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THE DISRIMINATION CASES AGAINST MUSLIMS IN NEW YORK AS THE IMPACT OF SETEMBER 11 TRAGEDY

THESIS



**AHMAD KHARISMA
01185035**

**ENGLISH DEPARTEMET
FACULTY OF LETTERS
ANDALAS UNUVERSITY
PADANG
2006**

**THE DISCRIMINATION CASES AGAINST MUSLIMS IN NEW YORK
AS THE IMPACT OF SEPTEMBER 11 TRAGEDY**

By

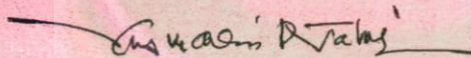
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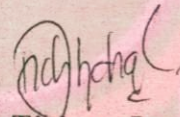
By

Supervisor I

Supervisor II




Dra. Yusmarni Djalius, MA
NIP. 131 802 827



Dra. Diah Tjahaya Iman, M. Litt
NIP. 131 810 622

Head of English Department,
Faculty of Letters, Andalas University



Drs. Rumbardi, M.Sc
NIP. 131 811 056

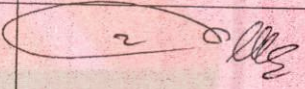
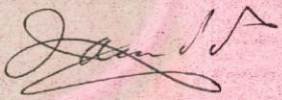
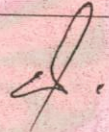


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Sarjana Sastra (S.S.)

Pada hari/Tanggal : Rabu/16 Agustus 2006
Pukul : 09.00-10.30
Tempat : Ruang Sidang Jurusan Sastra Inggris
Fakultas Sastra Universitas Andalas

Susunan Tim Penguji

NO	NAMA	JABATAN	TANDATANGAN
1.	Dra. Eva Najma, M. Hum NIP. 131 861 151	Ketua	
2.	Dra. Hj. Hamidah Bustami NIP. 130 349 596	Sekretaris	
3.	Dra. Yusmarni Djalius, M. A NIP. 131 802 827	Anggota	

Disahkan oleh Ketua Jurusan Sastra Inggris
Fakultas Sastra Universitas Andalas


Drs. Rumbardi, M. Sc
NIP. 131 811 056

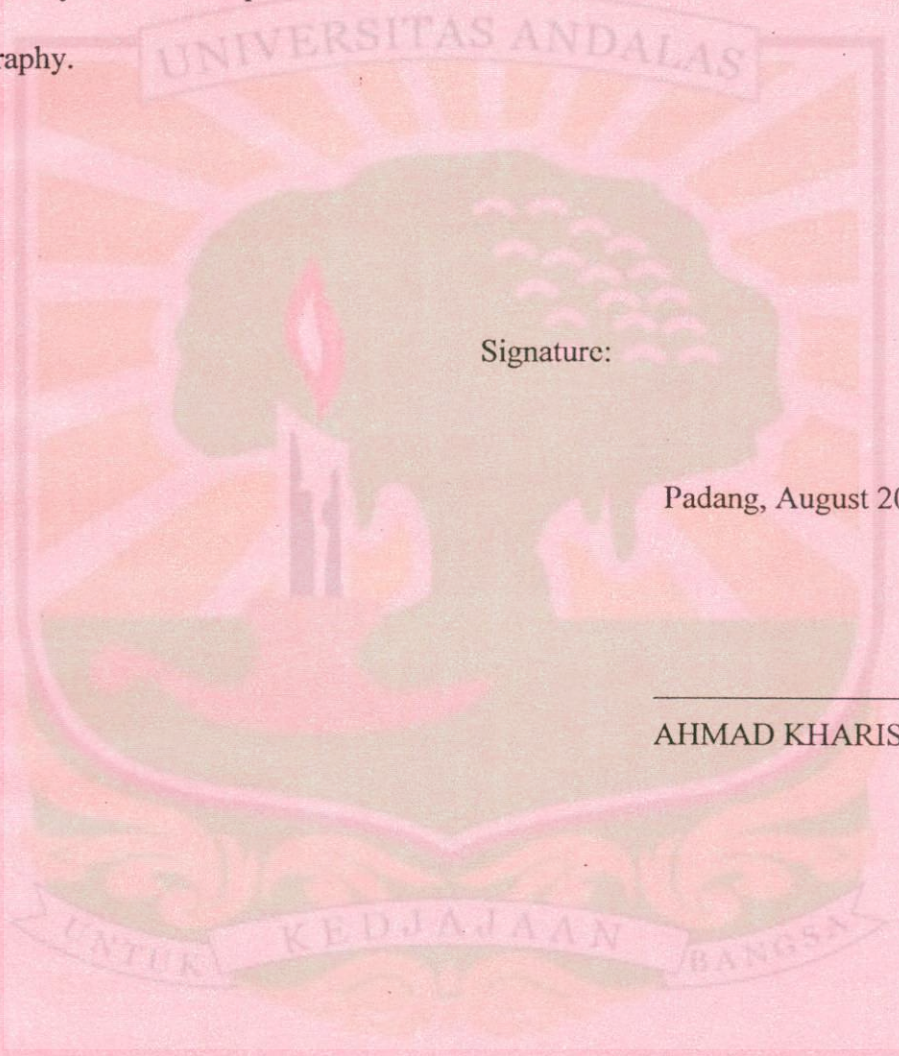
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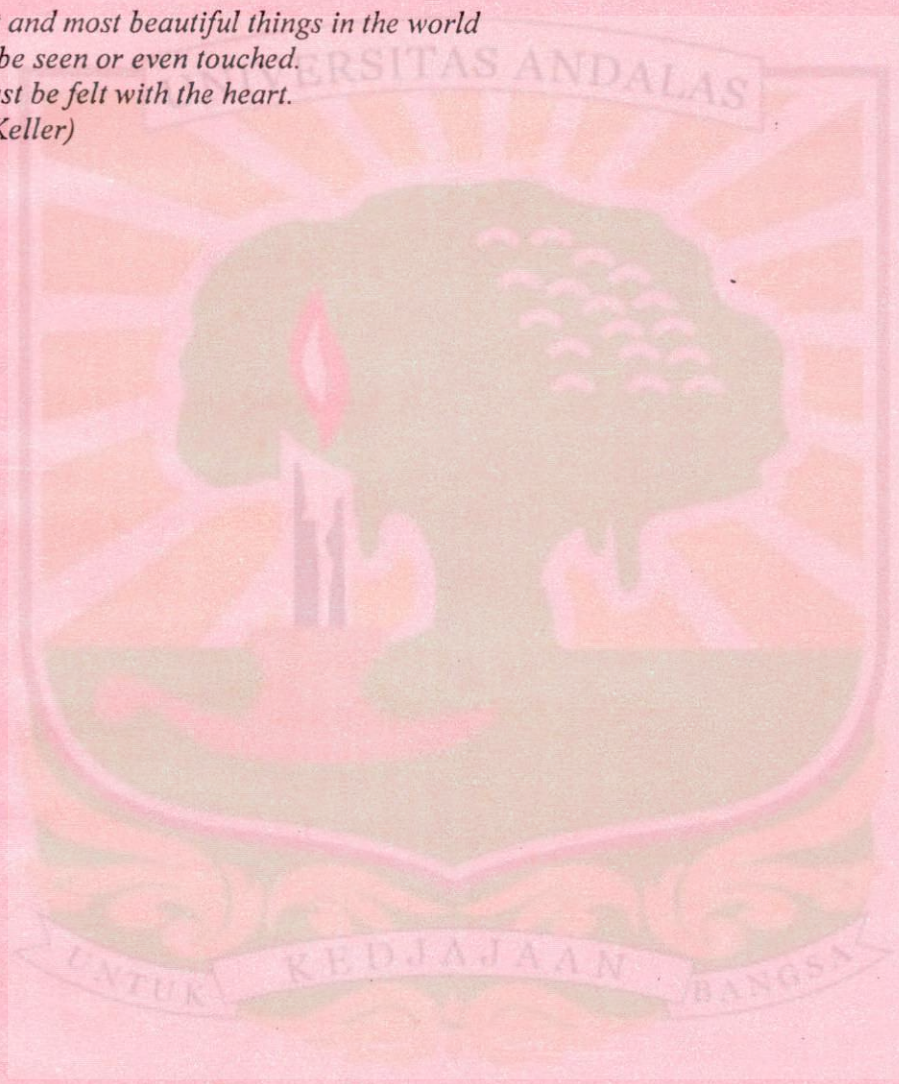
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*Katakanlah: "Adakah sama orang-orang yang mengetahui dengan orang-orang yang tidak mengetahui? Sesungguhnya orang yang berakallah yang dapat menerima pelajaran."
(Az Zumar: 9)*

*The best and most beautiful things in the world cannot be seen or even touched. They must be felt with the heart.
(Helen Keller)*



*This thesis is dedicated to my beloved parents,
sisters, aunt, and nephews.*

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Padang, August 2006

Ahmad Kharisma

ABSTRAK

Skripsi ini mengkaji tentang diskriminasi terhadap warga Muslim yang terjadi di Amerika Serikat, khususnya di Kota New York, pasca tragedi 11 September. Pemerintah Amerika Serikat menuding Osama bin Laden dengan organisasi Al-Qaeda-nya sebagai dalang atas aksi terorisme tersebut. Hal ini lantas membentuk opini keliru kebanyakan warga Amerika terhadap warga Muslim yang berujung pada tindakan diskriminasi, baik diskriminasi fisik maupun diskriminasi non fisik. Meskipun diskriminasi ini sangat kentara terjadi pasca tragedi 11 September, penulis melihat bahwa ada faktor-faktor tertentu yang melatarbelakanginya. Hal inilah yang dibahas di dalam skripsi ini.

Data didapatkan dengan menerapkan studi pustaka, di mana data dan informasi yang dibutuhkan bersumber dari media cetak berupa buku, jurnal, artikel, dan media digital. Melalui pendekatan sosiologi, data yang diperoleh dianalisa secara kualitatif dengan menggunakan teori kausalitas yang dikemukakan oleh Reason dan Rowen, yang kemudian dijabarkan secara deskriptif.

Dari analisis data penulis menemukan bahwa diskriminasi tersebut tidak semata-mata dipicu oleh tragedi 11 September, melainkan juga karena adanya sejumlah faktor khusus yang menjadi penyebabnya, yaitu faktor pernyataan pemerintah Amerika Serikat mengenai pelaku penyerangan, faktor sejarah pengeboman gedung WTC, serta faktor adanya pernyataan-pernyataan bernada rasisme dari tokoh-tokoh berpengaruh di Amerika Serikat terhadap warga Muslim.

