

The Enemy Within: Domestic Terrorism and Involvement of U.S Nationals Post 9/11

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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "The Enemy Within: Domestic Terrorism and Involvement of U.S. Nationals Post 9/11" submitted by me for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other university.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Preface

The proposed study seeks to examine Home grown Terrorism in United States in the post 9/11 era. In the past the United States has used all its intellectual and physical capacity to counter the threat and attacks against aggression outside America but it faced dissent from within, by its own citizens who are a threat and instability for their own government.

Members of various immigrants groups born and raised in America are readily absorbed into the mainstream and consequently lose identification with their ethnic, cultural or religious origins and try recapturing their cultural identity that they feel they have lost. Therefore various issues involving the factors responsible for this alienation and attraction towards extremism are examined.

The study focuses on is the association of 'extremism' as largely synonymous with 'terrorism' and conversion to Islam. The event of 9/11 brought about an association of Islam with terrorism and Muslims as a community became an issue of concern for the Americans and the laws introduced to counter terrorism in the homeland challenged the constitutional laws protecting against racial profiling and discrimination. The fear of Home grown Terrorism and radicalization theories have driven federal agencies to treat American Muslim communities as uniquely susceptible to terrorist propaganda and to subject them to greater government scrutiny. The study will also look at the radicalization process and in the debate about radicalization and violent extremism.

All the above aspects have been given in four chapter with fifth being conclusion.

Introduction:

Home Grown Terrorism on the American Home Land

9/11 and its Aftermath

The event of 9/11 has entirely changed America's perception of terrorism as now it concerns are more towards threat from within that poses the most daunting challenge to American homeland and America wants to eliminate all possibilities of an act of terror replicating 9/11.

In the aftermath of the terror attacks the United States on a global level waged a war against Afghanistan and then Iraq and since the pursuit of eliminating terror from the world has reshaped the international systems and is responsible for political and social transformations with Muslim communities both domestically and internationally as populations and governments in the Islamic countries are undeviating affected by policies of United States, because of the global reach of its power and influence.

America's war on terror created a challenging environment for Americans of Islamic faith as they are under suspicion and fear the methods employed by the government, specially Islamic profiling to counter domestic terrorism. Most importantly the attack on American soil induced the rate of hate crimes against immigrants of Muslims, Middle easterners and Arabs descent.

Radicalization and recruitment towards radical extremism within America is the current reality and challenges for domestic security and intelligence. Also an ideological resonance that the United States and the West are at war with Islam has been a major motivation for home grown terrorists, many are encouraged by critiques of U.S. military action in Iraq and Afghanistan and state an ideological desire to protect the Muslim community, which according to them is under attack by the West.



A view of World Trade Centres before and after the terror attacks of 9/11





Terrorism and Religious Fundamentalism

Terrorism in the name of faith, that is religious terrorism, is sort of a political violence which is encouraged by an ultimate notion that incendiary violence is for the greater acclaim of faith, which is adjured by gods will and a belief that these acts of extremist violence will be forgiven by the will of god because a person's religious conviction is legitimate if violence is the will of god. ¹

Religious terrorism in today's world has become an overriding paragon for political violence. The human history is filled with examples where believers of a faith engross in violence to foster their modus operandi through faith. Religious extremism has become a major phenomenon globally because of its global reach out, increasing prevalence and a growing fabric of violence as the dogmas of class dissent, secular nationalism and anticolonial liberation are now challenged by melange of separatist ideologies. Religious extremist terrorism can be genocidal, revolutionary or communal and can be effectuated by lone wolves, governments or insurgent movements. Thus religiously motivated terrorism breeds indiscriminate violence as religious beliefs are used to justify violence. The goal of religious terrorism is political and not religious.

In the contemporary world, religious fundamentalism pre-exists in all major religions and though religious political fundamentalism is apparent in Islam, it is also evident in Christianity, Hinduism, Judaism and other religious associations. Historically both Islam and Christianity are susceptible to imperialistic impositions but currently Islamic terrorism pose as a daunting threat to democracies of the world. Martin E. Marty currently holding an emeritus status in

¹ Religion and Terrorism, (Online Access:27July 2015) URL: http://www.sagepub.in/upm-data/33557_6.pdf

University of Chicago puts forward that Fundamentalism has a tendency to look back and set out to freeze a moment, event or texts from past and then measure life in the imagined golden age with the present life and hold it as an archetypal comparing it to the realities of the contemporary world. Religious fundamentalism offers resituating the lost identity and bringing back the propitious period. It evolves through a rigid belief system with set of doctrines which barely impinge on the wider society. The major difference between historically religiously driven political actions and actions of today is the efficacious context of globalisation which fosters terrorism.²

By looking through the lens of religion, the conflict between the radical extremist methods and democratically licit way of achieving objectives can also be assessed in the frame of Islam versus Christianity. Both the religions share much in terms of both values and beliefs but have a history of unresolved conflicts. In modern times the existence and expansion of one is considered as a threat to the other. The evolution and expansion of political Islam results in the growth of extremist organisations such as Taliban and Al Qaeda, which are a threat to America. Similarly a rampant threat from the American hegemony is among radical extremists forces of Islam and they have identified that to maintain a western sense of supremacy and hegemony over the Muslim world United States has exacerbated the idea of an 'Islamic Threat' and 'Islamphobia'. (Saikal, 2003)

What is Home grown Terrorism and its threat?

The U.S. Prevention of Violent Radicalization and Home grown Terrorism Act of 2007 defines home grown terrorism as “the use, planned use, or threatened use of force or violence by a group or

² Terrorism and Religious Fundamentalism, (Online Acess:27July 2015) URL <https://www.uni-marburg.de/fb03/ivk/mjr/pdfs/2006/articles/pratt2006.pdf>

individual born, raised, or based and operating primarily within the United States or any possession of the United States to intimidate or coerce the United States government, the civilian population of the United States, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objective.”³

9/11 changed the cognizance of international and domestic terrorism for America and other democracies in the world. We live in an era which is indicative of the mounting threat of indiscriminate terrorism and the diffusion of instruments of mass destruction where the threat can come from any part of the country, any background or educational status and the threat is now increasingly from within, from home grown terrorists who are motivated by violent extremist ideology to plan and execute attacks where they live. The attacks were aimed to challenge the American supremacy and shatter the myth of American power, 9/11 shifted the focus to security of the American homeland as America realised that it took a one-dimensional approach towards terrorism and neglected the paramount aspect of homeland security, also an increased usage of resources which were used to combat terrorist groups overseas weakened the American national economy which in turn resulted in turn retrograded support for effective national security policy. Also differences over counter-terrorism policies led to disagreements between the Democrats and the Republicans regarding financial expenditures and America's involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan posed a challenge to the adoption of an effective counter terrorism policy to contain home grown extremism.

³ Home Grown Terrorism in the United States (US) - Causes, Affiliations and Policy Implications, (Online Access: 27 July 2015)
URL: http://www.academia.edu/6630922/Home_Grown_Terrorism_in_The_United_States_US_Causes_Affiliations_and_Policy_Implications

The attacks of 9/11 were engineered by Al Qaeda from outside, but the 19 Islamic hijackers who carried out the terrorist act had spent more than a year inside United States and took flying lessons at American commercial flight schools. They entered United States lawfully to achieve their objectives, therefore 9/11 had an outside link and domestic presence too.

In the research the 9/11 type of terrorist link is secondary, as the basic and primary focus of the research is on sections of American society who are citizens and ethnically and culturally have Islamic identity. There are 6.7 million⁴ Muslims in United States, constituting second largest immigrant population next to African-Americans, which is perceived as a threat by the Americans as domestic home grown terrorists who commit crimes within the homeland, predominantly draw inspiration from Islamic fundamentalism.

Home grown terrorists have an advantage that they counter fewer logistical problems, such as infiltrating the target nation, possess linguistic skills and are accustomed to their society, which makes them valuably advantageous to international terrorist organizations. A careful study of these home grown terrorists points that many home grown extremists predominantly come from impoverished and socially marginalized communities but the American extremists are better integrated into American society, generally belongs to second and third generations of immigrants, come from an array of educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, are from diverse ethnicities and have never committed a prior crime, which facilitates their ability to stay undetected by law enforcing authorities.

Populations and governments in the Islamic countries are undeviatingly affected by policies of United States, because of the

⁴ Estimation of Muslim population taken from the online link <http://www.muslimpopulation.com/America/>

global reach of its power and influence, also an ideological resonance that the United States and the West are at war with Islam has been a major motivation for home grown terrorists. Many are encouraged by critiques of U.S. military action in Iraq and Afghanistan and state an ideological desire to protect the Muslim community, which according to them is under attack by the West.

Another motivational factor is the adjudged injustice that their community is experiencing, thus identity plays a common motivational factor and association into a group is a positive attraction for home grown terrorism. Individuals who experience isolation from broader society, associates themselves with a group they feel offers them identity and a sense of belonging.

The advancement of a society into a globalized set up has allowed the international terrorist organizations like al Qaeda and more recently the ISIS to enlarge their possible reach by persuading the youth around the world and indoctrinating them virtually, without the necessity of visiting an actual military training camp or communicating directly with the concerned terrorist organization. Home grown terrorist cells are connected through radical extremist's manuals, audios, chat rooms and indoctrinated video recordings. Young men and women virtually become members of radical groups without having any prior communication with them. These days there is a great amount of information available online which promotes the motive and makes it easier for the isolated radical extremists, who are residing in western countries and are drawn to terrorist organizations.⁵

⁵ "Home grown" Terrorists: Theory and Cases in the War on Terror's Newest Front (Online Access :27July2015)
URL <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.jnu.ac.in/stable/pdf/40375778.pdf?acc-eptTC=true>

The radicalization process starts before they hit the age of thirty. The radicalization is a four level process, which starts from a pre radicalization stage where the religious conversion takes place. Which further leads the second stage of self-identification where an individual takes on the identity of the group and accepts its values and ideologies. The Third stage is indoctrination where the individuals fully accepts the extremist ideology to a point where they do not question the consequences of the act they would be committing. The last and the fourth stage is where the members identify themselves as fighters of the faith and commit a terrorist act either independently or in a group. A part of chapter two deals with the radicalization process in detail.

