Rocks and eggs thrown at mosques
- Windows and doors broken at mosques
- Trash thrown into the yards of people of Arab descent
- Shops and stores burnt down

Violence

- A Sikh man of Indian descent murdered because he was mistaken for being Arab
- Beaten into a coma
- A woman stabbed in the parking lot of a supermarket

Triggers and targets

Community leaders spoke of how symbols and identifiers were often the trigger for harassment and abuse. When asked about hate crimes, community leaders in seven sites mentioned that Arab Muslim women were frequently targeted because they were wearing a hijab. One woman, the principal of an Islamic school, recounted how the hijab has been a trigger for discrimination and harassment,

> *After September 11 there were a lot of Arab women with hijabs who were targeted. They were so scared that many of them would take it off, which is against the religion. They would go to supermarkets, and I actually heard that people would throw eggs and tomatoes at them. Other times there were women who had their hijabs pulled off from behind.*

Clothing, including the hijab and other types of dress that might be associated with Islam, were frequently cited in interviews and focus groups with community members as a prompt for harassment and victimization (see Exhibit 29).

Exhibit 29: Most frequently cited triggers for hate victimization

Mosques
Clothing
Signs in Arabic (on stores, churches, community organizations)
Skin color and physical appearance
Arabic names
Accents

n=107

While symbols that are associated with Islam such as the hijab or emblematic structures like mosques were repeatedly cited as visible markers, the backlash was not limited to Arab Muslims but also targeted Arab Christians. A Christian minister described how shortly after September 11, "somebody broke the window of the church bus and took my Arabic Bible and tore it into pieces. They threw the pieces all over the seats and all over the bus." Focus group participants from a case study site with a predominately Christian Arab American population described how Arab Muslims are not the only targets. As one participant commented,

> *People know who is an Arab from looking at the face, from hearing the accent. There is no difference between Christians and Muslims in this way. I don't think Christians are getting less [targeted] than Muslims.*

In fact, frequently cited triggers for hate victimization referenced Arabic language and physical appearance, not only religious markers. As Exhibit 29 shows, other triggers included signs in Arabic identifying convenience stores, churches, or community-based organizations, as well as Arabic names.

Section 5. Explaining the discrepancies between community and law enforcement perceptions

Problems with reporting and recording are well-documented.[130] Gerstenfeld explains well the difficulties in regards to Arab American and American Muslim communities. She describes how distinctions between race, ethnicity, and religion are sometimes blurred and specifically highlights confusion around the categorization of Arabs and Muslims. According to Gerstenfeld "crimes that resulted from the events of September 11 could be classified in a variety of ways by different officers or by different sites."[131]

Our results, which are consistent with the literature, suggest that some of the dissonance between law enforcement and community perceptions of hate crimes seem to be attributed to:

[130] Bell, J., *Policing Hatred: Law Enforcement, Civil Rights, and Hate Crime,* New York: New York University Press, 2002; Nolan, J.J., J. McDevitt, and S. Cronin, "Learning to see hate crime: A framework for understanding and clarifying ambiguities in bias crime classification," *Criminal Justice Studies* 17 (2004); Roberts, J., *Disproportionate Harm: Hate Crime in Canada*, 1995.

[131] Gerstenfeld, Phyllis B., *Hate Crimes: Causes, Controls, and Controversies,* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003: 142.

- **underreporting by community members,**
- **lack of recognition by law enforcement or judicial systems, and**
- **varying definitions of term 'hate crime.'**

Underreporting

Community perspectives. From the community side, responses were consistent with literature on reporting among immigrant communities.[132] Community leaders speculated that a number of reasons contribute to underreporting, mainly

- language barriers,
- immigration status,
- experiences with police in home countries, and
- cultural norms.

Language barriers. For recent immigrants, language barriers can be strong deterrents from reporting. This is especially difficult when departments have few to no officers who speak and understand Arabic. As one community respondent explained, "It's hard to build a bridge if you can't communicate with them. People are afraid to call police." In our sample, officers in three sites said their department had no Arabic-speaking officers, and nine sites claimed they had one or more officers of Arab descent.

Immigration status. Immigrants who are undocumented may be hesitant to report crimes or victimization to the police for fear that their status will be discovered and that they will be deported. The director of an Islamic educational organization explained, "Considering that so many Muslims have been rounded up by the government, there is a fear . . . and they are afraid of reporting, especially those who are immigrants."

Focus group discussions revealed that even those immigrants who are legal permanent residents or naturalized citizens may sometimes be fearful of immigration authorities. After recounting a recent story of deportation due to charges of family violence against a legal resident, one community leader suggested that, "[Immigration] seems to use domestic violence as a conduit for deportation, which may be one reason why there's underreporting [among women]."

Experiences with police in home countries. Community leaders stressed that immigrants likely come from countries with politically powerful and oppressive police forces and, as a result, carry with them persisting negative associations with law enforcement. In the words of one local business leader, "Arabs come from very authoritarian, dictatorial regimes. The police are run by the state. So, from the perspective of many Arabs, this is bad news. They don't trust the police."

[132] Davis, "Willingness to Report Crimes: The Role of Ethnic Group Membership and Community Efficacy;" Pogrebin, "Culture conflict and crime in the Korean American community;" Song, "Attitudes of Chinese immigrants and Vietnamese refugees toward law enforcement in the United States;" Culver, "The impact of new immigration patterns on the provision of police services in Midwestern communities."

Another community leader concurred, "They come from countries where the police are scary and they are more of a political position, and so they are afraid of police."

Cultural norms. Community leaders corroborated the perception held by local police in several sites that underreporting may be partially the result of cultural norms. A number of leaders attributed underreporting to a perception that law enforcement is not always the most effective solution, perhaps as a result of the aforementioned barriers. They described instead an informal, community-based system of support and reporting. According to the director of a community organization, "As a cultural issue, they feel it should be dealt with on their own and don't want to make it a big deal." One leader, an Egyptian pastor who immigrated to the U.S. in the 1970s, explained, "In Arabic culture, first of all, Arabic people respect their pastor, so they report the crime first to the pastor—me. Then we help them if they want to go to the police or if we cannot solve the problems by ourselves." This theme is consistent with what many researchers have found when examining immigrants and crime reporting.

The degree to which victimization goes unreported is a key unknown variable; however, community responses suggest strong evidence across sites that communities are afraid to report, particularly in areas with large undocumented immigrant populations.

Law enforcement perspectives. In explaining the low prevalence of known hate victimization, law enforcement responses generally fell into two camps concerning reporting of crimes within Arab American communities: 1) underreporting happens because cultural norms dictate that problems should be addressed within families or communities, not by police; and 2) crimes are not underreported.

A police captain from the largest site recounted, "When there is a problem, the Arabic community doesn't report many of these crimes. It is possible that there are hate crimes out there, but many of them are not being reported to police." As one officer noted, "The Arabs a lot of times want to deal with things internally, and therefore, many times that information is not revealed to the police." On the other hand, some officers felt that crime was not underreported but that Arab Americans experienced lower levels of victimization compared to the larger community. One officer argued, "Crime is not underreported. They are the least victimized group. We have not seen any need for outreach."

It is important to note that a handful of FBI respondents, and by far the minority, suggested that the systems that process hate crimes—law enforcement agencies and judicial courts—may also contribute to underreporting. As one agent explained, "[Hate crimes] can fall through the system in a lot of ways: either the officer doesn't count it as a hate crime and classifies it as a regular assault, or the prosecutor doesn't remind the judge of the sentencing enhancement and doesn't count it or finally, even if the police and the prosecutor do their jobs, the judge ignores it." An agent from another site described how agencies may have incentives not to classify crimes as hate crimes, "What is a hate crime? It is a murky area. Often these crimes are conducted in conjunction with something else. Nobody wants to be considered a racist town. I would say that the local agencies sometimes almost have an incentive not to capture these

details. They may try to duck any controversy by classifying the crime as something other than hate crimes."

Varying definitions

In addition to issues of reporting, the discrepancy in community and police perceptions of hate crime prevalence may be due to differences in the conceptualization and categorization of incidents. Based on our data, we suspect that law enforcement agencies answered the question about hate crimes through the lens of a strict legal definition, while community leaders were more likely to reflect on incidents that, though may not rise to the legal definition of a hate crime, were nonetheless perceived as a bias incident.

Section 6. A community "under siege": Collective experiences

In addition to a spike in hate crimes, harassment, and discrimination since September 11, Arab American communities have experienced a heightened level of public suspicion, increased media attention, and targeted government policies and actions. In response, community leaders surveyed in the telephone interviews mentioned feelings of fear, anxiety, and victimization on a community-wide level. Yet, it was not until researchers conducted focus groups and face-to-face interviews that the prevalence and depth of these feelings were fully conveyed.

Heightened suspicion and public vigilance

Increased suspicion and public vigilance directed toward Arab Americans have contributed to a larger, community-wide feeling of fear and anxiety. In particular, the feeling of "being under a microscope" and being looked at with suspicion has made some feel constrained in their speech or behavior. In reference to the Iraq war, one survey respondent said, "Anyone else could say something, but if an Arab American spoke out [against the war] it was looked at as a sign of disloyalty. We had to be silent." A prominent community leader explains how he has dealt with the perceptions of quiet, but forced, censorship, "The media associated everyone with Muslim fundamentalism . . . but we dealt with it. You live, learn, and figure out how to utilize the system. In family gatherings, you could maintain your identity, but outside, you had to be 'American.'"

> *"We just want them to take the terrorist filter off of their eyes when they look at us. We want them to view us without the lens of terrorism. Sometimes I think filters become permanent. It is our job to replace them with temporary filters."*
>
> *—A Republican community leader of Palestinian descent*

While socio-demographic characteristics such as citizenship status, religious affiliation, and economic background may have insulated some communities from harassment and violence, many feel they are under suspicion. As a Syrian officer added, "The only problem that I saw was that there was a change in attitude about Arabs. This was a national thing. People became suspicious about all Arabs and this made Arabs suspicious as well. Many Arabs isolated

themselves." For one woman who wears a hijab, the effects are everyday, "When I go out, I don't like to look people in the face. I am afraid they will give me a look—a bad look—like 'You are an Arab Muslim and I don't like you.' I go out and shop and come right back."

Community perceptions on the role of the media

Community respondents also stressed the media's role in contributing to an environment of increased suspicion, stereotyping, and, at times, hatred toward particular religious and ethnic groups. As one respondent described, "[Victimization and harassment] depend on whether the news media is hot one day. It is amazing how the mood can change when they choose to highlight a story."

For another respondent, "I think our biggest issue is the media. The public, including the police department, is affected by the negative media portrayals. I had hoped that there would be more neutrality."

> *"In 1978 they viewed us as 1001 Nights. The Iranian hostage situation came and we were all looked at as Iranians. Nowadays, we all have to prove that we are not Osama bin Laden. Look at me; I fled that type of state. That's why I came here. On the same day as 9/11 I was told, 'You talk too much. Don't stand out. Some idiot will shoot you.'"*
>
> *—A community leader of Palestinian descent*

Community respondents generally described three distinct ways the media contributes to negative public feeling:

- **selective coverage,**
- **choice of language and terms, and**
- **promotion of hate and violence.**

Selective coverage. Community respondents described a general misrepresentation of both international events and domestic issues in mainstream media. International issues of interest, such as the war in Afghanistan, the Iraq war, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, were mentioned as examples where peripheral groups were portrayed as representative of the larger Arab population. A handful of focus group participants stressed that the media selectively chooses to only interview and represent radical fringe groups. According to one participant, in the aftermath of September 11, "the media didn't give an opportunity for those patriotic voices—those who have a desire to improve this country."

Choice of language and terms. Word choice and language in the media was often referenced as a major difficulty. In particular, respondents felt that the media often associated the term "terrorist" or the idea of terrorism with an entire religion and its followers. Buzzwords such as "Islamic terrorist" or "jihadist" were among the examples. Focus group participants who discussed this issue often compared the media's use of language with September 11 as distinctly

different from its depictions of other crimes and past terrorist activity, including the bombing at the 1996 Atlanta Summer Olympics and the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing. As one community leader commented,

> *The media has a huge influence in the way that they portray terrorism. When a white man kills a white man the media doesn't say a Christian killed a Catholic, but the media always says that Muslims do things. Their choice of vocabulary is very influential on the public.*

Promotion of hate and violence. Finally, a number of community respondents from various parts of the country mentioned that certain local talk shows espoused particularly vehement language toward Arabs and Muslims. According to one community leader, a local radio host said "Kill all Muslims," which upset community groups and was brought to the attention of the local U.S. Attorney's Office. Respondents believed that such violent comments would not be tolerated against other ethnic or religious groups. A school principal and active community leader said, "We feel if it was said about other ethnic groups, it would not be accepted. We have made a lot of progress, but the negative image in media is insulting and embarrassing."

Community leaders and focus group participants spoke about a general sense of powerlessness they feel against media portrayals. While political figures are dependent on public support, the media is not accountable in this respect. The media's widespread influence was also a concern. As one leader put it, "While we can teach our own local area—our neighbors, etc.—we can't reach the nation."

Responses from police focus groups. The media's impact on heightened public suspicion was also discussed by patrol officers in the focus groups. As one officer said, "Negative portrayals of police officers and Arab Americans are played over and over again on the TV. When an officer sees that, they'll begin to associate it with the storeowners they're working with. When you see the Taliban and terrorists, you form your opinion based on the news." By the same token, officers also described the media as promoting negative images of the police, which can fuel fear and distrust among Arab American communities. An officer in a different site stated, "Immigrants have a lot of fear about the police, and the media just contribute to this negative perception." Another officer responded, "The only time we are portrayed in a good light is when we are killed or injured."

In some sites, there were a handful of officers that confirmed the community concerns about heightened suspicion among police officers. During one discussion, an officer said, "It's idiotic to think that there aren't terrorist cells here . . . I do think that there could be an incident here." Another responded, "Although we don't profile here, it's always in the back of my mind, I think." Some police officer responses were tinged with more general feelings of distrust toward Arab Americans. After one officer described perceiving a lack of perks—such as a free cup of coffee or a special rate for officers—offered by Arab American business owners, another officer responded, "I'm not sure I would even want to accept it if they did. I would be wondering if there were strings attached."

False reporting

Feelings of anxiety due to heightened public suspicion, media portrayals, and government-led encouragement of the public to be on "high alert"[133] have made some people fearful of false reporting by the public. As one community member explains, "the fear is that someone just picks up the phone and tells [the FBI] to target individuals. Now you have even third generation Arabs thinking, 'my citizenship doesn't mean anything anymore.'" Another concurred, saying, "At what point do I become an American? It reminds me of Syria. If someone wants to get you, they just call the police."

False reporting, whether accidental or malicious, is not only a concern for residents; it is also a hassle for those officers and agents who have to respond to the frequent calls. The FBI agents described needing to respond to calls that oftentimes stemmed from petty neighbor disputes and business competition to dating rivalries. "The general public would call in some ridiculous stuff—it was really guilt by being Muslim," a FBI special agent in charge said. "We had to run down everything that was called in even though we knew it was not relevant. In fact, looking back on it, in the months following 9/11 we were going into homes in a way that was probably discriminatory."

"Poison pens": An agent talks about false reporting

When asked whether or not the relationship between his office, local police departments, and Arab American communities had changed since September 11, one agent gave this account:

I think it has improved; however, the bottom line is that I feel for the Muslim—not just the Arab—community . . . Part of my job is to field calls from citizens who call in and report suspicious activity. We had a big snowstorm and one of my agents wrote up a call. The man said, "I want to tell you about the guy that lives across from me. He is very suspicious; he has people coming over to his house all the time." We probed him and asked, "You mean friends? What's suspicious about him?" After talking to both people we found out the guy who made the complaint was mad because his neighbor refused to shovel his walk. We get a lot of these—what I call "poison pens."

A police officer explains how false reporting can compromise community relations, "Suppose I get a call about suspicious activity. I have to respond, even if it's based on prejudice. If I show up, the Arab American feels he is being profiled and trusts the police less. If I don't show up, I get an angry call or complaint that I am not doing my job. It's a lose-lose situation." While false reporting has decreased over the last months, an FBI agent describes the impact of even one false claim on a person's reputation. "We try to tell people that this is serious. You can ruin someone's life this way. The community feels under siege, and they are."

[133] Liptak, "A Nation of Informers—or Alert Citizens;" President Bush had also proposed a program under Citizen Corps named Operation TIPS (Terrorism Information and Prevention System), described in George W. Bush, "Securing the Homeland, Strengthening the Nation," 2002.

Employment discrimination

Another theme from telephone interviews and focus groups was the effect of September 11 on finding and maintaining employment. According to one respondent, "Some have told me they can't get a job, their hours are being cut, and they're considering changing their names. I don't know how much of this is the economy and how much is prejudice, but it does affect people in a major way."

Community members discussed the difficulties in making claims of discrimination since layoffs and decreased hours can be the result of numerous factors unrelated to racial or ethnic bias. As one community explains, "A lot of people tell me they are not getting jobs because of issues of discrimination and profiling. Whether this is real or perceived is a question, but people are affected by this."

Respondents suggested that Arab Americans have been generally sheltered from employment losses because of their relative affluence within the community. According to one leader, "Arabs who are lawyers, doctors, or other professions may not be victimized as easily because of their roles in the city. However, the individuals who work in low-wage labor jobs are more prone to facing discrimination and stereotypes." Yet, this is not necessarily always the case, as community residents shared stories of middle-class professionals losing jobs or having great difficulty finding work.

Section 7. Community concerns: Civil liberties and federal policies

To a large degree, the fear of falling victim to what many consider unfair scrutiny by government policies and actions[134] was greater than fear of violence or harassment by individuals among many interviewees. One community advocate described what she called the "cultivation of a climate of fear" within the United States and a collective sense of being victimized by policies and agencies rather than individuals. An Imam from one large, well-established community was very clear, "My problem is not with the FBI and police officers; they are just following orders. They have a job to do and are not policymakers. It is the policies." This viewpoint—distinguishing between the creation of policy and its enforcement by federal and local agencies—was shared by other survey respondents and focus group participants. For one director of a community-based organization, "I think the police have been receptive to our concerns, but there's only so much they can do. Their hands are tied in terms of what really matters to us—policy."

When asked about hate crimes, community respondents across sites mentioned fear of government policies, at times equating the detention of Arab men and special registration with hate crimes. Another leader felt that "before 9/11, there were always questions of bias from people—from individuals—but not ever about the government and the police." A business leader commented in response to whether or not hate crimes were a problem in his community, "Now we're dealing with another prejudice. Right now, this is a very serious problem because I believe that 25 percent of the hate crimes are coming from government." He continued by saying, "Some

[134] Policies and practices such as the USA Patriot Act, "voluntary" interviews, special registration beginning in 2002, and subsequent detentions and deportations beginning in 2001 and continuing to the present.

of the investigations being done are wrong, and if the Justice Department looked into this, they would not approve of it." Finally, another business leader explained,

> *The community is concerned about civil liberties, first and foremost. We are concerned about the attacks on those liberties. We're not so much concerned with issues in everyday life with neighbors—racism, etc.—because racism has always been there.*

A conference report published in February 2002 by the FBI Behavioral Science Unit, the American Psychological Association, and the University of Pennsylvania forwarded similar comments about harm to law enforcement-Arab American community relations as a result of policy decisions after September 11:

> The view of some segments of the Muslim and Arab American communities is that their relationship with law enforcement has been damaged by incidents that occurred after September 11. Importantly, these incidents are not seen as inevitable outcomes of 9/11 by members of that community, but rather as apparently arbitrary results of policy decisions made by the Department of Justice and the Bush Administration.[135]

Three years after that report was published, community responses indicate that damage done by federal policies has affected greater segments of the Arab American community. When asked about their community's main concerns, more community respondents mentioned policies and practices than actions of bias or harassment from individuals (see Exhibit 30).

Exhibit 30: Community concerns

In response to the question "What are the main concerns of your community at this moment?"

	% of respondents (n=50)
Government policies and actions	
Immigration	17
Racial profiling by law enforcement	14
The USA Patriot Act/civil liberties	13
Detentions and deportations	10
Special registration	8
Victimization	
Viewed with suspicion	9
Harassment	6
Hate crimes	4
Employment discrimination	3

[135] "Countering Terrorism: Integration of Practice and Theory," An Invitational Conference at the FBI Academy, Quantico, Virginia, February 28, 2002: 26.

Immigration

When asked about community concerns, leaders overwhelmingly highlighted immigration matters. Concerns with the length of time it takes to process a Visa request or apply for citizenship were common. One respondent echoed a concern with delayed paperwork, "Many complain that they want to see their families, but because their legalization has not gone through, they cannot go see them." Others relayed that community members were anxious of engaging immigration for fear that "secret evidence\" was being used against them or that they would be "rounded up" or "deported" by federal authorities. In one focus group a participant told a story about a friend who was arrested by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE),

> *I have a friend whose house, just after 9/11, got raided. They knocked down the door and everything. My friend had suspected something weird was going on because he noticed a van in front of the house. It was the way it was done. They knocked down the front door. They* [*the people in the house*] *were out of status.*

Stories like this one illustrate how vicarious experiences with law enforcement can have a lasting impact on communities as they are retold. In fact, community leaders conveyed that residents do not trust ICE and that the fear among immigrant communities in particular has had a tangible impact on everyday life. One leader noted, "ICE has become a sore subject and needs a lot of work. There is a certain type of policy that is being used to silence the Arab and Muslim community through the use of immigration status."

Racial profiling by law enforcement

The term racial profiling was frequently used to describe general practices of targeting or undue suspicion directed toward Arab Americans. Community respondents, however, were particularly concerned with selective enforcement and targeting by law enforcement. As one community leader said, "Women [who are] driving think that if the police see them driving, they are going to get stopped. Some Arabs think that they are discriminated against or that they are going to be mistreated or abused by the police." References were also made to how the FBI carries out investigations and decides who to interview. For a business leader from a city with a high proportion of Arab Americans, "We thought racial profiling was bad [after the Oklahoma City bombing], but now it's much worse than ever before. We are concerned about how they conduct nationwide searches, how they put people in prison. This is the main issue for Arabs and Muslims."

Based on police telephone interview responses to the question, "To your knowledge, does the department have a formal policy on racial profiling in relation to Arab American communities? What is it?", all sites for which we have information (n=14) have a general policy against racial profiling. None of the sites had a specific policy in relation to Arab American communities. Four of the sites also collect statistics on sex, race, violation type, etc., for any stops and/or arrests made, depending on the site's specific policy.

