Café versus Warkop (Warung Kopi):
The Hegemony of Coffee Culture as Trans-Cultural Encounters in Dewi Lestari’s Filosofi Kopi

Fiqih Aisyatul Farokhah
Student of Cultural Studies, Graduate School, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
Indonesia
echa.elfaro@student.uns.ac.id

Adi Putra Surya Wardhana
Student of Cultural Studies, Graduate School, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta
Indonesia
adiputra@student.uns.ac.id

Abstract
Coffee is one of many influential plants in the world. Many kinds of drinks have been made by coffee beans since 3,000 years ago. From then on, the cafe began to flourish in the West until the coffee plants were brought to Java by the Dutch in the 17th century. In the last 20th until early 21st century, warung kopi managed by Indonesian small entrepreneurs competed with modern cafe managed by capitalists. Therefore, there are several problems will be explained by this paper. (1) Why could the society in Java be influenced by a coffee culture which also affected the writer of Filosofi Kopi? (2) How are the models of the hegemony of coffee culture as transcultural encounters in Filosofi Kopi? (3) How are the implications of coffee culture to the competition between warung kopi and cafe represented in Filosofi Kopi? This paper uses qualitative data analysis and Gramscil’s hegemony theory. Coffee plants were brought by the Dutch in the last 17th century, and it became commodity plants in Java Island. Coffee consumption began to grow and shaped coffee culture among Java inhabitant. It influenced literary works, in this case, is the writer of Filosofi Kopi. The story of the novel and film shows there are encounters and competitions of West and local culture represented by cafe and warung kopi in Java. Traditionality and small capital of the Warung Kopi will still be able to stand against the penetration of big capital through the cafe as a representation of Western culture.

Keywords: Filosofi Kopi, Warung Kopi, Cafe, Hegemony, Coffee Culture

Introduction
Coffee is a plant which has a big economic value. This plant is being derived from Africa continent, exactly in Ethiopia (Najiyati & Danarti, 2007: p.1). The part of the plant that used most is the coffee bean. Since 3000 years ago, many kinds of drinks have been made by coffee beans. Then, the consumption of coffee drinks grows rapidly in the Middle East. In the 15th century, the first coffee cafe in the world is opened in Constantinople (Turkey). In the 17th century, coffee beans are brought to India and planted. The Dutch (VOC / Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie/ Dutch East India Company) sees this as a potential commodity. So, they try to plant it in Europe. They are involved in the coffee trade in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf (Bremen, 2014: p. 61). Then, they try to colonize and plant coffee in their colony. In the beginning of 18th century, the Dutch does some experiments to plant coffee in Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) especially on Java Island (Panggabean, 2011: p. 4).

Not until the 19th century, coffee becomes a favorite commodity in all over Europe market (Cramer, 1957: p. 5). Thus, the Dutch through the cultivation system executes in the middle 19th century obligates the planting of coffee in Java and gets a lot of profits because coffee is one of the superior commodities at that time (van Niel, 2003). From here, natives (Javanese and Sundanese) begin to get to know coffee even though the type of coffee consumed poor quality, only even the leaves that can be consumed as a beverage. It means that the policy made by the Colonial Government has affected the emergence of coffee culture in Java since it is applied.

Since then, much Javanese (including Sundanese) people have enjoyed a cup of coffee at a coffee shop and food stall. “No day without coffee,” said the coffee lover. For some people, coffee becomes a part of life. Moreover, coffee is like a medicine herbs to increase the body strength. Coffee is loved by various social classes from the lower class, middle class, till upper class. Coffee has always accompanied on discussion time. Thus, every food stall always has coffee on drink menu until now. Coffee culture has become a part of life since past. In every village, coffee always becomes a choice to be served to the guests. There is always a cup of coffee in jagongan (discussion) time, especially in ronda (a patrol carried out by civil society in Java).