ISIS and threat to the American Homeland

The Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant or Islamic State of Iraq and Syria is an Salafi militant Jihadi extremist group headed by Sunni Arabs from Iraq and Syria and has a self-declared Islamic state and caliphate. It emerged in 1999, as “Jama’at al-TawhidWal-Jihad”, in 2004 swore allegiance to al-Qaeda, assisted in the Iraqi insurgency and in January 2006 linked with other sunni insurgent groups to form ‘MujahideenShura Council’ which in October 2006 promulgated the formulation of Islamic State of Iraq. It was on June 29th 2014 when the group named Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi as their caliph and announced itself to be a worldwide caliphate and claims a political, religious and military authority over all the Muslim population of the world. The ISIL has been held accountable by the United Nations for war crimes and human rights abuses had been classified as a terrorist organization. It is a well- funded network which uses social media like online videos beheading videos of civilians, journalists and soldiers. The ideology and activities of ISIS have been condemned by Muslim leaders around the world, as they have deviated from the

path of true essence of Islam and their manoeuvres does not evince the actual and rightful teachings of Islam.⁶

Given the present situation, what concerns the secular democratic world is that there are more than 12,000 foreign fighters from different parts of the world who are a part of ISIS are fighting the Sunni extremists groups. These foreign fighters are generally dissatisfied by the status given and the way Muslims treated around the world and their motive of traveling to Syria and Iraq includes, Firstly the conviction that the fight is for establishing a caliphate in Levant and Iran which is an essential part of a battle by the Sunnis against the West and Shias of the world. Secondly, a belief that the west has been unsuccessful in countering the adversity in Syria.

A large number of these foreign fighters are citizens of America, who are exposed to a melting pot of radical extremist ideologies. Their return to the America now pose a substantial threat to the homeland as now they can commence the acts of terror, either single handedly or in a group.

The current approach by Obama is concentrated towards the escalation of these global foreign fighters titillated to Iraq and Syria. The Obama administration and the other allies who have come together, in this combat against the radical extremists, have understood the enormity of the threat that these freedom fighters pose to the American Homeland and therefore the policy makers are co-ordinating with the intelligence community, to protect the domestic environment by combatting terrorism and by preventing radicalization of American Citizens.

⁶OnlineSource:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_State_of_Iraq_and_the_Levant

A survey conducted by Pew Research Centre in September 2014, regarding “Growing concern about Rise of Islamic Extremism at Home and Abroad” points the following observations (Fig.1) six out of ten (62%) of the American population are concerned about the rising Islamic extremism around the world, which is the highest since 2007 and 53% are concerned about the possibility of rising Islamic Extremism in the U.S.⁷

⁷Online Source: (2014) <http://www.people-press.org/2014/09/10/growing-concern-about-rise-of-islamic-extremism-at-home-and-abroad/>

Percentage of American population concerned about the rise in extremism in the world and United States.

% who are _____ concerned about the rise of ...

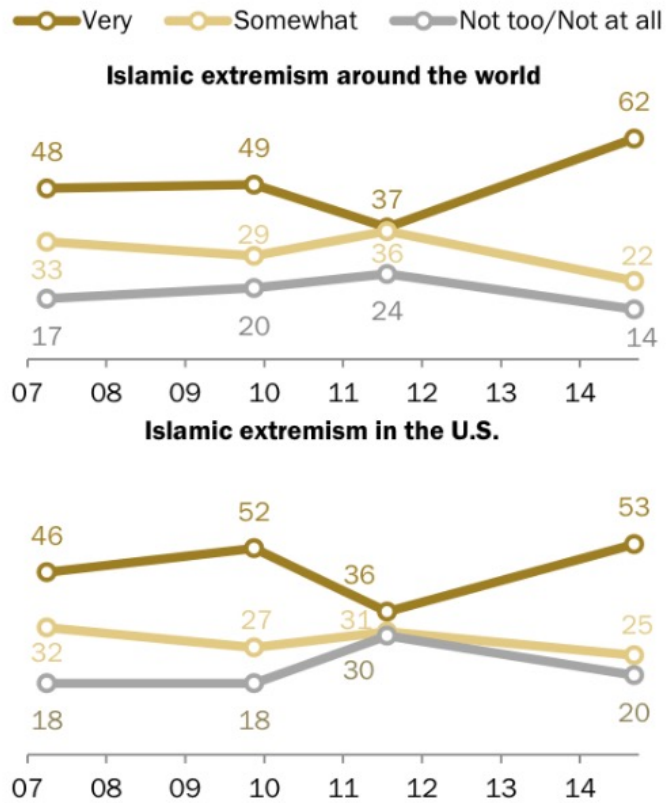


Fig 1: Survey conducted between 2nd to 9th September
Source: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(Fig.2) In July 2013, 47% said that their greater concern was that government policies had gone too far in restricting average person’s civil liberties, while 35% said their bigger concern was inadequately the protection of their country. In September 2014, after a gap of one year 35% said that their greater concern was that government policies had gone too far in restricting average person’s civil liberties, while 50% said their bigger concern was inadequately the protection of their country.(PEW Research Centre, 2014)

Concerns over governments anti-terror policies

Survey conducted between 2nd to 9th September

Source: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

	Oct 2010	July 2013	Nov 2013	Sept 2014
	%	%	%	%
They have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country	47	35	39	50
They have gone too far in restricting average person's civil liberties	32	47	44	35
Other/Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100

Fig 2

Partisan Differences in Concerns over Islamic Extremism

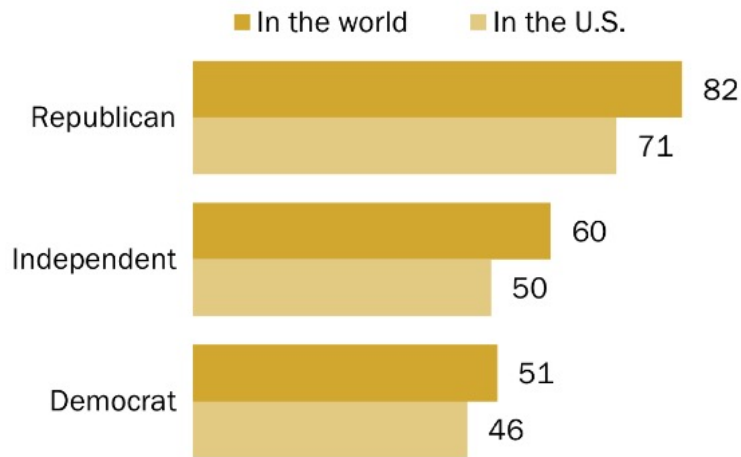


Fig 3

Survey conducted between 2nd to 9th September

Source: PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(Fig.3) Republicans are more concerned regarding the rise of extremism as compared to the Democrats both domestically and internationally. 8 out of 10 republicans (82%) and 51% of Democrats are concerned about the rise in Islamic extremism in the world. Whereas 71% of Republicans and 46% Democrats are concerned about the rise of extremism with the United States. Concerns about the rise in extremism both domestically and internationally were on a rise after the Ft. Hood shootings. (PEW Research Centre, 2014)

Definition, Rationale, objectives and scope of study

The proposed study seeks to examine Home grown Terrorism in United States in the post 9/11 era and the differences that escalated between American Muslims and general American population after 9/11. The United States has countered threats of terror and aggression outside America through its intellectual and physical capacity but faced dissent by its own citizens who pose as a threat and create an environment of instability for their own government.

Members of various immigrants groups who were born and raised in America are absorbed into the mainstream and gradually lose identification with their ethnic, cultural or religious origins. Some and mostly Muslim lengths to recapture the cultural identity they feel they have lost. Therefore various issues involving the factors responsible for this alienation would be examined. Another important aspect of this study will focus on is the association of 'extremism' as largely synonymous with 'terrorism' and conversion to Islam. The event of 9/11 brought about an association of Islam with terrorism and Muslims as a community became an issue of concern for the Americans and the laws introduced to counter terrorism in the homeland challenged the constitutional laws protecting against racial profiling and discrimination. The fear of home grown terrorism and radicalization process have forced federal

agencies to treat American Muslim communities as uniquely susceptible to terrorist activities subjecting them to greater government scrutiny. On the basis of current situations and extremist tensions, in the coming years the home grown movement will likely grow in size and scope.

The study will also look at the radicalization process and its various forms. In the debate surrounding radicalization and acts of violent extremism, prisons are often described as 'hotbeds' of terrorism and are a threat of unknown magnitude to the security of the United States.

Research Methodology

This research study has examined the growth and reasons for the rise of anti-government sentiment that has resulted in home grown terrorism in United States in the post 9/11 era.

The data for the research includes both the primary as well as secondary sources. The primary sources includes the official reports, archival and web documents accessed from the various academic institutions and libraries. The research conducted involved an extensive use of books available in the American Library and JNU Central Library.

The study has basically highlighted the various areas of conflict and cooperation between the American government and the sections of Muslim Americans. The research is be based on an analytical approach to understand the internal and external dynamics of government's response towards the home grown terrorism and measures to prevent the radicalization process among American Citizens.

Research Objectives

- To explore the constituent elements of home grown terrorism.
- To analyse critically the influence of radical Islamist ideology on American citizens.
- To understand the role of identity in a nation of immigrants.
- To find out the other factors apart from the extremist Islamist ideology that have contributed to the growth of home-grown terrorism on American soil.

Research Questions

- Why are certain sections of the U.S population attracted to radical Islam?
- Is there any relation between Black Muslim movement and Nation of Islam with home grown Islamic terrorism?
- What are the methods employed by the US government to contain home grown terrorism in post 9/11.
- How will America build a security structure that guards an American citizen from another American citizen who are beginning to change in their thinking up to a point where they become a threat to the security of other Americans?

Research Hypotheses

- "Security versus liberty" debate and passing of Anti-Terrorist Act have contributed to growth of home grown terrorism.
- Home grown terrorism, especially Islamic profiling has posed one of the most daunting challenges to American society.

Chapter One: Anti-Americanism

The indelible episode of 9/11 is projected as an instance of violence in response to anti-American sentiment which to be believed, had ingenerated from the U.S. foreign policies towards the Middle East and resulted in death of more than 3,000 innocent American citizens.

It is the United States that is blamed for the shortcomings of the Arab world by its leaders in order to deflect its own people from the real complications and intramural defaults present in its own government, and rather than promoting for democracy, due process of law, freedom of speech, equality of women and civil society in the Arab world, the people instead focus on hating the United States, this anti-American sentiment is widespread across the Arab nations and since many years has acted as a feeding ground by failed movements and political systems in the Middle East.