The USA Patriot Act and civil liberties

Community members mentioned concerns about phone taps, searches, and increased surveillance, which the majority viewed as a result of the USA Patriot Act. One leader noted that although community-police relationships had improved in his city prior to September 11, "Ashcroft and the Patriot Act" created a new environment in which people's homes were being searched. Another leader explained, "The community feels like the Patriot Act has lowered the bar for the FBI to conduct surveillance. Phones can be tapped; people can be spied on more easily. Specifically, there have been a number of incidents with semi-prominent political leaders who have been put under surveillance since 9/11." In fact, during one community focus group conducted in a home, the homeowner, who was one of the participants, described how when a door to door encyclopedia salesperson asked to use her bathroom, she thought for a moment that the person could have planted a listening device. This narrative is one that several other leaders echoed, stating "The Patriot Act made things a lot worse" and "if you want to make someone angry, say two words: Patriot Act."

Detention and deportation

Accounts of detentions and deportations within the Arab American communities in our study were an unexpected finding. In the telephone interviews, some respondents mentioned that "detentions are a huge issue" and "men are being profiled and detained." However, one-on-one interviews and focus group discussions revealed how pervasive detentions and, in some cases, deportations were among the Arab American communities in this study. Of the detentions and deportations we heard about, a diverse range of residents were impacted, from those politically inactive to business leaders to high profile Imams. In all four cities, residents spoke of recent detentions and deportations of people that they personally knew or that they had heard about from friends. According to community respondents, some of the deportations resulted from the national registration and interviewing that took place in 2002. According to the director of a community organization in a city particularly affected, "People went in for interviews, and they took the government's intentions at face value and were ultimately put through deportation. This is something that is damaging . . . the impact of individual cases on the community is great."

Community residents we spoke with also mentioned fear of future repercussions, particularly if another attack happens: "This is what we're afraid of—where will it go from here? Will there be mass deportations?" Community leaders cited the threat of detentions and deportations as a possible reason for underreporting, as well as a factor that contributes to the more general cultivation of a climate of fear and anxiety in communities.

Special registration

While inextricably linked to the issue of detention and deportation, the special registration of Arab and Muslim men that took place in 2002 and 2003 was specifically cited often enough to warrant its own category. Of most concern was that some respondents felt the ground rules were not clear and that the possibility of arrest, detention, and deportation had been de-emphasized. As one community leader stated, "Many people went to register and got arrested. About 1,200 were arrested from this site area, and they were all Arab." A respondent from another site

commented, “The requirements kept changing, and Arabs and Muslims were being selectively targeted by these laws.”

While not the norm, a handful of law enforcement officers—particularly among the FBI interviewees—reported some knowledge of heightened community concerns around federal policies and actions. An FBI agent described his experience meeting with local Arab American community leaders, “When we invited them to our office, we devoted a portion of time to talking about hate crimes and reporting. But they wanted to talk more about the Patriot Act and the impact of these events on their community.”

Section 8. Community response to heightened visibility

Community participants suggested that September 11 sparked community organizing and activism among some residents while others became further withdrawn. As one community member summarized “There are two extremes: either people embrace fully or deny their culture. People think, ‘Is it OK to be an Arab in the United States?’” In this section we explore disengagement and engagement, two elements that are clearly at play in the Arab American communities we studied.

Disengagement. Community focus group participants discussed the effects of disengagement on their community based organizations. In a city that had been politically active for years, a community leader shared his perspective, “We had some big demonstrations before 9/11, but now there is less turnout and there are fewer families too.” A resident explained, “Today, a lot of Muslims hide. There is fear.” A school principal concurred, “People have a fear of being associated with the school and with being on the board of directors because that would draw attention to themselves.” Another resident added, “9/11 did something to people—it made you afraid.”

A perhaps unexpected consequence of September 11 and the following federal investigations, which focused on Arab Americans and American Muslims, has been a hesitation to give time, money, and support to community-based organizations, schools, and mosques. Across the country, in telephone surveys and focus groups, leaders and residents have mentioned two main disengagement effects of September 11:

- **lower membership rolls and**
- **decreases in charitable giving.**

Lower membership rolls. Leaders of community-based organizations discussed how rumors of FBI raids on organizations and subsequent deportations of affiliated members have caused their own membership rolls to decrease. They noticed that people were hesitant to be formally associated with Arab or Muslim organizations. For one community based organization, “It was hard to get the community to come to events. It felt like they were inward and hiding. The [organization’s] membership database had gone down because people actually called and asked that their names be taken off the list.” This finding underscored the degree to which fear had immobilized some community members.

Decreases in charitable giving. Similarly, community organizations across the country frequently discussed the economic stresses that their neighborhood organizations, heavily dependent on individual donations, have been facing. As an Islamic school principal explains, "One of the major pillars of Islam is to give to charity, and people are afraid to give now because they believe that law enforcement is trying to link people to each other. [It] has affected everyone, especially our school and our ability to raise money." The head of a local mosque concurs, "They are afraid to donate and to get investigated by the FBI. We have a hard time making our monthly bills."

Residents have also expressed concern. As one community member describes, "We are fearful of contributing to organizations because if 1 percent goes to the wrong cause and you think someone is watching you, you become worried." As an alternative, some people have resorted to giving cash, but this is not making up for the economic losses that these organizations have suffered.

Engagement. At the same time, a number of community leaders felt that September 11 led to more engagement and activism in a previously quiet group. A woman from an active community noted, "There was a distinct change in community organization after 9/11. I saw more interaction. [The community] began to attend more meetings . . . and became more involved with other communities in the city." In another site with an active community, the director of a community-based organization described reaching out to the local police after September 11. "We had relations prior to 9/11, but there was a conscious decision to intensify these after 9/11. We became proactive; we did not just let something be and fix itself." A leader in the same site elaborated on the heightened community activism,

> *The turning point was 9/11 . . . We needed to get invested in the political system, and those of us who were involved in politics got more involved. We tried to stop the backlashes. We decided that we needed to take the outreach efforts of the mosques and into the general public to reach non-Muslim Arabs and secular Muslims . . . 9/11 not only was a tragedy, but it was an opportunity for this community to become part of the system.*

What determines whether community members tended to become more active and visible or less engaged and hidden? The level of community outreach in a site was not necessarily related to an individual resident's engagement. Places with communities actively engaged in outreach, as well as places with less active communities, all described similar community responses to September 11, with segments of their communities becoming more engaged and others becoming more hidden. Community responses and participant observation suggest that an individual's recent immigration, economic and professional standing, and age may affect propensity for engagement.

Immigrant history. As with immigrant communities, the most recent Arab American immigrants perhaps tend to shy away from the political and social spotlight for a number of reasons, including language, immigration status, and resources for organizing activities. According to one community leader, "the ones seeking green cards, they just hide because they're scared, and they don't want to bring attention to themselves." In fact, Vera researchers oftentimes were not able to speak to the newest immigrants due to these issues.

Economic and professional standing. Economic status was another indicator, with many active community members being professionals in law and medicine. However, this financially comfortable position could also serve as a detractor from becoming involved. As discussed in Chapter 4, Arab Americans have higher rates of educational attainment and larger median household income compared to the national averages. One community leader discusses the effects of such economic stability on this stratum,

> *This is a community that was not used to speaking up. We were never targeted. In the past, people came as doctors, lawyers; they didn't suffer from profiling. They never had to organize and most people came from regimes where speaking up was not advisable or accepted.*

Youth. Community responses suggest that young people have become more active. According to one community leader, "Lately we have had a lot of young people getting involved, mostly out of anger. They think 'Why would I be blamed?' and they want to go out and tell the world it's wrong. People are tired of being stereotyped as a 'Muslim terrorist' or an 'Arab terrorist'—the community has had enough. More young people are now involved, and the community is beginning to stand up again and be Arab-proud. It is empowerment." Researchers also found that a number of young people participated in focus group discussions and were actively involved in their schools and community organizations.

At the same time, young people are not immune from the same fear and anxiety that others may face. As one focus group participant describes, "My son is 18 years old, and he doesn't want to be associated with Arab American groups and associations. He didn't want to come tonight for that reason. He doesn't want to hang out with more than one or two people who are also Arab because he's afraid someone will notice."

Section 9. Chapter summary

Community and police perceptions of the prevalence of hate victimization after September 11 were generally not aligned, with more communities describing an increase in hate crimes. Most community leaders identified some type of victimization occurring within their communities, varying from harassment to vandalism to violence. While religious markers, such as the hijab, were described as triggers for harassment and victimization, nonreligious symbols such as signs in Arabic or physical appearance were also referenced. More generally, community members described an environment of increased suspicion and heightened public vigilance, which has been exacerbated by the media's selective coverage and use of words and language. In terms of

community concerns, more respondents said they were worried about government policies and actions rather than individual acts of violence.

Scholars have made reference to September 11 as a catalyst for "cultural trauma" experienced by U.S. citizens.[136] Cultural trauma[137] and "social trauma"[138] are concepts that have been commonly used to describe the experience of suffering by a community or group of people in response to some horrendous, destabilizing event. Giesen describes social trauma as the collectively experienced result of a breakdown of social order, "the collapse of the most basic 'taken for granted' social expectations . . . that affect the validity and stability of the social order itself."[139] Genocide, war, and famine have been used as examples, yet the definition is intentionally broad, including any experience that causes great individual pain that the community also adopts, fundamentally changing both groups' identities and outlooks.[140]

Our findings suggest that, based on community and law enforcement perceptions, government and public reactions after September 11 have created a particular environment in which some Arab American communities have collectively experienced a form of cultural trauma, and in these concentrated communities, fear of being victimized by state-sponsored policies and practices is greater than fear of conventional hate or bias related violence.

Community members described how some residents have responded by disengaging, or retreating, from Arab American civic life while others have become more committed. Factors such as a person's immigrant history, economic and professional standing, and age may affect his or her propensity for becoming more active.

[136] Alexander, J.C, *et al.*, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity*, California: University of California Press, 2004.
[137] Sztompka, Piotr, "Cultural Trauma: The Other Face of Social Change," *European Journal of Social Theory* 3 (4) (2000).
[138] Giesen, Bernhard, "Social Trauma," in Smelser, Neal J. and Paul B. Baltes, eds., *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*, Cambridge, MA: Elsevier, 2001.
[139] Ibid., 14473.
[140] Alexander, *Cultural Trauma and Collective Identity.*

Chapter 6: Outreach: Community and law enforcement typologies

In the introduction to this report, we asked whether or not law enforcement agencies serving communities with high concentrations of Arab Americans have changed the way that they work since September 11, 2001. We also asked how Arab American communities are working with law enforcement to address public safety concerns. This chapter addresses these questions by looking at outreach efforts by police, the FBI, and communities in our sample of 16 sites. We provide findings from an analysis of levels of outreach and offer three typologies, which frame the later discussion.

Section 1: Community and police perceptions of how life has changed

According to the accounts of study participants, since September 11, Arab American communities around the United States have grappled with increased discrimination, fear, prejudice, intimidation, and suspicion. As one leader put it, "Things were fine until September 11." Another local business leader remarked, "Unfortunately, 9/11 put a landmark in history. This affects us a lot because it changed the image of our community; we suffer from incidents of hate crimes and we are fearful." Yet, at the same time that communities have faced discrimination, fear, and trauma, many have also experienced a new sense of activism and community empowerment. Describing an increased spirit of collaboration, one leader commented, "It takes things like 9/11 to get people to work together."

September 11 also signaled big changes for law enforcement agencies. In a way, these agencies, as with Arab American communities, also faced new pressures and a changed atmosphere. A chief from a large suburban department reflected,

> *It is a unique situation that we find ourselves in after 9/11. September 11 was so unusual. It was so well orchestrated that it caused widespread paranoia. It caused panic in people, and they wondered 'Do we have others [potential terrorists]?'*

The panic that this chief describes is essentially part of a greater debate about domestic security. We find in this study that police responses to the "unique situation" local agencies faced post September 11 ranged from increased outreach to Arab American communities to no change in the way they operate. The majority of police respondents commented that the events of September 11 had a positive impact on police community relations, ushering in greater communication and an understanding of the issues facing Arab American communities.

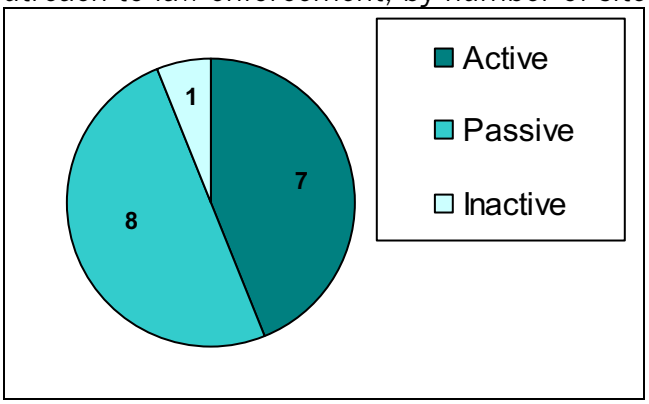
Section 2. Outreach efforts by Arab American communities and law enforcement agencies

Telephone survey results from community leaders, police personnel, and the FBI show that outreach efforts varied from site to site, with some sites having ongoing dialogue and others having little to no communication. Based on type and consistency of outreach efforts described in the following sections, communities, police departments, and FBI agencies in the 16 sites were categorized into the following typologies: active, passive, and inactive.

Outreach by communities

Across the 16 study sites, communities were actively engaged in reaching out to law enforcement in seven sites, communities in eight sites were categorized as passive, and in one site the community did not appear to reach out to law enforcement and was categorized as inactive (see Exhibit 31).

Exhibit 31: Level of Arab American community outreach to law enforcement, by number of sites



Active communities. These communities engaged in consistent outreach and dialogue with law enforcement. Community-based organizations established formal partnerships with their police department to conduct sensitivity or diversity trainings about Arab American culture or to mediate between the department or agency and the community by providing information, translation services, or other resources. Community leaders participated in advisory boards or other ongoing meetings with law enforcement, and were active in voicing community concerns. These sites were well-organized and often held community events, cultural/heritage festivals, and fundraising benefits, to which they invited local departments or agencies.

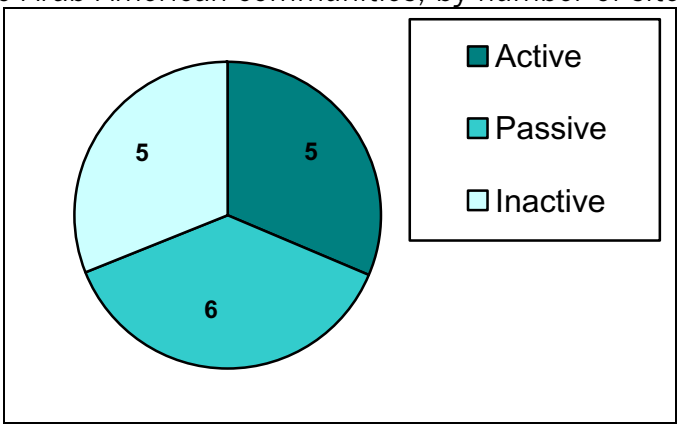
Passive communities. Community members in these sites had the social networks and channels to organize around specific events yet in some instance lacked the capacity or desire to consistently maintain dialogue with law enforcement for a number of reasons. Communication with police, apart from routine public safety concerns, often occurred on a personal basis, with few formally established channels for community-wide participation. These communities held events and festivals but only occasionally reached out to ask law enforcement officers to attend.

Inactive communities. Communities did not reach out to law enforcement for a number of reasons. In the one inactive site in the study, it appeared as though the level of assimilation and integration played a significant role in the level of outreach to law enforcement. Community leaders in these sites did not have meetings with local police departments or with federal law enforcement.

Outreach by local law enforcement

Among local law enforcement agencies, relationships with Arab American communities ranged from five police departments that were actively engaged in outreach, to six agencies that were passively engaged with Arab American communities, to five that did not reach out to these communities and were categorized as inactive (see Exhibit 32).

Exhibit 32: Level of local law enforcement outreach to Arab American communities, by number of sites



Active departments. These departments engaged in ongoing and consistent outreach to Arab American communities in their jurisdiction, which many times included the formation of an advisory board of Arab leaders, monthly or quarterly meetings, and officer attendance at community events or cultural organizations. In turn, community organizations often led cultural sensitivity or diversity classes for the police academy and, in some instances, participated in in-service trainings. Perhaps most important to facilitating regular dialogue and outreach, active departments often assigned an officer on a full- or part-time basis to serve as a liaison to the Arab American community. Active departments also exhibited considerable knowledge of the concerns of Arab American communities.

Passive departments. These departments may have conducted one or two meetings with Arab American leaders since September 11, but the sporadic and inconsistent nature of outreach suggested they were more passive than active. Officers in passive departments sometimes had personal relationships with Arab American community members, but this dialogue never entered formal, department-wide channels. Similarly, in a few passive departments, Arab American officers took it upon themselves to engage in outreach on their own time. While informal liaisons can be important contributors to spurring police-community dialogue, the informal nature of these relationships by themselves did not allow for wider dissemination among officers or a formal response by the department.

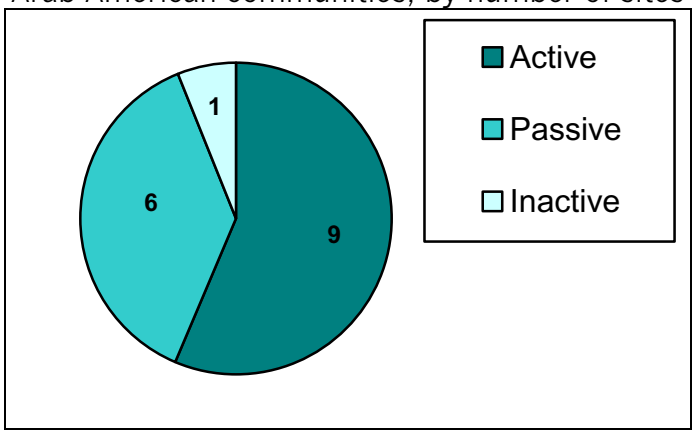
Inactive departments. These departments appeared to be reactive in their policing philosophy and engaged in little to no formal dialogue with Arab American communities in their jurisdiction. In some of these departments, officers had personal relationships with community members, but similar to the passive sites, these informal channels did not seem to translate to

formal responses. Responses from the study suggest that there was very little to no institutional knowledge of the concerns of Arab American communities.

Outreach by the FBI

Based on responses by the FBI and the community regarding FBI outreach to Arab American communities, nine field offices were categorized as active, six as passive, and one as inactive (see Exhibit 33).

Exhibit 33: Level of FBI outreach to Arab American communities, by number of sites



Active field offices. These field offices were characterized by ongoing and consistent outreach to Arab American communities. Many times, activities included the formation of an advisory board or working group of Arab leaders, monthly or quarterly meetings, and attendance at community events or cultural organizations. In turn, community organizations sometimes led cultural sensitivity or diversity classes for field offices. These offices often assigned a liaison to the Arab American community to ensure regular community dialogue. These offices exhibited significant knowledge of community concerns.

Passive field offices. These field offices may have conducted one or two meetings with Arab American leaders since September 11, but the sporadic and inconsistent nature of outreach lends them more characteristic of passive sites than active. These meetings are often in response to specific events or activities that warrant FBI-community dialogue, such as the pre-election interview in 2004 or the special registration initiative. Agents may have personal relationships with Arab American community members, but communication is not formalized.

Inactive field offices. These local offices have rarely, if at all, conducted meetings with Arab American communities in their jurisdiction. As with passive sites, agents may have personal relationships that plug them into the community, but the lack of formal channels does not allow for the agency to adapt or respond to community concerns. As a result, agents appeared to have little to no knowledge of community structure, leadership, or concerns within Arab American communities in their jurisdiction.

Section 3. Relationships across sites

In looking across the sites, there is a weak relationship between the level of outreach by communities and outreach by police departments in a site. For instance, there were no sites that had active police departments without a corresponding active community partner. Further, inactive police departments never had an active community partner (see Exhibit 34).

Exhibit 34: Outreach by communities and police departments

	active community	**passive community**	**inactive community**
active police department	5 sites		
passive police department	2 sites	4 sites	
inactive police department		4 sites	1 site

While these relationships are partly a product of the typology definitions themselves—relationships depend on the willingness of both parties to participate—it also seems that police departments were largely reactive in their outreach efforts and were likely to respond to organized communities. Across the 16 sites, communities were never less active than their police departments, while police departments are oftentimes less active than their communities. For instance, in two sites, communities were active in outreaching to their local police departments—inviting them to community events, making known translation or other mediation services, pressing departments to hold meetings in response to community concerns, and securing funds to run programs with departments. Yet, the department rarely responded to the community's invitations and only initiated outreach when pressed and in response to specific media-worthy happenings.

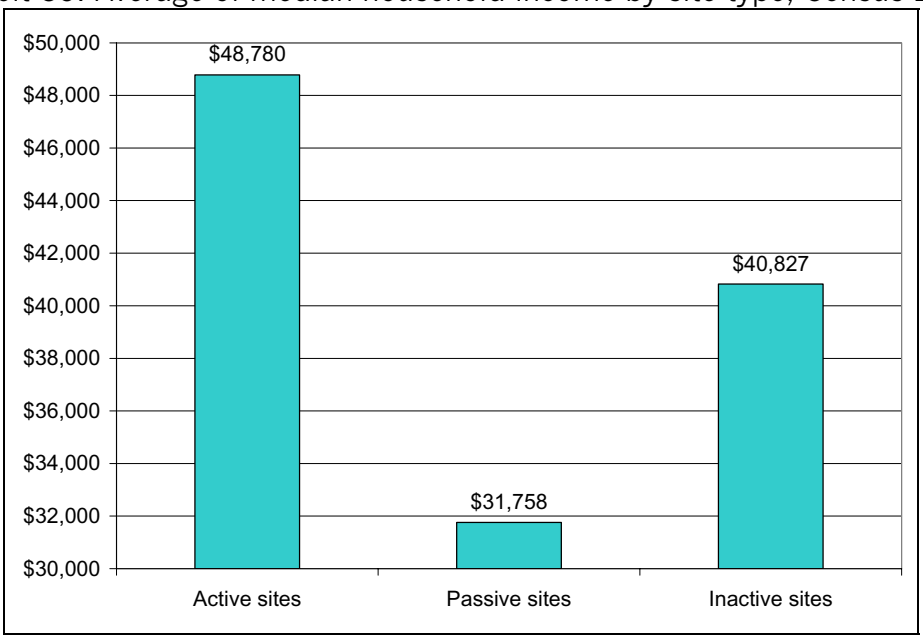
Section 4. External factors that may influence outreach efforts

Factors such as city size and percentage of Arab Americans within the department's jurisdiction were not necessarily related to outreach efforts. Sites were spread across site population size, with active sites varying from sites with less than 100,000 to over 500,000, as well as scattered across the country. In terms of population of Arab Americans in a site, a city with a higher proportion of Arab Americans did not necessarily mean its police department was more active in reaching out. In fact, two active sites had the lowest proportion of Arab Americans in our sample.

