

Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia: Discourse Network Analysis in Online Media

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Abstract - This research maps the discourses on agreements and disagreements of each actor regarding the rice import policy in Indonesia. In 2023, the Indonesian government took a policy to increase the quota of rice imports Indonesia, according to the United States Department of Agriculture, is the world's fifth largest country in terms of rice imports. The policy was opposed and supported by a number of actors since Indonesia is also the fourth largest rice producer in the world. Actors who oppose and approve of the rice import policy in Indonesia present their respective arguments to influence the public. This research uses the Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method to map the discourse coalition and actors based on the actors' arguments in Kompas.id media. The results show that the discourses of each actor are connected to each other. The discourses include: stabilizing rice reserves, international cooperation, reducing rice prices, anticipating climate change, importing rice during harvest, contradicting the food law, rising rice prices, rice stock alert, law enforcement against rice fraud, and rice procurement which is impossible.

Keywords: Rice import policy; Discourse network analysis; Rice reserves debate; Discourse Coalition Framework; Discourse debate

Introduction

This research will map the discourses on agreements and disagreements of each actor regarding the rice import policy in Indonesia. Data from the United States Department of Agriculture shows that in 2023 Indonesia was recorded as the world's fifth largest rice importer (Ahdiat, 2023). The Indonesian government took a policy by raising the quota of rice imports by 1.5 million tons in 2023 to augment the Government's Rice Reserves CBP) at the warehouses of state food public company Perum Bulog until the end of December 2023 (Damiana, 2023; Rachmawati, 2023; Yanwardhana, 2023). The Central Statistics Agency (BPS) also reported that during the January-September 2023 period Indonesia imported 1.79 million tons of rice (Subekti, 2023). This is the biggest ever rice import for Indonesia and the highest record in the past five years (Ahdiat, 2023).

Self-reliance in food production has become a national program in each era of government (Manning, 1987; Nehen, 1989; Anggela, 2023), including that of President Joko Widodo (Jokowi) government. This is because self-reliance in food production remains controversial. Indonesia as the world's fourth largest rice producer (Amani, 2023; Dwi, 2023), saw its rice production declining to 34.6 million tons from 54.75 million tons in 2022 (BPS, 2022). Rice is still the most important staple food in Indonesia, contributing 40%-60% of the total calorie intake (David & Huang, 1996) and the main source of carbohydrate (Harianto et al, 2019).

Rice is also the main source of livelihood for small farmers and farm worker households in Indonesia where at least two-thirds of fertile land are used to grow rice (David & Huang, 1996). Food self-reliance program in the era of President Jokowi government is implemented by providing tractors

and nursery tools to regions to increase rice production (Anggela, 2023). In addition to technological innovations, farmer organizations also play a significant role in increasing rice production in Indonesia (Nehen, 1989). In 2015, President Jokowi stated that Indonesia was expected to be able to become self-reliant in rice production and later in soybean, corn and other farm commodity production.

In its development, the statement is still far from expected. Data from BPS also shows that rice production in 2023 reached 30.90 million tons, falling by 2.05% compared to that of 2022 (Anggela, 2023). El Nino-induced drought also had an impact on a decline in harvested rice areas in such rice producing provinces as Central Java, West Java and South Sulawesi. El Nino is a phenomenon of warm sea surface temperature which is above its normal condition in the central Pacific Ocean. The condition increases cloud growth potential and reduces rainfalls in Indonesia or triggers drought for the Indonesian territory in general (BMKG, 2020).

El Nino-induced rainfall anomaly may disrupt rice growth and productivity (Cahyaningtyas et al, 2022) in Indonesia. The government through the Agriculture Ministry announced that in the July-September 2023 period around 607,810 hectares of rice field were affected by El Nino (Tumangguang, 2023). Farm business is susceptible to harvest failure due to various factors such as natural disaster, drought and pest attack (Ambarawati et al, 2018). In the face of the situation, the government has made every effort to speed up rice planting in areas still having rains, distribute assistance in the form of farm tools and machines and expedite land cultivation and planting process.

The impact of El Nino weather phenomenon also caused retail rice prices to fluctuate (Rifin, 2022) in March and April 2023 (at Rp 13,400), increase in June (to Rp 13,650) and stay in August (at Rp 13,550) per kilogram (Arifin, 2023). Arifin also noted that several academic studies and general equilibrium models have predicted that climate change will reduce food production by 8%-10% in 2030 if there is no policy response (Anthony et al, 2020) or adaptation strategy. The condition has sparked a public debate on the Indonesian government's rice imports since Indonesia is an agrarian country. As a matter of fact, the Indonesian government still has to import rice in large quantities (Fatchiya et al, 2018).

