Developing coffee culture among Indonesia’s middle-class: A case study in a coffee-producing country

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Abstract: The immense development of a worldwide coffee franchise, Starbucks, affects the local community’s coffee culture, particularly the middle class, which characterizes an alternative lifestyle for consumptive and dynamics individuals who love to seek leisure time and a new identity. More than just a process of domestication or creolization, a coffee-producing country such as Indonesia has an element of “soft countering to” Western coffee culture even though it still embraces some parts of the Western styles. This phenomenon is referred to as the cultural encapsulation process or substantial cultural resistance by drawing a line between the two coffee cultures to take merely compatible elements. More precisely, there has been a process of affirming the value and local coffee culture in the coffee business. Still, the proprietors selectively induce some parts of the West culture like new coffee processing and serving techniques. In terms of management practices, the shift in a more local environment will largely determine their standard of

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A massive expansion of the Starbucks-style coffee culture worldwide has made it part of the consumptive urban lifestyle. As a coffee-producing country with indigenous culture and is relatively independent in terms of global coffee supply, it seems that local coffee shops perform a selection of global elements by accentuating local characteristics. Thus, it becomes a kind of encapsulation process due to resistance elements in the global culture. It may directly impact the management practices of local coffee shops that merely focus on increasing adoption of technological aspects and local culture that still becomes an important aspect of consumer satisfaction. Regarding management practices, the shift in a more local environment will largely determine the standard of the hospitality of coffee shops; it is no longer based on the comfort we understand so far but based on the local coffee culture.
hospitality; it is no longer based on the comfort of the “technique”, but instead the fulfillment of the local coffee culture style.

**Subjects:** Third World Studies; Social & Cultural Anthropology; Consumption; Cultural Theory; Social Geography

**Keywords:** domestication; creolization; encapsulation; middle class; coffee culture

1. **Introduction**

Coffee has become a global commodity since the beginning of its discovery, so it is not surprising that there is a diverse variation of coffee culture among regions. Coffee culture has transformed from an Arab monopoly to a European colonial product, a symbol of sustenance in the Latin American States, and a globally produced multinational commodity (Talbot, 1997; Tucker, 2012; Yilmaz et al., 2017). Coffee is able to change the face of economics and culture of the world from the colonial era to modern economics (Clark, 2007; Jamieson, 2001; Saravanam, 2004; Silva, 2007; Tucker, 2012). A massive expansion of the Starbucks-style coffee culture all over the world has made it part of the consumptive urban lifestyle (Clark, 2007; Purnomo et al., 2019; Wann et al., 2018). The expansion of coffee shops represents global consumer culture, growing appreciation of high-quality coffee, and the public’s eager acceptance of casual spots to study, relax, socialize, or pick up an energizing drink (Ferreira & Ferreira, 2018; Kjeldgaard & Ostberg, 2007; Nguyen et al., 2018).

Economically, coffee has a vital role for coffee-producing countries, where coffee is cultivated and produced, including Indonesia. In countries like Indonesia, the culture of coffee consumption is relatively not as developed as in Western countries. Based on the USDA Foreign Agricultural Services data, Indonesia coffee production is expected to increase from 10.6 million Green Bean Equivalent (GBE) bags in MY 2016/17 to 10.9 million GBE bags in MY 2017/18. At the same time, Indonesian coffee consumption is expected to grow from 3.32 million GBE bags in MY 2016/17 to 3.4 million GBE bags in MY 2017/18 due to Indonesia’s expanding middle class and their growing taste for coffee (Purnomo, 2018; Purnomo et al., 2019, 2020; Said, 2012; Wright & Rahmanullah, 2016). Even though coffee has such an important role economically and culturally, research on coffee production and consumption, as well as the accompanying cultures, has received less attention in Asia; the situation is contrary to what happens in Latin America, Europe, and America or several areas in Africa (August & Grigg, 2002; Barter, 2016; Purnomo, 2018; Purnomo et al., 2020).

