

# Semen yang membelah media: kontestasi wacana pro-kontra pembangunan pabrik semen Kendeng Utara di harian Kompas = Cement that divide media: power relation behind discourse contestation of pro contra towards cement plant in North Kendeng in Kompas daily

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## Abstrak

Tesis ini bertujuan memahami relasi kuasa di balik kontestasi wacana di harian Kompas dalam memberitakan sengketa pembangunan pabrik semen di Kendeng Utara, Jawa Tengah. Untuk menggali permasalahan tersebut, penulis menggunakan metode penelitian kualitatif. Pertama-tama dilakukan analisis pembedaan terhadap berita yang pro dan kontra pembangunan pabrik semen untuk mengetahui pola kontestasi wacana dan aktor-aktornya. Berikutnya, dilakukan kajian etnografi ruang redaksi guna mengetahui relasi kuasanya.

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan Kompas menjadikan kontestasi wacana sebagai mekanisme kontrol atau swasensor atas pemberitaan mereka. Temuan ini melengkapi penelitian-penelitian sebelumnya, bahwa kepemilikan modal di tangan segelintir orang telah berdampak buruk bagi independensi media terkait perannya dalam proses demokratisasi (Nugroho, 2012; Lim, 2011; Tapsell, 2012; dan Haryanto, 2011; Steele, 2011).

Dalam penelitian ini, kuasa ekonomi politik di balik praktik swasensor ini diperkaya dengan dimensi permainan kuasa di antara individu wartawan dan praktik swasensor yang telah menjadi habitus Kompas sejak Orde Baru. Jika dulu swasensor dilakukan dalam rangka menyiasati represi politik penguasa, saat ini hal itu dilakukan demi melayani kepentingan kapital dan kepentingan "raja-raja kecil" yang berkuasa di jajaran redaksi. Tesis ini juga menyertakan diskusi teoritik tentang integrasi pendekatan ekonomi politik kritis dengan kajian budaya media.

.....This thesis aims to investigate power relations behind the discourse contestation of pro-contra towards cement plant in North Kendeng, Central Java, in Kompas daily. To explore these issues, authors used qualitative research methods. First performed analysis of the framing of the news pros and cons of the cement plant to determine the pattern of contestation discourse and the actors. Next, conducted ethnographic studies to determine power relation in the newsroom.

The results showed Kompas makes contestation discourse as a control mechanism or self-censorship on their journalistic practice. These findings complements previous studies, that the ownership of capital in a few hands have negative impact for the independence of the media related to its role in the democratization process (Nugroho, 2012; Lim, 2011; Tapsell, 2012; and Haryanto, 2011; Steele, 2011).

In this study, the power of political economy behind the practice of self-censorship is enriched with the dimension of the game of power between the journalists as individual and practice of self-censorship that has become habitus Kompas since the New Order. Previously, self-censorship is done in order to survive againsts the ruling political repression, now it is done for the sake of serving the interests of capital and interest ?little kings? who ruling the newsroom. This thesis also includes a theoretical discussion about the integration of a political economy approach with the media culture studies.