A countries foreign policy is driven by its own interests and United States also induced a foreign policy that conceded with its own interests which has predominantly concurred with Arab leaders and population, also on several occasions when the United States has involved itself in the regional conflicts of Middle East, it's been the case of moderates against the radical Islamists groups, where the United States have supported groups/parties with strong Islamic legitimacy.

There are two major reasons for Arab Anti-Americanism, firstly America's support for Israel and secondly America's policies towards other Arab Countries.



Anti-American mural in Iran at the site of the former American Embassy

America's Support for Israel

America's support for Israel has been a major reason for Anti- Americanism and still stands strong. The support for Israel and can be analysed in political, military and economic terms.

Political support

Amid last fifty years, Israel has been supported avidly by the United States in all possible dissensions and disputes with the Arab and Palestinians and has extended its political support at UN Security Council, the General Assembly and other international Organizations. This Political succour for Israel has been extensively discerned as unjust and to be at the cost of the Arabs and thus contemplated as a prime cause of conflict between the Arab world and America. Although the U.S. government has always necessitated efforts to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict but any use of veto power by the United States condemning Arabs is perceived as a veto in support of Israel.⁸

⁸ Causes of Anti-Americanism in the Arab World: A Socio-Political Perspective
<http://www.rubincenter.org/meria/2003/12/abdallah.pdf>

Military support

The assistance of missiles, helicopters and jetfighters to Israel, that have been responsible for killing innocent civilians and destruction of homes and United States commitment towards perpetuating Israel's security has given Israel a qualitative edge over Arab nations which led to defeats and has been a major cause for Arab anti-American sentiment towards United States. Another form of assistance is the nexus of U.S.-Israeli arms build out and sale which acts as military dominance over the Arabs as without this military aid by America, Israel would have been never able to defend the Arab armies and in such existing situations peace cannot be achieved. ⁹

Economic support

Since 1949 Israel which is the inordinate recipient of U.S. aid in the world has been rendered one fifth of entire U.S. foreign aid. These economic grants and aids to build the economy of Israel is considered by the Arabs as funding for the occupation of Arab and Palestinian territories. According to American critics there are several African and Arab countries apart from Israel that are in need of such economic assistance while some pro Americans urge that without these grants Israel's economy would collapse. The united states have also extended economic grants to several Arab countries, including Palestine, Jordan, Egypt and Morocco, but these grants are often seen as America's succour for the undemocratic regimes in the region and not for a real cause of development. ¹⁰

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Ibid.

The Arab perception of the American position is that it is completely supportive of Israel and that America always adopts Israel's point of view in this conflict.

U.S. Policies and Behaviour towards Other Arab Countries

The kind of policies and actions that The United States has followed towards several Arab countries including air strikes against Sudan and Libya are perceived as antagonistic and belligerent as they have resulted in obliteration killing Arab civilians. Economic and political sanctions against Sudan, Libya, Syria and Iraq, invasion and occupation of Iraq based on erroneous presumptions and inhumane treatment towards prisoners of Islamic faith in Guantanamo Bay detention centre and Camp X-ray are other major reasons.

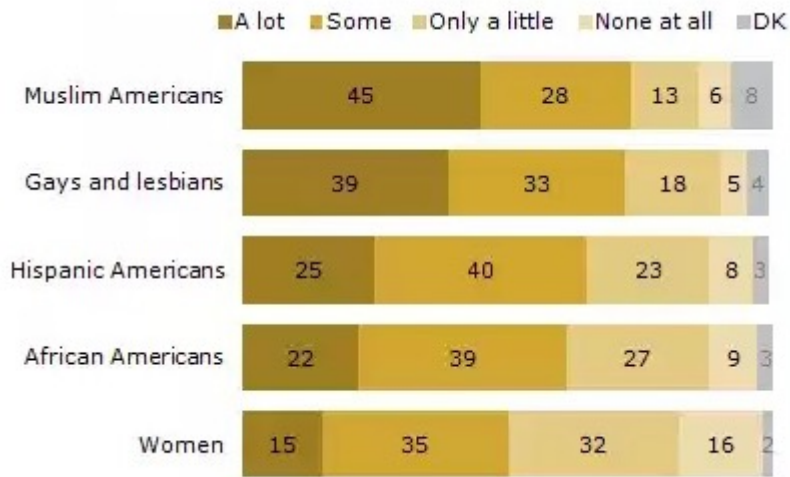
The Anti-American Sentiment after 9/11

The anti-American sentiment re-emerged after American government discriminated against its own Arab and Muslim citizens in the wake of September 11th attacks. As a result of extensive racial Islamic profiling and hate crimes against Muslims in America, thousands of Arabs quit their studies or employments and returned to their countries with an anti-American perception. The Muslims were also denied Visas and were detained for custom checking at the U.S. airports. ¹¹

¹¹Ibid.



Protestors dressed as hooded detainees and holding WCW signs in Washington DC on January 4, 2007



The Muslim Americans are the most discriminated in United States

Source: Pew Research Centre

America's War on Terror

In "clash of civilizations", Samuel Huntington argues that in the post-cold war period cultural and religious differences are a major cause of international dissensions and asserts that Islam in particular encourages Muslim aggressiveness toward non-Muslim peoples. According to Huntington, "Some Westerners have argued that the West does not have problems with Islam but only with violent Islamic extremists.... But evidence to support [this assertion] is lacking ... The underlying problem for the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam."¹²



Since September 11, 2001, hate crimes against Muslims have consistent from 100 to 150 in number per year but back in 2001, that numbers reached nearly 500. A comparison of all hate crimes reveals that hate crimes against Muslim make up about 2 percent. According to Federal Bureau of Investigation before 9/11, there were only about 20 or 30 hate crimes against Muslims per year. (FBI, 2013)¹³

Also last year's Israeli offensive on Gaza that claimed the lives of 2,131 Palestinians and 71 Israelis, 65 of whom were soldiers, according to the UN

¹² Ibid.

¹³ FBI(2013) [www.fbi.gov] Accessed online on 27 July 2015 URL : <https://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/ucr-publications#Hate>

was the possible motivation, behind for some recent anti-Muslim crimes in the US. (FBI, 2013)¹⁴

The USA PATRIOT Act and increased US government surveillance programs aimed at Muslims as well as the manifestations of the growing fear of radical Islam and Muslims known as “Islamophobia” has filled the a sense of hatred in the Arab minds against America.



The picture shows two planes crashing on World Trade centres and the formation of Mc Donald’s logo this can be seen as a sign of Anti-American sentiment

The Use of Drone Strikes by the United States

Drones are Unmanned Aerial Vehicles that are used for surveillance and targeted killings, enabling the United States to carry out certain missions without risking the lives of military personnel. The U.S. drone strategy against al Qaeda and its allies has altered the ambit of modern warfare, becoming an essential weapon in the U.S. ammunition against suspected terrorists. Advocates of drones consider them as efficacious tool in the battle

¹⁴Ibid.

against extremists while the opponents fret about civilian casualties and loose oversight. (CNN, 2013) ¹⁵

Human Rights Watch has alleged that more than 82 people, out of which around 57 of were civilians, were killed by the unmanned aircraft and other aerial strikes in Yemen between September 2012 and June 2013 and labelled such strikes unlawful or indiscriminate. (Huffington Post, 2013) ¹⁶

U.S. believes its drone program to be a key weapon in countering insurgent groups and useful in cross-border surveillance but strikes take lives of large civilians population and results in resentment and enmesh the two countries' ability to make efforts against insurgents in the country, including al-Qaida.

"The U.S. drone policy sets a dangerous precedent that other states may seek to exploit to avoid responsibility for their own unlawful killings," (Amnesty International)¹⁷

¹⁵CNN (2013) Online Source: <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/02/07/politics/drones-cnn-explains/>

¹⁶Huffington Post (2013) Online Source: Accessed on 27 July 2015
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/22/human-rights-drone-program_n_4145562.html?ir=India&adsSiteOverride=in

¹⁷ Cited in (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/10/22/human-rights-drone-program_n_4145562.html?ir=India&adsSiteOverride=in)



Washington's foreign policy and defence establishments are in full succour of Obama's drones strategy. Even Hillary Clinton the Secretary of State, avidly backed the drone campaigns in Pakistan and Yemen. Republican leaders John McCain and Lindsey Graham, who consider Obama as indecisive and are known for criticising him are also keen. (The New Yorker, 2014)¹⁸

The President's commitment towards what is called by the U.S. government as "surgical strikes" is an essential defining approach to war and counterterrorism against terrorists and insurgents.

The decision of Obama administration to enter into a conflict with the Islamic State in Iraq and al-Sham, or ISIS, which would include the use of drones is the risky manifestation of a dependency on targeted air strikes to counter terrorist threats. The strategy is derived from Obama's experience in commanding C.I.A's drone war in Pakistan. (The New Yorker, 2014)¹⁹

¹⁸Online

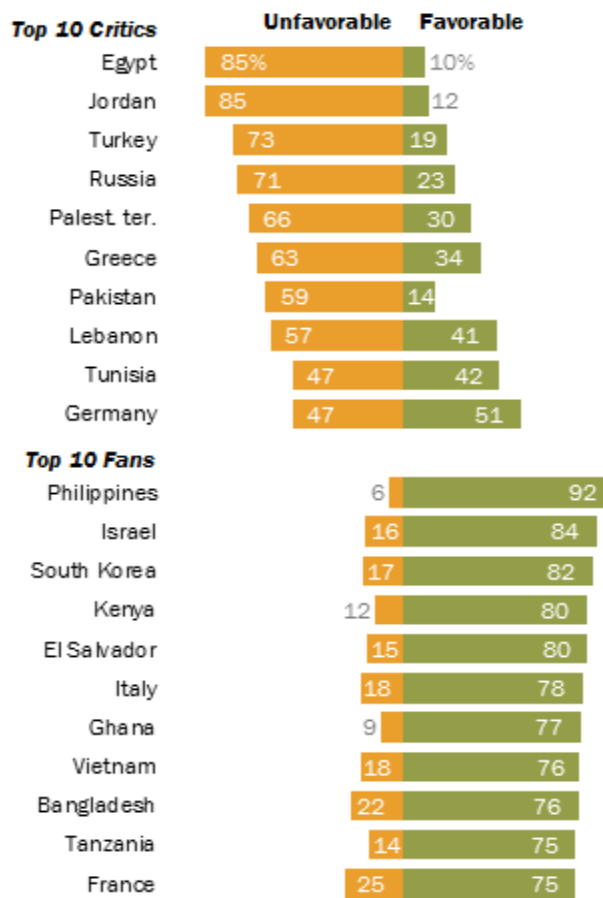
Source:

(2014)

(<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2014/11/24/unblinking-stare>)

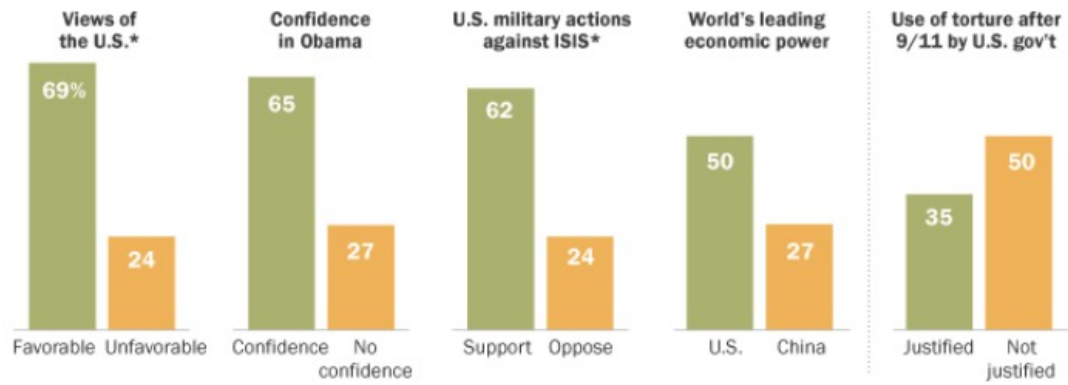
¹⁹Ibid.