A debate on policies in the public realm can be analyzed using Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method (Eriyanto, 2022). The method used to map the discourses on public policies and discourse competition among actors is DNA (Leifeld & Haunss, 2010; Leifeld, 2017). In the debate on rice imports in Indonesia, the actors agreeing and rejecting to produce discourses are expected to dominate information (Sumirat & Eriyanto, 2023) in online media. The discourses in online media not only speak of what is concealed but also relations among actors (individuals or organizations) (Eriyanto, 2022) and with one another (Fisher et al, 2013). The discourse text in online media can also give a picture of network shaped in one phenomenon (Pratama, 2017), in this case the phenomenon of debate on rice import policy in Indonesia.

In this study *Discourse Network Analysis*, there are actors (interest groups, government institutions, legislators, scientific actors, and so on); coalition (where actors join an organization to influence policy makers); network (through which they get involved and understand each other); issues, topics; actors' belief and interpretation to produce systems, discourses, narratives related to political problems; decision making time; power and reputation they produce (Leifeld, 2020).

Theoretical Framework

The theory used for this research is Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) theory which was originally developed by Maarten A. Hajer in the 1990-2000s. DCF conceptualizes politics and policy as a struggle to dominate discourses where discourses make it easy for actors in their efforts to persuade other parties to support their definition on social world (Hajer, 1995). According to Hajer, Discourse Coalition Framework exists in a critical discourse framework that makes language a problem and considers it more than mere tools. Language through social and discursive interaction also serves as an agent that influences actor's policy and policy making.

Discourse Coalition Framework recognizes state or government as an important actor in making a policy because they have substantial power (Hajer, 2003). Discourse Coalition Framework is also based on the boredom of realist approach in looking at public policy process (Hajer, 2005). The point of attention to realist theory is to see how actors will struggle for interests through their resources such as money, network, organization, and so on (Eriyanto, 2022). Meanwhile, for Hajer (1993) discourse is

a collection of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to phenomenon. This means that discourse frames certain problems.

According to the Discourse Coalition Framework theory, realist view is unable to answer such a question of why in many conditions actors with limited resources are able to win a fight in formulating a policy. This is because the realist theory focuses on rationality aspects and ignores the urgency of forming meaning, symbol and narrative (Eriyanto, 2022). The formulation of policy in this theory involves the process of giving meaning, forming symbol and using language (Eriyanto, 2022; Hajer, 2003).

Discourse Coalition Framework has key concepts including discourse, metaphor and story line (Hajer, 1995; Hajer, 2005a). Discourse is defined as a collection of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, produced and reproduced through a series of identifiable practices (Hajer & Versteeg, 2005). Metaphor is defined as the use of certain term to replace the event talked about (Hajer, 2005a). Metaphor is used to simplify a complex event related to the use of symbol where the symbol is used to replace other thing (Eriyanto, 2022). Story line describes how an event is narrated to make it easy for audience and actors in a discussion (Hajer, 2005a).

Discourse is also defined as a common understanding of the world (Dryzek, 2013) produced and reproduced in practices (Hajer, 1995). This means that discourse is something spoken in harmony with and in a different way from the unusually transparent purpose of an ideology (Van Dijk, 2006). The coercive and emancipatory function of ideology as described by Griffin (2006) is present in two dimensions offered by Hajer (2005), namely in structuration, through the reproduction and acceptance of ideas owned together socially; and institution; through the stabilization of certain understanding models.

According to Hajer (1993), discourse coalition is a group of actors using a certain discourse in a certain issue with a certain period of time. Discourse coalition can be identified from actors having perspectives, discourses and ways of narrating something in a harmonious manner (Eriyanto, 2022). Usually in a debate, the actors have their own way of viewing something so that in the process of making a policy there are several discourse coalitions depicting diverse perspectives of a certain issue.

Actors in a debate or an issue try to discourse their arguments to make them acceptable to the public and accommodated to become a policy. The success of a discourse occurs when the actors dominate a discourse and the discourse enters into a policy (Eriyanto, 2022). Therefore, the objective is to reconstruct thoughts or trust system found beyond opposing or favoring speech to make and become a policy (Alvarado et al, 2021).

