

The Protest of Tofu-Tempe Producers: A Content Analysis of Print Media

Kresno Agus Hendarto

Balai Penelitian Teknologi Hasil Hutan Bukan Kayu Mataram, NTB

Basu Swastha Dharmmesta

B. M. Purwanto

Fakultas Ekonomika dan Bisnis Universitas Gadjah Mada, Jogjakarta

Moir M.M. Moeliono

Center for International Forestry Research, Bogor

Abstract

Tofu-tempe has been popular among the Indonesia people. Nearly all people have ever consumed them. However with the long draught in the last half century in United States of America, the price of soybean, the raw material of tofu-tempe, has increased significantly. Consequently, the producers of tofu-tempe in Jakarta protested. They stopped the production for 3 days from 25 to 27 July 2012. The relation between media and protest is transactional. On the one hand, the protesting group uses media to disseminate their activities. On the other hand, media needs news to report. The objective of this study is to describe the protest of tofu-tempe producers. Therefore, this study attempts to answer some questions: (i) what is the root cause and what have triggered the protest? (ii) what is the target and what is the objective of the protest? (iii) who is benefited by the protest? and (iv) why the producers participated in the protest? Data on the protest by tofu-tempe producers were collected from print media and analyzed by content analysis. The results showed that the roots causes of the protest were: (a) inability of the government to provide self-sufficiency of soybean; and (b) inability of the government to control the supply of soybean at national level and the trigger of the protest was significant increase of soybean price. They have made the producers protested. The objective of the protest were: (a) taking over of soybean trade by the government; (b) elimination of import tariff for soybean; (c) socialization to the society that soybean price has increased so that the society can understand the increase of selling price; (d) subsidy to soybean price to the producers of tofu-tempe; and (e) showing to the government the suffering of producers of tofu-tempe after the soybean price increase. The targets of the protest were the government; and the people most benefited by the protest were soybean importers.

Keywords: protest, soybean, producers of tofu-tempe, print media.

Abstrak

Diantara orang Indonesia, tahu-tempe adalah sesuatu yang yang dikenal luas. Hampir semuanya mengenal dan pernah memakannya, kami kira. Namun dengan adanya kekeringan terburuk selama setengah abad ini di Amerika, harga kedelai, bahan baku utama pembuatan tahu-tempe, naik secara drastis. Sebagai akibatnya para perajin tahu-tempe di Jakarta melakukan protes. Protes ini berupa pemogokan produksi selama 3 hari dari tanggal 25 hingga 27 Juli 2012. Hubungan antara media dan protes adalah transaksional. Di satu sisi kelompok yang melakukan protes membutuhkan media untuk menyebarluaskan kegiatan mereka, di sisi lain media membutuhkannya sebagai bahan pemberitaan. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggambarkan bagaimana protes para perajin tahu-tempe tersebut dilakukan. Untuk hal tersebut maka penelitian ini berusaha untuk menjawab beberapa pertanyaan: (i) apa akar masalah dan apa yang memicu terjadinya protes?; (ii) siapa target dan apa tujuan dari protes?; (iii) siapa yang diuntungkan dari protes?; dan (iv) mengapa para perajin berpartisipasi dalam protes? Data tentang protes perajin tahu-tempe dikumpulkan dari media dan dianalisis dengan menggunakan analisis isi. Hasil analisis menunjukkan bahwa akar masalah dari protes adalah: (a) belum mampunya pemerintah melakukan swa sembada kedelai; dan (b) ketidakmampuan pemerintah mengendalikan persediaan kedelai di tingkat nasional. Kenaikan harga kedelai yang signifikan merupakan pemicu adanya protes. Tujuan protes adalah: (a) Pemerintah mengambil alih tata niaga kedelai; (b) menghapus bea masuk impor kedelai; (c) sosialisasi pada masyarakat bahwa harga kedelai naik sehingga dapat mengerti kalau harga jual juga naik; (d) memberikan subsidi harga kedelai kepada perajin tahu-tempe; dan (e) agar pemerintah bisa melihat penderitaan perajin tahu-tempe menyusul kenaikan harga komoditas kedelai. Target protesnya adalah pemerintah; dan pihak yang paling diuntungkan adalah mereka yang saat ini telah mengimpor kedelai.

Kata kunci: protes, kedelai, perajin tahu-tempe, media cetak.

1. Introduction

The rain that started to fall in the Midwest, United States of America, failed to reduce the worry that the long draught during the last half century will be over. More than 70% of corn-supplying regions in Midwest have suffered this week, increasing from 63% last week. Climatologists claimed that this was the worst draught in USA since 1956. There are two important questions in the corn regions in USA. Those unanswered questions are how low the corn harvests this year, and how high the price of such commodities. The condition has been even worse since corn plants do not result in expected output, while the soybean, which was planted after corn, might not grow properly (Reuters/AP/DI, 2012).