Community demographics

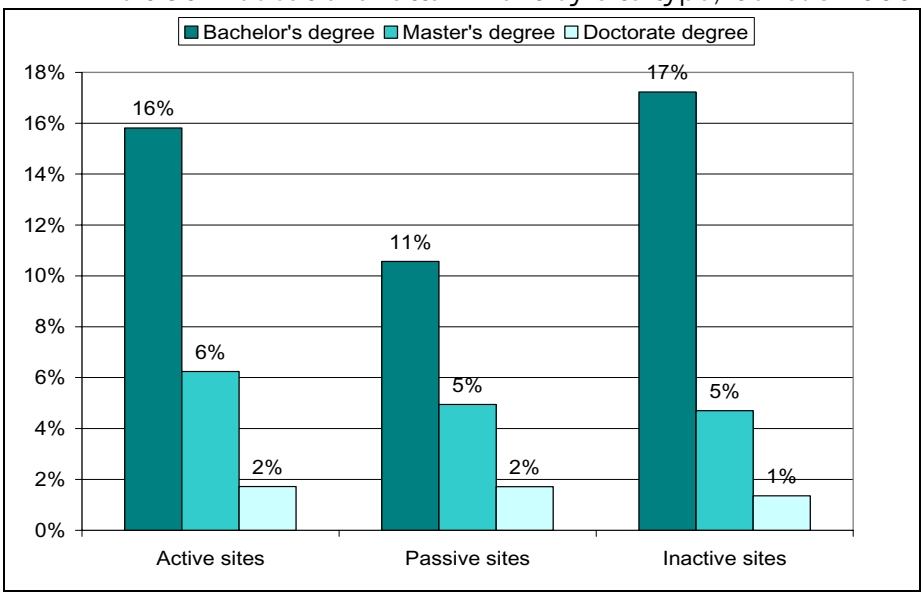
Departments that were active in their outreach efforts did share some commonalities in terms of Arab American community demographics in the jurisdictions, such as income, educational attainment, and citizenship status. As Exhibit 35 shows, the average median household income for active policing sites is nearly $20,000 more than for passive sites and about $8,000 more than for inactive sites.

Exhibit 35: Average of median household income by site type, Census 2000



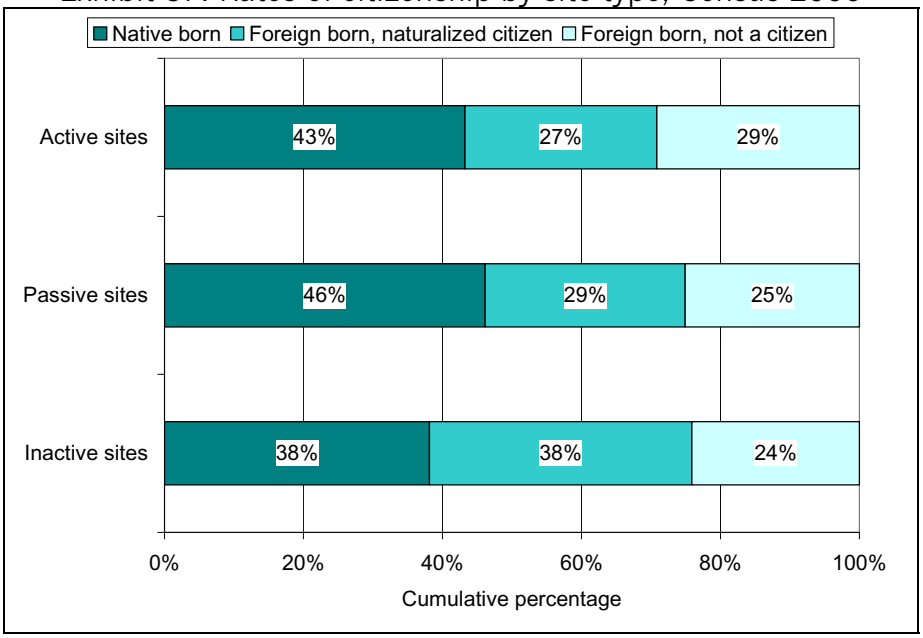
With regards to educational attainment, 16 percent of Arab Americans in active policing sites have earned bachelor's degrees, while only 11 percent in passive sites hold bachelor's degrees. Interestingly, 17 percent of Arab Americans hold bachelor's degrees in inactive policing sites (see Exhibit 36).

Exhibit 36: Educational attainment by site type, Census 2000



The higher average median income and rates of educational attainment in inactive sites may be due to greater rates of assimilation in those sites; therefore, there's less of a need for active police outreach. However, the average rate of native born Arab Americans in inactive sites is lower than active or passive sites, even though rates of citizenship are similar across all sites (see Exhibit 37).

Exhibit 37: Rates of citizenship by site type, Census 2000



Policing philosophy

The relationship between community policing and active outreach was unclear. While all five active sites claimed community policing philosophies, three of the passive sites, as well as four of the inactive sites, also claimed to practice community policing; yet, they engaged in little to no

outreach with the Arab American community. Because it is difficult to measure the degree to which departments adhere to the community policing model, these findings may reflect major differences in community policing practices across jurisdictions.

Section 5. Chapter summary

Across the 16 sites, communities tended to be more active in their outreach efforts as compared to local police departments. Police departments were generally split among being active, passive, and inactive in their outreach to communities, while the FBI field offices were more often active. There seemed to be a weak relationship between community and police outreach efforts, where active communities were more likely to have active police departments. Part of this may be due to the typology definitions themselves, which are somewhat dependent on reciprocity. Over the course of this report, these typologies will be employed to discuss the changed environment for communities and law enforcement after September 11, particularly where there are significant differences across outreach efforts by site.

Chapter 7: Law enforcement outreach efforts to Arab American communities since September 11, 2001

Section 1. Local law enforcement agencies respond to more visible Arab American communities

With a few exceptions, the majority of police officers consistently maintained that September 11 brought the Arab American community into focus. When asked about ways in which the relationship between police and Arab American communities had changed since September 11, of 38 responses, 21 noted a positive change in relations with Arab American communities, 14 said they saw no change, one replied there was a negative change, and two did not comment (see Exhibit 38).

Exhibit 38: Responses to survey question about changes since September 11

In terms of the issues we have talked about, in which ways has the relationship between law enforcement and Arab American communities changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?			
Positive change	No change	Negative change	Don't know
21	14	1	2

The majority of officer respondents whose departments had engaged in some type of outreach since September 11 felt that their efforts grew out of initial concerns about backlash and hate crimes rather than national security. For a handful of officers, heightened awareness of Arab American communities had primarily stemmed from national security concerns.

In this section, we explore these responses and look in greater detail at two dynamics driving local police responses to the heightened visibility of Arab American communities. We first look at responses that tend to focus more on hate crimes and victimization, or what Thacher calls "community protection." We then look at responses rooted in surveillance and intelligence gathering, what David Thacher calls "offender search."[141]

Local police agencies: Protecting and serving communities

Of the 21 police respondents who reported a positive change in relations since September 11, 15 articulated that outreach was the result of a need to protect Arab American communities. As one local police chief of a medium-sized city said,

> *Because the Arab American community is so quiet and has stayed in the background, we didn't know much about them. Other groups are much more visible and vocal. I mean, are they victims? These are the things we should know.*

[141] Thacher, David, "The Local Role in Homeland Security," *Law & Society Review* 39 (3) (2005): 635-676.

The head of community affairs in another site explained, "We talk to them a lot more now. They have become more visible. We wanted to make sure they didn't have any problems, so we sought them out."

Focus group findings. In the phone interviews, the majority of police respondents in three of the four case study sites reported a positive change in community relations as a result of increased outreach. Yet, in two of these sites, focus groups with patrol officers described a motivation different from public safety concerns, revealing the complex nature of divisions between patrol officers and police administrators, as well as patrol and community relations departments. Focus group discussions in these two sites discussed outreach efforts with some skepticism, describing them as public relations tactics or as unnecessary and not as preempting potential acts of victimization. A patrol officer in one site mentioned increased mosque surveillance as "more PR than anything else." Another responded by stating that their site had experienced no hate crimes directed toward Arab Americans and said, "If an Arab American store has been targeted, I think it has more to do with easy access or some other reason and not ethnicity." In the other site, an officer said that the Arab American community liaison was appointed to "appease" community concerns rather than to address public safety or bias crime issues.

Yet, phone interviews with community leaders and police officers, as well as focus groups with community residents, in these sites suggest that outreach efforts were increased in order to help protect Arab American communities. Skepticism by patrol officers may stem more from a larger disconnect between the mission of community outreach and patrol divisions, with the latter sometimes unsure of the value of outreach, or the decision-making processes of leadership and street-level officers, with the latter not adequately informed of the rationale for decision making.

Local police agencies reporting no change in relations since September 11

Among local law enforcement telephone survey participants, 14 respondents said they saw no change in relations with Arab American communities since September 11. One officer felt that on-the-ground work has not been affected. "In the big picture, yes, but in the day-to-day culture of the police department, it has not changed." Reasons for reporting no change included

- **positive relations existed prior to September 11,**
- **lack of communication prior to September 11, and**
- **Arab American communities are still hidden.**

Existing positive relations. Local police departments that were already reaching out to Arab American communities before September 11 simply continued outreach efforts. As one officer working in a counterterrorism unit in an active outreach site said, "I don't think it has changed. We have always had a great relationship with the Arab American community."

Lack of communication in the past. The flip side of the previous example involves a lack of communication prior to September 11. In one of the inactive police outreach sites, an officer said

"I don't think we had a relationship with the Arab American community to begin with. I am not aware of anything being done, so I don't think anything has changed." According to an officer in a passive outreach site, "For me, it hasn't changed at all. Basically in my precinct, we had no communication prior to 9/11, and we have no communication now. Nothing has changed."

Communities are still hidden. In addition to the impact of past relations on responses to September 11, some agencies felt that Arab American communities in their jurisdiction were still relatively closed. A community policing officer from a passive site suggested, "I really haven't seen a change. The Arab American community here has always been within itself." He added, "They stay very low on the radar screen. They live in peace in their own community and do it very well. Their internal mechanisms, having to deal with something like 9/11, have probably changed."

Focus group findings. Rank and file officers who participated in focus groups felt that their everyday work had not been affected by the greater national emphasis on counterterrorism. As one officer commented, "Things haven't changed. We don't do anything different because we don't have terrorist threats here. In terms of the guys on the street—it doesn't impact them." Another officer agreed, "Policing hasn't changed post 9/11 . . . we don't have this 'we're-at-war mentality.'" He went further by saying, "If I saw a car drive through and break into an airport, I'd treat it as a traffic violation, not a terrorist attack." Officer responses suggest that this may be due to,

- **a lack of resources on the part of local departments or**
- **perceived ineffective trainings by federal agencies**

Lack of resources. Local police may be hesitant to take on new roles, as departments throughout the country have recently faced massive budget cuts. For now, most are simply trying to respond to calls and address basic public safety concerns. As heard repeatedly in the police focus groups, departments have become more "reactive" rather than "proactive" in their policing, a sentiment that is reflective of the national survey responses.

Resources: A struggling department

Similar to other declining industrial cities facing urban flight, decreasing wages, and tightening federal funds, this city's police department has been experiencing a rapidly shrinking local budget.

Two years ago, nearly 10 percent of the city's police force was laid off. The community relations unit went from over 60 officers to 1. Officers who had moved up the ranks found themselves back in patrol cars and on the streets. Specialized units such as the gang and helicopter teams were eliminated. For one officer, the focus on national security and counterterrorism for local police seems misplaced. "They've disbanded the gang unit, and what they don't understand is that our 'terrorists' are our youth and our gangs."

As one officer put it, "I can't even finish the first call without getting another one . . . it prevents me from being proactive with the dealers." Barely keeping up with radio calls, officers on the street have little time to engage in other activities, such as community outreach and investigative work. "Our job is more reactive now. We don't do follow-ups or initiate investigations. We just get in and get out." In one department, a renewed focus on statistics and measurable outcomes has been one effect of a tightening budget. "Before, we could take more time with each call, and now it's all about numbers."

Trainings perceived as ineffective. Two of the four departments studied in phase II have required their officers to participate in daylong trainings, including a "weapons of mass destruction" class. Focus group participants in more than one site did not find these trainings particularly useful or relevant to their everyday work. Some questioned the purpose of such trainings, saying that they are more "political" than practical and were simply something else that "puts weight on you, pressure." One officer put it bluntly, "The training is shit. They spend a day telling you to put on an expensive suit to protect you from biochemical weapons and then to run in the opposite direction." Another officer concurred, "It's just not practical training. We do have a need for better preparation."

Community responses. In sites with passive or inactive police departments, community responses in the telephone interviews described a changed police-community relationship as a result of heightened levels of suspicion and fear post September 11. Thus, even though departments may not have changed in their community outreach efforts, the new national environment may have affected their relations with Arab American communities. In one passive site, a community leader explained, "The relationship is very limited. The difference [since September 11] is that the people are more scared, there is more fear. There is a wall between the police and community." A community leader in an inactive police site said, "It has not really changed. There was no relationship before or even after. Well, with the behavior there is a change in the way they see you after 9/11, but as for [police] programs, no."

National security: Local police agencies and counterterrorism

Results from the telephone survey show that only 5 of 38 respondents felt that outreach to Arab American communities was motivated by counterterrorism concerns. One captain described how "Now we do have to check visas and do investigations. No one is banging on doors and pulling people out of their homes, but we have a duty and we can't take this lightly." For another captain, "Before, the Arab community just existed, and now they are high on the radar screen and very visible. Now we want to know what is in our Arab community and what it is composed of." An officer from the same city stated, "Before 9/11, the Arab American community operated in the background . . . no one paid attention. Since 9/11, people are suspicious of Arab Americans. There is much more probing into the Arab American community to determine whether or not they have people in the community who are supporting terrorist activities."

Additional findings from the rest of the telephone survey suggest that according to high-ranking officers, local police departments operationalize these priorities to varying degrees. This

may be due to the fact that law enforcement personnel from local police departments have diverse perspectives on what their role in the "war on terrorism" should be. Based on interviews with police chiefs and officers, an emphasis on counterterrorism was coupled with either the notion that:

- **Intelligence will develop from existing community policing efforts or**
  In active sites, police officials felt strongly that community policing and maintaining relations with communities were essential to intelligence efforts. The chief of a major big city department expressed,

  > *With 9/11, the challenges we have to face are much greater . . . For the very first time, America is under threat. The fact is, no one knows who lives in these communities, but the collection of intelligence will come from the community. So a relationship and confidence within the community is important. We are walking a tightrope. [Community policing] is very necessary; it enhances the importance of the relationship. We can't afford to alienate them. Otherwise, we cut off our sources of information.*

- **Intelligence will develop from specific criminal intelligence units.**
  In one site, officers participating in a focus group explained how prior to September 11, all outreach to Arab American communities came from the criminal intelligence unit. They have since changed this orientation and encourage outreach from all units.

Community perspectives on an increased emphasis on national security. As one community leader said, "A community that trusts law enforcement would be vigilant in stopping terrorism." There was a sense among community respondents that a focus on counterterrorism would not be successful without an existing degree of trust and confidence in local police.

In one of the four case study sites, police responses in the telephone interviews discussed outreach in terms of national security and counterterrorism efforts. When researchers looked more closely at the site, there was a history of community concerns with an overly aggressive officer. While the department has since launched active outreach efforts to address community public safety concerns, parts of the community remain skeptical of the department's motivation. One leader commented, "[The police are] definitely doing surveillance; many of the stores coffee shops, mosques, gathering places are being surveyed 24/7. There is always an officer around the area telling the business owners that he's just doing rounds. I doubt that the police officer that has been doing rounds in our community is just doing it to volunteer but because the government sent him." Another leader in the same site said, "I hope that the police have realized that this community is not harboring terrorists."

Telephone interviews with the community in other active police sites express similar concerns over increased outreach efforts after September 11. An Imam in one active case study site stated,

Pre-9/11 local law enforcement could look at the community and say "They are the most law-abiding we have got"—no drinking, gambling, prostituting, domestic violence, etc. 9/11 comes, and all of a sudden the whole community is suspect. Can we talk to you? Can we visit you? Police cars are not in front of the mosque to protect, but there to intimidate. The assumption is that every Muslim is an immigrant with documents not in order. It is subtle, but intimidation is present.

Another leader expressed a commonly heard sentiment, "The police were always responsive and involved in our community, but since 9/11, they have been instructed to be more 'on guard of us' rather than being 'on guard for us.'"

Section 2. FBI field offices respond to more visible Arab American communities

The role of FBI field offices in Arab American communities—specifically the frequency of personal contacts that agents have had with residents since September 11—was a particularly interesting finding. According to the head of the local JTTF, his office completed nearly 700 interviews with Iraqis alone in a city with approximately 4,000 Arab American residents. In one of the case study sites, the executive director of a community services agency spoke about the impact September 11 had on the largely Palestinian community in his area. He said, "We became visible; before we were 'flying undercover.' In the beginning, we became more visible because the FBI wanted information about us and from us. The overall effect was positive, and more Arab Americans became involved." On the other hand, when describing the intense fear generated by the FBI interviews, one community leader from the same city stated, "They've been contacting people—the locals and the FBI . . . People call this the 'Muslim Holocaust'—the idea that every immigrant has their time to be discriminated against. People are afraid to take part in activism. They are just generally afraid."

In this section, we explore community perceptions of federal law enforcement, mainly the FBI, are well as responses from FBI agents concerning outreach to Arab American communities. Data is drawn primarily from the phase I telephone interviews with the FBI agents in 16 sites, as well as phase I and phase II community interviews and focus groups.

Contacts with the FBI

While a handful of community leaders referenced FBI investigations within their communities during the phone interview phase, the focus group discussions uncovered a much higher prevalence of FBI contacts and questioning than even with local police. Focus group participants who talked about being personally approached by the FBI were primarily middle to upper class professionals such as surgeons, doctors, lawyers, and professors. The frequency of contact with federal agencies in some of communities put many people on high alert. A number of residents referenced concerns about wiretaps on their phones, in their houses, and even in the rooms we were sitting in for focus group discussions.

An Arab American physician describes an interview with the FBI

One day, I happened to come by my office when it was closed, and I saw a man in a suit outside dictating the spelling of my name into a tape recorder. I watched him as he walked back to car; he was sitting on the other side of the road with another man. I decided to approach them, so I walked over and asked them what they were doing. They told me "When we want to speak to you we will contact you."

Later, while I was still at my office, my wife called and told me that there was a trooper at our house. I returned home to find a FBI agent was waiting for me. The agent asked me if I knew Osama. I said, "I know Osama bin Laden? How do I know him?" She asked me some very strange questions, like "Where do you pray? How long have you been here?" and whether I was a Muslim. She asked me how long I had been married and if my wife is Muslim. I felt weird, but I answered her.

FBI field offices and community outreach

As compared to police departments, the FBI agencies in our sample were engaged in much higher levels of outreach to Arab American communities, with nine FBI sites categorized as active; in contrast, five police departments were active. Similarly, only one FBI agency, rather than five police sites, was inactive, engaging in no formal outreach activities.

In those sites that are engaged in little or no outreach, respondents stated how increased pressures had led to poorer relations. According to the head of a JTTF in one city, "I think that the relationship has changed since September 11. Law enforcement as a whole looks toward this community with a raised eyebrow. On the flipside, the community is suspicious of law enforcement activity. It's a little more abrasive now." Community leaders in these sites also mentioned the existence of social contacts and ties in local agencies and the lack of such networks in federal agencies as contributing to poorer formal relations. "There is a difference between local police and the national level. The participation of the Arab American community in local government and local police helps us. [After 9/11] we had good relations with the city level, but we didn't have the appropriate avenues with the Justice Department when things came up."

The need for outreach after September 11. Nearly half of the FBI agents we spoke with described outreach to Arab American communities as an effect of September 11. The head of a local JTTF explains, "Before 9/11, there was no need to communicate with this particular population. Now we are in constant communication." Another local JTTF head explains, "We did not have a grasp of the type of Middle Eastern population of this state. After 9/11, we were in reaction mode; we had to catch up on our outreach. Now we know every person to talk to. I know all of the Imams and community leaders personally."

FBI responses suggest that the sudden push for outreach to Arab American communities primarily stemmed from three needs:

- **to increase community understanding of the FBI,**
- **to address hate crimes and/or other backlash, and**
- **to facilitate investigations and intelligence gathering.**

Increase community understanding of the FBI. According to FBI responses, a large part of outreach involves explaining the agency—its mission, values, and procedures—to the community. The FBI agents often expressed the need to reassure the community that they were not targeting people for investigations based on ethnicity or religion alone. As one agent said, "We told them that contrary to popular belief, we are not singling out or discriminating against their community . . . we are only interested in getting the bad guys."

Further, with the prevalence of FBI contacts and the conduct of agents as a source of tension, FBI agents described outreach meetings and town halls as ways to explain certain agent behaviors that are necessary to intelligence gathering, even if perceived as inappropriate by the community. Examples include the need for multiple agents during arrests and the need to keep shoes on at certain times even when entering a home. When agents were required to conduct numerous interviews during Ramadan—a holy time of fasting and prayer in Islam—the community wanted to know why. As one agent said, "We took the time to explain to them that it was unfortunate but that the interviews had to happen. Something was happening and we had no choice."

Addressing hate crimes and/or other backlash. FBI agents described outreach after September 11 as a way to encourage community reporting of hate crimes and violence. Agents affirmed that they were concerned about backlash against Arab Americans and others, and they wanted to make sure communities knew about the proper channels to report incidents. As one agent said, "We were very concerned about retaliation after 9/11. We have a responsibility to protect everyone's civil rights." A handful of field offices described creating and distributing a hate crimes pamphlet and a "know-your-rights" guide.

Facilitate investigations and intelligence gathering. The facilitation of investigations, interviews, and intelligence gathering was a prime motivation for increased outreach to the community. Nearly all agents mentioned that open communication and dialogue assisted their number one priority—investigative work.

In terms of specific initiatives such as interview sweeps, established community relationships allowed FBI agents to give communities a heads-up and to ask how to best get the job done. One SAC explains what his agency did in response to the pre-November 2004 election interviews and arrests,

> *I wanted to make sure everyone understood the reason, and I also wanted to ask them about where approaches should be made and how. I stressed that we would do these interviews in a low-key, dignified way. It was beneficial to me to understand why a woman might not want to answer the door or might be unwilling to participate.*

More generally, agents affirmed that building relationships with the community through outreach and dialogue could provide valuable information. Intelligence gathering was referred to as a "natural byproduct" of outreach efforts, and agents continually mentioned how outreach made "the investigation piece easier" and "has helped in providing information."

Community responses also showed awareness around this issue. Further, community leaders described how outreach driven primarily by intelligence gathering, rather than community safety and understanding, could sour relations between the FBI and the community. A leader described one such situation, "The FBI initiated meetings because they were never involved with us before; so they had to. But I thought they were more interested in gathering intelligence than outreach. I don't think they expected the anger and fear they faced [at the meeting]. They expected the community to talk without offering much in return."