Coffee culture not only influences Java society but also Japanese society. Grinshpun (2013) reported that Japanese society has been affected by coffee and coffee shop since it comes to Japan in the later behalf 19th century. It means that coffee culture has the power to affect society. Capitalists saw this as a chance to get more profits by creating a modern coffee shop, cafe, and instant coffee. Many big companies investing in coffee (drinks) business created a brand to sell their product rapidly. They use modern tools to make coffee such as cafe. Modern cafe could be built transnationally. It means that a brand of cafe could be built in every region across of country. The brand, decoration, promotion, and pleasure attract the consumers. They are glad to spend their money and time while enjoying a cup of coffee. In Taiwan as an example, 76% respondents between 19 and 22 years from six universities in Taiwan consume packed coffee drinks at least once a week (Hsu & Hung, 2005). Hsu & Hung’s
research shows that capitalists have a role to create a coffee culture in one generation. This reality reveals that coffee culture is used by capitalists, and they have a contribution building the coffee culture, especially in Java.

The hegemony of coffee culture in Java also influenced literary works. In contemporary literary works, coffee culture can be seen in a novel written by Dewi Lestari. The title of the novel is “Filosofi Kopi” (Philosophy of Coffee). Coffee philosophy is one short story by Dewi Dee Lestari or better known as Dee Lestari. She has actually created since 1996. However, this short story is published in 2006. Since the emergence of this short story to the public, this short story seems to bring its own magnet for the people of Indonesia. She creates it based on her love of coffee then inspires her to make it as a novel. Her writing is a reminder of her father behavior that has introduced her to coffee since she is a child.

Therefore, there are several problems will be explained by this paper. (1) Why could the society in Java be influenced by a coffee culture which also affected the writer of Filosofi Kopi? (2) How are the models of the hegemony of coffee culture as transcultural encounters in Filosofi Kopi? (3) How are the implications of coffee culture to the competition between warung kopi and café represented in Filosofi Kopi? The objective of this paper is to disclose the representation of coffee culture written in Filosofi Kopi’s Dewi Lestari.

**Method**

This paper uses qualitative data analysis method, thus this paper tries to find the hidden meaning or deliberately hidden (Ratna, 2010: p. 94). Ratna (2010: p. 95) said that literature using qualitative data analysis “has a procedure which is similar to the hermeneutic method including interpretative, comprehension, and understanding.” There are three main components of qualitative data analysis consisting of collecting data, analysis, and interpretation, and writing the result of the research. Study of literature is also used as the data collection technique. This paper uses hegemony as main theory. Gramsci says that hegemony is “a situation when a historical block of the fractions of ruler class which uses social authority and leadership to their subordination class and combines the power with conscious consensus” (Barker, 2005: p. 79). Hegemony is the process which is thought of it, an apparatus of idea owned one social group becomes dominant in a society (Burton, 2012: p. 73). This paper also uses representation theory. Representation is about, “how the world is constructed and served sociality to and by our self”. It means that representation needs to learn the textual origin of meaning and examines the process of meaning production in various contexts (Barker, 2005: p. 10).

**Coffee Culture in Java**

West Java, especially Priangan (Preanger) is a pioneer of coffee plantations in Java. According to historical records, coffee in Java is introduced by European traders. In the last of the 17th century, VOC (Dutch East India Company) brings the coffee beans from Malabar (India) to Java. In 1707, coffee seeds are shared to the native leaders along the coast of Batavia to Cirebon. At first, the seeds are planted in the lowlands, but the results are not good. Thus, the seeds are planted in the highlands that give excellent results. Coffee cultivation continued to be developed rapidly especially in the hinterland of Batavia and the highlands of Priangan (West Java). Priangan grows into a major coffee production area in Java from the beginning to the mid-19th century. In 1723, VOC begins requiring natives farmers to sell coffee only to them. The Priangan’s farmers should set aside their land for coffee crops. They ask the local nobility (supra-village) and village elite to control the coffee cultivation in their respective areas. Selling coffee to private traders could be punished. This regulation is called by Preanger System (Preanger Stelsel). In 1726, VOC becomes a supplier of the half to three-quarters of the world’s coffee trade, and half of those quantities were produced by Western Priangan, namely Cianjur regency. Coffee cultivation gives a big profit to VOCs. After the VOC has implemented a monopoly policy, their income increases significantly. The VOC’s exploitative policies led to native resistance. In addition, various frauds resulted in the fluctuation of VOC coffee marketing. In the last of the 18th century, VOC is a success to stabilize the production of coffee (Bremann, 2014: pp. 61-69).