What is the impact for Indonesia? With the soybean production rate in 2010/2011 and 2011/2012, of 0.72 million tons, and import rate at the range of 1.90 to 1.95 million tons, then the impact will be unexpectedly significant. The most apparent impact is that the price of soybean keeps increasing from the price of approximately Rp 5.500 per kilogram (kg) to Rp 6.500 per kg and finally inflated to Rp 8.000 per kg. The increase of soybean price has resulted in the strike of production among tofu-tempe producers since Wednesday (25/7) until Friday (27/7), for three days.

This study aims at describing how tofu-tempe producers protested. Using data from media, the objective will be identified by answering the following questions: (i) what is the root cause that has triggered the protest?; (ii) who are the targets and what are the objectives of the protest?; (iii) who are benefited by the strike of production?; and (iv) why the producers participated in the protest?

This study uses news in mass media as the data source, which is analyzed by content analysis. Wright (1986) mentions although we are frequently faced up to mass communication, the personal experience is limited and selective in nature. It means that it is not possible for us to take all contents of mass media (reading newspaper, listening to the radio, watching television, browsing internet sites). Furthermore, because we are very selective in responding to communication blow, our knowledge about what is being reported is biased by our personal preference. Performing content analysis in mass media will systematically and objectively describe the content of the ongoing protest.

Stokes (2006) states that one of the benefits of content analysis is that content analysis enable us to result in reliable facts and numbers to support and prove our arguments. Adiputra (2008) states that some of the advantages of content analysis include (1) it does not use humans as the object of study. Content analysis is a non-reactive analysis because nobody is interviewed, asked to fill up questionnaires, or requested to go to laboratory; (2) it is cost-effective and data source is easily accessible. Such this advantage depends very much on the scope and dimensions to be examined. However, in general content analysis does not require large sum of costs; (3) it can be employed when survey is not possible to perform, for example the research about political conflict, religious conflict and many others; and (4) it can be operated quantitatively and qualitatively.

Further, Gamson and Wolfsfeld (1993) state that social movement (or collective action) and mass media have transactional correlation between 2 complex systems in which the complex system aims at finding a particular goal. Social movement needs mass media for: (1) mobilization, in this case social movement needs media to communicate or express their claims to the public; (2) validation, in this case social movement needs media to confirm that what they have done is right. In other words, validation is acknowledgment of the appropriateness of movement objectives; and (3) enlargement of scope, in this case social movement needs mass media to attract sympathizer through conflict enlargement. For mass media, they see social movement as a potential source of news. Social movement provides various portraits, drama, and conflict to be put in news.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Agenda Setting Theory

Empirical study about agenda setting theory was performed by McComb and Shaw (Rakhmat, 2007). McComb and Shaw (1972) examined the agenda setting theory in the presidential campaign in 1968 and made hypothesis that media determined the agenda for each political campaign, that affect the projected attitude to political issues. Severin and Tankard Jr (2007) inform that agenda setting theory refers to the media ability, with repeated news coverage, to raise the importance of an issue in public mind. Jena (2009) mentions that with their power, media can provide selected news that the audience can directly get focused or get the framing power. Media report the news in different frames in order to direct and influence the audience, to deepen or to create the effect of surprise, wonder, pride, frustration, and so on.

The assumption in agenda setting theory is that the media filter news, articles, or writings to be published. Selectively, the “gatekeepers” such as proofreaders, editors, and even journalists determine which news deserve to be published, and which others have to be declined. Because the readers, audience, and listeners get information mostly from the media, the agenda of the media is certainly related with the agenda of the society. McQuail (1983) describes media/ press as follow: First, media can be seen as a mirror of social life. As a mirror, media is assumed to be the institution that precedes social facts in the society. In this context, media is viewed as the agenda setter of social acts, or what are put in news by media are important social documents in the society. On the other hand, when some events are missed, the events are viewed as normal and are not necessarily put in news. Second, media can also be seen as a social agent of power. As an agent, media is assumed to take active part in opinion building and attitude to particular events in society.

There are two stages of agenda setting. The first stage is identifying generally important issues. The second is determining the important parts or aspects of the issue (Littlejohn and Foss, 2009). When individuals realize the issue, then they will pay attention to the issue. Vivian (2008) informs that: (1) media determines priorities. People believe in the news from media to know events and sequence the events based on the level of significance. Headline news in page 1 of newspaper is considered the most significant news. One’s agenda is impacted not only by the way the news is presented or released but also time and space provided for the news; (2) media maintains issue. Continuous coverage will make the issue look important. News about corruption by a member of a political party will soon be forgotten, but the following news in upcoming days that disclose the involvement of other members in the political party, will create an image that the party is in trouble.

