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Developing partnerships between law enforcement and American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh communities: the greater Chicago experience

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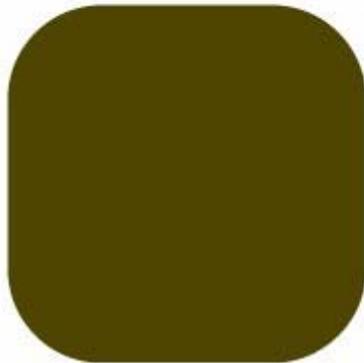
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The Partnering for Prevention & Community Safety Initiative

Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and
American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities:

The Greater Chicago Experience



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American Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Communities:

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We have made every effort to ensure the accuracy of this work. The findings and views expressed here are those of the PfP team and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of PfP partners, project participants, or funding entities. We accept sole responsibility for any errors.

DAR, SOC, RZ

Table of Contents

Greater Chicago Area Community.....	5
Greater Chicago Area Law Enforcement.....	6
<i>Chicago Police Department</i>	6
<i>FBI Chicago Field Office</i>	6
Post-September 2001 Experiences.....	7
Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago.....	8
Arab American Police Association.....	9
Chicago Commission on Human Relations.....	10
Superintendent’s Multicultural Forum.....	11
<i>Representation</i>	11
<i>First Steps</i>	12
<i>Establishing Partnerships</i>	12
<i>Moving Forward</i>	13
Community Leadership Liaison Group.....	13
Benefits of Existing Partnership Models.....	14
Challenges to Partnerships.....	15
<i>Loss of Momentum</i>	15
<i>Leadership Turnover / Identifying Participants</i>	15
<i>Existing Biases</i>	16
Lessons Learned from the Greater Chicago Experience.....	17
Conclusion.....	17
Appendix A.....	18

The Greater Chicago Experience

What follows is the second in a set of three case studies of promising practices for building relationships between federal, state, and local law enforcement and the Muslim, Arab, and Sikh American communities. This work is a continuation of the effort to document promising practices which resulted in the Partnering for Prevention and Community Safety Initiative's (PfP) Promising Practices Guide published in May of 2004.¹ In addition to the "Greater Chicago Experience," this year's research sites include: the "Washington DC Experience," and an update of the "Greater Boston Experience." Findings from all six of these case studies will be summarized in a concluding summary document, which will be available early fall 2005.

From March through June of 2005 the PfP research team conducted several trips to the greater Chicago area² to study the local experience as it relates to efforts at partnership between law enforcement and the local Muslim, Arab, and Sikh communities. "The Chicago Experience" case which resulted from these visits differs from its predecessors because of the unique nature of the Chicago area, the research methodology for this case study relied heavily on individual interviews. In contrast, previous PfP research has been based in large part on the results of local focus groups. This interview-based process offered the research team the unique opportunity to speak, in many cases, one-on-one with the individuals who have been intimately involved in partnership initiatives in Chicago. What results is an in-depth study of "The Chicago Experience."

GREATER CHICAGO AREA COMMUNITY

The Chicago area is home to increasingly large Muslim and Arab American communities and a relatively small but growing Sikh community. These communities are very well-organized and tend to be socially and politically active. Specifically, members of these communities have organized themselves into

a number of professional associations, umbrella organizations, and social service groups. Given this high level of community organization, demographic data for Chicago area communities is more readily available than for communities in other PfP research sites.³

Illinois' Arab American population is the sixth largest in the country with the majority of Arab Americans residing in Cook and DuPage counties.⁴ Based on US Census data from 2000, the total population of Arab Americans in the Chicago area is estimated at 200,000, which represents a more than 40% increase from 1990.⁵ Within that population, an estimated 60-70% is of Palestinian descent.⁶ This relative homogeneity allowed early immigrants to develop local social networks based on their Palestinian towns and villages of origin.⁷ In addition to creating strong community ties, these networks today continue to influence, to some degree, where Chicago area's Arab Americans choose to live. While southwest Chicago has the largest Arab American population – with the suburb of Bridgeview being 20-30% Arab and/or Muslim American – the north side of Chicago also has significant populations.⁸ According to community members, Arab Americans on the north side tend to be more affluent and liberal than those on the south side, thereby creating a "big divide."⁹ Additionally, the experience of the Chicago area's Arab American population is further varied in terms of socio-economic status and time in the US (i.e., recent immigrant, first generation American, etc.). By and large, the Arab American community in the Chicago area has had no significant crime problem.¹⁰

Like the Arab American community, the Muslim American community in the Chicago area is large and growing. There are approximately 400,000 Muslims and approximately 90 mosques and Islamic organizations in the area.¹¹ By all accounts, this community is extremely diverse, particularly in its ethnic make-up. A major difference between the Chicago area Muslim community and the community in other PfP research

¹ Ramirez, O'Connell, Zafar, "Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim Arab and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide, 5/04 <www.ace.neu.edu/pfp>.

² For the purposes of this case study, the Greater Chicago area is defined as Cook County (which includes the city of Chicago) and the "collar counties" defined as DuPage, Will, Lake, Kane, and McHenry counties. Any Chicago area suburbs referenced in this case study are within the above listed counties.

³ As the US Census does not collect religious data, American Muslim and Sikh American numbers are based on information gathered by a number of community organizations. This data is often inferred from the number of mosques or gurdwaras in a given area or from estimates based on US Census data on country of origin.

⁴ Illinois Demographics, Arab American Institute <<http://www.aaiusa.org/demographics/IL.demographics.pdf>>, 2003.

⁵ In 1998, community estimates placed the Arab American population of Chicago at 150,000 with 57% being of Palestinian decent. Arab American Action Network report, <www.aaan.org>, 1998.

⁶ PfP Focus Group: Arab American Police Association, Officer Zyad Hasan, 5/10/05.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Interview with Sahar Mawlawi, Director/Liaison Arab Affairs, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, 5/11/05.

¹⁰ PfP Focus Group: Arab American Police Association, 5/10/05.

¹¹ "US Seeing Big Growth in Muslim Population," *Chicago Sun Times*, 9/2/02.

sites is the presence of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC), an active and highly functional umbrella organization which includes most of the mosques and Islamic organizations in the area (see “Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago” section below). The CIOGC has enabled the area’s Muslim community groups, once uncoordinated primarily due to ethnic, racial, sectarian, or geographic reasons, to better organize and coordinate their efforts. The CIOGC has elevated the visibility of the area’s Muslim community and its social and political work. In terms of hate crimes and other violent crimes, the community’s experience has varied based on where in the Chicago area community members live. For example, Muslim Americans in Chicago’s suburbs, particularly Bridgeview, Morton Grove, and Orland Park have faced a number of highly publicized instances of hate crimes, post-September 11th backlash violence, and discrimination.

While the Sikh American community in the Chicago area is significantly smaller than the area’s Arab and Muslim communities, it is a socially active one. There are an estimated 10-12,500 Sikh Americans in the Chicago area with the overwhelming majority being of South Asian decent.¹² Despite the relatively small population, there are a number of gurdwaras in the greater Chicago area. In fact, the leading gurdwara in the Midwest is located north of Chicago in Palatine. Other gurdwaras in the area include one in Oakbrook where the majority of congregants are turbaned Sikhs;¹³ one on Devon Avenue in Chicago where the majority are non-turbaned Sikhs;¹⁴ and another in the northwest suburb of Island Lake which serves orthodox Sikhs. According to, Shiva Singh Khalsa, a leader in the Chicago area Sikh community, his community like many others with large immigrant populations, has historically organized around religious centers. This gurdwara - centered system of organization has enabled an active community in which many community members are involved in social service and interfaith work. Community members note that this type of work is not a new, post-September 11, 2001 phenomenon.¹⁵ The

Sikh American community in Chicago had been active in larger community initiatives for at least 10 years prior to September 2001. Like Sikh American communities across the country, the Sikh American community in the Chicago area experienced backlash hate crimes directly post-September 11, 2001. Additionally, according to one Sikh American community leader, given the immigrant character of this community, it has added challenges in building relationships with law enforcement.