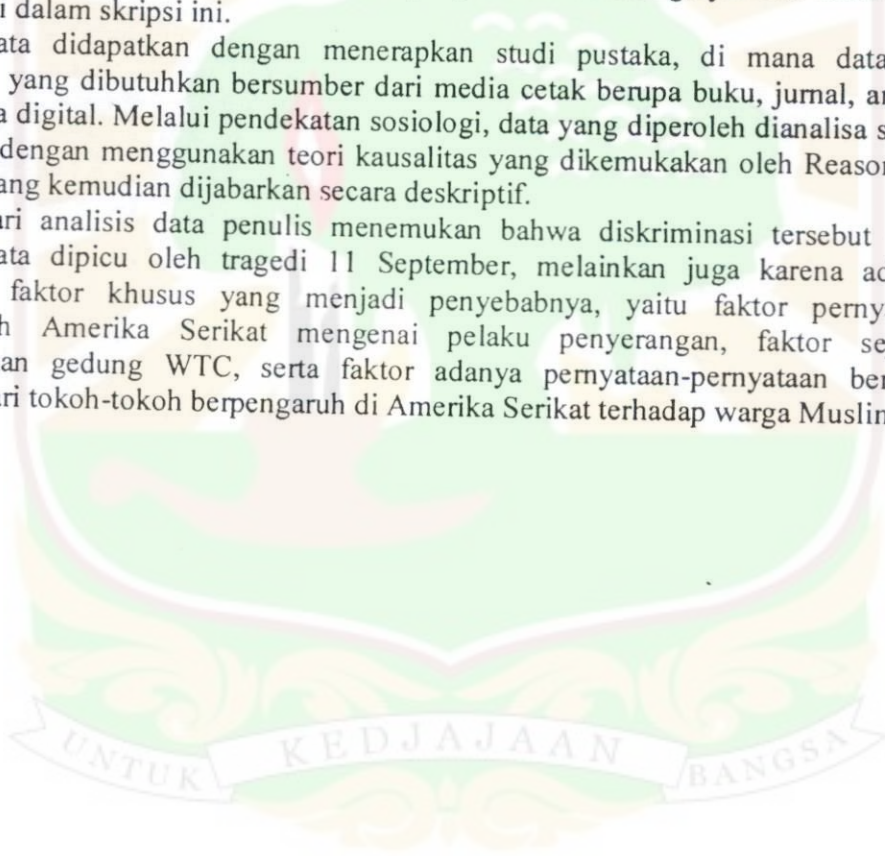


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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background of the Study

United States of America is a multi-ethnic country. There are many different cultures live in this country. The population of America is derived from Afro-American, Hispanic, Asian, and other race beside the native Indian and as well from the first settler immigrants from Europe in the scene of first history of America itself. America also conducts multi-religious landscape on their society. It means, religious aspect has become such important part that cannot be separated from American people in the sphere of their life, as stated by former US' President Bill Clinton as quoted in *US Society and Values: The Religious Landscape of the United States*,

“We have more than 250,000 places of worship. More people go to church here every week, or to synagogue or to a mosque or other place of worship than in any other country in the world. More people believe religion is directly important to their lives than in any other advanced, industrialized country in the world. And it is not an accident. It is something that has always been a part of our life”. (1997: 5).

Islam, one among other spiritual beliefs in America like Christian, Hindu, Buddha, and Jews, is admitted as the fastest growing religion. As mentioned by Bukhari, in the 1990s, the general accepted estimate of Muslim's population was six million, and in 1998 their community would number around

seven million in 2000, that estimate was subsequently revised to 5.7 million Muslims in 2003 (2003: 7).

According to Smith, the story of Muslims in America has been begun since the first wave of Muslim Immigrants came to America by the late 20th century. They came to America based on various reasons like economic, education, and also political reason. In fact, the Muslim immigrants wanted to escape from the hard living in their origin country (2002: 14).

Smith stated that the first Muslim communities in America were in the Middle West. In 1914 Muslims began to build Islamic Center in Indiana, and Iowa is the home of the oldest mosque which still in use today. Dearborn, Michigan, outside Detroit, has long been home to both Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims from many parts of the Middle East. Many of them worked at the Ford Motor Company plant, and had formed a community joined by other Muslims. Together with Middle Easterr. Christians, these Michigan Muslims formed the largest Arab-American settlement in the country. Today, the Muslim population is widespread and most concentrated Muslims populations in America are in California, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio where the number of mosques in these five states are 227, 140, 86, 87, and 66 mosques (2002: 28-32).

It is easy to identify people whether they are Muslims or not from their identity in the way they dress, especially for Muslim women because of their veil. This identity makes Muslims different from other Americans in general. Religious practice and social roles are also the affected points that distinguish Muslim from

other. Furthermore, Muslims in America have faced the common difficulties of trying to adapt to US society caused by racism, class struggle, language obstacles, and also social discriminations.

The discrimination is a kind of phenomenon in America since it has become a part that cannot be separated from the history of this country. According to Parillo, the slavery was such a kind of discrimination that occurred in America hundreds of years before. The cases of slavery then commenced to continue while the struggles between white and black people happened continuously in the middle of 20th century. The clash of discrimination did not only happen to Afro-America but also occurred between white people of America against Chinese and Hispanic immigrants (1985: 151).

In recent years, the clash takes place between white and Muslim in higher tension. The year of 2001 was the crucial moment that created this phenomenon when on September 11 America was attacked using four hijacked planes. Two of the hijacked planes crashed on World Trade Center (WTC) building in New York. One plane landed on Pentagon, and other plane crashed on Pennsylvania without attacking any of important buildings.

On September 11, 2001, millions of American people considered that their everyday life would no longer be the same as the days before. The Americans broke in emotional conditions, the pain, fear, and anger that all Americans felt over the attacks that led to the destruction of the World Trade Center, a section of the Pentagon, and thousands of missing, injured and dead.

Since this tragedy it has often been said that it will not be the same again, many things have changed in most aspects of American life, such as economic, political, and also social interaction in American society.

For Americans of South Asian and Middle Eastern descent, since September 11 tragedy, they have feared to become the target of backlash attacks because of no reasons instead the color of their skin, the clothes that they wore, the religion they believed and they practiced, or even the accent with which way they spoke English.

As a result of this situation, many members of Middle Eastern and South Asian communities reported that they were frightened to leave their homes, go to work or school, or even practice their religions.

This condition extremely shows that Arab Americans suffered from a serious backlash following September 11, 2001. Arab Americans continued to suffer from increased levels of discrimination from their fellow citizens in many fields, such as public, private and also racial discrimination from prominent people in America in forms of the media bias and racist statements.

Arab Americans, like other minority groups such as Hispanic, Chinese, and Afro-American have long faced problems with discrimination, but following the September 11 attacks, the discriminations became intense, frequent and widespread.

There have been increased reports of hate-crimes against persons and properties, particularly in the first nine weeks following the terrorist attacks.

During this period, some Muslim organizations like American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) confirmed over 700 violent incidents aimed at Arab Americans, or those perceived to be Arab Americans (2003: 7).

Along with the tragedy of September 11, the Muslim's life is not safe anymore. The number of discrimination increased following the first nine weeks after the tragedy. Some racist discrimination and action had been pointed out toward Muslims. Some harassments and violence also happened, which Arab and Muslim immigrants as the target referring to ADC (2003: 8).

From the official government, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in its website reported that the number of anti-Muslim hate-crimes rose from twenty eight in 2000 to 481 in 2001, a seventeen-fold increase than a year before.

Counting backlash incidents ranging from verbal taunts to employment discrimination to airport profiling to hate-crimes, the Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) reported one of thousand seven hundred and seventeen incidents of backlash discrimination against Muslims from September 11, 2001 through February 2002.

From this situation the writer is interested in analyzing the discrimination happened against Muslims following September 11 tragedy. This event was very contradictive with the US' President George W. Bush's remark at Afghan Embassy in Washington, D.C., September 10, 2002 as quoted from *Muslim Life in America*,

"It's important for our fellow Americans to understand that Americans of Muslim faith share the same grief that we all share

from what happened to our country; that they're just as proud of America as I am proud of America; that they love our country as much as I love our country. They share my profound belief that no American should be judged by appearance, by ethnic background, or by religious faith. I believe that strongly, and so do they." (2003: 50).

Since the intensity and the backlash attack against Muslims following September 11 tragedy, especially in terms of hate-crimes and discrimination, the writer begins to be interested in analyzing this topic. Considering the struggle of discriminations and bad treatments which conduct racism toward Muslims, the writer writes this thesis entitled *The Discrimination Cases Against Muslims in New York As the Impact of September 11 Tragedy*.

1.2. The Identification of the Problems

The discrimination cases toward Muslim in the United States of America, which have self-righteous of its loyalty and respect to human rights, has left out some questions in the writer's mind. The questions lead to analyze the problems of discriminations happened toward Muslims. In this study, the writer wants to answer several questions as listed below:

1. What is the impact of September 11 tragedy to the discrimination cases in New York?
2. What are the reasons of the discriminations?
3. What are the responses to the discriminations?

1.3 The Objective of the Study

The study discusses the Muslims society's life in USA, especially the discrimination they experienced, which has been increased rapidly soon after September 11 tragedy. Here the writer analyzes the types of discriminations and why these discriminations happened toward Muslims. This research is also provided with some cases of discriminations that Muslims experienced in their daily life in New York.

1.4 The Limitation of the Research

The research is limited on the discussion of the discrimination cases against Muslims in New York as the impact of the September 11 tragedy.

The writer chooses New York because the World Trade Center (WTC) building; the symbol of US's economic supremacy and hegemony in the world, which was being attacked by planes for each building, the North Tower and the South Tower, locates in this city. As the result, according to the 9/11 Commission Report (2003), the nation suffered lost of life about 2.973 victims fell on this attack.

Another factor the writer chooses New York because this city has the largest population of Muslims in America. Bloomberg and Gatling note that the number of Muslims in New York is estimated about 600,000 based on assumption

that 1 of 10 Muslims of the 6 million US Muslims population lives in New York (2003: 12).

1.5 Method of Research

In writing this thesis the data have been collected from some primary written sources such as books, journal, reports, and articles from magazines and newspapers. This thesis also uses the materials from the internet as the primary sources since it is difficult to get the written materials like books and articles that contain this case of discrimination. The primary sources from internet are electronic books, journals, and reports, which were published legally for public consumption by the official department of the United States of America like U.S. Department of State, FBI, et cetera. The journals and reports were also retrieved from independence organizations like American-Arab-Anti Discrimination Committee (ADC) and the Council on Americans Islamic Relations (CAIR). The secondary sources were derived from written books and articles from magazines and newspaper. Internet was also used in getting secondary sources of materials related to the case of discrimination against Muslims in USA.

To analyze the data the writer applies the qualitative method. The qualitative method makes the writer views the problem of the social phenomenon objectively. For the reader, the application of the qualitative method will make them get the tone of what the writer trying to explain and analyze about the

problem since the qualitative method uses descriptive study as Bodgan and Bilken stated,

“Qualitative research is descriptive. The data collected are in the form of words or pictures rather than numbers. The written results of the research contain quotations from the data to illustrate the presentations (1982: 28).”

Hence, in writing this thesis the writer chooses the qualitative method.

In discussing the study, the writer uses sociological approach. Thomas stated,

“Sociological approach is the study of human relationship, their causes and consequences. The object of the study in sociology is a man himself, because man is very complex and changeable (1972: 3).”

The writer uses the causality theory in analyzing the data. Reason and Rowen stated,

“The content of causal law is the set of actual events that have been and will be observed. An event is identified as a cause of a later event and statistical fact that precede events of that type identified as effect (1981: 14).”

In presenting the analysis, the writer employs descriptive method, which attempts to present the phenomena in details. With this method, the writer presents the findings objectively based on the analysis.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEWS ON RELATED LITERATURE

2.1. The Reviews on the Related Studies

In doing the research, the writer uses some books related to the problem of discriminations toward Muslim in America as primary sources.

The first one is a book titled *Islam in America* written by Jane I. Smith, which was copyrighted by Columbia University Press and translated into Indonesian by Yayasan Obor Indonesia entitled *Islam di Amerika* (2005). This book discusses the pattern of Islam and it begins with the Muslim's obligations and behaviors, and then continues to the part of the coming of Islam to America. This book also explains about the ways of Muslims live their life in American culture and society.

The second is *American Muslims: One Year after 9-11* (2003), which is released by Council on American-Islamic Relations Research Center. This book explains about the conditions of Muslim in America one year after the September 11 tragedy. According to this book, Muslims in America were targeted by extremist which conduct anti-Muslim hate-crimes like murder, attacks on mosques, attacks on Muslim women, bombs and arson attacks, physical assaults, and also workplace discrimination. To condemn this situation, the American people and American Muslims together with American government carry out some ways in healing the anti-Muslims hate-crimes. The Muslim leaders,

scholars, and Imam take the chance to explain to the whole of Americans that Islam stands for justice and Islam is not like what they imagine as terrorism religion. Besides the healing from internal people of Muslim, to condemn the backlash attack against Muslims was also coming from American citizens. As quoted from this book on the chapter of "Americans Lends Hands to Their Muslims Neighbors",

"The Islamic Center in Athens, Ohio, reported being mailed a \$100 check from a non-Muslim couple who wrote that 'we are all one people.' In San Diego, the Islamic Center said it was 'flooded with letters and cards of support.' And Olga Benedetto, a 27-year-old student at Chicago's Moody Bible Institute, e-mailed an offer of 'help for those in the Chicago area needing groceries or other needs.... I understand that some of you are afraid to leave your homes.' (2003: 20)

The third is book under title of *Muslim World after 9/11*, which was written by Angel M. Rabasa et al. (2004). As mentioned in the preface, this book studies about the dynamics that are driving changes in the religio-political landscape of the Muslim world, especially after 9/11 tragedy. The writers of this book try to identify the factors that produce religious extremism and violence and also studies about the kinds of Muslims regions and ethnic, which may lead to terrorism.