In the West, the rise of a new cultural style in consumer culture is known as creolization. Creolization is a robust concept on consumer culture that explains how the local and global food culture build a new culture in which different cultural meanings are fused to create new forms of culture (Chaplin, 2007; Drummond, 1980; Lako, 2016). Sidbury (2007) describes the cultural transformation of African slaves in America as a process of creolization. This unique blend reflects the two dimensions of colonization and resistance (Sidbury, 2007). Developed from a concept that explains the cultural transformation in the colony, intensive creolization is used to analyze the formation of new cultural identities due to contact with outside cultures, including consumer culture. Nowadays, the concept of creolization is used to analyze cultural transformation in various regions of the world, not as cultural resistance, but rather as an effort of the local people to adapt to the colonial culture, or transcultural mixing, to form a new cultural identity (Baden & Steward, 2007; Purnomo et al., 2019, 2020).

Creolization is no longer merely a reference to the study of New World cultures of the Caribbean and Latin American creole societies; instead, it has become a universal process occurring when cultures encounter one another (Baron & Cara, 2003; Munasinghe, 2006; Simpson, 2016; Wilkie, 2000). The concept of creolization extends to various themes of study ranging from architecture (Edwards, 2006; Mills, 2009), communication (Ansaldo, 2017), custom ceremonies (Simpson, 2016), as well as lifestyles and foods, including consumption culture (Tibere, 2016; Wilkie, 2000). Regarding consumer culture, food and consumption, creolization is a localized meaning of global products accepted easily by the emerging markets that are usually more active than passive and actively negotiate the consumption process.
(Nelson, 2019; Sidbury, 2007). Food preparation and presentation and their surrounding culture are the aspects that are significantly experiencing the rapid creolization process (Tibere, 2016).

Some researchers also describe the phenomenon as “glocalization”. They propose “glocalization” as a concept to explain the process of how global culture is intelligently given a local meaning to form a completely new culture (Lako, 2016; Ritzer, 2011; Robertson, 1995). For instance, for media businesses, glocalization refers to how media companies localize their content by infusing local elements into their design, narratives, and content (Doshi, 2017; Kraidy, 1999). It shows that glocalization has a more active role in local culture to interpret new culture as a dialectical process rather than just cultural fusion or hybridity culture (Roudometof, 2016). If creolization focuses more on intercultural fusion, glocalization follows the co-existence theory in which global and local cultures develop together or coexisting; therefore, universalizing and particularizing tendencies coincide (Robertson, 1995; Roudometof, 2016; Wellman, 2001). Caldwell (2004) intelligently describes the process of “blurring/blurting” as the boundaries of cultural identity from the outside by associating the new culture as part of the local culture. For example, in Mc Donald’s restaurant, the company’s management intelligently builds the image that Mc Donald is food in line with the Muscovite culture by obscuring the impression that Mc Donald is American food, a nation that is culturally imprinted as the eternal enemy of the Russian nation (Caldwell, 2004).

How does the pattern coffee culture in Indonesia, particularly one developed by local coffee shops, represent creolization? Slowly but sure, drinking coffee has increased its status from an old habit to the symbol of a new lifestyle among the middle class in the coffee-producing countries, including Indonesia (Purnomo, 2018; Purnomo et al., 2019; Said, 2012). This process has been an effect of the “starbuckization” coffee industry in which it hegemonizes the world’s coffee culture to build a new social structure (Bourdieu, 1984; Clark, 2007; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Together with the society’s acceptance toward this new lifestyle, coffee shop business is adopting the Western way of processing coffee that is started to develop in the 1990s (Hafasnuddin & Djail, 2018; Purnomo, 2018; Purnomo et al., 2019; Rahma & Farida, 2019; Said, 2012). Thus, we divide this paper into three main parts to describe how the new coffee culture is developed among Indonesia’s middle-classes. The first part deals with cultivating the new coffee culture or “starbuckization” process. It is then followed by the resistance of local business actors on the “starbuckization” process. Finally, the last part discusses how the local coffee culture shows its new identity by absorbing parts of the Western culture, particularly the brewing technologies, yet refusing commercialization and monopoly in the coffee distribution.

