

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### A. Problem Background

Globalization smoothes mobilizations of human, goods and services in crossing the border of countries. The effect of globalization may also be seen in the easier access of technology, goods trading, knowledge transfer, etc. These mobilizations make the situation of the countries in international seems borderless. Because of the globalization, there are several uncontrolled movements, either humans or goods movements. One of the examples is, in the case of immigrations where there are many illegal immigrants entering several countries, black market, arms smuggling and many types of uncontrolled flows of goods or humans entering some particular countries.

One of concerns that should be included into the important matters is that how globalization effects of globalization in the movement of guns<sup>1</sup> or any conventional weapons. There are several gun trade relations among the countries in the world. This is one of the reasons gun issue is not consider as domestic issue. The reason is because if one country (gun manufacturer) limit its access due its domestic regulation, or reduce the manufacture of one kind of gun types, it impact to the trade relations with those countries who need the desired gun types. For example, if the biggest supplier or exporter of gun tries to

assault gun<sup>2</sup> because of its domestic regulation, it will harm the relations of gun trade to the consumer countries and cause instability of gun trade.

Unfortunately, the easier access to gun, make probability of misusing gun in several countries arise range from suicide up to gun used for rebellion. For instance, In Pattani Thailand, there are several gun violence occurred, such as shootings to Muslim in Thailand and cause more than 5000 people passed away. Furthermore, in Mexico, there is several kind of misusing gun, such as gun used by drugs cartel, rampage shootings in a bar did by a gunman, which killed seventeen people in 2011.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the misusing of gun also occurred in United States (total gun death is 32.163 people in 2011)<sup>4</sup>, India (total gun death is 6219 people in 2008)<sup>5</sup>, and Australia (total gun death is 236 people in 2010)<sup>6</sup>.

One country that will be the main focus of this undergraduate thesis is the biggest gun exporter—US. U.S. is one country that gives the right to its citizens to possess gun. The right to possess gun is functioned as the proof of the human security implementation as a universal value in the U.S. The right granted to the American according to the Second Amendment: “A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear

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<sup>2</sup> The term of assault gun in this thesis refers to semi-automatic assault gun which is a military style gun

<sup>3</sup> Bbcindonesia.2011. *Aksi Kekerasan di Meksiko Tewaskan 40 Orang Lebih*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/indonesia/dunia/2011/08/110826-meksiko.shtml> in September 2, 2013

<sup>4</sup> Gun Policy.org. 2013. *United States—Gun Facts, Figures and t* <http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/united-states> in September 2, 2013

<sup>5</sup> Gun Policy.org. 2013. *India—Gun Facts, Figures and the* <http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/india> in September 2, 2013

<sup>6</sup> Gun Policy.org. 2013. *Australia—Gun Facts, Figures and th* <http://www.gunpolicy.org/firearms/region/australia> in September 2, 2013

used for, and when it can be used or carried are made in making sure that there will be less or no incidents of lost control or inappropriate gun use. One example is, the right given to bear arms only for those above twenty one years old who already passed other requirements of bearing arms. The other example is the policy of giving federal laws to their own regulations in implementing the rights to bear arms for citizens. Moreover, it also mentions the regulation of state Illinois which does not permit the residents to carry concealed weapons outside their homes. Open carry is not permissible in Illinois, making it illegal to carry weapons in any form or fashion in Illinois outside one's home or business except for the purposes of hunting, range shooting or similar activities

However, the federal regulation of gun is still less powerful. Even though there are many laws that have been made by the government, but still not sufficient to control the gun in U.S. in order to reduce the number of misuse gun victims. However, to renew the law such as Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 is needed to limit especially assault type of gun. Function of the right to hold the gun, which originally to improve the security of human society, turned into a double-edged sword. This is due to that gun can be a means as a means of either protection or attack other people. One example is problem posed by such unstable psychology persons whom commit suicides or mass shootings as explained below.

Several incidents ranged from suicide to mass shoot  
of the too widely spread of guns in U.S. In 2009, the U.S.

16,883. The State of Illinois admits a 13.7% increase in gun suicides from 372 in 2006 to 402 in 2009. In 2009, a total of 800 young Americans aged of ten to nineteen committed suicides with guns, an increase of 5% in 2006 total of 763 youth gun suicides.

