

BAB V

Kesimpulan

Pada 9 Februari 2014 di Swiss, Referendum *Against Mass Immigration* memperoleh suara mayoritas setuju. Permintaan dalam referendum ini meliputi pemberlakuan pembatasan kuota bagi warganegara asing berdasarkan kepentingan ekonomi Swiss, dan prioritas lowongan kerja kepada orang-orang yang telah tinggal di Swiss sebelumnya. Setelah kemenangannya, Pemerintah Federal Swiss menjadikan referendum ini sebagai *win-set*, yang dapat dilihat dari permintaan negosiasi mengenai Perjanjian Bilateral I dengan Uni Eropa dan penolakan penandatanganan Protokol III.

Dalam mengimplementasikan referendum ini, Swiss mendapatkan tekanan dari Uni Eropa, karena referendum ini bertentangan dengan *win-set* Uni Eropa mengenai FMP dan Protokol III. Tekanan ini berbentuk peringatan mengenai pencabutan Perjanjian Bilateral I yang didasarkan pada *guillotine clause* bila Swiss mengimplementasikan pembatasan kuota kepada Uni Eropa. Ditambah lagi, setelah Swiss menolak untuk menandatangani Protokol III, Uni Eropa memutuskan untuk mencabut status *fully associated country* Swiss dalam Horizon 2020. Kedua tekanan ini menjadi tekanan tinggi bagi Swiss karena pengaruh kedua kerjasama ini terhadap atribut nasional Swiss, terutama menyangkut kapabilitas ekonomi. Perjanjian Bilateral I membuka akses pasar Uni Eropa yang menjadi target utama dari kegiatan ekspor-impor Swiss. Sementara itu, Horizon 2020 memfasilitasi penelitian mengenai inovasi yang sesuai dengan kebutuhan dunia usaha Swiss (dan,

peserta kedua terbanyak dari Swiss dalam program ini adalah UMKM), serta pencabutan status *fully associated country* membuat Pemerintah Federal Swiss harus menganggarkan dana untuk membiayai proyek yang kehilangan pendanaan akibat pencabutan status tersebut.

Maka, ketika negosiasi mengenai implementasi referendum dengan Uni Eropa dimulai, Swiss berada dalam tekanan tinggi, sementara semua *win-set* Swiss bertentangan dengan *win-set* Uni Eropa. Swiss berupaya untuk menawarkan sejumlah penawaran yang tidak bertentangan dengan *win-set*, namun tidak ada kesepakatan bersama mengenai implementasi referendum yang dicapai oleh kedua aktor hingga pertengahan tahun 2016. Keadaan ini berlangsung hingga setelah Uni Eropa memberikan pernyataan bahwa implementasi referendum dalam bentuk yang sangat ringan dapat diterima pada September 2016 direspon oleh Parlemen Swiss yang memutuskan untuk berkompromi dengan *win-set* dan menyamakannya dengan *win-set* Uni Eropa. Bentuk kompromi tersebut adalah keputusan untuk tidak menerapkan kuota untuk Uni Eropa dan *hanya* mensahkan *Article 21A* dalam FNA/FNIA mengenai prioritas lowongan pekerjaan untuk tenaga kerja domestik pada 16 Desember 2016, dan ratifikasi Protokol III sehari setelahnya. Kedua kompromi ini memastikan kelanjutan Perjanjian Bilateral I serta Swiss mendapatkan kembali status *fully associated country* dalam Horizon 2020 terhitung mulai dari 1 Januari 2017, di hari yang sama dengan berlakunya Protokol III.

Dari skripsi ini, dapat disimpulkan, bahwa dalam proses negosiasi dan perumusan kebijakan luar negeri, pertimbangan keputusan tidak *hanya* diambil dari kondisi domestik atau internasional semata, akan tetapi kedua kondisi ini sama-

sama saling memengaruhi satu sama lain. Ada kemungkinan sebuah negara mengambil keputusan yang sangat berbeda dari kasus sebelumnya berdasarkan pertimbangan pengaruh dari keputusan tersebut terhadap reaksi dari aktor internasional yang memengaruhi kondisi domestik negaranya, misalkan ketika negara tersebut menghadapi tekanan yang dapat memengaruhi kondisi domestiknya.