2. Methods

Our first introduction to coffee communities was during our participation in the empowerment project for banana farmers in East Java, Indonesia, from 2015 to 2016. Along with the project, we met young educated people who were interested in coffee and concerned about the fate of coffee farmers due to the coffee monopoly system. They often stayed at farmhouses for a week or two to learn the ins and outs of coffee beans, from cultivation, harvest dates, and brewing before starting a coffee business in a city. We were not interested in coffee yet since our main focus was on assisting the banana farmers, but we always wrote down the information we found. In our night discussion, we also heard sorrowful stories of the coffee farmers having to wait for one year for harvest dates but still depended on the traders. We also overheard the conversation among farmers in the food stalls about how the traders manipulated the coffee price—it attracted us to investigate coffee culture further from 2017 to 2018.

In the second year of our project, in 2016, coffee started to attract our interest. We found the higher intensity of some young people visiting coffee farmers, especially during the harvest dates. They even started to formally introduce new techniques in cultivating, processing beans, and brewing coffee to the farmers through an event facilitated by the village government. During our observation, coffee bean transaction between farmers and those young people was getting more frequent. Several farmers even had informally contacted them and offered to provide coffee beans in a particular amount for the next season. After being confirmed, these young people were owners of coffee shops located in the city.
Another contact with the community was intensively performed after getting a four-year research fund from the Ministry of Research and Higher Education in 2017. With a more accurate and well-designed methodology for coffee farmers and coffee shop networking, we observed coffee shops in four cities: Malang, Jakarta, Jogjakarta, and Surabaya from April 2017 to May 2018. The four cities were selected as the setting of the study because they have their unique characteristics. Jakarta is the capital city known as the national business center. Jogjakarta is well-known for its tourism. Malang is famous for its many universities, and Surabaya is the center of the national industry. The number of local coffee shops in these cities has increased sharply in the last five years.

We conducted interviews with 30 coffee shop owners as the key informants in each city in the hope of getting a detailed picture of their views on the massive spread of coffee shops and on the Starbucks-style drinking coffee culture. We also observed their coffee shop concepts, including the business values they upheld and the layouts and interiors of their coffee shops to symbolize the coffee shop concepts they built from the beginning. Besides, we explored their social network information to identify learning spaces within which social values grew and developed. The wall decoration portraying quotes and wise words as their coffee shop interior could also be used to know the position of the shop owner, whether agreeing with the mainstream coffee business currently developing or the other way around.

To strengthen data on the process of how the new drinking coffee culture was formed, we also traced the themes carried by the coffee shop owners on their social media. Using qualitative sentiment analysis, we examined the materials of their social media, especially Instagram, within eight months from March to October 2018. We performed data extraction on the description of the Instagrams of the 30 sample coffee shops in the four selected big cities. The data collected concerned with opinions of coffee shop owners on modern coffee culture, whether they had positive or negative sentiments. To obtain the data, we used keywords to determine associations with positive sentiments, namely “fair-trade”, “trust”, “fairness”, “quality”, “local”, and “origin”. At the same time, we also mapped out words associated with knowledge dissemination about coffee, such as green bean coffee processing techniques (full wash, semi wash, honey, or natural), roast profiles (light, medium, city, full city), serving techniques (filter, siphon, Vietnam drip, cold brew), and menus (expresso, latte, cappuccino, coffee ice). We then analyzed whether the four coffee shop posts on coffee knowledge had negative or positive sentiments when associated with the existence of modern coffee shops.