Unlike suicide attempt using other methods, suicide attempts with guns is nearly always fatal, meaning that a temporarily depressed teenager will never get a second chance at life. Nearly two-thirds of all completed teenage suicides involve a gun.<sup>10</sup> Over half of suicides in the U.S. are committed with guns. In the period years of 2000 to 2010, 19,392 people of United States were committed suicide by using guns. The suicide by using guns covered 50.5% percent of the total suicide means.<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, some incidents of mass shootings also happened in ground of U.S. as of today, there have been seventy mass shootings in the United States among 1982 to 2012, leaving 543 people dead (assuming the reports of twenty seven fatalities from today's shootings are correct.) Seven of those seventy shootings occurred in 2012. Furthermore, sixty eight of those 543 victims were killed in 2012. If the scenes of horror and heartbreak are now familiar, it is because the past six years have been particularly bloody. Fully 45% of the victims

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<sup>10</sup> According to [http://www.ichv.org/facts-about-suicide-and-gun-](http://www.ichv.org/facts-about-suicide-and-gun)  
downloaded at 30th of December 2012

of mass shootings in America over the past three decades were killed since 2007.<sup>12</sup>

Ultimately, two cases that bring the most attention of the mass shooting tragedies are the case of James Holmes rampage in Aurora Colorado by using AR fifteen assault rifles<sup>13</sup> killed fifteen people and injured 58 people inside of the movie theatre. Few months later, in December, there was a tragedy of mass shootings in Sandy Hook Elementary School in Connecticut. Twenty school children and six adults passed away killed by Adam Lanza by using Bushmaster assault rifle.

In 1994, ban of the types of assault gun such as semi automatic assault gun was enacted titled Assault Weapons Ban 1994 (as a part of Violent Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994). However, the law has ten years sunset clause which made the law was expired in 2004. As the result, after the ban was expired in September 2004, people in U.S. get easier to get access to buy and possess the assault gun such as AK-47 and AR-15. Because of the easier access to the assault gun, unlawful gunman such as James Holmes and Adam Lanza can easier possess the gun and commit mass shootings in Colorado and Connecticut.

The need of the renewal of assault gun is needed to reduce the probability of the mass shootings reoccurred. As mentioned before, the two perpetrators of mass shootings: Adam Lanza and James Holmes, both use assault gun to commit

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<sup>12</sup> Sullivan Amy. Mass Shootings are on the Rise—and 2012 Has B Before. 2012 Accessed from [http://www.tnr.com/blog/plank/111149/wh\\_rise#](http://www.tnr.com/blog/plank/111149/wh_rise#) at 18th of January 2013

<sup>13</sup> Dicle refers to a firearm having rifling in the bore and designed to be

mass shootings in Connecticut and Colorado. Because of the expired date of Assault Weapons Ban 1994 people in the U.S. easier to buy and possess assault gun such as AK-47, and Bushmaster. However, even though there are many human security level dropped, terrorist get gun from U.S. market<sup>14</sup>, fall of gun victims, demand from society for stronger gun control, and high number of assault gun possessed by American (which increase the possibility of mass shootings occur), but Congress is still refuse to ratify gun control bill on assault gun.

### **B. Research Question**

Why does U.S. Congress refuse to ratify gun control bill related to ban assault guns?

### **C. Research Purpose**

There are four purposes of writing this undergraduate thesis. First is as the requirement to fulfill one of the subjects in International Relations study which is undergraduate thesis writing. Next is to find out the reasons why Congress is difficult to establish policies related to gun control. Even though there are many cases of mass murdering in U.S. the Congress still finds difficulty to make a discussion related to gun control. Moreover, it is to find out what kinds of parties especially interest group that influences the making of policies related to gun control and how the interest group influences the Congress.

