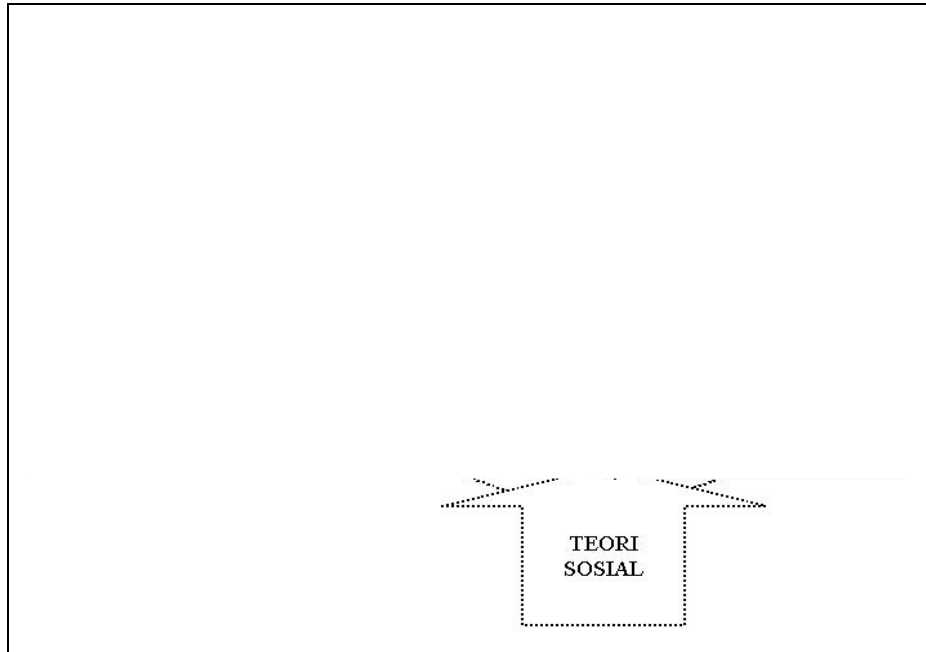


IV. KEDUDUKAN TEORI MEDIA DALAM KAJIAN BUDAYA (3)

Bagian ini sebagai bahan pembahasan tentang pendekatan lintas disiplin (*cross-disciplinary*) atas fenomena komunikasi/media

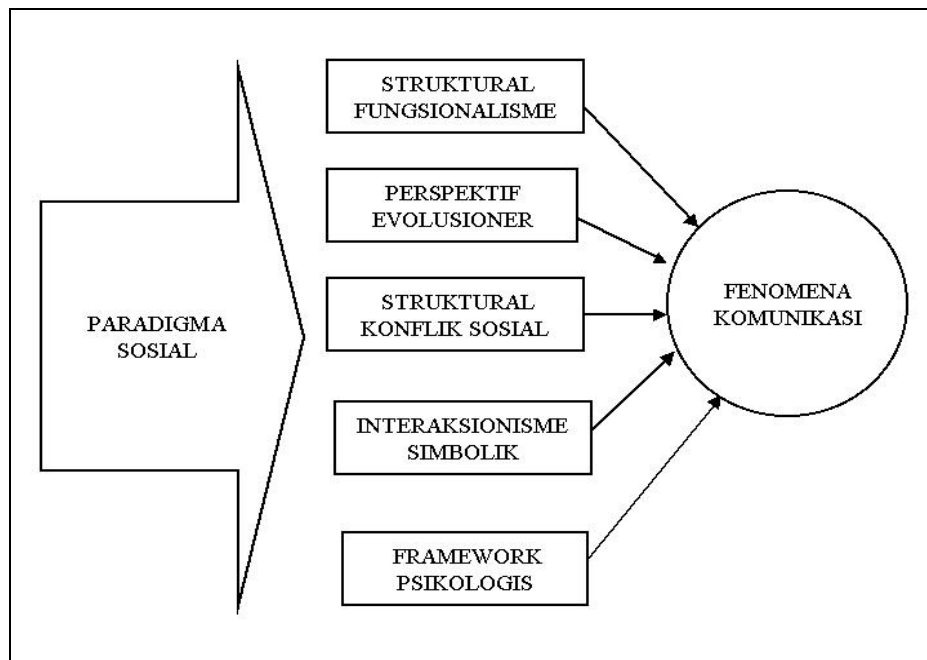
Menilik pertalian media dengan dinamika masyarakat, menjadikan keberadaan fenomena komunikasi/media perlu dilihat dalam perspektif sosial. Dengan kata lain, pada dasarnya media berada dalam suatu lingkungan sistem sosial, karenanya karakteristiknya dapat dikenali dari asumsi-asumsi sosial yang mendasari keberadaannya. Secara umum kerangka pemikiran dalam kajian komunikasi/media dapat digambarkan dengan skema sebagai berikut:

GAMBAR IV.1



Dalam melihat fenomena komunikasi berkonteks kepada fenomena sosial, membawa implikasi dalam penggunaan paradigma teori sosial (*grand theory*) yang lazim di lingkungan kajian Sosial. Paradigma teori sosial dapat dijabarkan melalui skema berikut:

GAMBAR IV.2



Adapun paradigma yang dikenal adalah: struktural fungsionalisme (*structural functionalism*), perspektif evolusi (*evolutionary perspective*), model konflik sosial (*social conflict model*), interaksionisme simbolik (*symbolic interactionism*), dan kerangka psikologis (*psychological frameworks*). Secara selintas akan ditinjau paradigma-paradigma ini dengan meminjam rumusan DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach (1982).