After the data extraction process was carried out on the social media posts of the coffee shops, data coding was conducted as a basis for the analysis. The data coding and analysis were based on the intensity of words used related to processing techniques, roasting techniques, serving techniques, and menus. The more intense use of these words or terms can significantly enrich the coffee shop’s views on the values adopted. Similarly, sentiment analysis in the ethical value category was carried out to measure the acceptance level of the shop owners towards pro-symbols on the anti-monopoly values of the coffee trade. The process of in-depth interviews with the shop owners related to their views on Western coffee culture combined with the sentiment analysis of their posts on social media would provide an adequate picture of how the culture of drinking coffee has transformed, either following the changes or being modified.

3. Result and discussion

3.1. “Starbuckization”: the process of cultivating new coffee culture

The drinking coffee culture in Indonesia is quite different from the coffee culture developed in other countries such as Japan or Europe that fully adopt the Starbucks style. Usually, drinking coffee in the West is introduced by the business community and then becomes a lifestyle. Yet, in Indonesia, it is developed into a business by environmentalists and coffee lovers. As we know, most environmentalists are sensitive to the issues of exploitation and injustice, both natural and social justice issues. The activists of the local coffee shop have built a differentiating wall. This wall has caused image polarization that Starbucks and similar coffee shops are considered to capitalize coffee into a mere business commodity. In contrast, the local shop has always been a symbol of the coffee social vision.
With society’s acceptance of this new lifestyle, coffee shop businesses adopting the Western way of processing coffee started to develop in the 1990s. Coffee community activists started opening commercial shops in cities like Jogjakarta, Medan, Surabaya, Malang, and Makassar. In the previous era, a coffee shop was an unpopular business and even considered a lower-middle-class business. Coffee becomes a middle-class lifestyle for both men and women that it becomes a market share besides instant coffee. Until the early 2000s, the coffee cover was not interesting for the mainstream media due to increased television ratings for reality show programs. In Indonesia, coffee as a new middle-class lifestyle has become more popular since late 2015, and it has gained more media coverage. “Filosofi Kopi I” is a movie telling the story of a struggling local coffee shop that also teaches people about coffee knowledge. In 2015, 231,339 people watched the movie release. In the next two years, until this article was written in August 2017, “Filosofi Kopi 2” was viewed by up to 250,000 people across Indonesia in just one week.

This new drinking coffee culture also brings the theme of “pure coffee” or “single-origin coffee” or specialty coffee promoted by coffee-lover communities. They have brought this new culture to become part of the young and middle-class citizen lifestyle. Besides building the theme, the Indonesian coffee shop design and atmosphere adopt the traditional drinking coffee habits, as seen from the model of tables and chairs, complimentary food, and the order and payment style. Local shopkeepers actively build resistance against the bigger coffee shops through their interiors, such as the layout and coffee shop designs, and by building consumer awareness against the cultural dominance of Starbucks. At the same time, the development of these new coffee shop models is slowly shifting the traditional drinking coffee culture. So far, the local community only knows one way to drink coffee, namely “tubruk” (coarse coffee grounds boiled along with solid sugar).

The Starbucks-style drinking coffee culture is massively and systematically cultivated among Indonesia’s middle class through various channels after 2015. In addition to education, this customization can also create productive social space for cultural growth and coffee business. Drinking coffee at malls or shopping centers becomes a new lifestyle of Indonesia’s middle class, especially in the big cities pioneered by professionals, students, and scholars. Business meetings, or just treating friends, take place in well-known coffee shops because it is considered practical and strategic. Coffee was a complimentary drink at food stalls, but now it is the main course, and food is only complementary. Starbucks-style coffee has become an integral part of the lifestyle of young people and the middle class as part of their leisure time—it has even been institutionalized into a new lifestyle. New coffee tastes are continuously created until drinking coffee culture becomes part of the middle-class lifestyle and new rich characteristics. It has been a suitable marketing strategy to take a substantial market niche of 250 million Indonesia’s population with economic growth of over 5% in the last ten years.

