

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. Background

The United State of America (USA) has been known as a super power in the world for almost a century. This country is also known as a pioneer of democracy and freedom for all countries in the world. As America is one of the secular countries has been trying to separate their socio-political life from religious values. However, although America is a secular country, the American government remains prioritizing harmony among religious communities. This is as stated in the American Constitution which is available in religious clauses from the First Amendment Act. Freedom of religion is very closely related to the separation of church and the state.

With all the positive images that have been attached to America do not make America free from various problems, one of which is the emergence of Islamophobia. Basically, the development of Islam in America has gone through a long history, in its development, the religion of Islam has always been a minority marginalized by government and the American community itself. The information on Islamic religion is still very minimal and has never get spotlight from all community.

According to Dr. Hannas, the history of the development of Islam in America can be divided into five waves. The first wave through immigration which took place around the 17th century until the onset of World War I, which was around 1875 to 1912. The first wave came from Syria, Jordan, Palestine, and Lebanon, which was under Ottoman rule. The second wave occurred after the World War

I, around 1918 to 1922. Then, the third wave in 1930 to 1938. The third wave was conditioned because US immigration policy gave priority to those who had permanent US family members. Then, the fourth wave occurred in 1947 to 1960. And the last wave occurred in 1967 until recently. Before discussing about the wave of immigrants influencing the development of Islam in America, Dr. Hannas reminded, since 1520 there were enough slaves from Africa brought to North America. The number is estimated at around 500 thousand people. Half of the total number of slaves was taken from African regions that had been inserted or influenced by Islamic teachings. Of the five waves of Islamic migration, Dr. Hannas recorded a significant increase in the fifth wave. Around 1970-1980 there was a large wave of Muslim migrants to the US. This is because in the decade there were wars and disputes that spread in Turkey, Afghanistan, and the Levant (Dikarma, 2017).

Before the tragedy of 11 September 2001, the condition of Muslims in America was quite calm and peaceful, most of the American people did not even know what Islam was. The mass media even rarely mentions Islam in their news unless there are sensitive things happening in other parts of the world. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks which destroyed the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. it became a resurgence momentum of hatred against Islam, coupled with Bush's policies as leader of the United States at the time, which was considered to corner Muslims to fight terrorism. This forms a stigma of sentiment in public opinion that Islam is a religion that is full of violence, since then every time they talk about Islam,

what comes to their minds (Americans) is a type of Islam that is hard, intolerant, conservative, extreme, conservative, and others etc (Deutsche Welle, 2016).

Conceptually, Islamophobia is an attitude based on bad prejudice or irrational fear that results in hatred and fear of matters relating to Islam, including adherents of Islam (Muslim). Islam phobia is perpetuated as a negative stereotype that results in discrimination and marginalization of Muslims from social, political and social life. (Farid, 2015) In 1997 The Runnymede Trust described Islamophobia as two strands of racism, both in terms of differences in the physical appearance of the adherents, and also in terms of intolerance in religious beliefs (Nizmi, 2014). Meanwhile American journalist Stephen Schwartz defines Islam phobia as a condemnation of the whole of Islam and its history as extremists, denying the existence of a moderate Muslim majority, about Islam as a problem for the world, treating conflicts involving Muslims as their own faults, insisting that Muslims make changes to their religion, and incite war against Islam as a whole.

Islamophobia is not a new phenomenon. In 1999, Runnymede Trust, a think tank engaged in ethnicity and cultural diversity, defined Islamophobia as or fear or hatred towards Islam and therefore cause fear and hatred of all Muslims. This foundation of thinking raises discriminatory behavior towards Muslims by marginalizing Muslims from economic, social and public life. It also raises the perception that Islam is seen as inferior to the West and more a political ideology than a religion. However, the term Islamophobia was widely disseminated to the world community during the 9/11 incident where the media indicated that the attackers were Islamic radical groups, Al-Qaeda. The events of September 11, 2001,

have changed US foreign policy. If all this time the US government has made its foreign policy in a contemporary manner, the event has changed it drastically. Since then, he explained, the US has focused on fighting terrorism by hunting down enemies on non-state levels (Prasetya1, 2008). Then operationally, the attitude of Islam phobia can be seen from the policies issued during the Bush administration. Various policies were formed in the aftermath of 9/11 as a response to fighting terrorists, such as the Patriot Act which contains a policy that gives freedom to security forces and secret services such as the FBI and NSA to search homes or intercept social network accounts for anyone who has a relationship with terrorist networks. In short, the policy violates personal rights or privacy. There is also a Homeland Security Act which is a policy for regional security so that it is closely related to the immigration and transportation fields. Migrants from the Islamic world or names that indicate identity as Muslims must wait long enough for a visa to be obtained. They also have to pass an identity check by the US State Department. Since the start of the program, more than 113,000 men have been registered at the immigration office and more than 13,400 have been deported. The most noticeable impact of this policy is the reduction in the numbers of Arab, Muslim and Southeast Asian immigrants in the United States. Indirectly, this policy shows that Muslims must bear the consequences of the events of 9/11.