GREATER CHICAGO LAW ENFORCEMENT

Chicago Police Department (CPD)

According to their 2003 annual report¹⁷, Chicago Police Department (CPD) has 16,244 members including both sworn and civilian personnel.¹⁸ As of the end of 2003 almost half (47.5 percent) of the Department’s members were classified by the Department as minorities: Black, Hispanic, Native American, or Asian. This diversity is spread across both sworn personnel (42.8% minority) and civilian personnel (76.9% minority).¹⁹

In 2003 CPD received over 9 million calls for service. Among these calls to CPD there were 128 hate crimes reported in 2003, a number which represents zero change from the 2002 numbers. Among these hate crimes, racial bias was the most common motive and African Americans the most frequent victims followed by Whites.²⁰

FBI Chicago Field Office

According to its website, “FBI Chicago is comprised of 36 squads which investigate counterintelligence, terrorism, organized crime, drug violations, violent crime, and white collar crime.”²¹ There are 800 Special Agents and professional support employees in the Chicago office which covers the Northern District of Illinois including the division’s six satellite offices, which are located in Lisle, Rockford, Rolling Meadows, Tinley Park and at Midway and O’Hare airports.²²

¹² PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

¹³ While Sikhs are not Muslim and predominately originate from India (a non-Arab country), they are sometimes confused with Muslims and Arabs because many Sikhs cover their hair with turbans. The reference to turbaned or non-turbaned Sikhs in this context is relevant because turbaned Sikhs are more easily targeted for hate crimes.

¹⁴ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

¹⁵ Ibid

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ 2004 Report not yet available

¹⁸ Chicago Police Department Annual Report 2003 <http://egov.cityofchicago.org/webportal/COCWebPortal/COC_EDITORIAL/03AR-Rev3.1.1.pdf>, p.39

¹⁹ Ibid

²⁰ Ibid, p.35

²¹ FBI Chicago Division website <www.chicago.fbi.gov>, 7/25/05

²² Press Release, US Department of Justice, FBI Chicago Division, “Chief Inspector to Head Chicago FBI”, <<http://chicago.fbi.gov/pressrel/2005/jan-28.htm>>, 1/28/05.

The Chicago office houses the Chicago Terrorist Task Force's (CTTF) whose mission is to “prevent, detect, deter, and investigate attacks perpetrated by domestic and international terrorists in the Northern District of Illinois.” According to the FBI’s website the CTTF, which was founded in 1981 is comprised of “FBI Agents; Chicago Police Detectives; Illinois State Police Investigators; U.S. Secret Service Agents; Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Agents; U.S. Customs Service Agents; and Internal Revenue Service Agents” Together these entities “investigate the activities of both international and domestic terrorist organizations.”²³

In addition to these investigative programs, the Chicago Office’s Community Outreach Program (COP) works “to assist in the reduction of crime, drugs, terrorism, hate/bias, gangs, and violence in the school system and in the community.” Specifically, the COP program is currently focused on: Enhancement of the Citizens’ Academy; Establishing Partnerships with National Minority Groups and Organizations; FBI National Citizens’ Academy Alumni Association (NCAAA); Executive Office Support; Developing and Supporting Youth Programs.²⁴ While these officially mandated programs reflect an emphasis on community outreach, there is no evidence that this community outreach was focused on local Muslim, Arab, or Sikh communities prior to September 2001.

POST-SEPTEMBER 2001 EXPERIENCES

Historically, the Chicago area has witnessed both intense community – law enforcement tensions and some of the most innovative and successful community policing initiatives. Prior to September 2001, however, these initiatives were not specifically focused on Muslim, Arab, or Sikh American communities. The absence of these communities from traditional, pre-September 2001 community policing efforts was a phenomenon seen throughout the country and has been attributed in large part to the relatively low rates of violent crime within these particular communities. September 11, 2001 however, created a new interdependence between these communities and law enforcement. Muslim, Arab, and Sikh Americans across the

country needed law enforcement’s protection against a surge of hate crimes and backlash violence. Likewise, following the attacks, law enforcement needed the help of these communities to both prevent another terrorist attack and to protect communities against hate crimes and backlash violence. For its counterterrorism mission, law enforcement needed community cultural, linguistic and contextual expertise; for its hate crimes prevention mission, law enforcement needed the trust of community members and their willingness to come forward with information.

As in all PfP research sites, the post-September 11th experiences of Chicago area Muslim, Arab, and Sikh American communities and federal, state, and local law enforcement was impacted by a number of factors such as, community organization, community concentration/location, prior existence of community-law enforcement relationships, and local implementation of national post-September 11th policies. For example, as mentioned previously, the post-September 11th experience of community members in the City of Chicago seems to have been significantly different from that of community members in Chicago’s suburbs. Based on media reporting and public testimony by community members, the area’s suburban community, most likely due to its concentration, seems to have faced much of the post-September 11th backlash. For example, Muslim and Arab community members in the southwest suburb of Bridgeview report angry demonstrations against local mosques in the days following the attacks.²⁵ In one case, Bassam Jody, President of the Mosque Foundation of Bridgeview reports being escorted out of the mosque by police as a mob of several hundred people marched towards the mosque.²⁶ In other area suburbs like Harvard, Morton Grove, and Orland Park, Muslims wanting to open new mosques or Islamic schools faced and in some cases continue to face stiff resistance and at times Islamophobic demonstrations by local residents.²⁷

Another factor that affected post-September 11th community and law enforcement experiences was the fact that three major Islamic charities which underwent government closure and asset seizure post-September 11th (Global Relief Foundation, Benevo-

²³ FBI Chicago Division website <www.chicago.fbi.gov>, 7/25/05.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ While the PfP research participants did report instances of discrimination in Bridgeview and other suburbs, they did not share this particular case of anti-mosque demonstrations. In fact, during the course of PfP’s Chicago area research, participants seemed focused on discussing the current and future state of community-law enforcement relationships rather than past experiences. One possible explanation for this forward looking attitude may be the time elapsed between the September 11, 2001 attacks and the date of this study. Thus, much of the information for the “Post-September 2001 Experiences” section is based on media reporting and the Illinois Advisory Committee to US Commission on Civil Rights: “Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11,” May 2003.

²⁶ Illinois Advisory Committee to US Commission on Civil Rights: “Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11,” p. 9-10, May 2003.

²⁷ “Mosques, Islamic Schools Face Hard Road in Suburbs,” Carolyn Starks, Chicago Tribune Online Edition, 4/24/05.

lence International Foundation, and Holy Land Foundation) were either based in or had a significant presence in the Chicago area.²⁸ The national preeminence of these charities, the seemingly new investigative and legal techniques used to shut them down, the inability or unwillingness of authorities to publicly share incriminating evidence, and the obligation of all practicing Muslims to give charity, all served to heighten fear and concern within the Muslim American community nationwide. In the Chicago area this fear and concern was naturally more pronounced given the close proximity of the suspected charities. Further, according to Kareem Irfan of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago, the fact that assets of two local charities were seized in the last days of Ramadan, immediately after most community members would have made their annual obligatory donation, unnecessarily raised fear and concern among the Chicago area community.²⁹

The factors described above, while challenging to both Chicago area community and law enforcement groups, were ultimately not insurmountable. This was perhaps because although traditional community policing models did not necessarily include the area's Muslim, Arab, or Sikh American communities, there was in most cases 1) a system in place for reaching out to community groups (see "Superintendent's Multicultural Forum" section below) and 2) ad hoc relationships between community leaders and law enforcement executives. Further, as reported by the Illinois Advisory Committee to the US Commission on Civil Rights, "the US Attorney's office, State's Attorney's Office and the FBI all worked diligently with community leaders to prevent backlash violence against these communities (and) made it clear repeatedly that those who commit hate crimes would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."³⁰ Additionally, the US Attorney's Office, at the request of community leaders, sent letters to community members prior to conducting post-September 11th, USDOJ mandated voluntary interviews.^{31/32} Therefore, although the Chicago area, like most of the country, experienced a significant rise in hate crimes

and backlash violence and increased fear and concern at certain post-September 11th government actions, many community members report their experience to be better than that of their counterparts in other areas.

