

BAB V

KESIMPULAN

Berangkat dari fenomena penelitian ini yang menunjukkan bahwa pasca krisis pengungsi di Eropa pada tahun 2015, beberapa negara anggota Uni Eropa yang termasuk ke dalam kelompok *Visegrad* melakukan penolakan terkait kebijakan Uni Eropa untuk menerima masuknya para pengungsi dengan penerapan sistem kuota. Hungaria sebagai negara yang secara geografis berada dalam jalur transit dan tujuan para pengungsi, mengeluarkan kebijakan untuk menolak masuknya pengungsi ke dalam wilayahnya, hal tersebut merupakan hasil dari proses sekuritisasi yang dilakukan oleh para *securitizing actors* dengan cara menunjukkan kepada *referent object* bahwa isu krisis pengungsi asal Suriah telah menjadi ancaman terhadap keamanan nasionalnya. Merujuk dari perumusan masalah dalam penelitian ini, yaitu bagaimana pemerintah Hungaria melakukan sekuritisasi terhadap pengungsi asal Suriah sebagai ancaman keamanan nasional pada tahun 2015-2018? Merujuk juga pada kerangka teoritis yang digunakan, yaitu teori sekuritisasi, konsep keamanan non-tradisional, konsep pengungsi, konsep politik identitas, dan konsep kepentingan keamanan nasional, kemudian memperhatikan data-data yang telah diperoleh dari hasil wawancara dan studi literatur, serta melakukan proses analisis dan melihat hasilnya, maka peneliti menemukan kesimpulan bahwa.

Pertama, peneliti menemukan bahwa konstruksi isu krisis pengungsi asal Suriah sebagai sebuah ancaman eksistensial terhadap keamanan nasional Hungaria

dibangun oleh *securitizing actor* yang dalam penelitian ini adalah pemerintah Hungaria, partai *FIDESZ*, dan Perdana Menteri Viktor Orban, dengan cara melakukan *speech act* dengan tujuan untuk menunjukkan kepada masyarakat Hungaria sebagai *referent object* bahwa isu krisis pengungsi asal Suriah telah menjadi ancaman eksistensial terhadap keamanan nasional. Peneliti menemukan bahwa ketiga *securitizing actors* tersebut merupakan satu kesatuan atau *unitary actors*, dimana hasil penelitian menemukan bahwa ketiga aktor tersebut memiliki pola yang sama dalam melakukan *speech acts*, dan tidak terlihat adanya upaya dari salah satu aktor untuk melakukan desekuritisasi. Peneliti menyimpulkan bahwa dalam meningkatkan tingkat keberhasilan upaya sekuritisasi kuantitas dari *securitizing actors* dapat mempengaruhi dengan signifikan.

Kedua, dalam upaya untuk menunjukkan kepada masyarakat sebagai *refrent object*, bahwa isu krisis pengungsi asal Suriah telah menjadi ancaman terhadap keamanan nasional, para *securitizing actors* melakukan *speech acts* yang merupakan proses deklarasi dan penyampaian pesan oleh para *securitizing actors* kepada masyarakat Hungaria bahwa isu krisis pengungsi telah menjadi ancaman eksistensial terhadap keamanan nasional, *speech act* ini bertujuan agar masyarakat dapat menerima klaim para *securitizing actors*, peneliti menemukan bahwa hasil dari *speech acts* tersebut pemerintah dapat mendorong Parlemen Nasional untuk merealisasi konstitusi No. T/332 dan No. T/333. *Speech act* yang dilakukan oleh para *securitizing actors* berupa deklarasi secara verbal seperti pernyataan resmi, instruksi, dan diskusi publik dari Perdana Menteri Viktor Orban, politisi partai *FIDESZ*, dan otoritas pemerintah, kemudian peneliti menemukan bahwa *speech act*

juga dilakukan melalui propaganda kampanye, regulasi, diskusi politik, dan iklan anti-pengungsi melalui media massa, internet, baliho, dan poster. Peneliti menemukan bahwa *referent object* dalam peneliti ini, yaitu masyarakat tidak melakukan perlawanan terhadap kebijakan-kebijakan pemerintah Hungaria terhadap pengungsi, dan Parlemen Nasional sebagai perwakilan dari masyarakat juga menerima klaim bahwa isu krisis pengungsi telah menjadi ancaman terhadap keamanan nasional Hungaria dengan meloloskan amandemen konstitusi dan kebijakan yang dapat mengkriminalisasi pengungsi.

Ketiga, peneliti melihat bahwa upaya sekuritisasi yang dilakukan para *securitizing actors* berhasil dalam meyakinkan masyarakat bahwa isu krisis pengungsi asal Suriah merupakan sebuah ancaman eksistensial. Hal tersebut dapat dilihat dari pandangan masyarakat Hungaria pada tingkat lokal dan nasional menjadi negatif dan skeptis untuk membantu para pengungsi, peneliti menemukan bahwa keberhasilan upaya sekuritisasi di Hungaria dapat dilihat dari penerimaan kalimat oleh Parlemen Nasional Hungaria yang memutuskan untuk meloloskan amandemen konstitusi dasar No. T/332 dan mengeluarkan kebijakan No. T/333 yang represif sebagai *extraordinary measures* terhadap isu krisis pengungsi, pemerintah Hungaria menggunakan politik identitas dengan menekankan pada konsepsi “Kami” dan “Liyen” dan *Euroscpeticism* untuk membangun urgensi bahwa isu krisis pengungsi telah menjadi ancaman eksistensial terhadap keamanan nasional sehingga perlu adanya *extraordinary measures*. Implementasi dari *extraordinary measures* tersebut dapat dilihat pada keputusan Parlemen Nasional untuk menyetujui proposal pemerintah terkait keputusan untuk mengamandemen

konstitusi dasarnya dengan meloloskan konstitusi No. T/332 yang berisi regulasi anti-pengungsi dan migran, serta mendorong realisasi konstitusi No. T/333 yang dapat mendiskriminasi pihak-pihak yang membantu pengungsi dalam mengajukan aplikasi suaka ke Hungaria. Hungaria juga mengimplementasikan konstitusi diatas dalam menghalau masuknya pengungsi melalui peningkatan keamanan di perbatasan, melakukan penolakan terhadap Perjanjian Dublin, khususnya pengimplemntasian sistem kuota pengungsi, dan menerapkan sistem penerimaan aplikasi suaka dan kontrol perbatasan yang menyulitkan bagi pengungsi asal Suriah.

Dalam penelitian ini, peneliti mendapatkan pemahaman bahwa kepentingan nasional Hungaria dalam peneletian ini adalah melindungi budaya Kristiani dari ancaman budaya Islam, sehingga membuat Hungaria menolak masuknya pengungsi asal Suriah ke dalam wilayahnya, dan melakukan sekuritisasi dengan tujuan untuk dapat menciptakan *measures* yang dapat mencegah dan mengkriminalisasi para pengungsi asal Suriah yang mencoba masuk ke dalam Hungaria. Peneliti menemukan bahwa sektor budaya dalam keamanan non-tradisional adalah sektor baru dalam lima sektor yang dijelaskan oleh Buzan. Kemudian, berdasarkan kajian literatur yang telah dilakukan, penemuan peneliti terkait adanya persepsi ancaman terhadap budaya Kristiani di Hungaria yang diproyeksikan oleh pengungsi asal Suriah dengan budaya Islam mereka, merupakan pemahaman baru dalam penelitian ini.

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