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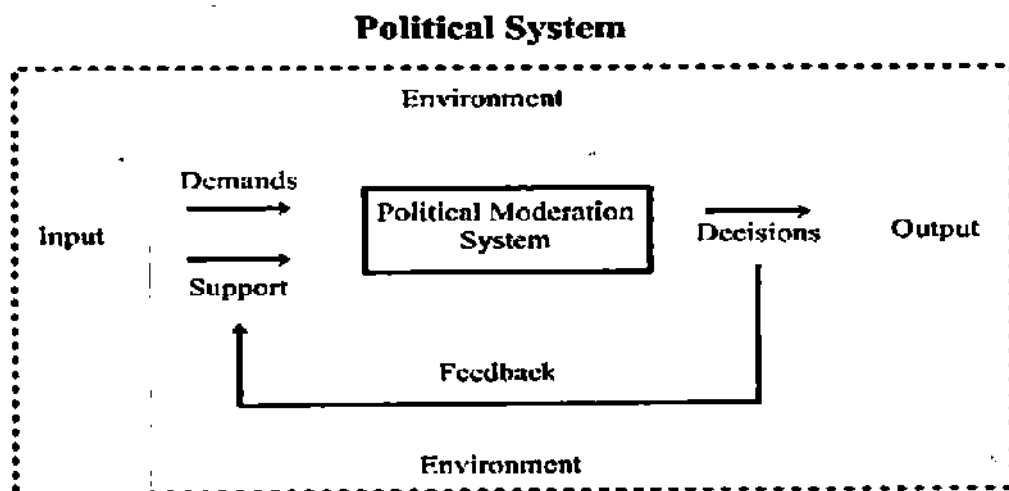
<sup>14</sup> Al Qaeda argue that it easy to get assault gun from U.S. due to its weak gun regulation. See the video CNN. *AlQaeda Spokesman: Easy to Buy Guns in U.S.*  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w11cgPGqOk> accessed in August 30, 2013

#### D. Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used in this undergraduate thesis is the political system theory by David Easton. The political system theory refuses the role of state as the only actor who plays the role of taking decision making because there are other parties which concern on the pressure excluding international pressure such as public opinion, interest groups activities, ideology, political governmental and bureaucratic politic.

Below is the figure of Political System theory according to David Easton.

**Figure 1.1 Political System of David Easton**



Source: Ragnar Muller, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Schumann accessed and downloaded from [http://www.dadalos.org/politik\\_int/politik/systemtheorie.htm](http://www.dadalos.org/politik_int/politik/systemtheorie.htm) at 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 2013

According to the figure, there are input, political system (the process of the policy making), and the output as the finished product from the process. In the political system, there are several actors who play in the system—the ultimate



foreign affairs and have authority to prevent other entities inside the government to convert their position.<sup>15</sup>

The output according to the figure is the result of the working of political system which comes either from support or demands from the society. The output consists of two types namely decision and implementation of the decision. The decision is the chosen option from either supports or demands while the implementation is implementing the chosen option (decision) done by the government to the society.

The input as mentioned in the figure comes because the society demands something from the government. There are two types of the input which are demands and support. Demand is the situation where the society asks for the existence of particular policy or the need to well spread of a policy to make the society feels the justice. The demand that has been stimulated within the society will be one of matters that will be floored on the political systems and be processed. Next, support is the effort from the society either to support or to reject the existence of the running political system.

After that, the demands and support are being processed in political system. Political system in the model consists of multiple autonomous groups. Multiple autonomous groups are groups of decision makers consisting of various types of groups or coalitions each of which has no power to neither decide nor pressure other parties to accept the will<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, multiple autonomous groups

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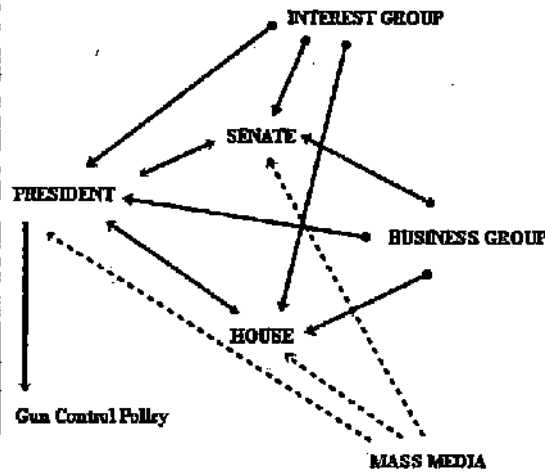
<sup>15</sup> Margaret C. Herman, Charles F. Herman, and Joe D. Hagan, "H Foreign Policy Behavior," in op cit page 21

<sup>16</sup> —



need half of the policy makes fully support the decision. Every group should have capability to give and take support on making balance of the taken decision.