2.2. Social Dillema Theory

The basic characteristics of collective life are that the outcome of a group member frequently depends on collective actions rather than individual action. Interdependency among group members strongly supports mutually beneficial behaviors (Baron and Kerr, 2003). Social dilemma emerges when there are conflicts of interest in short-term and long-term. Social dilemma is a situation where short-term benefit is expected by an individual and will have negative consequences for the group. Komorita and Park (1995) suggest that social dilemma is a situation where any individual involved in the group can increase the outcome of self through selfish actions, but when all (or most) people do the same actions, the final outcome received by all will be less. They also suggested that people in such a situation have mixed motives: they have rationale to work in collaboration (avoiding negative outcome for all people), but they also have rationale to compete (to avoid the best for self).

A good example is football team. To claim championship, all members have to do the best for the team. On the other hand, there is a true competition or zero-sum situation, when each player expects to be the “top scorer” where individual benefit will result in the damage for the team. Why social dilemma is important to be learnt? Baron and Kerr (2003) state that social dilemma is important: (1) because social dilemma is related to the basic question about social life: whether people always follow their own benefit? When the answer is “yes”, the next question is whether it will give negative impact on the group? In what condition people will sacrifice their individual interest for something usual?; and (2) the reason of learning social dilemma is because this seems to be usual but has important consequences.

3. Method

3.1. Population and Sample

The media that will be used in this study is media in narrow sense that is printed media. Population of this study is any news in Kompas Daily. The use of Kompas Daily is because of the followings: (1) Kompas Daily is a national-level newspaper; (2) Kompas Daily is the newspaper with the largest turnover in Indonesia; (3) Kompas Daily is an independent newspaper (neither left-oriented nor right-oriented) and impartial (neither to the the the government nor other parties beyond the government); (4) Kompas Daily has the All-Indonesia coverage, including the content of the news and the distribution channels. This is characterized by remote printing, Kompas update, and website *www.Kompas.com*; and (5) Kompas Daily ranks highest in Indonesia with regard of media performance (Rahayu, 2006).

Media performance, in this study, is measured by the dimension of factualness, accuracy, completeness, relevance, balances, and neutrality. Meanwhile the scope of the study is the content of the news in Kompas Daily that meets the criteria: (1) the news contains the news item of "tempe and tofu"; and (2) the news has been put in Kompas Daily since the initial date until the end of observation. Observation was made from 23 July 2012 to 29 July 2012 or for 7 days.

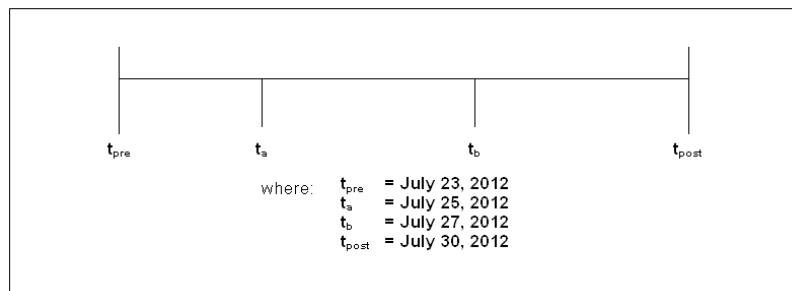


Figure 1. Time Line of Data Collection

Sample is a crucial matter in all kinds of study using content analysis (Sumser, 2001). When we want to discuss about the weak role of women in films, we may not merely take sample of films with weak role of women. We have to take sample of film population that represents all films that will be discussed. The sample in this study is selected by the method of saturation sampling. Saturation sampling is defined as the obtaining all elements of sample in a particular population that have the characteristics expected by the researcher (Black and Champion 1976).

3.2. Operational Definition

Operational definition is quantification of nominal definition or lexical definition (Black and Champion, 1976). Kerlinger (2006) mentions that operational definition gives sense to a construct or variable by determining the "operation" or activities needed to measure. Meanwhile, Kuncoro (2003) states that operational definition is a procedure that has to be followed by researcher in measuring a variable. In this study, the operational definition is as follow:

- a) Protest means a serious complaint to express disagreement or anger about something wrong or unfair.

- b) Production strike means unwillingness to cooperate (to take action) as usual. In the case of producers of tofu-tempe, they stop producing tofu-tempe.
- c) Tempe is a dish for rice, made of fermented soybean and other materials; tofu is made of grinded, boiled, and casted white soybean.
- d) Trigger is the events that can cause production strike, but not strong enough to explain why there is a production strike.
- e) Root cause means why a production strike occurs. It has to be explained in order to stop the production strike permanently.
- f) Profit is positive difference between what spent (cost) is and what generated (revenue) is.
- g) Participation is conscious and voluntary involvement in activities. In this case, the activity is a protest in the form of production strike.