The next source is a report published by New York City Commission on Human Right under title *Discrimination against Muslims, Arabs, And South Asians in New York City since 9/11*(2003). This report contains specific material related to the statistical fact about the discrimination cases in New York. The survey polling contains several questions covering personal data and information

about discriminatory incidents, specifically in some area like demographics: Respondents were asked their age, sex, zip code, how long they had lived in the United States, their country of origin, and their religion; types of discrimination experienced and area where discrimination occurred; and general effects: respondents were asked if the events of September 11, 2001 had affected their lives in any way and, if so, to describe how it was done.

Other source is *Hate-crimes and Discrimination Against Muslims: The Post-September 11 Backlash* (2003), written by Husein Ibish, Anne Stewart et al. This book describes the types of the discriminations that Muslims faced in America after September 11 tragedy. This book also provides the cases of discrimination that happen toward Muslims.

In writing this thesis the writer also uses a booklet titled *Muslim Life in America*, which published by Office of International Information Program, U.S Department of State (2003). This booklet discusses about the ways of Muslims in America passing their daily life after September 11 tragedy. This book explains that nothing matter upon Muslims in America since the tragedy of 9/11. The Muslim world in America keeps on normal in all aspects of life like family life, education, religious practice, workplace, and even in entertainment aspect like music. This book then also studies about the patterns of Muslim Immigration into United States.

The writer uses this booklet as a source since it tends to look the Muslims' life in America after September 11 tragedy from the American point of

view. Furthermore, this book is rather provocative when it explains that the Muslims in America run their life normally as well as nothing matter toward Muslim society.

2.2. Theoretical Framework

In this research the writer applies sociological perspective. As stated by Horton, "Sociology concentrates upon the study of group behavior and the customs and enduring social arrangements which develop from group behavior (1982: 42)". The writer sees that this Horton's statement is relevant to this research because the research includes the group behavior in society, especially in United States, which has multi ethnic race and many social group e.g. different race, culture, and religion (beliefs).

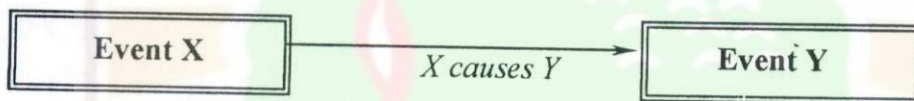
This explanation correlates with what happen in the United States of America nowadays when Muslims in America experienced such discrimination like hate-crimes to physical violence, threats, and harassment. The American that held discrimination upon Muslims proves the Horton statement about the people become demoralized under social change. Social change itself can be defined as "change in social structure and social relationships" (113). This statement is suitable with the study since this study deals with the relationship between the American people and American Muslims.

Furthermore, this research uses the causality theory. As stated by Reason and Rowen,

“Causality is the set of actual events that have been and will be observed. An event is identified as a cause of a later event and statistical fact that precede events of that type identified as effect (1981: 14).”

It means that the causality theory is used to explain an event or action, which caused by another event or action and it is used to identify the subject matter. In other words causality refers to the way of knowing that one thing causes another.

In this research the writer applies the causality theory as formulated below:



Event X → The September 11 tragedy → as cause

Event Y → The Discriminations against Muslims in USA → as effect

The formula above means that the September 11 tragedy can be identified as cause when this event brings some impacts toward Muslims in USA as its effect. By using this theory, the responsibilities of the September 11 tragedy as the general cause of the increasing number of the discriminations toward Muslims can be identified and analyzed deeply.

CHAPTER III

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF MUSLIMS IN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE SEPTEMBER 11 TRAGEDY

It is difficult to estimate accurately the total number of Muslims in the United States. It is still unclear how many Muslims currently reside in America; it was because of a lack of reliable information about Muslims in this country. Stone in *Christian Research Journal* notes that numbers of Muslims are changing due to immigration, conversion and birth rates. Furthermore, many Muslim Americans may wish to keep their religion private and will refuse to answer questions regarding their faith, either for security or personal reasons. For these reasons and others, it is difficult to measure the numbers of Muslims in the U.S. Other factor is for the past 50 years the United States government has not included questions about religious affiliation in its census (2001: 2).

Bukhari mentioned that in the 1990s, the generally accepted estimate was six million. The figure and growth rate were based upon scholarly studies of the Muslim population undertaken in 1981 and 1989. And in 1998 their community would number around seven million in 2000, that estimate was subsequently revised to 5.7 million Muslims in 2003 (2003: 7).

The three major ethnic groups in the Muslim community are South Asians (32%), Arabs (26%) and African Americans (20%). Muslims from various

African countries constitute seven percent of the community. More Muslims (17%) came from Pakistan than from any other country (Bukhari, 2003: 10).

Below is the table of ethnic composition of the American Muslim Community:

Ethnicity	%
South Asian	32
- <i>Pakistani</i>	17
- <i>Indian</i>	7
- <i>Bangladesh</i>	4
- <i>Afghan</i>	4
Arab	26
Afro-American	20
African	7
Other	14
Not sure of ethnicity	1

(Bukhari, 2003: 10).

While the current number of Muslims in the U.S. population is difficult to determine, it is believed that over half are members of first-second-or third-generation immigrant families. So that it is important to review the arrival of Muslims immigrant into United States.

Smith in *Islam in America* mentions that the earliest arrivals of Arab immigrants came between 1875 and 1912 from Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine. The area, then known as Greater Syria, was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. The majority of the men coming from this area were Christians, though

some were from Muslim groups. The hard living in origin country was the main motive for these immigrants to come to America. In short, they were motivated to earn enough money to support their families in their homeland. Gradually, they began to settle in the eastern United States, the Middle West, and along the Pacific Coast. During the 1930s, the movement of Muslims to America was reduced because of the implementation of *national origins quota system* - which set immigration limits according to the national origin of the foreign-born population of the United States in 1890 (2005: 76).

Until the last of the 20th century, most Muslims have chosen to come to the U.S. for economic and educational reasons. There were specific events that have brought immigrants and refugees to the America. Actually they were trying to escape because of the military defeat of Arab states by Israelis in 1967 and the civil war in Lebanon and its aftermath. After these events, more and more Muslims are arriving from countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia. Many of these immigrants are also highly trained and often assume positions of leadership in American Islam (Smith, 2005: 77).

Woodrow Wilson International Center (2003: 68) noted that American Muslims have created a wide variety of civic organizations devoted to local and international charitable efforts, but have been less active in social advocacy. While an overwhelming majority of Muslim Americans favors involvement in politics, an interest which has been enhanced by the difficulties Muslims in the country have faced since September 11, they continue to receive mixed reactions

from non-Muslim politicians. American Muslims are fairly well integrated on the local level, however, in parent-teacher associations, chambers of commerce, professional associations, school boards, rotary clubs and interfaith councils. The Muslim communities cannot be described as either liberal or conservative, as they tend to favor government programs in the area of health, poverty and the environment.

September 11, 2001

As this discussion goes to the September 11 tragedy, it such a horrible thing to see what has happened in the following 102 minutes in the morning of September 11, 2001.

At 8:45 a.m. (EST) American Airlines Flight 11 carrying ninety-two people from Boston to Los Angeles crashed into the North Tower of the World Trade Center. Twenty minutes later, United Airlines Flight 175 with sixty-five passengers and crew also heading toward California ripped through the South Tower. At 9:40 a.m. (EST) American Airlines Flight 77, a Boeing 757 commercial airliner carrying sixty-four people and 30,000 pounds of fuel for its long flight from Dulles to Los Angeles, smashed into the west façade of the Pentagon with such force that it penetrated four of the building's five interior rings.

The Federal Aviation Administration promptly banned take-offs nationwide and ordered all flights that were in the air to land at the nearest airport.

Then came the alarming news that United Airlines Flight 93 with forty passengers and crew on a route to San Francisco had crashed in Shanksville, Pennsylvania. Not long after, reports circulated that this plane had been headed toward Washington, D.C., and heroic passengers had intervened to thwart this plan. Back in New York, shortly before 10:00 a.m. (EST) the South Tower of the World Trade Center crumbled to the ground killing most of those trapped inside and blanketing Lower Manhattan with a thick coat of debris and dust. Approximately a half hour later, the North Tower tumbled down as well. None of the passengers and crews on the planes survived. Thousands of people were injured or killed at the World Trade Center and Pentagon (Donnell 2004).

From web news service agency of CNN, the timeline of the attack using four hijacked planes targeted to the strategic building in America as follows:

- 8:45 a.m.: A hijacked passenger jet, American Airlines Flight 11 out of Boston, Massachusetts, crashes into the north tower of the World Trade Center, tearing a gaping hole in the building and setting it afire.
- 9:03 a.m.: A second hijacked airliner, United Airlines Flight 175 from Boston, crashes into the south tower of the World Trade Centre and explodes. Both buildings are burning.
- 9:17 a.m.: The Federal Aviation Administration shuts down all New York City area airports.
- 9:21 a.m.: The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey orders all bridges and tunnels in the New York area closed.
- 9:30 a.m.: President Bush, speaking in Sarasota, Florida, says the country has suffered an "apparent terrorist attack."
- 9:40 a.m.: The FAA halts all flight operations at U.S. airports, the first time in U.S. history that air traffic nationwide has been halted.

- 9:43 a.m.: American Airlines Flight 77 crashes into the Pentagon, sending up a huge plume of smoke. Evacuation begins immediately.
- 9:45 a.m.: The White House evacuates.
- 9:57 a.m.: Bush departs from Florida.
- 10:05 a.m.: The south tower of the World Trade Center collapses, plummeting into the streets below. A massive cloud of dust and debris forms and slowly drifts away from the building.
- 10:08 a.m.: Secret Service agents armed with automatic rifles are deployed into Lafayette Park across from the White House.
- 10:10 a.m.: A portion of the Pentagon collapses.
- 10:10 a.m.: United Airlines Flight 93, also hijacked, crashes in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, southeast of Pittsburgh.
- 10:13 a.m.: The United Nations building evacuates, including 4,700 people from the headquarters building and 7,000 total from UNICEF and U.N. development programs.
- 10:22 a.m.: In Washington, the State and Justice departments are evacuated, along with the World Bank.
- 10:24 a.m.: The FAA reports that all inbound transatlantic aircraft flying into the United States are being diverted to Canada.
- 10:28 a.m.: The World Trade Center's north tower collapses from the top down as if it were being peeled apart, releasing a tremendous cloud of debris and smoke.
- 10:45 a.m.: All federal office buildings in Washington are evacuated.
- 10:46 a.m.: U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell cuts short his trip to Latin America to return to the United States.
- 10:48 a.m.: Police confirm the plane crash in Pennsylvania.
- 10:53 a.m.: New York's primary elections, scheduled for Tuesday, are postponed.

- 10:57 a.m.: New York Gov. George Pataki says all state government offices are closed.
- 11:02 a.m.: New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani urges New Yorkers to stay at home and orders an evacuation of the area south of Canal Street.
- 11:16 a.m.: CNN reports that the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is preparing emergency-response teams in a precautionary move.
- 11:18 a.m.: American Airlines reports it has lost two aircraft. American Flight 11, a Boeing 767 flying from Boston to Los Angeles, had 81 passengers and 11 crew aboard. Flight 77, a Boeing 757 en route from Washington's Dulles International Airport to Los Angeles, had 58 passengers and six crew members aboard. Flight 11 slammed into the north tower of the World Trade Center. Flight 77 hit the Pentagon.
- 11:26 a.m.: United Airlines reports that United Flight 93, en route from Newark, New Jersey, to San Francisco, California, has crashed in Pennsylvania. The airline also says that it is "deeply concerned" about United Flight 175.
- 11:59 a.m.: United Airlines confirms that Flight 175, from Boston to Los Angeles, has crashed with 56 passengers and nine crew members aboard. It hit the World Trade Center's south tower.

