

## Islamic Radicalization in California

Ephraim Margolin (Research Assistant, ICT)  
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### ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the process of radicalization of Muslims in the state of California, in the United States. The paper begins by outlining the demographics, diversity, socio-economic conditions, mosques, organizations, as well as political participation of Muslims in California. The paper then sketches a theoretical approach to radicalization. This is followed by case studies of homegrown radicals in California. Lastly, the government's response to radicalization in California is outlined. The final section of the paper summarizes the main findings about Islamic radicalization in California.

\* The views expressed in this publication are solely those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the views of the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT).

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# MAP OF CALIFORNIA



Source: United States Census Bureau

## **PART 1: BACKGROUND**

### **Introduction**

This paper is part of the Islamic Radicalization Index (IRI) at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism (ICT), located at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel. The IRI consists of articles, essays, opinion pieces and briefing notes, written by ICT staff, fellows and interns dealing with both the theory and particulars of Islamic radicalization. Therefore, this paper has a similar structure to other papers in the IRI. Specifically, this paper aims to document the history of Islamic Radicalization in California and the government's response to the phenomenon. This is in order to understand a unique phenomenon, not to single out the Muslim community.

The paper begins by outlining the importance of studying California and the demographics, diversity, socio-economic conditions, mosques, organizations, as well as political participation of Muslims in California. The paper then sketches a theoretical approach to radicalization. This is followed by case studies of homegrown terrorists in California. Lastly, the government's response to radicalization in California is outlined. The final section of the paper summarizes the main findings about Islamic radicalization in California.

### **Why California is Important to Study**

The state of California has a population of 38.8 million people and an annual gross domestic product of \$2.2 trillion dollars.<sup>1,2</sup> If California were a country it would be the world's 34<sup>th</sup> largest country by population and have the world's 8th largest economy.<sup>3,4,5</sup> California's importance as one of the main economic engines of the United States, and the world, make it a

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1 "United States Census Bureau." California QuickFacts from the US Census Bureau. Accessed April 30, 2015.

2 Bureau of Economic Analysis. June 11, 2014. Accessed April 30, 2015.

3 "United States Census Bureau."

4 "The World Factbook." Central Intelligence Agency. Accessed April 30, 2015.

5 "Center for the Continuing Study of the California Economy." California Once Again the World's 8<sup>th</sup> Largest Economy. July, 2014. Accessed April 30, 2015.

strategic location to study. Furthermore, iconic tourist locations, the film industry's presence in Los Angeles, Silicon Valley's technological dynamism, and the rich breadbasket region of the Central Valley all make California an inviting target for terrorism. The Millennium bombing plot of Los Angeles International Airport, the 2002 Los Angeles International Airport Shooting, the 2005 Los Angeles International Airport bomb plot, and threats to blow up the Golden Gate Bridge illustrate jihadists' desire to attack high-profile targets in California.<sup>6,7</sup>

The porous Mexico-United States border is also a cause for concern. In October 2014, Republican Congressman Duncan D. Hunter, who represents eastern San Diego County, claimed that up to 10 fighters from the Islamic State had crossed the Mexico-United States border.<sup>8</sup> However, the Department of Homeland Security issued a categorical denial and a spokeswoman for the department said that Congressman Hunter's comments were "not supported by any credible intelligence or the facts on the ground."<sup>9</sup> The head of Homeland Security, Jeh Johnson, also disputed the Congressman's claims and said that although four men had indeed crossed the border they were not terrorists, even though they claimed to be affiliated with the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), a group fighting against the Islamic State in Syria and Iraq.<sup>10</sup> In another case, Said Jaziri, a controversial Tunisian imam, who was deported from Canada, was arrested attempting to cross the Mexico-United States border in the trunk of a car.<sup>11</sup>

Salim Boughader Mucharrafille, a cafe owner in Tijuana and Lebanese citizen, purportedly smuggled about 200 of his Lebanese compatriots into the United States, including supporters of Hezbollah. Mucharrafille was arrested in December 2002, but one of the people that he helped smuggle into California, Mahmoud Youssef Kourani, raised \$40,000 dollars for

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6 Miller, Judith. "U.S. Received Tip on Qaeda Threats Against Landmarks." The New York Times. August 13, 2002. Accessed July 2, 2015.

7 Lipton, Eric. "Homeland Report Says Threat From Terror-List Nations is Declining." The New York Times. March 31, 2005. Accessed July 2, 2015.

8 "GOP Rep: 'At Least Ten ISIS Fighters Have Been Caught Coming Across The Mexican Border'" CBS DC. October 8, 2014. Accessed April 30, 2015.

9 Kaplan, Rebecca. "Homeland Security Says Terrorists Haven't Crossed U.S.-Mexico Border." CBS News. October 9, 2014. Accessed April 30, 2015.

10 Ibid.

11 "Border Authorities Arrest Controversial Muslim Cleric East of San Diego." Border Authorities Arrest Controversial Muslim Cleric East of San Diego. January 26, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

Hezbollah during his time in the Detroit area before he was caught. Also, according to Steven Schultz, of the U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement bureau, four members of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam were arrested attempting to cross into California from Mexico soon after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.<sup>12</sup>

In fact, there is also evidence that potential terrorists are trying to leave California and pass through Mexico on their way to join terror groups. As will be explained in *The Links to Hate and Terror* section, a former imam from the San Francisco Bay Area was arrested in Mexico with operatives from Hezbollah. Another case where people attempting to provide material support to terror organizations tried to travel to Mexico will be discussed in the *Additional Cases of Radicalization* section.

California is also potential target for terrorist attacks on nuclear power plants, chemical laboratories, and power stations. In fact, in 2013 one sniper or a group of snipers cut telephone cables near an electrical substation in Santa Clara County and then proceeded to open fire for nearly 20 minutes and succeeded in knocking out one of the main power sources to Silicon Valley. The attack was carried out with professional accuracy and forced power plants to send more energy to Silicon Valley in order to avert blackouts.<sup>13</sup> In more recent events, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) is reviewing 11 physical attacks on high-speed internet cables in the San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>14</sup>

California is a global leader economically and metaphorically as a land of opportunity. California's position in the public's imagination makes it an important place to study for understanding the threat and dimension of Islamic radicalization in the United States. Also, California is important to study for learning about how states and non-federal law enforcement agencies can more effectively combat Islamic radicalization.

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12 Arrillaga, Pauline and Olga Rodriguez. "Porous Border is Seen as Terrorist Threat." Los Angeles Times. July 3, 2005. Accessed July 5, 2015.

13 Smith, Rebecca. "Assault on California Power Station Raises Alarm on Potential for Terrorism." The Wall Street Journal. February 5, 2014. Accessed July 5, 2015.

14 Hughes, Trevor and Jessica Guynn. "FBI investigating 11 attacks on San Francisco-area Internet lines." USA Today. July 1, 2015. Accessed July 5, 2015.

## Demography

Since the United States Census Bureau is forbidden by law to ask respondents about their religious affiliation there is no official data about the number of Muslims in the United States. However, many different estimates of the Muslim population do exist. Dr. Tom W. Smith at the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago estimates that there are around 1.88 million Muslims in the United States.<sup>15</sup> The Pew Research Center estimated that there were 2.35 million Muslims living in the United States during 2007 and 2.75 million Muslims in 2011.<sup>16,17</sup> However, the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), a Muslim advocacy and civil liberties organization, sponsored a study by the Hartford Institute for Religious Research which estimated the population of Muslims in the United States to be 7 million.<sup>18</sup> Although these three sources differ greatly on their estimates of the Muslim population it is generally accepted that the Muslim population is at least going to double by 2030, no matter the original population estimate.<sup>19</sup>

Like the United States as a whole, no official data exists on the number of Muslims living in California. The Association of Religion Data Archives (ARDA) in concert with the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies estimates that there are 272, 814 Muslims living in California.<sup>20</sup> According to a study done by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies this would make California the 9<sup>th</sup> most Muslim state in terms of percentage.<sup>21</sup> In terms of total population, California has the 4<sup>th</sup> largest population of Muslims, behind Texas, New York, and Illinois, according to the ARDA.<sup>22,23,24</sup>

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15 "Estimating the Muslim Population in the United States." Smith, Tom. American Jewish Committee. Accessed May 3, 2015.

16 "Section 1: A Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans." "Pew Research Center for the People and the Press."

17 "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050." Pew Research Centers Religion Public Life Project. April 2, 2015. Accessed May 3, 2015.

18 Watanabe, Teresa. "Private Studies Fuel Debate over Size of U.S. Muslim Population." Pittsburgh Post-Gazette. Accessed May 3, 2015.

19 "The Future Of The Global Muslim Population. Region: Americas." Pew Research Centers Religion Public Life Project. January 27, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

20 "State Membership Report: California." The Association of Religion Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

21 Barooah, Jahnabi. "Most And Least Muslim States In America (PHOTOS)." The Huffington Post. June 27, 2012. Accessed May 3, 2015.

22 "State Membership Report: Texas." The Association of Religion Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

However, the ARDA's estimate is very conservative and much higher estimates of the Muslim population in California exist. For instance, the *Orange County Register* estimated that California is home to roughly around 1 million Muslims.<sup>25</sup> *The Washington Post* estimated that there are 500,000 Muslims in Southern California alone.<sup>26</sup> Meanwhile, a survey of the Muslim community in the San Francisco Bay Area estimated that there are 250,000 Muslims in that region; nearly the same amount that the ARDA estimated existed in the entire state.<sup>27</sup> All of these conflicting estimates evinces how little is known about the Muslim community in the United States, and in California.

The United States is an incredibly diverse place and its Muslim population is no different. Nationwide, more than 75% of Muslims are first or second generation Americans.<sup>28</sup> Amazingly, 40% of foreign born Muslims came to the United States after 2000 and 31% arrived during the 1990s.<sup>29</sup> This means that Muslim community in the United States is very young and can be characterized as still being in its infancy. According to a glossy report put out by the Bureau of International Information Programs at the United States Department of State the average age of the Muslim community is 35 years old, compared to 54 in other communities.<sup>30</sup> According to the Pew Research Forum, in a report titled *Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream*, "Muslim Americans are significantly younger than the non-Muslim population. More than half of adult Muslims (56%) are between the ages of 18 and 39; in the general public, just 40% of adults are in this category."<sup>31</sup> The Muslim community in the United States is both young in age and in its time in America.

The sharpest divide in the American Muslim population is between African American

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23 "State Membership Report: New York." The Association of Religion Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

24 "State Membership Report: Illinois." The Association of Religion Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

25 Hinch, Jim. "Muslims Getting More Politically Active." *Orange County Register*. May 31, 2013. Accessed May 3, 2015.

26 Markon, Jerry. "Tension Grows between Calif. Muslims, FBI after Informant Infiltrates Mosque." *The Washington Post*. December 5, 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

27 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community."

28 Johnson, Toni. "Muslims in the United States." Council on Foreign Relations. September 19, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

29 "Section 1: A Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans." Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. August 30, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

30 "American Muslims." Bureau of International Information Programs, U.S. Department of State.

31 "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream." "Pew Research Center." May 22, 2007. Accessed May 3, 2015.

Muslims and Muslim immigrants. The reason for this divide is cultural as African American Muslims and Muslim immigrants tend to have differing traditions of following Islam and attend different mosques. Estimates of the number of native-born African American Muslims range from 20% to 42%.<sup>32</sup> In contrast, foreign born Muslims are very diverse and come from at least 77 different countries of origin.<sup>33</sup> Additionally, no country accounts for more than one-in-six Muslim immigrants, with Pakistan being the largest country of origin, constituting 14% of foreign born Muslims and 9% of all American Muslims.<sup>34</sup> 41% of foreign born Muslims in the United States come from Arab countries, making up 26% of all Muslim Americans.<sup>35</sup> The rest of the Muslim American population is rounded out by converts, who comprise around 23% of the total population.<sup>36</sup>

Although no official data exists about the demography of the Muslim community in California, two surveys, one on the San Francisco Bay Area Muslim community and one on mosques in Southern California, do provide some useful information. *The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community* was funded by One Nation Bay Area, a partnership of four San Francisco Bay Area organizations that promotes outreach between the region's Muslim and non-Muslim inhabitants.

According to the study the San Francisco Bay Area Muslim community has a median age of 35.0, compared to a median age of 39.4 for the region.<sup>37</sup> 57% of respondents said that they were married, 5% said that they were currently divorced, compared to the national average of 21%, and 32% responded that they were single and unmarried.<sup>38</sup> In terms of race and ethnicity, the survey found that 30% of the community is made up of South Asian Muslims, 23% are Arabs, 17% are Afghans, 9% are African Americans, 7% are Asian/Pacific Islanders, 6% are Caucasian, and 2% are Iranians.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, 49% of San Francisco Bay Area

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32 Ibid.

33 "Section 1: A Demographic Portrait of Muslim Americans." "Pew Research Center for the People and the Press."

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

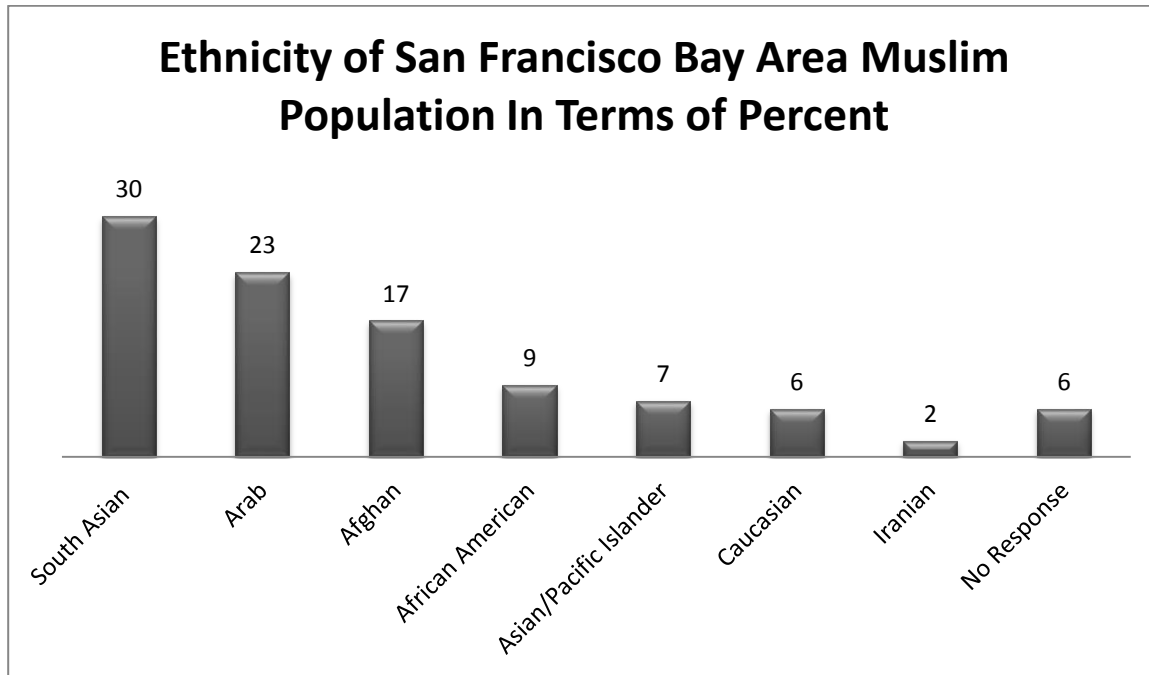
36 Johnson, Toni. "Muslims in the United States."

37 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community." May 1, 2013. Accessed May 3, 2015.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

Muslims responded that they are citizens, 14% said that they were not, and 37% offered no response.<sup>40</sup> As will be seen these figures align very closely with the national averages for mosque attendance.