DAFTAR PUSTAKA

- “2011 Credit Suisse Worry Barometer – Focus on Unemployment and the Economy.” Credit Suisse, December 8, 2011. <https://www.credit-suisse.com/about-us-news/en/articles/media-releases/41912-201112.html>.
- “2012 Credit Suisse Worry Barometer – Unemployment Is Greatest Concern Again – Swiss People Nevertheless Generally Optimistic.” Credit Suisse, December 11, 2012. <https://www.credit-suisse.com/about-us-news/en/articles/media-releases/42092-201212.html>.
- “2013 Credit Suisse Worry Barometer – Great Confidence in Institutions and Decision-Makers; Unemployment Still the Main Worry.” Credit Suisse, December 10, 2013. <https://www.credit-suisse.com/about-us-news/en/articles/media-releases/42235-201312.html>.
- Abberger, Klaus, Andreas Dibiasi, Michael Siegenthaler, and Jan-Egbert Sturm. “The Swiss Mass Immigration Initiative: The Impact of Increased Policy Uncertainty on Expected Firm Behaviour.” *KOF Studien*, no. 53 (October 2014): 1–35.
- Afonso, Alexandre. “Immigration and Its Impacts in Switzerland.” *Mediterranean Quarterly* 15, no. 4 (2004): 147–66.
- Ashton, Catherine. Letter to H.E Didier Burkhalter. Brussel, July 24, 2014.
- “Associated Countries.” European Commission. Accessed June 12, 2020. <https://ec.europa.eu/research/iscp/index.cfm?pg=associated>.
- Auer, Andreas. “Editorial: The People Have Spoken: Abide? A Critical View of the EU’s Dramatic Referendum (in)Experience.” *European Constitutional Law Review* 12, no. 3 (December 2016): 397–408.
- Baily, Kenneth D. *Methods of Social Research*. New York: The Free Press, 1987.
- “Bilateral Agreements I.” Switzerland's European Policy. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Accessed December 9, 2019. <https://www.eda.admin.ch/dea/en/home/europapolitik/ueberblick/bilaterale-1.html>.
- “Brexit and the Swiss Connection – A Guide.” swissinfo.ch, June 24, 2016. https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/eu-priorities_brexit-and-the-swiss-connection-a-guide/41942780.
- “Change in Immigration System: Yes to Popular Initiative Aimed at Stopping Mass Immigration.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, February 9, 2014. Swiss. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-51948.html>.
- Christin, Thomas, and Alexander H. Trechsel. “Joining the EU?” *European Union Politics* 3, no. 4 (2002): 415–43.
- “Controlling Immigration: Federal Council Approves Draft Legislation and Negotiating Mandate.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, February 11, 2015. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-56194.html>.

- “Controlling Immigration: Federal Council Decides on Safeguard Clause.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, December 4, 2015. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-59812.html>.
- “Countries.” European Union. Accessed July 13, 2020. https://europa.eu/european-union/about-eu/countries_en#tab-0-1.
- Creswell, John H. *Research Design*. 4th ed. London: Sage Publication, 2014.
- “EU Referendum.” BBC News. Accessed March 11, 2020. https://www.bbc.com/news/politics/eu_referendum/results.
- “EU Tells Swiss No Single Market Access If No Free Movement of Citizens.” *The Guardian*, July 3, 2016. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/jul/03/eu-swiss-single-market-access-no-free-movement-citizens>.
- “EU-Swiss Relations.” *European Commission*, September 25, 2016. European Commission. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/MEMO_16_3185.
- “EU28 Population 505,7 Million at 1 January 2013.” Eurostat, November 20, 2013. <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/5167222/3-20112013-AP-EN.PDF/73c338ef-13c4-42d2-99a5-179eabff244c>.
- “Europe Watches Swiss Immigration Vote.” BBC News, February 8, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26034566>.
- “Europe: Switzerland.” Center Intelligence Agency. Accessed July 13, 2020. <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/sz.html>.
- “European Commission Welcomes Progress in Relations between the European Union and Switzerland.” *European Commission*, December 16, 2016. Uni Eropa. https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/en/IP_16_4501.
- Federal Act of Foreign Nationals – Foreign Nationals Act (FNA), Chapter 1 (Subject Matter, and Scope of Application), Article 2 (Scoop of Application), Article 2(2). (Status 1 Februari 2014)
- Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration – Foreign Nationals and Integration Act (FNIA), Chapter 1 (Subject Matter and Scoop of Application), Article 2 (Scoop of Application, Article 2(2)). (Status 1 Maret 2019)
- Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration – Foreign Nationals and Integration Act (FNIA), Chapter 5 (Admission Requirements), Article 21 (Precedence). (Status 1 Maret 2019)
- Federal Act on Foreign Nationals and Integration – Foreign Nationals and Integration Act (FNIA), Chapter 5 (Admission Requirements), Article 21A (Measures for Persons Seeking Employment). (Status 1 Maret 2019)
- Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, Title 3 (Confederation, Cantons, and Communes), Chapter 2 (Power), Section 9 (Residence and Permanent Settlement of Foreign Nationals), Article 121A (Control of Immigration). (Status 23 September 2018)
- Federal Constitution of the Swiss Confederation, Title 6 (Revision of the Federal Constitution and Transitional Provisions), Chapter 2 (Transitional Provisions), Article 197 (Transitional Provisions Following the Adoption of