Paradigma sosial yang populer di lingkungan kajian sosial sampai trahun 60-an adalah struktural fungsionalisme, landasan pemikiran yang melihat bahwa masyarakat merupakan suatu sistem yang di dalamnya terdiri dari bagian-bagian yang saling berhubungan; dan adanya dinamika yang cenderung untuk memelihara ekuilibrium/keseimbangannya. Tindakan yang berlangsung dalam masyarakat pada dasarnya merupakan bagian dari kecenderungan dari memelihara ekuilibrium tersebut.

Disebutkannya sebagai berikut:

Society can best be thought of a system of interrelated parts; it is an organization of interconnected, repetitive, and patterned activities.

Such a society naturally tends toward a state of dynamic equilibrium; if disharmony occurs, forces will arise tending to restore stability.

All of the repetitive activities in a society make some contribution toward its state equilibrium; in other words, all persisting forms of patterned action play a part in maintaining the stability of the system.

At least some of the patterned and repetitive actions in a society are indispensable to its continued existence; that is, there are functional

prerequisites that fill critical needs of the system without which it would not survive. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 16)

Secara sederhana, dapat dikatakan, masyarakat merupakan interaksi dari bagian-bagian (sub-sistem) yang satu sama lain berhubungan dengan sifat tuntutan (*expectation*) dan tindakan (*action*). Implikasinya dalam melihat fenomena media yang merupakan suatu sub-sistem dalam sistem sosial. Keberadaan media adalah untuk menjalankan fungsinya sesuai dengan harapan (*expectation*) dari institusi lainnya.

Paradigma lainnya, adalah pemikiran yang mendasari perspektif evolusi yaitu masyarakat sebagai susunan bagian-bagian yang saling berhubungan, sebagai organisasi karena adanya kegiatan berulang dan terpola; dengan kondisinya ini masyarakat secara terus-menerus mengalami perubahan, dengan bentuk-bentuk kehidupan sosial yang semakin meningkat differensiasi dan lebih terspesialisasi; berbagai bentuk sosial baru diambil atau dipinjam dari masyarakat lain melalui individu-individu yang mencari cara-cara yang lebih efektif untuk mencapai tujuan yang dianggap lebih penting; bentuk-bentuk sosial yang dalam kenyataannya membantu orang untuk mencapai tujuan yang lebih efektif, dan tidak bertentangan dengan nilai yang dianutnya, akan diambil alih, dipelihara dan menjadi bagian yang tetap dari perkembangan masyarakat, dan sebaliknya, bentuk-bentuk yang dianggap tidak efektif, akan ditolak. Dasar pemikiran ini diringkas sebagai berikut:

Society can best be thought of a set of interrelated parts; it is an organization of interconnected, repetitive, and patterned activities. Such society constantly undergoes change, with its social forms becoming increasingly differentiated and more specialized. New social forms are invented or borrowed from other societies by individuals seeking more effective ways to reach goals that they regard as important.

Those social forms that do in fact help people achieve their goals more effectively, and that do not clash with existing values, are adopted, retained and become stable parts of developing society, conversely, less effective forms are abandoned. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 18)

Proses sosial dalam paradigma ini membawa implikasi dalam mengenali keberadaan media. Fenomena media dilihat melalui sejarah pertumbuhan media dari

perkembangan teknologinya. Disini bisa dilihat kemunculan berbagai sistem komunikasi yang menjadi pengganti dan dapat mencapai khalayak yang lebih luas.

Lebih jauh, paradigma/model konflik sosial beranggapan bahwa masyarakat terdiri atas kategori dan kelompok-kelompok yang memiliki kepentingan yang berbeda satu sama lain; setiap kelompok dalam masyarakat berupaya untuk memenuhi kepentingan masing-masing dengan persaingan, ataupun mempertahankan kepentingannya; masyarakat selamanya merupakan organisasi yang diisi dengan konflik terus menerus manakala setiap kelompok berusaha mempertahankan atau mengusahakan kepentingannya; tidak terdapat ekuilibrium, tetapi proses perubahan yang tak pernah berhenti. Seperti dirumuskan berikut ini:

Society can best be thought of as a consisting of categories and groups of people whose interest differ sharply from one another.

All these components of society attempt to pursue their own interests in competition with others or to preserve their interests by resisting the competitive efforts of others.

A society so organized constantly experiences conflict as its components try to attain new gains or to preserve their interest; conflict, in other words, is ubiquitous.

Out of dialectic process of competing and conflicting interest comes an ongoing process of change; societies are not in a state of equilibrium but are ever-changing. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982:19 – 20)

Paradima ini membawa implikasi, bahwa media sebagai fenomena sosial merupakan suatu komponen yang memiliki kepentingan yang berbeda dengan komponen-komponen lain dalam masyarakat. Mekanisme yang dihadapi oleh media adalah dalam konflik yang terus menerus karena kepentingan dari pihak lain selamanya berusaha untuk menang atas kepentingan media. Termasuk juga konflik antara hak media dengan hak individu, hak pemerintah untuk melindungi kepentingan nasional dengan hak media.