Source: *The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community*

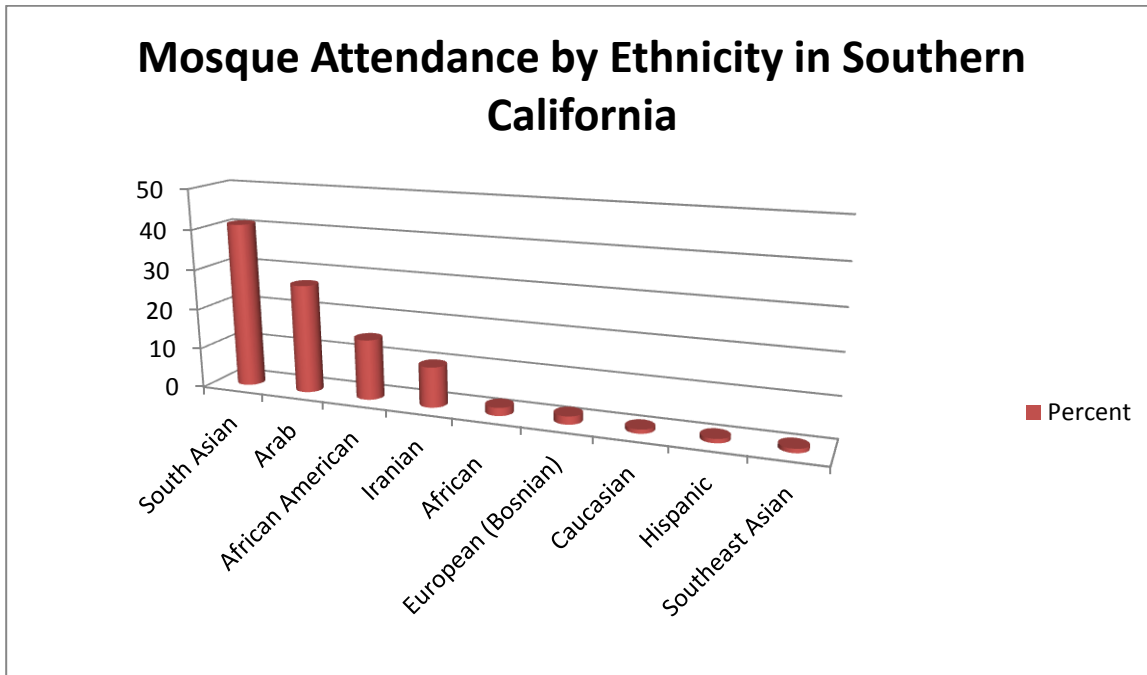
*A Comprehensive Survey of Southern California Mosques* was a survey that was commissioned by the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California and undertaken by Dr. Ihsan Bagby, a professor at the University of Kentucky.<sup>41</sup> Although the survey is mainly concerned with mosques, it does have some figures on the ethnicity of mosque attendees and whether a mosque is dominated by a single ethnic group. The survey found that 41% of mosque participants in Southern California were South Asian, followed by Arabs at 27%, African Americans at 15%, Iranians at 10%, Africans at 2%, Europeans (mostly Bosnians) at 2%, followed by Southeast Asians, Caucasians, and Hispanics all at or below 1%.<sup>42</sup> These figures can be compared to a national mosque survey that Dr. Bagby conducted in 2011 which found

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Bagby, Ihsan. "US Mosque Study 2011: The American Mosque 2011." 2011. Accessed May 31, 2015.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

that 33% of mosque participants were South Asian, 27% were Arab, 24% were African American, 2% were Iranian, 9% were African, 2% were European, 1% were Southeast Asian, 1% were Caucasian, and 1% were Hispanic.<sup>43</sup>



Source: A Comprehensive Survey of Southern California Mosques

Moreover, 33% of mosques in Southern California are dominated by South Asians, compared to 26% nationally.<sup>44</sup> 13% of mosques in Southern California are dominated by Arabs, compared to 17% nationally.<sup>45</sup> 15% of mosques are dominated by African Americans, compared to 23% nationally.<sup>46</sup> And 10% of mosques in Southern California are dominated by Iranians, compared to less than 1% nationally.<sup>47</sup> Bagby defines a mosque as dominated if one ethnic group comprises “over 55% of all regular participants; 50-59% of one group and all others less than 40%; 40-49% of one group and all others less than 30%; 35-39% of one group

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

and all others less than 20%.”<sup>48</sup>

One of the pieces of data that stands out from these figures is the large number of Iranians in Southern California. These figures are interesting and helpful, but they only capture those who attend mosques and fail to adequately catalogue Muslims who do not attend mosques. Therefore, these figures should be used cautiously to describe the entire Southern California Muslim community or the Muslim community in California.

## Socio-economic Status

Muslim Americans are solidly situated in the middle class. 44% of adults nationwide report incomes of \$50,000 or more annually compared to 41% of Muslim American adults.<sup>49</sup> Similarly, 17% of American adults report an annual income over \$100,000 compared to 16% for Muslim Americans.<sup>50</sup> Finally, 33% of American adults and 35% of Muslim American adults report an annual income below \$35,000.<sup>51</sup>

In terms of education, 24% of Muslim Americans possess a college degree, nearly identical to the number of non-Muslim Americans.<sup>52</sup>

There is no available data on the socio-economic standing of the Muslim community in Southern California, but *The Bay Area Muslim Study* found that “the Bay Area Muslim community is highly educated, with 74 percent having completed some form of college, 25 percent having completed graduate school and 5 percent holding doctorate degrees. About 67 percent of the population speaks three or more languages, with more than 71 percent of those fluent in at least two. But despite the high levels of education, the median household income among Bay Area Muslims is less than the Bay Area average.”<sup>53</sup> “According to the study, the median income for Muslim households is about \$70,686 a year - more than the \$50,054 median for the general-population household nationally, but less than the \$77,879 median general-

48 Ibid.

49 Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream." "Pew Research Center."

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community."

population household figure for the Bay Area.”<sup>54</sup>

## **PART 2: THE MUSLIMS OF CALIFORNIA**

### **A Very Short History of Muslims in California**

The first Muslim in California may have been Hadji Ali or Hi Jolly, a Middle Eastern camel driver hired to test Secretary of War Jefferson Davis’s idea for a Camel Military Corps in 1855. Hi Jolly helped drive the first batch of camels from Texas to California. Hi Jolly became an American citizen in 1880 and changed his name to Philip Tedro. He died in 1902.<sup>55</sup>

There is no official government information on Muslim immigration to California, but most of California’s Muslim community is made up of recent immigrants who came to the United States in the 1970’s, 1980’s and 1990’s. As cited before, according to the Council on Foreign Relations, more than 75% of Muslims are first or second generation Americans.<sup>56</sup> And according to the Pew Research Center, 65% of American Muslims are first generation immigrants.<sup>57</sup> These figures differ slightly, but it is abundantly clear that the Muslim community in the United States is made-up of many recent arrivals.

Of these new immigrants 28% came in the 2000s, 33% in the 1990s, 23% came during the 1980s.<sup>58</sup> Muslims immigrate to the United States for a variety of reasons. According to a Pew Poll, 26% immigrated for educational reasons, 24% for economic opportunities, 24% for family reasons, and 20% to escape conflict or persecution in their homeland.<sup>59</sup> *The Bay Area Muslim Study* found that 17% of Muslim immigrants came for educational opportunities, 8% came because of conflict or persecution in their homeland, 7% because of family reasons, 6% for economic opportunity, 6% for employment opportunity, 5% for marriage, 2% for other

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54 Ho, Vivian. "Muslims Become Part of Bay Area Fabric." San Francisco Chronicle. May 19, 2013. Accessed May 3, 2015.

55 Thompson, Clay. "Arizona's Camel Military Corps and Hi Jolly." Arizona's Camel Military Corps and Hi Jolly. February 7, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2015.

56 Johnson, Toni. "Muslims in the United States."

57 "Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream."

58 Ibid.

59 Ibid.

reasons, 14% for a combination of reasons, and 37% offered no response.<sup>60</sup>

## Geographical Concentration

The Muslim community in California is centered around three large metropolitan areas: Greater Los Angeles and Orange County, the San Francisco Bay Area, and San Diego County. *The Bay Area Muslim Study* estimated the population of Muslims in the region at 250,000.<sup>61</sup> The ARDA used data from the 1980-2010 Religious Congregations and Membership Studies to estimate that there are 70,971 Muslims in the San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>62</sup> This estimate uses the same definition of the San Francisco Bay Area as the survey does. Both define the San Francisco Bay Area as consisting of Alameda, San Francisco, Contra Costa, San Mateo, Marin, and Santa Clara counties. The difference between these two estimates illustrates the very difficult task of finding an accurate estimate of the Muslim population in California and the United States. The ARDA also estimates the population of Muslims in Los Angeles County as 69,080.<sup>63</sup> The ARDA estimated the Muslim population of Orange County as 24,674 and the Muslim population of San Diego County as 21,994.<sup>64</sup>

The Muslim community in California is exceedingly diverse and there are only a few ethnic enclaves that merit mentioning. The Afghan community in Fremont, Alameda County is the largest community of Afghan Americans in the United States.<sup>65</sup> The City Heights neighborhood in San Diego has a thriving Somali community.<sup>66</sup> The Greater Los Angeles area has an Iranian population of at least 500,000 and a part of the city is nicknamed Tehrangeles, a portmanteau of Los Angeles and Tehran.<sup>67</sup> However, not all of the 500,000 Iranians in Los Angeles are Muslim. There is a large Persian Jewish community and smaller communities of

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60 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community."

61 Ibid.

62 "Muslim Estimate Counties (2010)." The Association of Religious Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Curiel, Jonathan. "Little Kabul." The New York Times. June 4, 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

66 Schwartz, Mattathias. "The Whole Haystack" The New Yorker. January 26, 2015. Accessed May 3, 2015.

67 Macfarquhar, Neil. "Exiles in 'Tehrangeles' Are Split on Iran." The New York Times. May 8, 2006. Accessed May 3, 2015.

Zoroastrians and Bahá'ís. Los Angeles also has an officially designated Little Bangladesh neighborhood, but it is only four blocks long.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the Little Arabia district in Anaheim, Orange County is a flourishing area of shops and mosques that is getting local support for official recognition.<sup>69</sup>

## The Mosques of California

The concentration of the Muslim population in these three metropolitan regions manifests itself in the location of mosques in the state. According to the Islamic Bulletin, a non-profit based in San Francisco, there are 100 mosques in Northern California and 116 mosques in Southern California.<sup>70,71</sup>

Of the 100 mosques in Northern California 52 are in the San Francisco Bay Area in the list the Islamic Bulletin provides.<sup>72</sup> Yet, this data is not definitive and a 2011 survey of mosques in the United States contends that there are 62 mosques in the San Francisco Bay Area and 246 in the entire state.<sup>73</sup> The previously mentioned survey of the San Francisco Bay Area Muslim community contends that there are 84 mosques in the San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>74</sup> Although no definitive data set exists about Northern California mosques, the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California undertook a survey of all Southern California mosques in 2011 and discovered that there are 100 mosques in Southern California, an astounding 39% increase from the 72 mosques that existed in Southern California in 2000.<sup>75</sup>

Approximately 7% of all mosques in the United States self-identify as Shi'ite mosques.<sup>76</sup>

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68 Abdulrahim, Raja. "Little Bangladesh Must Grow into Its Name." Los Angeles Times. November 28, 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

69 Esquivel, Paloma. "Anaheim's Little Arabia Pushing for a Higher Profile." Los Angeles Times. March 15, 2014. Accessed May 3, 2015.

70 "California Mosque List." USC: Center for Religion & Civic Culture. Accessed May 3, 2015.

71 "California Prayer Locations." Islamic Bulletin. Accessed May 3, 2015.

72 Ibid.

73 Bagby, Ihsan. "US Mosque Study 2011: The American Mosque 2011."

74 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community."

75 Bagby, Ihsan. "A Comprehensive Survey of Souther California Mosques." Islamic Shura Council of Southern California. 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

76 Ibid.

Moreover, according to the national mosque survey “a larger number of Shi’ite mosques are located in the West. Approximately 37% of all Shi’ite mosques are located in the West, especially California, as opposed to 17% of all Sunni mosques.”<sup>77</sup> The survey completed by the Islamic Shura Council of Southern California found that 20% of mosques in Southern California are Shi’ite.<sup>78</sup> The large number of Shi’ite mosques in Southern California is most likely due to the large Iranian population in the region. The survey also found that in 65% of mosques in California women pray behind a curtain, compared to 66% nationally.<sup>79</sup> The survey also discovered that Southern California mosques annually convert an average of 11.5 people, with 41% of the converts being African American compared to the national average of 64%.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, 31% of all converts to Islam in Southern California are Hispanic, compared to 12% nationally.<sup>81</sup> Also, average mosque attendance is 356, compared to the national average of 353.<sup>82</sup> Although it is unclear how different or alike mosques are in Northern California from their counterparts in Southern California the mosque survey done by the Islamic Shura Council does a good job illustrating how the Muslim community in California is similar to, and different from, the rest of the United States.

In Northern California 68% of the respondents to *The Bay Area Muslim Study* reported attending a mosque once a week.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, 54% of respondents identified themselves as Muslims first.<sup>84</sup> 75% of the Muslims surveyed identified as Sunni, 4% as Shi’ite, 2% as Sufi, and 14% as “Just Muslim.”<sup>85</sup> For religious affiliation, half of Muslim Americans self-identify as Sunni, 16% identify as Shia, 22% responded that they were non-denominational, 5% responded that they adhere to a different denomination and 7% did not offer a response.<sup>86</sup>

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77 Ibid.

78 Bagby, Ihsan. "A Comprehensive Survey of Souther California Mosques."

79 Ibid.

80 Ibid.

81 Ibid.

82 Ibid.

83 Bazian, Hatem, and Farid Senzai. "The Bay Area Muslim Study: Establishing Identity and Community."

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid.

86 “Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream.” Pew Research Center.

## Attitudes and Views

The first survey of Muslim American's attitudes and views was done by the Pew Research Center in 2007 in the *Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream* report. The report found that Muslim Americans have a largely positive view of American society and the communities that they live in.<sup>87</sup> The report also discovered that 63% of Muslim Americans do not see a conflict between being a practicing Muslim and living in a modern society.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, the report found that "Muslim Americans reject Islamic extremism by larger margins than do Muslim minorities in Western European countries. However, there is somewhat more acceptance of Islamic extremism in some segments of the U.S. Muslim public than others. Fewer native-born African American Muslims than others completely condemn al Qaeda. In addition, younger Muslims in the U.S. are much more likely than older Muslim Americans to say that suicide bombing in the defense of Islam can be at least sometimes justified. Nonetheless, absolute levels of support for Islamic extremism among Muslim Americans are quite low, especially when compared with Muslims around the world."<sup>89</sup> However, just 40% of participants said they believed that al-Qaeda or that Arab or Muslim groups perpetrated the September 11th attacks.<sup>90</sup>

*A Comprehensive Survey of Southern California Mosques* also found that mosque leaders are nearly unanimous in their embrace of American society. 94% of mosque leaders in Southern California believe that Muslims should be involved in the political process.<sup>91</sup> Moreover, only 20% of Southern California mosque leaders believe that American society is hostile to Islam.<sup>92</sup> When asked whether American society was immoral 13% of Southern California mosque leaders responded that they agreed and 68% responded that they disagreed with that statement.<sup>93</sup> Again, although these results only reflect the views of imams in Southern California they may be similar to the views of Northern California imams.

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87 Ibid.

