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**SEKURITISASI PENDATANG TANPA IZIN (PTI) DI SABAH**



**RAMLI BIN DOLLAH**

**UUM**

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Universiti Utara Malaysia

**DOKTOR FALSAFAH**  
**UNIVERSITI UTARA MALAYSIA**  
**2018**

# **SEKURITISASI PENDATANG TANPA IZIN (PTI) DI SABAH**



**Tesis ini dikemukakan ke Ghazali Shafie Graduate School of Government,  
bagi memenuhi syarat untuk Penganugerahan Ijazah Doktor Falsafah  
Universiti Utara Malaysia**



Kolej Undang-Undang, Kerajaan dan Pengajian Antarabangsa  
(College of Law, Government and International Studies)  
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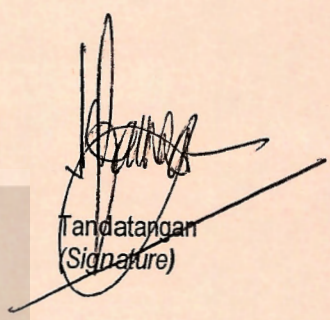
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## ABSTRAK

Kajian ini mengaplikasikan kerangka sekuritisasi dalam memahami pendatang sebagai isu keselamatan di Sabah. Walaupun pendatang sebagai ancaman keselamatan telah banyak dikaji oleh para sarjana tempatan dan antarabangsa, namun, kajian tersebut di dominasi oleh aliran perdana terutamanya Realisme. Untuk tujuan tersebut, kajian ini menyediakan alternatif dalam memahami hubungan di antara pendatang dan isu keselamatan dengan menggunakan *speech act* yang dikembangkan melalui teori sekuritisasi. Dalam hal ini, dua kajian kes telah digunakan. Pertama, 'Perang Habis-habisan menentang pendatang haram' dan Ops Nyah, (2002-03) dan kedua, Ops Nasihat, (2004-05). Kajian ini dijalankan untuk mencapai beberapa objektif antaranya adalah untuk menilai pendatang sebagai isu keselamatan di Sabah menggunakan teori sekuritisasi; untuk menganalisis pendekatan konstruktivisme sosial sebagai alternatif dalam menjelaskan fenomena pendatang sebagai isu keselamatan; untuk membincangkan interaksi yang berlaku antara aktor-pendengar dalam sekuritisasi pendatang di Sabah, dan untuk meneliti faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi darjah kekerasan dan dasar kerajaan dalam menangani isu pendatang di Sabah. Kajian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan menggabungkan beberapa metode penyelidikan antaranya analisis teks/wacana, analisis dokumen (seperti laporan kerajaan, arkib dan akhbar-akhbar utama), temu bual, dan pemerhatian di lapangan. Dapatan utama kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa isu pendatang sebagai ancaman keselamatan tidak berlaku secara semula jadi tetapi ia merupakan realiti yang dibentuk melalui bahasa ataupun dikenali sebagai *speech act*. Namun, walaupun pendengar telah meyakini bahawa pendatang adalah isu keselamatan, kerajaan melaksanakan dasar dan tindakan yang berbeza dalam menangani masalah pendatang. Oleh itu, kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa sekuritisasi pendatang di Sabah memerlukan perubahan daripada terlalu memfokuskan kepada *discursive practice* kepada memahami bagaimana faktor domestik dan antarabangsa mempengaruhi dasar kerajaan ini. Oleh itu, bahasa di dalam teori sekuritisasi belum mencukupi dalam memahami dan menerangkan realiti sebenar isu pendatang dan dasar-dasar kerajaan yang di negeri Sabah.