Paradigma interaksionisme simbolik beranggapan bahwa masyarakat sebagai suatu sistem makna; kenyataan sosial dan psikologis tak lain dari bangunan makna-makna, sehingga sebagai akibatnya, partisipasi atau keikutsertaan individual maupun kolektif dalam interaksi simbolik, adalah dengan melalui internalisasi individual dan pemahaman atas konvensi sosial; segala ide dan kepercayaan yang dimiliki oleh

anggota masyarakat adalah bangunan makna yang diperolehnya dari interaksi simbolik, sehingga kepercayaan subyektif dari orang satu sama lain adalah fakta sosial yang paling penting dalam kehidupan sosial. Disebutkan sebagai berikut:

Society can best be thought of as a system of meanings. For individuals, participation in the shared meanings linked to the symbols of language is the interpersonal activity from which emerges stable and commonly understood expectations that guide behavior into predictable patterns.

From a behavioral point of view, both social and physical realities are labeled constructions of meanings; as a consequence of people individually and collectively participating in symbolic interaction, their interpretations of reality are both socially conventionalized and individually internalized.

The bonds that unite people, the ideas that they have of others, and their beliefs about themselves are personal constructions of meanings emerging from symbolic interaction; thus, the subjective beliefs people have of one another and themselves are the most significant facts of social life.

Individual conduct in a given action situation is guided by the labels and meanings people associate with that situation; thus, behavior is not and automatic response to stimuli of external origin but is a product of subjective constructions about self, others, and the social requirements of the situations. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 21)

Implikasi paradigma ini adalah dengan menempatkan kegiatan komunikasi sebagai bagian utama dalam proses masyarakat. Melalui kegiatan komunikasi manusia menampilkan dan menginterpretasikan realitas yang diinternalisasikan oleh khalayak. Anggota masyarakat memperkembangkan subyektivitasnya berdasarkan makna-makna yang diperolehnya dari media massa yang diikutinya.

Dengan keempat paradigma sosial di atas, secara populer, penggunaan paradigma fungsionalisme struktural, evolusioner dan konflik sosial biasa disebut sebagai pendekatan struktural, sedang paradigma interaksionisme simbolik biasa disebut sebagai pendekatan kultural. Pada awalnya keempat aliran ini berjalan dalam persaingan wacana, baik di antara 3 paradigma struktural satu sama lainnya, maupun dengan dengan aliran pendekatan kultural. Terlebih antara pendekatan struktural dan kultural,

pada mulanya merupakan dua kutub yang berjauhan. Tetapi dalam perkembangan kajian sosial, dengan munculnya analisis kritis, kedua kutub dapat saling mengisi.

Selain pendekatan dengan paradigma sosial ini, terhadap fenomena media sering pula digunakan pendekatan dengan perspektif psikologis, yaitu melihat fungsi media terhadap individu, seperti diuraikan berikut ini:

Individual members of a society can best be thought of as active receivers of sensory input, whose behavioral responses to such stimuli are shaped by inner mental (cognitive) processes.

Cognitive processes enable individuals to transform sensory input in various ways: code it, store it, interpret it selectively, distort it and retrieve it for later use in decisions about behavior.

The cognitive processes that play key parts in shaping an individual's behavior include perception, imagery, beliefs systems, attitudes, values, tendencies, toward balance in such factors, plus remembering, thinking, and numerous other mental activities.

The cognitive components of a given individual's mental organization are products of his or her prior learning experiences, which may have been either deliberate, accidental, social, or solitary. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 24)

Dari fenomena sosial berikutnya bergerak ke fenomena komunikasi. Dalam menghadapi fenomena komunikasi menggunakan paradigma bersifat teknis, atau biasa disebut sebagai model teoritis komunikasi. Setiap pengkaji komunikasi akan memilih salah satu di antara model teoritis tersebut sebagai dasar bangunan konsep teoritis yang akan digunakan dalam mengembangkan variabel analisis. Dengan kata lain, model teoritis akan memberi batasan bagi pengkaji dalam menetapkan *focus of interest* atas kajiannya.

Kajian komunikasi/media melingkupi 3 dimensi seperti dinyatakan DeFleur dan Ball-Rokeach berikut:

What is the impact of society on its mass media? That is, what have been the political, economy, and cultural conditions that have led the mass media to operate in their present form?

How does mass communication take place? In other words, does it differ in principle or only in detail from more direct interpersonal

communication?

What does exposure to mass communication to people? That is, how does it influence them psychologically, socially, and culturally?

(DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 13)

Dengan demikian kajian komunikasi/media meliputi faktor lingkungan masyarakat yang mempengaruhi media, faktor internal media, dan faktor masyarakat yang dipengaruhi oleh media.

Selain itu ada sejumlah varian teori yang berkembang dalam kajian komunikasi/media baik yang berbasis fisik manusia maupun berbasis teknologi. Sehubungan itu, Littlejohn menjabarkan 7 tradisi ilmiah dalam kajian komunikasi, yaitu:

- (1) rhetorical
- (2) semiotic
- (3) phenomenological
- (4) cybernetic
- (5) sociopsychological
- (6) sociocultural
- (7) critical

Pokok pikiran mengenai ke-7 tradisi keilmuan di atas dapat disimak pada cuplikan berikut ini:

1. Theories in this tradition see communication as a practical art. Communicators such as speakers, media producers, and writers perceive a problem or challenge that needs to be dealt with through carefully design messages...
2. This tradition, focusing on sign and symbols, treats communication as a bridge between the private worlds of individuals and in which signs elicit meanings that may or may not shared. It is especially suited to address the problems of gap, misunderstandings, and subjective responses...
3. The phenomenological tradition concentrates on personal experience, including how individuals experience one another. Communication is seen as sharing of personal experience through dialogue...
4. Communication in this tradition is viewed primarily as information