88 Ibid.

89 Ibid.

90 Ibid.

91 Bagby, Ihsan. "A Comprehensive Survey of Southern California Mosques."

92 Ibid.

93 Ibid.

Muslim Americans own attitudes closely resemble white evangelicals and black Protestants. In terms of religious intensity and observance, 72% of Muslim Americans, 79% of white evangelicals, and 85% of black protestants say that religion is “very important” in their lives.<sup>94</sup> When asked about their personal identity, both 28% of Muslim Americans and 28% of white evangelicals self-identify as Americans first.<sup>95</sup> At first glance this number seems very low, but it is important to note that 62% of white evangelicals identify with their faith first, compared to 42% of Muslim Americans.<sup>96</sup>

In terms of political views Muslim Americans are far more socially liberal than white evangelicals and share many of the same political stances with black Protestants. According to the Pew Research Center, “The largest numbers of Muslim Americans define their political ideology as “moderate,” as is the case with most other groups.”<sup>97</sup> Muslim Americans tend to vote Democratic, although they are very socially conservative. 70% of Muslim Americans said they believe the government should be large and provide social services rather than be small.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, Muslim Americans are very pro-immigration and nearly three-in-four Muslim Americans say immigrants strengthen the country.<sup>99</sup> Concerning social issues, 60% of Muslim Americans responded that homosexuality should be discouraged and 59% believe that the government should do more to safeguard public morality.<sup>100</sup> The political views and activities of Muslim Americans will be written about in greater depth in the next section.

Unfortunately, there has not been any survey undertaken to measure non-Muslim Californians reaction to increased Muslim immigration or the growing Muslim community in California. However, there have been numerous cases of death threats, vandalism, graffiti, and even an arson at a mosque in California as well as protests against the building of mosques.<sup>101,102,103,104,105,106,107</sup> The movie *The Innocence of Muslims*, which sparked worldwide

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94 Ruby, Robert, and Greg Smith. "How Muslims Compare With Other Religious Americans." Pew Research Center. July 6, 2007. Accessed May 4, 2015.

95 Ibid.

96 Ibid.

97 Ibid.

98 Ibid.

99 Ibid.

100 Ibid.

101 Tran, My-Thuan. "California Briefing / Cypress." Los Angeles Times. June 5, 2009. Accessed May 4, 2015.

protests in 2012, was also produced in California.<sup>108</sup>

Although there has not been a survey undertaken to measure non-Muslim Californians reaction to the growing Muslim community, the Pew Research Center compiled a report on how Americans feel about various religious groups. According to the report, survey participants were asked on a scale of 0 to 100 to rank how they felt about certain religious groups, where 0 reflects the most negative possible rating and 100 reflects the most positive possible rating. Jews, Catholics, and evangelical Christians all rated warmly, with scores of 63, 62, and 61 respectively.<sup>109</sup> Buddhists, Hindus, and Mormons all rated more neutrally, with scores ranging from 48 to 53, atheists earned a score of 41 and Muslims earned an average rating of 40.<sup>110</sup> These responses show the resistance of non-Muslim Americans to embrace American Muslims and the suspicion that many Muslims face in the United States.

Today, Muslim communities in California are thriving. Zaytuna College, in Berkeley, Alameda County, is America's first Muslim liberal arts college. Here, students study the Quran, Sharia law, and Islamic theology along with a great books curriculum, akin to St. John's College.<sup>111</sup> Zaytuna College is a sign that the Muslim community in California is assimilating into the American mainstream while maintaining its traditions. The college is a perfect symbol of the California Muslim community's desire to be Americans and a strong counterbalance to any notion of radicalization.

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102 Lopez, Robert. "Hate-crime Probe Launched after Vandals Deface Manteca Mosque." Los Angeles Times. February 4, 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

103 Marcum, Diana. "Hate Crime at Mosque Angers Residents of California Town." Los Angeles Times. September 4, 2010. Accessed May 4, 2015.

104 Galli, Joe, and Jenifer Daniels. "Shots Fired at Islamic Society of the Coachella Valley." KESQ. November 4, 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

105 Chuang, Stephanie. "Concern Over Threat at Fremont Mosque." NBC Bay Area. December 14, 2012. Accessed May 4, 2015.

106 Ramirez, Margaret. "Security Tightened After Repeated Vandalism at Islamic Center." Los Angeles Times. November 9, 2000. Accessed May 4, 2015.

107 Moynihan, Colin. "In Bay Area, a Fragile Relationship Between Muslims and the F.B.I." The New York Times. February 28, 2013. Accessed May 4, 2015.

108 Joseph Gross, Michael. "The Making of The Innocence of Muslims: Cast Members Discuss the Film That Set Fire to the Arab World." Vanity Fair. December 27, 2012. Accessed May 4, 2015.

109 "How Americans Feel About Religious Groups." Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. July 16, 2014. Accessed May 28, 2015.

110 Ibid.

111 Oppenheimer, Mark. "A Muslim College Mixes Subjects to Achieve an American Feel." The New York Times. April 12, 2013. Accessed May 4, 2015.

## Political Participation

The Muslim community in California is just beginning to flex its political muscles. Despite their geographical concentration in three urban areas, Muslim voters have been unable to get candidates to tailor their campaigns towards the community. Additionally, the paucity of Muslim candidates for office may reflect a fear of backlash. Another explanation for the Muslim community's lack of political presence is its diversity. The fact that the Muslim community is made up of multiple ethnic groups, with no group consisting of an overwhelming majority, probably weakens the community's ability to organize and rally around issues that affect the community as a whole.

Nationwide, there are only two Muslim congressmen, Keith Ellison of Minnesota and Andre Carson of Indiana, both Democrats.<sup>112</sup> Across the country, the Muslim American community is also in the embryonic phase of its political development. The Muslim community used to consistently vote Republican, but recently, and especially, after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks the Muslim community has overwhelmingly supported Democratic candidates. "Yet, until recently, Muslims were also the least politically active faith community. Only 65 percent of American Muslims are registered to vote, compared with 91 percent of Protestants and Jews, according to a 2011 Gallup poll."<sup>113</sup> "Roughly 85 percent of Muslims voted for Barack Obama in last year's election [2012], according to post-electing polling. However, the alliance between Muslims and Democrats is actually a recent phenomenon, the product of an unusually rapid turnaround in American politics, said Louis Desipio, a political science professor at UC Irvine. Fifteen years ago, Muslims 'identified with Republicans,' Desipio said. A large majority of Muslims voted for George W. Bush in the 2000 presidential election. And members of Bush's political team made efforts to cultivate a network of high-income Muslim donors."<sup>114</sup> Although Muslim Americans are socially conservative, only 11% of Muslims say they are Republicans or

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112 "Faith on the Hill: The Religious Composition of the 113th Congress." Pew Research Centers Religion Public Life Project. November 16, 2012. Accessed May 4, 2015.

113 Hinch, Jim. "Muslims Getting More Politically Active."

114 Ibid .

lean Republican and about 60% say that they are Democrats or lean Democratic.<sup>115</sup> The Muslim community's recent defection to the Democratic Party is most likely a result of disdain for President Bush's policies after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, specifically the invasion of Afghanistan, the invasion of Iraq, and the War on Terror.

Recently, there have been some positive developments for California Muslims politically. For example, the appointment of the state's first Muslim judge may be a watershed moment for Muslims in California politics.<sup>116</sup> Another example of the Muslim community's growing political strength is how it dealt with a racist mascot. In a misguided attempt to pay homage to their agricultural heritage the Coachella Valley High School sports teams used to be named the Arabs and depicted an offensive stereotype.<sup>117</sup> The mascot and name has now been changed to the Mighty Arabs and the image to something more positive after an outcry from the Muslim community and lobbying by CAIR.<sup>118</sup> The first annual "Muslim Day at the Capitol" was held on May 6<sup>th</sup>, 2012. The day was organized by CAIR and was used to lobby State Senators about immigration and civil rights.<sup>119</sup> By organizing a day to lobby at the capitol CAIR is slowly moving into the spotlight and attempting to throw its political weight around.

But, the Muslim community in California, and especially CAIR, still has a ways to go in asserting its political strength. California Senator Barbara Boxer's revocation of a routine certificate of appreciation for CAIR in 2007 and her comments that "There are things there I don't want to be associated with," after she was criticized on the internet for the commendation, illustrate this point vividly.<sup>120</sup> Senator Boxer added that her California office had not vetted the group thoroughly.<sup>121</sup>

More broadly, Senator Boxer's action illustrates the Muslim community's lack of political capital and the public's fear of Muslim non-profits having links to terrorism.

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115 Ruby, Robert, and Greg Smith. "How Muslims Compare With Other Religious Americans."

116 Leovy, Jill. "Faith Informs Work of State's First Muslim Judge." Los Angeles Times. February 2, 2015. Accessed May 4, 2015.

117 Sahagun, Louis. "Coachella Valley High Drops Mascot That Offended Arab Americans." Los Angeles Times. September 2, 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

118 Ibid.

119 Riggs, Kevin. "California Muslims Seek Clout." NBC Bay Area. May 8, 2012. Accessed May 4, 2015.

120 Macfarquhar, Neil. "Scrutiny Increases for a Group Advocating for Muslims in U.S." The New York Times. March 13, 2007. Accessed May 4, 2015.

121 Ibid.

Accusations of connections to terrorist organizations have consistently dogged CAIR and other Muslim non-profits. In 2007 CAIR was named as an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land trial.<sup>122</sup> The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development was a non-profit founded in California in 1989 and moved to Richardson, Texas in 1992.<sup>123</sup> The charity used to be the largest Islamic charity in the United States and before it was shut down had raised over \$12 million dollars for Hamas and had an office in California.<sup>124</sup> However, the judge in the case later ruled that the list of unindicted co-conspirators must be sealed.<sup>125</sup>

Additionally, offensive comments by California State Assemblywoman Melissa Melendez about “Islamic savages” and her Twitter hashtag “standupagainstIslam” as well as her refusal to apologize demonstrates the hostile climate that many Muslim Americans feel emanating from the political arena.<sup>126</sup> Likewise, in 2014 in documents released by Edward Snowden it was revealed that the United States had subjected five Muslim American leaders to electronic surveillance, including the executive director of CAIR.<sup>127</sup>

## Links to Hate and Terror

Although the large majority of the mosques in California are peaceful, a few of them have links to Islamic radicalization and hate speech.

Masjid-Al-Islam in Oakland, Alameda County is a small mosque that is affiliated with imam Abdul Alim Musa, and As-Sabiquan, which the Southern Poverty Law Center labels a hate group.<sup>128</sup> Imam Abdul Alim Musa is a Washington, D.C. based activist, who has claimed

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122 MacFarquhar, Neil. “Muslim Groups Oppose a List of ‘Co-Conspirators.’” The New York Times. August 16, 2007. Accessed May 28, 2015.

123 "Backgrounder: The Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development." Anti-Defamation League. Accessed May 4, 2015.

124 "Federal Judge Hands Down Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case." Federal Bureau of Investigation. May 29, 2009. Accessed May 4, 2015.

125 Trahan, Jason. “Judge ruled prosecutors should not have publicly released Holy Land unindicted co-conspirators list.” The Dallas Morning News. November 26, 2010. Accessed May 28, 2015.

126 Cadelago, Christopher. "Muslim Leaders Want California Lawmaker to Apologize for Remarks." The Sacramento Bee. February 12, 2015. Accessed May 4, 2015.

127 Savage, Charlie and Matt Apuzo. “U.S. Spied on 5 American Muslims, a Report Says.” The New York Times. July 9, 2014. Accessed May 28, 2015.

128 Beirich, Heidi, and Brian Levin. "Southern Poverty Law Center." Grown at Home . 2011. Accessed May 3, 2015.

that Zionist American agents blew up the World Trade Center, that Palestinian suicide bombers are heroes, and that the United States government imported heroin into black communities in the 1960's in order to hurt black separatism.<sup>129</sup> Abdul Alim Musa is also banned from entering the United Kingdom.<sup>130</sup> The imam at the Oakland mosque, Amir Abdel Malik Ali, has called Jews the "new Nazis" and has admitted his support for Hamas, Hezbollah, and jihad as well as claimed that Jews control the media and that the Matthew Shepard and James Byrd Jr. Hate Crimes Prevention Act was part of a plot by, former Chief of Staff to President Barack Obama, Rahm Emanuel to silence people who criticize Israel, Jews, and Holocaust deniers.<sup>131,132</sup>

Masjid ar-Ribat al-Islami is a Sunni mosque in San Diego where al-Qaeda leader Anwar al-Awlaki was imam from 1996 until 2000 and two hijackers from the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Midhar, studied for a short period of time.<sup>133</sup> In San Diego, al-Awlaki studied for a Master's degree in Education at San Diego State University and was twice detained by police for soliciting prostitution.<sup>134</sup> In San Diego al-Awlaki had his first contact with other jihadists; serving on the board of a charity that was a front for al-Qaeda and meeting with an associate of Omar Abdel-Rahman, the "Blind Sheik" behind the 1993 attempt to bomb New York City's World Trade Center.<sup>135</sup>

The South Bay Islamic Association in San Jose, Santa Clara County has a tangential connection to terror. A former imam at the mosque was arrested in Merida, Mexico in 2012 along with two Hezbollah operatives.<sup>136</sup> The imam, Rafic Labboun, is a dual American and Lebanese citizen, who served 27 months in federal prison because of his involvement in a scam that authorities believed was linked to a money laundering operation for Hezbollah.<sup>137</sup>

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129 Morse, Dan. "Case Against Ex-Guard Brings Scrutiny of D.C. Imam." The Washington Post. September 19, 2007. Accessed May 3, 2015.

130 "UK 'least Wanted' List Published." BBC News. May 5, 2009. Accessed May 3, 2015.

131 "ADL Calls On UC Irvine to Denounce Anti-Semitic Speaker and Pull Charter of Muslim Student Union." Anti-Defamation League. Accessed May 3, 2015.

132 Beirich, Heidi, and Brian Levin. "Southern Poverty Law Center."

133 Shane, Scott, and Souad Mekhennet. "Imam's Path From Condemning Terror to Preaching Jihad." The New York Times. May 8, 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

134 Ghosh, Bobby. "How Dangerous Is the Cleric Anwar Al-Awlaki?" Time. January 13, 2010. Accessed May 3, 2015.

135 Ibid.

136 "South Bay Man Arrested In Mexico Along With Members of Hezbollah." CBS San Francisco. September 10, 2012. Accessed May 3, 2015.

137 Ibid.

The Lodi Muslim Mosque is located in San Joaquin County, California, the Zinfandel capital of the world.<sup>138</sup> Imam Shabbir Ahmed was fired by the board of the Lodi Muslim Mosque for voicing his support for Osama bin Laden and for speaking out against the United States after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.<sup>139</sup> Ahmed and another imam were detained on immigration charges.<sup>140</sup> Also, congregant Hamid Hayat, then age 22, was charged with two counts of lying to the FBI about his denial that he attended a terrorism training camp in Pakistan in 2003 and 2004 and sentenced to 24 years in prison.<sup>141</sup> Hayat's father, the neighborhood ice cream man, was also charged with two counts of making false statements to authorities about his son's activities.<sup>142</sup> According to CBS Sacramento, "The high-profile investigation and prosecution started with a paid informant's now-discredited claims that he saw high-ranking al-Qaida officials attend a Lodi mosque in the late 1990s. After the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, the FBI paid the informant \$230,000 over three years to infiltrate the mosque and record conversations with imams and worshippers."<sup>143</sup>

The Islamic Center of Mill Valley is a small mosque located in Marin County, an affluent suburb just north of San Francisco. John Walker Lindh, who fought with the Taliban, studied and prayed there.<sup>144</sup> The case of John Walker Lindh will be treated with greater depth in the *Case Studies of Radicalization* section.