The events of September 11 had greatly impacted Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim and South Asian communities in the United States. These communities have faced challenges ranging from hate crimes to employment discrimination and racial profiling by immigration officials and law enforcement.

For American people, September 11 was the most difficult day in their life, ironically for Muslims. Muslims people were so afraid to walk outside the street. They were afraid to go outside for next few weeks after September 11 primarily because of religion they embrace.

CHAPTER 4

THE DISCRIMINATION CASES AGAINST MUSLIMS IN NEW YORK AS THE IMPACT OF SEPTEMBER 11 TRAGEDY

This chapter discusses about the discriminations cases against Muslims in New York as the impact of September 11 tragedy. As mentioned in the chapter one, after September 11 many aspects in American life were not the same as before anymore. Many things changed, like political situation, economical, and also social life of American people.

In politics, the government of USA faced the difficult situation. The terrorist's attack of September 11 pushed the government to ensure the security of their citizens. The fear had been haunted the people of America, and it was the job of government at any cost to made the citizen able to take a rest in their homeland without worried about another attack in unpredictable time. To condemn this situation, the US government then focused on the threats of the terrorism. As the President, George W. Bush had responsibility to lead his presidency administration and his bureaucracy to made decision about the position of the nation in this threat.

Some policies had been released in order to prevent the nation from any kind of terrorist actions. While Bush made a statement about the war on terrorism, he also proposed the doctrine about the pre-emptive action. It means that the nation could take preventive action rather than waiting passively for the United States to suffer an attack before responding. *The Economist*, June 22, (29) in a

journal *September 11 One Year Later* mentioned about the pre-emptive action as quoted below:

“...Pre-emption can involve military force, as well as arrests, sanctions, and diplomatic measures. National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice pointed to the 1962 blockade during the Cuban missile crisis as an example of successful preemptive action (2002: 8).”

September 11 tragedy also hit USA in monetary aspect. The attack on World Trade Center building seems to be the strike on the symbol of US's economical hegemony. In fact, the attack had collapsed the economic life of America. It can be found in *September 11 One Year Later*:

“In September 2001, retail sales fell by \$6 billion (2.1 percent); durable goods new orders fell \$11.6 billion (6.8 percent); and new claims for unemployment insurance surged by 50,000, the biggest monthly jump since August 1982. Industrial production fell 1.0 percent in September. When stocks finally opened for trading on September 17, the S&P 500 fell another 7.0 percent while the NASDAQ fell 9.9 percent, before bottoming on September 21 (2002: 11).”

After all, the most tremendous impact of September 11 tragedy was the effect toward social life of American society. The attack of September 11 intensified the discriminations against Muslims in almost every parts of America. New York as the crime scene of the tragedy was also troubled with the discriminations toward Muslims who lived in this city. The discriminations that Muslims faced after September 11 could be divided into several types such as public discriminations, private discriminations, and racist statements from prominent people.

In analyzing the cases of discriminations toward Muslims after September 11 tragedy, the writer finds some interesting points, they are the response of American people toward September 11 tragedy, the discriminations that Muslims experienced in New York, the reasons of discriminations, and the reactions of the discriminations which involve reactions from government, civilian, and institutions or organizations in US community.

The writer chooses New York because it is the city attacked by two hijacked planes, which crashed onto World Trade Center in September 11, 2001. More than 2.000 people became victims of this attack. Other interesting aspect is the fact that New York is one of the cities in America that has the largest numbers of Muslims populations in America.

4.1 The Immediate Response of American People Toward September 11 Tragedy

In this subchapter the writer analyzes about the response of American people toward September 11 tragedy. The responses were in form of statement by political leaders, religious leaders, and also other prominent people, which were released in media or television. The responses could be in hostile form that created imagery of Islam as the bad religion of terrorism and the responses also in form of showing support toward Muslim.

Within hour after first plane attacked the World Trade Center, the American people realized that they faced terrorist's attack. It is such a nightmare

for them. To condemn the terrorism attack, the Islam leader made statement condemning the attack. The statement was endorsed by major Islamic organization in the United States, including the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA), Muslim American Society (MAS), the American Muslim Political Coordination Council (an umbrella group for major American Muslim public affairs organizations), and numerous others.

The statement was quoted from *American Muslims: One Year after 9-11*:

“American Muslims utterly condemn what are vicious and cowardly acts of terrorism against innocent civilians. We join with all Americans in calling for the swift apprehension and punishment of the perpetrators. No political cause could ever be assisted by such immoral acts (Nimer et al, 2003: 3).”

Council on American-Islamic Relations also mentioned other reactions from National Conference of Catholic Bishops, national and regional Muslim umbrella groups issued this statement:

“We believe that the one God calls us to be peoples of peace. Nothing in our Holy Scriptures, nothing in our understanding of God’s revelation, nothing that is Christian or Islamic justifies terrorist acts and disruption of millions of lives (Nimer et al, 2003: 4).”

From those reactions of religion institutions above, it can be concluded that they, and also their followers in the same grief of faith, did not agree with the attack. Even they hated the attack. The terrorism was irrelevant with which was said in the Holly Book. It was not the act of moralized people. It was immoral act that killed innocent people. More over, no religions commands its people to do

such horrible act. Despite that, all religions call their believers to keep the peace between people as human being.

After being shocked by attack on World Trade Center that reported on television, US' President George W. Bush soon made the statement in commenting the attack. On his remarks at the Islamic Center in Washington D.C soon after September 11 2001 attack, as mentioned in *Muslim Life in America*, Bush said,

"America counts millions of Muslims amongst our citizens, and Muslims make an incredibly valuable contribution to our country. Muslims are doctors, lawyers, and law professors, members of the military, entrepreneurs, shopkeepers, moms and dads. And they need to be treated with respect. In our anger and emotion, our fellow Americans must treat each other with respect (2002: 50)."

The statement of George W. Bush above seems to create a good imagery of Muslims in ignoring the tendency that Muslim terrorists were the actor of the attack on America by using hijacked planes.

In a mosque in Washington DC on September 17, 2001, Bush repeated his speech about denying Islam as the actor of the attack as stated in CAIR's *American Muslims: One Year After 9/11*,

"The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. They're outraged, they're sad. They love America just as much as I do....Americans and Muslim friends and citizens, tax-paying citizens...were just appalled and could not believe what we saw on our TV screens (Nimer et al, 2003: 4)."

From the responses of the US' President George W. Bush on his statements can be said that Islam as a religion was not guilty in this attack. Islam

spread peace and Islam is a faith that brings comfort to billion people around the world. Bush did not point out that Muslim as the attacker. Here, the terrorists were not suspected by their religion, but from what they did to the thousands of innocent people in America which became victims of the September 11 attack.

Meanwhile, in other chance, Bush confused the public with his statement which contrasting with his statement before. On September 16, 2001 in The White House speaking to the reporters as quoted from an official website of government of USA, Bush said,

“This is a new kind of – a new kind of evil. And we understand. And the American people are beginning to understand. This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while. And the American people must be patient.”

The used term ‘crusade’ was the fatal mistake made by Bush. Crusade was generally admitted as the holly war between Christian against Muslims. As defined by *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, crusade is any of the more or less continuous military expeditions in the 11-13th centuries when Christian powers of Europe tried to recapture the Holy Land from the Muslims. Second definition of crusade in this book is “fight a holy war”. Hence, the term of crusade used by Bush directly pointed that Islam was responsible for this attack and because of that the war on terrorism as declared by Bush meant war against Islam.

Other negative statement came from Ann Coulter who wrote in *National Review Online* on September 13, 2001 as mentioned in *Hate-crimes and*

Discrimination against Arab-Americans: “This is war, we should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity (2003: 124).”

This provocative and prejudice statement then continued by Richard Cohen in *The Washington Post* on October 11, 2001, quoted from *Hate-crimes and Discrimination against Arab-Americans*: “One hundred percent of the terrorists involved in the September 11 mass murder were Arabs. Their accomplices, if any, were probably Arabs too, or at least Muslims (2003: 124).”

Those statements made by Bush and some other released in media responding September 11 tragedy justified Muslims as the terrorist. It means that they saw the terrorist of September 11 from their religion and race profiling, which were Arabs and Muslim. It was also unfair to make those bias statements while there was no evidence that the attacker conducted the attack based their religion. It has to say again that no religions permit the attack against innocent people like September 11 attack.

Meanwhile, more American people gave other statement in responding the September 11 attack while in this side they had opinion that the attack was such immoral attack conducted by demoralized people. Maybe the world community saw the September 11 attack from various different points of view. Someone might think that terrorists did it in the name of their religion and their faith what they believed on his own, but American people from political leader to religious leader did not think that the attack was permitted on the name of religion. None of religions could accept that attack in any reasons.

This September 11 attack was horrible event while it killed thousand of people dead and wounded, and most of them suffered of handicap on their body permanently.

4.2 Discrimination against Muslims in New York City

The tragedy of September 11 had immensely impacted Muslim communities in the United States. These communities had faced challenges and discriminations by other communities in United States. This sub-chapter discusses about the discriminations toward Muslims people during and aftermath September 11, especially in New York City, the city where WTC building collapsed by the attack of two hijacked planes.

Firstly, the writer intends to give an illustration of the panic that Muslim feel deeply in the heart just a second after the attack in Monday morning September 11, 2001. As mentioned by Williams in *The Journal of Literacy Assistance Center*, two teenage girls wore headscarves, went down to the Forest Hills Community House looking for their mother, where their mother was working at. To the officer there who known their mother, the girls asked their mother if he saw her. The officer replied that their mother, named Mrs. Begum, just leaved the building. When they heard the officer's answer, with the unexplained scary face, the girls screaming, "You let our mother go out on the street alone? (2002: 3)". Shortly when the attack just happened, before any suspects had been point out, before the words of Al-Qaeda had entered the public

room, these girls understood one thing: their mother was at risk—but not from the terrorists who had wounded the nation that morning. It was from the backlash attack of American people. It was only the beginning of the nightmare that Muslims people would experience in the next day after September 11.

4.2.1 Public discriminations

In this discussion the writer uses the term public discrimination which refers to the discrimination held by the state, or by state employees that violate civil liberties, as happened to Muslims in New York as noted in *Hate-crimes and Discrimination against Arab-Americans*. The public discrimination involves two types of discriminations; they are detainee cases related to the immigrant Muslims and government security officers' misconduct cases like police misconduct and Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) misconduct (Ibish et al, 2003: 21).

As mentioned in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*, a month after the September 11 attack, a Palestinian civil engineer in New York was interrogated by two FBI (Federal Bureau of Intelligence) agents that they received a report tell the Palestinian have a gun which was actually not true. Five days after that the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) agents came to Palestinian's workplace and arrested the civil engineer for overstayed visa. The Palestinian had troubled with his expired visa but he just applied for an adjustment status for his visa, which made him legal to stay. But he was still jailed for twenty-two days after being released (2003: 30).

Other case is also mentioned in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* related to detainee cases against immigrant Muslims in New York. It was Ahmed Alenany, an Egyptian Physician, approached by a police officer on September 21, 2001 after he had being stopped in a roadside of the street in New York. The police officer asked his visa and unfortunately his visa was expired. The police officer also found the picture of WTC building on Alenany's car. Thus Alenany then arrested. The judges who handled this problem suggested Alenany to be deported to his country remembering Alenany that his case would keep him in prison for many weeks. Alenany agreed that just to find that he was incarcerated for about five months while he was waiting to be deported. Ironically, Alenany actually have raised his visa extension before it got expired which enable him to linger in America, just before the police caught him (2003: 35).