COUNCIL OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS OF GREATER CHICAGO

A major distinguishing feature of the greater Chicago area's Muslim American community is the presence of an organizing umbrella group. This group, known as the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC), encompasses 50 Islamic centers, mosques, schools, community service groups, civil rights organizations, and professional associations and has become a model for communities across the country. These Islamic organizations are ethnically and culturally diverse, representing a true cross section of the Chicago area's 400,000 Muslim Americans.³³

The CIOGC was officially established in 1992 in order to address the need for professional resources necessary in advocating for the area's large and dispersed Muslim community.³⁴ Prior to the CIOGC's formation there was no systemic mechanism to pool community resources or coordinate efforts. Thus, despite the Chicago area's history as a hub of immigrant activity and the presence of a 30-40 year old Muslim American community, the CIOGC was the first single organizing body. Today, the CIOGC serves as the main representative and point of contact for the area's Muslim American community. A major reason for the CIOGC's success has been its ability to work as a federated body on collective concerns while staying out of the individual affairs of member organizations.³⁵

Prior to September 11, 2001, the CIOGC focused primarily on interfaith initiatives and community organizing and did little in terms of public relations or law enforcement outreach. Quickly after the attacks, however, the CIOGC leadership recognized the need for a new paradigm of collaboration. Mr. Kareem Irfan, the CIOGC chairperson at the time realized that "the community and the FBI needed each other" and so he reached out to then Special Agent in Charge (SAC) of

²⁸ Illinois Advisory Committee to US Commission on Civil Rights: "Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11," p. 30-5, May 2003.

²⁹ Ibid, p.33.

³⁰ Ibid, p.7.

³¹ Ibid, p.27.

³² The US Attorney's Office in the Eastern District of Michigan sent similar letters prior to conducting voluntary interviews. For a detailed description of how the USDOJ Interview Project was handled in Eastern Michigan, see Ramirez, O'Connell, Zafar, "Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim Arab and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide, p. 23-5, 5/04 <www.ace.neu.edu/pfp>.

³³ Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago website <www.ciogc.org>, 7/21/05.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Mr. Irfan served as CIOGC Chairperson from 2001-2005. Mr. Irfan is an attorney by profession and works full-time as General Counsel of a private company. In this capacity Mr. Irfan has had extensive experience working with the media. Given his time constraints, directly after September 11, 2001, Mr. Irfan took time off work in order address the pressing needs within his community. PiP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

the Chicago Field Office, Thomas Kneir and other law enforcement executives.³⁶ Additionally, Mr. Irfan spent much of his time immediately after September 11th working with the media to help counter any negative perceptions of Islam or the Chicago area Muslim community. According to Mr. Irfan, during this time, the existence of an umbrella organization served his community well as it enabled them to confront their weaknesses and address them proactively.³⁷

Since September 11, 2001 the CIOGC has continued to work towards one of its stated objectives to “establish and maintain productive collaborative relationships with government, civic, legal, interfaith, social, and media organizations.”³⁸ Towards this end the CIOGC has continued to take a leadership role in working with law enforcement on collaborative projects such as the Chicago Police Department’s Diversity DVDs (see “Superintendent’s Multicultural Forum” section)

ARAB AMERICAN POLICE ASSOCIATION

The Greater Chicago area has a robust and active Arab American Police Associations (AAPA). The AAPA in Chicago was formed in 1996 to help counter the bias and misunderstanding police officers of Arab descent felt within their departments where there were, at the time, a small number of Arab American officers. Specifically, according to the AAPA today Chicago Police Department is estimated to have between 30 to 40 Arab American Police officers compared with just fifteen years ago when there were none.³⁹ In addition to the Arab officers at CPD, according to the AAPA, the State Police have an Arab American captain and an Arab American officer, the Sheriff’s department has 10 sworn Arab American deputies while the Chicago Fire Department currently has four Arab American fire fighters.⁴⁰

While established in 1996, after September 2001 the AAPA was “pushed to take action.”⁴¹ The AAPA’s work can be seen as falling into two categories including internal support/training and external education. Specifically, the AAPA has been working inter-

nally to share with other officers their experiences as Arab Americans in law enforcement. Externally, the AAPA works to increase public awareness by working with youth; attending community events and political functions as an organization; and working to educate about the importance of reporting hate crimes and hate incidents.⁴² Another component of their external work is to educate the Chicago area Arab American community about existing law enforcement resources.

In regards to how the AAPA has been perceived by the Departments, overall the officers report a positive reception and experience. Despite this overall positive experience, officers did experience localized incidents of backlash discrimination after September 2001. Specifically, some officers described experiencing for the first time in extensive careers an environment that might not support the timely promotion of officers of Arab decent.⁴³ Likewise in relation to the FBI, AAPA members expressed an interest in assisting with community outreach and translation but according to the AAPA members, the FBI has not approached them for these services. Several theories for this lack of outreach to the AAPA from the FBI were proposed by AAPA members including suppositions that the FBI would be “hesitant to work with officers who have relatives in Palestine” and the reflection that because of their standard operating procedures which focus on an expertise model of policing, law enforcement agencies by definition have difficulty “asking for help.”⁴⁵

In terms of recruiting efforts, the AAPA members who participated in the focus group report that they see recruiting from within their communities as a critical component to improving the long term relationships of law enforcement with these communities. Specifically, they feel it is important to have Arab American officers on the force because they have an easier time reassuring community members during and incident or investigation; answering community questions; communicating based on their knowledge of relevant languages; and offering assistance to community members in a format which will be easily received.⁴⁶

While they see the recruitment of new Arab

³⁶ PfP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

³⁷ PfP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

³⁸ Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago website, <www.ciogc.org>, 7/21/05.

³⁹ PfP Interview with Zyad Hasan, President, Arab American Police Association, 3/30/05.

⁴⁰ PfP Focus Group: Arab American Police Association, 5/10/05

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² PfP Interview with Zyad Hasan, President, Arab American Police Association, 3/30/05.

⁴³ PfP Focus Group: Arab American Police Association, 5/10/05.

⁴⁴ Ibid

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ PfP Interview with Zyad Hasan, President, Arab American Police Association, 3/30/05.

American officers as a key goal, the officers report that seeing law enforcement as a viable and desirable career is a relatively new phenomenon within the Arab American community in the Greater Chicago area. Specifically they note that third and fourth generation immigrants are the group most likely to see a career in law enforcement as desirable.⁴⁷ Four members of the AAPA are active in the CPD's Supt. Multicultural Forum (see "Superintendent's Multicultural Forum" section) and have worked through that mechanism to assist with distribution of information about upcoming police exams within the community.