3.3. Data Analysis

Berelson (1971) states that in study of content analysis, validity is not a big matter. With careful operational definition and proper selection of indicators, coding sheet is assumed to be able to measure what it has to measure. Meanwhile Kassirjian (1977) states validity in content analysis can be tested by content validity or face validity. Neuman (2000) informs that face validity is a judgment made by scientist communities who stated that the indicators truly and properly measure a construct. The reliability in this study is tested by the method of *inter coder reliability*. The testing is performed to ensure data objectivity that will be analyzed and also to measure the reliability of analysis technique of the newspaper studied. In this study reliability is tested by the score of Holtsi's *coefficient of reliability in Eriyanto (2011)*:

$$R = \frac{2(C_{1,2})}{C_1 + C_2}$$

where $C_{1,2}$ = the number of category assignments on which all coder agree; and C_1, C_2 = the sum of all category assignments by all coder. Qualitative content analysis is made after validity and reliability testing. Analysis is contextualizing the news data. The contextualization is performed by coding the consensus and difference among the news and presents the quoted news to support the argumentation.

4. Results and Discussion

The preparation of coding sheet is consulted to a researcher at Center for Cultural and Popular Media Analysis. The objective of this consultation is to test the content validity of coding sheet. What we did was delivering a coding sheet and a letter explaining the objective of the study. Then we got feedback and qualitative comments from the experts from Center for Cultural and Popular Media Analysis. The feedback and qualitative comments were then made the basis to improve some operational definition and indicator in order to appropriate with that used by the experts. After that, with the help of the researcher from University of Charles Sturt and Institute of Social Studies, the reliability of the coding sheet was tested.

There was a difference in determining the upper score of acceptance of reliability coefficient. Krippendorff (2004) reports that the lower score of acceptance of reliability coefficient is 0.8; Scott in Hasrullah (2001) put it above 0.75; while Berelson (1971) informs that the coefficient score is between 0.79 and 0.96. The calculation of reliability in this phase shows the score of = 0.89 or above the score described by Krippendorff and Scott, and was between the scores suggested by Berelson.

4.1. General Description of News

Of the data collected, 24 news contained the words “tempe and tofu”. The news was first reported in Kompas Daily on 23/7/2012. After that, news about production strike by producers of tofu-tempe was reported everyday. Viewed from the news format, the majority was straight news (19), editorial (1), corner column (1), and caricature (3). The distribution of news about the production strike by tofu-tempe producers in Kompas Daily can be seen in Figure 2.

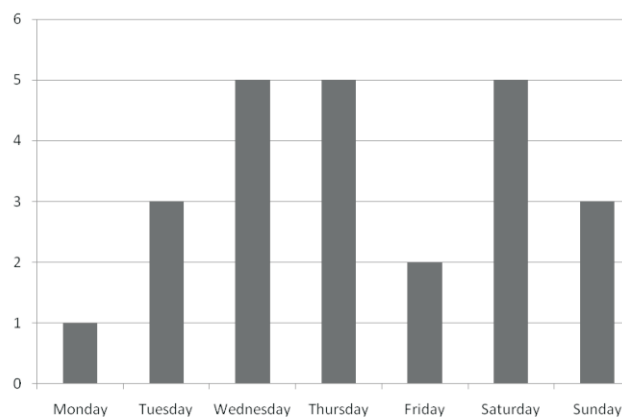


Figure 2. The Distribution of News about Protest by Tofu-tempe Producer

Figure 2 shows that news about protest and production strike by producers of tofu-tempe was likely to increase on the day approaching the strike event. The same holds for the last strike. An interesting point is that during 4 consecutive days the production strike by producers of tofu-tempe was put on page 1 of Kompas Daily. This implies a proof that between media and social movement has transactional relationship. The group that is involved in production strike can become the source of news; on the other hand the group can disseminate what they have done to the society.

There were 18 KOPTIs (Cooperative of Indonesia's Producers of Tofu-Tempe) throughout Indonesia. The 18 KOPTIs are the significant consumers of soybean because they comprise 83.545 home industries in 18 provinces (Aceh, Sumatra Utara, Riau, Jambi, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, Bengkulu, Bangka Belitung, Banten, West Java, DKI Jakarta, Central Java, D.I. Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, and West Nusa Tenggara). In its release, Kompas interviewed the functionaries of KOPTI and also producers of tofu-tempe. Most interviews with producers of tofu-tempe were made in Java regions such as Jakarta, Solo, Tegal, Madiun, Tangerang, Magelang, Salatiga, Purwakarta, Sukoharjo, and South Tangerang. Only one interview was made beyond Java; that was in Balikpapan.