Other public discrimination cases can be seen on government security officer's misconduct toward Muslim, such as those mentioned in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* below. In September 17, 2001 a Muslim American in New York City was spat upon and harassed by someone in the street. Feel uncomfortable with that action; the Muslim reported the incident to two police officers. The officers responded by laughing at him and rubbed a small American flag pinned onto his uniform. Furthermore, the officers said to the Muslim victim, "your people" should have known about the attacks beforehand and thus, "deserve everything you get (2003: 39)."

Similar with the case above, another case reported in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* was about a Pakistani-American who works in World Financial Center when he walked across the World Trade Center. A police officer then shouted out and harassed him. Although he had an access card to enter the area, the officers cursed at him, searched his belongings and accused him of stealing the card. They interrogated him about his origin and citizenship. In the end, they confiscated his walkie-talkie and I.D (2003: 39).

The cases above representing evidences that discrimination had happened in New York urban community toward Muslim society related to the Muslim immigrant. They were suspected, and then brought to the official department in charge to handle the problems. Though Palestinian worker case and the Egyptian physician Alenany had lengthened a period his expired visa, which made them to delay leaving in America, they remained to be imprisoned. Even at Alenany's case he was given a choice to be deported by the judge. In time waiting his deportation, Alenany remained to be jailed for about more five months.

Those cases showed government security officer misconduct such as police toward Muslim, or those they suspected as Muslim from their physical appearance. Whoever looked like Muslim of their face and or their name might possibly be arrested and interrogated by government security officer. Furthermore, Muslim citizen even got inconvenience treatment from government security officer when they tried to report discrimination that they accepted from society.

Discrimination cases also related to government security officer's misconduct like FBI agents and police toward Muslim society in New York City. Bad treatment and misconduct cases showed anti-Muslim sentiment which widespread progressively toward Muslim society since September 11.

Without any reason, government security officer might possibly stopped Muslim's vehicle in the street, or interrogated them without any special reason, or even arrested them though the suspicion did not make the Muslim people to be arrested. This matter was recognized with fear to Muslim based on religion they embrace, Islam, which its term later known as Islamophobia.

The discrimination cases entangled American government officer like FBI agents, INS agents and polices toward Muslim society. Thereby it can be interpreted that since September 11, there were public discrimination incidents happened in the America, especially in New York. These cases clearly showed the discrimination held by the state, or by state employees toward Muslims in New York that violated civil liberties.

4.2.2 Private discrimination

After discussing about public discrimination toward Muslim society in New York, in this sub-chapter the writer will discuss about the private discrimination against Muslims in New York. Private discrimination here means hate-crimes and discriminations by non-state actors like private citizens, companies, organizations and other individuals and entities outside of the

government. This categorization is to make clear the types between public and private discriminations.

In analyzing public discrimination cases, the private discriminations can be divided into two categories that are psychological and physical aspect. Furthermore, physical aspect can be divided again into three parts of vandalism to Muslim's property, physical attack and harassment toward Muslim people, and the third is murder case of Muslim people which were set by race and religious sentiment factors related to tragedy September 11.

Meanwhile psychological aspect can be interpreted as discrimination to Muslim in the form of pressure to bouncing their soul. This matter can be in form of harsh sentence, sarcastic, and also threat to Muslim.

Since September 11, this private discrimination happened in various states in United States, especially in New York City. These private discriminations happened wherever, in the street, at the supermarket, at the office, and even at the residency or at home of the victims. This matter designated that private discrimination had become phenomenon in American society since September 11. This private discrimination could be happen at any time, in the morning, daytime, and even in the night when victim is falling asleep, and when they woke up in the morning they would find their properties had been destroyed in vandalize action, which related to hate-crime bias.

In *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* there were many cases of discrimination had been reported which were cited from some

newspapers. *The New York Times*, 9/19/01 reported excrement and anti-Arab graffiti was found on a door in Brooklyn. *Newsday*, 9/13/01 reported that an arsonist set fire to a Pakistani-American-owned grocery store. In September 14, 2001 a car belonged to an Arab-American university student, who had an Arabic sign quoting the Koran hanging from his rearview mirror, had its tires slashed. And *Newsday* 9/15/01 reported In September 14, 2001 a man approached the Brooklyn Islamic Center carrying a bottle covered with a smoking wet cloth. Upon seeing the police nearby, he dropped the firebomb and fled (2003: 52-55).

The cases above represented private discrimination in form of vandalism actions toward Muslim's property conducted by people who had race and religious sentiment to Muslim since the tragedy of September 11. Besides vandalism action, other discriminations also could be seen in some discrimination cases related to maltreatment to Muslim as physical harassment in private discriminations.

Just in a second after two planes crashed onto WTC building, American-Arab Anti-Discriminations Committee (ADC) received some report related to physical assault and discriminations toward Muslim in New York City.

On September 11, 2001 there were five reported incidents in New York. In Ardsley as mentioned in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*, one customer asked An Arab-American deli owner if he was Arab. When he responded affirmatively, the customer cursed and yelled at him. The customer then sprayed the deli owner with pepper spray when he attempted to

escort him out of the store. In Brooklyn, A Muslim man reported that someone in a car threw a tire iron at him. A group of several men attacked a Muslim cab driver in Manhattan. The men began by cursing at him, before punching him several times in the back. A Staten Island teenager, who had lost his grandmother in the World Trade center, entered a Middle Eastern deli and struck an employee across the back with a broom handle. In Manhattan, three young men who mistook him for an Arab beat a 66-year old Sikh from India visiting his Indian-American son. The attack took place outside of the Sikh Cultural Society, where the victim had gone to pray because of the earlier events of the morning. Afterwards, out on the street, several men in their late teens exited their cars at the sight of him and pounced on him. They beat him for ten minutes before police finally rescued him (2003: 60-61).

These cases that happened in the New York represent the part of hardness action to personal part of Muslim. The brutal action furthermore triggered the happening of another discrimination acts toward Muslim. They were not safe anymore even at their home.

American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee also received some incidents of psychological discriminations toward Muslim. The harsh and suspicious sentence impressing threat to Muslim, made Muslim people stayed in danger position in American community, which threatened their safety and also feared from backlash attack by other people.

Newsday, 9/23/01 in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*, reported that two males, ages 19 and 15, were arrested after allegedly threatening and cursing a 27-year-old man from Turkey. The suspects reportedly yelled at him to "Go back to your country, you Muslim." A Muslim community center in Queens found a flier tacked to the door, vowing "We'll Get Even." The *Saint Petersburg Times*, 9/13/01 also reported two Muslim women wearing hijabs were pushing baby strollers when suddenly they were surrounded by a group of angry teenagers who harassed them with threats and racial slurs. A man came to their defense and dispersed the crowd. The *New York Times*, 9/13/01 reported that the Arab American Family Service Center received several threatening calls, one saying, "You should all die for what you've done to my country." *Syracuse U. Daily Orange*, 9/17/01 reported at around 6 p.m., an unidentified woman called in a bomb threat to the Islamic Society of Central New York. The woman threatened,

"We should put a bomb in through your front door and eliminate all of you. Bomb every Islamic society. Allah is a ***. He doesn't exist. Have a nice day (2003: 71-77)."

Those private discriminations which impressing the threat, did not only injured Muslim in the case of their soul but had also injured Muslim's self-regard and their honors as part of civilized society which have moral values.

4.2.3 Media Bias and Racist Statements

After discussing two discrimination types in previous sub-chapter, the writer will discuss the discriminations toward Muslim by media and racist words or racist statements from elite figures.

Media bias here means statement in mass media such as printed and electronic media curse Muslim as well as presenting discrimination to Muslim. The statements were done by elite figure, from political leader to religious figure, which had anti-Muslim sentiment.

New York Daily News, 9/16/01, in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* reported a racist statement from Zev Chafets. In his opinion Chafets thought that the undeniable fact is, at least, a great many American Arabs and non-Arab Muslims openly associated themselves with groups and countries that engage in and support terrorism. He then continued with statements that accused Muslim organizations raising money for supporting some terrorist's organizations like Hamas, Hezbollah, and other terrorists groups.

Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans reported that Daniel Pipes in *New York Post*, 11/12/01, made a statement suspecting Muslims want to conquer America and turn into a Muslim country. It means, Pipes tended to clarify that Muslims wanted to take over America. In the television, some prominent people also made statement stabbed Muslim honors. Reverend Jerry Fallwell in 60 Minutes Program, 10/06/02 said that Mohammed was a terrorist. He then said that he had read enough of the history of Mohammed's life written

by both Muslims and non-Muslims, that he was a violent man, a man of war. (2003: 127-128)

Reverend Jerry Vines, pastor of First Baptist Church of Jacksonville, Fla., and a former Southern Baptist Convention president speaking to a congregation of preachers at the Southern Baptist Convention, 6/10/02 as quoted in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*,

“Islam is not just as good as Christianity.” “Islam was founded by Mohammed, a demon-possessed pedophile who had 12 wives and his last one was a 9-year-old girl.” “Allah is not Jehovah. Jehovah’s not going to turn you into a terrorist that will try to bomb people and take the lives of thousands and thousands of people.” (2003: 129).

Those racist statements from the famous people has showed anti-Muslim attitude out of boundary. These matters represent generated effect of September event 11. Furthermore, racist statements put Muslim in sub-ordinate level in American society.

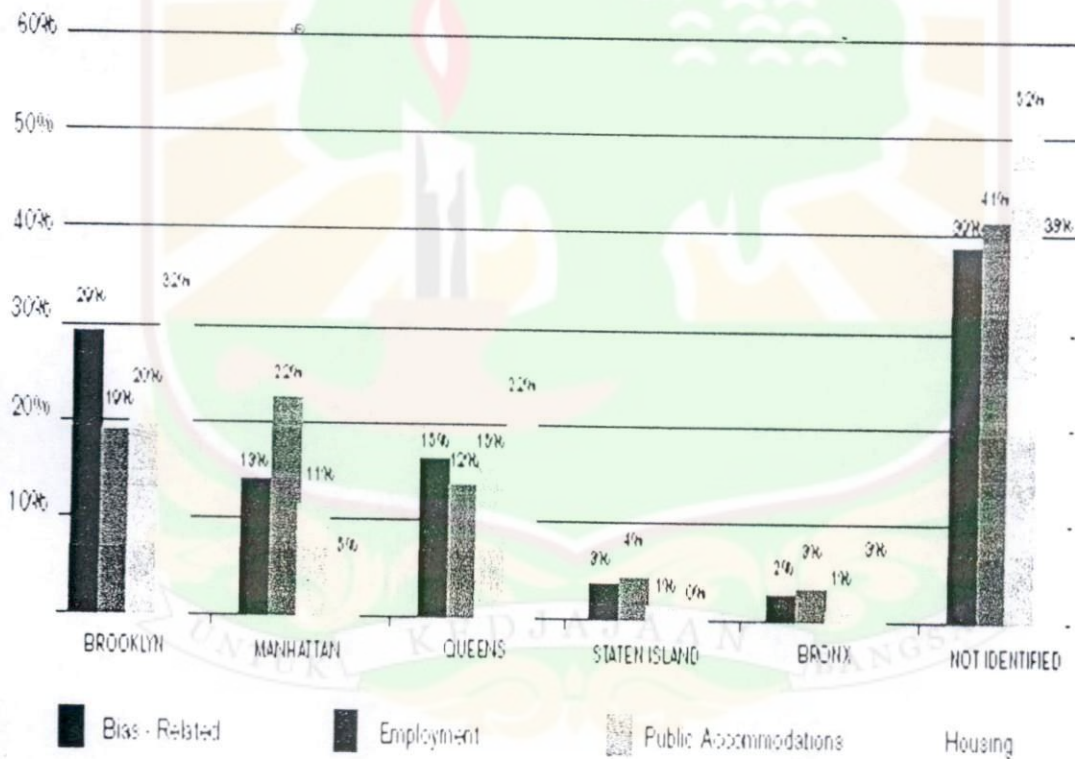
It has been clear that the September 11 tragedy has give tremendous impact toward American society. For American-Muslims, the tragedy of September 11 became the horrific event that ruined their life for the discriminations they faced. The level of discriminations against Muslims in America, especially in New York, increased in excessive number than before.