CHICAGO COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

The greater Chicago area benefits from the presence of an active Commission on Human Relations which operates out of the Mayor's office. The Commission's mission includes investigating and enforcing discrimination claims; aiding hate crime victims; executing proactive intervention programs to discourage bigotry and encourage tolerance. To do this work, the Commission has staff called "liaisons" who are assigned to work with specific communities. In addition to the Commission staff there are eight auxiliary Advisory Councils focused on specific communities including: African Affairs; Arab Affairs; Asian Affairs; Gay and Lesbian Issues; Immigrant and Refugee Affairs; Latino Affairs; Veterans Affairs; and the Advisory Council on Woman.⁴⁸ According to the Illinois Advisory Committee to US Commission on Civil Rights, the Arab Community Advisory Council greatly facilitated communication between city officials, police and local Arab communities.⁴⁹

Because the Commission does not group communities by religious affiliation, there is no one liaison assigned to handle issues specifically related to the Muslim or Sikh communities. There is however a liaison/director, Naisy Dolar, assigned to work with the Asian American communities in the greater Chicago area which include many of the area's Muslim and Sikh populations. In this capacity, Ms. Dolar represents over 750 community groups the largest being Chinese, Korean, Indian, Pakistani, Malaysian, Indonesian, Mongolian, Nepalese, Japanese, and Vietnamese Americans. Because each liaison is responsible for such large and varied community groups, each liaison primarily focuses on providing referral services to community members. Additionally, the liaisons work with government agencies, including law enforcement, on a case by

case basis to conduct outreach to communities. For example, Ms. Dolar serves as the Asian American communities' primary point of contact for relaying incidents of perceived mistreatment of community members by law enforcement. In terms of law enforcement outreach to communities within her jurisdiction, Ms. Dolar serves on the Superintendent's Multicultural Forum (see "Superintendent's Multicultural Forum" section below). Beyond this involvement however, Ms. Dolar reports limited requests from law enforcement for this type of community outreach.

The Commission serves the area's Arab American population through Sahar Mawlawi who is the liaison/director for Arab Affairs. As mentioned previously, the Arab American community in the greater Chicago area is estimated at 200,000, 60-70% of whom are of Palestinian decent. Like Ms. Dolar, Ms. Mawlawi works on behalf of her community to address issues of concern with government entities as well as on behalf of government entities to outreach to community groups. Specifically, immediately after the attacks in September 2001, Ms. Mawlawi received requests from CPD to reach out to the area's Arab American community. In response to this request and others of its kind, she compiled a list of churches and mosques frequented by Arab American community members in order to facilitate law enforcement's proactive initiatives to prevent backlash by assigning protective details to key community locations. Further, Ms. Mawlawi helped organize local meetings on Chicago's south side between community members and district police commanders to answer community questions. In addition to being contacted by local law enforcement in the fall of 2001, Ms. Mawlawi has participated on behalf of the community in occasional FBI meetings, focused primarily on immigration and recruiting issues. According to Ms. Mawlawi however, this consultation by the FBI, has been ad hoc and does not represent a systemic working relationship.

In accordance with the Commission's mandate, both Ms. Dolar and Ms. Mawlawi facilitate advisory councils for their respective communities. These advisory councils are governed by city ordinance and by-laws and are therefore, quite formal in nature. For example, although sitting on the advisory council is a voluntary position, community members must undergo a rigorous application process and once on an advisory council, a member cannot miss three consecutive meetings or a total of four meetings in a year, and there ex-

⁴⁷ PfP Focus Group: Arab American Police Association, 5/10/05.

⁴⁸ Chicago Commission on Human Relations Pamphlet, Distributed by Chicago Commission on Human Relations, 740 North Sedgwick, Suite 300, Chicago, IL, 60610 (312) 744 4111.

⁴⁹ Illinois Advisory Committee to US Commission on Civil Rights: "Arab and Muslim Civil Rights Issues in the Chicago Metropolitan Area Post-September 11," p.7, May 2003.

actly 21 members on each Council. Additionally, Council meetings follow a consistent format which includes rotation of meeting locations to member organizations and the division of meeting agendas as follows: 1) Council chair review of commission mandate and current work; 2) presentation by host organization; 3) question and answer session; and 4) other business.

When created under Mayor Washington, posts to the Council were a cabinet level appointments. Today council members are more limited in their abilities to operate in the city because their positions are no longer cabinet appointments. Today, Council members' duties include designing educational and enforcement programs focused on eliminating discrimination, acting as a liaison between city government and community organization to promote cooperation, and working with other Commission Advisory Councils to work to identify and eliminate discriminatory practices.⁵⁰

SUPERINTENDENT'S MULTICULTURAL FORUM

The Superintendent's Multicultural Forum is a major Chicago Police Department (CPD) community policing initiative that was begun in January 2002 under then Superintendent Terry Hilliard. This Forum was started as part of a larger CPD initiative to address community concerns through systemic inclusion of community leaders and representatives in the CPD decision making process. Other forums in this initiative include the Citywide Forum, Violence Forum, and local area-specific forums.⁵¹ Specifically, since January 2001 CPD has held 37 total forums and as of June 2005 it had held 10 total Multicultural Forums.⁵² Since its inception, a CPD sergeant has been assigned to oversee and administer the Multicultural Forum.

The forums were created with funding from the USDOJ, Community Oriented Policing Services' Value-Based Grant Program⁵³ and were intended to provide a safe space, outside the purview of the media, for law enforcement – community dialogue. The Multicultural Forum in particular, was originally intended for communities and law enforcement entities most impacted by post-September 11th issues. To this end, the Superintendent reached out to the FBI, Customs, Immigration, and airport security services as well as

key community leaders.⁵⁴ The goal for the first few Multicultural Forums was to “systemically build trust.”⁵⁵ To meet this goal CPD invited a Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) representative with whom they had an existing relationship to help moderate and provide a third party perspective.⁵⁶

Representation

Membership on the Multicultural Forum is technically by invitation but effectively open to all those interested in participating. In fact, Forum organizers at CPD assert the need to continually invite new participants in order to generate fresh ideas and a variety of topics. Today, representation includes over 50 community organizations and law enforcement agencies including FBI, Cook County Sheriff's Department, Human Relations Commission, Arab American Police Association, and the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago. Specifically, Kareem Irfan, chairman of the CIOGC and previous member of the Citywide Forum, spearheaded community outreach on behalf of the Superintendent for the Multicultural Forum and helped solidify consistent participation of a wide range of community leaders. Through Mr. Irfan and other similar vectors of community connectivity, CPD was able to reach community leaders who added real value to the Forum by representing the diversity of community views.⁵⁷ Federal law enforcement representation was garnered in a similar way with then FBI Special Agent in Charge Thomas Kneir serving as a conduit to other federal law enforcement agencies necessary on the Forum.⁵⁸ In terms of CPD representation, in addition to Supt. Hilliard, who initiated and attended all Forums, and Supt. Cline,⁵⁹ who continues the tradition of personal participation, CPD has designated two additional representatives to both participate in and facilitate the forums. Originally under Supt. Hilliard this team was instrumental in establishing a platform from which the Forum was launched. Today Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith lead the effort under Supt. Cline.

First Steps

The first few meetings of the Superintendent's

⁵⁰ Chicago Commission on Human Relations, Advisory Council on Arab Affairs <www.cityofchicago.org/HumanRelations>, 7/21/05.

⁵¹ PFP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ “Breaking Down Barriers and Building Trust,” A Progress Report on the Initiatives to Strengthen Relations Between Police and Chicago's Diverse Communities,” Chicago Police Department, 2002.

⁵⁴ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁵⁵ Ibid

⁵⁶ Charles Wexler is Director of Research at PERF and as of June 2005 he remained as the moderator for the Multicultural Forum.

⁵⁷ PFP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

⁵⁸ PFP Interview with Thomas Kneir, former Special Agent in Charge, Chicago Field Office, FBI, 6/8/05.

⁵⁹ Phillip Cline replaced Terry Hilliard as Superintendent of Chicago Police Department in November 2003.