Top 10 Fans and critics of united States



Source: PEW Research Centre (2014)

A graph illustrating the opinion of Americans on U.S. military actions against ISIS and Use of Torture after 9/11 by the U.S. government



Source: Pew Research Centre

Chapter Two:

Attraction towards Radical Extremism

Muslim in America

In United States, there are essentially three categories of Muslims, the immigrants, American converts/reverts to Islam and those born to the first two groups as Muslims. Muslims like the other religious groups have first amendments rights. They can freely practice their religion. The problem is implicit or explicit denial of their political, social and economic rights based on their religious identity as Muslims. Presumably the values and norms of Muslim groups in both settings are quite similar. What differs is the context that is the actual interaction of Islamic beliefs and values with institutions in America. With most immigrants groups, the biggest problems arise not with the first generation of new comers, but with their children, whose heightened expectations are not always easily met by the host society. (Findley, 2001)

Members of various immigrants groups born and raised in America are readily absorbed into the mainstream and consequently lose identification with their ethnic, cultural or religious origins. They question their identity and often go to some lengths to recapture the cultural identity they feel they have lost. The second generation Muslims are not simply reproducing the values of their parent's country of origin, they are actively responding to the situation they find themselves in the United States. The phenomenon known as Political Islam is rooted in a contemporary religious resurgence in Private and Public life. On one hand, many Muslims have become more observant with regard to their faith and on the other Islam has re-emerged as an alternative to the perceived failure of secular ideologies such as nationalism, capitalism and socialism.(Esposito, 2013)

“Although the population of Muslims in America increased substantially by the 1970s because of massive immigration from the Middle East and South Asia but the new Muslim immigrants showed little interest in domestic issues. Instead, the focus remained on their homelands and U.S. foreign policy issues affecting the Islamic world such as the Palestine-Israel conflict; U.S. sanctions against Iraq; and conflicts in Kashmir and Chechnya. Their community activities were confined to the building of mosques and Islamic centres. Throughout most of their American experience, members of the Muslim community have refrained from fully engaging in civic society. African American Muslims, on the other hand, generally tend to focus on domestic issues, such as urban development, education, and economic and racial justice. Given their disparate interests and priorities, formulating a united political platform between the two Muslim groups was not easy.”²⁰ However there has been a change in this phenomenon and American Muslims are moving from the margins to the mainstream. At the beginning of 2004, we see that the American Muslims have overcome many formidable obstacles in their struggle for political enfranchisement. (Steven, 2002)

“In the 1980s, as the Muslim Americans began to take the initial steps toward political participation, some questioned whether Islam even permitted them to participate in the political life of a non-Muslim country but concern disappeared starting in the 1990s and today this debate has taken a backseat as the majority of Muslim-Americans face the political reality that non-participation could lead to exclusion and denial of rights.”²¹

“In 1996 Bill Clinton had earned the vote of U.S. Muslims because he had gone further than any other president in U.S. history to give

²⁰http://www.archives2012.ghazali.net/American_Muslims_in_politics_2012.pdf

²¹<http://www.amperspective.com/muslim-charities/>

Islam some standing as an integral part of American society. But this was Clinton not as a Democrat but as a pro-Muslim initiator. He had started the process of going beyond the political convention of treating the United States as a Judo-Christian community only. In personal behaviour Clinton fell below Islamic standards of family values, but in official behaviour he was a particularly ecumenical President of the United States.”²²

“Under his presidency, President Clinton recognized a major Islamic institution within the U.S. - the fast of Ramadan. He sent an open letter to believers wishing them a blessed fast. Under the Clinton watch, the White House for the first time ever celebrated Eid el Fitr to mark the end of Ramadan at which the first lady recognized the increasing expansion of the Muslim community within the United States and wished Muslims well. According to a John Zogby poll of 2000, 46 percent of Muslims said they were Democrats, compared with 39 percent of all Americans, and 16 percent said they were Republicans, compared to 34 percent of all Americans. The number of independent Muslims, at 26 percent was almost exactly the same as among all Americans. The liberal, moderate, conservative and very conservative numbers, as well, mirrored the general American population.”²³

“Research shows that prior to 1990, Muslims voted overwhelmingly for the Republican Party and the American Muslims continue to display conservative tendencies on a range of economic and social issues. A 1996 survey commissioned by the American Muslim Council and the Middle East Broadcasting Company showed that just over 50 percent of those polled supported welfare reforms while only 26 percent opposed the legislation. At the same time Muslims tend to be strongly pro-family, fiscally conservative, anti-abortion

²²ibid.

²³ ibid.

and do not oppose the death penalty. During the last six years, however, a significant shift has taken place in the voting habits of American Muslims. In 1996, most of the roughly one million who are registered have set aside their conservative inclinations to vote for Bill Clinton by a margin of two-to-one. This dramatic shift should not be overstated, however Clinton's relative success among Muslims despite their natural antipathy towards his policies and values is the result of a vigorous campaign on the part of the White House combined with a sense of alienation by the Republicans. Muslim have, by and large, felt unwelcome in the Republican Party in recent years as a result of widespread, stereotypical and xenophobic attitudes towards Islam and Muslims at all levels of the Party."²⁴

In recent decades African-American votes have been too predictably identified with the Democratic Party - with the result that neither party has tried very hard to court their vote. They have simply tried not to alienate them completely and Muslims, in keeping with traditional Islamic teachings, are usually conservative on moral issues. Muslims in America tend to oppose abortion and homosexual rights and espouse some version of the "family values" so often touted by American conservatives. However, many Muslims feel caught between the two major political parties. According to Sulayman Nyang, an African studies professor at Harvard University and a frequent commentator on Muslim issues, "Muslims are Republicans on family values, but Democrats on social welfare."

In the 2000 presidential elections, Muslim Americans made history when, at the advice of their leadership, voted in bloc for George Bush. A healthy 70 percent of Muslims (exclusive of African Americans) voted for George Bush, who unlike Al Gore, actively sought their support. Post 9/11 this support base has shifted its

²⁴ ibid

loyalties as most Muslims and Muslims organisations in the United States now express a strong sense of having been betrayed by the Bush administration.

“The former Congressman, Paul Findley, in his book *Silent No More: Confronting America’s False Images of Islam*, estimates that about 3.2 million Muslims turned out for vote and 65 percent voted for President Bush. Findley said: The importance of Muslim bloc voting arises from its magnitude as well as its focus. Best estimates put the national Muslim population at seven million, 70 as the percentage of those eligible to vote, and 65 as the percentage of those eligible who actually voted. This means that the national turnout of Muslims on November 7 came to 3.2 million. About 700 Muslim Americans ran for various local, state and federal offices in the 2000 elections. At least 152 of them were elected to local and state offices.”²⁵

Civil rights was the major issue in 2000 presidential election when the American Muslim community voted virtually en bloc for George Bush. Ironically, four years later, civil rights remained the most significant issue for the Muslims who this time voted overwhelmingly for Senator John Kerry. An exit poll, on November 4, 2004, by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) indicated that more than 90 percent of Muslim voters were casting their ballots for John Kerry. In a democratic system vote is the best instrument to express one’s opinion. And Muslims joined millions of citizens to express their opinion about the Bush administration policies. According to the American Muslim Task Force on Civil Rights and Elections, a coalition of Muslim civil advocacy groups, American Muslims overwhelmingly voted for Democratic Presidential candidate Senator Barak Obama in the 2008. More than 85 percent of American Muslim voters picked President Obama in

²⁵ Ibid.

November 6, 2012 election, according to an exit poll released by the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR).

“Since 9/11, there has been a steady rise in Islamophobia, however during mid-term election campaign there was an exponential rise of anti-Islam and anti-Muslim bigotry. Many Religious Right leaders and opportunist politicians asserted repeatedly that Islam is not a religion at all but a political cult, that Muslims cannot be good Americans and that mosques are fronts for extremist ‘jihadis.’ There was a substantial increase in the number of political candidates using Islamophobic tactics in an effort to leverage votes, and use such tactics as a platform to enhance their political visibility. Consequently, Muslims rejected the Republican Party at the polls in 2008 and 2010. According to the American Muslim Task force on Civil Rights and Elections, just 2.2 percent of Muslims voted for Senator John McCain in 2008. Throughout the 2010 election campaign the seven-million strong American Muslim community and their faith were dehumanized as the Republican Party once again used Islamophobia as a political tool.²⁶ The anti-Islam and anti-Muslim rhetoric depicting Islam as enemy got steam from the Quran-burning publicity stunts by a minor church in Florida. Two more elements were added to this anti-Muslim hysteria in this election campaign. Controversy over the 51Park project popularly known as Ground Zero mosque and conspiracies that Sharia law will displace the US constitution.”