**Figure 1.2 Multiple Autonomous Group Chart**



Source: Cipto Bambang. 2003. *Tekanan Amerika terhadap Indonesia*. Pustaka Pelajar: Yogyakarta

Notes:

- ↔ Bargain, consensus
- Pressure
- - - → Influence
- Produce

The characteristics between the groups in the multiple autonomous groups may vary from zero sum game to none zero sum game. In the first characteristic of relations (zero sum game), every group views that in order to win they should make other groups lost. In the second type of relations (non zero sum game), there will be some opportunities for agreement between groups.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Margaret C. Herman, Charles F. Herman and Joe D. Hagan, "How Decision Units Shape Foreign Policy Behavior" in *Ibid* page 21

There are several natures of multiple autonomous groups. First, every group—in general, is doing some interactions between groups in order to gain consensus or agreement. Moreover, the disagreement between groups can be finished by doing bargain and negotiation. Third, mostly the foreign policies are produced as the result of the negotiation between groups. <sup>18</sup>

Every actor of the multiple autonomous has its specific roles, such as:

**(A) President**

President in U.S. has an executive power. A president job is to ratify the draft of Constitution which is already agreed by the Congress. The president may propose to the Congress such legislative measures as he deems appropriate and subject to two thirds of both Houses.

**(B) House and Senate**

Senate and House have legislative power. Within those bodies, the draft of proposed Constitution is being discussed in the floor. The discussion will determine whether or not the draft of Constitution will be agreed by the Congress and will need President's acceptance by means of signing the draft of Constitution. The draft of Constitution processed in the Congress will need time to take the process because there are some lobbyists (such as interest groups) who influence the making of the policy (accelerate it or even reject the proposed draft)

The main function of the Congress in foreign affairs falls within the broad framework of the separation of powers and checks and balances which is established by the Founding Fathers.

As the legislator, the Congress has a higher position in the policy making process. They can decide whether or not the process of legislation of the draft will be processed. Because of this reason, the executive, and the interest group will send their lobbyist to accelerate or counteract the legislation of the Constitution draft. Moreover either the Congress or president is ready to do negotiation and bargain to reach the consensus. However, the final result of the bargaining will not be always ideal because it was the result of negotiation between the groups.

### (C) Interest Group

Interest group, also called special interest group or pressure group, any association of individuals or organizations, usually formally organized, that on the basis of one or more shared concerns, attempts to influence public policy in its favor. In a conceptual meaning, the interest group means a social group whose members control some field of activity and has common aims.

All interest groups share a desire to affect government policy to benefit themselves or their causes. Their goal could be a policy that exclusively benefits the group members or one segment of society.<sup>19</sup>

Interest group can act as the accelerator of the p

and give pressure toward the making. The influence of lobbyist is pretty powerful in influencing the policy making.

#### (D) Business Group

A business group is one of the economic cores. However, if the government would like to make policy related to on the issue—for example in export or import of gun trading policies, the business group will push the government to make policy which will not limit their area of business and they will help to accelerate the policy making if the policy will increase their income in the industry or trading.

There are multiple actors in Multiple Autonomous Group, including president, house, senate, interest group, business group and mass media. The actors playing in Multiple Autonomous Group have four types of interaction patterns which are bargaining or consensus, pressure, influence and produce. The first pattern of relations in Multiple Autonomous Group is bargaining. Bargaining is the negotiation over the terms of an agreement. While often more than one agreement exists, two or more actors would prefer to have no agreement, the actors disagree over their ranking of the mutually preferable agreement<sup>20</sup>.

Moreover, bargaining involves interdependent actions. In other words, the decisions made by one actor will depend to a large degree on the actual or likely decisions made by other actor. In addition, bargaining often has 'rules of the game', for example, actors can make demands or offers simultaneously, one actor

could make a demand or offer and the other accepts or rejects (a so-called take-it-or-leave-it game), or the actors can make demands or offers sequentially.<sup>21</sup>

The Gun Control Bill will go through several actions before being produced as the legalized policy. The produced<sup>22</sup> patterns will only be happen if the Congress and president have been ratified the Bill. However, before the ratifying, there are several processes should be taken and it involves several factors included in the Multiple Autonomous Group such as president, Congress (Senate and House), business group, mass media and interest groups.

