

## ABSTRAK

Skripsi ini menganalisis dampak intervensi berdalih kemanusiaan oleh Amerika Serikat (AS) periode 2011–2016 di Suriah, menggunakan perspektif kekerasan kultural oleh Johan Galtung, yang secara spesifik merujuk pada pembentukan narasi bias dan stereotip berbasis sektarianisme. Argumen utama dari skripsi ini adalah, intervensi berdalih kemanusiaan AS dalam praktiknya memperluas dan melanggengkan kekerasan kultural berbasis sektarianisme yang sebelumnya telah ada di Suriah, dan lebih lanjut melanggengkan kekerasan struktural dan langsung pada negara tersebut. Skripsi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus, yakni intervensi AS di Suriah periode 2011–2016. Data dikumpulkan melalui analisis teks terhadap data primer, seperti laporan resmi pemerintah dan pidato pejabat AS, yang memuat informasi terkait konstruksi musuh terhadap ISIS, kelompok-kelompok ekstremis, dan rezim Assad, serta linimasa intervensi AS. Data sekunder didapatkan melalui studi literatur dari buku, berita, jurnal, dan sumber daring yang membahas kekerasan kultural dalam hal pembentukan narasi sektarianisme oleh rezim Assad, serta konstruksi musuh terhadap ISIS dan rezim Assad oleh pemerintah AS.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa intervensi berdalih kemanusiaan oleh AS memperluas kekerasan kultural berupa pembentukan narasi bias dan stereotip berbasis sektarianisme, dengan melebarkan ruang lingkup narasi yang semula hanya berada dalam level domestik menjadi internasional. Selain itu, target konstruksi musuh melalui taktik *evil-naming* sasarannya bertambah, meliputi rezim Assad, kelompok ekstremis, dan ISIS atas retorika kemanusiaan, perdamaian, dan demokrasi. Di samping itu, intervensi AS melanggengkan kekerasan kultural dengan terus mereproduksi narasi bias dan stereotip, serta melekatkannya dalam wacana politik *Global War on Terror (GWOT)*, yang kemudian menjustifikasi kekerasan terhadap kelompok yang dilabeli “musuh”, dengan terbentuknya logika pengaburan realitas (*de-realization*) dan dehumanisasi terhadap kelompok tersebut. Selanjutnya, kekerasan kultural selama intervensi AS melanggengkan kekerasan struktural dan langsung berbasis sektarianisme di Suriah yang sebelumnya sudah terbentuk, dengan terus mereproduksi dan mempertahankan narasi bias dan stereotip. Reproduksi narasi ini memberikan justifikasi terhadap kekerasan langsung maupun struktural berbasis sektarianisme yang terjadi, dan berujung pada normalisasi kekerasan terhadap kelompok yang dilabeli musuh. Hal ini terlihat dengan adanya perubahan persepsi antar kelompok sektarian, fragmentasi yang semakin tajam di masyarakat, serta munculnya rasa takut dan kecurigaan berbasis sektarian di Suriah.

**Kata kunci:** intervensi berdalih kemanusiaan, kekerasan kultural, narasi bias dan stereotip, sektarianisme, Amerika Serikat, Suriah.

## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyzes the impact of the United States' intervention under the guise of humanitarian in Syria from 2011 to 2016 through Johan Galtung's cultural violence perspective, specifically focusing on the formation of bias narratives and sectarian-based stereotypes. The main argument is that the United States' intervention under the guise of humanitarian in practice expanded and perpetuated pre-existing cultural violence based on sectarianism in Syria, which further perpetuated structural and direct violence in the country. This thesis uses a qualitative method with a case study approach on US intervention in Syria during 2011-2016. Data was collected through textual analysis of primary sources such as official government reports and speeches by US officials containing information related to enemy construction against ISIS, extremist groups, and the Assad regime and the timeline of US intervention. Secondary data was obtained through literature review from books, news articles, journals, and online sources discussing cultural violence in terms of sectarian narrative formation by the Assad regime and enemy construction against ISIS and the Assad regime by the US government.

The results of the study show that US humanitarian intervention has expanded cultural violence in the form of the formation of biased and stereotypical narratives based on sectarianism, broadening the scope of the narrative from the domestic to the international level. In addition, the targets of enemy construction through the tactic of evil-naming have increased, including the Assad regime, extremist groups, and ISIS, based on rhetoric of humanity, peace, and democracy. Moreover, US intervention perpetuates cultural violence by continuously reproducing biased narratives and stereotypes, and attaching them to the political discourse of the Global War on Terror (GWOT), which then justifies violence against groups labeled as "enemies," with the formation of a logic of de-realization and dehumanization of these groups. Furthermore, cultural violence during the US intervention perpetuates structural and direct violence based on sectarianism in Syria, which had already been established, by continuing to reproduce and maintain biased narratives and stereotypes. The reproduction of these narratives justifies the direct and structural violence based on sectarianism that occurs, and leads to the normalization of violence against groups labeled as enemies. This can be seen in the changing perceptions between sectarian groups, the increasingly sharp fragmentation in society, and the emergence of sectarian-based fear and suspicion in Syria.

**Keywords:** intervention under the guise of humanitarianism, cultural violence, biased and stereotypical narrative, sectarianism, United States, Syria.