Section 3. Distinguishing between local and federal law enforcement

Many community leaders and residents we spoke with clearly distinguished between federal law enforcement and local police regarding policy, behavior, and outreach to the community. This finding was not entirely consistent with other studies, notably the report released by Northeastern University on Partnering for Prevention.[142] Several explanations for drawing such distinctions included,

- **conduct of the FBI during investigations,**
- **local agencies know their communities better, and**
- **local agencies in some jurisdictions explicitly chose not to participate in federal efforts.**

Conduct of the FBI during investigations. In certain sites, community respondents described the behavior of the FBI during investigations as distinctly different from their local police departments. As one community leader described, "The community has more trust of the police department than the FBI. There is a negative aura surrounding the FBI . . . I have heard quite a few stories about bad experiences with the FBI—of them going into houses and being disrespectful."

Local agencies know their communities. As a Muslim clergy said, "The difference is that the conduct of local law enforcement is better than the conduct of federal agents, maybe because the community has had a chance to build relationships with local law enforcement."

Local agencies did not participate in federal efforts. A lieutenant recounted, "In our community, Arabs have more trust in law enforcement than before [September 11] and have an understanding that we support them. During questioning [voluntary interviews] they found that we weren't really involved in that and that we are not really involved in the federal level. That's been good for us."

[142] The NEU report found that oftentimes these communities relate local law enforcement to domestic policies and U.S. foreign policy and view the U.S. government as monolith rather than as various agencies. See Ramirez, *Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide*: 17, 80.

Our findings suggest that communities with high concentrations of Arab Americans may be experiencing a significant number of individual contacts with FBI agents and that these interactions often serve as a source of tension among residents. Additionally, more FBI agencies as compared to police departments are actively involved in outreach to Arab American communities, and those that are involved stressed the importance of outreach in facilitating their investigatory work.

Section 4. Chapter summary

Local police have responded to more visible Arab American communities by either increasing outreach efforts to Arab American communities in order to protect, increasing efforts in order to gather intelligence, or not changing the level of outreach. The majority of police officers stated that relations with Arab American communities have improved since September 11, mostly due to increased outreach and dialogue.

The relationship between the FBI and Arab American communities has changed since September 11. Many community members described being personally approached by the FBI, and the frequency of contacts has put people in some communities on high alert. FBI respondents said that increased outreach efforts to Arab American communities have primarily stemmed from three needs—to increase community understanding of the FBI, to address hate crimes and other backlash, and to facilitate investigations and intelligence gathering. In general, community responses distinguished between federal and local law enforcement, a finding not entirely consistent with other studies.

Chapter 8: Responding to terrorism and enforcing immigration: How have the local and federal roles and relationships changed?

This chapter attempts to answer the questions posed in the introduction concerning changes in law enforcement's role with intelligence gathering and the enforcement of immigration violations since September 11. Data are drawn primarily from the phase I telephone interviews; phase II interviews and focus group discussions are used to supplement or clarify sections, as needed and when specified.

Section 1. Local police agencies: Increased dialogue with the FBI

National directives aimed at increasing collaboration between federal and local law enforcement agencies have led to enhanced working relationships and the development of interagency initiatives and working groups.[143] Telephone interviews with law enforcement officials, both at the federal and local levels, suggest that nearly all police departments are involved in some type of activity, ranging from, as one officer mentioned, getting "involved with the Threat Risk Assessments since terrorism became a big issue;" to working closely with the FBI on investigations, sitting on a Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) or cultivating informants.[144] Nearly all (34 of 37) local police respondents felt that cooperation with federal agencies has improved since September 11, with the Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF) as an important conduit for information.

The Joint Terrorism Task Force (JTTF)

According to the FBI, there are 105 JTTFs operating throughout the United States;[145] in our sample, 14 of the 16 local police departments were involved with a JTTF. In nine of the sites, the FBI respondents said that their JTTF served as the primary communication bridge between local and federal law enforcement. While local police have been receiving updates and bulletins from federal agencies more frequently since September 11, it is the JTTFs that can help quickly distribute information.

In addition to the JTTFs, activities such as jointly sponsored town hall meetings, community working groups, and community leaders meetings were mentioned as ways that have increased cooperation. FBI trainings with local police were another example, with respondents in 7 of the 16 sites reporting engaging in trainings addressing a range of topics, including hate crimes, cultural awareness, and intelligence gathering.

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[143] Executive Order from President Bush creating Anti-Terrorism Task Forces, 9/11 Commission suggestion for Director of National Intelligence, The Patriot Act, and proposed CLEAR Act.

[144] It must be noted that only two other sites mentioned informants. Of those that did, one described a close working relationship with federal authorities. "Some of this happens through directed patrol. But we have paid informants through the terrorism task force. We have ongoing efforts with the Feds, the IRS, Immigration, and the CIA, etc. At the FBI building we have some people working as informants."

[145] According to a FBI Congressional testimony on July 20, 2005 by John E. Lewis. Available online at <http://www.fbi.gov/congress/congress.htm>.

Need for further cooperation and dialogue. While almost all police departments suggested that there was increased communication between agencies, nearly two-thirds felt that the working relationship could be improved with greater information sharing or better communication as the most frequent responses. As one officer stated, "There is a belief that the information is flowing one way. We get the orange alert, but they get the detailed information and don't share it." Other respondents referred to the tendency of federal agencies to withhold information, a practice that may be necessary to the job but nonetheless frustrating to some local police. "If there was more open communication, it would help with the cooperation. I think that there is still a culture within the federal agencies that they need to keep their intelligence to themselves and closely guard it."

Section 2. Local policing and immigration enforcement

As described in chapter 1, state initiatives to federalize local police for immigration enforcement, as well as the introduction of the CLEAR Act in 2003, are examples of how federal and state policy have changed the local policing landscape. How have federal pressures such as immigration enforcement affected everyday crime and public safety concerns for local law enforcement?

Confusion and complexity: Reporting immigration violations

In response to the question, "Does your department have a policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law?" police officer responses were rarely consistent with others in their site, with responses only aligned in four of the 14 sites. Further, out of the total officer responses, five respondents said they either "did not know" or "imagined"/hypothesized what officers might do if confronted with an immigration violation.

Most officers (25 of 35) stated that they do not enforce immigration violations themselves but do sometimes forward the information to ICE. However, officers in the same site often described different circumstances that would lead them to contact ICE. For example, officers described referring undocumented immigrants to ICE if 1) there was a reasonable suspicion that the person committed a crime, 2) the person was arrested for committing a crime, or 3) the person's status was discovered during routine police activities (regardless of involvement in a crime). The distinction between contacting immigration authorities about a victim of a crime versus a perpetrator is large and could influence whether a person decides to report a crime or contact law enforcement.

In some sites, respondents differed about the type of action their department would take regarding immigration enforcement. For instance, the difference between detaining an undocumented person and referring his or her information to ICE is a significant one. Here are excerpts of officer responses in one site:

Does your department have a policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law?

Officer 1: "If we have a serious crime, then we may refer him to the feds. In the normal course of your police duties, you do not deal with immigration status. We ignore it."

Officer 2: "If there was a crime that we responded to which involved illegal immigrants, we will call the appropriate agency—INS."

Officer 3: "Officers are able to detain an immigrant if there is reasonable suspicion of a crime, but if it's a victim or anyone else, then they cannot detain them."

These types of discrepancies from upper level police administrators and officers regarding circumstances that prompt officer's to act on a person's status, and actions then taken by officers when faced with a person who is undocumented, suggest that most departments do not have a clear policy on immigration enforcement.

Sites with clear policies. Two departments in our sample were located in states that had agreements with ICE to deputize state and local police for immigration enforcement. One city followed the state agreement and deputized its local police, while the other city's police chief decided to actively speak against the MOU.

The head of a community-based organization described relations with the local department in the first city, "There is not that much of a level of trust. In this state the police can investigate people for immigration status now. They don't have to do anything to get investigated, so people don't want anything to do with the police." In the other city, the chief felt that the negative effects on community relations would outweigh any positives gained by federalizing his officers. "There was a new law passed in our state that allows us to detain individuals based upon immigration law, but we do not do this in our department. In fact, when the law was first announced, we actively went to the newspapers and publicized the fact that we were not going to enforce immigration violations."

In other departments with clear guidelines to only look at the status of those arrested, police chiefs as well as officers affirmed the importance of maintaining separation between immigration enforcement and regular police activities. Many felt this was essential in order to maintain trusting relationships with their immigrant communities. A lieutenant explained, "We need community support to do our jobs. We cannot have people afraid of us." In another city, which has been particularly active in promoting its policy to not enforce immigration violations, the assistant to the chief described their stance,

> *We can only check someone's status if they are arrested. We cannot do it for a traffic violation or anything like that because their immigration status is irrelevant. We have gotten a lot of slack for that from the feds, but we've had this policy for 20 years. And I personally think it's a good one because if we were able to check up on people's status then they would be afraid to come to us if they needed help. And we don't want that.*

Focus group discussions affirmed telephone responses. In one city without a clear policy regarding immigration, some officers described never checking a person's status while others talked about making referrals to ICE.

For this particular department, a lack of manpower and time constraints to check every person's immigration status dictated whether or not they made referrals to ICE. A county prosecutor speculated that police officers would enforce immigration violations if they had the time. "Generally, I've had discussions with suburban cops about deportation. In the inner-ring of the suburbs, there is immigration and deportation. The police there are more involved because they have the manpower." Police officers in focus groups concurred that many times resources dictate enforcement. "We've never really focused on a person's status. We don't have the manpower to do it."

The ambiguous nature of this department's involvement in immigration enforcement has raised concerns among Arab American communities, as well as other immigrant communities. Community residents expressed anxiety over this issue both in interviews and focus groups. Referring to a recent and highly public deportation incident of an active community member, one focus group participant commented,

> *The police had the initial contact with the immigrant via a speeding ticket and reported it back to the government. I've seen it happen, but I've also seen detectives not caring about a person's status. It's on a cop-by-cop basis. The police department doesn't have a publicized policy addressing immigration enforcement.*

The CLEAR Act: Perceptions from local police agencies

The majority of responses from both police officers and community respondents concur with the arguments forwarded by numerous law enforcement, advocacy, and community-based organizations against federalizing local police for immigration enforcement. In an ethnically and racially diverse city with a long-standing commitment to community-police relations, a police focus group discussed the CLEAR Act. "We wouldn't enforce that. The chief wouldn't allow it." Another officer agreed, adding, "That would never work because there would be lobbying by the Hispanic community groups, and how is a person supposed to even know if someone is illegal?" In particular, respondents we spoke with believed that shifting immigration enforcement powers to local police could undermine efforts to improve relations between law enforcement and immigrant communities.

Section 3. FBI respondent perspectives on immigration

FBI respondents in the 16 sites were similarly vague and inconsistent with regard to their offices' policies on enforcement of immigration violations. Interviews with the FBI were conducted in 2004 and 2005, over one year after Attorney General John Ashcroft had broadened FBI authority to hold those suspected of being undocumented.[146]

[146] Arena, Kelli and Terry Frieden, "FBI granted expanded immigration enforcement powers," *CNN.com*, March 20, 2003.

In response to the question, "Does your office have a formal policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law?" FBI agent responses were many times unclear. Five respondents did not answer the question, two said they did not know, and two others said their offices had no involvement with immigration. Six respondents said that they referred any undocumented immigrants to ICE, and one respondent said that they may detain those out of status. Five respondents said that although they have immigration powers, they rarely pursue the issue themselves. However, most of these agents also said that they do enforce immigration violations if it helps them in an investigation. As one head of a local JTTF said,

> *We now have concurrent jurisdiction to enforce immigration violations. We try not to do this unless it is an emergency, so our policy is to refer it to ICE. But, if it is necessary to gather information, fight terrorism, or stop crimes, we would definitely enforce violations. We basically use it as a tool.*

A number of respondents discussed the sensitive nature of immigration enforcement issues. While some said that they try to resolve status issues for "people who are of value" to an investigation, they are not allowed to give full protection to those who are undocumented. One agent explained, "It's a problem because if you have illegal people—witnesses or victims—you can only give limited assurances. We really have to report if someone is an illegal. The person can apply for continuing presence during the investigation and we may be able to help with citizenship . . . but it's hard to promise things."

Section 4. Perceptions of the impact of immigration enforcement on police-community relations

With immigration and counterterrorism law enforcement practices perceived as uneven across police departments and FBI local offices, this lack of clarity can compromise the ability to maintain and extend cooperation with Arab American communities. As one community leader stated, "The city and the police need to establish ground rules. We don't know what the local and federal police will and won't do."

For many community respondents, the environment created by federal policies, the media, and heightened public scrutiny, has affected their relationship with the law enforcement. For a director of an Islamic organization, certain federal policies hamper police-community relations. "In looking at the numbers of people rounded up post 9/11, the average Muslim who calls the police is thinking, 'Am I going to be arrested?' and the policies do this. They can tap into our phones, and we think that all mosques are bugged. Having a community feel this surveillance will never allow for a good relationship to develop."

Section 5. Chapter summary

Since September 11, policy directives have asked local law enforcement to increase collaboration with federal agencies, such as ICE and the FBI, in order to address national security concerns. This section looked at how increased dialogue with the FBI, as well as new pressures to enforce immigration violations have played out on the ground for local law

enforcement officers. Law enforcement respondents agreed that there has been greater communication between police and FBI agencies, primarily through the establishment of JTTFs. Yet, rank-and-file officers said that greater communication with federal agencies and new national security concerns have not substantially changed their everyday policing priorities. In terms of immigration issues, most officers said they are not sanctioned to enforce immigration violations but do make referrals to ICE depending on the circumstances, though even in the same department officers gave different reasons for making referrals. In addition, the majority of officers said they would be unable to enforce immigration violations because their time and resources are necessarily devoted to local crime and public safety concerns.

The lack of clarity around some police departments' roles in immigration and national security measures has impacted Arab American communities. Respondents expressed anxiety about not knowing what the police will and will not do, and some pointed to instances of arrest and deportation via police contact for minor civil infractions. This uncertainty and anxiety is likely to be a factor in developing relations with police and federal law enforcement.

Chapter 9. Promising examples of police-community relationships: Participant experiences and suggestions

Section 1. Barriers to working together

At the end of the telephone interview survey, respondents across all types—community, police, and FBI—were asked to identify any barriers faced when working together on issues of crime and public safety. The following section lays out the most common barriers, compares responses from community leaders, police personnel, and FBI respondents, and explores the most frequently mentioned reasons for the barriers. In this section, we draw data from the telephone interviews and supplement this with information from focus groups.

An encouraging finding was that community leaders, police officers, and FBI personnel overwhelmingly agreed on both what the barriers are and on the kinds of efforts needed to bridge gaps between Arab American communities and the law enforcement agencies. Some of the barriers mentioned are internal barriers, such as a lack of resources within the FBI or immigration status or limited language skills within communities, while other barriers are external such as, for law enforcement agencies, community experiences in their home countries. Exhibit 39 shows the top five barriers, with the most frequently mentioned first, by type of respondent. Please note that the following lists do not include every barrier mentioned.

Exhibit 39: Comparison of top five barriers mentioned by type of respondent

Community leaders	Police personnel	FBI personnel
1 Distrust	1 Distrust	1 Distrust
2 Lack of cultural awareness	2 Reluctance or fear of having contact with law enforcement	2 Reluctance or fear of having contact with law enforcement
3 Reluctance or fear of having contact with law enforcement	3 Language	3 Immigration status
4 Language	4 Perception that Arab American communities have a closed culture	4 Experiences in home countries
5 Immigration status	5 Lack of cultural awareness	5 Lack of resources and workload

Across respondents, everyone highlighted distrust as the most significant barrier to working together. Generally, community respondents reported greater trust in local police than in the FBI. An assistant special agent in charge confirmed, “The number one barrier is that there is a tremendous lack of trust that exists in the Arab American community.” An SAC from another site reflected that distrust is “a barrier that isn’t going to be torn away anytime soon.” Though community distrust of law enforcement was by far the most common, a few law enforcement respondents also mentioned feeling cautious of the community.

Notably, community respondents highlighted a lack of cultural awareness as the second largest barrier, while this was the fifth most frequently mentioned barrier among police

respondents and only one FBI respondent mentioned that this was a barrier. As Exhibit 39 shows, local law enforcement responses were more closely aligned with community responses than were the barriers listed by FBI interviewees. In some ways, this may be a product of the different mandates under which local and federal law enforcement operate. For example, FBI personnel mentioned immigration status and the experiences of Arab Americans in their home countries. This may reflect the fact that the FBI has been more involved in immigration enforcement in some sites than local police departments. An agent working in the civil rights division confirmed this notion; he explained, "One of the biggest problems we confront with the community is immigration. It is a problem because if you have illegal people (witnesses or victims), you can only give limited assurances. We really have to report if someone is an illegal."

It is important to note that some of the barriers mentioned overlapped a great deal and were often interrelated. For example, if communities are "closed," then they are likely to also be fearful or reluctant to have contact with law enforcement. Similarly, if they come from countries with oppressive regimes, it follows that they would be fearful or reluctant to contact police in the United States and, by extension, would be likely to rely on informal or familial networks of support.

Section 2. Solutions to overcoming barriers

As we mentioned in the previous section, the number one barrier identified by all respondents was distrust. In this section, we discuss ideas and suggestions for overcoming barriers and highlight examples of promising practices. Findings from the telephone survey on solutions to overcoming barriers suggest that communities and law enforcement officials tend to agree on what steps need to be taken (see Exhibit 40).

Exhibit 40: Comparison of top six solutions for overcoming barriers to working together mentioned by type of respondent

Community leaders	Police personnel	FBI personnel
1 Cultural awareness training	1 Improve/initiate communication and dialogue	1 Improve/initiate communication and dialogue
2 Improve/initiate communication and dialogue	2 Cultural awareness training	2 Increase resources for outreach
3 Hold meetings/forums	3 Recruit from Arab American community	3 Cultural awareness training
4 Recruit from Arab American community	4 Build trust	4 Identify and work with strong community leaders
5 Strengthen community leadership/increase political capital	5 Hold meetings/forums	5 Be more accessible
6 Appoint a community-police liaison	6 Appoint a community-police liaison	6 Involve religious leaders

A comparison across response types suggests that community leader responses were more closely aligned with local law enforcement responses. It is important to note that the solutions listed in Exhibit 40 do not represent every suggestion.

Exhibit 40 shows that while community leaders placed a higher priority on cultural awareness training of law enforcement, police and FBI respondents felt that improving on or initiating communication and dialogue with communities was most important. According to community respondents, this was the second most frequently mentioned solution. Likewise, police and FBI personnel also mentioned cultural awareness training as a solution. Interestingly, both community and local law enforcement respondents mentioned that recruiting from Arab American communities was a means to breaking down existing barriers, while only 1 out of 16 FBI respondents mentioned this as a potential solution.

Though participants seemed to agree on a number of solutions, several ideas were unique among respondent types. For example, community leaders expressed a need to strengthen community leadership and increase political capital. FBI respondents noted a similar solution from a slightly different angle; they highlighted the importance of identifying and working with strong community leaders. FBI respondents also suggested that it was important to involve religious leaders when reaching out to communities. In addition, the second most frequently mentioned solution among FBI respondents was the need to increase resources for community outreach. According to police personnel, the fourth most frequently mentioned solution was to build trust. We will discuss in further detail suggested solutions later in this chapter.

In the context of the barriers mentioned above, this section illuminates the solutions suggested by telephone interview respondents by including responses from focus groups in case study sites. The section also presents examples of how some communities, police departments, and FBI field offices are already implementing solutions and offers new ideas for law enforcement practitioners and communities.

Section 3. What communities can do: Solutions and examples of promising practice

We begin by examining community leader and law enforcement suggestions and look at what case study communities are doing in order to offer communities in other jurisdictions ideas for building relationships with law enforcement.

Community involvement in training and education

From the perspective of community leaders, the number one solution to eliminate barriers to working with law enforcement is to increase or implement cultural awareness training and education for local and federal officers with a focus on increasing knowledge of Arab culture.

The importance of community trainers. One way to ensure that law enforcement agencies are receiving appropriate and accurate training is to participate. Sites with successful programs developed collaborative trainings with community and law enforcement input.

Community trainers: An example from a medium-size police department

In one site with an active police department and community, the director of a community advocacy group described how his organization developed training for local officers in collaboration with the chief of police. The trainings took place after September 11. He said,

> *The chief has allowed us to give presentations and sensitivity training to all officers throughout last year on relations with the community. They are eight two-hour sessions, and we are going to do it again in June and July. We have been able to identify certain areas of importance for law enforcement. We train on gender issues, cultural nuances, dress, and religious nuances. We teach basic things about beliefs.*

According to the community leader, "There is no doubt that this training helped." He added that since the trainings, his office does not "get many complaints from the community" about how they are treated by the local police department.

Community leaders interested in collaborating with law enforcement on training should know that the most frequently cited issue areas mentioned by law enforcement were:

- **Understanding Arab American culture.** Among the biggest concerns for community and law enforcement respondents was a basic understanding of Arab Americans, including knowledge of norms, customs, and language, among others. In a case study site with an active community and a passive police department, one community member expressed, "The local police need to take diversity classes on common things. They are suspicious of our customs, for example, when we are gathering for a celebration."

- **Understanding religion, particularly Islam.** While clearly related to culture, community and law enforcement respondents also emphasized a need for a better understanding of Islam, including basic knowledge of the tenets of Islam, respecting clothing, and understanding what is appropriate physical contact.

- **Community education.** In addition to cultural awareness training for police officers, local law enforcement respondents highlighted the need to educate Arab American communities on police culture. An officer participating in one of the focus groups asked, "Why don't some of these cultures come to learn about us?" In focus groups, several officers mentioned that it would be useful to educate community members on

    - **how and when to contact the police,**
    - **information on family violence, and**
    - **basic education on laws and codes.**

  Another officer in a focus group expressed, "The community is not aware of how the police work. Most Arabs assume that [the police] are corrupt, and they do not know how the system works."

Community education: Officers reach out to the Somali community and improve reporting

In one site, the police department in a large city has developed strong relationships with new immigrant communities. A police focus group participant explained how his division has worked with the Somali refugee community. The officers arranged a meeting with Somali community members through the manager of a housing complex. To explain reporting procedures, the officers brought with them a phone and physically demonstrated how to dial 911. As a result of this innovative but simple approach, the officer recounted that reporting has gone up.