There is also a war on terrorism policy issued by Bush as a response to the events of 9/11 to quell terrorism in order to maintain security stability in the United States. The existence of this action against terror was demonstrated by the American invasion of

Afghanistan in 2001 and the invasion of Iraq in 2003. Generally, this was done in the Middle East to pursue Al-Qaeda. In conducting war on terror, Bush used the principle of "Doctrine of Pre-emption". Pre-emptive military strikes doctrine is a possible policy. President Bush at that time changed the pattern of US foreign policy based on national interests which in this issue of terrorism was trying to protect all citizens and interests at home and abroad and to create a Preemptive military strikes sense of security for their citizens as an urgent need. In the face of the United States Secretary on September 20, 2001, Bush issued a threat to the international community, "Either you with us or you are with the terrorist". Bush also said, "If you are not with us, you are against us". This statement, better known as the "Bush Doctrine", clearly forced other countries in the world to form an attitude and seemed to have divided the earth into two parts, namely terrorists and non-terrorists (Byers, 2001). Then Bush announced that the doctrine, also known as the Preemptive Military Strikes Doctrine, was a policy that was part of the United States security strategy in an effort to safeguard its national interests (Ikenberry, 2002).

Doctrine is a policy that allows America to attack countries it believes will present a threat in the future. It was this doctrine that opened the way to the 2003 invasion of Iraq (Telaah Doktrin Bush dan Obama dalam konteks studi Amerika dan Dunia). President George W. Bush realized "pre-emptive strike", a doctrine that justifies the US to destroy any party that has the potential to be a threat to their national security so that the US increasingly does not pay attention to clear limits on the meaning of terrorism itself. (Kahfi, 2006) In reality, terrorists for the US are those who always oppose their hegemony.

The same accusations are often directed at those who oppose and fight against colonialism and the seizure of rights committed by Zionist Israel in Palestine.

The lack of clarity about the definition of terrorism for the US government often makes policies issued by the George W. Bush administration in combating terrorism in the Middle East tend to experience double standards; What is meant by double standards is the inconsistency of the US government. Noam Chomsky in the book "Revealing the Veil of International Terrorism", states that human rationality has been controlled by a giant force carried out by controlling the human mind through the use of words and the granting of certain meanings. Chomsky gathers a number of words or expressions whose meaning has been set aside. "Peace process" "means" the "peace proposal proposed by the US". The proposals put forward by Arab countries especially Palestine (as realistic as they are) is considered as rejection (Chomsky, 1991). Likewise with the term "terrorism" Terrorism at first means acts of violence accompanied by sadism intended to frighten opponents. In the dictionary of Superpower, terrorism is acts of protest carried out by countries or small groups. The killing of three Israelis in Lanarca was Terrorism, but the invasion of civilian targets in Tunis, the Sabra and Satila massacres, the torture of Palestinians, the bombing of cities in Iraq and Afghanistan referred to as retaliation. By controlling such meaning will bring a lot of sympathy to the US who struggles to struggle in creating peace.

From what has been described above about the influence of Islamophobia in American foreign policy carried out by the George W. Bush administration in combating terrorism in the Middle East, the authors are interested in conducting more in-

depth research on how Islamophobia influences American foreign policy.

B. Research Question

Based on the background the main research question for this thesis is: Why Islamophobia influence the US foreign policy decision-making?

C. Theoretical Framework

Perception Theory

In contrast to the theory of human instincts in policy making that pays more attention to humans, instincts, in theory, assume that instincts and personalities are individual aspects that are static, while perceptions or "images" are characterized by dynamic people, because of perceptions custom changes. According to Kenneth Boulding:

"We must recognize that people who determine the policies and actions of countries do not feed the facts the "goal". . . but to their "image" about sharing, what determines our behavior is our perception of the world, not facts that world " (Boulding, 1991)

Boulding's statement above shows that the perception of a leader with a role in determining the performance of the country.

Thomas Franck and Edward Weisband, who emphasized the importance of image too argue that:

"The ways two countries see each other often determine how they interact. A pattern systematic cooperation is impossible to develop among the respective countries consider the opponent to be evil, aggressive and not moral. "

Thus, the individual takes action based on what he or she does know. A person's response to a situation depends on how he or she is define that situation.

Regarding the relationship between image, perception, and international behavior, Bruce Russet, and Harvey Starr explain it as follows. In the process making foreign policy decisions initially arises from a situation or problem. Before the situation or problem arises to be responded to by the people decision maker, there are three things that happen. First, there is a kind of stimulus from environment. Second, of course, there are efforts to perceive the stimulus. This is the process applied by individuals to select, organize, and assess information entered about the world around it. Third, there must be an effort interpret the perceived stimulus. Perception and interpretation is very depends on the image that is in the mind of the decision maker.