Thus, in this context, “starbucksification” is the process of introducing modern and instant coffee shops to the middle-class community. Simultaneously, Starbucks worldwide builds a new lifestyle for middle-class income to shape a particular market segment and create social space. The popularity of social media and middle-class income growth encourage drinking coffee to be no longer peripheral culture but popular culture. The consumptive new rich of Indonesia’s middle class will pursue the new sensation. Through commodification of the coffee industry, Starbucks successfully promotes new coffee culture to this middle-class, both for the taste and as a symbol of social status. Modern coffee shops and their popularity find their momentum among consumptive middle-class young people by creating drinking coffee a symbol of a new lifestyle. At the same time, modern coffee shops also are actively sponsoring various coffee festivals to promote this new lifestyle. On the other hand, local coffee shops have made themselves a representative of resistance to the domination of big companies framing coffee as mass, instant, cheap and practical products. These local coffee shops aim to present coffee as representing high cultural and humane values and fairness that prices shall not become the utmost way people value coffee.

Coffee shops have developed as a place for hanging out or relaxing and an alternative to working among increasingly autonomous middle-classes. Coffee and all the identity attached to it have obtained its place in the young generation of Indonesia’s middle-class, not only as a social symbol but also as a leisure place to chat, build friendship, and even working. It confirms the findings of Argan et al. (2015), Bursa (2016), and
Said (2012) that coffee shops today are a place for sipping a cup of coffee to get morning feeling and, at the same time, a representation of social identity. Oldenburg (1999) describes that coffee shops are the “third places counter the tendency to be restrictive for the enjoyment of others by being open to all and by emphasizing qualities not confined to status distinctions current in the society”. This situation is more or less in line with the popular culture of “Jeaning America”, representing the jeans transformation from cowboy archetype into a popular outfit for all classes, from artist to working-class, by changing jeans from a social category to social meaning (Fiske, 2010).

The modern coffee shop format strongly supports today’s increasingly autonomous workers due to the rapid self-employed digital transformation that makes formal offices less likely to play the role of an alternative office (Morris, 2013). Drinking coffee has shifted dramatically from caffeine enjoyment into a ritual, culture, politic, new lifestyle, and economic opportunity (Argan et al., 2015; Clark, 2007; Quintão et al., 2017; Rahma & Farida, 2019; Rethelyi, 2018). Coffee shops have always been a medium for spreading new cultures and building identities in almost every place in the world—either forming new identities, opposing the dominant cultures, or building ethnic identities such as the Jewish community in Budapest (Rethelyi, 2018), the lifestyle of the 19th century in Turkish society (Argan et al., 2015; Sajdi, 2014) or the lifestyle in modern Japanese society (Grinshpun, 2014, 2017). Food has transformed from a physical need into a recreational need and has even become a social symbol and social movement (Fischler, 1988; Wahlen & Laamanen, 2015; Warde, 2015). Coffee culture in developing countries has become popular because it proliferates and siphons people’s attention since it was initially born from the aspirations of individuals to possess a new symbol of status, especially for the middle-class income.

3.2. Local coffee shop resistance

3.2.1. We are local and original: the process of building identity

Local coffee business’ resistance to the culture and mainstream coffee business such as Starbucks is not limited to coffee shop management strategy or cultural resistance. These local business people go further by developing a supply network of raw materials, especially green beans. They no longer work with traditional coffee collectors or intermediaries and prefer to work directly with the coffee farmers. Although it is still sporadic, the direct connection between the coffee shop owners and the farmers becomes a source of alternative market information. The coffee shops use the direct relationship with farmers as a capital building image and ensure the availability and quality of a continuous coffee bean throughout the year. In addition, the new marketing network, according to some of our key informants, has increased the competition of local traders, so the price of coffee beans has continued to improve over the last five years.

The other strategy of coffee shop managers in building identity is by involving consumers in shop management, mainly related to the process of knowledge co-creation through social interaction on post-harvest handling of coffee. Simultaneously, post-harvest coffee knowledge also quickly spreads to farmers who establish relationships with coffee shops because the shops are interested in good quality products. As a result, the coffee shop owners also transfer the knowledge to farmers. For instance, in Malang, the association of coffee farmers develops networks with more than 100 local coffee shops throughout Indonesia. These farmers even build their coffee brands distributed to local shops, so they get a better price. Regular meetings are held to accommodate coffee shop complaints. The association also provides input related to prices and improvements on farmer-level processing. Coffee shop managers use this relationship to build an image that their shop consent to improve farmers’ capacities in coffee processing and give standard prices to the farmers’ products.