Large amounts of coffees production make it no longer a luxury drink, but only the priay (nobility) and the Dutch authorities could enjoy good quality coffee. In the last of the 18th century, VOC went bankrupt. In 1808, Herman Willem Daendels became the Governor-General of Dutch East Indies. One of the important policies was coffee planting. The policy was named the Priangan (Preanger) regulation. His policy was supplemented by an order to grow coffee in other areas of Java exactly as it was done in Priangan (Bremann, 2014: pp. 100-103). In 1830, the Dutch colonial government applied the policy of cultivation system as a continuation of Priangan system. The natives had to set aside their land to plant commodity crops, one of which was coffee. This policy gave many advantages to the treasury of the Dutch. Priangan popularity became the cause of the term “Java Preanger Coffee”. However, exploitation caused by this policy breeds misery to the native population. Thus, this policy received a strong protest from the humanist circles. A novel entitled Max Havelaar (1860) appeared to criticize this policy as a tyranny. Then, the government abolished this policy little by little. Coffee was a drink that could only be enjoyed by a particular social class at that time. Lower class society (native) could only enjoy a cup of coffee with low quality, such as coffee corn aka coffee beans mixed with corn.

In the 1870s, coffee leaf disease infested coffee plantations so it production fell. Coffee diseases resulted in a sharp decline in coffee yields. Farmers increasingly suffered (Ricklefs, 2010: pp. 264-273). Thus, the government conducted experiments using resistant types of coffee. After cultivation system had erased, the government began to enact a liberal policy in its economic system. Private plantations managed by entrepreneurs thrive. Many farmers were laborers in the plantation. But, the coffee prices plummeted so many entrepreneurs
and farmers left the coffee plantations. The popularity of Java coffee in the world market dropped dramatically. Javanese society could start enjoying a cup of coffee.

The historical story above shows that coffee culture is a trans-cultural encounter. Coffee culture is not a native culture, but this culture is absorbed and evolved as a local culture. A coffee policy has affected the construction of a coffee culture in Java. The mandatory policy of planting coffee until the cultivation system has introduced natives to coffee. The natives used their knowledge about coffee to process it into processed beverages using simple tools. Coffee began a part of native culture. Coffee became a popular type of beverage among the people. In other words, coffee culture constructed after the Dutch had introduced it. The Javanese society has become a coffee connoisseur. Coffee is always served to the guests. Coffee has been sold in food stalls and coffee shops until the present day. Coffee is presented in sacred ceremonies too. In fact, a cup of coffee is always offered to supernatural beings. Coffee has become a symbol of brotherhood. This reality is a fact that coffee culture has influenced the Javanese society. The influence of coffee culture also affected the writer of Filosofi Kopi, Dewi Lestari aka Dee Lestari.

According to Dewi Lestari’s biography, she was born on 20 January 1976 at Bandung city, West Java. The historical story told that West Java is a pioneer of coffee plantations in Java Island. It means that Dee’s birthplace has thick roots of coffee culture. She spent her childhood in college in West Java. No wonder if she has been hegemonized by a coffee culture that began she knew it since childhood. Coffee culture inspired her to create a novel under the title Filosofi Kopi (Coffee Philosophy). Evidence that she has been hegemonized by coffee culture can be seen in the following excerpt.


Coffee, coffee. A thousand years I spell while to look at that black powder. Think about the magic that it has so there is a person who is crazy for it; Ben, Ben. Ben goes around the world, look for the correspondent everywhere for the sake the best coffee from the entire world. He consults with the expert of the barista from Rome, Paris, Amsterdam, London, New York, and Moscow (Lestari, 2006: p. 1).

The passage represents the novelist’s thought about coffee. She imagines that a coffee lover will always be thirsty to get the best coffee taste. The thought is certainly derived from the experience or the environment around her life. The passage also shows that the novel writer has admiration for coffee lovers. Moreover, West Java has many coffee shops and stalls selling coffee as the main menu. Her experience and knowledge of coffee stimulate creative ideas and efforts in writing a coffee based story.