4.2. What is The Root Cause and What Has Triggered The Protest?

Since the beginning, social behavior perspective has given significant contribution by stating that the root cause of any conflict, violence, social movement, and protest is dissatisfaction. Forms dissatisfaction may be directed to the prevailing norms, unfair social structure, suppressive political system, exploitative economy, and group and ethnic discrimination, all of which can be seen from different ideologies and perspectives (Manalu, 2009).

The results of analysis show that the protest was the decision agreed on the meeting on 18 July 2012 attended by all functionaries of KOPTI in 5 regions of Jakarta. The appeal of protest was written on the notification of 29/org/VII/12 issued by Puskopti of greater DKI Jakarta. Any risk resulting from the production strike has also been well calculated. Therefore, the functionaries required the loyalty of producers of tofu-tempe to conform what has been decided. In addition, the functionaries will supervise all of the members. They also admitted that this action had been adequately socialized.

The root cause of why the producers protested was needed to avoid permanent protest. The results of the analysis suggested that there are two roots cause: (1) inability of the government to provide self-sufficient soybean so that the government hardly has any control of price (in macro perspective); and (2) inability of the government to control supply of soybean at national level (in micro perspective) (Kompas, 25/7). Why? This is partly cause by the limited role of Bulog. It is because, different from its previous functions, Bulog now is only authorized to manage the rice, not other basic needs.

Drastic increase of soybean price in very short time is the triggering factor of the protest. Aprilia (2012) mentions that since it is no longer the authority of Bulog (Logistic Agency), at present time there are only some soybean importers who dominate the market. The four players who are popularly known as "the four dragons" are PT Gerbang Cahaya Utama; PT Cargill Indonesia; PT Alam Agri Perkasa; and PT Citra Bhakti Mulia.

Why in the past Bulog was successful in price stabilization? Gafar (2012a) reports that there are 3 key factors: (1) basic capital; (2) supporting capital; and (3) complementary capital. The first and primary basic capital was trust. At that time, Bulog was trusted by the government and society because it could solve problems quickly and responsively. The second, Bulog was needed. Bulog was needed to solve food problems whose market had not grown well or dominated by particular market power, and whose interregional trade was not smooth, and price wide difference between seasons. The third basic capital was the 'capable' to solve any problem thoroughly and comprehensively. Bulog fully supported the policy of the government and the government consequently reimbursed the costs as long as they are in conformity with the prevailing mechanism and procedure.

The supporting capital include adequate financing, competent human resource, and full political support by the government. Meanwhile, complementary capital is adequate software and hardware. In this case software is flexible organization structure and leadership styles of "ngayomi" (protective) and "ngayemi" (assuring). Ngayomi means that the leader protects the subordinates to carry out works in conformity to the rules, while ngayemi means that leaders assure the welfare of the subordinates. Meanwhile, hardware means the network that connects offices and warehouses throughout Indonesia with the capacity of 3.5 million tons.

Maryoto (2012) informs that in the New Order regime actually there was a system for producers of tofu-tempe to procure soybean. Farmers of soybean in Indonesia also got adequate incentives. There were strong cooperatives and Bulog that buffer the supply of soybean. Price fluctuation was rare. The system effective in the past has now gone. Distrust to cooperatives and Bulog has deteriorated the system. It is understandable that many stakeholders ask the dismissal of the system because it is used for something beyond trade of soybean. When we will return to this system, what happens is doubt to return to such system. We doubt because transparency is not fully implemented.

4.3. Who is The Target and What is The Objective of The Protest?

Gene Sharp in Lofland (2003) divides protest in 4 levels of seriousness: (1) symbolic protest or well-mannered protest, which is organized, non-destructive, less attractive, and collective intended to express complaints; (2) anti-cooperation, that is refusal to conform the prevailing social rules; (3) intervention, that is deterioration of patterns, policy, and relation of behaviour and institutions considered obstacles; and (4) alternative institutes, that is the highest forms of protest. When this action replaces loyalty of society, the action has achieved the most serious level of protest. This action may lead to very extensive transformation or even revolution, which is impossibly triggered by the other three types of protest.

From the aforementioned forms of protest, what the producers of tofu-tempe has done can be categorized into anti-cooperation. This form of action that can be taken in the anti-cooperation is strike, undermining, and boycott. Based on the objective, Hoffman and Muller (2009) classify boycott into instrumental and expressive boycotts. Instrumental boycott is the boycott intended to force the target to change their policy or behavior while expressive boycott is a boycott in generic form of protest to the target of boycott. The difference between instrumental boycott and expressive boycott can be seen in the objective. The objective in instrumental boycott is clearly stated and measured while in expressive boycott it is not clearly stated or measured. It only a form of release of anger or frustration to the boycott target.