> *Community outreach held a forum with translators, and since then the [reporting] rates have gone up. We do that with all of the communities. There are certain apartment buildings that have high rates of crime; and we will go to the apartment manager (sort of like the house mom) and hold a forum. Now the Somali refugee population contacts the police a lot.*

Be proactive in establishing meaningful communication and dialogue

Developing or initiating communication and dialogue was the second most frequently mentioned solution among community respondents. As one resident offered, "We have to get involved; we cannot just ask, we have to give." Implementing this important element can be a challenge. In the most promising sites, communities did the following:

- **Initiate contact with law enforcement agencies.** As noted previously in this report, if communities were active, law enforcement agencies were more likely to respond in turn and reach out to communities. In a less active site, a community focus group participant described the lack of outreach in his community; he said, "It is our fault too." In contrast, an attorney in an active community noted, "I don't think [dialogue] came from or was initiated by law enforcement. However, they were quick to recognize it and join in—especially the locals—but they didn't initiate it.

- **Invite law enforcement *into* the community.** After initiating contact, several community-based organizations were successful at developing communication by regularly inviting law enforcement to their offices. Several community leaders mentioned that housing the meetings *within* the community was a good way to ensure consistency.

Meetings and forums

Meetings and forums are an important way to formalize dialogue and communication and to include community members, not just leaders. Law enforcement participants agreed that meetings and forums are useful but suggested that communities must be active partners. When engaging with law enforcement, communities should recognize the need for consistency, attendance, and follow up.

- **Attendance and consistency.** Showing up is the first step toward creating relationships that are more meaningful. One community policing officer in an active police department recounted how "After several packed meetings with the

community, we held a final potluck and only two major businesses showed." She stressed that though the meetings began because of a single issue, communities must realize that consistency is important for building long-term partnerships.

- **Notify law enforcement of appropriate times for meeting.** Explaining to law enforcement partners that certain times, such as Friday prayer for Arab Muslim communities, are not appropriate is one way for communities to be proactive.

- **Participate in regular precinct or station community meetings.** In many of the sites in this study, police departments engaged in regular precinct- or station-based monthly meetings. According to law enforcement respondents, Arab American residents were not likely to attend. One assistant chief felt that Arab American residents were "not well represented aside from several key leaders." Participating in neighborhood level police community meetings is a great way to get acquainted with the police department and is also a place where residents can voice concerns.

Assist in recruiting efforts in the Arab American community

This requires some work on the part of the community to encourage people to seek jobs in law enforcement. In one site, there were five Arab American officers on the force and they came from the same extended family. Both communities and law enforcement agencies should be aware of existing cultural barriers, such as negative associations with law enforcement in home countries, which may prevent Arab Americans from joining.

Often, recruitment strategies are only successful if the community already has positive relations with local law enforcement. As one community resident explained, a sudden rise in recruitment efforts targeted at Arab Americans, without other outreach efforts, can make the community suspicious of the department's motives: "I've seen ads for officer recruitment in our local Arabic newspapers. Why didn't they want to recruit us before? This is not the appropriate way to get more Arabic officers. What is their motive for recruiting?"

Strengthen communities and build political capital

As discussed earlier, the Arab American community is not monolith, and there is often real interethnic conflict that can be divisive in building a strong and organized community. A number of community leaders emphasized the need for greater Arab American community building efforts.

- **Build community solidarity.** As a head of a community-based organization said, "There should be a coalition with more organizations working together. Right now, there is a big rift between organizations that are solely Muslim-based and the broader Arab community. They don't see the greater Arab cause. They don't see that an Arab name can get you in trouble, not just your religion. There are multi-layered cultural rifts. We need to break down barriers and we need to do it before working with police. Arabs need to find common ground."

- **Confront issues within the community.** Several community respondents keyed in on the need to acknowledge unlawful behavior within communities so that police and communities can engage in problem-solving. One leader recounted, "The chief mentioned that there is some corruption; some are selling liquor to minors and there is food stamp fraud. Some businesses are not doing things legally. We can't pretend that storeowners are all sweet. They've [the police] got to know what they are dealing with."

- **Build solidarity across communities.** Some community respondents discussed the difficulties of Arab American community organizing when their numbers are relatively small compared to other groups, such as Latinos or African Americans. Yet, these communities may also share similar concerns with law enforcement in regards to issues such as racial profiling, immigration enforcement, and deportation. In one active and racially diverse city, a community leader and immigration attorney explained how Arab American concerns fit in a larger context: "This city is very diverse, and most communities have developed really good relationships. We have a very strong Hispanic community that began the fight about immigration and civil rights long before 9/11. We were just able to fit right in."

- **Build political capital.** A leader in one of the active community sites explained how his community knows "who to talk to, what local city council member or official we can rely on," and suggested "knowing the right person to talk to is key." This kind of political capital can facilitate relationship building and was viewed as essential within active communities. Respondents from active community sites with strong ties to local government stressed the need to develop contacts within city government and proactively reach out to the police department.

Establish police-community liaisons

Communities can play an important role in identifying liaisons. Several leaders cautioned that choosing any person just because they are a member of the Arab American community is not effective. Interestingly, some community leaders find themselves selected as liaisons even though they may have never considered themselves leaders.

After 9/11, an attorney becomes a "community leader"

Though active in immigration circles, one leader who worked as an attorney was surprised when suddenly asked to be the spokesperson for the local Arab American community:

> *After 9/11, I found myself in the limelight. I suddenly became a spokesperson [for the Arab American community]. Everyone called me to represent the community even though I had never represented the community before that. The pressure to do so came from both the community and from outside. But it came mostly from the outside. Some of this was very uncomfortable. I wasn't sure why they chose me to be the spokesperson. It was like "She's Arab, she should speak for the whole community." And at the time, I wasn't even a citizen.*

Community leaders are encouraged to play a role in identifying appropriate liaisons. Many community leaders confirmed that appointing an Arab American officer as a liaison may allow communities to feel comfortable more easily. A Jordanian American educator in one site explained his vision of a liaison,

> *Law enforcement and government officials should be encouraged to have liaisons with the community, but liaisons who represent the community. They would, to a large extent, serve as volunteers and then monthly or quarterly they would meet with law enforcement top brass to talk about issues and community concerns and talk to new recruits.*

That said, choosing someone who is not Arab American may work just as well, as long as the person has knowledge of cultural concerns, is accessible, and has something in common with the community.

Section 4. What local law enforcement agencies can do: Solutions and examples of promising practice

In this section, we examine local law enforcement suggestions and look at what case study agencies are doing. In some instances, traditional community outreach techniques have been employed with great success. In others, nuances within the community forced the creation of completely new methods. Ultimately, each agency has had to struggle with competing interests and has had to blaze its own path in the effort to establish meaningful community partnerships. We hope that their experiences will assist in educating likeminded agencies.

Initiate or improve communication and dialogue

Providing for the unimpeded exchange of meaningful dialogue is necessarily the first step toward bridging the gaps that exist between law enforcement agencies and the communities they serve. Without constant communication, misunderstandings and misinformation can develop and have detrimental effects on mutual growth.

The importance of person-to-person contact. According to community leaders, person-to-person contact is an important part of establishing relationships and doing outreach. As one local leader put it, “Flyers aren’t enough. You can give out all the flyers you want, but you must meet in person. We need face-to-face, personal contact.” Community respondents emphasized the importance of face-to-face dialogue, rather than phone or e-mail contact, and leaders frequently made comments such as, “We have an oral culture.”

Other community leaders, as well as Arab police officers, suggested that having an Arab American community member initiate contact often helps open the door. Others cited a three-pronged approach when attempting to contact members of the community.

The three pronged outreach approach

Step 1. Start with either a letter or a booklet sent to the person.

Step 2. Follow up with a phone call.

Step 3. Make a personal follow-up visit.

In one case study site where we observed active outreach, the chief exemplified this idea by establishing an "open door" night. On this night, the chief remained in his office after hours to receive any community member who sought him out. According to the chief, this provided a forum that allowed for "one-on-one dialogue." Although this approach appeared to be innovative, there is no one way to approach identifying community problems. The key to most efforts is to begin by opening up meaningful dialogue. This can be done in several ways:

- **reach out to key community leaders,**
- **hold town hall style meetings,**
- **create a police community liaison position, and**
- **create a community advisory board.**

In all of these strategies, it is important to remember that this is just the first step. Dialogue can only go so far before action is necessary. As a leader from a community-based organization cautioned, meetings and talks can reach stagnancy, and "there are limits to just talking."

Within community responses, there were several elements participants felt were important to initiating or improving communication and dialogue.

- **Responsiveness.** Communication without substance was viewed as ineffective to community respondents. One leader described a semi-formal relationship with the local FBI field office. She recounted, "They are not always cooperative, and we would like more communication. There is a distinction between being in contact and being responsive."

- **Language access.** Noting that communication is crucial to building relationships, a large number of respondents identified problems with language access. A community focus group participant in a site with inactive police outreach said, "Law enforcement at local and national levels has a lack of communication with the average Arab American. New immigrants hardly speak any English. When they encounter an officer, they cannot understand them and that causes a problem. Hispanics have translators on the force." Increasing Arabic language capacities in agencies with large new immigrant Arab populations may be an important step toward establishing dialogue and communication.

The value of increased communication was evident in sites with existing dialogue. In an interview, the director of an advocacy group that serves the Muslim community explained, "As a result of 9/11, some positive things have occurred—the outreach, the growth of community relations with law enforcement. There is communication, and people are proactively reaching out. Sometimes they are seeing eye to eye; sometimes, respectfully disagreeing."

Implement cultural awareness training and education

The addition of new training initiatives is commonplace in many law enforcement agencies. Traditionally, law enforcement agencies have responded to educational and practical needs by developing comprehensive training sessions delivered during police academy and in-service training sessions. Three of sixteen sites offer training specific to the Arab American community, and in two sites, training is being developed.

From the perspective of many of the police officers and administrators we spoke with, training was seen as critical to their jobs. Specifically, cultural awareness training was the second most frequently mentioned solution to overcoming barriers among local law enforcement respondents. Although law enforcement has traditionally responded to educational needs through the creation of training sessions, in this context it is important to provide non-traditional training that incorporates trainers from the community in sessions conducted in the community.

A police officer and community leader agree on the need for cultural awareness training:

"*The police need to be more sensitive to the culture differences. Police will usually gather knowledge about the groups that they are trying to work with or the groups that are asking for help from police.*"

—Patrol officer from a large city in a department with active outreach to communities

"*The police should be doing more reaching out and educating themselves about the persons, cultures, and races that they are going to work with. I have always taken the initiative of investigating and learning about a person or thing if I plan on working in some capacity with that person or thing.*"

—A community leader who is the founder of an Arabic newspaper in a site where the police department engages in passive outreach to the community

Training needs according to law enforcement officers. Like community leaders, police officers felt that training on cultural and religious issues was important. A community relations officer from a site that does not actively reach out to the Arab American community stated, "I am wholeheartedly for training and believe the training should be geared closer to the diverse communities that we have." However, officers stressed that "Training is meant to make it safer and easier for both sides" and that "The training needs to be practical." In light of these concerns, officers mentioned the following training needs:

- **Training on Islam.** A community policing officer of Arab descent said, "We need to train officers about Islam. They think it is a radical religion. I think we should hire an Islamic scholar to train officers about Islam."

Specific training requests from officers

Officers requested training on

- how to enter a mosque,
- Arab culture,
- understanding some basic Arabic words,
- cultural considerations when arresting someone, and
- cultural considerations when interrogating someone.

- **Training on Arab culture.** Community respondents highlighted the need for training on culture. One leader gave this example: "Culturally speaking, the Arabic community all converge upon a house when there is a problem; this is common behavior. The police need to learn this—they need to know what to expect." Officer participants agreed on the need for cultural training. In one focus group, the officers in attendance articulated concerns they had when responding to calls in Arab American communities, including showing the proper respect to the patriarch, accessing information for women and children, and dealing with neighbors. According to the officers, having knowledge of the community's cultural nuances could mediate these concerns and make the officers' jobs easier.

Breaking down barriers among young people

In one site, officers from the training division, the liaison officer, and community members designed an innovative project in response to concerns about hate crime and bias. The program brings Muslim and Jewish fifth and sixth grade children to the police academy where the curriculum focuses on tolerance of other faiths. The sessions are led by police officers and community leaders. In the past, the chief of police has been in attendance at these sessions, an indication to community leaders of his sincerity and commitment.

Commenting on one session, the director of a local Islamic school said,

> *The general ambiance was good. The kids acted like one group, one unit. It was eye opening. It was very positive—I think we should do more of these things.*

- **Understanding the global context.** Concerns over global events and foreign policy were consistently part of community narratives. Of particular concern was the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Respondents viewed the U.S. support of Israel as a factor in U.S. foreign policy decisions, as well as putting pressure on them to prove their loyalty to the U.S. As one local leader, a Republican, noted, "I've been a citizen for over 30 years, and I don't feel like I have to prove my loyalty or confirm I'm

American. These are the things that they don't understand. It's not a secret that I have compassion for Palestine and the Palestinian cause. If you become anti-Israel, you become anti-American. Being a Muslim and if you're an activist, you automatically become a suspect and have to be watched."

Training suggestions from community respondents. Community members across all of the study sites noted that thinking critically about what kind of training is needed is very important. According to community respondents, the following should be considered when developing training focused on Arab American communities:

- **Collaborate with the community when developing and conducting training.** At the local law enforcement level, in both of the most promising case study sites, trainings were developed in close collaboration with local Arab American community members. Telephone survey responses stressed the importance of devising trainings that meet the needs of the community. Understanding what these needs are requires that law enforcement agencies work with communities. It appears from study results that many community leaders and members are eager and willing to teach others about Arab culture. This is a valuable resource that should be tapped into.

- **Reach rank and file officers.** One community respondent, an Arab Muslim and recent immigrant, felt that "It is important to reach the low-ranking officers. Understanding the culture is important. American culture is like a book, and every country in the world has a page in that book. We are not asking them to convert, but dialogue is crucial."

- **Offer basic language training for officers working in Arab American neighborhoods.** The need for language access was mentioned several times. One community focus group participant suggested, "We should have language training for basic questioning." He continued by recounting how he had called and offered his services to the police department but never heard back. Taking advantage of community resources is a great way to develop training and may not be resource intensive.

- **Come up with innovative trainings.** In one particularly innovative site, the academy holds a class on understanding the Muslim community. Once a month about 20 officers leave the traditional classroom setting and instead board a bus to visit local Arab American and American Muslim communities. The trip involves meeting community members and visiting a local mosque.

Training *in* the community

So far, 400 officers have been through the innovative training mentioned above, and according to some officers we spoke with, this effort has demystified the community. The training officer who devised this training explained his inspiration,

> *I thought to myself "What are we not doing? What do we need to do?" It is part of my job as a trainer. For this class in particular the idea came to me when I was driving down the highway. I saw a billboard that said "WHY ISLAM?" and there was a number underneath. So I called the number.*

Several community leaders offered anecdotes of trainings that were considered ill conceived. Below is an example in which an Arab American participant felt the themes and language used in the training were inappropriate.

A bad experience with training: A community leader's perspective

A Jordanian American community leader who is part of the state militia described participating in a training that he found offensive.

> *Recently, there was a law enforcement training focused on terrorism. The presenters were very sloppy. They were part of a militia. They thought they were doing the right thing to invite a state "terrorism" specialist. The expert was presenting to a group of professionals, and there was a focus on Arabs. There was mention of Arab names and barely any mention of Tim McVeigh. It was a state militia briefing, but it was really an anti-Arab bashing. Another officer and I both walked out. Afterwards, they gave us an apology.*

Given the importance of this issue and the great interest to contribute on the part of community respondents, law enforcement agencies have a great opportunity to begin working collaboratively with Arab American residents in the development of training initiatives. As one leader, a political advocate said, "We have to educate them on our culture, and they have to educate us about their [police] culture."

Finally, several officers emphasized the link between recruitment and training. An officer commented in one of the focus groups, "The four-hour sensitivity training cannot be a replacement for how people are raised. We need to hire appropriate officers from the beginning." This sentiment again underscores the need to increase Arab American representation within police departments.

Recruitment: Confronting challenges

According to local law enforcement respondents, recruiting from Arab American communities was the third most frequently mentioned solution to overcoming barriers. An assistant chief in one of the most promising sites acknowledged,

It is hard to recruit Arab police officers; they never attend our recruitment days, though we are probably underutilizing our resources. We could probably get a clear understanding by getting more involved in the schools. That would probably do a lot of good in terms of establishing trust and building relationships.

This was a common sentiment among police respondents, yet most agreed that laying the foundation by building stronger relationships was the first step. A captain from a police department with inactive outreach to Arab American communities said, "The number one remedy or a main solution is to recruit and hire Arab police officers." Below we offer some strategies and ideas for recruiting within Arab American communities.

Recruiting within Arab American communities: Strategies and ideas

- **Focus on young people**
  Cultural ideas about jobs and experiences among Arab immigrants in home countries may make careers in law enforcement unappealing. Focusing on young people through working in schools may begin to break down barriers

- **Translate recruitment materials into Arabic**
  In one of the active case study sites, the police department translated recruitment materials into Arabic and handed them out at a police-community forum. Across sites, community members frequently offered to translate documents. This is another opportunity for law enforcement agencies to reach out to Arab American residents.

- **Provide incentives for Arabic-speaking officers**
  In some agencies, officers receive incentives for speaking Spanish. In case study sites, none of the police departments offered such an incentive for Arabic speakers. Such an incentive might encourage willingness to join the department.

- **Expedite citizenship for recruits of Arab descent**
  A liaison office in one of the most active and promising sites suggested expediting citizenship for new immigrants who are interested in becoming police officers. This strategy requires an existing relationship with new immigrant communities.

The value of increasing Arab American representation in local law enforcement agencies is clear to police administrators. One chief mentioned that the predominately white police force was a barrier and, "We need to get past that barrier. We need to assimilate with the community."

The importance of building trust

Once the lines of communication have been opened, the community and the law enforcement agencies that serve them can move on to the task of building a bond of trust. Trust ensures that the community will continue to engage the police whenever issues arise, regardless of their nature. Without trust, the community will internalize their problems and dialogue will suffer. The process of building trust begins with transparency. Police agencies must open themselves up for review. As one supervisor of a police community service unit said, "To gain trust, we need to be more open so they can trust us, and the opposite, they need to be open as well so we can help them with their needs."

Building trust: Hold meetings or office hours *in* the community

Working with community leaders, a police liaison in one site devised an innovative solution to address the fear and hesitation many community residents felt about contacting the police. The liaison officer now holds office hours once a week at a local community-based organization in order to take complaints, give advice, or just meet with community members. According to community members, this has been instrumental in building trust,

> *One thing is that the Arab community has a uniform problem. We are hesitant to call the police and hesitant to report any crime because it is official. To solve this we decided to have a counseling session held weekly here at the center. We now have the officer come every week, and we tell people that they are under no obligation to report or give their names—but if they need to speak to someone, they can come here. It is still very slow, but we expected that. We knew that for one year it would be slow. We wanted safe space for the community to come, and we hope that the continuity and consistency will make a difference.*

Meeting with the community on a regular basis

Regular contact between the community and law enforcement agencies is a necessary element in the ongoing effort to increase dialogue and trust. Communication assists in breaking down misconceptions and misunderstandings that can destroy trust-building efforts. In one case study site, a potentially volatile situation was effectively defused through dialogue spurred on in a series of regularly scheduled community forums. In yet another site, a police officer in a focus group recounted that concerns within a new immigrant community were effectively dealt with through regular meetings. According to that officer, "[The department] has already met with the key leaders from the Somali communities. The chief has said that he has a vested interest in this community." Across the board, it appears that meetings such as these provide the community and the police with a regular forum to express and address concerns. When beginning meetings and forums, police departments should first consider the needs and concerns of the community. This can be accomplished by simply asking.

- **Identify the needs of the community**. According to the law enforcement personnel we interviewed, most, if not all, felt there was a real need to reach out to Arab American communities. Evidence from the most promising sites engaging in active outreach had one key thing in common: they began by identifying the needs of the community. As one assistant to the chief in a medium-size department said, "When issues come up, we reach out to communities to find the answers instead of sitting in a room with police trying to find answers."

- **Utilize community contacts or liaisons to set up meetings**. When arranging meetings, a number of community respondents highlighted how important the messenger is. As one resident said, "A non-Arab who invites the community to dinner or to a function will not have the same turnout as if someone from the Arab American

community invites them on their behalf." Given that turnout can sometimes be a barrier to initiating dialogue, this strategy may be very important.

- **Include patrol officers in community meetings.** Patrol officers participating in focus groups agreed that community meetings are important; however, some were frustrated that they were not fully included. In one site an office explained, "The patrol officers were sent in the beginning to show our faces and meet and greet, but when the meeting started, they sent us on our way." He added that dismissing patrol officers after the meeting starts means, "I don't get to be part of the solution. I become just a big bad boogieman that responds to calls. We need to include the everyday patrol officer, not just the community policing team."

- **Be proactive.** In contrast to the example listed above, in one of the passive police outreach sites, the chief explained that the department stays in touch with community needs and concerns by tracking issues that arise during the complaint process. While it is important to monitor complaints, this represents a fairly reactive way to identify concerns. Waiting until problems and concerns reach the level of a complaint does not allow for proactive solutions which might prevent issues from coming to a head. A community leader in the same site noted, "Law enforcement agencies have not made a lot of attempts to listen to us."

Create a police-community liaison position

The importance of a committed liaison, usually someone of Arab descent, is a theme that ran across the most promising sites. The status of each liaison varied from some who were officially appointed by the chief or by another administrator, to others who took up the roll on their own accord and worked in a more informal capacity. Across 16 study sites, three police departments had an official liaison assigned to work with the Arab American community; three sites had an un-official liaison officer or someone who conducted outreach to the community in addition to his or her official capacity; one site had an advisory board comprised of 15 Arab American leaders, who met quarterly; and nine sites had no liaison. But what are the benefits of having a liaison? Is it worth the investment? Results from this study suggest that liaisons can play a vital role for communities and police departments. Listed are several factors to consider when creating a liaison position.

- **Endorsement of the chief.** In the most effective example by community and police standards, the liaison function was the idea of the chief of police. In addition, the liaison officer reported directly to the chief.

- **Institutional support.** The liaison officer must have the support of the department. From the perspective of one community leader, "You can have a liaison officer who is motivated, but without cooperation from the entire department, nothing will happen."

- **Connection to the target community.** According to community members and law enforcement respondents, it is essential that the liaison officer be able to relate to the community. This does not mean that the officer must necessarily be of Arab descent or be able to speak Arabic. However, in order to establish a level of comfort and trust, the officer should have something in common with the local Arab American population. A liaison officer explained, "I can see the value in a liaison of Arab descent. Being Arab myself, it's the icebreaker. Even though I only speak a little Arabic, they see me and feel more comfortable. I remind them of a cousin or an uncle."

- **Duties and responsibilities.** In one of the most promising examples, the liaison officer in an active site was freed up from his regular duties and allowed to focus all of his energy and time responding to the community.

