

BAB IV

KESIMPULAN

Berdasarkan paparan pada bab-bab sebelumnya, penelitian ini menemukan dua hal utama. *Pertama*, klaim kemenangan Nigeria pada masa Pemerintahan Muhammadu Buhari periode pertama dalam perang melawan Boko Haram tidak dapat dijustifikasi. Keberadaan Boko Haram masih menjadi ancaman bagi Nigeria terbukti melalui indikator-indikator yang telah disampaikan pada bagian sebelumnya. Keberadaan tersebut justru memicu terbentuknya kelompok-kelompok ekstremis baru di Nigeria maupun wilayah sekitarnya, contohnya seperti *Islamic State of West African Province* atau ISWAP yang berhasil menguasai wilayah di Danau Chad. Selain itu, Boko Haram juga semakin aktif dalam melaksanakan serangan asimetris yang melibatkan anak-anak dan perempuan. Dengan bukti-bukti yang ada dan ancaman Boko Haram yang semakin sulit ditangani oleh Pemerintah Nigeria, akhirnya pada akhir periode pertamanya, Muhammadu Buhari menyatakan bahwa keamanan Nigeria masih terancam oleh keberadaan Boko Haram.

Kedua, anteseden keberadaan Boko Haram berkaitan dengan keadaan Nigeria yang mengalami berbagai konflik dan pemberontakan kelompok-kelompok ekstremis jauh sebelum Boko Haram muncul. Berbagai konflik dan pemberontakan tersebut diketahui cenderung memiliki karakteristik dan penyebab yang sama. Boko Haram dengan dua gagasan ekstremnya yaitu pendidikan Barat adalah haram dan bekerja di Pemerintahan Nigeria adalah perbuatan yang menimbulkan dosa mengkritik bentuk pemerintahan modern yang menurut kelompok tersebut

menimbulkan banyak kejahatan dan dekadensi. Hal ini menurut Boko Haram menyebabkan kondisi sosioekonomi Nigeria buruk. Oleh karena itu, menurut Boko Haram solusi yang tepat untuk menyelesaikan isu tersebut adalah dengan menerapkan hukum Syariah dan memusnahkan peradaban modern yang bersifat sekuler. Visi ekstrem Boko Haram tersebut diketahui sama dengan visi yang dimiliki oleh kelompok ekstremis di Nigeria yang muncul sejak tahun 1945 dan berakhir pada tahun 1985, yaitu Maitatsine.

Keberadaan dan kemiripan Boko Haram dengan Maitatsine menunjukkan sifat *cyclical* kelompok teroris di Nigeria. Sifat ini disebabkan oleh buruknya sistem pemerintahan di Nigeria yang kondusif terhadap praktik korupsi yang kemudian membuat pemerintah tidak memiliki kapasitas yang cukup untuk melaksanakan agenda pembangunan dan pelayanan terhadap masyarakat. Selain itu, kondisi sosioekonomi Nigeria membuat masyarakatnya rentan terhadap radikalisme. Masyarakat yang paling rentan terhadap ideologi Boko Haram maupun Maitatsine dan kelompok ekstremis lainnya adalah kelompok masyarakat miskin atau berpendapatan rendah, pengangguran, dan tingkat kemampuan intelektual yang rendah. Hal ini karena kelompok masyarakat tersebut lebih mudah terhasut fanatisme ekstrem yang mempromosikan keberadaan *Aljana* yang dapat dicapai melalui jihad ekstrem.

Berdasarkan kedua hal utama yang telah disebutkan di atas, dapat dikatakan bahwa faktor yang membuat Nigeria pada masa Pemerintahan Muhammadu Buhari periode pertama gagal dalam perang melawan Boko Haram adalah perlakuan Nigeria terhadap fenomena Boko Haram sebagai *existential threat* dan adanya

kerapuhan negara (*state fragility*) Nigeria. Dengan Nigeria memperlakukan Boko Haram sebagai *existential threat*, Nigeria lebih memprioritaskan keamanan negara dibandingkan keamanan individu. Hal ini membuat Nigeria lebih mengedepankan pendekatan militer daripada pendekatan pembangunan atau *soft approaches* lainnya. Sehingga, strategi kontra terorisme yang dilakukan oleh Nigeria cenderung bersifat reaksioner, *ad-hoc*, dan hanya menyelesaikan masalah dalam jangka pendek.

Padahal, sifat-sifat tersebut menjadi penghambat bagi Nigeria dalam melakukan strategi yang dapat menanggulangi akar masalah timbulnya fenomena terorisme dan mencegah aksi terorisme. Hal ini semakin diperparah dengan fakta bahwa Nigeria termasuk dalam golongan negara yang rapuh. Kerapuhan negara Nigeria membuat Nigeria kesulitan dalam melaksanakan strategi yang proaktif dan berkelanjutan yang dapat menyelesaikan akar permasalahan terorisme. Kerapuhan tersebut justru menghambat Nigeria dalam merekonstruksi sistem yang kondusif terhadap terorisme. Hal tersebut mengakibatkan pelestarian terhadap sifat *cyclical* kelompok teroris di Nigeria. Maka dari itu, Nigeria tidak dapat menanggulangi akar permasalahan yang menyebabkan terorisme dan gagal dalam melaksanakan strategi kontra terorisme terhadap Boko Haram.

Berdasarkan faktor-faktor kegagalan strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria dan bukti bahwa Boko Haram masih menjadi ancaman bagi Nigeria serta wilayah sekitar Nigeria, saran yang dapat disampaikan penulis pada penelitian ini adalah Nigeria tidak dapat hanya berfokus pada pendekatan militer dan menyatakan kemenangan berdasarkan perspektif militer. Untuk mencapai solusi jangka panjang

dan berkelanjutan, Nigeria perlu melaksanakan strategi yang proaktif dengan memfokuskan pelaksanaan pendekatan pembangunan yang memprioritaskan keamanan dan pengembangan individu. Pendekatan tersebut difokuskan untuk menanggulangi akar masalah terorisme Boko Haram dan menciptakan kondisi yang kondusif terhadap keamanan individu agar penyelesaian masalah melalui aksi terorisme dapat dicegah. Selain itu, rekonseptualisasi sistem pemerintahan yang tidak lagi mendukung praktik korupsi dan dekadensi perlu dilaksanakan secara lebih komprehensif dan intensional. Studi empiris juga perlu dilakukan untuk memonitor dan mengevaluasi strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria secara berkala.

Terdapat keterbatasan dalam penelitian yang dilakukan oleh penulis kali ini. Oleh karena cakupan strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria yang luas, banyak aspek lain yang tidak ikut dibahas dalam penelitian ini. Selain itu, penulis juga tidak hanya fokus kepada satu pendekatan atau satu aspek dalam strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria. NACTEST memiliki lima agenda yaitu *forestall*, *secure*, *identify*, *prepare*, dan *implement*. Belum terdapat banyak penelitian yang membahas secara tajam dan rinci tiap-tiap agenda dalam NACTEST. Menurut penulis, hal ini dapat dikembangkan lagi dalam membahas strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria masa Pemerintahan Muhammadu Buhari periode pertama. Selain itu, penelitian ini juga dapat dikembangkan melalui perbandingan strategi kontra terorisme Nigeria pada masa periode pertama dan periode kedua Muhammadu Buhari.

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