Similarly, the San Francisco Islamic Center is a mosque located in the Bernal Heights neighborhood of the city. John Walker Lindh also studied there for a short period of time.<sup>145</sup>

The Islamic Society of Orange County is a very large mosque in Garden Grove, Orange County.<sup>146</sup> Adam Gadahn studied and was radicalized there along with a small group of young

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138 Arax, Mark. "The Agent Who Might Have Saved Hamid Hayat." Los Angeles Times. May 28, 2006. Accessed May 3, 2015.

139 Associated Press. "Calif. Imam Fired for Alleged Bin Laden Support." Msnbc.com. June 29, 2005. Accessed May 3, 2015.

140 Ibid.

141 Associated Press. "Hamid Hayat, Lodi Man Convicted On Terror Charges, Files Appeal." CBS Sacramento. July 6, 2014. Accessed May 3, 2015.

142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Tyrangiel, Josh. "The Taliban Next Door." Time Magazine. December 9, 2001. Accessed May 4, 2015.

145 Alonzo-Zaldivar, Ricardo, and John Glionna. "American Taliban Took Odd Route." Los Angeles Times. December 4, 2001. Accessed May 4, 2015.

146 "ISOC." Islamic Society of Orange California. Accessed May 4, 2015.

adult men.<sup>147</sup> Gadahn, also known as Azzam the American, was a senior operative in al-Qaeda best known for his videotaped speeches condemning the West and threatening more terror attacks. Gadahn was banned after striking the mosque's chairman during an argument. Gadahn was charged with misdemeanor assault and plead guilty.<sup>148</sup> The case of Adam Gadahn will be studied in greater depth later in the radicalization section.

Craig Monteilh is a convicted felon who worked for the FBI as an informant at the Islamic Society of Orange County.<sup>149</sup> Monteilh's case will be investigated further in the *Distrust between the Muslim Community and Law Enforcement* section. Finally, in 1992 Omar Abdel-Rahman, the "blind Sheikh," visited the mosque.<sup>150</sup>

The Islamic Center of Yorba Linda in northeastern Orange County hosted a fundraiser that drew protesters in 2011. One of the speakers at the fundraiser was Amir Abdel Malik, the imam at Masjid-Al-Islam in Oakland.<sup>151</sup>

The West Coast Islamic Society in Anaheim, Orange County also known as Masjid Al Ansar is where Nader Elhuzayel and Muhanad Badawi prayed and met.<sup>152</sup> Elhuzayel was arrested for attempting to join the Islamic State and Badawi was arrested for providing material support to help Elhuzayel join the Islamic State.<sup>153</sup>

The Islamic Center of San Diego is located in the Kearney Mesa neighborhood of San Diego. Wanted terrorist Jihad Serwan Mostafa attended services there.<sup>154</sup>

The King Fahad Mosque in Culver City, a suburb of Los Angeles, was funded by King Fahad of Saudi Arabia and his son, Crown Prince Abdullah ibn Abdulaziz.<sup>155</sup> September 11th

147 Argetsinger, Amy. "Muslim Teen Made Conversion to Fury." The Washington Post. December 2, 2004. Accessed May 4, 2015.

148 Khatchadourian, Raffi. "The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist." The New Yorker. January 22, 2007. Accessed May 4, 2015.

149 Schou, Nick. "The FBI, the Islamic Center of Irvine and Craig Monteilh: Who Was Conning Whom?" OC Weekly. April 30, 2009. Accessed May 4, 2015.

150 Khatchadourian, Raffi. "The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist."

151 Norman, Jan. "U.S. Flags, Signs at Protest of Muslim Event." The Orange County Register. February 13, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2015.

152 Duranty, Alyssa, Scott Schwebke, and Theresa Walker. "2 Anaheim men suspected of supporting ISIS appear in court, face 15 years in prison if convicted." The Orange County Register. May 22, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015.

153 Ibid.

154 Stickney, R., and Paul Krueger. "Accused Terrorist Was "Kind, Peaceful Man:" Friends." NBC 7 San Diego. August 6, 2010. Accessed May 4, 2015.

155 Ottaway, David. "U.S. Eyes Money Trails of Saudi-Backed Charities." The Washington Post. August 19, 2004.

hijackers, Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Midhar, spent time at the mosque according to the September 11 commission report.<sup>156</sup> According to *The Washington Post*, “the State Department refused reentry to the chief imam of the King Fahd Mosque in Culver City, Fahad al Thumairy, who also was a Saudi diplomat at the consulate in Los Angeles. The September 11 commission report later said the State Department had determined ‘he might be connected with terrorist activity.’”<sup>157</sup>

Masjid Omar Ibn Al-Khattab is a mosque in downtown Los Angeles that used to be funded by Libya.<sup>158</sup> However, the mosque has no known ties to terror or hate speech.

Masjid Medina Al-Munawara is a Kurdish mosque in northern San Diego County.<sup>159</sup> The mosque had a peripheral connection to the September 11th hijackers that attended Masjid ar-Ribat al-Islami and studied under al-Awlaki. Three Saudi nationals at the mosque were believed to have links to terror organizations and the Saudi government. Also, one of the men, Omar Al-Bayoumi, befriended September 11th hijackers Nawaf al-Hazmi and Khalid al-Midhar after overhearing them speaking Arabic at a restaurant in Los Angeles.<sup>160</sup> Al-Bayoumi purportedly “brought them to San Diego, arranged for them to live at the Parkwood Apartments in Clairemont (near the Islamic Center of San Diego) and reportedly paid \$1,550 for the first two months’ rent. Al-Bayoumi—who, with others here, helped Alhazmi and Almidhar open a bank account, obtain car insurance, get Social Security cards and call flight schools in Florida—also threw a welcoming party for the hijackers, during which he introduced them to the local Muslim community.”<sup>161</sup> The contact that Bayoumi and another Saudi national, Osama Bassnan, had with the two hijackers generated friction between the United States and Saudi Arabia, although Bayoumi’s role or knowledge of the hijacker’s plot has been a source of constant debate since the attacks.<sup>162</sup>

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Accessed May 4, 2015.

156 Ibid.

157 Ibid.

158 Jennings, Angel, and Teresa Watanabe. "Mosque-building Rises as Muslim American Clout Grows." *Los Angeles Times*. June 23, 2013. Accessed May 4, 2015.

159 Reno, Jamie. "Terror Two Years After." *San Diego Magazine*. September 1, 2003. Accessed May 4, 2015.

160 Ibid.

161 Ibid.

162 Risen, James and Johnston, David. "Report on 9/11 Suggests a Role by Saudi Spies." *The New York Times*. August 2,

Masjid Al-Ansar is a mosque in the City Heights neighborhood of San Diego where fundraising for al-Shabaab occurred and four men who attended the mosque, including the imam, were arrested for their involvement.<sup>163</sup> This case will be written about in greater depth in the *Case Studies of Radicalization* section of the paper.

Jamat-e-Masjidul Islam is a very small mosque in Inglewood, Los Angeles County. Levar Washington, Gregory Patterson, and Hammad Samana all attended the mosque. These three men were arrested, along with Kevin James, for their plot to attack the El Al counter at Los Angeles International Airport as well as other Jewish and military sites. These four men and their radicalization will be written about in depth in the *Case Studies of Radicalization* section of the paper.<sup>164</sup>

The Islamic Center of Irvine is a mosque in Irvine, Orange County. Craig Monteilh also worked as an undercover informant there.<sup>165</sup>

The Muslim American Society is a Muslim community center in Mira Mesa, San Diego County. The society was founded by the Muslim Brotherhood, which was named as a terror group (along with CAIR) by United Arab Emirates.<sup>166,167</sup>

Masjid Al Sabereen is a mosque in Pomona, Los Angeles County. Four men were arrested for conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists and join al-Qaeda and the Taliban in Afghanistan. Three of the men met at the mosque.<sup>168</sup> This case, the Paintball network, will be written about in greater detail in the *Additional Cases of Radicalization* section of the paper.

Finally, Ayman al-Zawahiri, the current leader of al-Qaeda toured California mosques in 1993 under his *Abdul Mu'iz* pseudonym. Zawahiri was ostensibly traveling to raise money for

2003. Accessed June 4, 2015.

163 Schwartz, Mattathias. "The Whole Haystack."

164 Krasnowski, Matt. "Muslims Find Helping Law Enforcement Helps Their Future." Muslim Public Affairs Council. October 8, 2005. Accessed May 4, 2015.

165 Watanabe, Teresa, and Paloma Esquivel. "L.A. Area Muslims Say FBI Surveillance Has a Chilling Effect on Their Free Speech and Religious Practices." Los Angeles Times. March 1, 2009. Accessed May 4, 2015.

166 "UAE Includes 2 US Muslim Groups on Terror List." Voice of America. November 17, 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

167 Ahmed-Ullah, Noreen, Sam Roe, and Laurie Cohen. "A Rare Look at Secretive Brotherhood in America." Chicago Tribune. September 19, 2004. Accessed May 4, 2015.

168 Nelson, Joe. "Inland Empire Terrorism Suspect Testifies in Riverside." The San Bernardino Sun. August 27, 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

Afghani children injured by land mines. Zawahiri purportedly raised only \$2,000.<sup>169</sup>

## Other Links to Terror

Merchants Bank of California N.A., based in Carson, Los Angeles County, which handled about two-thirds of the estimated \$200 million dollars a year in remittances to Somalia, stopped transferring money to Somalia in February 2015.<sup>170</sup> The bank stopped its money transfers to Somalia after the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, a wing of the Treasury Department that regulates national banks, issued a cease and desist order.<sup>171</sup> The order was issued because of money laundering concerns and fear of terrorist financing. Remittances to Somalia are a very important issue as the country is one of the poorest in the world and lacks any semblance of a banking system. According to numbers generated by non-profits and cited by *The Wall Street Journal* “Somalia receives \$215 million in U.S. remittances each year, accounting for around 4% of the country’s gross domestic product.”<sup>172</sup> The issue of financing terrorism in Somalia will be discussed in greater depth in the case study of Basaaly Moalin in the *Case Studies of Radicalization* section.

Another link to hate that has the possibility to engender radicalization are Muslim Student Associations (MSA) at California universities. The vast majority of events and people in MSA’s are peaceful. Yet, there is always a fear that students can be radicalized by listening to certain speakers or by influencing one another. One example is Omar Hammami from Daphne, Alabama. Hammami served as president of the University of South Alabama’s MSA.<sup>173</sup> A week after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks he was quoted in the school newspaper as saying it was “difficult to believe a Muslim could have done this.”<sup>174</sup> In 2006 he moved to Somalia and

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169 Wright, Lawrence. *The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11*. New York: Knopf, 2006. 179.

170 Reckard, Scott and Ronald D. White. "Money transfers cut off to Somalia." *Los Angeles Times*. February 5, 2015. Accessed June 2, 2015.

171 Ibid.

172 Tracy, Ryan. "Bank to Close Accounts Related to Somalia." *The Wall Street Journal*. February 4, 2015. Accessed June 2, 2015.

173 Elliott, Andrea. "The Jihadist Next Door." *The New York Times*. January 27, 2010. Accessed May 4, 2015.

174 Ibid.

joined al-Shabaab.<sup>175</sup>

The most prominent example of this fear in California is embodied by the Muslim Student Union at the University of California, Irvine (MSU). The MSU there has hosted speakers like Amir Abdel Malik Ali multiple times and organized disruptions during a speech by Israeli Ambassador to the United States Michael Oren.<sup>176</sup> According to the *Los Angeles Times* “In May 2006, an FBI agent was quoted as telling a business group in Newport Beach that the agency was monitoring Muslims at UC Irvine and USC.”<sup>177</sup> In May 2007 an FBI agent purportedly hit a Muslim student on campus while conducting surveillance.<sup>178</sup>

Although the MSU at the University of California, Irvine has been a bastion of intolerance and anti-Israel activism, there is no evidence to suggest that it has played a role in the radicalization of any students. In the same vein, there is no evidence linking the International Solidarity Movement or the Palestine Solidarity Movement to Islamic radicalization in California.

It seems pertinent to note that Islamic radicalization does not seem to be a problem at all on college campuses in California. Only one of the cases analyzed in the radicalization section of this paper has a connection to a California college and it is an exceedingly oblique connection.

## PART 3: RADICALIZATION

### Theories of Radicalization

There is no widely accepted definition of radicalization. For reasons related to clarity and concision this paper will use the United Kingdom’s Home Office’s definition of radicalization, which states that it is “the process by which people come to support terrorism and violent extremism and, in some cases, then join terrorist groups.”<sup>179</sup>

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175 Ibid.

176 Williams, Lauren, Nicole Santa Cruz, and Mike Anton. "Students Guilty of Disrupting Speech in 'Irvine 11' Case." *Los Angeles Times*. September 24, 2011. Accessed May 4, 2015.

177 Reza, H.G. “Tensions rise again at UC Irvine.” *Los Angeles Times*. May 19, 2007. Accessed July 5, 2015.

178 Ibid.

179 U.K. Home Office, “*CONTEST: the United Kingdom’s Strategy for Countering Terrorism*.” July, 2011. Accessed March

Moreover, there is no consensus in the literature on how individuals become radicalized. Nevertheless, in 2007 the New York Police Department (NYPD) released a seminal study on radicalization, titled *Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat*, which posited that there are four stages to Islamic radicalization: pre-radicalization, self-identification, indoctrination, and jihadization.<sup>180</sup> The report notes that “Many stop or abandon this process at different points,” but that “Individuals who do pass through this entire process are quite likely to be involved in the planning or implementation of a terrorist act.”<sup>181</sup>

In the pre-radicalization stage individuals are not under the influence of any extreme ideologies and live normal lives. According to the NYPD study’s authors many of those radicalized live in ethnic enclaves that provide “‘ideological sanctuaries’ for the seeds of radical thought.”<sup>182</sup> Then, in the self-identification stage individuals make a conscious break from their old life and start to begin a new life exploring Islam. Triggers for the jump from the pre-radicalization phase to the self-identification phase can come from economic, social, political, and personal events. In the indoctrination phase individuals gradually gravitate toward extreme Islamic ideologies and this usually occurs under the guise of a “spiritual sanctioner.”<sup>183</sup> Finally, in the jihadization phase individuals seek like-minded individuals to plan and carry out terror attacks. The last part of the process can occur very quickly.<sup>184</sup>

However, the NYPD’s study has not been accepted as gospel. Faiza Patel, co-director of the Liberty and National Security Program at the Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law, critiques the NYPD report for its reductionist approach to a complex social process. Patel argues that the NYPD study wholeheartedly embraces the “religious conveyor belt” model where individuals go “from grievance or personal crisis to religiosity to the adoption of radical beliefs to terrorism, with each step along that continuum identifiable to

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11, 2014.

180 Silber, Mitchell, and Arvin Bhatt. "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat." New York City Police Department. 2007. Accessed May 4, 2015.