Keys to the success of one police liaison

Visibility: Office hours and a presence in the community
Once a week the liaison holds office hours at a community center. He takes complaints, listens, and gives advice. In addition to regular office hours, a community leader was impressed that the liaison officer is "always outside in the community talking to people—in the mosques, the community centers, etc.—so he has a really good reputation. He has done wonders for outreach."

Accessibility
Another reason the liaison has been so successful is that he has made himself completely accessible. He gives out his cell phone number, home number, and e-mail address and has set up a web site where the community can learn about the police department and ask him questions over the Internet.

Language and culture
Even though the officer is not Arab American himself, he speaks Arabic and attends a local mosque.

Benefit to law enforcement. The work that liaisons do can often smooth out situations before patrol officers are confronted with a problem. A sergeant in the public affairs division of an active outreach department noted, "I think what some officers don't fully realize is that having a good relationship with the community helps patrol officers do their jobs."

Benefit to the community. Community leaders and police officers alike commented on how important this function is. In sites with liaisons, leaders stated that having an Arab American liaison was very helpful. The leader of a community-based organization in a large city with an active police department and FBI field office recounted,

After 9/11, there was an Arab police officer who was promoted as a liaison between the police and the Arab community. He was the point person. He was really good. He came and talked with us about the community's concerns, and he always provided a pager and cell phone in case anything ever happened. He was really very pivotal in the sense that he bridged the gaps.

Summary of local law enforcement perspectives and experiences

Effective outreach begins with communication. The establishment of dialogue between the community and the police serves as a strong foundation upon which to build trust. Through education and training, barriers to communication and trust can be overcome. When asked about solutions to the barriers faced when working together, a police chief in an active outreach site suggested the following:

A police chief suggests solutions to barriers to working together

1) **Hold open door meetings and provide access to the chief.**
   "We hold open door meetings, and community leaders have access to one-on-one dialogue with me. Open up the department and lead by example. We also hold forums in the community to talk about points of interest and common goals—things that unite us like crime prevention."

2) **Work on problems that Arab Americans want the police to work on**.

3) **Provide equal access to all Arabs (Muslim, Christian) and to all religions.**

4) **Expand recruiting efforts to get competent Arab Americans to join [police] departments**.

Several police officers and CBO members that we spoke with acknowledged the need for more meaningful training and dialog. Through the examples presented above, law enforcement agencies can begin to develop the mechanisms through which regular dialogue, transparency, cultural awareness, and trust building can occur.

Section 5. What FBI field offices can do: Solutions and examples of promising practice

When asked what the biggest barriers to working with the community were, over two-thirds of FBI respondents said distrust was a significant barrier, followed by one-third who said that fear of contact with law enforcement was a problem, among others. In this section, we look at suggestions offered by FBI personnel and community and law enforcement respondents and highlight promising examples of overcoming barriers in field offices.

Improve dialogue and communication

Nearly all of the FBI personnel interviewed stressed the need for more dialogue and consistent communication with community leaders *and* residents. Many had specific suggestions about how

to improve on existing relationships and the elements necessary for building strong partnerships. Among them, consistency was seen as a vital component, as one SAC commented, "You can't do this once in a while—you can't just have a meeting to have it—there has to be purpose." Among the commonly mentioned goals of dialogue and communication was to:

- **Educate the community on what the FBI does.** FBI respondents often mentioned misunderstanding of law enforcement by citizens. The head of a JTTF in one site believed that "after aggressive outreach and constant reassurance, these barriers can be broken down." To do so, his office initiated dialogue and communication with local Arab American communities and "basically educate[d] the public about what we do and what we don't do." He continued to explain, "We want them to know that we are not here to hurt them. We don't kidnap people and hold them captive like the police in their countries do."

- **Educate the community on specific FBI practices.** Agents also found that communication can help correct misperceptions among the public. Many Arab Americans have felt targeted by certain practices, and while this may be the case, some of these practices may be general FBI protocols and procedures. As one agent explains, "A lot of people were worried about the number of agents who show up during an arrest—it's usually about 10 people. Many wondered and had the impression that we do that just because they are Arab. We told them that we do that with everyone and that it is for our safety and their safety. We wanted to take the mystery out."

Examples of FBI outreach efforts

- Attending a memorial every year for September 11 at a local mosque.
- Holding a forum on Hawala in order to inform community members about changes in the law.
- One agent who serves as an informal liaison with the community keeps on top of community concerns and issues by reading the newspaper.
- Attending community functions such as weddings and Ramadan celebrations.
- Participating in online discussions with members of Arab American, Jewish, and African American communities.

- **Address hate crimes and bias-motivated incidents.** A frequently mentioned reason for initiating dialogue was to address concerns about hate and bias-motivated incidents. An agent working on the JTTF explained that when meeting with community members, "Hate crimes are probably our leadoff. It gives [the community] a sense of belonging. We are very clear that that is an important part of our mission."

Resources for community outreach

Time and resources came up consistently across FBI responses; increasing resources for outreach was the second most frequently mentioned solution. As one SAC commented, "The only barrier is the criminal workload in this office. We are busy—basically swamped. It gets in the way of vigorously getting out there and doing outreach." He added that because "We diverted all of our resources to counterterrorism, now we have been playing catch up with criminal matters. There is just so much crime to deal with." Among the most commonly cited needs in term of funding were:

- **Resources to address hate crimes.** One agent specifically highlighted hate crimes as a concern. He said, "I would say that we need more civil rights resources in the FBI to make sure that these crimes are investigated and dealt with in a timely manner."

- **Resources to create a full-time liaison position.** Several agents mentioned the need for a full-time liaison position or community outreach unit. One SAC stated, "We could use a dedicated core of FBI personnel who would focus on outreach full time." An acting supervisory special agent working on the JTTF agreed that outreach could be improved, "If we had more resources, if we could get funded for doing this." She explained that "We will go out into the community and have dinner, and if we do, it comes out of our own pockets. There is a lot we could do with more money."

Training and cultural awareness

Training was the third most frequently mentioned solution among FBI personnel. Several FBI respondents mentioned the conduct of agents—from not saying "excuse me" and going to houses very early in the morning to "knocking down the front door"— as causing tension during investigations. A supervisory special agent (SSA) mentioned that, "The rudeness has tapered, but it still happens. So that is a concern." To address these concerns, FBI respondents suggested that offices should:

- **Provide training on cultural norms.** Understanding certain cultural norms, such as not taking offense if someone refuses to shake hands or being sensitive to not wearing shoes in the house if conditions permit, can better help agents establish an open dialogue. Soliciting community input can greatly enhance training efforts. As one

agent commented, "We have trained [our staff] on the types of questions to ask that are important based on what we've been told by the community."

Learning about cultural norms: An agent's experience

FBI respondents stressed the importance of recognizing cultural norms, which in other cases might be viewed as strange or suspicious behavior. A few agents mentioned that direct eye contact—oftentimes interpreted as being open and honest—is considered rude in many Arab countries. For the head of a local JTTF,

> *It's been a big learning curve. We've had instances where guys have shown up and knocked on the door. The woman who is home alone refuses to open the door. My guys said, "Oh, this is suspicious," and I told them, "No it's not. It's cultural."*

- **Provide training on Islam.** Similar to training on cultural norms, many Arab Muslim community respondents felt the FBI needed more training on Islam. A community member in one focus group said, "The FBI and CIA need to learn accurate information on Islam."

A community leader calls for a better understanding of Islam

When asked about suggestions for the FBI, an immigration attorney of Palestinian descent said,

> *In terms of the FBI, they only relied on informants and certain individuals who do not represent the community. The big question was, "What is Islam?" They were very lacking in this area and had no understanding. What was needed was true understanding of the community and Islam. Cultural sensitivity training is needed. A community that trusts law enforcement would be vigilant in stopping terrorism.*

Training on cultural awareness appears to be a solution to not only breaking down barriers with the community, but also to improving the effectiveness of investigations. One SAC offered, "It takes time and a willingness to learn. That is really key. We need to be showing that, 'We value you as a person and want to learn about your culture.'"

Identifying and working with strong community leaders

Along with community leader and local law enforcement responses, FBI personnel felt that identifying strong leadership within Arab American communities was a way to break down barriers. One agent suggested, "I would like to see the general citizenry contacting their leadership more—but I could say this about any group." He added that though he would like to see Arab American residents more involved, "The leadership is phenomenal in trying to break down barriers. We'll go to the mosque, and if it gets out of hand, the leadership will defend us in front of the group. They are light years ahead of other communities."

Many FBI respondents cited relations with strong leadership as key to developing rapport with local communities.

Be more accessible

Agents involved in outreach continually reaffirmed the importance of working with the community to improve investigatory work. However, when asked about barriers faced when working with communities, one special agent acknowledged that historically, "from an organizational standpoint, community outreach is not a natural fit. Focusing on the community is not our strength." Reorienting and prioritizing community outreach has been a challenge in some offices. One way to be more accessible is to create opportunities for regular meetings. Field offices have done this in several ways, including

- **Advisory councils.** Several FBI field offices in this study have created advisory councils and committees, which include members of the Arab American, American Muslim, and Sikh communities. In one site with active FBI outreach to the community, the committee meets once a month and is spearheaded by an agent from the public affairs division. The purpose of the meetings is to allow community leaders to talk about their concerns and "any issues they may have."

Advisory councils and committees

According to an agent who runs a community advisory council, "We try to take the mystery out of the FBI and give them a contact."

Speaking about the advisory council, a community leader in the same site said,

> *It has had remarkable success. We can go directly to them and talk to them about our concerns. We have put together town hall meetings to address the community and have united the FBI with Imams and leaders of Islamic centers. This opened the door for more dialogue. As a result, many of the mosques have invited the FBI to come to forums.*

- **Regular town hall meetings or forums.** Several agents found that regular meetings with community members can inform policy and practice. One agent felt that community meetings were helpful in creating more effective interview techniques, "When we get feedback in these meetings, it makes us think about what we are doing. Last month we had a nice frank discussion where they had suggestions on how we could improve. They don't want the FBI to wear suits when they show up at people's doors. When we wear suits, it draws attention to the person—everyone knows 'here is the FBI.' They want us to dress more casually."

Involve religious leaders

The sixth most frequently mentioned solution among FBI respondents was to involve religious leaders in outreach efforts. Several agents specifically mentioned reaching out to leaders in the Muslim community. The head of a JTTF in one site explained, "I think that we also need to get the Imam involved. The Imam is the center of the community. We need to get the Imam to work

with us more. This would help to send a message to the community that law enforcement is not something to be feared."

Some factors to be aware of when reaching out to communities

Clearly training, open communication, advisory councils, and regular meetings can lead to dialogue and facilitate the development of trust, yet field offices should be aware of the significant skepticism they face when entering the community.

A community leader in a active community site with an active FBI field office expressed the difficulties her organization—which focuses primarily on concerns in the Muslim community—faced when working with the FBI, difficulties largely relating to the fear of being used as informants:

> *We have great accessibility, but there is always the fear of "Are they using us?" We walk a razor-sharp edge between working together and being co-opted. I am working from a basis that they are honest; otherwise, I couldn't carry on.*

Given community concerns, FBI field offices and agents working with Arab American and American Muslim communities should understand the pressures that participating community members are under and consider strategies to mitigate these concerns. Among them is,

- **Hold meetings in neutral spaces.** Holding meetings at the FBI office can sometimes create difficult situations for community leaders. In most cases, community leaders suggest that agents ask about which meeting space would be most appropriate.

Addressing fear and distrust: The importance of meeting locations

The lack of trust and high amount of fear within some Arab American communities is a significant barrier to working with federal law enforcement. In one site, an assistant special agent in charge described how when a regular community meeting was moved to the FBI offices, residents stopped showing up:

> *I personally asked one of the members—a guy who is very influential in the Islamic community and one of the ones who failed to come—why that happened? He said, "The bottom line is that the Islamic community looks to me and they ask my advice. I get calls all the time, and the one thing I don't want to happen is if I consistently go to the FBI office, I don't want the Islamic community to view me as being an informant for you guys. That would disrupt my ability to do what I've been doing. My role is to help the Arab American community. It would make my efforts extremely difficult."*

Summary of FBI perspectives and experiences

Talking about the importance of community outreach, an agent with substantial experience working counterterrorism who has recently devoted time to community relations explained, "This could be a full-time position. Really, the natural byproduct of this is intelligence building. I

cannot do it effectively on my own. It could be exploited a little more." A community focus group participant in an active site eagerly explained, "We met with the counterterrorism task force, and I told them, 'Every Muslim is an anti-terrorist agent for you.'"

Chapter 10: Guiding principles for positive collaboration

This chapter draws attention to some of the guiding principles to facilitate positive collaboration and details a range of promising practices discovered over the course of the study. Among the principles we highlight, some are based on existing social and political conditions that have developed over time. The practical initiatives and outreach efforts described in the previous chapter can be applied to all communities, whether or not they have amenable social and political foundations. In addition, utilizing these promising practices may ultimately help to bring about more favorable conditions in the long term.

Section 1. A model for outreach

The four case studies conducted in phase II of this research offer the best examples of conditions that foster collaboration between law enforcement and communities. Of the four sites—two urban and two suburban—we found that half of the case study sites engaged in active outreach across respondents. Of the remaining two sites, one had an active community and FBI field office and a passive police department, while the other site had a passive community and FBI field office and an inactive police department, in terms of outreach to Arab American communities (see Exhibit 41).

Exhibit 41: Characteristics of case study sites

Site size	Type	Community policing?	Police outreach	Community outreach	FBI outreach
Small city	Suburban		Inactive	Passive	Passive
Medium city	Suburban	✓	Active	Active	Active
Medium city	Urban		Passive	Active	Active
Big city	Urban	✓	Active	Active	Active

Active case study sites generally had six elements in common. They were 1) strong leadership, 2) transparency, 3) a commitment to community policing, 4) an organized local community, 5) consistency in outreach, and 6) resources. The following section explores these elements in greater detail.

Leadership

Whether it was at the community, police, FBI, or local government level, strong leadership was at the core of successful and promising community outreach strategies.

A committed police chief. Case study sites with the most positive community-police partnerships were sites with police chiefs who showed a genuine commitment to addressing concerns within Arab American communities. In active outreach case study sites, strong leadership was paired with a commitment to community policing in both of the active sites. One chief described his vision and dedication to community policing, "I let people know this is how we do business and that we need to take it to the next level—especially during challenging times. We have immigration, terrorism, and the diversity of our city [to respond to]." This chief placed community policing at the center of responses to all three of the challenges he mentioned.

A chief in one of the active outreach sites explained his approach:

> September 11: A new chief responds by partnering with the community
>
> *As soon as I got here, the complaints started coming. Our snapshot of the community was from our criminal intelligence [unit]. The vast majority [of Arab American residents] are here to enjoy the American way of life, but we only had contact with those suspected of being criminals in the community, not normal citizens. The department had not made any inroads.*
>
> ***I asked, "What contacts do we have?"***
> *We have none.*
> ***I asked, "What do we know about this community?"***
> *We know nothing.*
>
> *We cannot police without their help. I truly believe in problem-oriented policing; I want active partners.*

The efforts of this chief, which included reaching out to local Arabic newspapers by participating in interviews, conducting community police forums, attending potluck dinners, and instituting an open-door policy, had a noticeable impact on community leaders who described him as "visionary" and someone who "goes above and beyond."

Police chiefs in active sites recognized that September 11 had an impact on Arab Americans in their jurisdictions and were able to implement both symbolic and tangible strategies. Chiefs who saw the increased visibility of Arab Americans as an opportunity to reach out by appointing a police community liaison, meeting with community members or publicly supporting the community have begun to build partnerships. As one community policing officer in an active site explained "We've already met with the key leaders from the Somali communities. The chief has said that he has a vested interest in this community."

Community leaders in these sites acknowledged the quick response. A community leader in an active site commented that while dialogue was not initiated by law enforcement, local police "were prepared," "quick to recognize the need," and "had already done outreach in the community."

In contrast, in a focus group with patrol officers working in Arab American neighborhoods in the inactive outreach site, an officer responded when asked about the policing philosophy of his department, "We are reactive. Our philosophy is to respond as a matter of public service. There is no liaison between us and the community."

FBI offices committed to community outreach. Like examples found in local law enforcement agencies, leadership was a critical factor distinguishing active, passive, and inactive FBI field offices.

More than one agent interviewed expressed how the special agent in charge (SAC) set the tone when it came to community outreach. An acting supervisory special agent and head of the JTTF said, "as far as this being personality driven—we have some incredibly committed people in this office. But the first SAC who doesn't care about community outreach—this will be over." On the other hand, a SAC at a passive outreach site explained how leadership at the assistant director level affected his office's ability to conduct outreach:

> *I work with the JTTF on outreach, and this is going to sound like heresy, but the office was more active under the former assistant director in charge (ADIC). I don't know what they are up to; they are not as proactive. The old ADIC was very much into engaging the community and outreach. At the end of the day, it really comes down to leadership and priorities.*

Leadership and the priorities set by FBI personnel had an influence on whether or not field offices actively engaged with the local community.

An engaged local government. Across four case study sites, the two active sites were also the sites with an engaged local government. In one of the most promising sites, local government support for the Arab American community was evident. A Muslim councilmember described how his city reacted after September 11:

> *The mayor was extremely forthcoming, and the chief was there for us. We went to the police, and they immediately made us feel comfortable. They clearly said, "We know you are not a problem—we don't link you with these issues. We do not suspect you of anything." The city was there to protect us. Their leadership [the mayor and the chief] paved the way for the community to relax.*

A local business leader in the same active site described a "special relationship with the local police department," and "close relationships with the mayor and chief of police." According to the leader, these partnerships have lead to the creation of a committee representing Arab American community-based organizations that meets with the mayor on a regular basis.

On the other hand, passive and inactive sites often had local governments without a visible commitment to the community.

The importance of local government: A community perspective

In a case study site characterized by inactive police outreach, a local leader explained how a change in leadership in local government has impacted the community:

> *After a leadership change, there was less of an outreach to ethnic communities. Things changed politically. There are two groups in law enforcement: those who are aware and sincere and those who are not. The mayor and law enforcement have serious problems with the ethnic community. In the last eight years, the mayor, the administration, and local government have shown a serious problem of respect for minorities. Ten years ago we had a greater working relationship. Though we elected an Arab American to Council, we are isolated. We have relationships with the police department, but the ignorance and arrogance of detectives reflect the attitudes of local government in general.*

A community leader of Syrian descent in a passive outreach site explained, "On the city level, they are curious and willing to listen but incapable of doing a single thing." In the same site, a leader from a different community organization offered that this was because "There has been a rift between the council members and the mayor." During a focus group conducted in the site, participants expressed similar sentiments when asked about ways to improve relations. One community resident suggested, "We need mayoral level leadership all the time and not just at the election. We need follow-through and that needs to come from the mayor's office." Another participant who had recently relocated to the city added, "In this city, there is a lack of leadership—like the mayor—to smooth these problems out. There is an indifference with the leadership here."

Strong community leaders. Communities are an important piece of the puzzle. Without an active partner, it is unlikely that police departments will proactively seek out communities. In fact, in our sample, every active department was in a site with a correspondingly active community. Law enforcement officials often mentioned outreaching at the community leader level through the use of advisory boards and working groups. The importance of easily identifiable, legitimate leaders who reflect their community's concerns cannot be understated. The issue of identifying community leaders will be discussed later in this chapter.

Transparency

The importance of transparent policies, particularly regarding immigration, was underscored by police personnel and community leaders. In sites with highly visible and clear policies at the local level, community leaders expressed greater confidence and satisfaction with law enforcement.

Immigration enforcement. In three of the four cases study sites, police departments had what could be considered transparent policies on immigration enforcement. Generally, this involved not inquiring about the status of victims or witnesses but left room for using immigration as a tool in criminal cases, particularly if an undocumented individual commits a violent crime.

In one of the case study sites with passive police outreach where there is no clear policy on immigration enforcement, the director of a community-based organization that provides a range of services to a largely Palestinian community explained how trust was a big concern for residents, "The problem is in understanding what the ground rules are. The city and the police need to establish ground rules. We don't know what the local and federal police will and won't do." In the same site, ambiguity concerning immigration was a source of frustration for the police as well. At a police community forum we attended, the police chief was asked three times by residents in attendance about immigration enforcement and ultimately avoided answering the questions. A police department official later explained in an interview with researchers, "Immigration is an issue. There are no directives from the division of police. We don't check their status, but we can't make a formal statement either way."

In contrast, in a site with active police outreach, the department has made it clear that it does not enforce immigration. They have gone as far as placing ads in local ethnic newspapers and advertising in schools. Across the three sites with well-known policies, all have sizeable Latino populations. This is not surprising as one assistant chief in an active outreach site explained, "There was a constant fear in the Hispanic community about immigration violations, so we constantly advertised the fact that we didn't enforce immigration violations. We went out to the apartment managers and teachers to get the word out. It is a well-known policy." In the same city, the executive director of a community-based organization corroborated this sentiment, "In this city [the police department] never signed a non-compliance act, but it has always been a silent policy. We knew the local police were not going to enforce immigration violations." Another leader in the same city explained that her agency, a nonprofit focused on immigration, "had meetings with the police chief" who was ready to "inform us that they are not enforcing immigration violations because the city felt that it would affect its ability to serve victims of crime."

Federal policies. As an FBI agent explained, there needs to be clarity around federal policies such as the Patriot Act: "There are a lot of rumors about the Patriot Act, about what we can and cannot do. Everyone has a right to know what it really says. We want to put the proper information out there. We don't want leaders telling their groups that we can come in without a search warrant. That isn't true; we need a search warrant."

Commitment to community policing

One of the hallmarks of community policing and problem-solving models is for law enforcement to proactively seek partnerships with the community. In this study, both of the police department case study sites that engaged in active outreach had strong community policing philosophies, while the remaining two police departments which where characterized by passive and inactive outreach, did not practice community policing.

Active police departments enjoyed strong community police relations and were able to recognize that Arab American communities in their jurisdictions might be reluctant or hesitant to get involved, so they went to the community instead of waiting for the community to come to them. Though not true for every site, in general, the Arab American communities in the 16 sites

we studied were considered hard to reach populations. As explored earlier in this report, many communities were virtually "invisible" to law enforcement before the events of September 11. We found that in sites with community policing, officers and supervisors already had experience working with communities, and while not all departments had contacts within local Arab American communities, they were able to quickly work from within the existing framework to respond to this newly "visible" group. We will explore some of the unique challenges they encountered working with Arab American communities later in this chapter.

While traditional policing models do not preclude community participation and collaboration, community policing may foster an environment that is more amenable to community police partnerships. A chief in one of the active sites described the advantage of the community policing model over the traditional "professional policing" model, "The culture of policing in our area has been traditionally policing at a guarded arms length . . . [but] you have to get as close as you can, even to those you suspect." Another chief in an active site with a strong commitment to community policing recalled that when the community policing model first emerged, "it wasn't considered police work," adding that while it "is a lot of work," the fact that it focuses on "prevention" is its biggest asset. This, in many ways, makes it an ideal model for confronting and responding to the challenge of terrorism.

