

# Konstruksi realitas otonomi daerah dalam media massa analisis frame isu otonomi daerah di harian Kompas, harian Jurnal Nasional, dan harian Kedaulatan Rakyat tahun 2012-2013 = The construction of the reality of regional autonomy in mass media frame analysis of regional autonomy issues in Kompas newspaper, Jurnal Nasional newspaper and Kedaulatan Rakyat newspaper in 2012-2013

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## Abstrak

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Setelah pemerintahan Orde Baru tumbang pemberitaan mengenai otonomi daerah mekar bermunculan, media massa yang pada zaman Orde Baru jarang memberitakan mengenai isu otonomi daerah berubah haluan menjadi gandrung memberitakan isu otonomi daerah, berbagai berita bermunculan ada yang positif dan ada yang negatif, bermacam pertarungan wacana mewarnai isu otonomi daerah di media massa.

Penelitian ini bermula dari rasa ingin tahu yang mendalam mengenai berbagai berita tentang isu otonomi daerah yang muncul di media massa dan bagaimana media massa melakukan konstruksi realitas terhadap isu otonomi daerah, selama ini penelitian mengenai isu otonomi daerah banyak dilakukan oleh para ilmuwan yang berlatar belakang ilmu politik, ilmu pemerintahan, ilmu administrasi negara, dan ilmu hukum, penelitian yang dilakukan oleh para ilmuwan di atas lebih banyak bicara mengenai penerapan kebijakan otonomi daerah. Penelitian mengenai isu otonomi daerah menggunakan perspektif ilmu komunikasi masih jarang bahkan bisa dibilang langka, padahal peran media massa menurut Severin-Tankard (2007:15), adalah membentuk opini publik. Para penganut mazhab konstruksionisme seperti Tuchman (1978), Fisman (1980), dan Shoemaker (1996), melihat bahwa berita yang disiarkan oleh media massa dapat membuat masyarakat mempunyai suatu sudut pandang dan mengkonstruksikan suatu realitas suatu isu dalam masyarakat tak terkecuali isu otonomi daerah.

Penelitian dalam disertasi ini menggunakan perspektif interpretif. Perspektif ini dipilih karena menurut Neuman (2006) teori konstruksi sosial merupakan ranah dalam perspektif interpretif, untuk membedah teks dalam penelitian ini menggunakan analisa teks framing, model yang digunakan adalah framing Robert N Entman. Framing model Entman dipilih karena dalam konsep Entman framing dapat dipakai untuk menggambarkan proses seleksi suatu isu, serta menonjolkan beberapa aspek tertentu dari suatu realitas oleh media. Empat elemen framing model Entman adalah pertama Define Problem merupakan bingkai utama atau master frame, kedua Diagnose Causes dalam elemen kedua ini yang menjadi titik berat adalah siapa aktor utama dalam suatu kejadian atau peristiwa, ketiga Make Moral Judgement adalah elemen yang digunakan untuk melakukan pembenaran dengan memberikan berbagai argumentasi pada pedefinisian masalah yang sudah dibuat, empat Treatment Recommendation adalah elemen yang digunakan untuk melihat apa yang sebenarnya dikehendaki oleh wartawan, bagaimana cara yang akan dipilih untuk menyelesaikan suatu masalah.

Dalam disertasi ini ada 3 media yang diteliti yaitu harian Kompas, harian Jurnal Nasional, harian Kedaulatan Rakyat. Dipilihlah tiga surat kabar dengan orientasi yang berbeda, yaitu pertama surat kabar Kompas sebagai surat kabar harian terkemuka nasional dengan tiras yang besar, kedua surat kabar Jurnal Nasional sebagai surat kabar yang mempunyai kedekatan sejarah dengan Partai Demokrat, ketiga surat kabar Kedaulatan Rakyat sebagai surat kabar daerah yang masih survive dan masih leading sampai saat ini.

Hasil dari penelitian ini menunjukkan dalam level mikro yaitu ada perbedaan frame pemberitaan harian Kompas, harian Jurnal Nasional dan harian Kedaulatan Rakyat mengenai Isu Otonomi Daerah. Pada analisis pada level meso media terlihat faktor kepemilikan dan modal masih cukup kuat dalam mempengaruhi frame media yang diteliti.