Material and Methodology

This research uses a Discourse Network Analysis (DNA) method introduced by Philip Leifeld. This method is a combination of discourse analysis and network analysis. Discourse analysis depicts growing ideas, while network analysis depicts actors' position in a network (Leifeld, 2017). The main components of Discourse Network Analysis are mapping actors, organization, discourse, sentiment and topics being discussed in a debate. Network analysis helps measure discourses from actors systematically and connect them with network analysis (Leifeld, 2017). In this study, Discourse Network Analysis will be used to map the position of each discourse and actors that are present in the debate on rice import policy in Indonesia.

This research aims to describe a discourse network regarding the issue of rice import policy in Indonesia. This research highlights who favor and oppose the government's policy, what are the arguments of the pro and con groups, and how is the network relationship between the actors and discourses, the researcher took a research object in the form of the Indonesian government's rice import policy by gathering statements from a number of actors in Kompas.id online media between March 24, 2023 and October 8, 2023.

Kompas.id is chosen because the online media outlet in 2023 became the most trusted media brand based on *Digital News Report-Reuters Institute* 2023. In addition, it also reported much about the research object which is being studied, the time span for selecting news is between March 24, 2023 when President Jokowi decided to import 2 million tons of rice to save the Government's Rice Reserves (CBP) until the end of 2023, and October 8, 2023 when President Jokowi reaffirmed the government's plan to import rice during a grand rice harvest in Subang, West Java. To set the time span for selecting

news, the researcher uses Google platform, Octoparse software, and Java-based DNA Analyzer, and to visualize pictures the researcher uses Visone software.

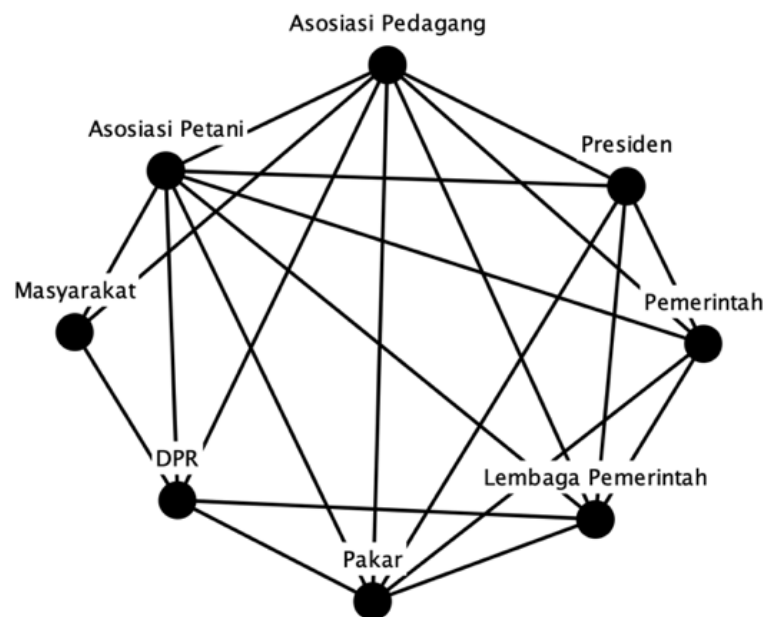
Result and Discussion

Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia

Indonesia saw its rice production declining in the past few years. The rising demand, coupled with declining production will likely lead to increasingly wider disequilibrium between supply and demand. Rice consumption in Indonesia is one of the highest in the world, reaching 29.13 million tons in 2017 (Octania, 2021). The figure is expected to increase to 31.7 million tons in 2045 along with the growing population.

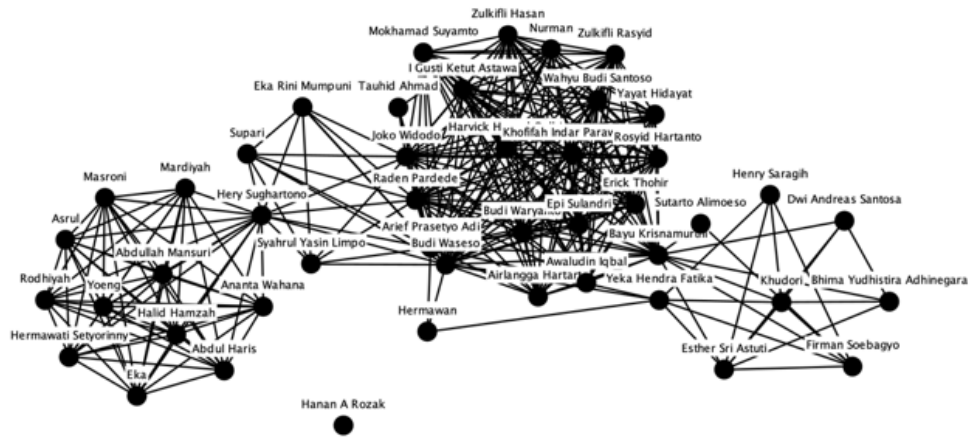
Domestic rice supplies become very important to realize stable, affordable and easily accessed rice supplies. Farmers, middlemen, traders, retailers, consumers, the House of Representatives (DPR) and the government have their respective functions. The state food public company Perum Bulog should have ensured food resilience and distributed food for direct assistance following a new non-cash food assistance program. Much of rice supplies relies on private suppliers, making the distribution of government rice assistance disrupted. Under these circumstances, the private sector should play an important role in the domestic market and the state food public company Perum Bulog should participate in distributing rice when the national rice production declines.