Association of Islam with Terrorism

The present scenario of the world is pervaded with immense manifestation of violence in our societies, where the acts of terror are immeasurably associated with Muslims around the world. The world Islam itself means surrendering one’s own ‘self’ to god and comes

²⁶ ibid

from Arabic world ‘Salam’ which is synonyms to peace and safety and as a religion Islam adjures its believers to establish justice and peace in society. The Islamic religion and the entire Muslim populations of the world is held responsible for the terrorist acts of a handful of radically extremist Muslims.²⁷

Meaning and interpretation of Jihad

According to Quran violence can be used in defence to protect ‘Shariat’ which are rules and laws for the mankind as directed in Quran. Muslims should inviolably adhere to shariat as it leads to the wellbeing of Islamic community, and preserving and protecting shariat is a responsibility of every Muslim. However abuse of power, injustice, suppression and despotism by Muslim or non- Muslims should be punished.

Quran’s explicate on violence is that it should only be used if Shariat has been violated, for protecting Islam and the *umma*, use of violence for any other purpose is forbidden by the divine power. The word ‘Jihad’ is derived from the root word ‘*Jahada*’ which means which implies ‘struggle’, therefore in literal sense the act of struggling is called Jihad. According to the Prophet Muhammad greatest Jihad is with the insidious that is with one’s own self or soul. Jihad in the name of god must be taken with noble and pure intentions.²⁸

Home grown Racism

In order to study the growth of home grown extremism it is important to look at the aspects of home grown racism in America which were inevitably responsible for the home grown extremism. The reasons can be examined under a pre-9/11 and post 9/11 phases

²⁷Islam and Terrorism <http://delhipolicygroup.com/pdf/Article.pdf>

²⁸ Ibid.

The Pre 9/11 Phase

Racism against African Americans

In the United States, slavery was ended officially in 1865 commenced the reconstruction period, where the Blacks had to be accommodated in the southern states but after the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, there came two official reactions from the whites which were segregation as replicated slavery and Jim Crow laws that were made to segregate the blacks from whites in the social sphere and denied Blacks the right to vote.

Black Nationalism

Ownership of slavery in America reaffirmed the southern whites as slave owners and brought the idea of 'white Paternalism' under which the white owners were responsible for physical and spiritual well-being of their black slaves but in reality the slaves were subjected to separation, poverty and torture which led to a religious rebellious ideology and gave rise to 'negro spiritualism' and 'Black Christianity'. The believed in idea of mercy, regarded slavery as a sin and Black Jesus as god is culturally determined. Africans and Negroes were easy assimilated to Christianity and fought for racial equality and Political liberty.

They had to be emancipated politically, socially, economically and culturally. Politically by being treated as equal citizens by having equal right to vote as whites. Socially by a social acceptance based on racial inequality in the eyes of law as well as in the eyes of society. Economically by breaking chains of slavery choosing other occupations and culturally by doing away with cultural prejudices

based in racism. Black empowerment meant two things, slavery abolished and right to vote to be given.

The Jim Crow Laws and Segregation

After the 13th Amendment abolished slavery it was replicated by segregation which meant racially separating the black from the white population. The Jim Crow laws which came into existence after the reconstruction period and were in force up to 1965, were State and local laws that enforced racial segregation in the southern United States and mandated segregation of public spaces, schools, transport restrooms and separate drinking water sources for Blacks and Whites. The law followed black codes that restricted the civil rights for African-Americans and were abolished in with the Civil Rights Act 1964



A public drinking water board pointing at segregated water fountain for Blacks and Whites

In United States segregation can be seen firstly as a movement which kept the Blacks out intentionally and deliberately for which only whites were responsible and secondly as a process for with both whites and blacks were responsible. The segregation led to black alienation and black poverty, they lived in Ghettos which were a symbol of alienation and were poor because

attempts were made to deny them the right to vote on basis of property and education.

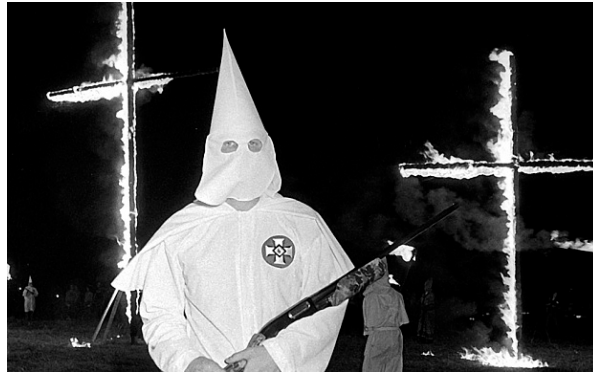
Ku Klux Klan

Ku Klux Klan



According to the Klan, the blood drop represents the blood shed by Jesus Christ as a sacrifice for the White Race.

The unofficial response of abolition of slavery was Ku Klux Klan which emerged as a white supremacist organisation, meant to reinforce Jim Crow laws, intimidation and violence, advocate white nationalism and promote anti-immigration. The first Ku Klux Klan thrived in the southern States during late 1960's. The Second Klan thrived nationally during mid-1920, opposed catholic churches, wore white gowns with covered faces and became symbolic of burning cross. In the beginning of the 20th century the Klan petered out as America was involved in two world wars but emerged for the third time after 1950's in small groups and opposed civil rights. It was an alarming development in America as it was for the first time that one racist organisation came to existence and did not believe in democratic values but on violence and intimidation, while its objectives were racist and not universal or democratic.



The picture illustrates a member of the Klan with the burning cross

The end of World War II gave America a new global role, where America could not avoid surge of democracy from within. Democracy became a part of American culture and relations between social groups began to be defined in social terms. The Klan still exists and functions secretly.

The Civil Rights Movement



The roots of Civil Rights movement can be seen throughout years of racial subjugation towards African-Americans. The Civil War emancipated the Black slaves abolishing slavery and granting civil rights through the 14th and 15th amendments to the United States constitution but the real struggle was to achieve right to vote and putting an end to racial discrimination. Therefore the Movement of Civil rights in America rose in response to racial discrimination and segregation in the southern states and gained prominence in 1950's. It was in 1960's when among the liberal of democrats arose John F. Kennedy who made civil rights movement the main plank of his administration and after his assassination it was Lyndon B Johnson on whom the task of civil rights movement plunged and it was on 2nd July 1964 when the Civil Rights Act was enacted ending discrimination based on race, colour, religion, sex and national origin.

Black Muslim Movement and Nation of Islam

During 1960's America saw the emergence of 'Black Muslims' as they associated Islam with spirituality. The prejudices against the Blacks did not go completely even after the enactment of civil rights and the only ways to do away with the prejudice were Black Violence and Nation of Islam. They saw Islam as a democratic institution between god/Allah and man where there was no hierarchy. They Black was praise worthy and came up with slogans of 'Black is Beautiful' and 'Proud to be black'.

The Christian discrimination left them disenfranchised and discriminated but Islam has offered them purpose empowerment and divergence from racial discrimination that even the Civil Rights Movement could not offer. They consider Islam as their natural religion that brings spiritual liberation and now they were followers of Islam rather being a Christian in a racist setting.

The Nation of Islam thus came out as response against prolonged racial discrimination towards the African-American.

The Post 9/11 Phase

Implications of 9/11 on Muslim in the United States: Racial Discrimination against Muslims

The event of 9/11 brought a wave of racial discrimination in to the American society which were followed by racial profiling and hate crimes. The term Muslim is a religious label and is not pertained towards any race but line between racism where the religious discrimination is often blurred (Allen & Nielsen, 2002).

Racial Islamic Profiling

In the aftermath of 9/11, American citizens of Islamic faith residing in the United States have been subjected to extensive racial profiling as it is perceived that followers of Islamic faith conspire against the American government. Civil liberties and fundamental rights are the very essence of a democracy and their infringement is a violations of human rights. Islamic racial profiling in United States has been a grave matter of dissensions individuals are suspected on the basis of one's race. The patriot act in course of time became an instrument to target initially those Americans of Arab origin as they were easily linked to terrorism even in the absence of any proof or authentic interrogation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and intelligence authorities searched their homes, investigated financial records and accessed personal information which are human rights violations.

Racial profiling is seen as the only way of countering domestic terrorism as since September 11 the Americans fear attacks of a similar magnitude. Also the United States constitution prohibits racial profiling through the federal law. In the fourth amendment of

the federal law, prohibition against racial discrimination was authorized by President George Bush during his term in the 2001.

Hate Crimes and Backlash

A report by the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee counted a total of 700 violent attacks on US Muslims in the nine weeks following 9/11. During the first 6 months the intensity of the backlash in response to the acts, especially in terms of hate crimes and discrimination, were at its peak, particularly during the first nine weeks (Ibish and Stewart, 2003, page 15).²⁹

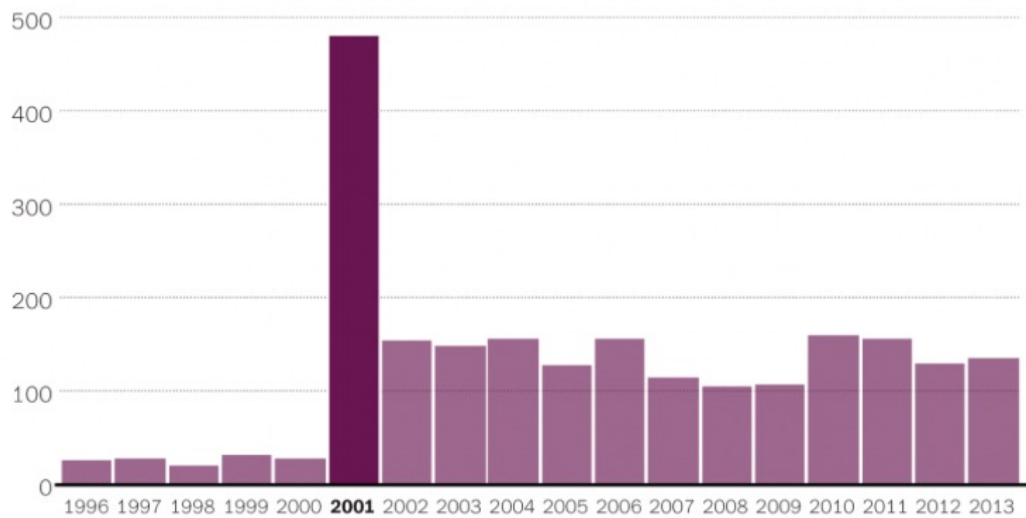
The period between 1st September 2001 - 11th October 2001 just one incident of hate crime took place while 99, 77 occurred in the period of ten days after 9/11. There were incidents of assault, intimidation of murder and attempted murder (Swahn, Mahendra, and Paulozzi, 2003). Incidence of hate crimes against American Muslims, with a peak lasting for around 2-3 months, and with lasting effects.³⁰

²⁹Hate Crime in the Wake of Terror Attacks: Evidence From 7/7 and 9/11

<http://personal.lse.ac.uk/machin/pdf/hanes%20machin%20september%202013%20web.pdf>

³⁰ *ibid.*

Hate crimes reached its highest peak after 9/11



Radicalization: Phases and Forms

9/11 created a benchmark for acknowledging acts of radicalization in the epithet of global jihad. Before 9/11 the whole process of radicalization moved at a slow pace as becoming a Mujahedeen was the only possible way to come closer to jihad. The process of Radicalization starts with individual by policies of their governments and an ideological resonance that the United States at war with Islam has been a major motivation for radicalization. They are encouraged by critiques of U.S. military action in Iraq and Afghanistan and state exhibit an ideological desire to protect the Muslim community. Another motivational factor is the adjudged injustice that their community is experiencing, thus identity plays a common motivational factor and association into a group is a positive attraction for home grown terrorism, individuals who experience isolation from broader society, associates themselves with a group they feel offers them identity and a sense of belonging. Radicalization can be driven by three factors.