Analisis level makro dapat dibagi menjadi dua. Pada harian Jurnal Nasional analisa yang lebih tepat adalah menggunakan pendekatan analisis instrumental atau strukturalis daripada strukturasi karena pada harian Jurnal Nasional struktur organisasi media terlihat mengikat erat human agent. Tidak terlalu cukup ruang bagi agen melakukan interplay terhadap struktur. Lain halnya dengan harian Kompas dan harian Kedaulatan Rakyat, yang dapat dibedah dengan analisis strukturasi.

Dalam proses strukturasi dari tiga media yang diteliti, terlihat dua media yaitu harian Kompas dan harian Kedaulatan Rakyat mampu merubah struktur dari sentralistik ke desentralistik untuk isu Pemilihan Kepala Daerah Langsung dan Keistimewaan Yogyakarta, meskipun harus diakui bahwa media bukan satu-satunya faktor yang diterminan dalam perubahan struktur tersebut. Namun tidak dapat dipungkiri bahwa isi dari teks media dalam dua isu tersebut memberikan kontribusi kepada eskalasi tekanan atau adanya akumulasi-akumulasi tekanan terhadap penguasa;

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<b>ABSTRACT</b><br>

After the New Order government fell, news on regional autonomy appeared everywhere. Mass media which rarely reported regional autonomy issues during the New Order now reported the issues all the time. Various news emerged, some positive and others negative. A battle of discourse of regional autonomy issues appeared in the mass media .

This research was started by curiosity on various news on regional autonomy in mass media and how mass media constructs the reality of regional autonomy issues. Until now, researches on regional autonomy issues are mostly performed by researchers from political science, government science, public administration, and legal science. Studies by researchers from the fields above mostly discuss the implementation of regional autonomy policy. Studies on regional autonomy issue using communication science perspective are still rare, while the role of mass media according to Severin-Tankard (2007:15) is actually to form public opinions.

Observers of constructionism such as Tuchman (1978), Fisman (1980), and Shoemaker (1996) think that news broadcasted by mass media can make people have a certain point of view and construct a reality of an issue in the society, including regional autonomy issues.

The research in this dissertation used interpretive perspective. This perspective was selected because according to Neuman (2006) social construction theory is a field in interpretive perspective. To dissect texts, this study used framing text analysis. The model used was Robert N

Entman's framing. Entman's model of framing was selected because in Entman's concept framing can be used to describe the selection process of an issue and emphasize certain aspects of a reality by the media. Four elements of Entman's model of framing are first, Define Problem which is the master frame, second, Diagnose Causes in the second element the emphasis is who is the main actors in an event, third, Make Moral Judgment is an element used to make justification by giving various argumentation in the definitions of the problems which have been made, fourth, Treatment Recommendation is an element used to see what reporters want, what method will be chosen to solve a problem.

In this dissertation, there are 3 media which were studied, i.e. Kompas newspaper, Jurnal Nasional newspaper, Kedaulatan Rakyat newspaper. The three newspapers selected have different orientations, i.e. first, Kompas as a famous national newspaper with huge readership second Jurnal Nasional as a newspaper with a history with the Democratic Party, third Kedaulatan Rakyat as a local news paper which still survive and leads to this day.

The result of this study showed that at micro level there was frame difference in the reporting of Kompas, Jurnal Nasional and Kedaulatan Rakyat on Regional Autonomy Issues. Analysis at meso level showed that ownership and capital factors were still rather strong in influencing the frames of the studied media.

Analysis at macro level could be divided into two. In Jurnal Nasional, more accurate analysis used instrumentalist or structuralist analysis approach rather than structuration because in Jurnal Nasional the structure of media organization seemed to tightly bind human agents. There wasn't enough space for agents to perform interplay on the structure. Meanwhile, Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat could be dissected by structuration analysis.

In the structuration process of the three media, two media, Kompas and Kedaulatan Rakyat, were able to change the structure from centralistic to decentralistic for Direct Regional Head Election and the Special Region Status of Yogyakarta, although the author admits that the media isn't the only determinant factor in changing the structure. However, it's undeniable that the content of media texts in those two issues contributed to the escalation of pressure or accumulation of pressure on the authority; After the New Order government fell, news on regional autonomy appeared everywhere.

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