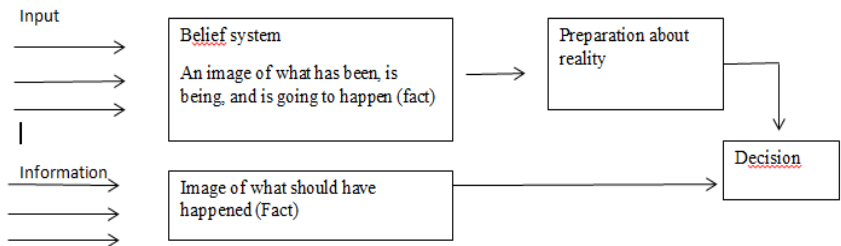
The stages described by Russet and Starr are described by Ole R. Holsti in a diagram describing perceptions and relationship with images and belief systems. According to Ole R. Holsti, belief systems consist of a series of images that make up the whole frame of reference or point of view of a person. The images include past, present, and expected realities in the future, and value preferences about what should happen. Such is the theory of perception this has been described through several expert perspectives.

The perception theory in the view of Ole R. Holsti, distinguishes three perception components, namely value, belief and knowledge (facts). Value is preference for certain reality statements compared to other realities. Value provides prices relative to objects and conditions. Belief is true, proven or known. Confidence is often based on acceptance

previous information from the environment, even though it is not the same as own data. This is an analytical statement that connects one unit data into a "tested" pattern. Whereas knowledge (know or existing facts) derived from data or information received from the environment. Knowledge is a key element in system formation and change perceptual (Walter S. Jones, 1992).

Decisions makers are influenced by various psychological processes affect that perception, for example, to rationalize actions, to maintain your own opinion, to reduce anxiety, and others so. Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr explained how the image someone influences his perception of the world around him through the process as follows (Holsti, 1985) :

Picture 1.1 Relationship between the System of Beliefs and foreign policy decisions by Kenneth Boulding



At first, a person's values and beliefs help him determine the direction of his attention, which is determining what the stimulus is, which is seen and noticed. Then based on the attitude and image that has been believed so far the stimulus was interpreted. The image functions as a filter. Each person only pays

attention to a part of the world around it, and everyone have a different set of images to interpret incoming information. Perception based on existing perceptions before is the selection process. The belief system is a group beliefs, images, or models about the world that someone believes.

According to Holsti, the belief system consists of a series of images forming a person's entire frame of reference or point of view. Images it includes past, present, and expected realities in the future front, and value preferences about what should happen. That is the theory this perception has been described through several expert perspectives.

If this theory is applied to the influence of Islamophobia in American foreign policy decision making, Holsti's view of values and this belief was in fact possessed by America, represented by President George W Bush as the policymaker. This means value and the belief system owned by George W Bush obtained from information or the insights he got about Islam were very influential in making foreign policy decisions. This can be seen from the background of the Republic's policies and rhetoric and President Bush since the events of September 11, which reinforces the perception among Muslims that the party is a hotbed of Islamophobia. Although Bush tried to convince Muslims after the September 11, 2001 attacks, that the United States had not fought against Islam, with at least the last 15 years the Republican party has become a political center for Islamophobia, submitted anti-Muslim policy proposals or anti-foreign laws at least 10 state legislatures.

The background of American foreign policymaking by George W Bush according to perception theory is influenced by values and his

beliefs stem from the information and knowledge he receives, then form the construction of thinking Bush. The construction of George W Bush's thinking later influenced the belief system relatively raises the tendency of his views in taking foreign policy.

D. Hypothesis

Islamophobia influences US foreign policy decision making because of several factors or choices:

- 1) Belief system or Values, because America had a traumatic sense about Islam in the past during crusade
- 2) The facts, because of some terrorist attack and 9 September 2001 tragedy that involved by Islamic Radicalism movement made Bush perceive and believe that Islam is threat for American security in the future.

E. Research Method

In this study that discusses the influence of Islamophobia in the US foreign policy decision making in 2001-2005. The author uses qualitative methods, namely data collection techniques in the form of library research on written literature such as books, articles, journals, and also source resources obtained from the internet, which are considered relevant to the problems in this study and then analyzed descriptively.

F. Research Purpose

This thesis has a purpose to explain the effect of Islamophobia in America foreign policy decision-making process.

G. Scope of Research

In the process of writing, it takes a range of research where the aim is to avoid too broad discussion of the topic to be discussed. In this thesis, the author focuses on why Islamophobia can influence the United state Foreign policy decision making. The period of time that will be analyzed is in the year 2001 when the Islamophobia appear in America and also the year 2001-2005 when America did invasion in Afganistan and also Iraq.

H. Thesis outline

The outline of this research as follows:

Chapter I, discusses the overall thesis construction which includes Background, Research Question, Purpose of Research, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Research Methodology, Range of Research, and System of Writing.

Chapter II, discusses about Islamophobia and the history of relation between Islamic world and Western world, when did Islamophobia first appeared in the United State of America.

Chapter III, discusses about impact of Islamophobia in the United State of America and the responses of the United State government toward the impact that caused by Islamophobia on the United State society and security by the foreign policy.

Chapter IV, explore the decision making process in America through the facts about Islam in George W Bush perceive and also values that George W Bush get from the past which is crusade.

Chapter V, contains a conclusion based on the author's view of the results of the research that has been carried out. The conclusion in this chapter is the final results of a series of author research processes.