- the Federal Constitution of 18 April 1999), Article 197(11) (Transitional Provisions to Art. 121A). (Status 23 September 2018)
- “Federal Council Enhances Structure for Negotiations with EU.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, August 12, 2015. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-58320.html>.
- “Federal Council Presents Concept for Implementing the New Article on Immigration.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, June 20, 2014. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-53415.html>.
- “Federal Council Submits Draft Legislation to Manage Immigration.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, March 4, 2016. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-60871.html>.
- “The Federal Council Takes Steps to Re-Launch Discussions with the EU on Switzerland’s Participation in EU Programmes and Market Access.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, April 30, 2014. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-52804.html>.
- “Federal Councillor Sommaruga Informs EU about New Constitutional Provisions on Immigration.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, March 3, 2014. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-52195.html>.
- “Free Movement of Persons – Functioning and Current State of Play.” Mission of Switzerland to the European Union. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Accessed June 14, 2020. <https://www.eda.admin.ch/missions/mission-eu-brussels/en/home/dossiers/personenfreizuegigkeit.html>.
- Freitag, Markus, Adrian Vatter, and Sean Mueller. “Switzerland’s Immigration Challenge - Viewpoints and Insights in the Aftermath of the Mass Immigration Initiative.” *Swiss Political Science Review* 21, no. 1 (2015): 1–4.
- “Horizon 2020 Sections.” European Commission. Accessed June 12, 2020. <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/h2020-sections>.
- “Horizon 2020.” State Secretariat for Education, Research and Innovation. Accessed June 12, 2020. <https://www.sbf.admin.ch/sbfi/en/home/research-and-innovation/international-cooperation-r-and-i/eu-framework-programmes-for-research/horizon-2020.html#-1788813020>.
- Hudson, Valerie M. “Introduction: The Situation and Evolution of Foreign Policy Analysis: A Road Map.” Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis - Classic and Contemporary Theory*, 2nd ed., 3–35. Lanham, MD & Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- . “The Levels of National Attributes and International System: Effects on Foreign Policy.” Essay. In *Foreign Policy Analysis - Classic and*