The Philosophy of Coffee: The Hegemony of Coffee Culture

Hallam (2013: p. 1) said that “cultural encounters examine how otherness has been constituted, communicated and transformed in cultural representation.” It can be understood that a culture can be formed because the influences that come from outside affect local society, and they can accept it to form a new culture. Coffee culture is a transcultural encounter because it spreads from one region to another. Coffees brought by foreigners or traders meet with local culture and local indigenous knowledge. Every society knowing coffee absorbs and makes it as a part of their culture, thus every region has a different culture about coffee. Every area has a different coffee taste too because it depends on kind of coffee, soil, altitude, humidity, climate, and coffee processing method. Hence, there are many kinds of coffee beverage in around the world. In Java, every area in Java has a distinctive taste and type of drink. All types of coffee drinks are considered to have their own philosophy. The nature and personality of a coffee connoisseur are considered to be seen from the type of coffee he ordered.


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As like your choice, cappuccino. This is for a person who likes soft and beautiful. Ben is smiling while serving a Cup of coffee. It is different from café latte, although the appearance is similar. For cappuccino, Needed high standard appearance. They cannot look like haphazard, on the contrary beautiful. Is that True? A truth enjoyer of cappuccino will look at its appearance that is seen in his cup before tasting it. If for the first time it is messy and no concept, they will not drink it. While explaining like the expert, Ben creates the foam of cappuccino which floats on that cup being a beautiful heart.

Lestari shows that coffee is a form of transcultural encounter. The blend of coffee that comes from outside can be tasted by the tongue of people across cultures. Therefore, the philosophy of coffee is considered to have universal values as described in the passage of the story above. For example, the dialogue in the passage above is a sign system which has a meaning. Cappuccino is not only types of coffee beverage, but also a signifier that has a
signified which is interpreted as a symbol of tenderness and beauty. Giving meaning to a processed coffee beverage from the West is a form of Western domination in the coffee culture.

In globalization era, modern coffee processing method which is come from Western dominates the kinds of presenting a cup of coffee. These types of coffee drinks are always present in the menu at modern cafes that invade Java Island. Moreover, cafes that use a variety of modern tools are considered to create the best coffee taste. The capitalists use the cafe with a great brand to attract coffee lovers with the lure of having the best coffee taste. The domination of modern coffee is represented through this Filosofi Kopi’s passage.

This story illustrates that a person who wants to make coffee with the best taste must learn all the way to Europe. These types of coffee are so popular that the main character must find the best recipe for making coffee from European coffee experts. That is, the taste of Western concoction coffee is considered as the best blend. The main character is described opening a coffee shop with a modern cafe concept but with classic European decor. This shows that the author of the novel is inspired by the social environment in which many coffee lovers who prefer European-style coffee concoction. This illustrates that Western coffee culture has been hegemonized Javanese including Sundanese coffee culture. In addition, the slogan “Philosophy of Coffee: Find yourself here” in the novel gives an idea that to find the identity, a person has to enjoy delicious coffee. This slogan can be interpreted as a dependence on coffee consumption.

This story is certainly not only a writer’s imagination but also influenced by social experience. That is, the novel writer is hegemonized by the coffee culture that is represented in a novel entitled Filosofi Kopi. Coffee culture hegemony is demonstrated through dialogues that show that coffee has its own philosophy so there is a certain idealism that must be obeyed in relation to coffee. This reality is parallel to Gramsci’s claim that hegemony is a means of attaining power through consensus mechanisms rather than through oppression of other social classes (Patria and Arif, 2009: 120-121; Simon, 2001: pp. 19-22). Hegemony triggers submission consenting. However, Lestari wants to show that local coffee culture has values symbolized by Tubruk coffee which is resistance to Western coffee culture symbolized by cappuccino. It can be seen in the passage below.