Moreover, the private, public and bias discriminations showed anti-Muslim sentiment, which had been increased rapidly since September 11 based on FBI’s *Crime in the United States—2001*, retrieved from FBI official website. This

FBI's report said that the number of anti-Muslim hate-crimes rose from twenty-eight in 2000 to 481 in 2001.

As well, *American backlash: Terrorists Bring War Home in more Ways than One* (50-58) showed an extreme statistics in just a week after September 11 tragedy (9/11/01-9/17/01). It reported about 648 cases related hate-crime incidents in America.

In New York, the statistics of discrimination against Muslim after September 11 can be seen in the diagram below:



Source: New York City Commission on Human Rights (2003: 13)

From those reports, it can be stated that the September 11 tragedy has increased the number of discriminations against Muslims in America, especially

in New York. The ranges of discriminations took place in many aspect of life, such as employment, public accommodations, housing, bias-related and racist statements that engaged in private, public and bias discriminations.

4.3 Reasons of Discrimination

In the previous chapter, it has been discussed various discriminations that Muslim faced in America, especially in New York. Discriminations that Muslim faced can be in form of public discrimination, private discrimination and media bias which meant discrimination held by mass media in words and act of prominent leader in American society from various fields like politic and religion. Their statements clearly showed anti-Muslim sentiment.

The problem is, why should Muslim face the discrimination then? It was clear that the discrimination cases intensified after September 11 tragedy. Even still on the same day of this horrible tragedy happened, there were many incidents reported about the cases of discrimination against Muslim. It began with threat, physical attack, vandalism, and attack on Muslim's properties like cars and houses.

Furthermore, discriminations against Muslim were not just limited to private form but then spread widely into the public sector. It has been noticed that government institution were also carried out the discrimination toward Muslim. It made the Muslim's life in America was no longer secure. They could be the

targets of discrimination by whoever, even by the people they did not know before.

Since September 11 tragedy there has been more discrimination conducted toward Muslim. Obviously there are some reasons for it, and this can be interesting point to be studied deeply. The causality theory proposed by Reason and Rowen explain that one or more events were the effect of the event(s) before (1982: 14).

Considering the theory, the attack on WTC building in New York was the key that caused the discriminations against Muslim. But, then it becomes the problem to find out the correlation between September 11 tragedy with the discriminations happened toward Muslims. In order to link both things, it needs to analyze the specific causes that lead to the overflow of discriminations against Muslims.

The specific causes here mean the crucial factors that made American people thought to conduct a backlash attack against Muslim that occurred in many aspects of daily life.

In analyzing these cases the writer found that the discriminations against Muslim in America, especially in New York was caused by three factors. These factors are official government factor, the WTC factor, and racist statements by prominent leaders.

4.3.1 Official government factor

The September 11 attack on America that focused on strategic sites like WTC building and Pentagon had warned America. America was at risk from unexpected attack that they had no preparation on it before. At unpredictable time, America can be attacked even more terrible than the September 11 attack. Therefore, as the significant starting point, the American government, especially Homeland Security Department made a quick start, and began to hold an investigation about September 11 attack. Federal Bureau of Investigation or known popularly as FBI was responsible in handled this problem. And in September 27, 2001 FBI released a formal statement to the public that Al-Qaeda was responsible for September 11 attack. Al-Qaeda is a terrorist group, which is organized by Osama bin Laden. Al-Qaeda was also suspected for some other attacks against America since years before, as cited in FBI website.

In that report FBI listed some names believed as the main actors that should be responsible for the attack on September 11, 2001.

All the names on FBI's report have the same interesting point that these names are Arabic name style. Muslim people that embrace Islam as their religion of faith commonly use this name.

Along with listing of hijacker names, FBI in its report also mentioned the background of the hijackers' citizenship. By this, most of the hijackers were the citizens of Arab Saudi. This country was admitted as the country with strong Islamic culture. Most of the people of this country are Muslim. This country

placed in the Middle East of Arabian Peninsula, the place where Islam was born, grown and developed. Another hijacker was also mentioned as Egyptian, a country that has powerful attitude in raising the spirit of Islam.

It means that, the hijackers who caused the September 11 tragedy were coming from the countries that have strong Islamic root and cultural tradition. Thereby, most American people associated the perpetrator of September 11 tragedy were Muslims.

This matter, then, was rising up the hatred inside of American people in viewing Islam and taking themselves at a place against Islam. They think Islam is a religion that identical with hardness. A religion allows its believers to do terrorism act and murdering the innocent civilians. This was proved by the attack on WTC building in New York, with thousand of people dead and injured, and consequences the growing of anti-Muslim sentiment rapidly inside most American people. They began to hate Muslim and dislike of Islam extremely.

The September 11 attack had lead most American people begin to think that Islam allowed its followers to conduct such terrorism act. It can be explained that this tragedy had raised the phobia to Islam inside of American people. This matter was then known as Islamophobia, the unreasonable fear of Islam. It is a terminology that has been known before but frequently mentioned since the September 11 tragedy happened.

Islamophobia appeared because of the radicalism of some Muslims. Radicals Muslims often used violence and bloody attack against group, usually

western, in case to showed their hatred. According to Rabasa, they were some sources caused the Islamic radicalism. First, was the condition, second, the processes, and third some catalytic events.

Sources of Islamic Radicalism	
Conditions	Failed political and economic models Structural anti-Westernism Decentralization of religious authority in Sunni Islam
Processes	The Islamic resurgence Arabization of the non-Arab Muslim world External funding of religious fundamentalism and extremism The convergence of Islamism and tribalism Growth of radical Islamic networks Emergence of the mass media The Palestinian-Israeli and Kashmir conflicts
Catalytic events	The Iranian revolution The Afghan war The Gulf War of 1991

Source: Rabasa et al (2003: 37)

Caused by the white paper of FBI governmental official released shows the correlation of the hijackers with Islam, hence American society conducted a kind of action revenge to Muslim in America, or which they suspected as Islam believers. One of the conducted actions as outward appearance of hatred and disliking Muslim was most of the American people began to discriminate Muslims. This discrimination then extended to various sector, started from violation against Muslim's privacy, public, threat until physical action like attacking Muslim properties, maltreatment, and also murdering.

4.3.2 WTC factor

For American people, especially for New Yorkers, the World Trade Center (WTC) building has very immense meaning. WTC become a symbol of the New Yorkers' pompous for its hegemony in economics world. In WTC various monetary activities processed. WTC housed more than 430 companies from 28 countries. They were occupied in a wide variety of commercial activities, as well as banking and finance, insurance, transportation, import and export companies, customs brokerage, trade associations and also the representatives of foreign governments' official as mentioned in CNN website agency.

Recorded in the history, WTC had been attacked before on February 26, 1993. 9/11 Report mentioned that in this first attack on WTC caused six people dead and more than 1.000 people were injured. From the result of the investigations got evidence that perpetrator of the attack was an extreme Sunni group, and led by Ramzi Yousef (2002: 71).

The 1993 WTC bombing had left the traumatic experience inside of the New Yorkers. This terrorist act charged many victims dead and injured. Because of the attack, many New Yorkers' family became the innocent victims of the unreasonable of perpetrator's brutality. Besides, the attack on WTC had hurtled the self-righteous of New Yorkers because it was the symbol of hegemonic and supremacy in economic world, and it had been attacked!

On the day of September 11, 2001, another attack hit the WTC. This reawakens the trauma of New Yorkers of the attack happened some years before.

The September 11 attack resulted more victims than the first attack in 1993. The citizens of New York thought that they had been tricked for the second time at the same place and again it cost many people dead and injured.

This matter then caused New Yorkers feel painful and very disturbed, and it raised the New Yorkers' anger. They needed such a way to express their emotions. Then, they began to hate all the things related to the perpetrators of the attack. They were angry to the perpetrators and also become irritated, detest, and feel annoyed with all the things related to the perpetrators.

Physical and psychological attacks as a form of hate-crime conducted toward Muslim in New York were the outward appearances of anger expression and emotion of the New Yorkers. It was sort of the backlash attack by the New Yorkers because of the attack on WTC building. This was caused by report and statement released by the liable official about the actors of the attack, mainly of their citizenship and also their religious background. All affiliated with Islam. Subsequently, this caused the backlash attack against Muslim.

Therefore, the New Yorkers then conducted discrimination and also ruthlessness attitude toward Muslim, which they assumed has relation and affiliated with the perpetrators of the attack on WTC building.

4.3.3 Statements of Prominent Leaders Factor

One quite extraordinary reaction of the September 11 attack came out from the statement of US's President George W. Bush. Bush reactions could be

seen on his statements spontaneously or even on his formal statements as a president. But, from many reactions made by Bush on his capacity as the leader of the under attack-country, there was one statement notified the fatal mistake and gave significant effect to American society as its consequence.

On the September 16, 2001 Bush gave a speech in front of journalist in the White House. On his remark Bush said that the September 11 attack had put America into the battle of holy war. Also Bush clearly used the terminology of 'crusade'. Below is Bush's controversial remark about 'crusade' term, quoted from official website of White House:

"We need to go back to work tomorrow and we will. But we need to be alert to the fact that these evil-doers still exist. We haven't seen this kind of barbarism in a long period of time. No one could have conceivably imagined suicide bombers burrowing into our society and then emerging all in the same day to fly their aircraft - fly U.S. aircraft into buildings full of innocent people - and show no remorse. This is a new kind of -- a new kind of evil. And we understand. And the American people are beginning to understand. This crusade, this war on terrorism is going to take a while. And the American people must be patient. I'm going to be patient."

According to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (1996), 'crusade' refers to any of the more or less continuous military expeditions in the 11-13th centuries when Christian powers of Europe tried to recapture the Holy Land from the Muslims. It means that Muslim and Christian involved in a war for Jerusalem. Jerusalem had great meaning in religious side for both. They claimed that Jerusalem belonged to them; Muslim said that Jerusalem belonged to

them and so did Christian. This crusade war took place for hundred years before it ended. In this war, Muslim and Christian revolved in reaching for the victory.

Shortly, it can be mentioned that war between Muslim and Christian in struggle for Jerusalem was based on religion motive. This war was later known in the history as the holy war or named as the crusade war.

While Bush preferred to use 'crusade' in his speech, it was should be analyzed from the Bush's religious background. Bush is an evangelicals Christian follower, that very meekly and fanatical in running his religion services. As defined in cbs news service's web site, an evangelical Christian is one who places primary importance on a personal, emotional conversion to Christianity. The most interesting point is more than 60 million of American citizens are evangelicals. Most, but not all, evangelicals are also fundamentalists that concern for maintaining purity and avoiding defilement.

The strong religious background became a reason of idolization of Bush by American society which majority embraces Christian religion. They later assumed that Bush beside a leader of state in his capacity as the president also become a peer figure in the field of religion because of his adherence.

When Bush on his speech used 'crusade' that means Christian's holy war against Muslim based on hundred years in history gave a tremendous impact toward American people. Most American people began to consider that America was under fire. America terribly involved in holy war against Muslim. Muslim

had attacked their country by September 11 targeting WTC and Pentagon, and it was their responsibility to conduct a backlash attack.

Although Bush then said sorry for his mistake using word 'crusade' it meant nothing. The situation had just been out of control. The negative effect of crucial word 'crusade' had touched deeply into non-Muslim American people. They already considered that they should involve in a holy war against Islam and Muslim as its followers.

As the consequences, American people gave a ruthlessness reaction against American Muslims. The reactions led into the discrimination toward Muslims. The Discrimination could be in form of physical and psychological attack, also attack to properties until attack in the form of rigidity and maltreatment, even murdering.

The usage of term of crusade by Bush as an American President, and at the same time his status as the evangelical fanatical Christian follower and become a peer to American society had reminded American citizen of the holy war. On the September 11 attack, which all its perpetrators had Islamic background, hence American society immediately assumed that in this time their state and American people were stayed in battlefield. They were getting mixed up with holy war or crusade as which had been referred by Bush in his speech before.