According to the analysis of the coffee shops’ social media, the anti-mainstream contents such as “locality” and “originality” were most often posted by the coffee shops as the main posts or hashtags such as #kopiberkeadilan (coffee for justice), #kopiantukpetani (coffee for farmers), and #kopibudibaik (coffee for good attitude). One of the coffee shops located in Jakarta wrote:
“There is a little Ina Juria (single-origin coffee) left in the row before the brew table. This legendary coffee tree from Flores is special for us. Some of the unusual things about this tree are quite evocative. And @desantos_66 is ready at the coffee table to talk about Mrs. Juria (the first woman processing Ina Juria).”

The hashtags installed by the coffee shop also have meaning correlated with themes of “trust”, “justice”, “local”, “origin”, namely, #localcoffee, #singleorigin, #brewculture.

At the same time, by building the image that the coffee they serve to customers is fresh and directly obtained from partner farmers, they can create the shop’s reputation in providing origin coffee. It is vital for coffee shops in Indonesia. Coffee beans are easily accessible in traditional markets, and therefore unique distinction is required between the original and non-original one. On one page of the coffee shop’s social media, the coffee shop wrote;

“We brought only a few from Cipaganti yesterday. In addition to the natural process, Kang Janjan also did some other post-harvest processes, such as the black honey, full wash, and wine process. Well, we have never tasted the coffee that was resulted from such a process.”

This sentence showed that the coffee shop managers had fresh coffee from Cipaganti located about half a day of journey from their shop. Below the post, they also wrote some hashtags such as #kopilocal (local coffee), #kopigarut (coffee from Garut), #coffeecolaboration (collaboration), #coffeeforchange (coffee for social change), #singleorigin (single-origin), and #absoluteindonesia (Indonesia as identity). The above findings confirmed that coffee locality and originality were used as media to build an identity, as seen from the consistency of coffee shop owners or managers’ posts on social media.

Instead of adopting the Western culture, as in the case of McDonald in Russia (Caldwell, 2004) or coffee shops in Japan (Grinshpun, 2017, 2014) and other countries in Europe, Indonesia’s middle-class develops new coffee culture as a form of resistance toward pop culture. They do not want to call their coffee store “café” or “coffee shop”; instead, they choose the term “kedai,” a term which is more rooted in local custom but is not “too traditional” as “warkop” or coffee stall. The word “kedai” is a form of resistance to modern coffee shop brands such as Starbucks, KopiLiam, Exelco, and others because “kedai” represents freedom and brotherhood while café seems formal and commercial. Thus, local communities have a unique way of responding to outside cultures rationally, not merely fighting or adopting, but, more than that, articulating them into a more functional culture, or as Turner (2008, 2003) noted, cultural liquidity.

3.2.2. We promote fairness: the process of creating border

In the 2000s, local coffee shops were opened by coffee lovers who declared themselves as anti-instant coffee. Also, the international coffee shop brand, Starbucks, became a place to spread cultural resistance and business network—it is booming this day. The first resistance from local coffee shop owners is the selection of the equivalent word for coffee shops. The local coffee shops identify their stalls as “kedai” referring to the term “kedai kopi” in Sumatra, especially Aceh rather than café, a term generally used by Indonesians for the coffee shops like Starbucks. “Kedai” has a more informal and accessible meaning, while cafés tend to be formal and tied.

