

## ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini mengkaji tentang praktik *governmentality* dalam implementasi swasembada bawang merah serta dinamika dan transformasi gerakan petani bawang merah Brebes sebagai counter wacana dari praktik *governmentality* dalam implementasi swasembada. Keputusan berswasembada melahirkan konsekuensi meningkatnya jumlah komoditas bawang merah di beberapa wilayah termasuk Brebes. Melalui ekstensifikasi pertanian yang masif, produksi bawang merah mencapai surplus pada tahun 2017 dan 2018. Surplus pada komoditas bawang merah diikuti oleh kondisi krisis petani, karena berimplikasi pada penurunan harga jual di tingkat petani. Kondisi ini melatarbelakangi kemunculan gerakan petani pascapenerapan swasembada.

Penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif dengan metode deskriptif analitik, melibatkan Gagasan *governmentality* Foucault dan gerakan sosial Laclau dan Mouffe sebagai pisau analisis. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa implementasi swasembada mengemban wacana kesejahteraan yang dioperasikan menggunakan proses *governmentalisasi*, melalui tahap-tahap problematisasi, aparatus, *right disposition of things* sampai terbentuknya tindakan subjek petani untuk menerima logika swasembada serta terlibat dalam kegiatan yang mendorong swasembada, seperti penyuluhan dan pelatihan pertanian. Efek praktik *governmentality* menciptakan petani sebagai subjek yang pasif tanpa perlawanan, meskipun swasembada berimplikasi mendatangkan kerugian bagi petani.

Merujuk gagasan Laclau dan Mouffe, diskursus atau wacana memiliki peran dalam membentuk tindakan kolektif subjek untuk bergerak. Keterbatasan swasembada untuk mewujudkan wacana kesejahteraan kepada petani disebut Laclau sebagai kondisi dislokasi yang membuat petani bergerak. Dislokasi melahirkan antagonisme yang membuat petani mengenali bahwa pemerintah adalah musuh bersama. Gerakan petani pascapenerapan swasembada bertransformasi menjadi beberapa periode, berlatar belakang wacana yang berbeda antara lain periode 2017: Ekstensifikasi pertanian, periode 2018: kinerja Bulog, gerakan simbolik: *safety first*, periode 2019: Modal produksi. Transformasi ini menggambarkan kondisi *logic of difference*, yaitu hadirnya ruang-ruang perbedaan dalam gerakan. Meskipun berbeda, sebuah gerakan memiliki kecenderungan untuk membuka hadirnya rantai persamaan atau yang disebut Laclau sebagai *chain of equivalence*. Dalam kondisi *Chains of Equivalence* gerakan pascapenerapan swasembada dapat diidentifikasi sebagai satu gerakan bersama menolak kebijakan pemerintah (anti rezim). Kehadiran *logic of difference* dan *Chains of Equivalence* dalam gagasan Laclau akan melahirkan *nodal point* (titik temu). Dengan demikian dapat diidentifikasi bahwa gerakan petani bawang merah adalah sebuah upaya petani mencari titik temu atas permasalahan sekaligus menjadi counter wacana terhadap wacana kesejahteraan dalam swasembada.

**Kata Kunci:** *Governmentality*, Gerakan petani, Counter wacana, Swasembada bawang merah

## ABSTRACT

This study discusses the governmentality practices in the implementation of shallot self-sufficiency and the dynamics and transformation of shallot farmer movement in Brebes as a discourse counter of governmentality practices in the implementation of self-sufficiency. The self-sufficiency decision creates the consequences of increasing the number of shallot commodities in several regions including Brebes. Through massive agricultural extensification, shallot production reached a surplus in 2017 and 2018. The surplus on shallot commodities was followed by a crisis of farmers, because it had implications for the decline in selling prices at the farm level. This condition was the background of the farmer movement after the implementation of self-sufficiency.

This study used a qualitative approach with descriptive analytical method, involving the idea of Foucault's Governmentality and Laclau and Mouffe's social movement as the sources of analysis. The results showed that the implementation of self-sufficiency had welfare discourse which is operated using the governmentalization process, through stages from problematization, apparatus, right disposition of things to the formation of farmer subject actions to accept the logic of self-sufficiency and engage in activities that encouraged self-sufficiency, such as agricultural counseling and training. The effect of the governmentality practice was creating farmers as a passive subject without resistance, even though self-sufficiency had implications for causing harm to farmers.

Referring to the idea of Laclau and Mouffe, discourse has a role in forming the subject's collective action to move. The limitation of self-sufficiency to realize welfare discourse to farmers is called by Laclau as a dislocation condition that makes farmers move. Dislocations creates antagonism which makes farmers recognize that the government is a common enemy. The movement of farmers after the implementation of self-sufficiency has transformed into several periods, with different backgrounds, including the 2017 period: agricultural extensification, 2018 period: Bulog's performance, symbolic movement: safety first, 2019 period: production capital. This transformation describes the logic of difference condition, that is the presence of spaces of difference in movement. Although it is different, a movement has a tendency to open the presence of what Laclau calls as chain of equivalence. In the condition of chain of equivalence movement after the implementation of self-sufficiency it can be identified as a joint movement rejecting government policies (anti-regime). The presence of the logic of difference and chain of equivalence in Laclau's idea will create a nodal point. Thus, it can be identified that the shallot farmer movement is an attempt by farmers to find common nodal point on the problem as well as a counter to the discourse of neo-liberalism and welfare in self-sufficiency.

**Keywords:** Governmentality, Farmer movement, Discourse counter, Shallot self-sufficiency