As a result, American Muslim suffered from revenge action and backlash attack conducted by non-Muslim American. American citizens who involved in discrimination and backlash attack have been provoked by Bush's statement of

holy war or Crusade. As the root cause, finally, it could mention that discrimination which knocked over Muslim was triggered by attack on September 11, 2001.

4.4 Reactions to the Discriminations

4.4.1 Reactions of government

In seeing the reaction of American people as their consideration of the discriminations against Muslims; it then became interesting to see the reaction given by President Bush, as the top leader in American government.

It was remarkable to see Bush's reaction in his capacity as the President of the shattered country by the September 11 attack, and also as the nation's top leader in facing the chaos of discrimination against Muslim amongst American society.

It should be remembered again that the statement made by Bush in responding September 11 tragedy was a fatal mistake. In his speech Bush used 'crusade' that have crucial meaning. Crusade can be interpreted as the Holy War between Christian and Muslim. The interpretation of Holy War was based on Crusade War in eleventh until thirteenth century when Christian and Muslim fought for Jerusalem the Holy City.

Then, when Bush used 'crusade' it was considered by American people as a new holly war. This condition had triggered American people emotional spirit to

fought Muslims. And they showed it by discriminated Muslims in American society.

The word of 'crusade' had been said and the anarchy of discriminations had happened. In this situation Bush then gave his statements and reactions about discriminations against Muslim phenomena amongst American society.

On September 17, 2001, President Bush visited the Islamic Center of Washington, DC, where he met Muslim leaders and defended Islam. The following are excerpts from his statement as mentioned in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*,

“These acts of violence against innocents violate the fundamental tenets of the Islamic faith. And it’s important for my fellow Americans to understand that. The face of terror is not the true faith of Islam. That’s not what Islam is all about. Islam is peace. These terrorists don’t represent peace. They represent evil and war. When we think of Islam we think of a faith that brings comfort to a billion people around the world. Billions of people find comfort and solace and peace. And that’s made brothers and sisters out of every race—out of every race (2003: 137).”

Bush’s statement just after 645 incidents happened between September 11 and September 17, within a week after September 11 attack. Along with Bush, Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle also made the statement in showing support for Muslims as being targeted of discriminations as quoted in *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans*,

“In the last couple of weeks, hundreds of crimes in dozens of states have been reported against Muslims, Arab Americans, Sikhs, and others. We must focus our grief on comforting the victims. And we must focus our anger on punishing the perpetrators. If Americans strike out at their neighbors because of the way they look, or dress, or worship; if we use our anger as

an excuse to trample basic rights, the terrorists will have struck a blow against everything we stand for (2003: 137).”

4.4.2 Reactions of civilian

Besides the reactions made by government functionary, it was also be of interest to look at American civilian reaction. The civilians were the role players of this phenomenon, because they were the victims and they were the performers. And both of them run their life in same society.

American-Arab-Anti Discrimination Committee as the largest Muslim organization in America received thousand of email respond the discrimination against Muslims. From *Hate-crimes and Discriminations against Arab Americans* one of email from New Yorker said:

“I wanted to let you know that my family, friends, and I condemn anti-Arab sentiments, threats, and violence against Arab-Americans at this time, and at all times. Although I do not live in Washington, DC, please let me know if I can do anything to assist your efforts to prevent and deal with racist acts in your national community (2003: 139).”

Other email said:

“Just a note to offer peace, love, and support. I hope no one from your organization has experienced any negative backlash from non-Arab Americans, but if anyone has, I sincerely apologize for the unconscious behavior of those who don’t appear to know better (2003: 139).”

It is clear, those civilians, and many others, without considering their religious background and racial profiling, also shows support to Muslims in responding the discriminations that Muslims faced after September 11 tragedy.

4.4.3 Reaction of organization community

As the place of and the bevy for the people, religious institutions also gave its reactions considering the discrimination against Muslim phenomena. On May 14, 2002, the National Council of Churches (NCC) board issued a statement acknowledging Muslim outreach efforts. In *American Muslims: One Year after September 9/11* the statement stated,

“After 9-11, hundreds of Islamic centers and mosques across the United States held open houses, inviting their neighbors of other faiths in to grieve together and build bridges of understanding.... Muslims for their part wanted their neighbors of other faiths to understand who they really were - not terrorists, but peace-loving, PTA-going, regular Americans who came here from all parts of the world.” (2003: 22)

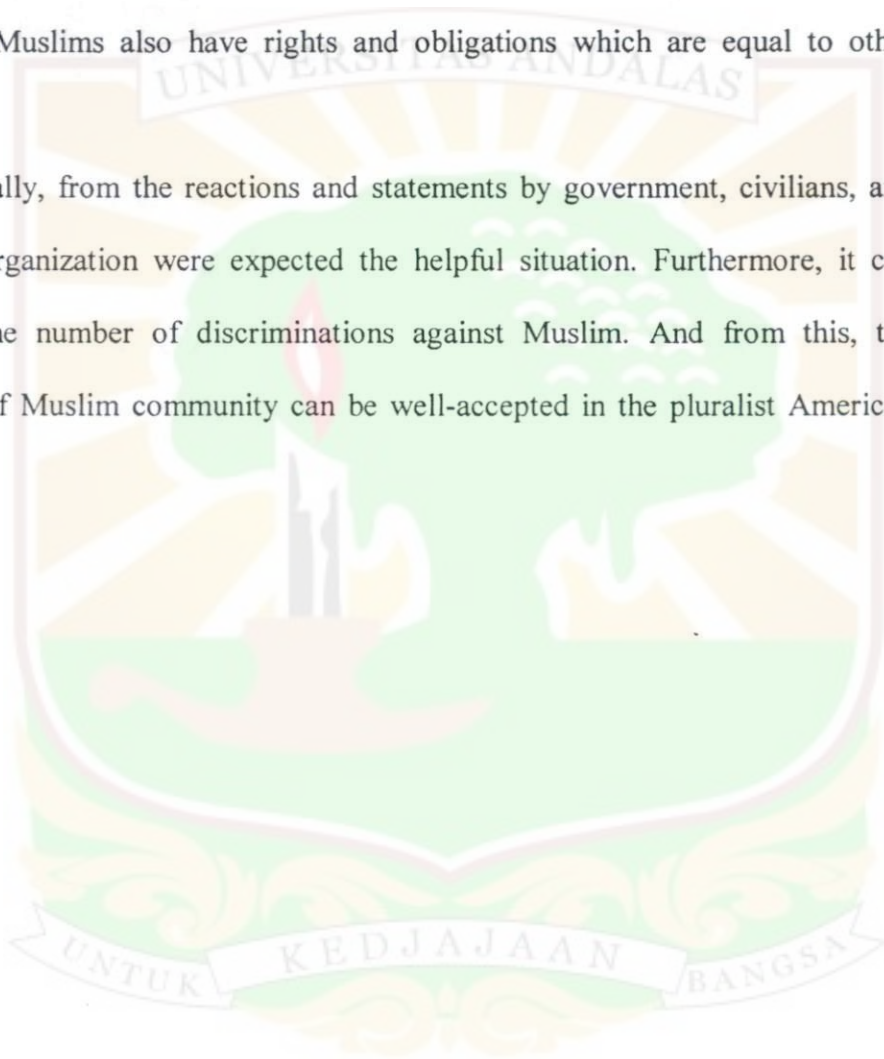
It can be defined that other religion, here presented by National Council of Church admitting Muslims are not terrorist and also cannot be judged as the terrorists based on the perpetrators of the September 11 tragedy's background.

Those actions of discrimination have given very extraordinary loss to Moslem society. Whether that loss in morale because fear and threat they felt, also loss in destruction of their properties because of physical action conducted by the attackers. The discrimination action also generated a clear crevasse among Muslim and non-Muslim in American society. This matter results the instability of relationship in running their life in activity of daily life.

Considering this, hence reactions and statements by the functionary of governance like President Bush and also reactions from civilian and religious institutions and organizations had very important meaning. Their statements have

given fresh wind and coolant atmosphere in crowded situation while discrimination against Muslim widespread. Statements which they gave have awaked American citizen that Muslim also represents their fellow of American citizen and they should not be judged for September 11 tragedy. Besides, American Muslims also have rights and obligations which are equal to other citizen.

Finally, from the reactions and statements by government, civilians, and religious organization were expected the helpful situation. Furthermore, it can decrease the number of discriminations against Muslim. And from this, the existence of Muslim community can be well-accepted in the pluralist American society.



CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Following the September 11 attacks on the United States, the Arab-American community has experienced an unprecedented backlash in the form of hate-crimes, various forms of discrimination, and serious civil liberties concerns.

American society concerns about discrimination against Muslims. Even though the discrimination cases against Muslims has happened since long ago in various forms, but it became intense since September 11. Aftermath of September 11, a strong anti-Islamic sentiment truly arise in American society and it is manifested in daily life through politics, media, and in social interactions between people of Muslims and non-Muslims in America.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001, Arabs and Muslims in the United States become the precedence victims of the backlash attacks. The hate-crimes as represented in discriminations divided into three types that are public discriminations, private discriminations, and media bias which involve racist statements from prominent leader of the United States. These discriminations are including murder, beatings, arson, and attacks on mosques, shootings, properties destruction, and also verbal threats.

This cruelty of discriminations are directed to Muslims in New York because they are perceived as sharing the national background or religion of the hijackers and the Al-Qaeda members that are responsible for attacking the World Trade Center and the Pentagon in September 11, 2001. Furthermore, the discriminations also occur because the American people, especially New Yorkers are irritated by the attack on WTC buildings.

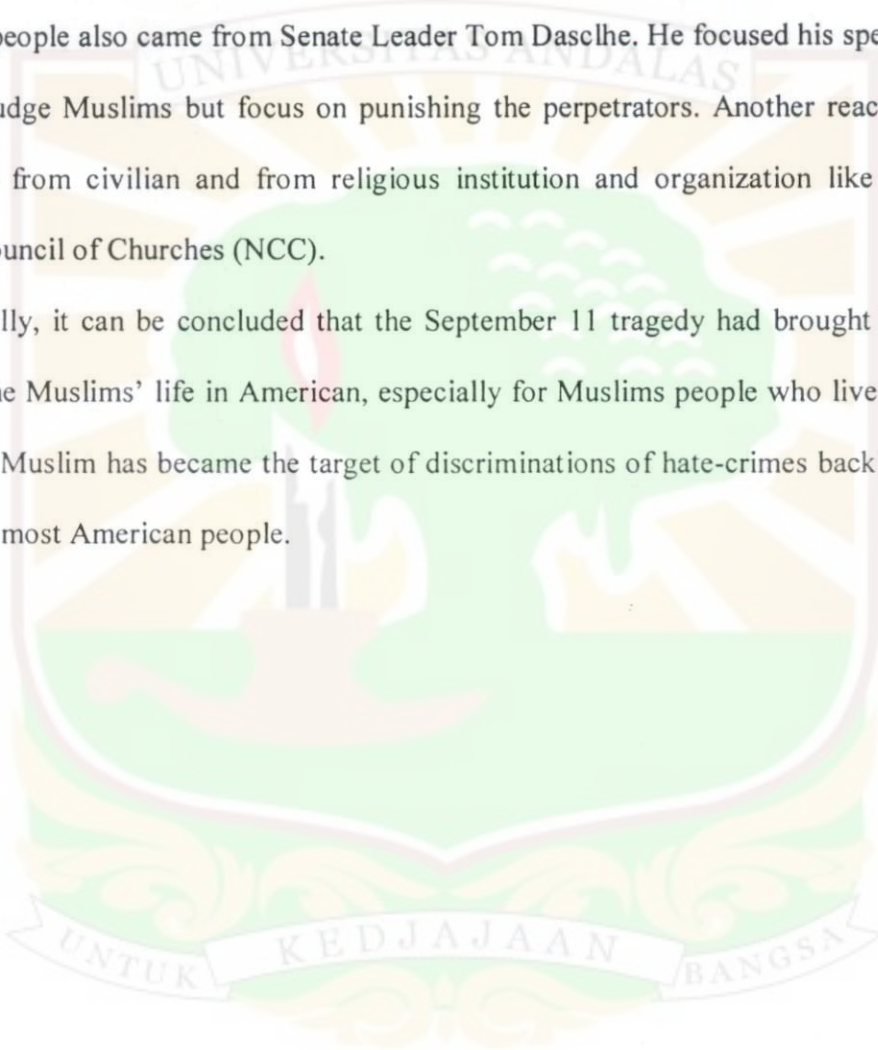
The September 11 tragedy was the second attack on WTC after the first on February 26, 1993. In addition, both the attack, as FBI reported, were conducted by Muslims. Even the perpetrators have the same type of Muslim's name style. For underlining, Islam does not command their followers to do such horrible thing. Moreover, there is no religion in this world allows its followers to kill other people.