- processing, and the problems it addresses have mostly to do with noise, overload, and malfunction. It honors a vocabulary of senders and receivers, information, feedback, redundancy, and systems...
5. This theories concentrate primarily on those aspects of communication that included expression, interaction, and influence. They address problems and challenges in which outcomes need to be manipulated. The discourse on this tradition accent behavior, variables, effects, personalities and traits, perception, cognition, attitudes, and interaction...
 6. This genre holds social order as its centerpiece and sees communication as the glue of society. The problem and challenges it addresses include conflict, and the failure to coordinate. It arguing their case, scholars most at home in this tradition will use a language that features such elements as society, structure, rituals, rules, and culture...
 7. This group of theories tends to sees communication as a social arrangement of power and oppression. Critical theories respond to problems of ideology, power, and domination. Critical discourse includes such term as *ideology, dialectic, oppression, consciousness raising, resistance, and emancipation...* (Littlejohn, 2002: 13 - 14)

Dengan pemaparan tradisi keilmuan dalam lapangan kajian komunikasi dapat ditunjukkan bahwa keberagaman yang berkembang selama ini sekaligus mencerminkan varian skolar pendukungnya. Dari sini, kepakaran skolar komunikasi pada dasarnya dapat dilihat dari kecenderungannya dalam memilih domain teori dan perspektif dalam pendekatan yang akan menentukan dimensi fenomena komunikasi yang dikajinya.

Sedangkan Kellner memberi catatan mengenai kajian lintas disiplin atas fenomena komunikasi antara lain:

... Much communications studies, by contrast, have neglected analyzing the specificity of cultural texts, their effects, and their uses by audiences, or focus one-sidedly on one part of the circuit of communications and culture to the neglect of other parts, or promote their methods and approaches as the only legitimate way to do communications studies. To overcome the bifurcation of the field and

the one-sidedness of partial approaches, I would suggest, therefore, as a metatheory to overcome the crisis of disciplinarity, a multiperspectival approach which includes in the studies of media, communications, and culture, the three dimensions of: 1) the production and political economy of culture; 2) textual analysis and critique; and 3) study of audience reception and the uses of media/cultural texts.(Kellner, 1995)

Berkaitan dengan media dan masyarakat, pada satu sisi media memiliki sistem internal sendiri, dan pada sisi lain secara eksternal berkonteks pada sistem sosial. Tarik-menarik antara sistem internal dan eksternal menjadi pertimbangan yang mendasari pentingnya pendekatan lintas disiplin dalam kajian komunikasi, terutama untuk media yang berbasis teknologi.

Untuk mengeksplorasi pendekatan lintas disiplin dalam kajian komunikasi/media, pada dasarnya bertolak dari pandangan bahwa media berada dalam lingkungan eksternal sistem sosial, dan media sendiri secara internal merupakan suatu sistem. Untuk itu sebagai pembuka dapat dimulai dengan pengertian sistem berikut ini:

A system is a set of objects together with relationship between the objects and between their attributes (Hall, Fagen, 1968: 81).

Sebagai perbandingan Littlejohn menguraikan sebagai berikut:

Any system can be said to consist to four things. The first is *object* – the parts, elements, or variables within the system. These may be physical or abstract or both, depending, on the nature of the system. Second, a system consists of *attributes* – the qualities or properties of the system and its objects. Third, a system has *internal relationship* among its objects...Fourth, system exist in an *environment*. A system, then is a set of things that affect one another within an environment and form a larger pattern that is different from any of the parts. (Littlejohn, 2002: 37)

Dalam kaitan dengan sistem sosial, Rogers memberikan pengertian sebagai berikut:

A social system is defined as a set of interrelated units that are engaged in joint problem solving to accomplish a common goal. The members or units of social system may be individuals, informal groups,

organizations, and/or subsystems (Rogers, 1983: 24)

Lebih jauh digambarkan adanya 2 macam sistem, yaitu alamiah (natural) dan buatan manusia (*man-made*) (Hall, Fagen, 1968: 82-83). Masing-masing sistem memiliki kecenderungan yang berbeda-beda. Sistem alamiah ada yang bersifat terbuka, tertutup, adaptif, stabil, ataupun adanya umpan balik di dalamnya. Sedangkan sistem buatan manusia bersifat kompatibilitas (harmoni), atau memiliki sifat teroptimalisasi dalam fungsinya masing-masing.

Permilahan dua macam sistem pada dasarnya menggunakan hukum-hukum fisika. Jika diterapkan ke dalam konsep sistem sosial, dengan sendirinya tidak sekongkrit dalam sistem yang berlaku dalam fisika. Untuk itu dengan cara lain Rogers memberikan gambaran dari mekanisme yang berlangsung dalam suatu sistem sosial:

To the extent that the units in a social system are not all identical in their behavior, structure then exists within the system. We define structure as the patterned arrangements of the units in a system. This structure gives regularity and stability to human behavior in a social system; it allows one to predict behavior with some degree of accuracy (Rogers, 1983: 24)

Dari gambaran tentang sistem sosial di atas, dapat ditempatkan keberadaan media berbasis teknologi.. Media merupakan satuan dalam sistem sosial yang berinteraksi dengan berbagai institusi lain. Interaksi yang berlangsung pada dasarnya diakibatkan kecenderungan sistemik yang berlangsung dalam sistem sosial. Secara langsung kecenderungan itu dilihat melalui fungsi yang dijalankan oleh setiap satuan yang ada dalam sistem sosial.