Multicultural Forum were focused on trust building and therefore required community and law enforcement members to begin to shed suspicions and inhibitions.⁶⁰ While there were many options for structuring the Forum, because of Chicago's historic sensitivities, members decided on an interfaith structure which today includes, in addition to Muslim, Arab, and Sikh communities, leaders from many minority religious communities including the Jewish and Hindu communities. Early in the process, the full group recognized the need for a tangible project that would deliver short term results. Additionally, the Forum members recognized that they would need to make themselves available to work outside the auspices of formal Forum meetings in order to achieve their project goals. After approximately three meetings, the Forum members decided to focus on providing sensitivity training for airport security personnel through the production of a DVD tailored to address airport concerns as their first joint initiative. This initiative proved to be the gateway to a more comprehensive set of collaborative initiatives.

As part of the Multicultural Forum's comprehensive set of initiatives, the group has produced a series of 10 "Diversity DVDs" originally intended to train CPD personnel during roll call. These DVDs were designed to address cultural issues particular to community constituencies in order to improve CPD's ability to successfully interact with those communities.⁶¹ Because the content for the DVDs was created entirely using the expertise of community and law enforcement Forum members, they had joint ownership over the creative development process which resulted in a strong sense of joint ownership over the final product.⁶² In terms of distribution, CPD estimates that the DVDs have been viewed by all 14,000 CPD officers as well as by police departments, universities, and health care providers across the country. In addition to this broad usage, another unexpected outcome of the Diversity DVDs was the ability of various community groups to conduct cross-cultural training.⁶³

According to Forum members, the impact of the Diversity DVDs has been real and tangible. Internally, the 2-3 month process of development was instrumental in solidifying relationships between Multicultural Fo-

rum members.⁶⁴ Today Kareem Irfan of the CIOGC reports that membership is strong and there is a high degree of trust between members.⁶⁵ Further, externally, after production and distribution of the first airport security DVD, Kareem Irfan received phone calls from community members reporting that they noticed an improvement in their interactions with airport security personnel as well as from airport security personnel reporting that the DVDs "changed the way they do business".⁶⁶ Thus, the decision of Multicultural Forum participants to pursue the Diversity DVDs project at such an early stage proved useful not only in terms of the actual content of the DVD but also as a means to help build and cement relationships between Forum participants.

Establishing Partnerships

According to CPD, the Multicultural Forum has succeeded in many of its initial goals of building bridges between community groups and law enforcement agencies and is now becoming more of a "problem solving group."⁶⁷

Deputy Superintendent Ellen Scrivner notes that community leaders are becoming more proactive and comfortable in bringing forward problems or issues of concern at the Forum. While the degree of success achieved is a matter of some debate among Forum members, it is clear that the Forum has been a useful mechanism in fostering community – law enforcement relationships. The Forum has enabled community leaders to achieve "direct personal access to the highest levels of Chicago law enforcement" which for some has resulted in a tangible improvement in everyday community-law enforcement interaction.⁶⁸ Likewise, law enforcement representatives on the Forum have been able to form personal relationships with community leaders. According to former FBI SAC Tom Kneir, the Forum is "a great opportunity" for the FBI and other law enforcement agencies because it serves as a barometer of the community and brings together, in one room, a wide range of community leadership.

While the Multicultural Forum was started prior to September 2001, it became better attended and more valuable during the critical weeks and months

⁶⁰ PfP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁶¹ As of June 2005, eight of the 10 Diversity DVDs were complete and the others were under development. Topics for these DVDs include general airport security, the Muslim community, Sikh community, Jewish community, Buddhist community, Hindu community, South Asian Community, and the Puerto Rican Community.

⁶² While the Multicultural Forum used a private consulting firm to actually produce the Diversity DVDs, the substantive content was generated from Forum members. PfP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

⁶³ PfP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

⁶⁴ PfP site visit, Superintendent's Multicultural Forum, Chicago Police Department, 3/30/05

⁶⁵ PfP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ PfP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

⁶⁸ PfP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

after the attacks. Forum members who had established personal relationships called upon each other for help. For example, Superintendent Hilliard worked with Kareem Irfan to prepare for press conferences on community concerns and backlash violence.⁶⁹ Similarly, the FBI under former SAC Kneir worked with community members who were victims of hate crimes, while community leaders helped mitigate the negative impact of the FBI's voluntary interviews and other response efforts within the area's Muslim and Arab communities.⁷⁰

Today the Forum continues to serve as a mechanism for community-law enforcement communication and collaboration. At the March 2005 Multicultural Forum for example, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services representative Carol Roguff Hallstrom presented handouts describing the roles and jurisdictions of departments stemming from the former Immigration and Naturalization Service. These handouts included local contact information for each department and were intended for distribution by community leaders to their larger community bases.⁷¹

Moving Forward

While most Multicultural Forum members acknowledge that the Forum has been an effective mechanism for building trust between community and law enforcement groups, some members are now calling for the next level of partnership. Specifically, most members agree with former SAC Kneir's historic assessment that the group's development has progressed through a number of stages including: 1) "posturing" or defending personal/organizational agendas; 2) confrontation / perspective sharing; 3) trust establishment and collaboration.⁷² The question some members are now raising, relate to the current efficacy of the Forum. Some community Forum members report that while the group has established trust and begun collaboration, it has lost much of the urgency experienced in September 2001 which makes it difficult to take on new challenges during non-emergency or response situations.⁷³

The Forum members who raise these concerns suggest the following improvement in order to help spur the group to the next level. First, they suggest a re-evaluation of the role of the Forum moderator. According to Naisy Dolar of the Chicago Commission on Human Relations, the group must discuss whether or

not having a mediator is still appropriate at this stage, given the high level relationship and existing trust between members. If a mediator or facilitator is necessary, Ms. Dolar suggests his/her responsibilities should include reporting on relevant national issues and being knowledgeable on local issues of community and/or law enforcement concern. Further, she suggests that the moderator role should grow into more of an administrative one, which would include setting up systems for: selecting new projects; delegating work; tracking issues raised at meetings; inviting new members as appropriate; and holding members accountable for their responsibilities.⁷⁴

Second, members noted that meetings could be more effective if they focused on community presentations of current issues of concern including finding ways to appropriately share process related information about investigations or law enforcement prevention initiatives. Additionally, members suggest the continued emphasis on project work. Another suggestion is to develop a mechanism for connectivity outside of formal meetings including a way for members to get involved in one another's "extracurricular activities" such as individual community organizational events.⁷⁵

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP LIAISON GROUP⁷⁶

As described by Carol Rogoff Hallstrom, Community Liaison Officer, Chicago office, US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), the Leadership Liaison Group is a local outreach initiative first begun under the former Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS).⁷⁷ Ms. Hallstrom first came to INS in 1999 from California's not-for-profit sector to help develop collaborative problem solving strategies as part of then Attorney General Janet Reno's Citizen's Advisory Panel. In early 2001 Ms. Hallstrom officially joined INS and worked with then INS District Director Brian Perryman after September 11th to initiate community outreach on behalf of the agency. This initial outreach was focused on opening a dialogue with Muslim, Arab, and Sikh American community members for the purposes of assuring them that INS processing would continue to progress forward in an appropriate fashion. Through this initial outreach effort it became clear to INS leadership that there were many questions and concerns brewing in the community related to larger US-

⁶⁹ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ PFP Site Visit, Superintendent's Multicultural Forum, Chicago Police Department, 3/30/05.

⁷² PFP Interview with Thomas Kneir, former Special Agent in Charge, Chicago Field Office, FBI, 6/8/05.

⁷³ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05 &

PFP Interview with Naisy Dolar, Director/Liaison Asian Affairs, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, 5/11/05.

⁷⁴ PFP Interview with Naisy Dolar, Director/Liaison Asian Affairs, Chicago Commission on Human Relations, 5/11/05.