But, most American people begin to think that Islam is a religion of terror; that Islam allows its followers to kill innocent people as they saw in the September 11 tragedy. Most American has run into the miss-interpretation about Islam.

The situation was also crowded by the statement of prominent leader. President Bush in his speech even used the term of 'crusade' in responding the September 11 attack. This term is considered by most American as the holly war against Muslims. So, they began to fight Muslims that lead to the discrimination and hate-crimes widespread in America, especially in New York.

To condemn the waves of discrimination against Muslims, many American leaders gave their statement and showed their support for Muslims. The statement came from President Bush, said that Islam is a religion of peace. Other statement of prominent people also came from Senate Leader Tom Dasclhe. He focused his speech on not to judge Muslims but focus on punishing the perpetrators. Another reaction also comes from civilian and from religious institution and organization like the National Council of Churches (NCC).

Finally, it can be concluded that the September 11 tragedy had brought bad impact to the Muslims' life in American, especially for Muslims people who lived in New York. Muslim has became the target of discriminations of hate-crimes backlash attack from most American people.



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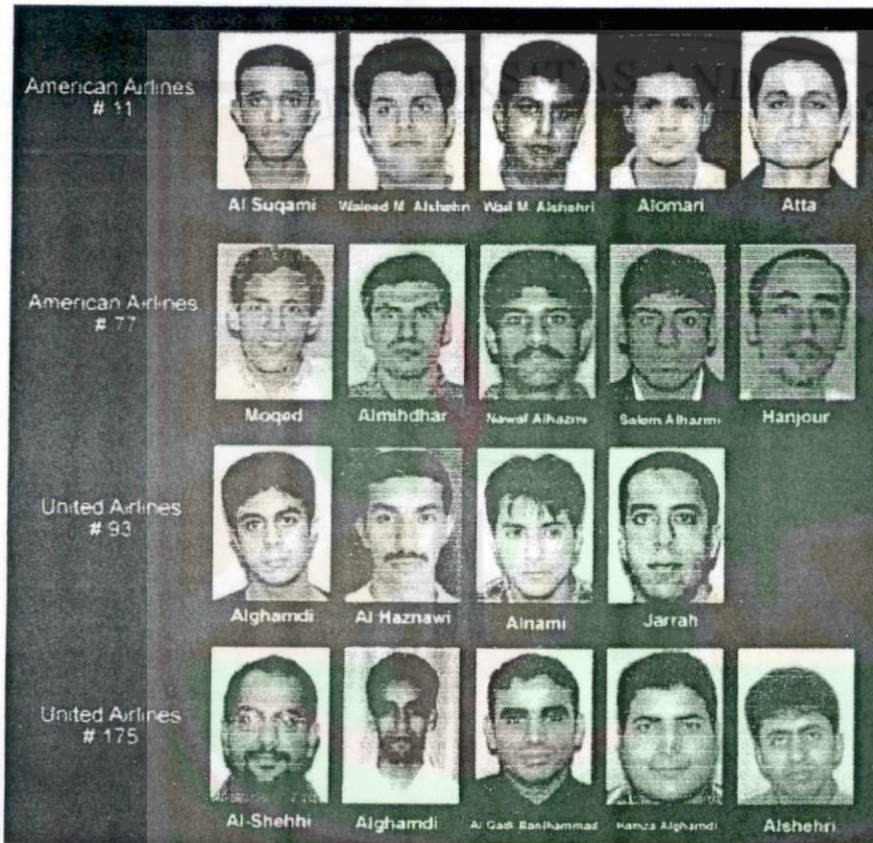
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APPENDIX

The Hijackers



AMERICAN AIRLINES #11 BOEING 767

1) **Satam M.A. Al Suqami**

- Possible Saudi national

-Dates of birth used: June 28, 1976; Last known address: United Arab Emirates

2) **Waleed M. Alshehri**

- Possible Saudi national

-Dates of birth used: September 13, 1974; January 1, 1976; March 3, 1976; July 8, 1977; December 20, 1978; May 11, 1979; November 5, 1979

-Possible residence(s): Hollywood, Florida; Orlando, Florida; Daytona Beach, Florida

-Believed to be a pilot

3) **Wail M. Alshehri**

-Date of birth used: September 1, 1968

-Possible residence(s): Hollywood, Florida; Newton, Massachusetts

-Believed to be a pilot

4) **Mohamed Atta** - Possible Egyptian national

-Date of birth used: September 1, 1968

-Possible residence(s): Hollywood, Florida; Coral Springs, Florida; Hamburg, Germany

-Believed to be a pilot

-Alias: Mehan Atta; Mohammad El Amir; Muhammad Atta; Mohamed El Sayed; Mohamed Elsayed; Muhammad Muhammad Al Amir Awag Al Sayyid Atta; Muhammad Muhammad Al-Amir Awad Al Sayad

5) **Abdulaziz Alomari** - Possible Saudi national

-Dates of birth used: December 24, 1972 and May 28, 1979

-Possible residence(s): Hollywood, Florida

-Believed to be a pilot

AMERICAN AIRLINES #77 BOEING 757

1) **Khalid Almihdhar** - Possible Saudi national

-Possible resident of San Diego, California, and New York

-Alias: Sannan Al-Makki; Khalid Bin Muhammad; 'Addallah Al-Mihdhar; Khalid Mohammad Al-Saqaf

2) **Majed Moqed** - Possible Saudi national

-Alias: Majed M.GH Moqed; Majed Moqed, Majed Mashaan Moqed

3) **Nawaf Alhazmi** - Possible Saudi national

-Possible resident of Fort Lee, New Jersey; Wayne, New Jersey; San Diego, California

-Alias: Nawaf Al-Hazmi; Nawaf Al Hazmi; Nawaf M.S. Al Hazmi

4) **Salem Alhazmi** - Possible Saudi national

-Possible resident of Fort Lee, New Jersey; Wayne, New Jersey

5) Hani Hanjour -

-Possible resident of Phoenix, Arizona, and San Diego, California

-Alias: Hani Saleh Hanjour; Hani Saleh; Hani Hanjour, Hani Saleh H. Hanjour

UNITED AIRLINES #93 BOEING 757

1) Saeed Alghamdi

-Possible residence: Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Abdul Rahman Saed Alghamdi; Ali S Alghamdi; Al- Gamdi; Saad M.S. Al Ghamdi; Satta Al Ghamdi; Saheed Al-Ghamdi; Seed Al Ghamdi

2) Ahmed Ibrahim A. Al Haznawi - Possible Saudi national

-Date of birth used: October 11, 1980

-Possible residence: Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Ahmed Alhaznawi

3) Ahmed Alnami

-Possible residence: Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Ali Ahmed Alnami; Ahmed A. Al-Nami; Ahmed Al- Nawi

4) Ziad Samir Jarrah

-Believed to be a pilot

-Alias: Zaid Jarrahi; Zaid Samr Jarrah; Ziad S. Jarrah; Ziad Jarrah Jarrat, Ziad Samir Jarrahi

UNITED AIRLINES #175 BOEING 767

1) Marwan Al-Shehhi

-Date of birth used: May 9, 1978

-Possible residence(s): Hollywood, Florida

-Believed to be a pilot

-Alias: Marwan Yusif Muhammad Rashid Al-Shehi; Marwan Yusif Muhammad Rashid Lakrab Al-Shihhi; Abu Abdullah

2) Fayez Rashid Ahmed Hassan Al Qadi Banihammad

-Possible residence(s): Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Fayez Ahmad; Banihammad Fayez Abu Dhabi Banihammad; Fayez Rashid Ahmed; Banihammad Fayez; Rasid Ahmed Hassen Alqadi; Abu Dhabi Banihammad Ahmed Fayez; Faez Ahmed

3) **Ahmed Alghamdi**

-Alias: Ahmed Salah Alghamdi

4) **Hamza Alghamdi**

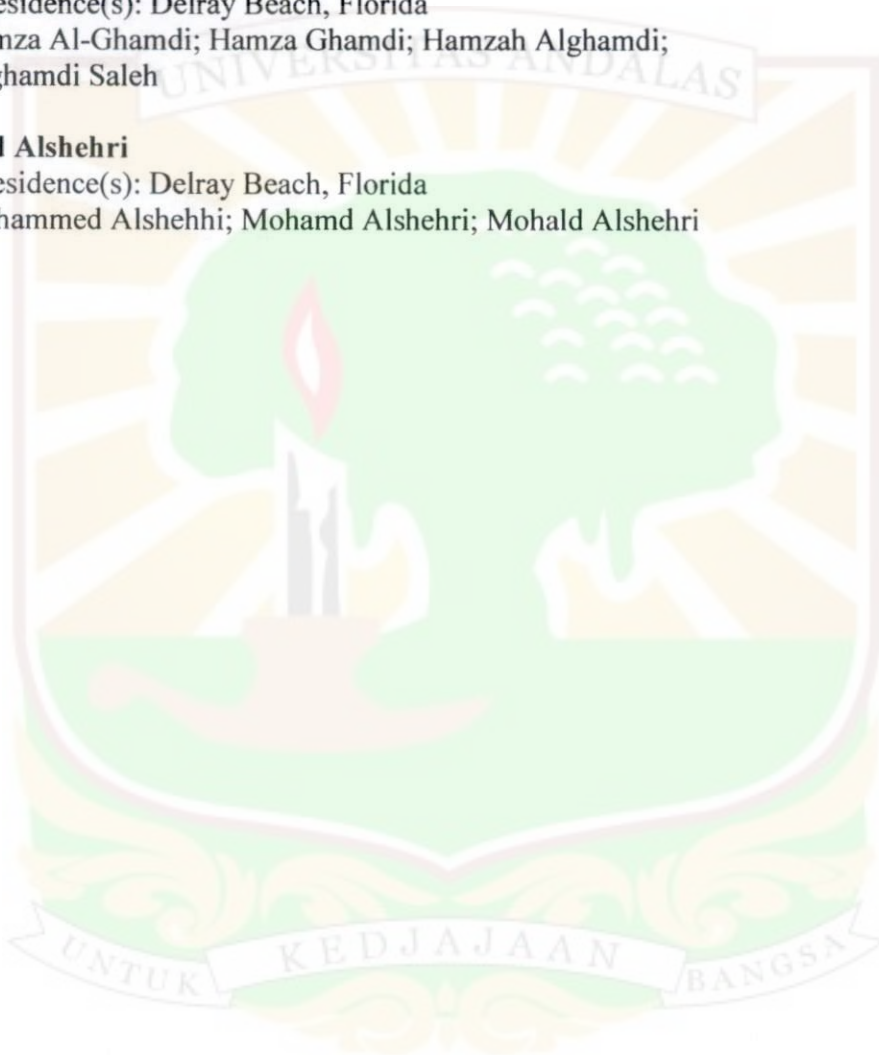
-Possible residence(s): Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Hamza Al-Ghamdi; Hamza Ghamdi; Hamzah Alghamdi;
Hamza Alghamdi Saleh

5) **Mohand Alshehri**

-Possible residence(s): Delray Beach, Florida

-Alias: Mohammed Alshehhi; Mohamd Alshehri; Mohald Alshehri



New York, September 11, 2001



Vandalism and Threat