- Contemporary Theory*, 2nd ed., 161–82. Lanham, MD & Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield, 2014.
- “Initiative «Gegen Masseneinwanderung».” Swiss Vote. Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://swissvotes.ch/vote/580.00>.
- “Interim Solutions for Erasmus+ in 2014.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government.*, April 16, 2014. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-52695.html>.
- Kuzelewska, Elzbieta. “Do the Swiss Not Want to Join the EU? Swiss Referenda on European Integration.” *Przeгляд Politologiczny*, 2013, 85–98.
- Lachat, Romain, Georg Lutz, and Isabelle Stadelmann-Steffen. “The 2011 Swiss Election: Introduction.” *Swiss Political Science Review* 20, no. 4 (2014): 515–19.
- “Liechtenstein and EU.” European Union External Action. Accessed July 13, 2020. https://eeas.europa.eu/diplomatic-network/liechtenstein/7701/liechtenstein-and-eu_en.
- Linder, Wolf. “Switzerland and the EU: The Puzzling Effects of Europeanisation without Institutionalism.” *Contemporary Politics*, 2013, 1–13.
- “Mandatory Referendums and Optional Referendum in Switzerland.” Democracy - The Swiss Political System. The Swiss Authorities Online. Accessed February 27, 2019. <https://www.ch.ch/en/demokratie/political-rights/referendum/mandatory-referendums-and-optional-referendums-in-switzerland/>.
- “Minister Defends Switzerland’s Mixed EU Signals.” swissinfo.ch, March 6, 2016. https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/bitter-pill_minister-defends-switzerland-s-mixed-eu-signals/42004182.
- Mitchell, David. “International Institutions and Janus Faces: The Influence of International Institutions on Central Negotiators within Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 6 (2001): 25–48.
- Oesch, Mathias. “The Swiss Model of European Integration.” Essay. In *Brexit: The Legal Implications*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Wolters Kluwer, 2018.
- “Outsider Swiss Feels Europe’s Pain.” BBC News, December 30, 2011. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/business-16354048>.
- “Participation in the EU’s Erasmus+, Horizon 2020, and MEDIA Programmes.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, March 7, 2014. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-52251.html>.
- “Portuguese Jobseeker Change the Face of Swiss Village.” BBC News, March 20, 2012. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17338922>.
- “President Schneider-Ammann Meets European Commission President, Jean-Claude Juncker in Brussels.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, January 15, 2016. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-60319.html>.
- Putnam, Robert D. “Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games.” *International Organization* 42, no. 3 (1988): 427–60.

- Rep. *Legal Barriers and Enablers - WP2 Report*, 2018.
- Rep. *The Global Competitive Report 2012-2013*. Geneva, 2012.
- “Research Projects under Framework Programmes.” Collaboration in Research and Methodology for Official Statistics. European Commission. Accessed June 12, 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/cros/content/research-projects-under-framework-programmes-0_en.
- Serdült, Uwe. “Switzerland.” Essay. In *Referendums around the World*, edited by Matt Qvortrup, 47–112. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018.
- “Swiss Immigration: 50,3% Back Quotas, Final Results Show.” BBC News, February 9, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26108597>.
- “Swiss Participation in Horizon 2020 (Version January 2017),” 2017. Uni Eropa.
- “Swiss Participation in Horizon 2020 (Version January 2017).” European Commission, January 2017. https://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/h2020-hi-swiss-part_en.pdf.
- Swiss People's Party. *SVP - The Party of Switzerland. Party Programme 2015-2019*, . Bern: Swiss People's Party, n.d.
- “The Swiss Political System.” [swissinfo.ch](http://www.swissinfo.ch). Accessed July 14, 2020. <https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/the-swiss-political-system/45810052>.
- “Swiss Right Wins Vote on Deportation of Criminals.” *The New York Times*, November 28, 2010. <https://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/29/world/europe/29iht-swiss.html>.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Economic Affairs, Education and Research. State Secretariat for Education, Research, and Innovation. *Swiss Participation in European Research Framework Programmes*. 2018.
- Swiss, Federal Department of Finance. Federal Customs Administration. *Facts and Figures 2011 (2012 Edition) – What do Swiss Customs Agents Do?* 2012.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Finance. Federal Customs Administration. *Facts and Figures 2012 (2013 Edition) – Swiss Customs working for the Economy, Security, and Health of the Nation*. 2013.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Finance. Federal Customs Administration. *FCA Facts and Figures 2013 – Swiss Customs working for the Economy, Security, and Health of the Nation*. 2014
- Swiss. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. *The ABCs of European Policy*, edisi kedua setelah revisi. 2015.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Directorate for European Affairs. *Switzerland and The European Union*, edisi kedua setelah revisi. 2016.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. Directorate for European Affairs. *Switzerland's European Policy*. 2018.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Foreign Affairs. *Swiss Foreign Policy Strategy 2016-19: Federal Council Report on the Priorities for the 2016-19 Legislative Period*. 2016.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Home Affairs. Federal Statistical Office. *Switzerland's Population 2013*. 2014
- Swiss. Federal Department of Justice and Police. Federal Office for Migration. *Migration Report 2010*. 2011.