Being a President means he or she has power on executive—who is to or to turn down the Bill which has been agreed by the Congress. Not only the power to ratify or refuse the Bill agreed by Congress, a President may also propose Bill to the Congress, such as Bill of assault gun ban to be possessed by the citizens. Moreover, the relation pattern between the president and the Congress is bargaining<sup>23</sup>. The bargain relation happened between the president and the Congress because those parties have important role in policy making process and both of them have veto rights.

The Congress role in policy making is one level higher than the President, because the Congress has a capability to override the President's refusal on Bill agreed by the Congress. In other words, the executive should send the delegates to do bargaining with the Congress offering what is better for the policy. The

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>22</sup> Produce definition is to bring into existence; present to view. According *Dictionary*. Harper Collins Publishers: Great Britain. 2003.

<sup>23</sup> Bargain definition is an agreement between parties settling what each g transaction between them or what course of action or policy each pursues

Congress also may bargain to the President when (the Bill needs to be ratified by the President) to make it legal.

Then, the relation pattern of mass media to Congress and President is in term of influence.<sup>24</sup> Every mass media has its point of view on particular case and makes a public opinion about the issue which directly or indirectly the Congress and the President ways of thinking. The mass media may use newspaper, television, radio, internet or any other means of mass media to influence the making of the policy.

Furthermore, the relation among business group, Congress and President in Multiple Autonomous Group is similar to the relation of interest group with Congress and president which is pressure<sup>25</sup>. One example of the relation pattern is the relation of interest group to Congress and president in the case of establishing gun control policy in U.S., while the example of the interest group related to gun control is Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms (CCKRBA), Second Amendment Foundation (SAF), Gun Owners of America, National Rifle Association (NRA), etc.

Congress is the most open branch of the United States government, especially for the interest groups.<sup>26</sup> The interest groups often join legislative hearings in the Congress. One of the most influential interest groups which join in

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<sup>24</sup> Influence definition is a power affecting a person, thing, or course of events, especially one that operates without any direct or apparent effort according to <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/influence> retrieved at February 18, 2013

<sup>25</sup> Definition of pressure is the application of force to something by something else in direct contact with it according to <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pressure?show=0&t=1361152166> retrieved at February 18, 2013

<sup>26</sup> Bowles Niger. *Government and Politics of the United States: Second and Expanded (rev.ed; Great Britain: Creative Print & Design 1998)* page 228

the legislative hearing is National Rifle Association. National Rifle Association mission is to uphold Second Amendment rights and to advocate enforcement of existing laws against violent offenders to reduce crime. The Association remains the nation's leader in gun education and training for law-abiding gun owners, law enforcement and the armed services.<sup>27</sup>

The output is the control of assault weapon (renewal of the 1994 law related to ban assault weapons or guns to be possessed by the citizens) rejected in the process of U.S. Congress. The situation happened because of the some influences and pressures happened inside in the political system—the making of policy where there are many parties involved in the making of the policy—as called Multiple Autonomous Group. This matter happened even though the demands and supports come from the society as there are several human violations caused by inappropriate gun use. However the decision is in the hand of Multiple Autonomous Groups which play a significant role in the policy making.

Inside the Congress, there are several ways and processes on how a bill becomes a law. The Bill should undergo several processes if the Bill is appropriate to be enacted as the law. The gun control bill is one of the issue that always been debated inside the Congress. The bill always been debated because of the different viewpoint between the Republicans and Democrats.

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<sup>27</sup> NRA-ILA Statement From the National Rifle Associati  
<http://www.nra-ila.org/news-issues/news-from-nra-ila/2007/statement-fro>



Furthermore, taken as example are the following refused gun control bills—H.R. 1312, a bill introduced on March 15, 2005 to the House—Assault Weapons Ban Law Enforcement Protection Act of 2005 sponsored by Representative Carolyn McCarthy (from Democrat) and S. 645 Assault Weapons Ban Law Enforcement Protection Act of 2005 introduced on March 16, 2005 which is sponsored by Senate Frank Lautenberg (from Democrat).