Actor Network



Picture 1. Visualization of Actor (Organization) Network in the Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the researcher)

Picture 1 shows the result of the actor (organization) debating the rice import policy in Indonesia as discoursed by traders association, the president, the government (ministry), government institution, expert, the House of Representatives (DPR), the public and farmers association.

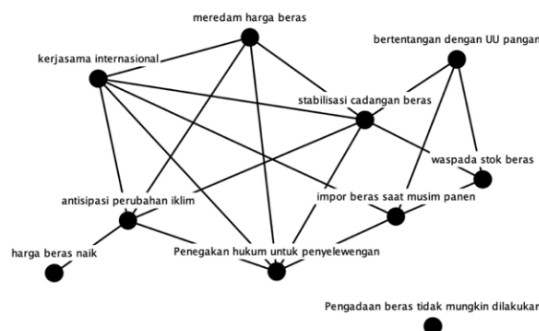


Picture 2. Visualization of Actor (Person) Network in the Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the researcher)

Picture 2 shows that a total of 54 actors got involved in the debate on the rice import policy in Indonesia in Kompas.id online media during the March 24-October 8, 2023 period. The 54 actors are person actors. The actors debating the rice import policy are traders associations: Micro Small and Medium Business Industrial Association (Hermawati Setyorinny), Chief of Cooperative Unit of Cipinang Wholesale Rice Market (Zulkifli Rasyid), General Chairman of Indonesian Market Traders Association (Abdullah Mansuri); farmers associations: General Chairman of Indonesian Farmers Association (Henry Saragih), General Chairman of Indonesian Rice Millers and Rice Entrepreneurs Association (Sutarto Alimoeso), Chief of Demak Farmers Association (Hery Sugihartono), Indonesian Seed Bank and Farm Technology Association (Masroni), the government/Agriculture Ministry (Syahrul Yasin Limpo), Trade Ministry (Zulkifli Hasan), Coordinating Ministry for Economic Affairs (Airlangga Hartarto), Central Java Provincial Police (Adjunct Senior Commissioner Rosyid Hartanto), Food Task Force of the Indonesian Police (Hermawan), Food Resilience & Agriculture Service (Eka Rini), Batang district government (Wahyu Budi).

Community actors (Halid Hamzah, Mardiyah, Yoeng, Rodhiyah), House of Representatives (DPR): Commission IV (Firman Subagyo, Hanan Razak), experts: Professor of Bogor Institute of Agriculture (Dwi Andreas Santosa), Lecturer of School of Economics at Diponegoro University/UNDIP (Esther Sri Astuti), agriculture observers (Khudori), Indonesian Agricultural Economic Association/Perhepi (Bayu Krisnamurti), Institute for Development of Economics and Finance/Indef (Tauhid Ahmad), Center of Economic & Law Studies (Bhima Yudhistira A), government agencies (state food public company Bulog, National Food Agency, Indonesian Ombudsman, Meteorology, Climatology and Geophysics Agency/BMKG, and President (Joko Widodo).

Concept Network

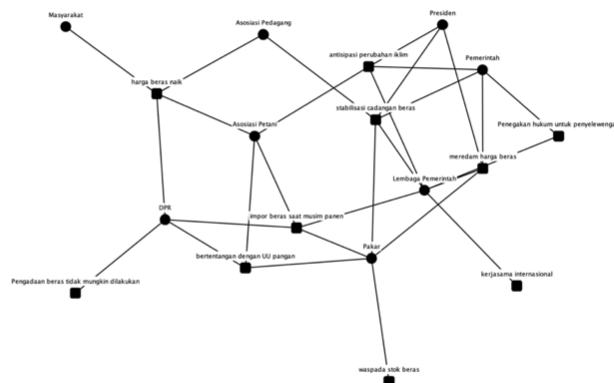


Picture 3. Visualization of Concept Network in the Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the researcher).