Dalam kaitan dengan konteks sistem, fungsi media pada dasarnya dilihat konteksnya terhadap sistem sosial dan individu anggota masyarakat. Fungsi terhadap sistem sosial ini dengan sendirinya menggunakan perspektif sosial. Sedangkan fungsi terhadap individu anggota masyarakat menggunakan perspektif psikologis. Dalam melihat keberadaan fenomena media dalam pendekatan lintas disiplin, konsentrasi dapat ditujukan terhadap fungsi media terhadap sistem sosial.

Demikianlah, disini istilah fungsi memiliki makna yang spesifik, yaitu dengan menempatkan keberadaan media dalam struktur sosial. Disebutkan oleh DeFleur dan Ball-Rokeach sebagai berikut:

....The term function refers to the contribution a particular form of

repetitive activity makes in terms of maintaining the stability or equilibrium of the the society....

...The media and the process of mass communication are patterned and repetitive actions in the social system of the society in which they operate. The structural dependencies that exist between the media and other social systems not only affect the everyday working of our society, but also..., influence the way in which individuals use the media in everyday life. They make some contribution to the social equilibrium of that society. In other words, they have consequences for the society as a whole. Indeed, a good case could be made that mass communication could be listed among those indispensable component of the social structure without which contemporary society, as we known it, could not continue. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 16 - 17)

Media memiliki fungsi dalam struktur sosial, sebagai komponen yang memelihara stabilitas dan harmoni. Dengan kedudukan semacam ini, fungsi media sebagai bagian dalam mekanisme sosial yang bertujuan untuk keseimbangan (ekuilibrium) antar berbagai komponen dalam masyarakat. Pandangan berikut mempertegas fungsi media massa dalam sistem sosial:

The encounter with functionalism in its sociological and anthropological approaches, which postulate a system of society with stable relationship among its individual elements, meant that mass communication phenomena were treated as sources of information about the current state of exchange of information within a social system. Thus, functional analysis of mass communication as an activity that contributed to the support and maintenance of the social system. (Hardt, 1981: 61)

Keberadaan media dalam masyarakat dapat ditandai oleh fungsinya. Pada pihak lain, fungsi ini biasa pula dilihat sebagai tujuan yang melekat dari keberadaan suatu media. Dengan kata lain, fungsi dan tujuan sering dipertukar-namakan, untuk menyebut hal yang sama.

Dalam membahas fungsi media dapat dilakukan dengan melihat keberadaannya sebagai institusi sebagai bagian sistem sosial. Sebagai bagian dari suatu sistem, sesungguhnya media sebagai salah satu sub-sistem komunikasi merupakan sarana yang memungkinkan institusi-institusi lain berjalan. Berbagai institusi yang ada dalam sistem

sosial membawa fungsinya masing-masing. Institusi sosial pada dasarnya dapat dikelompokkan dalam 3 entitas besar, yaitu politik, ekonomi, dan kultural. Institusi politik mengambil fungsi dalam proses pengambilan keputusan yang berkaitan dengan kehidupan masyarakat. Fungsi ini ditandai oleh kesertaan dan ikut ambil bagian (*sharing*) dalam kekuasaan politik, sehingga dapat berperan dalam pengambilan keputusan. Institusi ekonomi mengambil fungsi dalam meningkatkan kesejahteraan materil. Sementara institusi sosial-kultural berfungsi untuk meningkatkan kehidupan masyarakat untuk lebih bermakna dalam kehidupan berbasis immateril.

Media menjalankan fungsinya dengan jalan menyampaikan informasi. Nilai informasi ini dapat dilihat dalam kaitan dengan keberadaannya dalam sistem sosial, dan dalam keberadaan semacam ini media dikenal sebagai institusi sosial, karenanya memiliki fungsi institusional. Untuk itu media dapat menjalankan fungsi politik, ekonomi, atau sosial-kultural. Sifat media sebagai institusi sosial dapat dilihat dari fungsinya dalam kehidupan sosial. Berturut-turut berikut ini dikutip hubungan media massa dalam dan terhadap insitusi sosial sebagaimana ditulis DeFleur dan Ball-Rokeach berikut ini:

Pertalian media dengan sistem ekonomi:

... (1) inculcation and reinforcement of free enterprise values; (2) establishing and maintaining linkages between the producer or seller and consumer that inform the consumer about what product are available and that stimulate consumers to purchase those product; (3) controlling and winning internal conflicts, such as between management and unions, or conflict that develop with external organizations, such as regulatory agencies. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 237)

Pertalian media dengan sistem politik:

... (1) inculcation and reinforcement of political values and norms, such as freedom, equality, obedience to the law, and voting; (2) maintenance of order and social integration as, for example, by creating value consensus or generating process of public opinion formation and resolution; (3) organization and mobilization of citizenry to carry out essentials activities, such as waging war or conducting an election; (4) controlling and winning conflicts that develop within political domains, such as "Watergate", or that develop between the political system and other

social systems, such as between politic and religion with regard to separation of church and state. (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 238)

Pertalian media dengan sistem sosial:

... (1) inculcation and reinforcement of such values as family security; (2) recreational and leisure; (3) coping with everyday problems of child rearing and marriage, as coping with financial and health crises (DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 238).