The proposed Bill should pass several steps to be ratified by the Congress. Firstly, a Bill goes to full committee, then usually to a specialized subcommittee to be studied, heard, revised, and approved. Then the Bill goes back to full committee, where more hearings and revisions may occur. The full committee may approve the Bill and recommend passage. Committees rarely give a Bill an unfavorable report; instead, the Bill may “thrown” in committee. In the House, many bills go before the Rules Committee for a “rule” of expediting floor action, setting conditions for debate and amendments to the floor. Some bills are privileged and go directly to the floor. In the Senate, special “rules” are not used, leadership normally schedules action. A bill is debated, usually amended and then passed or defeated. If passed, it goes to the other chamber to follow the same route through committee and floor stages.<sup>28</sup> If the other chamber has already passed a related bill, as is often the case, both versions go straight to conference. In the conference action, once both chambers have passed related bills, a conference committee of members from both houses is formed to work out the

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<sup>28</sup> Bardes Barbara, Mack C. Shelley II, Steffen W. Schmidt. 2008 . *American Government and Politics Today, 2007-08: Custom Edition with Georgia Constitution for Georgia Perimeter College*. page 362

differences. The compromised version from conference is sent to each chamber for final approval.

Moreover, for the case of the refusal of H.R. 1312 Bill which is died when referred to the Committee<sup>29</sup> goes as same as S. 645 Bill<sup>30</sup> is happened because when there is hearing in the Committee, several lobbyists from the gun control interest groups (such as National Rifle Association) join the hearings in order to make the Committees full of knowledge (gather information) from the participants. Then, there are also several pressures either direct or indirect from the interest groups and mass media:

In this hearing stage, the lobbyists from interest group play role in influencing the policy making of the Congress. Hearings of Congressional Committees and Subcommittees provide interest groups with formal opportunities to testify on legislative business before the Committee. There are also private opportunities to lobby Members of Congress and Senates. One of the most influential interest groups in gun control issue is National Rifle Association.<sup>31</sup> The purpose of NRA in influencing the policy making related to the gun control is to protect the rights of the citizens to bear guns for their safety. NRA also contributes as one interest group that prevents the rise of tyrannical government.

In order to do so, the NRA should have to influence and push or urge the parties that have power in making legislations. Therefore, the National Rifle

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<sup>29</sup> Govtrack.us retrieved from <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/> February 26, 2013.

<sup>30</sup> Govtrack.us retrieved from <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/109/> 2013

<sup>31</sup> According to *Gunfire*, May 2005 as mentioned in *Border Barriers*, On

Association has two types of strategies to promote their policy goals which are direct techniques and indirect techniques.

Firstly, direct technique is a technique used by interest group that involves interaction with government officials to further the group's goals.<sup>32</sup> There are four main direct techniques used by interest groups namely lobbying techniques, rating games<sup>33</sup>, building alliances<sup>34</sup>, and campaign assistance. In lobbying techniques, mostly, the lobbyists are professionals<sup>35</sup>. They are either consultants to a company or interest group or one of the members of law firms that specialize in providing such services. Although National Rifle Association is could employ hundreds of staff members, they only can register one or two lobbyists who are engaged principally in influencing the Congress.<sup>36</sup>

The lobbyists may engage in an activity to influence the making of policy such as engaging in private meetings with public officials and may provide information to policymakers as references for establishing policy in the future.<sup>37</sup> They may also testify the policy before congressional committees for or against the proposed legislation, testify before executive rulemaking agencies, assist legislators in drafting legislation or prospective regulations. Moreover, they may

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<sup>32</sup> Bardes Barbara. Op cit page 237

<sup>33</sup> Many interest groups attempt to influence the overall behavior of the legislators through their rating systems. Each year, the interest group selects legislation that it believes is most important to the organization's goals and then monitors how legislators vote on it. Each legislator is given a score based on the percentage of times that he or she voted in favor of the group's position.

According to *Ibid*

<sup>34</sup> Building alliances according to *Ibid* is another direct technique used by

also invite the legislators to some social occasions because most lobbyists believe that meeting legislators in a relaxed social setting is the most effective.<sup>38</sup>

The last type of the direct technique is campaign assistance. The National Rifle Association realizes that the greatest concern of legislators is to be reelected, so they also focus on campaign's needs. Take as an example, the National Rifle Association spent more than \$1.43 million<sup>39</sup> for Republican and typically, they support Republicans because of their similar conservative viewpoint.