Kata Kunci: Teori Sekuritisasi, Pendatang, Keselamatan, Sabah, Negara

## ABSTRACT

This study utilizes the applicability of the securitization framework in understanding migrants as a security issue in Sabah. Although migrants as a security threat has been discussed extensively by local and international scholars, most of the studies are dominated by the mainstream approach primarily, Realism. Therefore, this study provides an alternative in understanding the relationship between migrant issues and security threat in Sabah using the securitization theory. Two cases are presented to examine the securitization of immigrants in Sabah. First, ‘all out war against illegal’ and Ops Nyah II, (2002-03) and second, Ops Nasihat, 2004-05. This study is conducted to achieve four objectives including to examine migrants as security issues in Sabah using securitization theory; to analyze social constructivism approach as an alternative in explaining migrants as a security issue; to understand the interactions between actors-audience in securitization of immigrants issues in Sabah, and to examine factors affecting the degree of violence and government policies in addressing the issue of immigrants in Sabah. This study employs qualitative approach by combining several research methods including text/discourse analysis, documents analysis (such as government reports, archives, major newspapers) interviews with key respondents, and fieldwork observations. The main findings of this study suggests that, immigrant as a threat to security is not a pre-given but a product of social process that is developed through language or known as “speech act”. Apparently, even though securitization actors successfully convinced the audience and subsequently made immigrants a security issue, the state implements different policies in addressing the same issue, namely immigrants. Therefore, this study reveals that the securitization of immigrants in Sabah requires the shift from an exclusive focus of discursive practice, to a more realistic understanding of the domestic and international factors affecting the state’s policies. As such, language per se is inadequate in understanding and explaining the reality of the immigrants and relevant governmental policies in Sabah.

Keywords: Securitization Theory, Immigrants, Security, Sabah, State



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## SENARAI KEPENDEKAN

<b>ABIM</b>	Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia
<b>APMM</b>	Agensi Penguasa Maritim Malaysia
<b>AS</b>	Amerika Syarikat
<b>ATM</b>	Angkatan Tentera Malaysia
<b>BERJAYA</b>	Parti Bersatu Rakyat Jelata
<b>BH</b>	Berita Harian
<b>BM</b>	Borneo Mail
<b>BMB</b>	Bukan-Melayu Bumiputera
<b>BMI</b>	Bumiputera Melayu-Islam
<b>BN</b>	Barisan Nasional
<b>BP</b>	<i>Borneo Post</i>
<b>BT</b>	<i>Business Times</i>
<b>BU</b>	Borneo Utara
<b>CASH</b>	Persatuan Pengguna Sabah dan Labuan
<b>CS</b>	<i>Copenhagen School</i>
<b>CSS</b>	<i>Critical Security Studies</i>
<b>DAP</b>	<i>Democratic Action Party</i>
<b>DBKK</b>	Dewan Bandar Raya Kota Kinabalu
<b>DE</b>	<i>Daily Express</i>
<b>DI</b>	Darul Islam
<b>DN</b>	Dewan Negara
<b>DR</b>	Dewan Rakyat
<b>DUN</b>	Undangan Negeri Sabah
<b>EMPA</b>	<i>East Malaysian Planters' Association</i>
<b>ESSCOM</b>	Eastern Sabah Security Command
<b>ESSZONE</b>	Eastern Sabah Security Zone
<b>FCAS</b>	<i>Federation of Chinese Associations Sabah</i>
<b>FDI</b>	Pelaburan Langsung Asing
<b>FELDA</b>	Lembaga pembangunan Tanah Persekutuan
<b>FOMEMA</b>	Agensi Pemantau Kesihatan Pekerja Asing
<b>GR</b>	Gagasan Rakyat
<b>IDS</b>	<i>Institute for Development Studies</i>

<b>IMO</b>	<i>International Migration Outlook</i>
<b>IOM</b>	<i>International Organization for Migration</i>
<b>ISA</b>	<i>Internal Security Act</i>
<b>ISP</b>	<i>Incorporated Society of Planters</i>
<b>JI</b>	Jemaah Islamiah
<b>JIM</b>	Jabatan Imigresen Malaysia
<b>JKM</b>	Jabatan Ketua Menteri
<b>JKNS</b>	Jawatankuasa Keselamatan Negeri Sabah
<b>JPM</b>	Jabatan Perdana Menteri
<b>JPN</b>	Jabatan Pendaftaran Negara
<b>JTK</b>	<i>Jabatan Tenaga Kerja</i>
<b>KAS</b>	Kumpulan Abu Sayaff
<b>KDCA</b>	<i>Kadazan Dusun Cultural Organisation</i>
<b>KDM</b>	Kadazan, Dusun dan Murut
<b>KDRM</b>	Kastam Diraja Malaysia
<b>KK</b>	Kota Kinabalu
<b>KL</b>	Kuala Lumpur
<b>KM</b>	Ketua Menteri
<b>LDP</b>	Liberal Democratic Party
<b>MFB</b>	<i>Migration Fund Board</i> (Kumpulan Wang Perpindahan Malaysia)
<b>MILF</b>	<i>Moro Islamic Liberation Front</i>
<b>MKN</b>	Majlis Keselamatan Negara
<b>MNLF</b>	<i>Moro National Liberation Front</i>
<b>MPS</b>	Majlis Perbandaran Sandakan
<b>MPT</b>	Majlis Perbandaran Tawau
<b>MPU</b>	<i>Manpower Planning Unit</i>
<b>MTES</b>	Majlis Tindakan Ekonomi Sabah
<b>MTUC</b>	<i>Malaysian Trade Union Congress</i>
<b>NGO</b>	Organisasi Bukan Kerajaan
<b>NSabT</b>	<i>New Sabah Times</i>
<b>NST</b>	<i>New Strait Times</i>
<b>NSunT</b>	<i>New Sunday Times</i>
<b>PAS</b>	Parti Islam se-Malaysia