Each actor in the debate on rice import policy in Indonesia has different arguments. Some of them favor the policy, while others oppose it. The researcher found 88 arguments from the actors which were later classified into 10 concepts. The actors used the arguments to oppose and favor the rice import policy in Indonesia.

Picture 3 shows the arguments used by the actors. There are separate concepts (rice procurement is impossible) which serve as opposition to the rice import policy. However, the other concepts such as rice price hike (meredam harga beras), anticipating climate change (antisipasi perubahan iklim), stabilizing rice reserves (stabilisasi cadangan beras), rice import during harvest time (impor beras saat musim panen), rice stock alert (waspada stok beras), international cooperation (kerja sama internasional) and law enforcement against rice fraud (penegakan hukum untuk penyelewengan) also become separate topics of the debate among the actors, with some of the concepts opposing and the others favoring the policy.

Affiliation Network

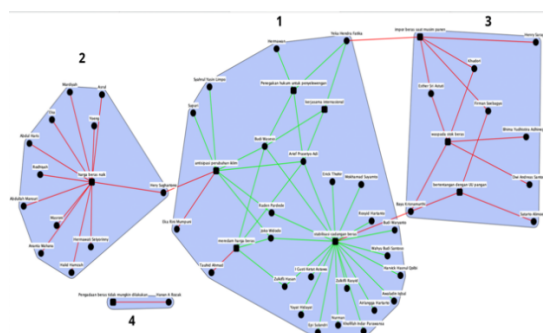


Picture 4. Visualization of Affiliation Network in the Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the researcher).

Picture 4 shows visualization of affiliation network which indicates relations between actors (●) and concepts (*). There are 8 actors and 10 concepts debating the rice import policy in Indonesia. The lines connecting dots to boxes mean that the actors have connection with the concepts talked about. If no connecting line is found, there will be no relationship between the actors and the concepts. From Picture 4, in one concept, each actor debated the policy. For instance, the concept of stabilizing food reserves was debated by government institution, the president, experts and traders association.

Both the government institution and the president continued to echo the concept of stabilizing rice reserves by arguing that the rice import policy is taken to maintain national rice stock. On the other hand, the experts and traders association debated the concept. Both the experts and traders association said the government’s rice import policy can be implemented while at the same time the prices of food commodities must be kept under control.

Modularity



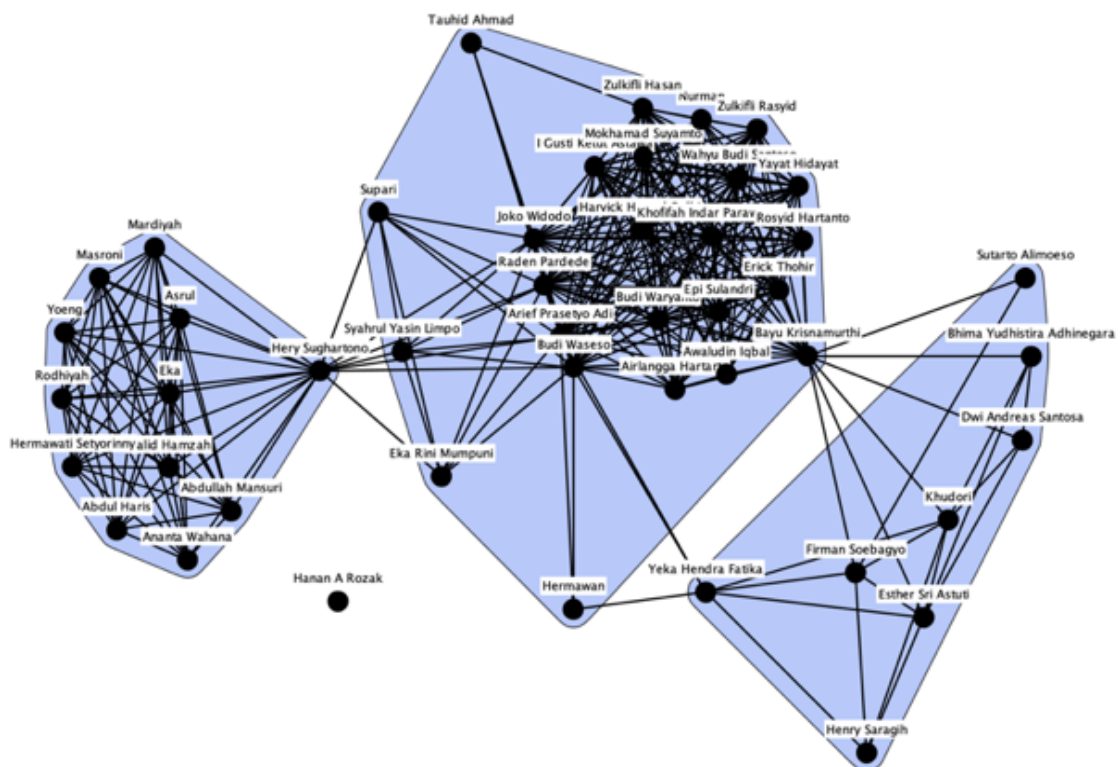
Picture 5. Visualization of (Modularity) Coalition in the Debate on the Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the researcher).