An organized community

The community police relationship is a two-sided effort. A police chief in one of the active outreach sites suggested that the high degree of organization in the Arab American community made it easy for the department to reach out. He felt that, "The Arab community is much more organized than other communities. They have business groups; they are part of the chamber of commerce. There is almost a built in respect for law enforcement. They are very easy to work with and extremely proud. They have made our job easier because they have made a significant effort to integrate."

In contrast, a police captain of Arab descent working in a police department with passive outreach said, "The other ethnic groups are well represented, but we are not. The black community has been effective; the squeaky wheel gets the grease. The feeling here is that the Arab community isn't involved. 'They don't vote' is the sentiment, or 'The services they provide are not relevant, so we could care less.' Because of this attitude, there is not a lot of sympathy for our community."

The importance of consistency

In a case study site with passive police outreach, we attended a police community forum that was organized to respond to specific community concerns stemming from several high profile incidents of violence in the Arab American community. During the meeting, police administrators and city officials pledged to set up a "task force" to work with community members on crime prevention and to convene another meeting a month later to report on progress made. After the meeting, researchers interviewed two of the community leaders who attended. When asked about his reaction to how the meeting went, one of the leaders felt that the meeting was satisfactory but, "that they had the commanders show up was great." Though he was impressed that all of the commanders attended, both leaders remained somewhat skeptical.

The other leader we interviewed explained, “This is our problem; we talk and get together and nothing materializes. It requires a long-term solution.”

In the end, we were able to schedule our final site visit for the next scheduled police-community forum, the date and time of which was agreed upon in the first meeting. When we arrived, it soon became clear that there was not going to be a follow-up meeting. Later that visit, we asked focus group participants their perception of what had happened. To one resident, the lack of follow up signaled to him that, “the city doesn’t take us seriously” and added that this was particularly frustrating given the meeting was to discuss community safety.

Without consistency, communities question police legitimacy and commitment to their issues, and when communities are not consistent, law enforcement agencies often attribute this to a lack of interest. The notion that “consistency is important” is a principle that both communities and law enforcement agencies need to follow if they are to be successful.

The importance of resources

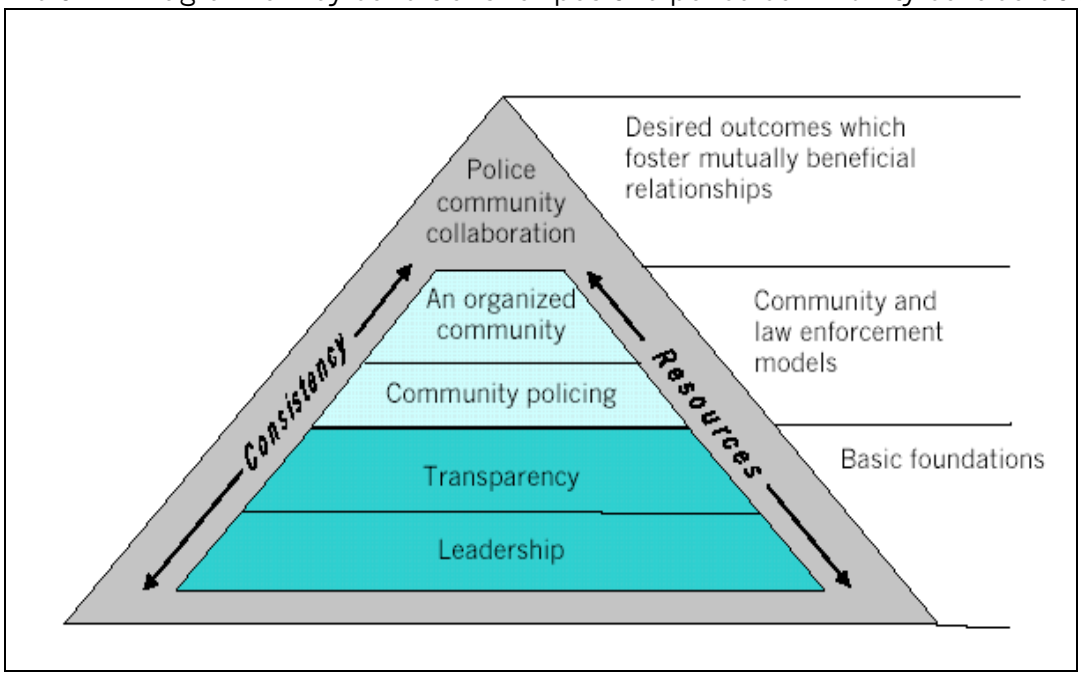
Resources such as time and money were important factors for police officers and FBI agents in dictating their level of outreach. As discussed earlier in the report, police departments across the country have faced budget cuts, which leave officers little time for outreach efforts and relationship building apart from responding to calls.

Yet, resources for community outreach are largely reflective of department priorities. Two case study sites had recently faced large budget cuts. In response, one site laid off the majority of its community policing department, while the other site made even staff reductions and kept six full-time officers as community liaisons.

Section 2. Chapter Summary

By looking not only at sites that had positive police-community relations but also at those sites that had strained relations, we were able to identify six key “ingredients” that promoted positive police-community collaboration (see Exhibit 42).

Exhibit 42: Diagram of key conditions for positive police community collaboration



Strong leadership at the local police, FBI, local government, and community levels, as well as transparent policies by law enforcement, are important foundations for advancing structural elements such as community policing models and strong community organization. To do this, efforts should be supported by sufficient financial resources and law enforcement agencies, and communities must participate consistently.

Chapter 11: Conclusion

The events of September 11, 2001, sent shockwaves through communities and law enforcement agencies. In communities with high concentrations of Arab American residents, changes in the national and global political landscape have had an impact on local law enforcement practices, all which have resulted in making this community more visible. People of Arab descent, who before the attacks were largely assimilated into the fabric of American life, now find themselves the center of attention that is mostly unwanted. This, in many respects, has been a traumatic experience.

Findings from this study suggest that hate and bias related incidents targeting people of Arab descent increased at the same time that Arab American communities across the country dealt with increased public suspicion and felt unfairly targeted by federal policies and actions. Stemming from these changes, one of the greatest impacts of September 11 was a substantial intensification of fear within these communities. In fact, we found that the fear of falling victim to state actions, whether it be profiling, immigration enforcement, or surveillance, was greater than fear of being physically assaulted or victimized by other types of conventional crimes.

In this new context, law enforcement relations with Arab American communities, not traditionally a subject of interest (or even characterized by much contact), has now become a burning issue. The scramble to negotiate relations after September 11 has been in many ways fraught—this is not entirely surprising, given the speed with which these issues came on the radar. Responses to the events of September 11, 2001, within law enforcement lie on a continuum, ranging from aggressive enforcement oriented activities and policies to little to no change in day-to-day operations or practices. In general, we found that less than a third of local police agencies serving areas with high concentrations of Arab American residents were actively reaching out to communities. Local FBI field offices were more active, with over half engaging in active outreach; this may be partly because their mandate is markedly different from that of local police departments.

Some of the important features that seem to have affected the adaptation of communities and law enforcement agencies are the traditions and conditions that existed prior to September 11, whether that is community demographics, the amount of resources, or the adoption of community policing. Additionally, circumstantial factors such as political and social support for strong dialogue are factors that have played out in important ways in advancing relations.

Nonetheless, one of the most encouraging findings was that communities had generally positive feelings about local law enforcement. We suggest that local police departments take the opportunity to capitalize on existing good will. Community perceptions of federal law enforcement were not as positive, and as we mentioned throughout the report, this has much to do with the role that these offices play in carrying out national level policy, which at the present time places an emphasis on counterterrorism.

Given positive community feelings toward local law enforcement, findings from this study offer police departments examples of how other agencies are partnering with Arab American communities and specific innovative strategies that have shown to be promising. In light of the

less promising feelings toward the FBI, field offices can learn a great deal both from local police outreach efforts and from other field offices that seem to have built strong relations.

Our research has been able to identify a wide range of specific initiatives and examples that may offer valuable lessons to those engaging in these issues in places across the country. Specifically, we make a number of recommendations for improving law enforcement relations with Arab American communities based on suggestions by study participants.

Communication and dialogue

- **Law enforcement** agencies are encouraged to proactively reach out to communities, not only in times of crisis, but to engage residents around everyday issues of crime and public safety.

- In the absence of police outreach efforts, **communities** should initiate contact with law enforcement agencies and should consider inviting local police officials to events and forums *in* the community.

- **Law enforcement** agencies should recognize that some methods of outreach are more effective than others; agencies are encouraged to utilize person-to-person contact methods and initiatives that are amenable to an oral culture.

- Given that some segments of the community may not speak English, **law enforcement** agencies should pay special attention to the accessibility of meetings and pamphlets and should ideally provide Arabic translations.

- **FBI field offices** should pay greater attention to educating communities on what the agency does, including explaining specific practices.

- **FBI field offices** should play a role in addressing hate crimes and bias-motivated incidents at both the community and local law enforcement levels.

Meet on a regular basis

- **Law enforcement** agencies should utilize community contacts or liaisons to set up meetings.

- **Law enforcement officials** should involve patrol officers working in neighborhoods with high concentrations of Arab American residents in community meetings.

- **Community organizations and leaders** should notify law enforcement of appropriate times for meeting.

- **Law enforcement** agencies should use meetings and forums to identify the needs of the community.

- **Communities** are encouraged to participate in existing precinct or station neighborhood meetings.

- **Law enforcement** agencies and community members should prioritize attending police community meetings and should be consistent in participating.

Training

- **Law enforcement agencies**, local and federal, should organize more cultural awareness training programs and should draw in members of the community to help them.

- In the absence of law enforcement initiated training, **communities** should be proactive in lobbying police departments and field offices to assist with training.

- The content of the training should be determined by both **communities** and **law enforcement practitioners** but should include a focus on Arab American culture and, where appropriate, an emphasis on Islam.

- **Local police agencies** should be involved in community education, focusing on teaching immigrant communities in particular *how and when to contact police and basic education on local laws, codes, and police practices.*

- **Local police agencies** should consider offering basic language training for officers working in Arab American neighborhoods.

Recruit Arab American officers and agents

- Given recruiting challenges, **law enforcement** agencies should target young people, translate recruitment materials into Arabic, provide incentives for Arabic-speaking officers, and consider expediting citizenship for recruits of Arab descent.

- **Community members and leaders** should proactively work with law enforcement on recruitment initiatives.

Establish police-community liaisons

- **Law enforcement** agencies should make use of police-community liaisons, particularly with newer immigrant communities that may be less likely to approach law enforcement on their own.

- **Police liaisons** should have some connection to the target community but do not necessarily have to come from the community.

- **Communities** can play a valuable role in identifying liaisons and be proactive in asking for such a position if they believe it is important.

- **Law enforcement officials** should provide police liaisons with the necessary institutional support, including the endorsement of the chief and the flexibility to carry out duties and responsibilities in the community.

Strengthen communities and build political capital

- Arab American **communities** are encouraged to build community solidarity and to develop relations with other communities.

- **Communities** should recognize the importance of building political capital, as law enforcement agencies tend to look for strong community leaders.

Resources for community outreach

- **Local, state, and federal government** should provide sufficient resources for community outreach in local police departments.

- **Federal government** should recognize the importance of community outreach and should provide funding for the FBI to address hate crimes and create full-time community liaison positions in field offices as needed.

Policies and practices

- **Local police agencies** should think carefully about engaging in immigration enforcement. In agencies that have chosen not to, this should be clearly articulated to communities.

- **Local police agencies** and **federal law enforcement** agencies should develop policies against racial profiling.

- In **local police agencies**, officers working on a JTTF should remain fully integrated into their police department.

Results of this study suggest that outreach efforts can improve law enforcement relations with Arab American communities. What is the utility of doing this? The benefits of outreach are clear; greater interaction and communication can humanize the police department, or as one community leader commented, "We know the people behind the badges, which is due to the outreach the police have done." Participants in this study, particularly police chiefs and other law enforcement practitioners, make the best case for why outreach is important. As one patrol officer said, "There was an obvious need for the police to be involved with the community." Another added, "We cannot succeed with out the public's help." It is essential to have a relationship with all communities, particularly if they represent a sizable part of your jurisdiction. Research has shown that an atmosphere of trust and good communication between the police and citizens is directly related to people's willingness to engage in crime prevention activities and provide intelligence to the police.[147] On the other hand, alienating communities does not facilitate information gathering around conventional crime and violence concerns, let alone issues of national security.

Many police practitioners stressed that dialogue and communication were useful in addressing future incidents. As an Arab American peace officer explained, "We build relationships so that when something does happen, the support from the community is already there." This principle not only applies to local crime and public safety concerns but is relevant to thinking about the ways in which local police agencies can respond to the new national security demands. Whether it is responding to a rash of homicides that have affected a specific segment of an Arab American community or negotiating responses to increasing federal pressures to engage in counterterrorism or immigration enforcement, strong relations with the community will no doubt make it easier.

Part of the challenge going forward is for local agencies to better define their role in this new environment. Some of this may involve a national discussion of how local police departments fit into national security. Some of this discussion is already taking place—it seems without much input from local police departments themselves. Findings from this study suggest that local

[147]Glaser, Mark A. and Lee E. Parker, "The Thin Blue Line Meets the Bottom Line of Community Policing," *International Journal of Organization Theory and Behavior* 4 (1&2) (2001): 163-195; Hahn, Harlan, "Ghetto Assessments of Police Protection and Authority," *Law and Society Review* 6 (2) (1971).

departments are conflicted about whether or not they should be more involved in intelligence gathering or immigration enforcement.

Police practitioners, from chiefs down to rank and file officers, were concerned about how this would affect relations with the community. While some said they would not be opposed to focusing more on intelligence gathering, the majority of the local law enforcement personnel we interviewed questioned their ability to do this, given the very limited resources they are already working with.

The implications of our findings for American policing support the conclusions of other scholars who argue that in a post-September 11 environment, law enforcement should resist reverting back to a traditional paramilitary model and should remain committed to the principles of community policing.[148] One way to increase dialogue and partnership building is by embracing and reinvigorating established principles of community policing and adapting them to the Arab American community. By fostering a relationship of trust, community policing programs have sought to utilize cooperation of citizens to develop effective crime prevention strategies and to increase the availability to police of information needed to solve and prevent crimes.[149] Community policing also offers the tools to address fear of crime and to engage vulnerable communities around the apprehension of accessing even basic public services like policing.[150]

In communities that may fear the police or federal authorities—like in some Arab American communities—it is crucial for law enforcement agencies to be as transparent as possible and establish legitimacy if they are to enlist willing partners who are invested in addressing crime and local and national security concerns.

[148] Murray, John, "Policing Terrorism: A Threat to Community Policing or Just a Shift in Priorities?" *Police Practice and Research* 6 (4) (2005): 347-361; Thacher, David, "The Local Role in Homeland Security," *Law and Society Review* 39 (3) (2005): 635-676.
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Appendix A: Summary of the CLEAR Act of 2005

The Clear Law Enforcement for Criminal Alien Removal Act of 2005 or CLEAR Act of 2005 — States that: (1) state and local law enforcement personnel are fully authorized to investigate, apprehend, or transfer to federal custody aliens in the United States (including interstate transportation of such aliens to detention centers) in order to assist in the enforcement of U.S. immigration laws; and (2) a state that does not have a statute permitting enforcement of federal immigration laws within two years of enactment of this Act shall not receive certain federal incarceration assistance.

Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act with respect to illegal aliens to: (1) establish criminal penalties for aliens unlawfully present in the United States; (2) increase specified criminal penalties for illegal entry and failure to depart violations; and (3) expand the scope of, and increase, civil penalties for improper entry or failure to depart.

Provides for the listing of immigration violators in the National Crime Information Center database.

Encourages states and localities to provide the Department of Homeland Security with specified information about apprehended illegal aliens. Provides federal reimbursement for related State and local costs. (States that such provision shall not require state or local enforcement officials to provide the Department with information related to a victim of a crime or witness to a criminal offense.)

Directs the Secretary of Homeland Security to make grants to states and political subdivisions that enforce immigration laws in the course of their routine law enforcement duties for special equipment and facilities related to arresting, detaining, or transporting illegal aliens.

Directs the Secretary to: (1) construct or acquire 20 additional detention facilities for aliens detained pending removal (or a decision on removal); and (2) consider the transfer of military installations under base closure laws for such purposes.

Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act with respect to illegal aliens apprehended by state or local authorities to provide for: (1) federal custody upon state or local request; and (2) state or local compensation for related incarceration and transportation costs.

States with respect to an alien subject to removal that the Attorney General or Secretary shall ensure such alien's detention in an adequate (as defined by this Act) state or local prison, detention center, or other comparable facility prior to his or her removal examination.

Directs the Secretary to establish immigration-related training for state and local personnel.

Provides: (1) personal liability immunity to the same extent as corresponding federal immunity for state or local personnel enforcing immigration laws within the scope of their duties under this Act; and (2) civil rights money damage immunity for state or local agencies enforcing immigration laws unless their personnel violated criminal law in such enforcement.

States that the Department shall continue to operate the institutional removal program (IRP), which shall be expanded to all states.

Authorizes State or local detention of an illegal alien after completion of such alien's prison sentence for: (1) up to 14 days to facilitate federal transfer; or (2) until transfer to the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement.

Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act to permanently authorize appropriations for the state criminal alien assistance program (SCAAP).

Source: Bill Summary from the Library of Congress online <http://thomas.loc.gov>.

Appendix B: Timeline of federal policies and initiatives

October 2001	USA Patriot Act is passed
November 2001	Voluntary interviews with 5,000 men
December 2001	Absconders Apprehension Initiative
March 2002	Voluntary interviews with 3,000 men
September 2002	Special Registration (NSEERS) begins
	Florida enters into MOU with ICE: state and local police are deputized to enforce immigration violations
March 2003	FBI is granted expanded immigration enforcement powers
	Voluntary interviews with 11,000 Iraqi Americans and Iraqi nationals
July 2003	CLEAR Act of 2003 (H.R.2671) is introduced to the House of Representatives by Charles Norwood (R-GA)
November 2003	Alabama enters into MOU with ICE
December 2003	NSEERS program is suspended
April 2004	Virginia decides to enter into MOU with ICE. (VA announces it will not proceed with MOU in June 2005)
October 2004	230 people are arrested for immigration violations in the weeks preceding the 2004 presidential election

Appendix C: Telephone interview instruments for phase I: Local police, FBI, and community respondents

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Police Interview Instrument

General

1. Can you tell us a little bit about the police department that you work for?

   Prompts:
   i. size of department
   ii. number of sworn officers
   iii. policing philosophy (e.g., community policing, problem-solving, enforcement focused, zero-tolerance, etc.)

2. Can you describe your role within the police department?

Community outreach

3. From your experience, what types of community outreach work does your department do?

4. Can you tell us about any outreach done by your department to members of Arab American communities?

   Prompts:
   i. forums
   ii. meetings
   iii. participation in cultural or religious events
   iv. assignments and responsibilities of patrol officers with respect to Arab American communities
   v. specialized units in the department

Identifying the concerns of Arab American communities

5. Has the department had dialogue with members of Arab American communities about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to them? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. forums/meetings
iv. role of patrol officers
v. specialized units in the department

6. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Gathering information on crime and public safety

7. Has the department developed relationships with Arab American communities that have helped in gathering intelligence on crime and public safety issues? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. development of informants
iv. forums/meetings
v. role of patrol officers
vi. specialized units in the department

8. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Hate/bias crimes

9. How serious a problem is bias or hate crime directed at Arab Americans in your community?

Prompts:

i. increase following September 11, 2001?
ii. is this still a problem?

Training

10. Have members of your department received specific training on working with Arab-American communities?

Prompts:

i. what type?
ii. how much?
iii. who gets trained?

Challenges to working together

11. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with Arab American communities on issues of crime and public safety?

12. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

13. In terms of the issues we have talked about, in what ways have the relationships between police and Arab American communities changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

Broader department policies

14. To your knowledge, does the department have a formal policy on racial profiling in relation to Arab American communities? What is it?

15. Does the department have a formal policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law? What is it?

Cooperation with federal agencies

16. Finally, since September 11, 2001, to your knowledge, has there been better cooperation between your department and federal agencies such as the FBI or the Department of Homeland Security? Can you describe this?

17. Are there ways in which these relationships could be improved?

Innovation

18. Do you consider your department to be innovative in its outreach efforts with Arab American communities?

Comments

I've finished asking the questions I had to ask. Is there anything else you would like to add to your comments? Thank you for your time.

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FBI Interview Instrument

General

1. Can you tell us a little bit about your role as an FBI agent?

Community outreach

2. Can you tell us about the kinds of community outreach work that your office engages in?

3. Can you tell us about any outreach done by your agency to members of the Arab American community?

    Prompts:
    i. forums
    ii. meetings
    iii. participation in cultural or religious events
    iv. assignment and responsibilities of agents with respect to Arab American communities
    v. specialized units in the office

Identifying the concerns of Arab American communities

4. Has your agency had a dialogue with members of Arab American communities about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to them? Can you describe these efforts?

    Prompts:
    i. crime in general
    ii. bias/hate crimes
    iii. forums/meetings
    iv. role of agents
    v. specialized units in the office

5. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Gathering information on crime and public safety

6. Has your office developed relationships with Arab American communities that have helped in gathering intelligence on crime and public safety issues? Can you describe these efforts?

    Prompts:
    i. crime in general
    ii. bias/hate crimes
    iii. development of informants
    iv. forums/meetings
    v. role of field agents
    vi. specialized units in the office

7. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Hate/bias crimes

8. How serious a problem is bias or hate crime directed at Arab Americans in your community?

    Prompts:
    i. increase following September 11, 2001?
    ii. is this still a problem?

Liaison

9. In what ways does your office work with local law enforcement agencies in relation to Arab-American communities?

    Prompt:
    i. involved in training local agencies?

10. In what ways does your office work with local law enforcement agencies in relation to terrorism?

    Prompt:
    i. which local department?

11. Does your office participate in a terrorism task force? If so, how many agencies participate in the task force and can you identify them?

Challenges to working together

12. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with Arab American communities on issues of crime and public safety?

13. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

14. In terms of the issues we have talked about, in what ways have the relationships between the FBI and Arab American communities changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

15. Are there ways in which these relationships could be improved going forward?

Broader policies

16. Does your office have a formal policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law? What is it?

Comments

I've finished asking the questions I had to ask. Is there anything else you would like to add to your comments? Thank you for your time.

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and Arab-American Communities

Community Interview Instrument

General

1. Can you tell us a little bit about the community you represent?

   Prompts:
   iv. size
   v. origins
   vi. culture/religion
   vii. key civic organizations

2. Can you describe your role within this community?

3. What are the main concerns of your community at this moment?

Community outreach

4. From your experience, does your local police department reach out to members of your community? Can you describe these efforts?