<b>PBRS</b>	Parti Bersatu Rakyat Sabah
<b>PBS</b>	Parti Bersatu Sabah
<b>PDRM</b>	Polis Diraja Malaysia
<b>PGA</b>	<i>Pasukan Gerakan Am</i>
<b>PKR</b>	Parti Keadilan Rakyat
<b>PLB</b>	Pas Lintas Batas
<b>PLKS</b>	Pas Lawatan Kerja Sementara
<b>PM</b>	Perdana Menteri
<b>PPKP S/L</b>	Pasukan Petugas Khas Persekutuan Sabah/Labuan
<b>PTI</b>	Pendatang Tanpa Izin
<b>PTS</b>	Pusat Tahanan Sementara
<b>RCI</b>	Suruhanjaya Siasatan Diraja
<b>RELA</b>	Ikatan Relawan Rakyat Malaysia
<b>RM</b>	Ringgit Malaysia
<b>SAPP</b>	<i>Sabah Progressive Party</i>
<b>SBBBU</b>	Syarikat Berpiagam British Borneo Utara
<b>SCA</b>	<i>Sabah Chinese Association</i>
<b>SHAREDA</b>	Persatuan Pemaju Perumahan Dan Hartanah
<b>SIMC</b>	<i>Sabah Immigrant Manpower Centre</i>
<b>SLDB</b>	Lembaga Kemajuan Tanah Negeri Sabah
<b>SMC</b>	<i>Sabah Manpower Center</i>
<b>SPLP</b>	Surat Perjalanan Laksana Paspor
<b>STA</b>	<i>Sabah Timber Association</i>
<b>SUARAM</b>	Suara Rakyat Malaysia
<b>SUCCC</b>	<i>Sabah United Chinese Chambers of Commerce</i>
<b>SUHAKAM</b>	Suruhanjaya Hak Asasi Manusia Malaysia
<b>TKI</b>	Tenaga Kerja Indonesia
<b>TNC</b>	<i>Trans-national Crime</i>
<b>TPM</b>	Timbalan Perdana Menteri
<b>TS</b>	Teori Sekuritisasi
<b>TYT</b>	Tuan Yang Terutama
<b>UMNO</b>	<i>United Malay National Organization</i>
<b>UMS</b>	Universiti Malaysia Sabah

<b>UNHCR</b>	<i>United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees</i>
<b>UNKO</b>	<i>United National Kadazan Organization</i>
<b>UPKO</b>	<i>United Pasokmomogun Kadazandusun Murut Organization</i>
<b>USDA</b>	<i>United Sabah Dusun Association</i>
<b>USNO</b>	<i>United Sabah National Organization</i>
<b>WoT</b>	<i>War on Terror</i>
<b>YIS</b>	Yayasan Islam Sabah