The collected data show that the target of protest is the government and the objective of protest is instrumental (analogous to the aforementioned boycott). The results of analysis suggest that some objectives of the protest are: (1) taking over of soybean trade by the government (Kompas 23/7); (2) elimination of import tariff for soybean (Kompas 23/7); (3) socialization to the society that soybean price has increased so that the society can understand the increase of selling price (Kompas 24/7); (4) subsidy to soybean price to the producers of tofu-tempe (Kompas 24/7); and (5) showing to the government the suffering of producers of tofu-tempe after the soybean price increase (Kompas 25/7).

4.4. Who is Benefited by The Protest?

Gafar (2012b) states that in the New Order regime, around 1978, *Soedarsono Hadisapoetro*, Minister of Agriculture at that time, made a policy that ruled the price ratio of rice: corn: soybean = 1: 1: 2.5. What did that mean? When rice price is Rp 1.000, then corn price is Rp 1.000, and soybean price is Rp 2.500. The policy was intended to give incentive to soybean farmers consistently and willingly plant soybean. What about the present price? With the tariff of 5% valid since 2000, it is apparent that the ratio is always below 1.3. Even in 2006, it was near to 1 and in 2007 below 1. This implies that soybean price was lower than rice price. In other words, protests by producers of tofu-tempe and reaction of the government did not benefit farmers at all.

What about the consumers of tofu-tempe? To anticipate the inflated price of soybean, before the protest, some producers did the followings: (1) using low-quality soybean; and (2) minimizing the size of tofu and tempe. After the protest was over, producers of tofu-tempe planned to increase the price between Rp 1.000 and 2.000. "For example, the usual size of tempe sold at Rp 3.000 would be sold at Rp 4.000 per piece, while tempe sold at Rp 6.000 per piece would be sold at Rp 8.000", (Chairman of Pusat Koperasi Tofu-tempe DKI Jakarta). In other words, just like farmers, consumers are not benefited either.

The decision of the government in Coordination Meeting on Food led by Coordinating Minister of Economy Hatta Rajasa, decided: (1) That the government facilitated import of soybean; and (2) discharge tariff for that commodity until the end of year (Kompas, 26/7). Analyzing the decision, it can be said that the protest benefited were producers of tofu and tempe (whether they participated in the protest or not). The benefit was the decreased price of soybean of minimally 5%; as reported in news, *"With the policy, according to Hatta, it is expected that soybean price will decrease, at least the same as the percentage of tariff decrease of 5 percent"* (Kompas, 26/7).

However, those who were benefited more were importers who now dominate the import of soybean. In other words, producers of tofu-tempe are benefited by this policy, but importer of soybean is benefited more. This can be seen from the statement of the General Secretary of Tofu-tempe Producer Association, *"The government does not understand the problem. The policy package will not solve the problems underlying the trade of soybean that in practice is dominated by a couple of firms,"* (Kompas, 27/7). The statement of Supervisory Chairman of Indonesia's United Cooperative of Tofu-Tempe, *"Elimination of tariff of 5% only benefits importers, and will not better off the condition. We consistently demand the government to return the soybean trade to Bulog,"*; *"Gabhopti, representing the producers of tempe and tofu in 18 provinces, stated dissatisfaction with the decision. The government only concerns to importers, instead of small-scale producers and farmers,"* (Kompas, 27/7).

4.5. Why Producers Participated in Protest?

Not all producers of tofu-Tempe participated in the protest. This is apparent in the following statement: *"Sweeping for tofu-Tempe sellers in some markets is the excess of the confusion of producers of Tempe and tofu. This action is illegal, but we cannot see it independently. The government is obliged to control soybean price"*. This opinion was said by the sociologist Imam Prasodjo, Kompas (26/7). Another statement read: *"Nobody is courageous to sell tempe. All sellers of tempe and tofu are off. They were swept when they were selling, just like the night before. There was a commotion here,"* said Adin (21), a shop assistant at Pasar Bata Putih, South Jakarta. As written in Kompas (27/07): Chief of public relation sub-department of District office of East Jakarta Metro, Commissioner Didik Haryadi said, *"Primkopti should have put internal sanctions to the members who violated the production strike agreement, instead of sweeping and confiscating commodities from producers or sellers."*

He also said, from the release it was known that Primkopti East Jakarta swept the sellers of tofu-tempe in Pasar Kramat Jati, Ciracas, Rawamangun, Klender, and Pulogadung. From the sellers they confiscated around 2 tons of tofu and tempe to be thrown away and destroyed. He also appealed the sellers who felt disadvantaged and wanted to take legal action. The sweepers are subject to criminal sue of discontending action. *"Alternatively they may be accused of theft with violence because they took over other people's belongings involuntarily,"* he said.