- Swiss. Federal Department of Justice and Police. Federal Office for Migration. *Migration Report 2011*. 2012.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Justice and Police. Federal Office for Migration. *Migration Report 2012*. 2013.
- Swiss. Federal Department of Justice and Police. Federal Office for Migration. *Migration Report 2013*. 2014.
- Swiss. Integration Office FDFA/FDEA. *Bilateral Agreements Switzerland-EU*. 2009.
- “Switzerland Declines to Sign Croatia Free Movement Deal.” BBC News, February 16, 2014. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-26214138>
- “Switzerland Politics: Compromise Legislation on 2014 Referendum Approved.” The Economist Intelligence Unit N.A., Incorporated, December 19, 2016. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1850340399?accountid=31495>.
- “Switzerland Politics: Resolution to Immigration Tensions with EU Draws Closer.” The Economist Intelligence Unit N.A., Incorporated, October 18, 2016. <https://search.proquest.com/docview/1830026678?accountid=31495>.
- “Switzerland Ratifies Croatia Protocol.” *State Secretariat for Education, Research, and Innovation SERI*, December 16, 2016. State Secretariat for Education, Research, and Innovation. <https://www.sbf.admin.ch/sbf/en/home/news/press-releases/test-bit.msg-id-64991.html>.
- “Switzerland Trade Summary 2011 Data.” World Integrated Trade Solution . Accessed July 13, 2020. <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/CHE/Year/2011/Summary>.
- “Switzerland Trade Summary 2012 Data.” World Integrated Trade Solution. Accessed July 13, 2020. <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/CHE/Year/2012/Summary>.
- “Switzerland Trade Summary 2013 Data.” World Integrated Trade Solution. Accessed July 13, 2020. <https://wits.worldbank.org/CountryProfile/en/Country/CHE/Year/2013/Summary>.
- “Switzerland-EU: Consultations on Free Movement of Persons to Intensify.” *The Federal Council – The Portal of Swiss Government*, December 21, 2015. The Federal Council. <https://www.admin.ch/gov/en/start/documentation/media-releases.msg-id-60118.html>.
- “Switzerland: Exports, Percent of GDP.” The Global Economy. Accessed December 9, 2019. <https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Switzerland/Exports/>.
- “Switzerland: Imports, Percent of GDP.” The Global Economy. Accessed December 9, 2019. <https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Switzerland/Imports/>.
- “Switzerland: Trade Balance, Percent of GDP.” The Global Economy. Accessed December 9, 2019. https://www.theglobaleconomy.com/Switzerland/Trade_balance/.

- Tomczyk, Michal. "8th ECPR General Conference," 1–19. Glasgow, 2014.
- Traynor, Ian. "Switzerland Backs Immigration Quotas by Slim Margin." *The Guardian*, February 10, 2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/feb/09/swiss-referendum-immigration-quotas>.
- "Unemployment Statistics and Beyond." Eurostat. Accessed July 14, 2020. https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics_and_beyond
- Uni Eropa. European Commission. Directorate-General for Research & Innovation. *Associated Countries*. 2017. 1-3.
- Uni Eropa. European Parliament. Directorate-General for External Policies - Policy Department. *Briefing: Switzerland Votes 'Against Mass Immigration': How Can The EU Respond?* By Pasquale De Micco. 2014. 1-4
- Uni Eropa. *Horizon 2020 – Work Programme 2016-2017 – General Annexes*.
- Vahl, Marius, and Nina Grolimund. *Integration without Membership: Switzerland's Bilateral Agreements with the European Union*. Brussel: Center for European Policy Studies, 2006.
- "What Is a Federal Popular Initiative?" Democracy - The Swiss Political System. The Swiss Authorities Online. Accessed October 16, 2019. <https://www.ch.ch/en/demokratie/political-rights/popular-initiative/what-is-a-federal-popular-initiative>.
- "What Is Horizon 2020?" European Commission. Accessed June 12, 2020. <https://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/what-horizon-2020>
- World Economic Forum. *The Global Competitive Report 2012-2013*. 2012.