## BAB SATU

### PENGENALAN DAN LATAR BELAKANG KAJIAN

#### 1.1 Latar Belakang Kajian

Migrasi antarabangsa bukanlah satu fenomena baru dalam politik dunia kerana ia merupakan satu proses yang telah berlaku sebelum pembentukan negara bangsa. Namun, bentuk dan tahap proses ini berbeza dari semasa ke semasa dan banyak ditentukan oleh beberapa faktor seperti dasar yang dilaksanakan oleh negara penerima (hos), tahap konflik di negara penghantar, tekanan ekonomi dan beberapa faktor lain (Castles & Miller, 1998; Solimano, 2010; Castles *et. al.* 2014 dan IMO, 2017). Namun, sejak tamatnya Perang Dunia II, pergerakan manusia melintasi sempadan antarabangsa telah menjadi satu fenomena yang berterusan dan berlaku pada skala yang lebih besar. Kecenderungan ini banyak didorong sama ada oleh konflik di dalam negara atau konflik yang melibatkan satu negara dengan negara lain. Oleh itu, tidak menghairankan apabila pendatang menjadi salah satu ciri penting dalam politik antarabangsa pada hari ini, tidak terkecuali bidang kajian keselamatan.

Pada tahun 1997, *International Organization for Migration* (IOM) menganggarkan terdapat lebih 140 juta orang pendatang yang tinggal lebih daripada 12 bulan di luar dari negara asal mereka. Dalam tempoh yang sama, dianggarkan lebih 30 juta orang penduduk bermigrasi secara haram atau tanpa dokumen. Manakala jumlah pelarian, pencari suaka dan penduduk yang berpindah akibat daripada konflik dan peperangan mencapai angka lebih kurang 31 juta orang. Angka ini tidak termasuk kategori pegawai dagang (*experts*) dan peniaga, pelancong dan migrasi dalaman (lihat juga Castles & Miller, 1998; Soguk, 2000; Castles *et. al.* 2014; Lazaridis & Wadia, 2015 dan Besharov & Lopez, 2016). Pada 2009 misalnya, populasi pendatang mewakili lebih kurang 60 peratus pertumbuhan penduduk di negara-negara OECD, dan lebih 85 peratus di negara-negara selatan Eropah, Austria, dan Republik Czech (IMO, 2010: 3).

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(Sabah)



## LAMPIRAN

### Lampiran 1: Contoh Soalan Temu Bual

Pada pandangan anda, apakah isu utama yang berlaku di negeri Sabah?

Bagaimana anda melihat pendatang di Sabah?

Secara amnya, adakah anda merasakan isu pendatang di Sabah sebagai isu yang besar?

Kenapa?

Apa dan Siapa yang mempengaruhi persepsi anda mengenai isu ini?

Pada pandangan anda, adakah persepsi ini berbeza di antara masyarakat, agensi kerajaan dan ahli politik?. Kenapa?

Bila dan kenapa anda melihat isu ini sebagai satu isu yang serius dan dianggap sebagai isu keselamatan?

Pada pandangan anda, apakah dasar yang sesuai dalam menangani masalah ini?

Bila pada pandangan anda tempoh yang paling berjaya dalam menguruskan isu ini?

Kenapa isu ini sukar untuk diselesaikan

Adakah pendatang turut memberikan sumbangan kepada negeri Sabah

Pada pandangan anda agensi manakah yang memainkan peranan penting dalam menangani masalah ini?

Adakah surat khabar juga penting dalam memahami isu ini?

Adakah anda menyokong dasar yang dijalankan oleh kerajaan untuk menangani masalah ini.



## Lampiran 2: Senarai Temu Bual Responden

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### Lampiran 3:Foto Ops Nyah Ii, 2002-2003

Foto L1: Kg. Lok Urai, Pulau Gaya Selepas Ops Nyah II



Sumber: Koleksi penyelidik



Foto L2: Kg. Pondo, Pulau Gaya Selepas Ops Nyah II



Foto L3: Kg. Lok Urai, Pulau Gaya Selepas Ops Nyah II



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik

Foto L4: Setinggalan dirobohkan di Tawau



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik

Foto L5: Kg. BDC Sandakan Selepas Ops Nyah II



Sumber: Kerja lapangan, 2003

Foto L6: Setinggalan dirobuhkan di Kg. BDC, Sandakan



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik

Foto L7: Setinggalan dirobuhkan di Kg. BDC, Sandakan



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik

Foto L8: Setinggalan dirobuhkan di Tawau



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik



Foto L9: Pos Kawalan Pusat Transit TKI di Nunukan semasa Ops Nyah II



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik



Foto L10: Pusat Transit TKI Nunukan semasa Ops Nyah II



Sumber: Koleksi Penyelidik