Social dilemma is a situation where anybody involved can increase their individual outcome through selfish actions. But when all people do similarly, the final outcome for everybody will decrease (Komorita and Parks, 1994). In the case of the protest by producers of tofu-tempe, those who take selfish action will maintain production to get profit (no competition), while those who participated had the rationale to avoid negative outcome for all producers of tofu-tempe, including him/her. In other words, those who participated in the protest preferred collective incentive rather than selective incentive.

Collective incentive is related to the achievement of collective objective. It is inclusive in nature, which is when the expected objective is realized, everybody get benefit, including the people who never participated (free rider). On the contrary, selective incentive only affects those who participate in a collective action.

The classic illustration of social dilemma situation is known as prisoner's dilemma and tragedy of commons (Baron and Byrne, 2005; Baron and Kerr, 2003; Myers, 2008). Dawes (1980) states that prisoner's dilemma is an illustration frequently used in the studies of psychology, sociology, and economy to illustrate a social conflict between 2 individuals. The 2 individuals can either choose to cooperate or compete. The reward will certainly be different. When the two cooperate, they will get big reward. On the contrary, when the two compete, each individual will get much less reward or even significant loss. What is also interesting is if one of the individuals prefers cooperation and the other prefer competition. In this case, the individual who prefer competition get bigger reward than the individual who prefer cooperation (see Figure 3).

In the context of Indonesia, Figure 3 can be illustrated as follow: One day 2 persons are arrested because they are suspected to have committed corruption by Anti-Corruption Commission (KPK). Let's say they are A and B. The leaders of KPK are sure that they are both guilty, but there is not any evidence to prosecute them. Then one of the leaders of KPK proposes incentive to the second suspected. They are investigated in different rooms. The following statement is said:

- When suspect A confess and suspect B does not confess, then KPK will give immunity to suspect A, and will prosecute suspect B with maximum prosecution of 10 years (the same holds when B confesses and A does not). Immunity is granted to the whistle blower, for his merit to disclose a criminal act.
- When both of them admit, they will get moderate prosecution (5 years each).
- When nobody confesses, then both of them will be prosecuted with minimal prosecution of 1 year each.

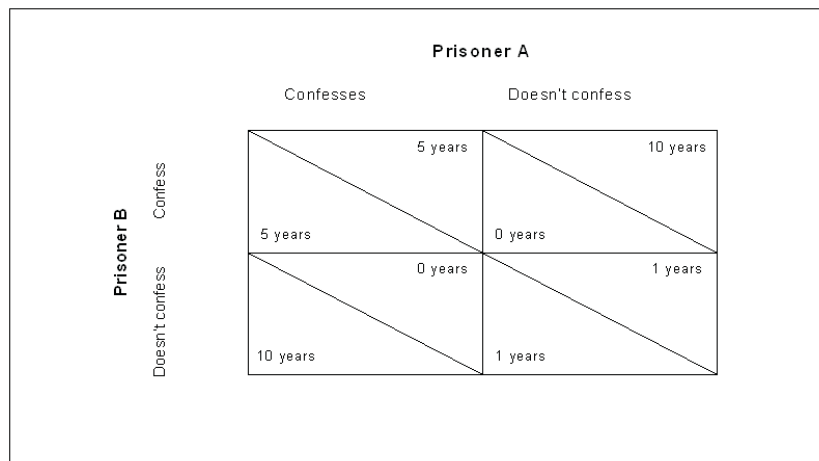


Figure 3. Prisoner's Dilemma
Source: Myers (2008)

Figure 3 also shows that in addition to reward/ incentive, personal values and communications take part. McClintock and Liebrand (1988) state there are 3 values or strategies for interaction with other people. They are (1) cooperative person who is willing to cooperate to maximize mutual reward for himself and his partner; (2) competitor who is oriented to maximization of profit for himself over his partner; and (3) individualistic person who is oriented to maximize his own reward while ignoring whether his partner is advantaged or disadvantaged. In the protest made by producers of tofu-tempe, the sponsor of protest had made social communication in advance.

This can be seen in Kompas 23/7: "*Kuncoro, a producer in Semanan, stated that he is ready to strike. The decision of cooperatives' functionaries is the reflection of tofu-tempe producer attitude here. Adequate socialization has been made. I and my other five siblings who have our own home industries are ready to strike for three days.*" said Kuncoro (61) at his home, on Jalan Windu Gutomo, Semanan.