Firstly *Ideology*, which is a catalyst for radicalization and acts as a motivational ground for young men and women to carry acts of terror in the name of jihad. This politico-religious ideology is identified as “Jihadist-Salafism ” a term coined in 2002 by Scholar Gilles Kepel, in order to describe a “hybrid Islamists ideology” The ideology is a Sunni revivalist interpretation of Islam, serving as an inspiration to home grown extremists and is based on a belief that these Salafist religious movements and their violent expedient towards jihad is a way of returning back to pure Islam with social practices of 7th century Arabia with an implementation of sharia law and establishment of a worldwide caliphate in place of nation states with ultimate political aims. ³¹

The function of an ideology is to raise awareness among a group of people and making them realize that there exists some conspicuous problems which demands their attention. Jihadi-Salafi ideology attempts to raise the consciousness among Muslims that their religion is waning away. The ideology provides them with a new identity which got disoriented because of modernity and this sense of belonging bestows honour and dignity upon the oppressed and powerless Muslims. ³²

Secondly, *Political goals* of radicalization are to alter social structures through religious radical means in order to achieve political ends. Jihadi-Salafi ideology is highly influenced by the

³¹ Radicalization in the West: The Home grown Threat
http://www.nypdshield.org/public/SiteFiles/documents/NYPD_Report-Radicalization_in_the_West.pdf

³²<https://blogs.law.harvard.edu/mesh/2008/02/defining-and-confronting-the-salafi-jihad/>

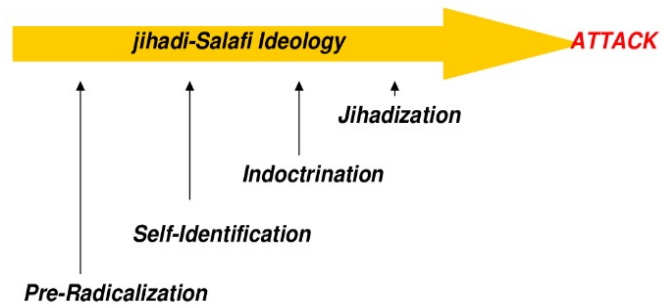
works of an Islamists Egyptian and an eminent intellectual of Muslim brotherhood, 'Sayyid Qutub' for whom contours of democracy challenged the Sharia law and therefore democracy should be resisted, He also implied that in order to go back to the pure golden age of Islam it is necessary to carry out militant jihad against societies and institutions to overthrow non Islamic governments democracies around the world. These militant manoeuvres can be genocidal, revolutionary or communal and can be effectuated by lone wolves, governments or insurgent movements. The radicalization breeds indiscriminate violence where religious beliefs are used to justify violence therefore the goal attained through radicalization are political and not religious. ³³

Thirdly, *Identity* plays a crucial role in the radicalization process as it becomes a quest for existence among second and third generations of Muslim immigrants in America who question their identity as the group or community they belong to is socially marginalized. This search for identity leads them to Salafi ideologies where they are exposed to the Sunni revivalist interpretation of Islam, assuring to bringing back the Islamic heritage. Therefore their anger, frustration and a personal quest of for one's own identity are made to channelize in form of Islamic responses directed towards political calamities in the Muslim world for which America is held responsible. ³⁴

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

Phases of Radicalization



Phase One: Pre-Radicalization

The pre-radicalization stage is the world of the home grown terrorist before they begin their journey towards jihad. The authors identify males between the ages of 15-35 as especially vulnerable. It is suggested that an “enclave” of a large Muslim community provides fertile grounds for radicalization. They do not usually begin as devout Muslims and are very likely to be converts to the religion. The internet is thought to play a critical role in the radicalization stages. The stage of radicalization is self-identification. ³⁵

Phase Two: Self- Identification

The self-identification stage is a phase for ‘cognitive opening’ depending on the inner and outer factors. Here the individual absorb more about the radical ideology through internet. A cognitive event is a motivation for religious seeking individual and move away from their former ideology. ³⁶

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

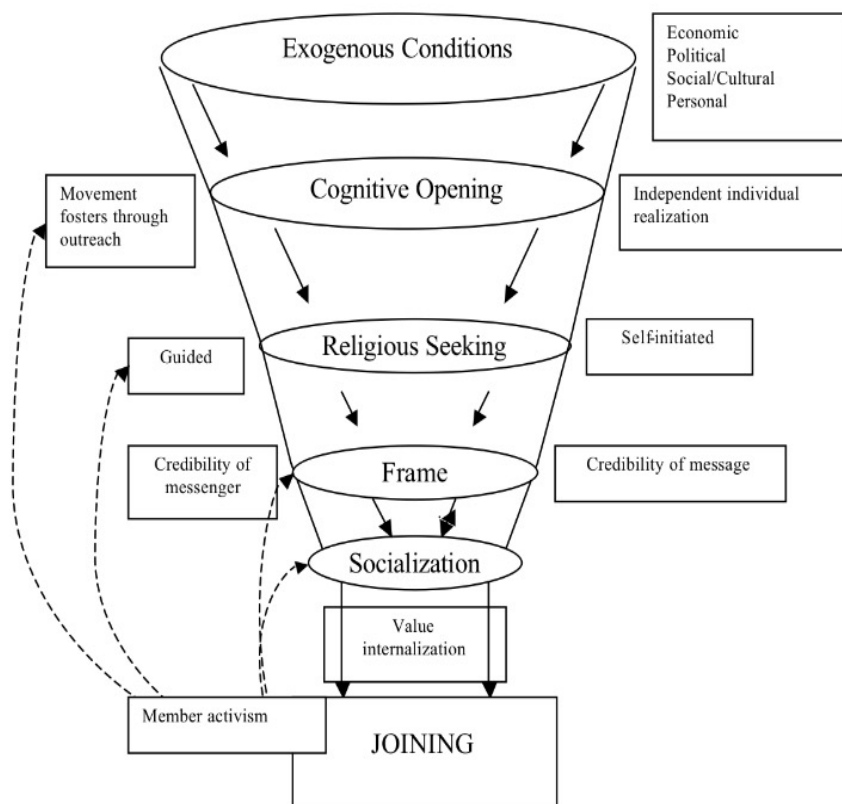
Phase Three: Indoctrination

Indoctrination, is the third stage, where the individual strengthen their beliefs and completely adopts the radical ideology. In this phase socialization with other, like minded individuals takes place and individuals politicize their new beliefs and do not question the outcomes, circumstances and conditions to fulfil their action demanded by the god's will.³⁷

Phase Four: Jihadization

The final stage is the stage where individuals endeavour specific errands to engage in the acts of the group and adopts the activities and the conducts of the group, becomes a strong followers of action. They take the identity as warriors of faith. They carry out their missions of terror either independently as lone wolfs or collectively in a group.³⁸

Wolowitz's Diagram explaining Radicalization



³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

Jail house Jihadism

Another important issue is the Jail house Jihadism; conversion to Islam in US prisons. In the debate about radicalisation and violent extremism, prisons are often described as ‘hotbeds’ of extremism. The American criminologist Harvey Kushner argues that Western prisons are seen as main recruiting grounds for Al Qaeda and that prisoner radicalisation posed ‘a threat of unknown magnitude to the security of the United States.

Individuals are more likely to explore beliefs and associations in prisons as they are confronted with existential questions and deprived of their existing social networks, prisoners with no previous involvement in politically motivated violence are vulnerable to being radicalised and recruited into terrorism.

Testifying before the U.S. Senate, Michael Waller (2003:13) stated that radical Islamist groups: “dominate Muslim prison recruitment in the U.S. and seek to create a radicalized cadre of felons who will support their anti-American efforts. Estimates place the number of Muslim prison recruits at between 15–20% of the prison population.”³⁹

Islamic terrorists feed on the bitterness and alienation that is currently ubiquitous in American prisons and the United States “is at risk of facing the sort of home grown terrorism currently plaguing other countries”⁴⁰

³⁹Radicalization of U.S Prisoners

<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1745-9133.2009.00574.x/pdf>

⁴⁰ *ibid.*

Chapter Three:

Governments Response to Combating Home grown Terrorism

“We also must never forget the most vivid events of recent history. On September the 11th, 2001, America felt its vulnerability – even to threats that gather on the other side of the earth. We resolved then, and we are resolved today, to confront every threat, from any source, that could bring sudden terror and suffering to America.”

- George W. Bush, (2002)

Concerns for Homeland Security

9/11 shook America and made it realize that the war against terror is not only global but from within. The radicalization within the homeland is the biggest problem that pose a major threat with a question that how would America build a security structure that guards an American citizen from another American citizen who are beginning to change in their thinking up to a point where they become a threat to the security of other Americans.

Major reactions to fight the terror from within and strengthen the homeland included Patriot act The Homeland Security Act and the changes made in the immigration policies

The Homeland Security Act

As a response to terrorist attacks on American soil the US Congress in 2001 enacted the PATRIOT Act which was followed by Homeland Security Act in

2002. The prime role of Homeland Security Act is the prevention of acts of domestic violence within the United States, lessen the damage and facilitating the recovery from terrorist attacks occurring on the homeland. The Act has provided the authority of controlling and directing investigations requiring an access to investigate the information which is necessary for preventing terrorism with the secretary of Homeland Security.