Picture 5 shows modularity shaped in the debate on the rice import policy in Indonesia. Cluster 1 (center) is the cluster of concepts of stabilizing rice reserves, law enforcement against rice fraud, international cooperation, reducing rice prices and anticipating climate change. Cluster 1 pertaining to the concept of stabilizing rice reserves has many actors favoring the policy, but only 1 actor opposed the concept. The actor is Bayu Krisnamurthi who is the representative of the Indonesian Agricultural Economy Association (Perhepi).

The concept of reducing rice prices amidst the rice import policy also sparked pros and cons, with President Joko Widodo, Zulkifli Hasan, Arief Prasetyo Adi, and Budi Waseso favoring the policy. Meanwhile, 1 actor Tauhid Ahmad from the Institute for Development of Economics and Finance (INDEF) opposed the policy, arguing that the distribution of imported rice through retail will potentially become ineffective to control prices at a consumer level if the involved distribution chain is not slashed. The concept of anticipating climate change in cluster 1 also aroused pros and cons where Eka Rini Mumpuni and Hery Sugihartono opposed the policy, whereas President Jokowi and other government institutions favored it.

Meanwhile, all actors favored the concepts of international cooperation and law enforcement against rice fraud. The concept of international cooperation received support from actors (Arief Prasetyo Adi, Budi Waseso, and Yeka Hendra Fatika). The concept of law enforcement against rice fraud was echoed by actors (Arief Prasetyo Adi, Budi Waseso, Yeka Hendra Fatika, and Hermawan). Cluster 2 shows the concept of rice price hike which received objections from various actors including Hery Sugihartono, Hermawati Setyorinny, Halid Hamzah, Masroni, Abdullah Mansuri, Rodhiyah, Abdul Haris, Eka, Mardiyah, Yoeng, and Asrul.

Cluster 3 shows the concept of rice import during harvest time which receives objections from Henry Saragih, Yeka Hendra Fatika, Khudori, Firman Soebagyo, and Esther Sri Astuti. The concept of rice stock alert was voiced by Esther Sri Astuti, Khudori, Bhima Yudhistira, Dwi Andreas, and Bayu Krisnamurthi. The concept which contradicts the food law also received resistance from Firman Subagyo, Sutarto Alimoeso, and Bayu Krisnamurthi. Cluster 4 is related to the concept of rice procurement which is impossible, The concept comes from Hanan A Razak who is the representative of the DPR Commission IV.



Picture 6. Visualization of Congruence Network Coalition in the Debate on Rice Import Policy in Indonesia (processed by the research).

Network Analysis
Network Analysis of Degree Centrality Affiliation

Table 1. Affiliation Network

Name	Variable	Frequency	Degree (%)
Abdul Haris	person	1	0.7
Abdullah Mansuri	person	1	0.7
Airlangga Hartarto	person	1	0.7
Ananta Wahana	person	1	0.7
Anticipating climate change	concept	11	6.0
Arief Prasetyo Adi	person	13	3.7
Asrul	person	1	0.7
Awaludin Iqbal	person	2	0.7
Bayu Krisnamurthi	person	4	2,2
Contradicting the food law	concept	3	2.2
Bhima Yudhistira Adhinegara	person	1	0.7
Budi Waryanto	person	1	0.7
Budi Waseso	person	8	3.7
Dwi Andreas Santosa	person	1	0.7
Eka	person	1	0.7
Eka Rini Mumpuni	person	1	0.7
Epi Sulandri	person	1	0,7
Erick Thohir	person	1	0.7
Esther Sri Astuti	person	2	1.5
Firman Soebagyo	person	2	1,5
Halid Hamzah	person	1	0.7
Hanan A Rozak	person	1	0,7
rice price hike	concept	12	9.0
Harvick Hasnul Qolbi	person	1	0.7
Henry Saragih	person	1	0.7
Hermawan	person	1	0.7
Hermawati Setyorinny	person	1	0.7
Hery Sugihartono	person	2	1.5
I Gusti Ketut Astawa	person	1	0.7
Rice irmpor during harvest time	concept	5	3,,7
Joko Widodo	person	5	2.2
International cooperation	concept	6	2.2
Khofifah Indar Parawansa	person	1	0.7
Khudori	person	2	1.5
Mardiyah	person	1	0.7