⁷⁵ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

⁷⁶ While current leaders of the Leadership Liaison Group were unavailable to participate in this study, the PFP research team was able to speak with some current participants and former leadership.

⁷⁷ PFP Site Visit, Superintendent's Multicultural Forum, Chicago Police Department, 3/30/05.

DOJ policies and how they were being implemented in the Chicago area.

In order to begin addressing some of these questions, a group of federal law enforcement officials including INS District Director Brian Perryman; FBI SAC Tom Kneir; and US Attorney Patrick Fitzgerald began to meet regularly, under the auspices of INS, with local Muslim, Arab, and Sikh community leaders.⁷⁸ Representation on the group was by invitation and was carefully structured by organizers. In addition to leadership from relevant federal agencies, the group included community representatives from ethnic (particularly South Asian), legal, social service, religious and business organizations. This group, which came to be known as the Community Leadership Liaison Group, brought structure to what had been up until this point, an ad-hoc system for dialogue between federal law enforcement and these community groups.

Although tense at times, these meetings provided a rich opportunity for both law enforcement and the community. By initiating contact behind the scenes between meetings and doing their homework with all parties involved on the current issues of the day, INS leadership was able to set agendas for meetings which were highly relevant and resulted in productive, collaborative sessions. The group worked together to provide basic information on key federal agencies and to clarify issues relating to their jurisdictions. Further, the group brought in representatives from other relevant agencies such as TSA, Treasury, and the State Department to meetings as needed to help answer questions, dispel myths, provide accurate and timely information, and provide a point of contact for people who may have felt that they had sensitive information they would like to share with officials. This type of sophisticated and very useful partnership work was due, in large part to the consistent presence and active participation of both high level law enforcement and community leadership.

With the abolition of INS and the establishment of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in 2002,⁷⁹ there was no longer one single agency or position that handled all immigration related issues.⁸⁰ Thus, in January 2004 former INS leadership transferred responsibility for hosting the Leadership Liaison Group to the FBI Chicago field office, which had been

very engaged in the group since its inception. In October 2004, according to former FBI SAC Kneir, group representatives reaffirmed their commitment to proceeding forward with the group.⁸¹ However, today the group remains in the process of examining and trying to address a number of transition issues, which seem to have limited its capacity. According to Birdella Braden, FBI Community Outreach Specialist, the group is currently working to diversify its areas of focus. At the time of this study, Ms. Braden reports the ongoing development of new agenda items, specifically including hate crimes prevention and response, and additional outreach to new community groups.⁸²

Community members see the Leadership Liaison Group as potentially valuable as it offers a focus on federal law enforcement issues and national community concerns. According to Yaser Tabbara, Executive Director CAIR-Chicago, the group serves a dual mission of providing critical information to the community while simultaneously demonstrating the seriousness with which the FBI takes community concerns.⁸³ CAIR-Chicago for example, requested and received an FBI presentation about hate crimes for the community. Through such community-law enforcement events, group members are able to disseminate information to the community and establish lines of communications and points of contact.

BENEFITS OF EXISTING PARTNERSHIP MODELS

Partnership efforts in the Greater Chicago area have provided a number of tangible benefits for the area's Muslim, Arab, and Sikh American communities as well as for area law enforcement agencies. An example of these benefits was relayed at the March 2005 Multicultural Forum by Shiva Singh Khalsa, a Sikh community organizer and an active member of the Forum. Mr. Khalsa reported that he was responsible for organizing the visit of four high ranking Sikh religious leaders who were coming to Chicago from India for a conference. This visit was significant and unique because these religious leaders rarely travel together outside India. Further, there was reason for concern because unlike most practicing Sikhs who carry a small ceremonial knife, called a kirpan, these Sikh religious leaders carry a full sized ceremonial sword.⁸⁴ Given

⁷⁸ PfP Interview with Thomas Kneir, former Special Agent in Charge, Chicago Field Office, FBI, 6/8/05.

⁷⁹ Although DHS was formed in 2002, actually transitioning of most affected agencies did not occur until March 2003.

⁸⁰ With the creation of DHS, INS was divided into three separate agencies including US Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS), US Immigration and Customs Enforcement (USICE), and US Customs and Border Protection. Thus, jurisdiction of immigration related issues was spread across agencies.

⁸¹ The PfP research team questioned all Chicago case study participants about the Leadership Liaison Group and approximate half of all community and law enforcement participants were unaware of its existence.

⁸² PfP Interview with Birdella Braden, Community Outreach Specialist, Chicago Field Office, FBI, 5/9/05.

⁸³ PfP Community Focus Group, Yaser Tabbara, Executive Director, CAIR-Chicago, 5/11/05.

⁸⁴ The kirpan is a small ceremonial dagger or knife carried by many Sikhs in a manner that is usually not visible. As it is not a weapon, the constitutional right to wear a kirpan has been recognized by the courts. Source: "Recommendations for Law Enforcement When Interacting With Sikh Americans," SALDEF material (www.saldef.org).

the high profile nature of these religious leaders and the potential for questions regarding their ceremonial objects, Mr. Khalsa wanted to ensure that their arrival through the airport in Chicago was safe and smooth.

Due to the relationship he had established with law enforcement through the Forum, Mr. Khalsa reached out to the Superintendent in order to make him aware of the pending visit and to ask for assistance with coordination and security issues. In response, Superintendent Hilliard worked with CPD personnel detailed to the airport to ensure that the arrival of the religious leaders was handled appropriately. Specifically, Mr. Khalsa was escorted to the airport by CPD officers. Upon his arrival he found the religious leaders waiting comfortably with their swords visible. CPD had assigned a six officer plain clothes protective detail to ensure the security of the leaders during their time at the airport. This type of law enforcement – community coordination, which was made possible by the Multicultural Forum, not only facilitated this particular visit but served as a positive example of law enforcement working with the community that resonated locally, nationally, and internationally.

In addition to working together on specific high profile issues, the Multicultural Forum facilitates the general exchange of perspectives, which results in a myriad of benefits. One example of the benefits of perspective sharing which was reported in Chicago as well as other sites that have community-law enforcement partnership models in place, is the understanding on the part of law enforcement that Fridays are the busiest days at mosques. This is important for traffic control planning, planning of protective visibilities, and coordination of community outreach initiatives. Similarly, it is also beneficial for community members to be aware of law enforcement agencies' standard operating procedures. For example, in Chicago Mr. Khalsa reported the change in his reaction to having his kirpan confiscated at the airport based on his exposure to law enforcement through the Multicultural Forum. According to Mr. Khalsa, after his work on the Forum, where he learned about the operational realities of airport security personnel, he felt less anxious and angry when prohibited from carrying his kirpan.⁸⁵

Beyond these specific examples, both community and law enforcement representatives report the benefits of having open lines of communication with familiar representatives. These kinds of relationships facilitate a wide breadth of information and perspective sharing.

CHALLENGES TO PARTNERSHIPS

In addition to the many benefits of partnership efforts in the Greater Chicago area, there are also a number of significant challenges. While these challenges are not unique to the Chicago area, discussing these challenges and the way in which they were handled may be beneficial to other sites working through similar challenges to their partnership efforts.

Loss of Momentum

While many PfP research sites have experienced a loss of momentum to their partnership efforts in the absence of a galvanizing event post September 11, 2001, Chicago area study participants were the first to clearly articulate this challenge specifically. Shiva Singh Khalsa, an active community organizer in the Chicago area Sikh community, reports that there is a need to develop a model to motivate people in a non crisis situation because without this impetus, participants are reluctant to prioritize partnerships to the degree necessary to achieve maximum productivity. Further, Mr. Khalsa noted that because people tend to be in denial about the potential for future threats, it is difficult to motivate them.⁸⁶ One way to perhaps counter this challenge is to work on results focused projects with demonstrable results. This, however, presents its own set of challenges. As Kareem Irfan of CIOGC notes, it is not always possible to share progress on politically sensitive issues with the larger community.⁸⁷ For all these reasons, it is critical for partnership participants to proactively look for opportunities to share positive results with the broader audience.

