BAB IV

Kesimpulan

Penelitian ini menyimpulkan bahwa identitas nasional adalah faktor signifikan sebagai pemicu konflik yang terjadi di Ukraina. Pengaruh tersebut bisa dilihat dalam dimensi politik, psikologi, budaya, dan historis yang berpengaruh pada pembentukan identitas masyarakat Ukraina. Ada berbagai faktor yang berkontribusi pada terpicunya konflik seperti, ekspansi keanggotaan NATO, kepentingan nasional Rusia dan teritori strategis di Laut Hitam. Namun analisis dalam penelitian ini dikerucutkan kearah peran yang dimiliki oleh identitas nasional.

Dari segi politik homogenisasi budaya menjadi sangat penting sejak zaman Kekaisaran Rusia dan Uni Soviet. Homogenisasi budaya menjadi pertarungan antara identitas Ukraina dan Rusia untuk menambahkan pengaruh mereka ke masyarakat. Proses homogenisasi ini dilakukan dengan cara *Russifying* dan *Ukrainizying* masyarakat. Masyarakat akan dipaksakan menggunakan bahasa resmi negara. Dalam kasus *Russification* Tsar Rusia memaksakan masyarakat Ukraina untuk menggunakan bahasa Rusia, sedangkan Soviet membebaskan penggunaan bahasa Ukraina agar meningkatkan loyalitas untuk Soviet.

Kebebasan menggunakan bahasa Ukraina diterapkan oleh Soviet untuk meningkatkan loyalitas, namun penerapannya setelah kemerdekaan masih berlanjut. Masyarakat Ukraina Timur dan mereka yang secara etnis Rusia untuk menjadikan

bahasa Rusia menjadi bahasa resmi kedua. Perjuangan tersebut masih belum berhasil karena bahasa Rusia belum menjadi bahasa resmi, hal tersebut meningkatkan tensi antara etnis Ukraina dengan Rusia. Identitas juga diangkat menjadi isu politik setelah Euromaidan pertama. Revolusi maidan pertama menekankan perpisahan garis identitas. Politik identitas mengisi ruang publik yang manifestasi nya sangat beragam, dari penyuaraan pendapat di media, *think tank*, pendirian monumen sampai perayaan nasional dan simbolisme lainnya.

Viktor Yanukovych turun dari jabatannya pada tahun 2014, setelah Euromaidan kedua. Kelompok insurgensi pro-Rusia merespon dengan berunjuk rasa anti-maidan. Orientasi pro-Rusia disatukan oleh etnis, loyalitas terhadap Rusia dan juga semangat untuk melawan nasionalis Ukraina. Mayoritas dari masyarakat yang pro-Rusia berasal dari Ukraina Timur, dimana pengalaman sejarahnya berbeda dengan Ukraina Barat. Ukraina Barat memiliki budaya dan sejarah yang berbeda dengan Rusia/Soviet. Bagi mereka yang pro-Ukraina, mereka memaksakan naratif nasionalisme yang bersifat etnis. Mereka juga disatukan oleh sikap anti-Rusia yang didasari oleh masa lalu yang sangat traumatis pada zaman Soviet. Yang mempererat solidaritas pro-Ukraina perlawanan terhadap rezim yang pro-Rusia, manifestasi sikap tersebut adalah Euromaidan.

Salah satu pilar yang paling penting dalam menentukan identitas adalah bahasa. Ukraina adalah negara yang bilingual, 50% dari populasi bisa berbicara bahasa Rusia dan Ukraina, 50% sisanya hanya bisa salah satu. Bahasa menjadi salah

satu faktor pemisah karena di Ukraina Timur 90% berbicara bahasa Rusia. Isu bahasa telah dipolitisasi dan menimbulkan perpecahan di Ukraina. Isu tersebut dibawa di level pendidikan sampai kongres. Permasalahan yang terus menerus diungkit adalah pengakuan bahasa Rusia baik penggunaannya dalam sekolah maupun diresmikan nya sebagai salah satu bahasa di Ukraina.

Masyarakat Ukraina memiliki orientasi dan kepercayaan berbeda-beda. Ada yang memiliki pandangan bahwa Ukraina diisi oleh dua kelompok etnis yang berbeda tapi setara. Pandangan bahwa Ukraina adalah negara yang homogen beretnis Ukraina juga populer di antara yang berorientasi nasionalis. Mereka yang pro-Rusia berjuang untuk bahasa Rusia dan pencapaian-pencapaian Uni Soviet. Yang memiliki perspektif yang tidak konservatif juga bisa ditemukan, dimana pandangan mereka mendeskripsikan Ukraina sebagai negara yang multikultural. Selain memiliki pandangan yang variatif, Gereja Ortodoks Ukraina dan Gereja Ortodoks Rusia pun memiliki pandangan yang bertentangan.

Batas-batas teritorial bangsa menandakan batas-batas tanah air mereka dan rekan-rekan senegara biasanya digambarkan seolah-olah mereka lebih 'manusia' daripada orang luar, layak mendapat dukungan, perhatian dan pemeliharaan. *Ethnic others* dalam Ukraina sudah sangat jelas yaitu orang-orang Rusia. *Ethnic others* seringkali digambarkan secara negatif karena trauma yang telah dialami pada zaman Uni Soviet, terutama Holodomor. Oleh karena itu *Ethnic others* memiliki citra yang buruk diantara masyarakat Ukraina terutama di bagian barat.

Karena setiap bagian Ukraina mengalami sejarah yang berbeda, otomatis interpretasi sejarah tersebut akan berbeda. Bagi masyarakat Ukraina, pemerintah Soviet dilihat jahat dan haus darah karena Holodomor. Pihak pro-Ukraina merayakan perjuangan nasionalis Ukraina pada saat Perang Dunia II, tapi bagi pro-Rusia mereka adalah pengkhianat karena bekerjasama dengan fasis. Masyarakat yang orientasi nya pro-Rusia ingin keberhasilan Uni Soviet untuk dipuji dan diselebrasi. Sudah jelas dari kedua orientasi interpretasi sejarah mereka akan berbeda.

Ukraina tidak akan bersatu jika masyarakatnya tidak bisa mencapai konsensus mengenai identitas mereka. Kesatuan telah dikorup oleh subjektifitas dan kepentingan masing-masing kubu. Selama Ukraina keras kepala mempertahankan identitas etnis masing-masing, dan tidak membentuk identitas yang kolektif, konflik akan sulit dihindari.

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