Selain bersifat fungsional terhadap dan dalam struktur sosial, media juga dapat memiliki fungsi terbalik. Ini terjadi karena media massa menimbulkan gangguan dalam sistem sosial. Lebih jauh dikatakan DeFleur dan Ball-Rokeach:

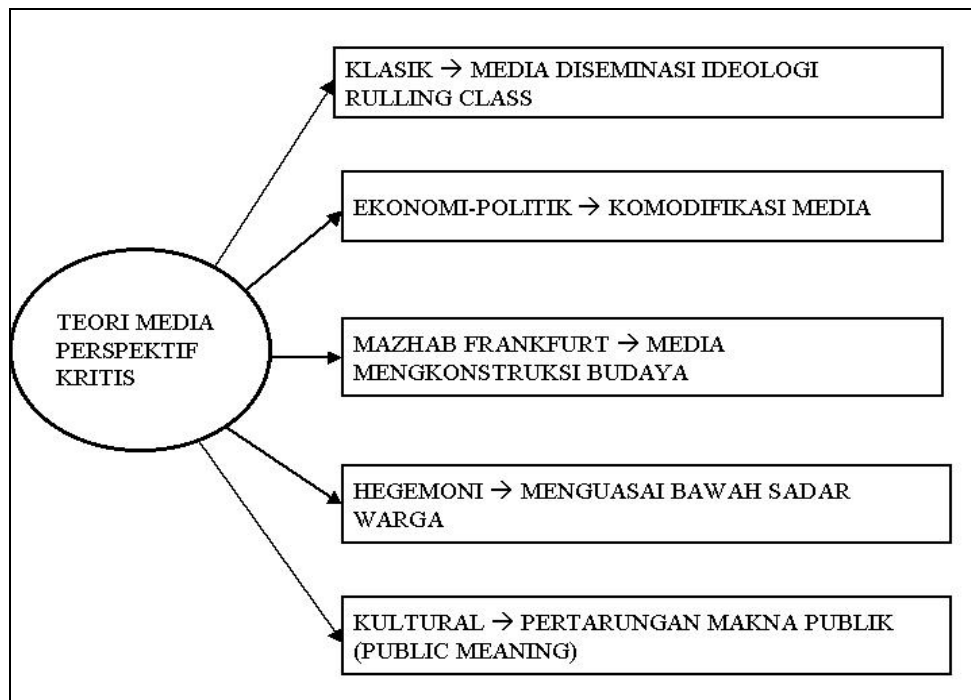
...On the otherhand, mass communication may be dysfunctional, contributing to disharmony rather than stability, if it has the effect of stirring people to various forms of deviant behavior...(DeFleur, Ball-Rokeach, 1982: 201)

Dengan cara lain, Wright membedakan fungsi media massa ini dari pesan yang diniatkan (sesuai tujuan) dan tidak diniatkan (menyimpang dari tujuan) dalam menjalankan komunikasi. Dengan mengutip pendapat Merton, ia menyebutkan:

... significant intended consequences manifest and those that are unintended latent. Functional interpretation also distinguishes between close consequences that seem significantly useful to the maintenance and well-being of a system and those that seem harmful to it. Positive consequences are called functions and negative ones dysfunctions. (Those that seem irrelevant to the system under study are considered nonfunctions.) Any regular social activity, such as mass communication campaigns, can be analyzed in terms of what seem to be manifest or latent functions and dysfunctions for the society, its member, or its culture. (Wright, 1986: 12)

Kajian lintas disiplin atas fenomena komunikasi pada masa belakangan banyak dijalankan dengan persepektif kritis. Aliran pemikiran dalam perspektif ini dapat dijabarkan dalam pengertian pokok melalui skema berikut ini:

GAMBAR 3.3



Perspektif kritis dalam kajian sosial (termasuk kultural) secara eksplisit dirumuskan melalui landasan filosofis oleh Habermas saat melakukan kritik atas teori yang digunakan dalam analisis Marxis. Dari kritik ini diperkenalkan landasan metdologi dalam analisis sosial. Disebutkannya antara lain:

If Marx had reflected on the methodological presuppositions of social theory as he sketched it out and not overlaid it with a philosophical self-understanding restricted to the categorical framework of production, the difference between rigorous empirical science and critique would not have been concealed. If Marx had not thrown together interaction and work under the label of social practice (*Praxis*), and had he instead related the materialist concept of synthesis likewise to the accomplishments of instrumental action and the nexuses of communicative action, then the idea of a science of man would not have been obscured by identification with natural science. Rather, this idea would have taken up Hegel's critique of the subjectivism of Kant's epistemology and surpassed it materialistically. It would have made clear that ultimately a radical critique of knowledge can be carried out only in the form of a reconstruction of the history of the species, and that conversely social theory, from the viewpoint of the self-constitution of the species in the medium of

social labour and class struggle, is possible only as the self-reflection of the knowing subject.