181 Ibid.

182 Ibid.

183 Ibid.

184 Ibid.

law enforcement officials who know how to recognize the signs.”<sup>185</sup> Yet, the authors of the NYPD study note that “Although this [i.e. their own] model is sequential, individuals do not always follow a perfectly linear progression”<sup>186</sup> Patel puts forth her own model of radicalization that is based on two main ideas: “There is no profile of the type of person who becomes a terrorist; indeed, the process by which a person embraces violence is fluid, making it nearly impossible to predict who will move from espousing “radical” views to committing violent acts; and although the view that Islam requires attacks on Western targets (frequently described as jihadism) may provide an organizing principle or worldview that supports terrorism, Islam itself does not drive terrorism. In fact, the most recent research suggests that a well-developed Muslim identity actually counteracts jihadism”<sup>187</sup> Patel continues with the argument that these two findings entail two more points. First, that there are no identifiable markers of radicalization. To support this contention Patel cites an in-depth empirical study by the United Kingdom’s domestic security service, MI5, which found that there was no typical profile of the British terrorist.<sup>188</sup> Second, that Islam’s connection to terrorism is overblown. Patel again cites the MI5 study and quotes directly from the study that “[f]ar from being religious zealots, a large number of those involved in terrorism do not practise their faith regularly. Many lack religious literacy and could actually be regarded as religious novices.”<sup>189</sup>

John Horgan, professor of Security Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Lowell and director of the Center for Terrorism & Security Studies, echoes Patel’s criticism and writes that “There is evidence that not all those who engage in violent behavior necessarily need to possess radical beliefs.”<sup>190</sup> Horgan contends that “the emerging picture from empirical studies of terrorists (including over a hundred terrorists I have interviewed from multiple groups) is repeatedly one of people who became gradually involved with a terrorist network, largely through friends, family connections, and other informal social pathways but who only began to

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185 Patel, Faiza. "Rethinking Radicalization." Brennan Center for Justice at New York University School of Law. Accessed May 4, 2015.

186 Silber, Mitchell, and Arvin Bhatt. "Radicalization in the West: The Homegrown Threat."

187 Patel, Faiza. "Rethinking Radicalization."

188 Ibid.

189 Ibid.

190 Horgan, John. "Discussion Point: The End of Radicalization?" START: National Consortium For The Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism. September 28, 2012. Accessed May 4, 2015.

acquire and express radical beliefs as a consequence of deepening involvement with a network.”<sup>191</sup>

The debate about the connection between Islam and terrorism as well as whether or not there are any identifiable markers of radicalization is an interesting one and has important ramifications when it comes to formulating policy. No matter which camp one falls into when it comes to the theoretical approach to radicalization it is useful to analyze certain case studies in order to determine whether there are any discernible patterns that can be picked up on.

## Case Studies of Radicalization

This is not an exhaustive list of case studies of radicalization in California. For instance, a topic that this paper does not explore because of the lack of public information is the number of foreign fighters from California in Iraq and Syria. Rather, case studies in this section were chosen to highlight certain patterns and areas of weakness in law enforcement.

### *John Walker Lindh*

In the early 2000s John Walker Lindh may have been the most famous Islamic radical in American history, or at least runner-up to Osama bin Laden. The man former President George H.W. Bush labeled as “Some misguided Marin County hot-tubber” was an object of both fascination and revulsion for Americans in the immediate aftermath of the invasion of Afghanistan.<sup>192</sup> Detainee 001 in the War on Terror was born on February 9<sup>th</sup>, 1981 and spent his formative years in Silver Spring, Maryland and San Anselmo, Marin County.<sup>193,194</sup> Lindh’s father was a lawyer and his mother was a stay-at-home mom. Lindh’s upbringing was marred by the traumatic divorce of his parents.<sup>195</sup> An intestinal disorder as a kid kept Lindh out of

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191 Ibid.

192 Associated Press. "Bush Sr. Apologizes for Marin Hot Tub Slam." Los Angeles Times. February 28, 2002. Accessed May 4, 2015.

193 Swann, Steve and Gordon Corera. “A decade on for the ‘American Taliban.’” BBC News. September 30, 2011. Accessed July 8, 2015.

194 Tyrangiel, Josh. "The Taliban Next Door."

195 Roche, Timothy, Brian Bennett, Anne Berryman, Hilary Hylton, Siobhan Morrissey, and Armany Radwan. "The

school for an entire year and he only spent five months at Redwood High School before transferring to a school for independent study; earning his high school equivalency at only 16.<sup>196</sup>

An inveterate seeker of meaning and a loner Lindh found solace online in chat forums discussing hip-hop. Sometimes Lindh even pretended to be African American and criticized others online for not acting black enough.<sup>197</sup> Lindh was inspired to convert to Islam after reading *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* at the age of 16 and soon the hip-hop forums gave way to Islamic chat rooms where Lindh learned the rudiments of Islam. Later, Lindh began wearing traditional Islamic dress around San Anselmo and attended prayers at the Islamic Center of Mill Valley and the San Francisco Islamic Center.<sup>198</sup> Lindh quickly converted to Islam from his Roman Catholic upbringing.<sup>199</sup> In 1998, at the age of 17 Lindh went to Yemen to learn Arabic because he thought that Yemeni Arabic was closest to the Arabic of the Quran.<sup>200</sup> While in Yemen the bombing of the USS Cole occurred. When his father emailed him about the bombing, Lindh responded that docking the ship in a Muslim country was itself an “act of war.”<sup>201</sup>

Soon Lindh became disillusioned with his life in Yemen and traveled to Bannu, Pakistan to learn in a *madrassah* run by the Tablighi Jamaat movement.<sup>202</sup> There, Lindh studied to memorize the Quran, but left to join Harakat-ul-Mujahideen, a Pakistani organization dedicated to fighting in Kashmir.<sup>203</sup> Yet, Lindh left the group and traveled to Afghanistan to join the Taliban when he learned that the group wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan and not become an independent and Islamic Kashmiri state.<sup>204</sup> In Afghanistan Lindh was assigned to Al Ansar, a non-Afghan Arabic speaking unit of the Taliban, and sent to Al Farooq, a terror training

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Making of John Walker Lindh." Time Magazine. October 7, 2002. Accessed May 4, 2015.

196 Ibid.

197 Thomas, Evan. "A Long, Strange Trip To The Taliban." The Daily Beast. December 16, 2001. Accessed May 4, 2015.

198 Alonzo-Zaldivar, Ricardo, and John Glionna. "American Taliban Took Odd Route."

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid.

201 Thomas, Evan. "A Long, Strange Trip To The Taliban."

202 Mayer, Jane. "Lost in the Jihad - The New Yorker." The New Yorker. March 10, 2003. Accessed May 4, 2015.

203 Ibid.

204 Ibid.

camp.<sup>205</sup> At Al Farooq, which the government indictment against Lindh describes as an “Al Qaeda facility,” Lindh underwent rudimentary weapons training and met Osama bin Laden.<sup>206</sup> Lindh even claims he fell asleep during one of bin Laden’s lectures.<sup>207</sup> Lindh also claims he turned down the opportunity to conduct terrorist operations in the United States and Israel before being sent to the front near the Tajikistan border.<sup>208</sup> There, during the first days of the American invasion of Afghanistan Lindh’s unit fled from the Northern Alliance advance and the American bombing campaign before he was captured. Imprisoned in the 19th century fortress at Qala-i-Jangi Lindh was shot in the leg during a prisoner led uprising and was taken into American custody after the uprising was put down.<sup>209</sup>

### *Adam Gadahn*

Adam Gadahn, also known as Azzam the American, was born on September 1<sup>st</sup>, 1978 in Oregon to parents with Jewish and Christian backgrounds.<sup>210</sup> Gadahn, the first American to be charged with treason in over 50 years, grew up on a 40 acre goat farm in rural Riverside County which had no running water and did not have a telephone for years.<sup>211</sup> As a child he was homeschooled and attended Christian homeschool support groups.<sup>212</sup> Like Lindh, Gadahn found meaning in music and was a hardcore fan of heavy and death metal music.<sup>213</sup> Also like Lindh, Gadahn finished his high school coursework at the age of 16 and moved in with his grandparents in Santa Ana, Orange County in an attempt to find a job.<sup>214</sup> During the day Gadahn worked at a computer store and at night he watched cooking shows on television and browsed the internet. Online he searched for religious meaning and scrolled through AOL’s

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205 Swann, Steve and Gordon Corera. “A decade on for the ‘American Taliban.’”

206 Mayer, Jane. “Lost in the Jihad.”

207 Ibid.

208 Swann, Steve and Gordon Corera. “A decade on for the ‘American Taliban.’”

209 Thomas, Evan. “A Long, Strange Trip To The Taliban.”

210 “Adam Yahiyeh Gadahn - 2014 Counterterrorism Calendar.” The National Counterterrorism Center. 2014. Accessed May 4, 2015.

211 Khatchadourian, Raffi. “The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist.”

212 Ibid.

213 Burke, Jason. “Adam Gadahn: California death metal fan who rose quickly in al-Qaida’s ranks.” The Guardian. April 23, 2015. Accessed July 8, 2015.

214 Khatchadourian, Raffi. “The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist.”

religion folders, first flirting with evangelical Christianity.<sup>215</sup> But, Gadahn was put off by evangelical Christianity's "apocalyptic ramblings" and found them "paranoid" and "hollow."<sup>216</sup> Later Gadahn was drawn to Islam and wrote that he found "discussions on Islam to be the most intriguing."<sup>217</sup> Soon, Gadahn made his way to the Islamic Society of Orange County where he received an English translation of the Quran and quickly became radicalized at the Islamic Society of Orange County after his conversion. At his conversion ceremony Gadahn had trouble saying the *shahada*, or declaration of faith, in Arabic and needed help.<sup>218</sup> In a sign of his seriousness and dedication to Islam Gadahn sent all his death metal records to a friend.<sup>219</sup>

At the mosque Gadahn found himself friends with a group of young radicals in the making. Gadahn lived a block away from the mosque with 5 or 6 individuals in this group.<sup>220</sup> Gadahn got a job guarding the mosque at night, but was fired after being caught asleep on the job by the mosque's chairman, Haitham Bundakji.<sup>221</sup> The group of young men that Gadahn hung out with circulated posters that called Bundakji, "Danny the Jew" and criticized his Western dress and outreach to the Jewish community.<sup>222</sup> Later, Gadahn was arrested and pleaded guilty to misdemeanor assault after punching Bundakji in the face after an argument in the chairman's office.<sup>223</sup> A few months after his arrest Gadahn made his way to Pakistan.<sup>224</sup> The details of Gadahn's activities in Pakistan before September 11<sup>th</sup> are hazy. However, after the attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>, Gadahn became an active presence in al-Qaeda propaganda. For al-Qaeda Gadahn worked as part of As-Sahab, the terror group's media arm, as translator, producer and occasional star.<sup>225</sup> Essentially, he was al-Qaeda's English spokesman and a window for the Western world into the ideology of al-Qaeda. Gadahn was killed in a drone

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215 Ibid.

216 Ibid.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid.

219 Ibid.

220 Ibid.

221 Argetsinger, Amy. "Muslim Teen Made Conversion to Fury."

222 Khatchadourian, Raffi. "The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist."

223 Argetsinger, Amy. "Muslim Teen Made Conversion to Fury."

224 Khatchadourian, Raffi. "The Makings of a Homegrown Terrorist."

225 Krikorian, Greg and H.G. Reza. "O.C. Man Rises in Al Qaeda." Los Angeles Times. October 8, 2006. Accessed July 8, 2015.

strike by the United States in January, 2015 in the Afghanistan-Pakistan border region.<sup>226</sup>

Gadahn's radicalization most closely matches the pattern described by Dr. Marc Sageman. Sageman's research, has been called the "bunch of guys theory" of jihad or the "halal" theory of terrorism. According to this theoretical framework many young men join or attempt to join terror organizations as a way of one-upping their friends and their radicalization can come over something as simple as sharing meals together, hence the second name for the theory.<sup>227</sup>

### *Kevin James and the 2005 Los Angeles International Airport Bomb Plot*

Kevin James, an inmate in the California penal system, started Jam'iyyat Ul-Islam Is-Saheeh, or the Assembly of Authentic Islam, in 1997.<sup>228</sup> James has been imprisoned since 1996 for committing a gang-related armed robbery.<sup>229</sup> The radical Islamist group consisted of James, Gregory Patterson, Hammad Samana, a permanent resident from Pakistan, and Levar Washington, who was imprisoned with James at New Folsom Prison near Sacramento, California until 2004.<sup>230</sup> The men had acquired weapons and according to then-FBI director, Robert S. Mueller III, "were in the planning stages" of an attack on Los Angeles International Airport and "were well on the way" to carrying out the attack.<sup>231</sup> The charismatic James not only recruited Washington in prison, but encouraged Washington to recruit other individuals to join their cause. Washington recruited Patterson, who worked at Los Angeles International Airport, and Samana, at the Jamaat-E-Masijudal mosque in Inglewood, California, where all three men worshiped.<sup>232</sup>

226 Schmitt, Eric. "Adam Gadahn Was Propagandist for Al Qaeda Who Sold Terror in English." The New York Times. April 23, 2015. Accessed May 4, 2015.

227 Sageman, Marc. *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-first Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

228 Lichtblau, Eric. "4 Men in California Accused Of Plotting Terrorist Attacks." The New York Times. August 31, 2005. Accessed May 5, 2015.

229 Harris, Rob. "Kevin James and the JIS Conspiracy." Public Broadcasting Service. October 10, 2006. Accessed May 28, 2015.

230 Ballas, Dennis. "Prisoner Radicalization." Federal Bureau of Investigation. October 1, 2010. Accessed May 4, 2015.

231 Lichtblau, Eric. "4 Men in California Accused Of Plotting Terrorist Attacks."

232 Ballas, Dennis. "Prisoner Radicalization."

The group's terror plots were only disrupted by a fortuitous occurrence. According to the FBI, "On July 5, 2005, officers with the Torrance (California) Police Department arrested Levar Washington and Gregory Patterson during a commercial armed robbery in progress at a Los Angeles area gas station. Their arrest, and subsequent local and FBI investigation, revealed that Washington and Patterson were conducting the armed robberies to raise money for an alleged terrorist plot targeting U.S. military facilities, Israeli government facilities, and Jewish synagogues in the Greater Los Angeles area."<sup>233</sup> The group had committed 11 armed robberies at various gas stations throughout Southern California before being caught.<sup>234</sup> Since the network did not have the support of any established terror groups they relied on their criminal backgrounds to finance their terror operation. Self-starters like this network may rely on criminal acts to finance their organizations and law enforcement must be aware of a possible terrorist angle as motivation for a crime spree.

### *Jehad Serwan Mostafa*

Jehad Serwan Mostafa was born on December 28<sup>th</sup>, 1981 in Waukesha, Wisconsin.<sup>235</sup> Currently, Mostafa's location is unknown and it is believed that he is in Somalia fighting with al-Shabaab.<sup>236</sup> According to the National Counterterrorism Center, Mostafa "has performed various functions for al-Shabaab, including acting as a training camp instructor and a leader of foreign fighters. He is also skilled in the group's media activities. Mostafa is an American citizen who lived in San Diego, California, before moving to Somalia in 2005."<sup>237</sup> Mostafa is on the FBI's most wanted terrorist list and a federal warrant was issued for his arrest in 2009.<sup>238</sup> Although San Diego has a large Somali population of around 15,000 people, Mostafa is not

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233 "Terrorism 2002-2005." Federal Bureau of Investigation. Accessed May 5, 2015.

234 "Four Men Indicted on Terrorism Charges Related to Conspiracy to Attack Military Facilities, Other Targets." The United States Department of Justice. August 31, 2005. Accessed May 28, 2015.

235 "Most Wanted Terrorists: Jehad Serwan Mostafa." Federal Bureau of Investigation. Accessed May 5, 2015.