From the aforementioned it is known that the lessons learnt from the theory of social dilemma is that when individuals are in frequent contact with other people, so that they can pay revenge each other or else, appreciate each other. Cooperation will be more beneficial than taking advantage over other people's disadvantage (Velasquez 2006). This has caused many producers of tofu-tempe participated in the protest.

4.6. What Further Policy of Rapprochement?

Results of the analysis reveals that producers of tofu-tempe protested to the government for 3 days. This protest can be classified into anti-cooperation in Gene Sharp's definition. When protest is exposed to the media, the government's reaction is eliminating the import duty for soybeans and allow any business entity to import soybeans directly from the producers.

As a reaction to what has happened, the policy taken was instant in nature and was only effective in short time. It is necessary to have further steps. Among others are:

1. Making stakeholder analysis for tofu and tempe production. In general, the stakeholder of tofu and tempe production as found in the analysis were exporters, importers, Bulog, administrators of tofu-tempe cooperatives, production house, tofu-tempe producers, tofu-tempe sellers, and consumers. Then, identifying the interest and influence of each stakeholder in order for the government to give equal attention among the stakeholders. Results of the analysis reveal that the government's reaction has not reached all stakeholders.
2. Revitalizing the role of Bulog as the buffering agency.
3. Obliging soybean importers to help farmers as mandated by the Law of Limited Liabilities of 40 / 2007, article 74. The support should be in the form of purchasing all soybean products from the farmers before they import soybean.
4. Although deriving from sub-tropical country with different rainfall, sun shine intensity, and temperature, and with different technology and treatment, soybean plant can also be developed in Indonesia. Some locations have proven the success (for example: Grobogan, Wonogiri, Banyumas). Therefore, the government needs to map which regions are suitable for soybean planting. Of equal importance is re-using the ratio that had been adopted during the New Order 1:1:2.5. This is because for farmers, what matters are *gathuk*, *mathuk*, *cucuk* (suitable, compatible, and profitable) (UTI/WHO/SON, 2012).

5. Conclusions and Suggestions

The objective of this study is to describe the protest by producers of tofu-tempe as released in media. One of the reasons of using the data from media is because of the transactional relation between media and protest. The results of analysis suggested that the target of protest was the government. The roots cause of the protest were: (1) inability of the government to provide self-sufficiency of soybean; and (2) inability of the government to control the supply of soybean at national level. While the trigger of the protest was the increasing price soybean in relatively very limited time that has disadvantaged the profit generated by producers of tofu -tempe. The government then issued a policy, which was seemingly instant, of tariff reduction and import freedom to many stakeholders (cooperative, producers of tofu-tempe, etc). The policy directly gave impact of profit to producers of tofu-tempe (soybean price minimally decrease 5%). However higher profit is received by importers of soybean. On the other hand, farmers of soybean are mostly disadvantaged by the policy.

This study contributes to our understanding about the protest by producers of tofu-tempe. From the perspective of agenda setting theory, although there is a transactional relation between media and protest, editors and even journalists always select which news is eligible for release and which others are not. For example, when there is a protest in some countries related to the publication of Prophet Muhammad in a Danish Paper; and also the film of "Innocence of Muslim" that humiliates Prophet Muhammad, Kompas did not release them in the front page. From the perspective of social dilemma theory, the decision to show particular behavior (participation in protest) is the result of rational process. Option of behavior is considered, consequences of actions are evaluated, and made after a decision whether to participate or not.

Media as a data source in the study of protest has been frequently used. McAdam and Su (2002); Earl, Soule, and McCarthy (2003) use the data from New York Times; Bond, Jenkins, Taylor, and Schock (1997); Jenkin and Bond (2001) used the data from Reuters. However some researchers criticize the probability of researcher bias in the data collection (Earl, Martin, McCarthy, Soule, 2004). To anticipate the shortage, this study employed saturation sample method in collecting the data. Another limitation is that this study only used one media, which is Kompas. It will be better when more (various) media are used. The use of electronic media will enable us to get better result. Combined method of data collection between observation and focus group discussion may result in a better outcome. On the other hand, combined method of data analysis between content analysis and Fishbone (Ishikawa) Diagram or Kepner-Tregoe is expected to give a better result to identify the roots cause of the protest by producers of tofu-tempe.

The reaction of protest target (the government) was eliminating the tariff and allowed import of soybean by many stakeholders. According to us, the reaction was an instant solution. Ability to provide soybean self-sufficiency is urgent. Meanwhile, obliging importers to help farmers of soybean, either in form of partnership or collaboration, needs to be analyzed. In addition, considering obliging importers to absorb all farmers' production of soybean, before they are allowed to import, is a good idea. In other words import of soybean will only be permitted when importers have been proven to purchase farmers' soybean. In addition, the forms of incentive to be given to farmers of soybean in order that they consistently plant soybean should be studied in the future.

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