The Act also led to the emergence of Department of Homeland Security which consisted of variant organizations which includes U.S coast Guard, Federal Emergency Management Agency, Transportation Security Administration and U.S. Secret Service. The department superseded the pre-existing office of Homeland Security but retained its position as an adviser. Also the act replicates the Intelligent Reform and Terrorism Act (IRTPA) in identifying, altering and incorporating the federal security functions to counter threats and challenges after cold war era.

Changes in the organizational structure

“The new Office of Homeland Security within the White House was established by executive order to develop and coordinate the implementation of a comprehensive national strategy to secure the United States from terrorist threats or attacks. The director reported to the president and was given broad authority to coordinate the efforts of federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies. However, following a series of congressional hearings in 2002 that highlighted critical failures in the government’s intelligence, foreign policy, and law enforcement performance, Congress passed the Homeland Security Act of 2002 which brought 22 federal agencies into a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Homeland Security (DHS). The agencies included the US Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which had been part of the Department of Justice and which was divided into three new agencies within the new DHS. Creating DHS represented the largest restructuring of

executive-branch functions since the establishment of the Department of Defence after World War II.”⁴¹

Expansion of Enforcement Powers within United States

It was 8 days after 9/11 when Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001 was submitted to congress. The act proposed new wide authorities for curtailing problems of money laundering supporting terrorist financing, gathering domestic terrorism and streamlining judicial procedures for deportation of criminal suspects. The character of indefinite detention of people who were not American citizens and immigrants were objected by legislators of both the Democratic and Republican parties but they agreed to sunset the process and provisions for the detentions for the period of two years because of the pressure created but Bush government, therefore passing the Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001, more commonly known as the USA PATRIOT Act in October 2001. ⁴²

Immigration, and Border Security and Visas

With respect to the Patriot Act of U.S government, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is directed to collect adequate information on the criminal records during the process of Visa screening for INS and State Department officials. Apart from this congress enacted Enhanced Border Security and Visa Entry reform Act (EBSVERA) through the Justice Department’s National Security Entry-Exit Registration System (NSEERS) which came into force in May 2002. According to this act provisions are made for

41

US Immigration Policy since 9/11: Understanding the Stalemate over Comprehensive Immigration Reform <file:///C:/Users/Randev/Downloads/RMSG-post-9-11policy.pdf>

⁴² *ibid.*

heightened data sharing, strict security for documents, and keeping stringent monitoring of students of foreign countries and mapping their activities through a more holistic US-VISIT program which commenced in January 2004. Dwelling through this act we find that exclusively nationals of twenty five countries were made mandatory to tender their bio-metric data as well as interviews were conducted of them by immigration officers and required to register on yearly basis.

Nation of Immigrants Altering its Immigration Policy

In post 9/11 era U.S. immigration policy became a national concern as the attackers entered the United States lawfully with students and visitants visas and uncovered the paralysed system of immigration making policies. Before September 11, the predominant assumption among immigration policy-makers was that immigrants, both legal and illegal, seeks entry to the United States for economic gain. Other reasons to immigrate included family reunification and protection from persecution but the terrorist attacks prompted policy makers to seriously question this assumption. At the minimum, the attacks forced policy-makers to acknowledge that some immigrants wish to harm the United States. The attacks shifted the focus of immigration policy from economic considerations to national security concerns.⁴³

The new measures for policy formulations required an immediate anti-terrorism approach with immigration control as it was seen as the only way to counter terrorism domestically, thus 9/11 was destined to alter the U.S. immigration system.

Four developments can be traced after the event of 9/11 which altered the structure of American immigration policy.

⁴³ Ibid.

Firstly the coming of Homeland Security Act led to an increased the federal funding where the new department responsible for immigration had a range of new agencies under which included United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), U.S Customs and Border Protection (CPB) and Immigration and Customs (ICE).⁴⁴

Secondly a major chunk of funding is spent on deportations which were a result of growing undocumented population. The cases of voluntary immigrant departures went from 200,000 people in 2001 to almost twice in 2011. The rising population of undocumented immigrants increased from 8.5 million in 2000 to almost 12 million in 2008.⁴⁵

Thirdly, Criminal deportations on a high scale where even a minor indication of threat would lead to forced departures. There were 91,000 criminal deportations in 2012, alarmingly higher than 18,000 in 2001. As reported by Immigration Customs (ICE) in 2011, 188,000 criminal removals that included both voluntary departures and deportations, it is noted that many of the immigrants deported had never been convicted of any crime.⁴⁶

Fourthly the program of secure communities, which was launched under the Obama administration in 2008 and became national by 2013. Under the program fingerprints of individuals who are arrested before are shared by local law enforcement bodies with homeland security and if the fingerprints is identified, the individual is put on an immigration hold till the authority arrives. The programme has led to local police officers acting as immigration agents.⁴⁷

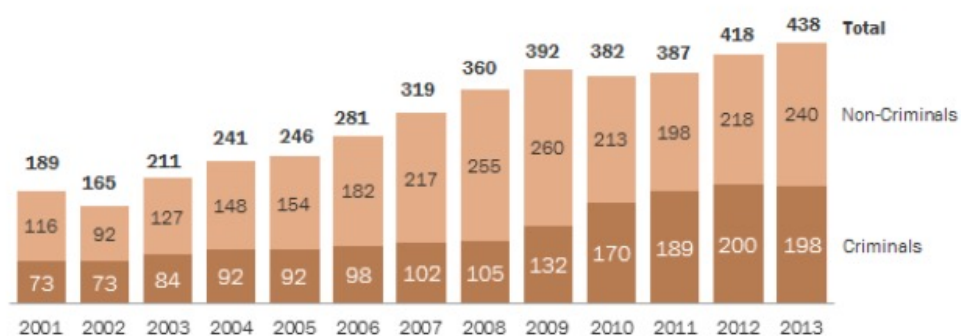
⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

The Number of Deportations by U.S. Department of Homeland Security, FY2001-FY2013



Source: U.S Department of Homeland Security, yearbook of Immigration Statistics:2013

America as a nation of immigrants and a melting pot different traditions therefore an altered immigration policy for countering terrorism is taking away the real essence of America. Whereas home grown terrorism can only be curtailed by addressing the dissent America faces from within by making by accommodating people from different religious background into an American identity.

Incidents of Home Grown Terror Attacks inside America

A Muslim convert and Army Spec. Ryan Anderson, on September 2004 attempted to join Al Qaeda and was sharing organizational information about the capabilities of U.S. military and was soon arrested.

On December 2006, Hassan Abu-Jihaad born as Paul Raphael Hall and a Navy veteran With Derrick Shareef, another Muslim convert discussed attacking California military installations in 2006 and a sniper attack on San Diego in 2003 and several other schemes. According to Department of Justice in 2009, Abu –Jihaad was convicted of providing a classified information about his former ship to the missile destroyer which was suspected of terror ties. Also Derrick Shareef pleaded guilty in 2007 for plotting to bomb a shopping mall in Illinois.

February, 2007 An Arabic translator named AbdulhakeemNour, working for the U.S. Army, tried to acquire U.S. citizenship on the bases of false

identification, he also possessed unauthorized classified documents to which he gained access in 2004 as he was working as a translator. The documents on Iraqi insurgency and U.S military were recovered in 2005 from his New York residence.

Nidal Malik Hasan, an Army major and psychiatrist, murdered 13 and injured 32 amid an assault on the Soldier Readiness Center at the Army's Fort Hood, where he was positioned. AQAP member Anwar al-Awlaki confessed in an interview that he had commensurate with Hasan.

Abdel Hameed Shehadeh, a U.S. national, October 2010 was accused of "putting forth false expressions in a matter including global terrorism" after he endeavoured to enroll in the U.S. Armed force, where his charged objective was to betray and join the insurrection to battle U.S. military powers. He denied to reveal that he had pre planned motive to go to Pakistan to join a terrorist association. Shehadeh was professedly persuaded by an Awlaki sermon which he was introduced with.

Yonathan Melaku, a U.S. Marine Corps furthermore a naturalized U.S. resident from Ethiopia, On June 2011, was accused of pulverization of property and gun infringement after a progression of five shootings at army bases in the Washington, D.C. zone, he was said to be roused by Al Qaeda belief system and popular agendas.

Army Pvt .Naser Abdo, a U.S. resident, in July 2011 was captured close Fort Hood, Texas, after purportedly plotting and attacking troopers in the zone. The Muslim proselyte has asserted he was inspired by Maj. Hasan furthermore wanted to capture and execute a high-positioning officer included in the Afghanistan crusade at Fort Campbell, Kentucky. officials said

Abdowas in control of Inspire, the English-dialect purposeful publicity magazine grew by Anwar al-Awlaki.

Incidents of Home grown American Terrorists Attacking Military Targets inside the U.S

JamiyyatUl-Islam Is-Saheeh's operative Kevin James was found guilty for setting plot in the prison of California's New Folsom which involved three U.S citizens along with a legal citizen of Pakistan origin. Concerned guilty were found to plead for targeting U.S military recruiting office as well as Log Angeles Jewish temple.

Yet another eye opener incident came to limelight in April 2006, whereas two U.S citizens and native (Ehsanul Islam Sadequee& Syed Haris Ahmed) of Georgia were arrested for their alleged conspiracy to attack Pentagon and Dobbins Air Reserve Base in Georgia

Awlaki's sermons swayed many, which prepared ground for the famous "Fort Dix Six" in May 2007. Small arms and light weapons like assault rifles and grenades were utilised by fugitives to kill and assault security officials of the Fort Dix army base. In this case six people were found guilty by the coercive apparatus of the state for their involvement.

The logic of conversion to Islam and their attraction to radicalisation was proved when Carlos Bledsoe (later Abdulhakim Muhammad) was arrested in connection with the murder of an Army executive William Long, and his preceding guilt was of setting attack on an Army Recruiting office in the state of Arkansas. He claimed that his activities against the state was solely based to take revenge for scapegoating Muslims and confirmed his association with AQAP.

Carlos Bledsoe's assassination of William Long in a way instigated a Texas resident of Jordan origin, named Hosam Maher Husein Smadi in September 2009 whose preliminary planning was to set attacks on academies related to military recruitments and later on Dallas National Guard Armoury, these incidents were succeeded by his ambush on office building.

An incident of February 2009, foreign fighter Betimkaziu and national of U.S flown to Cairo, Egypt in their aim to join Somalia based Al Shabaab and likely other transnational terrorist outfits, nevertheless their aim to target U.S troops could not be accomplished.