236 "Jehad Serwan Mostafa - 2014 Counterterrorism Calendar." The National Counterterrorism Center. 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

237 Ibid.

238 Stickney, R., and Paul Krueger. "Accused Terrorist Was "Kind, Peaceful Man:"

Somali. He is Caucasian and has red hair.<sup>239</sup> Mostafa is purportedly a college graduate, with a degree in economics, and attended services at the Islamic Center of San Diego, in Kearney Mesa.<sup>240</sup>

### *Basaaly Moalin*

Basaaly Moalin is a Somali-American citizen, who arrived in the United States from Somalia in 1996.<sup>241</sup> “Moalin was born Muse Shekhnor Roble, the sixth of seven children, in 1977, near Guriceel, a country town in central Somalia. His father herded livestock for a living, but had enough money to support three wives. When Moalin was a teenager his family moved to Mogadishu. In 1991, the longtime dictator of Somalia, Siad Barre, lost control of the capital, setting off Somalia’s ongoing civil war. During the fighting, a mortar shell struck Moalin’s home. A soldier found him lying on the ground and shot him several times, disfiguring his arm. A neighbor carried him, unconscious, to a hospital. It took three months for the news to reach his family that he was still alive. He spent four years in refugee camps in Somalia and Kenya before the U.S. granted him asylum and, eventually, citizenship.”<sup>242</sup> In San Diego, Roble changed his last name to Moalin, an honorific meaning “teacher,” and made his living driving a taxi cab.<sup>243</sup> Moalin became the point man for fundraising and funneling money to his home region in Somalia, helping support two orphanages, a water supply, and a house for himself.<sup>244</sup> Moalin regularly moved money through Shidaal Express, a licensed *hawala* dealer in City Heights, a large Somali neighborhood.<sup>245</sup> Issa Doreh, a college-educated man in his late fifties, was an employee at Shidaal Express that Moalin was close to, and both men worshipped at Masjid Al-Ansar mosque.<sup>246</sup> The Ethiopian invasion of Somalia in 2006 led to the need for

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239 "Jehad Serwan Mostafa - 2014 Counterterrorism Calendar."

240 Stickney, R., and Paul Krueger. "Accused Terrorist Was "Kind, Peaceful Man:""

241 Schwartz, Mattathias. "The Whole Haystack."

242 Ibid.

243 Ibid.

244 Ibid.

245 Ibid.

246 Ibid.

funds for Aden Hashi Ayro, a top commander in al-Shabaab and from the same area in Somalia that Moalin was from.<sup>247</sup> The United States has alleged that Ayro safeguarded al-Qaeda operatives and met bin Laden prior to the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.<sup>248</sup> According to FBI wiretaps, Moalin offered monetary assistance to Ayro and “was ‘the most significant al-Shabaab fundraiser in the San Diego area,’ although he was ‘not ideologically driven to support al-Shabaab.’”<sup>249</sup> Instead, according to the FBI Moalin’s support for Ayro was a function of “tribal affiliation.”<sup>250</sup> In 2008, Ayro was killed by four Tomahawk missiles from a Navy ship off the Somali coast and soon after the FBI stepped up surveillance of Moalin, which he seemed to be aware of.<sup>251</sup> In October 2010, Moalin was arrested attempting to fly to Somalia, two years after his last money transfer to Somalia.<sup>252</sup> Doreh was also arrested along with another cab driver and the imam at Al-Ansar.<sup>253</sup> Moalin was convicted of five charges and sentenced to 18 years in prison; Doreh and the imam were convicted of four charges each and sentenced to 10 and 13 years in prison respectively.<sup>254</sup> Currently, all four defendants have appealed and the case is with the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, challenging the lawfulness of section 215 under the Patriot Act.<sup>255</sup>

### *Nicholas Teausant*

Nicholas Teausant is 21 or 22 years old and grew up in the tiny Central Valley town of Acampo, population 341.<sup>256</sup> Teausant, who was born Catholic and later converted to Islam, was

247 Nakashima, Ellen. “NSA cites case as success of phone data-collection program.” The Washington Post. August 8, 2013. Accessed July 8, 2015.

248 Isikoff, Michael. “US killing of al-Shabaab leader in ’08 may shine light on NSA surveillance program.” NBC News. October 19, 2013. Accessed July 8, 2015.

249 Nakashima, Ellen. “NSA cites case as success of phone data-collection program.”

250 Ibid.

251 Schwartz, Mattathias. “The Whole Haystack.”

252 Nakashima, Ellen. “NSA cites case as success of phone data-collection program.”

253 Schwartz, Mattathias. “The Whole Haystack.”

254 “Three Somali Immigrants Sentenced for Providing Support to Foreign Terrorists.” Federal Bureau of Investigation. November 18, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

255 Schwartz, Mattathias. “The Whole Haystack.”

256 Bamford, James. “Reading This Magazine Could Land You in Jail.” Foreign Policy. March 25, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

invigorated by the idea of concocting a terror plot or joining a terror organization after reading *Inspire*, an online English-language magazine published three times a year by al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula.<sup>257</sup> *Inspire*, the “Vanity Fair of jihadi publications,” with its glossy spreads and tips for bomb making gave Teasant the motivation to travel to the United States-Canadian border, where he was arrested for attempting to join the Islamic State on March 17<sup>th</sup>, 2015.<sup>258</sup>

The case of Nicholas Teasant differs from the previous case studies in several key ways. First, Teasant, a community college student from rural Northern California, was never associated with any institutional Islamic organizations. Instead, Teasant became radicalized over the internet. Teasant was also a habitual social media over-sharer, constantly posting about his desire to carry out jihad and “join Allah’s army” and that he was seeking “The Mujahid’s Handbook.”<sup>259</sup> Teasant also bragged about his time in the National Guard, although that organization said that he never even attended basic training, and had trouble pronouncing the terrorist group he wanted to join.<sup>260</sup>

Also, there may be a mental illness dimension to this case as Teasant will undergo court ordered psychiatric evaluation in order to determine whether or not he is schizophrenic.<sup>261</sup> Unlike the other cases of radicalization analyzed, this is one of only two of the cases analyzed that seems to touch on mental illness. Based on the cases analyzed mental illness does not seem to be correlated with radicalization.

In contrast to cases that will be analyzed later on Teasant met with a paid FBI informant who discouraged him from attempting to join the Islamic State.<sup>262</sup>

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257 Ibid.

258 Ibid.

259 Serwer, Adam. "Accused Student Terrorist Was a Social Media Oversharer." MSNBC. March 25, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

260 Ibid.

261 Stanton, Sam, and Denny Walsh. "Sacramento Judge Approves Mental Tests for Terror Suspect." The Sacramento Bee. December 4, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

262 Hong, Nicole. "In U.S. ISIS Cases, Informants Play a Big Role." The Wall Street Journal. April 21, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

## Additional Cases of Radicalization

Below are small blurbs about additional cases of radicalization in California. These cases were not studied in detail, not because they are not interesting and not because there is nothing to learn from them, but because there is either a limited amount of information about the case or because of constraints regarding space.

In August 2001, Mohdar Mohamed Abdoulah, originally born in Yemen and a former student at San Diego State University, was indicted for charges related to immigration fraud and was later detained as a material witness in the investigation of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks.<sup>263</sup> Abdoulah worked at a car wash and attended Ar-Ribat al-Islami mosque with Nawaf al-Hazmi and also knew Khalid al-Midhar, both September 11<sup>th</sup> hijackers.<sup>264</sup>

Hesham Mohamed Hadayet, who came to the United States from Egypt in 1992 and had been living in Irvine, Orange County and possessed a green card, making him a lawful permanent resident of the United States, attacked the El Al Ticket counter at Los Angeles International Airport on July 4<sup>th</sup>, 2002.<sup>265</sup> Hadayet was carrying two handguns and a knife during the attack.<sup>266</sup> He killed two people and injured four others before he was shot by an El Al security guard.<sup>267</sup> The FBI concluded that Hadayet had acted alone.<sup>268</sup>

On July 14, 2004, Michael Wagner, who went by the name Mohammed, a Santee, San Diego County resident, was arrested in Iowa after being pulled over for not wearing a seatbelt. Wagner, an African American who identified as a Muslim, was found to have marijuana, night vision goggles, three bullet proof vests, more than 150 rounds of ammunition, a 9mm pistol, and airplane training manuals in the car.<sup>269</sup> Wagner also told law enforcement officials that he knew valuable information about the Taliban and al-Qaeda. However, after Wagner's home was

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263 Sterngold, James. "A Nation Challenged: The Suspect; Muslims in San Diego Waver on Bail Pledge." December 9, 2001. Accessed July 5, 2015.

264 Fox, Ben. "San Diego man faces charges of immigration fraud." The San Diego Union-Tribune. October 27, 2001. Accessed July 5, 2015.

265 Feldman, Charles. "Los Angeles Airport Shooting Kills 3." CNN. July 5, 2002. Accessed May 5, 2015.

266 Ibid.

267 Ibid.

268 Ibid.

269 United States of America v. Michael Wagner. United States District Court, Southern District of Iowa. Title 18, U.S.C. 922(g)(1). June 14, 2004.

searched law enforcement officials determined that Wagner's claims were not credible.<sup>270</sup>

Hasan Akbar, a former United States Army Sergeant, was convicted by a military jury of premeditated murder and attempted murder on April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2005 for killing two of his comrades and wounding 14 others in an attack at Camp Pennsylvania in Kuwait before the start of the Iraq War.<sup>271</sup> In the middle of the night on March 23, 2003 Akbar rolled three to four grenades into multiple tents of sleeping soldiers and then stood outside the tents and fired an assault rifle at the fleeing soldiers.<sup>272</sup> Akbar, a Muslim convert, was born Mark Fidel Kools, but his mother changed his name to Hasan Akbar as a child.<sup>273</sup> Akbar grew up in the tough Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles before earning aeronautical and mechanical engineering degrees at the University of California, Davis.<sup>274</sup> At his trial Akbar's lawyers maintained that he was given a diagnosis of mental illness at the age of 14 after his family was evaluated because of reports that his sisters were being abused.<sup>275</sup> However, during his trial an Army psychiatrist described Akbar as merely suffering from "the blues."<sup>276</sup> Fellow soldiers described Akbar as "scatterbrained,' 'incompetent', 'a headache' and even 'crouching tiger,' because of his habit of doing karate chops while sleepwalking."<sup>277</sup> There were also concerns from fellow soldiers that Akbar was not fit to be in the field during the invasion of Iraq, but those concerns were not acted upon by Akbar's superiors. Fellow soldiers also testified that they believed Akbar was uncomfortable with invading a Muslim country and believed his fellow soldiers when they joked about "raping and plundering" Iraqis.<sup>278</sup> Akbar was sentenced to death and is currently on death row and his case is being automatically reviewed as part of the military's appeal

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270 Thornton, Kelly. "Santee man's terror claims discounted." The San Diego Union-Tribune. July 28, 2004. Accessed July 5, 2015.

271 Associated Press. "Soldier Convicted in Deadly Attack on His Camp." The New York Times. April 22, 2005. Accessed May 31, 2015.

272 Gettleman, Jeffrey. "After the War: Court Case; Soldier in Grenade Attack Is Profiled." The New York Times. June 19, 2003. Accessed May 31, 2015.

273 Roig-Franzia, Manuel. "Army Soldier Is Convicted In Attack on Fellow Troops." The Washington Post. April 22, 2005. Accessed May 31, 2015.

274 Ibid.

275 Dewan, Shaila. "Trial Opens for Sergeant Accused of Killing 2 Officers." The New York Times. April 12, 2005. Accessed May 31, 2015.

276 Associated Press. "Soldier Convicted in Deadly Attack on His Camp."

277 Gettleman, Jeffrey. "After the War: Court Case; Soldier in Grenade Attack Is Profiled."

278 Ibid.

process.<sup>279</sup>

Hamid Hayat, of Lodi, San Joaquin County, lied to the FBI about his attendance at an Islamic terrorist training camp in Pakistan.<sup>280</sup> As detailed in the *Links to Hate and Terror* section of this paper, Hayat and his father were both charged and Hamid Hayat was sentenced to a 24 year prison term for one count of providing material support to terrorists and three counts of making false statements to the FBI.<sup>281</sup> The Hayats were arrested in June 2005.<sup>282</sup>

On September 20, 2006 Ilyas Ali an American citizen and Pakistani citizens, Syed Saadat Ali Faraz and Muhammad Abid Afridi, were arrested in Hong Kong after a series of meetings with undercover FBI agents where they proposed to trade heroin and hashish to the undercover agents in exchange for four Stinger antiaircraft missiles, that the three men planned to sell to al-Qaeda. The three men were indicted by the Southern District for California, allegedly because one of the meetings between the three men and the undercover agents occurred in San Diego.<sup>283</sup>

At the beginning of 2007, Ahmen Ahmed Ali, 56, of Bakersfield, Kern County, Mohamed Al-Rahimi, 62, of Bakersfield, and Ibrahim Omer a Sudanese-American and onetime resident of Bakersfield were indicted for allegedly acquiring secret defense information and stolen military equipment and conspiring to send them to Yemen.<sup>284</sup> Ahmen Ahmed Ali, a Yemeni-American plead guilty to conspiracy to act as an illegal agent of a foreign government, to possess stolen government property, and to unlawfully export defense materials and was sentenced to five years in prison.<sup>285</sup> Ibrahim Omer was acquitted of two charges related to the

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279 Goldman, Russell. "Fort Hood Shooter Could Join 5 Others on Death Row." ABC News. November 13, 2009. Accessed May 31, 2015.

280 Marshall, Carolyn. "24-Year Term for Californian in Terrorism Training Case." The New York Times. September 11, 2007. Accessed May 5, 2015.

281 Ibid.

282 "Hamid Hayat Sentenced to 24 Years in Connection with Terrorism Charges." Department of Justice. September 10, 2007. Accessed May 31, 2015.

283 Bradsher, Keith. "Threats And Responses: Suspects; 3 in Hong Kong Agree to Face Charges in U.S." The New York Times. January 7, 2003. Accessed July 5, 2015.

284 O'Reilly, Cary. "Three Indicted for Sending U.S. Secrets, Equipment to Yemen." Bloomberg News. September 7, 2006. Accessed July 5, 2015.

285 Federal Bureau of Investigation. "Bakersfield Man Pleads Guilty to Conspiracy to Act as a Foreign Agent, to Receive Stolen Property, and to Export Military Equipment." October 7, 2010. Accessed July 5, 2015.

Export Control Act and Al-Rahimi remains at large and is believed to be in Yemen.<sup>286</sup> Amen Ahmed Ali, who was the President of the Delano chapter of the National Association of Yemeni Immigrants, an organization alleged by the indictment to be under the supervision of the Republic of Yemen, conspired in 2003 to send bulletproof vests and chemical protective suits to Yemen and in 2005 and 2006 Ali negotiated with an undercover agent to buy stolen American military equipment to be sent to Yemen.<sup>287</sup>

Rahmat Abdhir, a then 43 year-old Malaysian-American, was arrested on August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2007 outside his place of employment in Sunnyvale, Santa Clara County for conspiracy to provide material support to terrorists, providing material to terrorists, contributing goods and services to a Specially Designated Global Terrorist and making false statements to the FBI.<sup>288</sup> The sixteen count indictment accused Abdhir of providing at least \$10,000, accessories for firearms, camouflage, radios, backpacks and knives to a convicted terrorist, Zulkifli Abdhir, Rahmat's brother.<sup>289</sup> The indictment alleged that Zulkifli was a part of the central command for Jemaah Islamiyah, the group blamed for the 2002 bombing of a nightclub in Bali that killed 202 people, and provided bomb-training for the Abu Sayyaf terrorist organization.<sup>290</sup> Law enforcement officials also discovered five rifles and one handgun at Rahmat's home in addition to about 1,000 rounds of ammunition, military training manuals, and two undocumented men living with him.<sup>291</sup> Zulkifli, who was also known by the last name bin hir, was confirmed to be dead by the FBI on April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2015 after DNA analysis from a severed finger that came from the scene of a deadly raid, where 44 Philippine commandos were killed in a clash with Muslim terrorists.<sup>292</sup>

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286 O'Reilly, Cary. "Three Indicted for Sending U.S. Secrets, Equipment to Yemen."

287 Federal Bureau of Investigation. "Bakersfield Man Pleads Guilty to Conspiracy to Act as a Foreign Agent, to Receive Stolen Property, and to Export Military Equipment."