How is tubruk coffee? Unexpectedly question. Natural, simple, but very attractive if we know deeply. Ben directly answer. Tubruk coffee does not care the appearance, rude, quick making. Seemingly it does not need a special skill. But wait until smell the aroma, it is like circus player he serves it, a compliment for you please. With the drugged face, that person accepts it, and ready to drink it. Wait a minute, please! The secret of tubruk coffee is located to the temperature, pressure, and the correct making sequence. All of them will be useless if you lose the right purposes: aroma ... (Lestari, 2006: p. 5).

Through the dialogue, Lestari wants to show that the local coffee represented by tubruk coffee also has a characteristic that is not inferior to Western coffee. Tubruk coffee is described as a symbol of simplicity, innocence, and allure. This passage represents that the Javanese society has its own coffee culture formed through the historical process and social process. In addition, the meaning of coffee which in this case is tubruk coffee is a form of the cultural hegemony of coffee. Tubruk coffee can be found in Warung Kopi (Warkop). Warung kopi (Warkop) or coffee stall represents a coffee culture which influences Javanese society. It grows out of people's need for coffee. Initially, coffee is sold in Warong/ Warung (street food stalls/ Javanese restaurant). Warong stalls exist in the Village and Town. Warong becomes a place to rest for lower class society. There is also a seller who sells specialty coffee by using pikulan (a shoulder pole with loads attached at both ends). The merchants with their pikulan go around from one place to another. According to Raap (2013: p.2), the type of coffee drink tubruk is the most delicious for people in Java. Raap explained how to make tubruk that is before serving beverages, the dried beans are roasted and ground. Coffee powder poured in a glass is brewed with hot water. Before it drank, the coffee blend is stirred and waited until the dregs down to the bottom of the cup.

Warkop is not only a place to take a break, but also develops into social communication space the society in Java. At warkop, there is no class distinction. Everyone has the right to speak in a conversation. Moreover, warkop is a place to talk about social, economic, cultural, and political problems. Serious issues are discussed ranging from family problems to the issues of the country. Sometimes, warkop becomes a place to initiate the movement which protests the policy of the government. Warkop can be a symbol of resistance.
The form of resistance is demonstrated by Lestari in the novel illustrated by Mr. Seno’s Warkop. Lestari relates that Ben (the main character), a barista (coffee maker), accepts the challenge of a millionaire to blend the delicious coffee. Ben success to blend a delicious coffee named Ben’s Perfecto which means ‘success is a form of the perfection of life’ (Lestari, 2006: pp. 12-14). However, a visitor who said there was more delicious coffee made Ben offended. He searched for the delicious coffee down to the Village of Klaten. He found Mr. Seno’s warkop. That’s where Ben sips a cup of coffee called tiwus coffee. Tiwus is interpreted as “though nothing is perfect, life is beautiful” (Lestari, 2006: pp. 25-28).

That story represents traditionality that can beat modern coffee-style blend of Café style. It means that this novel tries to make contra hegemony to Western café by a story about Mr. Seno’s Warkop and tiwus coffee. Warkop and Tiwus is a form of war position against cultural hegemony café. Café with famous brands is a form of colonization by the capitalists against the coffee culture. The story about tiwus’s victory against bens perfecto is a symbol of resistance to the dominance of Western coffee culture. This illustration parallel to Gramsci’s opinion about war position said that resistance to hegemony can be done by building new cultures and new values (Patira & Arief, 2009: pp. 172-173).

Conclusion

Coffee culture is a transcultural encounter. The culture of coffee originating from Africa is transmitted to Arab lands and to the West. Every region constructs its own coffee culture. Based on the historical story, westerner introduces coffee to the Javanese through the policy of planting commodity crops. Javanese (including Sudanese) people absorb, adapt, and build their own coffee culture. It influences literary works; in this case is the writer of Filosofi Kopi. This novel is a form of hegemony of coffee culture which influences the author. One of the shapes is the elucidation of certain coffee. Every coffee is considered having philosophy’s values. It also describes the hegemony of western culture coffee which is represented through café that serves the various western coffee. However, it also represents the resistance to the hegemony of western coffee through the story of kopi tiwus. The novel describes warung kopi as a symbol of local coffee culture can defeat café as a western coffee culture. Therefore, Dee Lestari’s story consists of the resistance to western coffee culture.

References