Likewise in August 2009, Betim Kaziu brought a local citizen from Brooklyn of New York, he was found to be convicted for his supposed trail with international terrorist organisations like Al Qaeda.

The event known as "Newburgh Four" of May 2009, where conspiracy involved objective to destroy Stewart Air National Guard base in New York, this was in addition to attack Jewish sites in the same city in their strategy. The department of security after investigations found three as chief culprits along with a Haitian citizen.

In a different event yet perilous to U.S Security took place in July 2009, when Daniel Patrick a local citizen including other six legal residents took part in training in terrorism breeding grounds like Pakistan and Afghanistan. Here too their principle target were to attack military officers or to be specific U.S Marine Corps whose base is in the state of Virginia.

To continue with the logic of conversion and later radicalisation was repeated by a native of Maryland, Antonio Martinez in the month of December 2010. Here again the strategy revolving around to challenge armed forces with a slight difference from earlier cases as in this one Weapons of Mass Destruction were allegedly found to be used.

With an intention to kill uniform clad army officers, Farooque Ahmed a Pakistan origin American resident was found guilty for taking part in the strategic planning in October 2010. His choice of target was fascinating to the extent that, his principle aim should take as much as casualties who belong to the army guarding the country's defence. In connection to this he chose his bombing site to be close to military base. Apart from this he was allegedly found to have made attempts to join intelligence agencies like FBI, CIA.

Again in July 2010 taking inspiration from Awlaki's sermons Paul Rockwood of recent Muslim convert was charged for plotting the attacks on members of the military enlisted by him. Rockwood, a U.S. Navy veteran, was allegedly inspired by the teachings of Awlaki.

In May 2010, Barry Walter Bujol Jr. was found to be as an important link for providing material support to AQAP as after many confidential sources like manuals and articles of Unmanned Aerial vehicles were recovered. His sources reveals that he has provided potential advices to outfits like AQAP that to make sure targets are chosen in such a way that operators of drone planes are to be attacked rather the aircraft on security missions. Here too the case has opened the vistas of alleged links with Awlaki.

According to sources provided by Manhattan District Attorney's Office and NYPD one Dominican origin Jose Pimental who acquired naturalised U.S citizenship, through various investigations was discovered for stockpiling weapons like pipe bombs to destroy the postal services of the country and secondly to kill those defence troops arriving back to the country after fierce fighting in Iraq and Afghanistan in November 2011. He is considered to have taken knowledge to produce bombs at home after reading articles published by AQAP's internet e-magazine.

Rezwan Ferdaus in September 2011 was arrested for planning to subvert security of the country by setting attack on infrastructures like Pentagon and U.S Capitol by utilising airplanes with mobile phones as detonators for crude explosives for international outfits like Al Qaeda.

In June 2011 two terrorists named Abu Khalid Abdul- Latif and Walli Mujahidh were found guilty for criminality and terrorism as they were working with intentions to attack military processing centre located in Seattle. Along with this terrorists eventually targeted Joint Base Lewis-McChord which is a combined bases of Army and air force with a hope that this would send potential challenge to the state and escalate the violence of Islamic extremists.

In an another interesting scenario, Saudi Arabian citizen dwelling in Texas state of U.S in February 2011 named Khalid Ali-M Aldawsari, a citizen of Saudi Arabia and resident of Texas, was found to have made attempts to use weapons of mass destruction so that in the process he manufactured IED with his principle targets was repeatedly soldiers of U.S army positioned at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq.

Incidents of Home grown Terrorist Attacking American Troops Overseas

U.S citizens turning to radicalization is not new, such an incident came to limelight in October 2001 famously known as “Portland Seven” which engaged six people who were supposedly converged in the place called Portland area and made preparations to journey to Afghanistan keeping the objective of fighting against U.S. military forces after their return. And they undertook training in various advanced methodologies for which they got ample of funds.

Among the overseas attack on U.S troops, an attack was orchestrated by an Army Sergeant Hasan Akbar in the month of March 2003. In this event two officers of the Armed forces were killed and approximately 14 people were injured. This attack was taken place in a location 25 miles away from the Iraq-Kuwait border area, and M4 rifle was used for this purpose.

In June 2003, eleven men from North Virginia region were involved in military training for the mission under the foreign fighter network called as “Paintball Jihad” in their persistent aim to destabilise U.S and those countries which are hostile to Islam and its radical ideals.

Security of the Citizens vs. Liberty of the Citizens

United States of America is known for its liberal and democratic values and is followed as a true example of democracy around the world. In the most basic sense democracy is described as for the people thus what America does is in the best interest of its people but in protecting its citizens from acts of terror the government of United States through strict laws and policy implementation of Homeland Security Act has curtailed the liberty of its citizen.

The 9/11 changed the perception of threat and now America knew that the threat can come from within and to avoid another incident of 9/11 detentions, deportations and racial profiling has been put to use by the government. These actions have hampered the identities of American Muslims and flow of immigration. America has been a nation of immigrants since its inception where people come from all over the world to live the American dream.

In the U.S., many activities of foreigners or American citizens, which, prior to 9/11, would be viewed casually were are now viewed with suspicion, especially in regards to the behaviour of anyone who looks "Arab" in terms of clothing or skin colour. In December 2014, Six Muslim Imams were removed from a U.S. airliner when they prayed before the flight and showed "suspicious behaviour”.

Various government agencies and police forces in the U.S. have asked people to watch people around them and report "unusual" behaviour, and signs

posted in all public places request citizens to report anything out of the ordinary. The United States Department of Homeland Security has advised citizens to "be vigilant, take notice of your surroundings, and report suspicious items or activities to local authorities immediately."

There is a need of policies that counter terrorism without questioning the liberty of its citizens, their faith and sentiments.

Conclusion

The initiation of this research began with the event of 9/11 challenging America's hegemonic power and uncovering its realities of handling internal dissent and completely changing America's perception of terrorism as now its concern are more towards the threat from within, which poses as the most daunting challenge to American homeland and therefore America wants to eliminate all possibilities of an act of terror replicating 9/11.

In United States, there are essentially three categories of Muslims, the immigrants, American converts/reverts to Islam and those born to the first two groups as Muslims. Muslims like the other religious groups have first amendments rights. They can freely practice their religion. The problem is implicit or explicit denial of their political, social and economic rights based on their religious identity as Muslims. Presumably the values and norms of Muslim groups in both settings are quite similar but what differs is the context that is the actual interaction of Islamic beliefs and values with institutions in America. With most immigrants groups, the biggest problems arise not with the first generation of new comers, but with their children, whose heightened expectations are not always easily met by the host society. (Findley, 2001)

Immigrants in America have double identities as they are publically American and privately traditional and religiously following their own customs. In an environment of constant fear and suspicion they search for a socially accepted identity in nation of immigrants as they are socially marginalized because of their faith. Thus struggle for identity becomes an important factor of attraction towards radically

extremist groups as an introspection of identity leads them into a greater question to search for existence and a quest to go back to the golden era of Islam this is where religious fundamentalism offers them in resituating the lost identity and bringing back the propitious period of Islamic faith.

This Jahali-Salafi ideology evolves through a rigid belief system with set of doctrines which barely impinge on the wider society. The functions of an ideology is to raise awareness among a group of people and making them realize that there exists some conspicuous problems which demands their attention. Jihadi-Salafi ideology attempts to raise the consciousness among Muslims that their religion is waning away, the ideology provides them with a new identity which got disoriented because of modernity and this sense of belonging bestows honour and dignity upon the oppressed and powerless Muslims.

The emergence of Black Nationalism came in response of radical discrimination against African Americans and when even after the passing of Civil Rights Act the prejudices against blacks didnt go the Black Nationalism took a militant turn in the form of Nation of Islam to achieve their objectives.

Similarly with practices of racial discrimination and racial profiling which are directed towards Muslim Americans and Arab populations led to a sentiment of aggression which emerged against the American government took form of an Islamic extremism. Therefore the relationship between Nation of Islam and home grown anti-government extremism is the common ground of Islamic religion firstly used by Blacks to do away with the prejudice against them which could not be achieved through Christianity. Secondly American Muslims as they wanted to address the injustices done to

their communities in order to prove superiority and truthiness of their religion.

Thus the sentiment of resistance against the exploiters is more when the role of identity and religion are in play for justifying one's existence for making a place in the society where they want to be socially respected.

The major concerns are the conversions by individuals of other faith into Islam and joining radical Islamic forces as in insurgence against the American government. These concerns can be seen as a response in solidarity with Muslims around the world against injustice done to them and their countries. They are radicalised through internet and are valuable for extremists as they, have an advantage that they counter fewer logistical problems, such as infiltrating the target nation, possess linguistic skills and are accustomed to their society, which makes them valuably advantageous to international terrorist organizations. A careful study of these home grown terrorists points that many home grown extremists predominantly come from impoverished and socially marginalized communities. But the American extremists that are better integrated into American society, generally belongs to second and third generations of immigrants, come from an array of educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, are from diverse ethnicities and have never committed a prior crime, which facilitates their ability to stay undetected by law enforcing authorities.

The major challenge is the 'Security vs. Liberty' debate as the anti-terrorist acts by the government has curtailed the liberty of its citizen. Islamic racial profiling in United States has been a grave matter of dissension as individuals are suspected on the basis of one's race.

The patriot act in course of time became an instrument to target initially those Americans of Arab origin as they were easily linked to terrorism even in the absence of any proof or authentic interrogation. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and intelligence authorities searched their homes, investigated financial records and accessed personal information which are human rights violations. Also new measures for policy formulations required an immediate anti-terrorism approach with immigration control as it was seen as the only way to counter terrorism domestically and id discriminatory.

America works on the principles of democracy and infringing the rights of its citizens for prevention of terrorist acts is a violation of democracy. The actions of some handful Islamic extremists should not be responsible for racially discriminating behaviour by the American intelligence authorities towards the individuals who considers themselves as American citizens and then affiliating to any other faith. United States itself calls Muslims live in America as 'American Muslims' in this sense the United States itself identifies Muslims as American firsts.

The research finally concludes that passing of Anti-terrorist Acts are a major factor that have contributing to the growth of home grown terrorism. America should build a security structure that guards an American citizen from another American citizen who are beginning to change in their thinking up to a point where they become a threat to the security of other American. America needs to address the problems by providing confidence building measures to ensure removing all discrimination and hate providing restructuring process of Islamic profiling in a way that it does not become a daunting challenge to the American society as a whole.

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