288 "Specially Designated Global Terrorist and His Brother Indicted for Providing Material Support to Terrorists." United States Department of Justice. August 3, 2007. Accessed May 28, 2015.

289 Coté, John. "Terror charges for man- brother at large in Philippines." San Francisco Chronicle. August 3, 2007. Accessed May 31, 2015.

290 Ibid.

291 Martinez, Jennifer and Sean Webby. "San Jose terror suspect kept guns in home, storage." San Jose Mercury News. August 8, 2007. Accessed May 31, 2015.

292 Edwards, Julia. "FBI confirms death of militant with DNA from severed finger." Reuters. April 1, 2015. Accessed May 31, 2015.

In November 2010, Nima Ali Yusuf, a 24 year-old San Diego woman and Somali immigrant was charged with conspiracy to provide material support to al-Shabaab.<sup>293</sup>

In November 2012, four men from Southern California, two from San Bernardino County, one from Riverside County, and one from Los Angeles County, were indicted for attempted material support to terrorist groups and plotting to kill American personnel by joining the Taliban and al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.<sup>294</sup> Two of those men, Ralph DeLeon and Sohiel Omar Kabir, were found guilty on charges related to conspiring to provide material support to terrorist and kill American personnel and the two other men arrested, Miguel Alejandro Santana Vidriales and Arifeen David Gojali, avoided trial by pleading guilty.<sup>295</sup> Kabir, an Afghan-born American citizen encouraged the three other men to pursue jihad from Afghanistan, where he was later captured by American special forces. DeLeon, Vidriales, and Gojali trained for terror operations by participating in paintballing activities throughout Southern California.<sup>296</sup> Masjid Al Sabereen is a mosque in Pomona, Los Angeles County where the three men met and prayed together.<sup>297</sup> The three men had planned to cross into Mexico by land before making their way to Afghanistan.<sup>298</sup>

Walli Mujahidh, a 34 year-old male Los Angeles resident, was sentenced to 17 years in prison for his role in plotting to attack a Seattle military processing center in 2013.<sup>299</sup>

Matthew Aaron Llaneza, a 28 year-old male from San Jose, Santa Clara County, was sentenced to 15 years in prison for attempting to blow up a bank in Oakland, Alameda County, with a fake car bomb that he had received from an undercover FBI agent.<sup>300</sup> Llaneza's sentence

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293 "San Diego Woman Charged with Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to Al Shabaab." Federal Bureau of Investigation. November 15, 2010. Accessed May 5, 2015.

294 Eimiller, Laura. "Four Men Charged for Conspiracy to Provide Material Support to Terrorism." Federal Bureau of Investigation. November 19, 2012. Accessed May 5, 2015.

295 "Two Men Convicted of Providing Material Support to Terrorists and Plotting to Kill American Targets in Afghanistan." Federal Bureau of Investigation. September 25, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

296 Rocha, Veronica. "2 Inland Empire men sentence in terrorist plot to kill Americans." February 23, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015.

297 Nelson, Joe. "Inland Empire Terrorism Suspect Testifies in Riverside."

298 Ibid.

299 "Former Los Angeles Man Sentenced to 17 Years in Prison for Role in Plot to Attack Seattle Military Processing Center." Federal Bureau of Investigation. April 8, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

300 Associated Press. "Man Who Plotted To Bomb Oakland Bank Gets 15 Year Sentence." CBS San Francisco. February 27, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

was lessened because of his mental condition.<sup>301</sup> Llaneza was arrested on February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2013.<sup>302</sup>

In March 2013, Oytun Ayse Mihalik, a Turkish citizen, woman, and pharmacist, residing in La Palma, Orange County was sentenced to prison for five years for providing material support to terrorists by wiring money to Pakistan.<sup>303</sup>

In December 2013, Sinh Vinh Ngo Nguyen, 24, of Garden Grove, Orange County, pleaded guilty to one count of attempting to provide material support to a designated foreign terrorist organization.<sup>304</sup> Nguyen, who also went by the name Hasan Abu Omar Ghannoum, admitted that he had travelled to Syria in the past year to fight against the Assad regime. When he was arrested in his possession was a computer hard drive that contained “over 180 training videos on shooting firearms.”<sup>305</sup>

Adam Dandach, known as Fadi Fadi Dandach, a 21 year-old male from Orange County was arrested at John Wayne Airport in Santa Ana on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2014 for attempting to join the Islamic State.<sup>306</sup> According to the *Orange County Register*, it is unclear whether he was raised as a Muslim or even practices Islam.<sup>307</sup> Dandach is being held in federal custody and has been indicted with attempting to provide material support to the Islamic State.<sup>308</sup>

On April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2015 Mohamad Saeed Kodaimati an American citizen was arrested in the San Diego area and charged with making false statements to the FBI about his knowledge and involvement in international terrorism.<sup>309</sup> According to the criminal complaint Saeed was born in Syria and came to the United States in 2001 and became a naturalized citizen in 2008.<sup>310</sup>

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301 Ibid.

302 Federal Bureau of Investigation. “Federal Agents Arrest Man After He Attempts to Bomb Bank in Oakland.”

303 "Orange County Woman Sentenced to Five Years in Federal Prison for Providing Material Support to Terrorists by Sending Money to Pakistan to Be Used in Attacks Against U.S. Forces Overseas." Federal Bureau of Investigation. March 29, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

304 "Southern California Man Pleads Guilty to Attempting to Assist Al Qaeda by Providing Weapons Training to Fighters in Pakistan." Federal Bureau of Investigation. December 27, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

305 Ibid.

306 Walker, Theresa. "Has ISIS Reached O.C.? Arrest Here Intensifies Questions." The Orange County Register. August 30, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

307 Ibid.

308 "Orange County, California Man Charged in New Indictment with Attempting to Provide Material Support to ISIL." Federal Bureau of Investigation. March 4, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

309 Davis, Kristina. "San Diegan accused of hiding ISIS links." The San Diego Union Tribune. April 23, 2015. Accessed May 27, 2015.

310 United States of America v. Kodaimati. United States District Court, Southern District of California. Title 18, U.S.C, Sec. 1001(a)(2) False Statements Involving International Terrorism. April 23, 2015.

Saeed lived in Charlotte, North Carolina as a teenager and moved to San Diego around 2007.<sup>311</sup> In 2012 Saeed traveled to Turkey in an attempt to bring his mother to the United States, but was deported from the country to Syria.<sup>312</sup> In Syria Saeed worked for the Sharia Authority as the "media person," mediated disputes between the Islamic State and Jabhat al-Nusra, and even fought for Jabhat al-Nusra when they needed extra fighters.<sup>313</sup> The information for the criminal complaint was gathered from Saeed's Facebook page as well as from interviews with the FBI and Diplomatic Security Service in Ankara, Turkey and subsequent interviews in Charlotte and San Diego.<sup>314</sup>

On May 21<sup>st</sup>, 2015 Nader Elhuzayel, age 24, was detained for attempting to join the Islamic State at Los Angeles International Airport.<sup>315</sup> Elhuzayel, whose parents are Palestinian immigrants, has been defended by his family and lawyer as only seeking to visit relatives in the West Bank. Elhuzayel had a one way ticket to Israel with a layover in Turkey.<sup>316</sup> Muhanad Badawi, also age 24, is accused of buying Elhuzayel's plane ticket and was arrested for "conspiring to provide material support to a foreign terrorist organization, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant."<sup>317</sup> Badawi immigrated to the United States from Sudan eight years ago.<sup>318</sup> According to David Thorp, acting head of the FBI office in Orange County, the duo began to be monitored in January 2013.<sup>319</sup> An affidavit alleges that the two men talked on the phone about a vague plan for Elhuzayel to cross into Egypt from Israel and from there make his way into Islamic State controlled territory.<sup>320</sup> Both men were from Anaheim, Orange County. Also, both men worshipped at the West Coast Islamic Society mosque in Anaheim and used Twitter and social media to espouse jihadist ideology.<sup>321</sup> It was on OkCupid that Elhuzayel met a mystery

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311 Ibid.

312 Ibid.

313 Ibid.

314 Ibid.

315 Duranty, Alyssa, Scott Schwebke, and Theresa Walker. "2 Anaheim men suspected of supporting ISIS appear in court, face 15 years in prison if convicted."

316 Ibid.

317 "Two O.C. men wanted to become martyrs, fight for Islamic State, feds allege." Los Angeles Times. May 22, 2015. Accessed May 31, 2015.

318 Ibid.

319 Ibid.

320 Ibid.

321 Duranty, Alyssa, Scott Schwebke, and Theresa Walker. "2 Anaheim men suspected of supporting ISIS appear in court,

woman from Palestine who he struck up a relationship with and planned to get married to.<sup>322</sup> According to the criminal complaint this woman also used Twitter to post messages of support for the Islamic State and may have helped radicalize Elhuzayel.<sup>323</sup> Dissatisfaction with his personal life may have also been a factor pushing Elhuzayel towards radicalization. The whole Elhuzayel family lived in a single motel room since the family declared bankruptcy and lost their home two years ago.<sup>324</sup> Religiosity seems to have added some sort of motivation to Elhuzayel's life. Elhuzayel began attending the West Coast Islamic Society mosque around six months before his arrest and began using iPhone applications to learn Arabic, so as to read the Quran in its original language.<sup>325</sup>

Additionally, the only publicly known connection of California to foreign fighters in Iraq and Syria is Douglas McCain, an American killed fighting for the Islamic State in August 2014, who attended high school in California and also attended San Diego City College, according to his Facebook page.<sup>326</sup>

## **Analysis of Radicalization in California**

Outstandingly, there have been very few case of radicalization in California. Comparing California and North Carolina the scope and size of California's problem with Islamic radicalization becomes clear. In 2010, California had a Muslim population of around 272, 814 according to the ARDA and North Carolina had a Muslim population of around 26, 045 according to the same source.<sup>327,328</sup> But, California has had 39 cases of individuals plotting to conduct or support terrorist organizations, while North Carolina has had 16 arrests on terrorism

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face 15 years in prison if convicted."

322 Ibid.

323 Ibid.

324 Ibid.

325 Ibid.

326 Perry, Tony, and Brian Bennett. "Douglas McCain: From San Diego to Syria as Alleged ISIS Fighter." Los Angeles Times. August 27, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

327 State Membership Report: California." The Association of Religion Data Archives.

328 State Membership Report: North Carolina." The Association of Religion Data Archives. 2010. Accessed May 5, 2015.

related charges up until 2013.<sup>329</sup> Thus, California, which has a Muslim population that is ten times larger than North Carolina's, does not even have three times as many terror related suspects.

Similarly, the problem of Islamic radicalization must be viewed in context. Of the 39 people profiled above, at the very least two deaths are attributable to them. Although there is the potential for large scale death and destruction from Islamic radicalization it is important to remember that in the 1970s the left wing Symbionese Liberation Army murdered two people as well.<sup>330</sup> Left wing terrorism was not as big of a threat as Islamic radicalization is today, but it is incisive to examine the casualties that both movements have caused to truly understand the scope of the problem.

Likewise, these cases of radicalization seem to be of little threat to everyday Californians. According to The Heritage Foundation, since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 until April 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2015, there have been 67 terror plots hatched against the United States.<sup>331</sup> Of these 67 terror plots only two have targeted locations in California.<sup>332</sup> California's presence in the global media as a symbol of American prosperity would seem to make it a particularly inviting target. But, the lack of plots against California is a reassuring sign for the health and welfare of all Californians. Another possibility is that there have been more plots against targets in California that have been foiled, but that they have not been publicized. Also possible is that effective law enforcement acts as a deterrent against terror plots in California.

Although these many case studies of radicalization differ greatly there are some general similarities and lessons to be drawn from studying them as a whole. For instance, Islamic radicalization tends to affect men, especially young men, in much greater numbers than women. Of the cases mentioned above, 37 out of 39 of those mentioned were men. The cases of John Walker Lindh and Adam Gadahn illustrate that young men searching for meaning are

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329 Speyer, Lea. "Islamic Radicalization in North Carolina, United States of America." International Institute for Counter-Terrorism. October 21, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

330 "America's Hippy Extremists." BBC News. January 17, 2002. Accessed May 5, 2015.

331 Inserra, David, and James Phillips. "67 Islamist Terrorist Plots Since 9/11: Spike in Plots Inspired by Terrorist Groups, Unrest in Middle East." The Heritage Foundation. April 22, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

332 Zuckerman, Jessica, Steven Bucci, and James Jay Carafano. "60 Terrorist Plots Since 9/11: Continued Lessons in Domestic Counterterrorism." The Heritage Foundation. July 22, 2013. Accessed May 5, 2015.

especially susceptible to radicalization.

Moreover, although many of those studied were self-starters there can be considered four loose networks that operated in California: The Paintball network, the Moalin network, the James network, and the Hayat network. Although these groups did not have these formal titles or any formal organization they are important to differentiate from the other case studies because these rings of mostly young men shared a common ideology and had the ability to carry out attacks with greater sophistication.

Comparing these groups at first glance it does not seem like there are many commonalities. The Moalin network was all Somali, the Hayat network was centered around a father and son, the James network was based on a radical Islamist group started in prison, and the Paintball network centered on a group of friends who pushed each other towards extremism. Yet, three of the networks revolved around young men, while the Moalin network was made up of middle-aged men. Also, although all four networks had connections to mosques, the majority of the men in these networks were not radicalized there. The Moalin network had connections to a local Somali mosque, but radicalization came from a sense of helping the region of Somalia where Basaaly Moalin came from. The James network was a product of prison radicalization, although two of the men in the plot to attack Los Angeles International Airport were recruited outside of prison and later attended a mosque in Inglewood. Three of the four members of the Paintball network met at a mosque, but their radicalization seems to have come from one another and from Sohiel Omar Kabir's urging. Finally, although the Hayat family regularly attended prayer services at the Lodi Muslim Mosque, a large part of the trial was debating the role that an undercover FBI agent played and whether he actually encouraged the younger Hayat to radicalize.

Also, Islamic radicalization in California is a much greater problem in Southern California than Northern California. Of the 39 people mentioned only 7 had ties to Northern California and only three had ties to the San Francisco Bay Area. This disparity cannot only be attributed to population differences, unclear as though they may be, as much as to other factors. Whether it is the sermons at mosques or the geographical concentration of Muslims in Southern

California, or any other factors, Islamic radicalization seems to be a bigger problem in Southern California than in Northern California.

Orange County in particular seems to be a troubling spot for Islamic radicalization in California with 7 of the 39 mentioned having ties to Orange County. San Diego is also a future area of concern for Somali-Americans joining al-Shabaab. In seven separate cases a total of 10 people out of the 39 people mentioned had ties to the San Diego area, and this does not include the three men indicted in San Diego for attempting to sell Stinger missiles to al-Qaeda. In another recent case two Somali-Americans from Minneapolis, Minnesota were arrested in San Diego for attempting to join the Islamic State.<sup>333</sup> Although the Somali community in San Diego has not had the problems that the Somali community in Minneapolis has had with young adults joining terrorist organizations, it is a very real problem and a unique one because of San Diego's proximity to the Mexican border.

Prison radicalization is also another potential area of concern. Although only one of the cases mentioned above included radicalization in prison it is still an area where greater attention can be paid. The James case is not an isolated incident. The case of Jose Padilla, a former member of a Hispanic gang from inner-city Chicago, illustrates the potential for prisons to be places of radicalization. Padilla served time in prison for violent crimes, but was radicalized in South Florida, before being arrested for attempting to set off a "dirty bomb."<sup>334</sup> Jailhouse jihadism is a threat to the safety of all Californians and the state must do a good job of ensuring that radicalization does not take place in its penal system by monitoring its inmates.