Masroni	person	1	0.7
Reducing rice prices	concept	10	3.7
Mokhammad Suyamto	person	1	0.7
Nurman	person	2	0.7
Law enforcement against rice fraud	concept	4	3.0
Rice procurement is impossible	concept	1	0.7
Raden Pardede	person	2	1.5
Rodhiyah	person	1	0,7
Rosyid Hartanto	person	1	0,7
Stabilizing rice reserves	concept	29	15
Supari	person	1	0.7
Sutarto Alimoeso	person	1	0.7
Syahrul Yasin Limpo	person	3	0.7
Tauhid Ahmad	person	1	0.7
Wahyu Budi Santoso	person	1	0,7
Rice stock alert	concept	6	3.7
Yayat Hidayat	person	1	0.7
Yeka Hendra Fatika	person	3	2.2
Yoeng	person	1	0.7
Zulkifli Hasan	person	5	1.5
Zulkifli Rasyid	person	1	0.7

Degree centrality is used to assess which is the most dominant concept and actor related to an issue (Eriyanto, 2022). Table 1 shows that the degree centrality of the most dominant actor related to the debate on rice import policy in Indonesia is discoursed by Arief Prasetyo Adi with 13 frequencies and 3,7% degree centrality. Degree means the number of relations from discourses/concepts or actors. Meanwhile, the most dominant concept is related to stabilizing rice reserves, with 29 frequencies and 15% degree centrality.

Network Analysis of Betweenness Centrality

Table 2. Affiliation Network of Betweenness Centrality

Name	Variable	Frequency	Betweenness (%)
Abdul Haris	person	1	0
Abdullah Mansuri	person	1	0
Airlangga Hartarto	person	1	0
Ananta Wahana	person	1	0
Anticipating climate change	concept	11	14
Arief Prasetyo Adi	person	13	5.7
Asrul	person	1	0
Awaludin Iqbal	person	2	0

Bayu Krisnamurthi	person	4	7.1
Contradicting the food law	concept	3	2.0
Bhima Yudhistira Adhinegara	person	1	0
Budi Waryanto	person	1	0
Budi Waseso	person	8	5.7
Dwi Andreas Santosa	person	1	0
Eka	person	1	0
Eka Rini Mumpuni	person	1	0
Epi Sulandri	person	1	0
Erick Thohir	person	1	0
Esther Sri Astuti	person	2	0.3
Firman Soebagyo	person	2	0.3
Halid Hamzah	person	1	0
Hanan A Rozak	person	1	0
rice price hike	concept	12	11
Harvick Hasnul Qolbi	person	1	0
Henry Saragih	person	1	0
Hermawan	person	1	0
Hermawati Setyorinny	person	1	0
Hery Sugihartono	person	2	11
I Gusti Ketut Astawa	person	1	0
Rice import during harvest time	concept	5	2.6
Joko Widodo	person	5	2.8
International cooperation	concept	6	1.5
Khofifah Indar Parawansa	person	1	0
Khudori	person	2	0.3
Mardiyah	person	1	0
Masroni	person	1	0
Reducing rice prices	concept	10	1.5
Mokhamad Suyamto	person	1	0
Nurman	person	2	0
Law enforcement against rice fraud	concept	4	2.7
Rice procurement is impossible	concept	1	0
Raden Pardede	person	2	2.2
Rodhiyah	person	1	0
Rosyid Hartanto	person	1	0
Stabilizing rice reserves	concept	29	19
Supari	person	1	0

Sutarto Alimoeso	person	1	0
Syahrul Yasin Limpo	person	3	0
Tauhid Ahmad	person	1	0
Wahyu Budi Santoso	person	1	0
Rice stock alert	concept	6	4.0
Yayat Hidayat	person	1	0
Yeka Hendra Fatika	person	3	2.7
Yoeng	person	1	0
Zulkifli Hasan	person	5	0.2
Zulkifli Rasyid	person	1	0

The table above shows betweenness centrality in which the actor with the highest betweenness score is Hery Sugihartono and the concept with the highest betweenness score of 19% is the concept of stabilizing rice reserves. The actor with the highest betweenness score is the actor who plays a role as a go-between among other actors (Eriyanto, 2022). Likewise, the concept with the highest betweenness score automatically becomes a go-between from one concept to another.