Leadership Turnover/Identifying Participants

Given the long standing relationships between Chicago area community groups and law enforcement agencies, there has naturally been some leadership turnover on both sides. Most significantly, key partnership founders including CPD Superintendent Hilliard and his staff, who were instrumental in establishing the Multicultural Forum, as well as FBI Special Agent in Charge Tom Kneir, and Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC) president Kareem Irfan have all left their posts. While this turnover is expected for both the community and law enforcement, at times it can present challenges to partnership efforts which are often based on personal relationships. In the Chicago area like in other sites, the time it takes to re-establish these personal relationships with new leaders when turnover occurs has impeded the pace of pro-

⁸⁵ Current airport security regulations require kirpans to be checked in with baggage.

⁸⁶ Pfp Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

⁸⁷ Pfp Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

gress.⁸⁸ In terms of overcoming this challenge, while some community members put the onus solely on the community to navigate these changes, it is imperative that all representatives – both community and law enforcement – make a concerted effort to connect with new representatives and integrate them in the process.

In addition to leadership turnover, the Chicago area has also experienced challenges related to staffing their partnership effort. Some community members feel that those community leaders most in touch with the grassroots do not necessarily have the kinds of titles or affiliations with particular community organizations that would make them an obvious choice for inclusion in partnership efforts.⁸⁹ Thus, there should be a concerted effort to conduct more broad based community outreach beyond the known community organization in order to involve grassroots community leaders. Further, Mr. Irfan noted the need for community representatives to be comfortable working in the professional and highly political environment in which law enforcement officials tend to operate. In terms of law enforcement representation, community leaders stress the need for law enforcement representatives involved in partnership efforts to have the support of their leadership and/or the authority to make real decisions and commitments on their own.⁹⁰ Otherwise, progress on projects tends to be slow and results tenuous.

Existing Biases

Like all efforts to build relationships, the effort to develop a partnership between law enforcement and the Muslim, Arab and Sikh communities in Chicago had to confront the biases which individuals brought with them to the table based on their previous experiences. Specifically, in Chicago community members noted that they felt law enforcement often based their perceptions about the local Muslim, Arab and Sikh American communities on what they had learned, through the media, about how these communities operate overseas.⁹¹ For example, Christina Abraham, Civil Rights Coordinator, CAIR-Chicago explained that she felt that law enforcement assumed that American women wearing hijab were somehow “repressed” because of what they had learned through the popular media about Muslim women being required to cover in some countries overseas.⁹² Clearly extending law enforcement’s understanding of Muslim, Arab

and Sikh American communities beyond the information provided about these communities overseas through the media is a helpful element to facilitating partnerships. In terms of operations, Kareem Irfan, CIOGC, reiterated this point about increasing understanding and added that it is critical that this knowledge be extended beyond those representing law enforcement agencies in partnership efforts and even beyond just agents and officers. Mr. Irfan noted that it is imperative that everyone in law enforcement who is involved in hate crimes and counterterrorism investigations, be they translators, analysts, or receptionists have an understanding of Muslim, Arab and Sikh American communities that extends beyond the information available in the media during this time of heightened concern and anxiety.⁹³

Interestingly, community members reported internal community biases about law enforcement as well. Mohammad Adil Khan, a Muslim community representative, noted a misconception held by some in these communities that there is a “conspiracy” in America between the Jewish community and the intelligence community to target Muslims and Arabs.⁹⁴ Further, as has been reported by community members nation-wide, community members in Chicago noted that individuals who have immigrated to the United States from countries ruled by a totalitarian regimes where law enforcement does not serve to protect the needs of the populace but rather as an oppressive arm of the government, have a hard time shedding their learned resentment and fear of law enforcement.⁹⁵ This learned bias is obviously a significant challenge to partnership efforts and one that needs to be addressed by both sides.

The need for partnership efforts to be public about their successes is clear however this also requires community and law enforcement leaders to be cognizant of biases which exist in the broader communities in order for these efforts not to have a counterproductive effect. One example of this is the issue of public recognition of community leaders for their work on partnership efforts by law enforcement executives. In Chicago, then FBI SAC Tom Kneir nominated Kareem Irfan to receive the USDOJ 2002 Community Leadership Award in an effort to recognize his efforts in developing partnerships. While publicly recognizing that community efforts are advantageous to law enforce-

⁸⁸ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁸⁹ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

⁹⁰ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁹¹ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

⁹² PFP Community Focus Group, Christina Abraham, Civil Rights Coordinator, CAIR-Chicago, 5/11/05.

⁹³ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁹⁴ PFP Community Focus Group, Mohammad Adil Khan, Muslim community representative, 5/11/05.

⁹⁵ PFP Community Focus Group, Shiva Singh Khalsa, Sikh community representative, 5/11/05.

ment this kind of personal recognition can be a double edge sword for participants. In the case of Kareem Irfan, because biases about law enforcement exist within the wider community that is the CIOGC's constituency and on which Mr. Irfan is dependent for his authority, accepting an award from USDOJ has the potential for aligning him with the US government too closely in the eyes of the community and therein reducing his credibility to speak on behalf of the community.⁹⁶ Because of the potential to lose credibility with the community and thus reduce his ability to advocate for the community with law enforcement, Mr. Irfan decided to accept the official recognition but suggested that it be awarded at a large Muslim community fundraiser for a highly regarded Islamic school. In his speech Mr. Irfan was careful to acknowledge the partnership with the FBI while keeping himself distinct and separate by iterating concerns the community maintains about FBI national policies. A complete copy of Mr. Irfan's speech is appended to this case study.

LESSONS LEARNED FROM GREATER CHICAGO EXPERIENCE

The Greater Chicago Area case study provides many lessons for other community and law enforcement groups attempting to build their own partnership models. First, it highlights the importance of a community umbrella group like the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago (CIOGC). As described above, this group has enabled greater Muslim community organization and has given added credibility to Muslim leaders – both within the community and with law enforcement.

Second, as learned from the Chicago area's experience, any productive and long-lasting partnership initiative must be personally led by committed and effective community and law enforcement leaders. Leaders such as Kareem Irfan of the CIOGC, Terry Hilliard, former Superintendent of Chicago Police Department, and Tom Kneir former FBI SAC, Chicago Field Office had the necessary professional abilities, personalities, and commitment to build meaningful partnerships that yield significant results. Additionally, they understood the critical need for their personal involvement and commitment to the process. Despite competing priorities, these leaders resisted the temptation to delegate participation in partnership initiatives. This personal involvement of high level community and law enforcement participation is key to the success of productive part-

nerships.

Further, the Chicago area case study highlights the need for smooth transitions after leadership turnover. Many of the leaders, both in the community and law enforcement, who were instrumental in establishing initial partnership initiatives, are no longer in those same leadership positions. Given that "personalities make a difference,"⁹⁷ this fact could have easily meant the end of these partnerships. Partnership efforts like the Superintendent's Multicultural Forum, however, have continued despite the leadership change albeit with certain challenges. According to Deputy Superintendent Ellen Scrivner, one reason for this relatively smooth transition was the conscious attempt made on the part of predecessors to ensure their replacements share their commitment to partnerships and understand particular post-September 11th concerns.⁹⁸ Further, when replacements are chosen from within an organization, they should be included in partnership efforts prior to transition, as was the case with now Superintendent Cline, Chicago Police Department. This allows personal relationships, which serve as the foundation for most partnerships, to develop. While not all new executives have the luxury of a long transition period (former SAC Tom Kneir had a one and a half day hand off), every effort should be made to introduce new law enforcement executives or community leaders.