Second strategy is by doing indirect technique. Interest groups can also try to influence government policy by working through others, who may be constituents or the general public.<sup>40</sup> One of the strategies used in the indirect techniques is by generating public pressure. The aim of this activity is to convince policymakers that public opinion overwhelmingly supports the group's position.<sup>41</sup>

In this matter, National Rifle Association creates some reports or information regarding to the gun issue especially on gun control to the mass by using mass media such as Internet to gain as much as supporters from the society towards the against of gun control issue to protect their security. The well organized and have highly motivated members of NRA ease the path of NRA to

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>39</sup> Opensecrets.org retrieved from

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influence the Congress by channel stream of mail or electronic messages toward Congress with few days' effort.<sup>42</sup>

National Rifle Association makes it hard to pass the gun control bill inside the Congress. National Rifle Association has been known to have a strong bond with the Republican which supporting the loose of gun control. As the means, National Rifle Association uses two strategies of influencing the policy making such as direct technique by using lobbying and campaign assistance to the Republicans and indirect technique by using mass media to make public opinion regarding to the issue of guns. For example is NRA sent out a letter to supporters asking for donations to protect the future of Second Amendment right. Twenty days later, the NRA lobbied for a 2013 Florida bill to legalize carrying the exposed firearms in public.<sup>43</sup> One of the National Rifle Association ways is they just want to protect the rights of the people to have their security because it is too dangerous if the society does not have their bodyguard<sup>44</sup> as how children of Obama are protected by the bodyguard.

Other actions done by National Rifle Association are bracing itself for a fight against a proposed assault weapon ban. In an NRA News Update webcast, host Ginny Simone called the ban "a failed experiment."<sup>45</sup> This action further will affect on the increasing demand from the society to stop the making of gun control policy and it smoothes the lobbyist path of National Rifle Association to

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<sup>42</sup> *Ibid* page 243

<sup>43</sup> Think Progress.org retrieved from <http://think-progress.tumblr.com/post/38326963179/timeline-nra-repeatedly-responds-to-massacres-by> in February 27, 2013

<sup>44</sup> Bodyguard here is refer to guns bearing

<sup>45</sup> Think progress.org retrieved from <http://thinkprogress.org/politics/2012/12/19/1358101/nra-shooting-laws/?mobile=nc> in February 27, 2013

share information to the legislator that the society prefers to reject the gun control bill because it will only lessen their ability to protect themselves if another case of mass shooting or any other threats reappear in the future.

### **E. Hypothesis**

The reason of why Congress refused to ratify the policy related to gun control is because the influence and pressure of National Rifle Association (NRA) to Congress by several ways such as using mass media, lobbyists, rank, and campaign assistance.

### **F. Research Methodology**

The method of research used in this study is qualitative method. The qualitative method is focuses on the collection of written document or spoken documents.<sup>46</sup> The technique used will be a data collection. The data collection is one of the techniques in qualitative method which uses secondary data books, pdf, previous research results related the topic, and others.

### **G. Research Area**

The area of the research for this undergraduate thesis starts from the U.S., Congress and interest group action in the gun control issue until May 2013.

### **H. Writing Organization**

This writing consists of five chapters. The first chapter includes introduction of the writing, background of the problem research question.

purpose of writing, theoretical framework, hypothesis, research method, research area, and systematic of writing.

The second chapter discusses the gun control issue in the U.S. This chapter discusses the beginning of gun civil rights in the U.S. then how it is applied in federal states of the U.S., the law related to when, where, why, what, how the gun will be used and who can bear the arms in U.S.

The third chapter discusses Congress roles in the process of gun control Bill refuse. This chapter will also discuss how the previous regulation applied in the U.S. (policy of year 1994) of the ban assault guns to be used by the citizens conducted, and what kind of other policies implemented until May 2013.

The fourth chapter discusses the roles of one interest group—National Rifle Associations addressing in the policy making of gun control either domestically or internationally in the U.S. this chapter discusses how big the influence of this interest group to the Congress is.

The fifth chapter is the conclusion for the writing which includes the

.....how the Congress refused to establish the gun control policy in the U.S