Network Analysis of Closeness Centrality

Table 3. Affiliation Network of Closeness Centrality

Name	Variable	Frequency	Closeness (%)
Abdul Haris	person	1	1.4
Abdullah Mansuri	person	1	1.4
Airlangga Hartarto	person	1	1.9
Ananta Wahana	person	1	1.4
anticipating climate change	concept	11	2.4
Arief Prasetyo Adi	person	13	2.6
Asrul	person	1	1.4
Awaludin Iqbal	person	2	1.9
Bayu Krisnamurthi	person	4	2.2
contradicting the food law	concept	3	1.7
Bhima Yudhistira Adhinegara	person	1	1.4
Budi Waryanto	person	1	1.9
Budi Waseso	person	8	2.6
Dwi Andreas Santosa	person	1	1.4
Eka	person	1	1.4
Eka Rini Mumpuni	person	1	1.8
Epi Sulandri	person	1	1.9
Erick Thohir	person	1	1.9
Esther Sri Astuti	person	2	1.5
Firman Soebagyo	person	2	1.5

Halid Hamzah	person	1	1.4
Hanan A Rozak	person	1	0.1
Rice price hike	concept	12	1.7
Harvick Hasnul Qolbi	person	1	1.9
Henry Saragih	person	1	1.3
Hermawan	person	1	1.6
Hermawati Setyorinny	person	1	1.4
Hery Sugihartono	person	2	2.0
I Gusti Ketut Astawa	person	1	1.9
Rice impor t during harvest time	concept	5	1.5
Joko Widodo	person	5	2.4
International cooperation	concept	6	2.1
Khofifah Indar Parawansa	person	1	1.9
Khudori	person	2	1.5
Mardiyah	person	1	1.4
Masroni	person	1	1.4
Reducing rice prices	concept	10	2.0
Mokhamad Suyamto	person	1	1.9
Nurman	person	2	1.9
Law enforcement against rice fraud	concept	4	2.1
Rice procurement is imposible	concept	1	0.1
Raden Pardede	person	2	2.4
Rodhiyah	person	1	1.4
Rosyid Hartanto	person	1	1.9
Stabilizing rice reserves	concept	29	2.7
Supari	person	1	1.8
Sutarto Alimoeso	person	1	1.4
Syahrul Yasin Limpo	person	3	1.8
Tauhid Ahmad	person	1	1.6
Wahyu Budi Santoso	person	1	1.9
Rice stock alert	concept	6	1.8
Yayat Hidayat	person	1	1.6
Yeka Hendra Fatika	person	3	1.8
Yoeng	person	1	1.4
Zulkifli Hasan	person	5	2.0
Zulkifli Rasyid	person	1	1.9

The table above shows closeness centrality where the concept arouses a conflict close to the concept of other actors. The centrality score of actor Arief Prasetyo Adi is 2.6% which shows that the actor is the closest to the other actors. Meanwhile, the concept of stabilizing rice reserves is the concept close to other concepts, with a closeness centrality score of 2.7%.

Conclusion

The debate on rice import policy in Indonesia was held to challenge for public views. The concepts that pro and con actors brought about are related, among others, to stabilizing rice reserves, international cooperation, rice import during harvest time, contradicting the food law, anticipating climate change, rice price hike, rice stock alert and law enforcement against rice fraud. The actors who favor and oppose the rice import policy come up with their respective arguments in the mass media in this case Kompas.id online media. They did so to influence public views regarding the Indonesian government's rice import policy.

Although a number of actors including the House of Representatives (DPR), traders association, farmers association, experts and the public oppose the policy, the Indonesian government remains adamant to implement it. This aligns with the statement of Hajer that Discourse Coalition Framework recognizes state or government as an important actor in making policies because they hold substantial power. This research recommends a public discussion involving actors favoring and opposing the rice import policy in Indonesia to find a solution to the debate. The discourse on rice import policy may last longer and thus, further researches should be able to look at the dynamics of the discourse from time to time.

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