Finally, a finding from the Greater Chicago area, which appears to be universal, is the lack of motivation to devote resources to partnership efforts in periods of relative calm. During these periods when Muslim, Arab, and Sikh American community leaders and federal, state, and local law enforcement executives are not actively engaged in crisis management, partnerships efforts tend to drift off the radar screen. Ironically, these periods of relative calm are the best times to initiate contact and develop the trust that will be needed to effectively respond to crisis. One tool for countering this natural lack of focus is to 1) develop highly structured systems of communication and 2) to keep participants focused on projects with deliverable results.

CONCLUSION

Clearly, community and law enforcement leaders in the Greater Chicago area have made a significant effort and sustained a substantial commitment to establishing partnerships. It is clear from those who participated in the PFP Chicago area research that this

⁹⁶ For a description of a similar experience underwent by Regional Director of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Dearborn, MI and the local FBI office, see the "Unforeseen Challenges" section in the "Southeastern Michigan Experience," Ramirez, O'Connell, Zafar, "Developing Partnerships Between Law Enforcement and American Muslim Arab and Sikh Communities: A Promising Practices Guide, p. 27, 5/04 <www.ace.neu.edu/pfp>.

⁹⁷ PFP Interview with Kareem Irfan, Chairperson, CIOGC, 5/10/05.

⁹⁸ PFP Interview with Deputy Supt. Ellen Scrivner and Sgt. Patricia Smith, Chicago Police Department, 5/12/05.

work has resulted in substantial benefits for participants as well as their larger constituencies. Limits to partnership efforts in the Greater Chicago area, where they exist, stem from inherent challenges which most communities and law enforcement groups will face given the dynamic nature of the organizations that must be involved to develop productive partnerships.

Reprinted with permission from Mr. Kareem Irfan

APPENDIX A

DOJ Community Leadership Award: Kareem Irfan's Acceptance Speech

BACKGROUND

On February 28, 2003, Thomas Kneir, Special Agent in Charge for Chicago/Mid-West Region, presented the Department of Justice's 2002 Community Leadership Award to Kareem M. Irfan, Chairman of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago at the Fundraising dinner of Averroes Academy, a highly regarded full-time Islamic School in Northbrook, IL. Mr. Irfan offered the following Acceptance address before an audience of about 500 attendees.

As Salaamu Alaikum:

Greetings of peace to each one of you.

Over my years of professional work and community service, I have come to learn the truth of the aphorism: "No good deed goes unpunished". That is partly why I stand before you tonight. As this Award is handed out, I stand before you with feelings of pride on behalf of the entire Chicago Muslim Community, all my dear friends, brothers and sisters, whom I love dearly and feel privileged to represent and serve on the Council.

Tom – let me be honest...when you first graciously nominated me and then informed me that I have indeed won this Award, I had mixed feelings. Think about it: Muslim- and Arab-Americans, have effectively had their lives turned topsy turvy as a result of unprecedented, aggressive law enforcement and investigative approaches adopted by the U.S. government and its agencies, especially the FBI acting under the aggressive leadership of your boss in D.C. In these troubling times, an award of recognition from the FBI, conferred on a publicly active, Muslim-America representative, raises serious questions.

Well, after much deliberation over accepting the award and where to do it, some serious consulting with respected colleagues and friends, I opted to plunge right ahead and accept this DOJ Award at today's event hosted by my dear friends at Averroes Academy. Two significant reasons drove me to this decision:

First of all, I am a firm believer in government accountability based on the concept that our government entities exist primarily as a service to us, the citizenry of this nation. Hence, as concerned and patriotic citizens of this country, it behooves us to be constant critics and supporters – always supporting in principle correct actions on our behalf while also critiquing whenever necessary to improve services to the commu-

nity and especially when any incorrect actions occur. That principle has driven me as I have represented the Council and Chicago's Muslims in dealing openly and candidly with candor, cordiality and forcefulness with agencies like the Police, the INS, the U.S. Attorney and the FBI. Under Mr. Kneir's leadership, my overtures have been reciprocated and a threshold level of trust built up. And if the DOJ felt that my leadership approach, despite my constant yet hopefully reasonable criticism, was commendable, I felt it was important to acknowledge this on behalf of the Muslim community I serve.

Secondly, in today's atmosphere of paranoia and agonizing amidst a blistering assault on the long-standing civil rights and individual liberties of America's minorities, I strongly feel that our community needs reassurance that their leaders are not caving in to feats of the FBI investigations and targeted racial profiling. The community needs to be assured that their representatives are in direct contact with key Government officials and forcefully bringing up concerns on their concern. Our Muslims can indeed gain confidence from recognizing that the Govt. is indeed open enough to recognize such representatives and accommodate their concerns. Hence, by openly recognizing my relatively direct and cordial relationship with Mr. Thomas Kneir's FBI offices in Chicago, I expect our Muslims in Chicago to gain a strong measure of confidence in these difficult times. So, here I stand before all you accepting this Community Leadership Award on behalf of the entire Muslim population represented by the CIOGC. I strongly believe that this is not an individual award but a recognition that the over 7 million Muslims in the USA and over 400,000 Muslims in the Chicago area are part of the American population currently concerned about homeland security and terrorism of all kinds, and also equally concerned about reasonable and effective responses thereto independent of religion, nationality or race.

One important note for Mr. Kneir and the FBI: Of course, I and my fellow Muslims appreciate and thank you for this Award. I am, of course assuming you have gone through your extensive background checks on my activities and those of the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago and find it all acceptable. Accordingly, by conferring this recognition, you have given deserved credibility to the Council and added strength to my voice as a leader representing Chicago Muslims in dealings with the FBI and other law enforcement agencies.

Of course, I will remain committed to nurtur-

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ing relationship with Chicago's FBI and a trusting friendship with you. Nevertheless, I will also be watchful of your enforcement actions and come to you, perhaps even more frequently and forcefully, with important Muslim community concerns. We remain deeply concerned of the expanding FBI focus on our Mosques, Muslim institutions, and the diversity of Muslims in this area – a focus apparently based on some radical notions as to what constitute reasonable investigative techniques and justifiable enforcement actions. And, of course, these concerns escalate as the amazing USA Patriot 2 Act emerges, having already been called “a catalog of authoritarianism that runs counter to basic tenets of democracy”. Please note that Muslim Americans will be monitoring ever-carefully the actions of the FBI as a Govt. agency committed to serve and protect us. Rest assured that you will continue to hear my strong voice of concern on behalf of Chicago's Muslims. Rest assured also of my guarantee of utmost sincerity, courtesy and professionalism on behalf of the community.

Let me now offer a note of appreciation for the Muslim community I am privileged to serve at the Council. Thanks to all of my dear brothers and sisters across Chicago who continue to appreciate my humble attempts at community service despite all my numerous shortcomings and faults. Several of you have joined us tonight specifically to show your support for me – thanks from the bottom of my heart. Your prayers, appreciation and support keep me going as I, sometimes desperately, juggle my responsibilities to work, my family, and the community. Please continue to remember me and my family in your du'as.

Finally I leave you with a reminder about what's of paramount importance tonight. Not Kareem Irfan, not the FBI Leadership Award, not even the keynote speech to come – although I'm sure our respected guest Dr. Akbar Ahmad will share some scintillating jewels of knowledge given his immense experience and wisdom. Let's remember that the prime reason for tonight is our gracious host, Averroes Academy, which is an outstanding educational institution fully deserving of our support. My dear friends – please support them tonight. May Allah accept and adequately reward all our efforts in His cause.