On this foundation philosophy's position with regard to science could have been explicitly clarified. Philosophy is preserved in science as critique. A social theory that puts forth the claim to be a self-reflection of the history of the species cannot simply negate philosophy. Rather, the heritage of philosophy issues in the critique of ideology, a mode of thought that determines the method of scientific analysis itself. Outside of critique, however, philosophy retains no rights. To the degree that the science of man is a material critique of knowledge, philosophy, which as pure epistemology robbed itself of all content, indirectly regains its access to material problems. As philosophy, however, the universal scientific knowledge that philosophy wanted to be succumbs to the annihilating judgment of critique. (Habermas, 1968)

Dari sini dapat dipahami bahwa sumber pemikiran dalam perspektif kritis adalah dari teori Marx, baik dari kalangan yang melakukan kritik dengan melahirkan orientasi pemikiran berbeda, maupun yang melakukan pengembangan lebih lanjut dari tesis dari Marx. Untuk itu perspektif kritis dapat dirunut dari penerapan tesis Marx secara langsung, dikenal sebagai aliran klasik dalam analisis Marxis, pengertiannya dapat dirumuskan sebagai berikut:

Critical theories view their task as uncovering oppressive forces through *dialectical analysis*, which is designed to expose an underlying struggle between opposing forces. Although the population generally perceives a kind of surface order to things, the critical theorist's job is to point out the contradictions that exist. Only by becoming aware of the dialectic of opposing in a struggle for power can individuals be liberated and free to change the existing order. Otherwise, they will remain alienated from one another and co-opted into their own oppression. (Littlejohn, 2002: 210)

Analisis Marxis lainnya dikenal sebagai konsep hegemoni, banyak dirujuk dari pemikiran Gramsci. Mengenai pemikiran ini disebutkan oleh Littlejohn sebagai berikut:

The process of hegemony can occur in many ways and in many

setting, In essence, it happens when events or texts are interpreted in a way that promotes the interests of one group over those of another. This can be a subtle process of co-opting the interests of subordinate group into supporting those of a dominant one. For example, advertisers often play into the “woman’s liberation” theme, making it look as though the corporation support woman’s rights. What is happening here is that woman’s interests are being reinterpreted to promote the interests of the capital economy. Ideology plays a central role in this process because it structures the way people understand their experience, and it is therefore powerful in shaping how they interpret events. (Littlejohn, 2002: 211)

Aliran/mazhab Frankfurt (*Frankfurt School*) yang dimotori oleh Habermas sebagaimana disebutkan di atas merupakan kritik atas teori Marx yang digunakan dalam analisis sosial. Secara ringkas, pemikiran dari aliran ini sebagai berikut:

No aspect of life is interest free, even science. An emancipated society is free from unnecessary domination of any one interest, and everybody has equal opportunity to participate in decision making. Habermas believes that strong public sphere, apart from private interest, is necessary to ensure this state of affairs,

Habermas is especially concerned with the domination of the technical interest in contemporary capitalistic societies. In such societies, the public and private are intertwined to the point that the public sector cannot guard against the oppression of private, technical interest. Ideally, the public and private should be balanced, and the public sector should be strong enough to provide a climate for free expression of ideas and debate. In modern society, however, that climate is stifled. (Littlejohn, 2002: 214)

Perspektif kritis diperkaya dengan pemikiran aliran kultural yang dikembangkan oleh skolar dari Universitas Birmingham yang menggunakan analisis Marxis dalam kajian kultural. Aliran ini dikenal sebagai *Birmingham School*, konsepnya antara lain:

Cultural studies involves investigations of the ways culture is produced through a struggle among ideologies...

The cultural studies tradition is distinctly reformist in orientation. These scholars want to see changes in Western society, and they view their scholarship as an instrument of socialist cultural struggle. They believe that such change will occur in two ways: (1) by identifying contradictions in society, the resolution of which will lead to positive, as opposed to oppressive, change; and (2) by providing interpretations that will help people understand domination and the kinds of change that would be desirable...

(Littlejohn, 2002: 216 – 217)

Selain aliran Frankfurt dan Birmingham yang berkembang di Eropa, di Amerika Serikat berkembang pula analisis dengan perspektif kritis, dikenal sebagai pendekatan ekonomi politik (*political economy*). Kajian ini dengan pendekatan makro, fenomena media dikaji untuk melihat keberadaannya di tengah masyarakat dalam peran yang bersifat imperatif akibat kekuasaan negara dan kekuatan modal. Pokok pikiran mengenai pendekatan ini dinyatakan oleh Mosco sebagai berikut:

Political economy is a major perspective in communication research. Over past fifty years the approach has guided the work of scholars in several centers around the world. Numerous article-length works have provided important overviews and maps of field. *The Political Economy of Communication* aims to fill a gap by providing a book length overview of the discipline, its accomplishment, debates, and relationship to other approaches in communication research. It starts with an historical, descriptive, and critical overview of political economy as a general approach to social analysis and proceeds with an analysis of political economy approach to communication which assesses accomplishments, proposes new departures, and examines the relationship of political economy to policy studies and cultural studies. (Mosco, 1996: 1)

Fokus perspektif ekonomi politik dapat dilihat dalam dua hal, yaitu:

... One can think about political economy as the study of *the social relations, particularly the power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources*. From this vantage point the products of communication, such as newspapers,

books, videos, films, and audiences, are the primary resources...
 ... political economy is *the study of control and survival in social life*.
 Control refers specifically to the internal organization of individual and group members, while survival takes up means by which they produce what is needed to reproduce themselves. Control processes are broadly political in that they involve the social organization of relationship within a community. Survival processes are fundamentally economic because they concern production and reproduction... (Mosco, 1996: 25, 26)

Dengan demikian keberadaan media dilihat dalam konteks fokus pendekatan ekonomi politik yaitu berkaitan dengan sumberdaya yang dapat digunakan dalam relasi kekuasaan, serta pengendalian dan daya tahan dalam kehidupan sosial.