Online radicalization also raises concern. John Walker Lindh and Adam Gadahn were both first introduced to Islam online. Likewise, Nader Elhuzayel used his phone to learn more about Islam and used iPhone applications to learn Arabic. Nicholas Teausant was radicalized online and Sohiel Omar Kabir pushed the Paintball network to radicalize by sending them messages from Afghanistan. Online radicalization seems to be the hardest problem for law enforcement to address because the variety of sources that jihadists can use to spread their

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333 Shane, Scott. "6 Minnesotans Held in Plot to Join ISIS." *The New York Times*. April 20, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

334 Sontag, Deborah. "Terror Suspect's Path From Streets to Brig." *The New York Times*. April 24, 2004. Accessed May 5, 2015.

message.

It is also unclear if religiosity is a primary cause of radicalization. Matt Barreto, a professor of Political Science and Chicana/o Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, teamed up with Professor Karam Dana of the University of Washington to conduct the Muslim American Public Opinion Survey (MAPOS). Barreto and Dana discovered that Muslims with a high degree of religiosity are more likely to believe that Islam is compatible with political participation in the United States and more likely to engage in the political process.<sup>335</sup> In a press release on March 8<sup>th</sup>, 2011 the two authors wrote that “On a range of political activities, those with no connection or involvement to the mosque report 1.7 average acts of political participation. In contrast, those who say they are very involved with the mosque report 2.6 political acts per year – a 53% increase in civic engagement.”<sup>336</sup>

There does not seem to be one single factor that sparks a person’s radicalization. It is very hard to predict who will become radicalized and who will not. The case of Jihad Serwan Mostafa is a very prominent example that there is not one archetype of an Islamic radical. However, the case studies do not point to poverty, mental illness, or religiosity being the main impetus behind radicalization. This paper does not purport to identify the main causes of radicalization. However, the case studies examined in this paper indicate that young men looking for meaning are especially susceptible to radicalization.

## **PART 4: LAW ENFORCEMENT**

### **Law Enforcement Response to Radicalization**

California’s attempt to curtail radicalization has been disjointed and has had deleterious effects on law enforcement’s ability to win trust in the Muslim community. Any successful strategy for tackling the problem of radicalization needs the trust and support of the local Muslim community. Moreover, California has no top-down approach to combating Islamic

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335 Barreto, Matt A. and Dana, Karam, *The Political Incorporation of Muslims in America: The Role of Religiosity in Islam* (October 22, 2008). Available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1492791> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.1492791>

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radicalization. The lack of any central planning has sometimes left law enforcement to local communities that are ill-equipped and under-resourced to handle these sensitive assignments. Subsequently, these local law enforcement agencies have bungled the job and created a climate of distrust and suspicion in the California Muslim community.

## **Distrust Between the Muslim Community and Law Enforcement**

An especially poignant example of the distrust between the Muslim community and law enforcement is the case of Craig Monteilh. Craig Monteilh is a former felon, a convicted forger, who was paid \$177,000, tax free, for spying on Muslim worshipers in Southern California for 15 months.<sup>337</sup> Monteilh, who infiltrated the Islamic Society of Orange County and other Orange County mosques as part of Operation Flex, identified himself as Farouk al-Azziz, a man of French and Syrian descent who was interested in getting back in touch with his roots.<sup>338</sup> Monteilh made a living stealing from drug dealers after high school before settling down, getting married and becoming a personal trainer.<sup>339</sup> Then, he was arrested for writing forged checks.<sup>340</sup> After serving eight months in prison, Monteilh met some Orange County law enforcement officials in a gym who introduced him to undercover work.<sup>341</sup> According to *Orange Coast Magazine*, Monteilh illegally planted listening devices at mosques and secretly recorded conversations he had with congregants.<sup>342</sup> Monteilh had a listening device implanted in his key fob and would purposefully leave his keys at the mosque in order to record conversations.<sup>343</sup> Monteilh also dated women from the mosques even though he was married.<sup>344</sup> At Orange County mosques Monteilh's constant talk of jihad got so bad that the Islamic Center

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337 Heller, Matthew. "Mr. Inconspicuous." *Orange Coast Magazine*. February 11, 2012. Accessed May 5, 2015.

338 Heller, Matthew. "Mr. Inconspicuous."

339 Ibid.

340 Markon, Jerry. "Tension Grows between Calif. Muslims, FBI after Informant Infiltrates Mosque."

341 Ibid.

342 Ibid.

343 Ibid.

344 Ibid.

of Irvine filed a restraining order against him.<sup>345</sup> After 15 months the only helpful information that Monteilh garnered were perjury and fraud charges against Ahmadullah Sais Niazi and these charges were later dropped.<sup>346</sup> Now, Monteilh is suing the FBI and the Irvine Police Department, alleging that they conspired to have him arrested on false grand-theft auto charges after his undercover work was no longer helpful and he had outed himself as an informant.<sup>347</sup>

Monteilh's experience illustrates the peril of a preventive approach to policing. Monteilh's undercover work netted no significant leads, generated distrust, and stopped no terror. The use of paid informants is a risky policing strategy. On one hand, it has the ability to stop terror plots before they are carried out. On the other hand, there is always the risk that this strategy will entrap or encourage people who would not otherwise carry out attacks to attempt to do so. As Mattathias Schwartz of *The New Yorker* writes, "almost every major terrorist attack on Western soil in the past fifteen years has been committed by people who were already known to law enforcement. One of the gunmen in the attack on *Charlie Hebdo*, in Paris, had been sent to prison for recruiting jihadist fighters. The other had reportedly studied in Yemen with Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab, the underwear bomber, who was arrested and interrogated by the F.B.I. in 2009. The leader of the 7/7 London suicide bombings, in 2005, had been observed by British intelligence meeting with a suspected terrorist, though MI5 later said that the bombers were 'not on our radar.' The men who planned the Mumbai attacks, in 2008, were under electronic surveillance by the United States, the United Kingdom, and India, and one had been an informant for the Drug Enforcement Administration. One of the brothers accused of bombing the Boston Marathon was the subject of an F.B.I. threat assessment and a warning from Russian intelligence."<sup>348</sup> The most common problem for law enforcement is not having the right intelligence, but knowing that one has the right intelligence.

Another prominent example of the distrust between Muslim communities and law enforcement stems from the FBI using community outreach programs in Northern California to

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345 Ibid

346 Glover, Scott. "Federal Prosecutors Seek Dismissal of Perjury and Fraud Charges against Tustin Man." Los Angeles Times. October 1, 2010. Accessed May 5, 2015.

347 Heller, Matthew. "Mr. Inconspicuous."

348 Schwartz, Mattathias. "The Whole Haystack"

spy and, or, gather intelligence on potential terrorists in Muslim communities.<sup>349</sup> The San Francisco Police Department has also been in hot water recently for sitting in on the questioning of a Google engineer by the FBI, which could be a violation of city law. In 2012 the American Civil Liberties Union revealed that the FBI had profiled Northern California Muslims.<sup>350</sup> Allegations by an undercover informant in the Hayat case that he saw Ayman al-Zawahiri multiple times at a mosque in Lodi in 1998 and 1999, are highly unbelievable and the government's use of such an unreliable informant roiled the local Muslim community.<sup>351</sup>

Failed undercover programs have a real impact on the Muslim community. They make the community wary of talking to law enforcement, making the job of preventing Islamic radicalization even harder.<sup>352</sup>

Although these cases are anecdotal and do not deal with any data on how effective law enforcement is in thwarting Islamic radicalization, they are important to understand because they garner a lot of media attention and create an 'us versus them' mentality that is very hard to overcome.

## Regaining the Muslim Community's Trust

The bumbling Keystone Cop approach taken in the Monteilh case is, unfortunately, not unique. However, law enforcement officials in the Greater Los Angeles area have done a much better job of reducing tension and suspicion of peace officers, unlike the New York metropolitan region, where law enforcement officials have seemingly worked to cultivate distrust between themselves and the Muslim community. The NYPD is the perfect example of a large metropolitan police force that has managed to alienate an entire community and make its job harder than it needs to be. In the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks the NYPD created a

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349 La Ganga, Maria. "FBI Documents Reveal Profiling of N. California Muslims." Los Angeles Times. March 28, 2012. Accessed May 5, 2015.

350 Lamb, Jonah Owen. "SF Police Could Be Violating City Law in Work with FBI's Joint Terrorism Task Force." The San Francisco Examiner. March 3, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

351 Bailey, Eric. "Informant Says He Saw Al Qaeda's No. 2." Los Angeles Times. March 14, 2006. Accessed July 5, 2015.

352 Watanabe, Teresa, and Paloma Esquivel. "L.A. Area Muslims Say FBI Surveillance Has a Chilling Effect on Their Free Speech and Religious Practices."

plainclothes unit, popularly known as the Demographics Unit before being renamed the Zone Assessment Unit, which infiltrated mosques and Muslim groups on college campuses, eavesdropped on conversations and compiled detailed information on where Muslim New Yorkers ate, prayed, and hung out.<sup>353</sup> The program was dropped in 2014. The NYPD also mapped mosques and mapped where Muslims lived in New York City and New Jersey.<sup>354</sup> The NYPD has acknowledged that the program never generated a single lead.<sup>355</sup>

In contrast to the NYPD's approach to stopping Islamic extremism, former sheriff of Los Angeles County, Lee Baca, cultivated ties between the Muslim community and his office during his time working. Baca, a former Marine reservist and registered Republican, made outreach to Muslim communities a centerpiece of his counter-terror program after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, even reading the Quran.<sup>356</sup> According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "Baca's Muslim community affairs unit, which staffs two deputies fulltime, has well-attended community exchanges and receives regular calls from Muslims with concerns that are terrorism-related and other issues. Baca's personal involvement has softened up many of the community's older, more reluctant leaders. The department employs about a dozen Muslim deputies and half that many Arabic speakers."<sup>357</sup> Baca has also been to more than a dozen Middle Eastern countries since the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks and regularly attended Muslim community events when he was sheriff.<sup>358</sup> Baca's strategy began after he realized that Los Angeles "didn't have a strategy for homegrown terrorism."<sup>359</sup> "There are so few Muslim extremists in America. You can't burn all the hay to find the needle, because the people are the hay."<sup>360</sup> Baca also testified in Congress during a hearing on whether or not Muslims cooperate with law enforcement and told *The New York Times* that "We're not going to win the war

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353 Apuzzo, Matt, and Joseph Goldstein. "New York Drops Unit That Spied on Muslims." *The New York Times*. April 15, 2014. Accessed May 5, 2015.

354 Ibid.

355 Ibid.

356 Faturechi, Robert. "In Muslim Community, Baca Wins Support through Conversation, Not Confrontation." *Los Angeles Times*. April 19, 2011. Accessed May 5, 2015.

357 Ibid.

358 Ibid.

359 Ibid.

360 Ibid.

against terrorism without Muslims.<sup>361,362</sup>

Individual officers, like Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) Deputy Chief Michael Downing, have taken the lessons learned by Baca to heart. Deputy Chief Downing has reached out to the Muslim community, much the same way he reached to the LGBT community when he was a police captain in Hollywood, fostering understanding by inviting community leaders to address his officers and attending community events.<sup>363</sup> Deputy Chief Downing even won an annual award bestowed by the Muslim Public Affairs Council for his work fighting Islamophobia.<sup>364</sup>

However, according to *The New York Times* the LAPD has begun another attempt to map the Muslim community in Los Angeles.<sup>365</sup> A previous attempt in 2007 drew condemnation and was quickly scuttled.<sup>366</sup> The level of distrust engendered by the NYPD's mapping program should give the LAPD cause for concern, and to rethink its strategy of combating terrorism.

Finally, the California Attorney General's office has a counter-terrorism program. However, it is unclear about what the program actually does or has done.<sup>367</sup>

## PART 5: FINAL THOUGHTS

### Conclusion

Overall, California is in a good position in the fight against Islamic radicalization. Of the 39 people mentioned in the *Case Studies* section, two were killed, Adam Gadahn and Douglass McCain, four were captured overseas, including John Walker Lindh, and at least one has still

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361 Shane, Scott. "Congressional Hearing Puts Muslim Civil Rights Group in the Hot Seat Again." *The New York Times*. March 11, 2011. Accessed May 5, 2015.

362 Goodstein, Laurie. "Police in Los Angeles Step Up Efforts to Gain Muslims' Trust." *The New York Times*. March 9, 2011. Accessed May 5, 2015.

363 Freedman, Samuel. "Los Angeles Police Leader Makes Outreach to Muslims His Mission." *The New York Times*. March 6, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

364 Ibid.

365 Freedman, Samuel. "Los Angeles Police Leader Makes Outreach to Muslims His Mission."

366 Winton, Richard, and Teresa Watanabe. "LAPD's Muslim Mapping Plan Killed." *Los Angeles Times*. November 15, 2007. Accessed May 5, 2015.

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not been apprehended, Jihad Serwan Mostafa. Similarly, of the plots discussed above, only one of them was successfully undertaken in California, the 2002 Los Angeles International Airport shooting. Also, of the seventeen attempts to provide material support to terrorist organizations (i.e. join them, or finance them) ten were successful. Using the ARDA's estimate that there are 272, 814 Muslims living in California, that would mean that the 39 people mentioned in connection to Islamic radicalization represent just 0.0001429% of the population of California Muslim's. In other words, a very small number in regards to the peaceful and moderate Muslim community in California at large. When analyzing the data and seeing the number of Californians who have attempted to join terror groups, or have attempted to commit acts of terror, it is important to remember that they represent the tiniest sliver of the population that they claim to represent. Tarring the entire Muslim community with the paintbrush of Islamic radicalization is incorrect and only likely to exacerbate the problem. Just because there are a few bad apples does not mean that the entire tree is rotten.

One of the biggest weaknesses in the past in fighting Islamic radicalization in the United States was the absence of a federal integration policy. This left a vacuum of responsibility. It was not until August 2011 that the federal government formulated a national strategy for combating “ideologically inspired” violence, including Islamic Radicalization, with the release of *Empowering Local Partners to Prevent Violent Extremism in the United States*. As part of the national strategy the Justice Department has begun pilot programs to reach out to Muslim communities, where radicalization is a threat. One of these programs is even in the Greater Los Angeles Area.<sup>368</sup> However, it is unclear how effective these programs are, although they seem to be a step in the right direction to regaining the trust of California's Muslims.

It is unclear if this piecemeal approach to preventing Islamic radicalization is a very effective prophylactic or if there are more effective strategies.

Effective law enforcement entails a marriage between human intelligence and signals intelligence. The United States government has some of the most, if not the most, technologically advanced spyware in the world, but attempting to distinguish between the

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368 "Pilot Programs Are Key to Our Countering Violent Extremism Efforts." The United States Department of Justice. February 18, 2015. Accessed May 5, 2015.

signal and the noise is exceedingly difficult without human help. The best way that the California law enforcement community can prevent terror is to focus on outreach to Muslim communities, while at the same time encouraging moderate Muslims by embracing them and assimilating them into the American mainstream.

Although the United States has been much more successful than Europe in integrating Muslims there is still a lot of work to be done.<sup>369</sup> The metaphor of a melting pot has been used to describe the American view towards new immigrants, where new arrivals shed their old world habits and become Americans by fitting in with the popular culture. A more modern metaphor of American society as a salad bowl has also been used, where new immigrants bring their own unique experience to American culture as a whole and by doing so, enliven it, as opposed to blending in. The United States, and especially California, is a land of opportunity and Muslim immigrants come to the United States and California for the same reasons that immigrants from the entire world have come to California, not to wage jihad, but for a better life. Islamic radicalization is a serious threat to California's security, but it can remain just that, a threat, with effective policy.

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