   Prompts:
   i. forums
   ii. meetings
   iii. participation in cultural or religious events
   iv. assignments and responsibilities of patrol officers with respect to Arab American communities
   v. specialized units in the department

Community concerns

5. Has the local police department had a dialogue with members of your community about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to your community? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. forums/meetings
iv. role of patrol officers
v. specialized units in the department

6. To your knowledge, have the concerns expressed by your community influenced the policies and priorities of local police?

Gathering information on crime and public safety

7. To your knowledge, has your local police department developed relationships with your community to gather information on crime and public safety issues? For what types of crime and public safety issues? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. development of informants
iv. forums/meetings
v. role of patrol officers

8. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Hate/bias crimes

9. How serious a problem is bias or hate crime directed at Arab Americans in your community? Has it increased following September 11, 2001?

Prompts:

i. increase following September 11, 2001?
ii. is this still a problem?

Challenges to working together

10. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with the police on issues of crime and public safety?

11. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

12. In what ways has the relationship between police and your community changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

13. What kind of relationship would you ideally like to have with your local police?

Comments

I've finished asking the questions I had to ask. Is there anything else you would like to add to your comments? Thank you for your time.

Appendix D: Interview consent forms: Law enforcement and community respondents

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement and Arab-American Communities

(Consent for interviews with law enforcement)

Description of Study
The purpose of this interview is to gather information for the Vera Institute of Justice study on innovative approaches to fostering cooperation between law enforcement and Arab American communities in the interests of promoting public safety and security. The community in which you work has been identified as an area with a high concentration of persons with Arab ancestry based on analysis of U.S. Census data and through consultation with demographic experts. The Vera Institute of Justice is a private nonprofit organization that carries out research and works with government and civil society to improve the services people rely on for safety and justice.

Funding for this project is provided through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), part of the U.S. Department of Justice. Vera will only provide NIJ with a copy of the final report, which will not include your name or any other information that will make you identifiable.

Contacts and Questions
If you agree to be in the study and at any time have questions, you may contact the people listed below:

Principal Investigator, *Joel Miller*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3137

Research Associate, *Nicole Henderson*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3141

Research Associate, *Chris Ortiz*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3160

Participation
This interview should take about 30 minutes to complete. During this interview we will ask you questions about your department, the community you work in, and any experiences you have had working with federal law enforcement.

Participation is Voluntary
Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If after the interview begins you decide you no longer want to participate, you can withdraw your consent and we will stop the interview. Also, you may refuse to answer any questions and your refusal will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits. If you decide not to participate or not to answer any question, we will not disclose this fact to anyone else, including your supervisor.

Confidentiality
If you agree to participate in this study, the information you tell us will be kept private. In fact, we are obligated by federal law to use the information we collect only for research purposes. Your name will not appear in any report or other public document, and none of the sites will be publicly identified in our reports. We will not ask you for information you may have about future crimes. If you do share information about plans for a future crime, Vera may have to report that information to the authorities.

Risks
Although Vera will take every measure to protect your privacy, there is a very small chance your information could be unintentionally disclosed. Vera has instituted policies and procedures to prevent this from happening. Your information will be kept in secure locked areas of the Vera office and will only be available to Vera researchers. In addition, Vera will strip all information you provide of identifiers as soon as possible.

This study is protected by federal regulations, which prohibit the data from being used in any legal process. In the unlikely event that authorities demand information about who participated and what was said, Vera will deny such requests and will take measures to resist any court-ordered disclosure. However, even if we are forced to disclose your information, our practice of removing identifiers as soon as possible will make it difficult to connect your name to your information.

Benefits & Compensation
You will not receive any direct benefit or compensation for participating. However, the information that you provide to researchers will be a part of a national study and may have potential long-term benefits. The study may discover barriers to communication between law enforcement and Arab American communities and may identify promising practices for creating innovative ways of expanding the methods and quality of communication between law enforcement and the Arab American community.

I have read or had read to me this consent form. I agree to participate in the study.

_____	_____	_____
Print Name	***Signature***	***Date***

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement and Arab American Communities

(Consent for interviews with community members)

Description of Study
The purpose of this interview is to gather information for the Vera Institute of Justice study on innovative approaches to fostering cooperation between law enforcement and Arab American communities in the interests of promoting public safety and security. Your community has been identified as an area with a high concentration of persons with Arab ancestry based on analysis of U.S. Census data and through consultation with demographic experts. The Vera Institute of Justice is a private nonprofit organization that carries out research and works with government and civil society to improve the services people rely on for safety and justice.

Funding for this project is provided through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), part of the U.S. Department of Justice. Vera will only provide NIJ with a copy of the final report, which will not include your name, or any other information that will make you identifiable.

Contacts and Questions

If you agree to be in the study and at any time have questions, you may contact the people listed below:

Principal Investigator, *Joel Miller*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3137

Research Associate, *Nicole Henderson*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3141

Research Associate, *Chris Ortiz*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3160

Participation
This interview should take about 30 minutes to complete. During this interview we will ask you questions about your community, any experiences you have had working with local and federal law enforcement, and any instances of hate or bias crime in your community.

Participation is Voluntary
Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If after the interview begins you decide you no longer want to participate, you can withdraw your consent and we will stop the interview. Also, you may refuse to answer any questions. If you decide not to participate or not to answer any question, we will not disclose this fact to anyone else and your refusal will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits.

Confidentiality
If you agree to participate in this study, the information you tell us will be kept private. In fact, we are obligated by federal law to use the information we collect only for research purposes. Your name will not appear in any report or other public document, and none of the sites will be publicly identified in our reports. We will not ask you for information you may have about future crimes. If you do share information about plans for a future crime, Vera may have to report that information to the authorities.

Risks
Although Vera will take every measure to protect your privacy, there is a very small chance your information could be unintentionally disclosed. Vera has instituted policies and procedures to prevent this from happening. Your information will be kept in secure locked areas of the Vera office and will only be available to Vera researchers. In addition, Vera will strip all information you provide of identifiers as soon as possible.

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Benefits & Compensation
You will not receive any direct benefit or compensation for participating. However, the information that you provide to researchers will be a part of a national study and may have potential long-term benefits. The study may discover barriers to communication between law enforcement and Arab American communities and may identify promising practices for creating innovative ways of expanding the methods and quality of communication between law enforcement and the Arab American community.

I have read or had read to me this consent form. I agree to participate in the study.

_____ _____ _____

Print Name ***Signature*** ***Date***

Appendix E: Community forum observation instrument

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement and Arab-American Communities

Community Forum Observation

Researchers will record basic information about meetings/events/training sessions, who attended, and what was talked about and will use this instrument to interview attendees.

General

1. Can you tell us a little bit about the community that you represent?

   Prompts:
   i. size
   ii. origins
   iii. culture/religion
   iv. key civic organizations

2. Can you describe your role within this community?

Participation

3. How many meetings/events/training sessions have you attended in the last year? In the last month? Can you describe them?

4. How did you learn about the meeting/event/training session(s)?

   Prompts:
   i. Friends/family
   ii. Church
   iii. Signs/flyers
   iv. Newspaper/media
   v. Phone call from police/community leader
   vi. Mailing
   vii. Community organizer
   viii. Prior meeting
   ix. Other

5. How useful are these meetings/events/training sessions?

6. Do you have any ideas about how these meetings/events/training sessions could be improved?

7. Have you tried to get anyone else to attend?

Structure

8. Who do you think should be responsible for leading the meetings/events/session(s)—the police, the citizens, or both?

Community outreach

9. From your experience, have these meetings/events/training sessions helped you build stronger relationships with the community/police? Can you describe how?

Identifying the concerns of the Arab American community

10. During these events, have you had a dialogue about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to the community? Can you describe these efforts?

    Prompts:
    i. crime in general
    ii. bias/hate crimes

11. To your knowledge, have the concerns expressed by the community influenced the policies and priorities of local police?

Challenges to working together

12. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with the community/police on issues of crime and public safety?

13. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

14. In terms of the issues we have talked about, in what ways has the relationship between police and your community changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

15. What kind of relationship would you ideally like to have with your local community/local police?

Appendix F: Focus group consent forms and approach script for community and police

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement
and Arab American Communities

Focus Group Community Member Consent Form

Description of Study
The purpose of this focus group is to gather information for the Vera Institute of Justice study on innovative approaches to fostering cooperation between law enforcement and Arab American communities in the interests of promoting public safety and security. Your community has been identified as an area with a high concentration of persons with Arab ancestry based on analysis of U.S. Census data and through consultation with demographic experts. The Vera Institute of Justice is a private nonprofit organization that carries out research and works with government and civil society to improve the services people rely on for safety and justice.

Funding for this project is provided through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), part of the U.S. Department of Justice. Vera will only provide NIJ with a copy of the final report, which will not include your name or any other information that will make you identifiable.

Contacts and Questions
If you agree to be in the study and at any time have questions, you may contact the people listed below:

Principal Investigator, *Joel Miller*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3137

Research Associate, *Nicole Henderson*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3141

Research Associate, *Chris Ortiz*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3160

Explanation of Participation
You are being asked to be part of a group interview. During the group interview, researchers will ask you questions about your community, any experiences you have had working with local and federal law enforcement, and hate or bias crime in your community, among other topics. **If you agree to be in the group interview, you must also agree not to repeat anything you learn about someone else in the group to people outside the group.**

Participation is Voluntary
This group interview should take between one and a half to two hours to complete. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If after the interview begins you decide you no longer want to participate, you can withdraw your consent and stop participating in the interview. If you decide not to participate or not to answer any question, we will not disclose this fact to anyone else and your refusal will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits.

Confidentiality
If you agree to participate in this study, the information you tell us will be kept private. In fact, we are obligated by federal law to use the information we collect only for research purposes. Your name will not appear in any report or other public document and none of the sites will be publicly identified in our reports. We will not ask you for information you may have about future crimes, so please do not share such information. If you do share information about plans for a future crime, Vera may have to report that information to the authorities.

Risks
Researchers will make every effort to keep your identity and answers private. However, there is always a chance that someone outside the research team could accidentally learn what you said. Although group interview participants are asked not to repeat what they learn during the interview, it is possible someone could repeat the information he or she hears anyway. Therefore, it is important not to share highly personal information that you would prefer to keep private. **In addition, some of the questions you are asked may make you feel uncomfortable. Remember, if this happens, you may take a break or stop participating.**

Although Vera will take every measure to protect your privacy, there is a very small chance your information could be unintentionally disclosed. Vera has instituted policies and procedures to prevent this from happening. Your information will be kept in secure locked areas of the Vera office and will only be available to Vera researchers. In addition, Vera will strip all information you provide of identifiers as soon as possible.

This study is protected by federal regulations, which prohibit the data from being used in any legal process. In the unlikely event that authorities demand information about who participated and what was said, Vera will deny such requests and will take measures to resist any court-ordered disclosure. However, even if we are forced to disclose your information our practice of removing identifiers as soon as possible will make it difficult to connect your name to your information.

Benefits
You will not receive any direct benefit, aside from the monetary compensation, for participation. However, the information that you provide to researchers will be a part of a national study and may have potential long-term benefits. The study may discover barriers to communication between law enforcement and Arab American communities and may identify promising practices for creating innovative ways of expanding the methods and quality of communications between law enforcement and the Arab American community.

Compensation
You will receive $20 for participating in the group interview.

I have read or had read to me this consent form. I agree to participate in the study, and I agree to keep information I learn about other participants confidential.

_____	_____	_____
Print Name	***Signature***	***Date***

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement and Arab American Communities

Focus Group Law Enforcement Consent Form

Description of Study
The purpose of this focus group is to gather information for the Vera Institute of Justice study on innovative approaches to fostering cooperation between law enforcement and Arab American communities in the interests of promoting public safety and security. The community in which you work has been identified as an area with a high concentration of persons with Arab ancestry based on analysis of U.S. Census data and through consultation with demographic experts. The Vera Institute of Justice is a private nonprofit organization that carries out research and works with government and civil society to improve the services people rely on for safety and justice.

Funding for this project is provided through the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), part of the U.S. Department of Justice. Vera will only provide NIJ with a copy of the final report, which will not include your name or any other information that will make you identifiable.

Contacts and Questions
If you agree to be in the study and at any time have questions, you may contact the people listed below:

Principal Investigator, *Joel Miller*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3137

Research Associate, *Nicole Henderson*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3141

Research Associate, *Chris Ortiz*, Vera Institute of Justice, (212) 376-3160

Explanation of Participation
You are being asked to be part of a group interview. During the group interview, researchers will ask you questions about the Arab American community you work in, about hate or bias crime in that community, about your department's approach to policing Arab American communities, and about your interaction with federal law enforcement, among other topics. **If you agree to be in the group interview, you must agree not to repeat anything you learn about someone else in the group to people outside the group.**

Participation is Voluntary
This group interview should take between one and a half to two hours to complete. Your participation in this interview is completely voluntary. If after the interview begins you decide you no longer want to participate, you can withdraw your consent and stop participating in the interview. Also, you may refuse to answer any questions. If you decide not to participate or not to answer any question, we will not disclose this fact to anyone else and your refusal will not result in any penalty or loss of benefits. In addition, we will not tell your supervisor or your department whether or not you decided to participate.

Confidentiality
If you agree to participate in this study, the information you tell us will be kept private. In fact, we are obligated by federal law to use the information we collect only for research purposes. Your name will not appear in any report or other public document, and none of the sites will be publicly identified in our reports. We will not ask you for information you may have about future crimes, so please do not share such information. If you do share information about plans for a future crime, Vera may have to report that information to the authorities.

Risks
Researchers will make every effort to keep your identity and answers private. However, there is always a chance that someone outside the research team could accidentally learn what you said. Although group interview participants are asked not to repeat what they learn during the interview, it is possible someone could repeat the information he or she hears anyway. Therefore, it is important not to share highly personal information that you would prefer to keep private. **In addition, some of the questions you are asked may make you feel uncomfortable. Remember, if this happens, you may take a break or stop participating.**

Although Vera will take every measure to protect your privacy, there is a very small chance your information could be unintentionally disclosed. Vera has instituted policies and procedures to prevent this from happening. Your information will be kept in secure locked areas of the Vera office and will only be available to Vera researchers. In addition, Vera will strip all information you provide of identifiers as soon as possible.

This study is protected by federal regulations, which prohibit the data from being used in any legal process. In the unlikely event that authorities demand information about who participated and what was said, Vera will deny such requests and will take measures to resist any court-ordered disclosure. However, even if we are forced to disclose your information, our practice of removing identifiers as soon as possible will make it difficult to connect your name to your information.

Benefits
You will not receive any direct benefit for participation. However, the information that you provide to researchers will be a part of a national study and may have potential long-term benefits. The study may discover barriers to communication between law enforcement and Arab American communities and may identify promising practices for creating innovative ways of expanding the methods and quality of communications between law enforcement and the Arab American community.

Compensation
You will not be compensated for participating in this study.

I have read or had read to me this consent form. I agree to participate in the study, and I agree to keep information I learn about other participants confidential.

_____	_____	_____
Print Name	***Signature***	***Date***

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement
and Arab American Communities

Approach Script

Good morning/afternoon/evening and welcome to our discussion. My name is { } and assisting me is my colleague, { }. We both work for a private nonprofit organization in New York City called the Vera Institute of Justice.

Background on the project and purpose of the focus group
I'm going to tell you a little bit about our project and what you can expect today. Up to this point, research has been carried out in 16 different sites from across the U.S. where there are high concentrations of persons with Arab ancestry. { } has been identified as one of these areas. The purpose of this focus group is to learn more about the state of relations between Arab American communities and local police departments and to identify promising initiatives and challenges in the development of trust and cooperation.

Schedule
Our focus group discussion is going to last about an hour and a half to two hours. Once we get started, I am going to ask you questions, and you will be asked to share your thoughts and opinions. You will do most of the talking. I will be doing a lot of listening.

Compensation
To show our appreciation for what you teach us and for your time, we would like to offer each participant $20 at the end of the session. *(For community focus groups only.)*

Participation
I will be asking you several questions about police-citizen relationships over the next hour or so. I want to assure you that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers but rather different points of view. Please feel free to share your point of view, even if it is different from what others have said. In fact, it's really important for us to hear all the different points of view in the room. If you want to follow up on something someone said, or if you want to agree or disagree or give an example, feel free to do that. Don't feel like you have to respond to me all the time. Feel free to have a conversation with one another about these questions. We want everyone to have a chance to share ideas. We may need to interrupt or call on people to make sure this happens. Please do not feel offended if we do this.

Confidentiality
Although we will be on a first name basis today, we will not use your real names in the report we write at the end of the study. No one will be able to link your name back to what you said.

Please do not share what you hear others say today with anyone outside of the group, including family or friends, and please do not tell anyone who else attended today's discussion. **If you agree to this condition, please nod your head.**

Although focus group participants are asked not to repeat what they learn during the interview, it is possible someone could repeat the information he or she hears anyway. Therefore, it is important that you not share personal information that you would prefer to keep private.

Consent Forms
At this point, I would like to read the consent form aloud.

Does anyone have any questions about these forms before we collect them?

Collect the forms.

Appendix G: Focus group questions for community and police

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement
and Arab American Communities

Community Focus Group Questions

General community characteristics

1. Tell us a little bit about your community.

   Prompts:
   i. new immigrants or established communities
   ii. ethno-religious diversity

Community outreach

2. What are the main concerns of your community at this moment?

3. From your experience, does your local police department reach out to members of your community? Would you consider their efforts "community policing?" Can you describe these efforts?

   Prompts:
   i. forums
   ii. meetings
   iii. participation in cultural or religious events
   iv. assignments and responsibilities of patrol officers with respect to Arab American communities
   v. specialized units in the department

4. What other experiences have people/friends had of the local police?

Identifying the concerns of the Arab American community

5. Has the local police department had a dialogue with members of your community about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to your community? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. forums/meetings
iv. role of patrol officers
v. specialized units in the department

6. To your knowledge, have the concerns expressed by your community influenced the policies and priorities of local police?

7. Do you notice any difference in police-citizen interactions with people from certain ethnic or religious backgrounds or those wearing specific attire?

Gathering information on crime and public safety issues

8. To your knowledge, has your local police department developed relationships with your community to gather information on crime and public safety issues? Can you describe these efforts?

Prompts:

i. crime in general
ii. bias/hate crimes
iii. development of informants
iv. forums/meetings
v. role of patrol officers
vi. specialized units in the department

9. Would you be willing to help law enforcement by providing information regarding issues of crime and public safety? If not, why not? What would persuade you to help law enforcement in this regard?

10. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Trust

11. How much trust do you place in federal and local law enforcement officials? If trust is low, why?

12. Is local law enforcement doing an adequate job of protecting the local Arab American community?

Victimization

13. What types of victimization are of concern to you and your community?

14. If you were a victim of a crime, would you report it to the police? If not, who would you report it to? *(Do not allow participants to share overly private information.)*

Hate/bias crimes

15. How serious a problem is bias or hate crime directed at Arab Americans in your community?

    Prompts:
    i. increase following September 11, 2001?
    ii. is this still a problem?

16. How many of you have been the target of a hate crime or other ethnic incident? Do you have family or friends who have experienced these things?

Racial profiling

17. Have you or any of your family and friends been singled out because of your religious affiliations or attire?

18. Do you believe that Arab Americans are racially profiled by law enforcement? Have you or any of your acquaintances had personal experiences with profiling?

Challenges to working together

19. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with the police on issues of crime and public safety?

20. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

21. In terms of the issues we have talked about, in what ways has the relationship between police and your community changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

22. What kind of relationship would you ideally like to have with your local police?

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Improving Cooperation between Law Enforcement and Arab American Communities

Police Focus Group Questions

General

1. Can you tell us a little bit about the precinct that you work in?

   Prompts:
   i. size
   ii. community characteristics (Muslim, Christian, new/old immigrants, ethnicity, etc.)
   iii. policing philosophy (e.g., community policing, problem-solving, enforcement focused, zero-tolerance, etc.)

Community outreach

2. From your experience, what types of community outreach work does your precinct do?

3. Can you tell us about any outreach done by your precinct to members of Arab-American communities?

   Prompts:
   i. forums
   ii. meetings
   iii. participation in cultural or religious events
   iv. assignments and responsibilities of patrol officers with respect to Arab American communities
   v. specialized units

4. What other experiences have you had with members of the Arab American community?

5. If you conduct meetings and forums, what is the level of attendance at community meetings and forums, specifically among the Arab American community? Is this group well represented compared to other groups?

   Prompts:
   i. certain religious groups more active than others? (i.e. Christian/Muslim)

Identifying the concerns of Arab American communities

6. Has the precinct had a dialogue with members of Arab American communities about the types of crime and victimization that are currently of concern to them? Can you describe these efforts?

7. Do you have a sense of what these concerns are?

    Prompts:
    i. crime in general
    ii. bias/hate crimes
    iii. forums/meetings
    iv. role of patrol officers
    v. specialized units in the department

8. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Gathering information on crime and public safety issues

9. Has the precinct developed relationships with Arab American communities that have helped in gathering intelligence on crime and public safety issues? Can you describe these efforts?

    Prompts:
    i. crime in general
    ii. bias/hate crimes
    iii. development of informants
    iv. forums/meetings
    v. role of patrol officers
    vi. specialized units in the department

10. How has this information been applied to law enforcement policies and priorities?

Victimization & reporting

11. What types of victimization are of concern to the Arab American community?

12. What types of victimization are most prevalent?

13. Have community members contacted you to report crimes?

Hate/bias crimes

14. How serious a problem is bias or hate crime directed at Arab Americans in your precinct?

    Prompts:
    i. increase following September 11, 2001?
    ii. is this still a problem?

Training

15. Have members of your department and/or precinct received specific training on working with Arab-American communities?

    Prompts:
    i. what type?
    ii. how much?
    iii. who gets trained?

Challenges to working together

16. Overall, have there been any barriers to working with Arab American communities on issues of crime and public safety?

17. Can you suggest some solutions to these difficulties?

18. In terms of the issues we have talked about, in what ways have the relationship between police and Arab-American communities changed since September 11, 2001? Can you explain how and why?

Broader department policies

I would also like to ask you some general questions about departmental policies.

19. To your knowledge, does the department have a formal policy on racial profiling in relation to Arab American communities? What is it?

20. Does the department have a formal policy on the enforcement of violations of immigration law? What is it?

Cooperation with federal agencies

21. Finally, since September 11, 2001, to your knowledge, has there been better cooperation between your department and the FBI? Can you describe this?

22. Has there been better cooperation between your department and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS)? Can you describe this?

    Prompts:
        i. better than with other federal agencies?

23. Are there ways in which these relationships could be improved?

Innovation

24. Do you consider your precinct to be innovative in its outreach efforts with Arab American communities?