Lebih lanjut, kerangka pemikiran dalam pendekatan ekonomi politik merujuk dari pandangan Mosco dapat dijabarkan dalam 3 hal, yaitu:

Political economy has traditionally given priority to understanding *social change and historical transformation*. For classical theorists like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, and John Stuart Mill, this meant comprehending the great capitalist revolution, the upheaval that transformed societies based primarily on agricultural labor into commercial, manufacturing, and, ultimately, industrial societies. For critical political economist like Marx, it meant examining the dynamic forces in capitalism responsible for its growth and change. The object was to identify both cyclical patterns of short-term expansion and contraction and more long-term transformative cycles that signal fundamental change in the system...

Political economy, from the time of its founders, has also that discipline should be firmly rooted in an analysis of the wider *social totality*. This means that political economy spans the range of problems that today tend to be situated in the compartments of several academic disciplines, where those with an interest in social class go to sociology, those interested in government to political science, in the market to economics, and so on...

Moral philosophy provides a third characteristic of political

economy approach. We use modal philosophy to refer to social values (wants about wants) and to conceptions of appropriate social practices. The goal of this particular form of analysis is to clarify and make explicit the moral positions of economic and political economic perspectives, particularly because moral viewpoints are often masked in these perspectives. (Mosco, 1996: 27, 29, 34)

Dengan kerangka ini diperoleh gambaran mengenai sifat dari pendekatan ekonomi politik, yaitu pertama untuk menjelaskan sejarah perubahan dan transformasi sosial, kedua analisis bersifat makro atas kehidupan sosial, dan ketiga analisis bertolak dari filsafat moral atau teori normatif.

Secara teknis, kajian dengan pendekatan ekonomi politik atas media diterapkan dengan landasan pemikiran sebagai berikut:

The political economy approach generally began with the production side of the communication process by examining the growth of the business and its links to the wider political economy. Nevertheless, the development of mass consumption economy impelled political economist to take up the complete process of realizing value, including the social relations and organization of consumption. They addressed consumption by examining its growth as a *structural response* to the economic crisis of overproduction and as a *social response* to the political crises...

Political economy studies also grew in response to expansion of the state as a producer, distributor, consumers, and regulator of communication. Much of this activity arose from the pressures to manage the conflicting demands of growing domestic and international business. The result can be found in the expansion of government intelligence, information gathering, propaganda, broadcasting, and telecommunication systems. In particular, the relations between the military and the media, telecommunication and computers has occupied several generations of political economist. (Mosco, 1996: 74, 75)

Secara sederhana pendekatan ekonomi politik dalam kajian media dapat dilihat di satu sisi sebagai respon struktural atas realitas ekonomi, dan di sisi lain sebagai respon sosial atas realitas politik. Untuk itu dengan mengambil obyek kajian dari dunia

produksi, distribusi, konsumsi dan regulasi atas media komunikasi. Kajian bersifat makro dapat berlingkup domestik maupun global.

Selain itu dikenal pula kajian media dengan pendekatan kritis yang bertolak dari teori normatif. Di antaranya analisis media dengan model propaganda yang dilakukan oleh Herman dan Chomsky, seperti dinyatakannya berikut ini:

A propaganda model focuses on this inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public. The essential ingredients of our propaganda model, or set of news “filters”, fall under the following headings: (1) the size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms; (2) advertising as the primary income source of the mass media; (3) the reliance of the media on information provided by government, business, and “experts” funded and approved by these primary sources and agent of power; (4) “flak” as a means of disciplining the media; and (5) “anticommunism” as a national religion and control mechanism. These elements interact with and reinforce one another. The raw material of news must pass through successive filters, leaving only the cleansed residue fit to print. They fix the premises of discourse and place, and they explain the basis and operations of what amount to propaganda campaigns. (Herman, Chomsky, 1988: 2)

Lebih jauh dijelaskannya:

A propaganda model also helps us to understand how media personnel adapt, and are adapted, to systemic demands. Given the imperatives of corporate organization and the workings of various filters, conformity to the needs and interests of privileged sectors is essential to success. In the media, as in other major institutions, those who do not display the requisite values and perspectives will be regarded as “irresponsible,” “ideological,” or otherwise aberrant, and will tend to fall by pattern is pervasive, and expected. Those who

adapt, perhaps quite honestly, will then be free to express themselves with little managerial control, and they will be able to assert, accurately, that they perceive no pressure to conform... (Herman, Chomsky, 1988: 304)

Kajian kritis atas media dalam pendekatan ekonomi politik pada hakikatnya bertolak dari nilai tertentu sebagai teori normatif yang berasal dari filsafat moral. Persoalan kefilsafatan dalam kajian kritis berkaitan dengan alam pikiran, kebenaran dan realitas, seperti diuraikan oleh Marcuse berikut:

In the equation Reason = Truth = Reality, which joins the subjective and objective world into one antagonistic unity, Reason is the subversive power, the “power of the negative” that establishes, as theoretical and practical Reason, the truth for men and things — that is, the conditions in which men and things become what they really are. The attempt to demonstrate that this truth of theory and practice is not a subjective but an objective condition was the original concern of Western thought and the origin of its logic — logic not in the sense of a special discipline of philosophy but as the mode of thought appropriate for comprehending the real as rational. (Marcuse, 1964)