In addition to a resistance to the term, the choice of the name fits perfectly with the characteristics of Indonesian consumers who tend to like a free and informal style while drinking coffee—cafés are considered to offer a more strict rule of drinking coffee. Among the coffee shop owners, various resistance terms exist, such as “kopi itu digiling bukan digunting” (coffee must be ground not cut), “kopi opa njagung” (are you drinking coffee or corn?), “rasa kopi selalu jujur” (coffee taste is always pure). “Kopi digiling bukan digunting” is a satire for instant coffee lovers. Coffee shop owners always advise using original coffee beans being “ground” directly and not recommend consuming instant coffee from sachets that are “cut”. Those words are the symbols of resistance toward coffee companies selling instant coffee in a sachet that mixes their coffee with up to 40% of corn. Therefore, the slogan of “Ngopi opa Njagung” is quite familiar among instant coffee consumers.
Simultaneously, resistance to this dominance helps reinforce connoisseurship among coffee lovers. They continue to seek better quality coffee and a variety of single-origin that is almost impossible to be provided by companies with mass production methods such as Starbucks. The local coffee shops smartly use this situation to target the fanatic coffee consumers with local coffee varieties not provided by Starbucks and similar stores. Thus, on the cultural side, the local coffee shops perform a deconstruction process of business value from “full of secrets” to be “honest and open”.

Ethic issues are also the concern of coffee shop owners and coffee lovers. Labeling is done to show that the coffee they sell should be fair to address price disparity at the farmers’ level with the price at the coffee shop level. A network of coffee shops and coffee lover communities in big cities actively educate the market on the principle of fairness in drinking coffee. Best quality coffee is not always expensive. They consider that the commercialization of coffee by the modern coffee shops is unfair, so local coffee shops always state that the best coffee shall be affordable for everyone, including the average middle-class people. Coffee shall be enjoyed not only by the rich but also by the commoners. According to the coffee shop owners, it would be unfair to have a 4 USD coffee at Starbucks, while the best green bean coffee will cost only 3 USD per kilogram at the farmers’ level. It is understandable that local coffee shop owners and coffee lovers label the modern coffee shop owners a business vampire because they are like sucking the blood of farmers.

At the same time, local shop owners insist that the tradability of coffee beans is essential to preserve the flavors and quality, as stated by the modern coffee shops, and to keep price transparency to consumers. For local coffee shops, explaining where the coffee beans come from and the processing model becomes an informal obligation. The norm developing among local shop owners is the more traceable the coffee origin, the higher the reputation the coffee has. Some coffee shops attach photographs of coffee farmers as wall decoration in their shop and on their coffee packaging as a form of appreciation to the farmers. Fair coffee and health benefits campaigns when consuming traceable and qualified coffee help the shops attract new and old customers to use altruistic considerations in purchasing farmers’ products and pragmatic “health and quality” considerations.

Coffee shop owners create a set value for their community. If one of them buys coffee beans from big traders considered monopolizing coffee, they are seen as unfaithful to others. They also build a network with coffee farmers to directly get green beans to avoid the free market monopoly. The pattern local coffee shops have in building networks is part of building shop reputation, emphasizing their effort to keep the purity of coffee beans that they do not arbitrarily take from unknown sources. Coffee shop owners believe that making a network with coffee farmers is helpful for them because they can get a lower price than in the free market, yet higher quality of green beans. The network is also beneficial for the shops to explain the tradability and origin of coffee beans in terms of producers and location.

Local coffee shops not only establish a different identity and coffee culture from the global coffee chains, but they also build resistance to the domination and monopoly of the modern coffee shops. The installed resistance slogans on their shops and social media fan pages show their position in the business pattern developed by modern coffee shops. Coffee is not just a commodity but also a social media that the monopoly over coffee, both business and standardization by a conglomerate, is a form of injustice. The coffee shop community develops this value; even though in the practice of processing and selling, they adopt some of modern coffee shop technologies. This phenomenon is an incorporation and exclusion process through which local culture differentiates itself by providing label on local food as “original,” “authentic,” “national,” or “regional” (the self), in distinction from “artificial” or “international” (the other) (Scholiess & Geyzen, 2010). At the same time, local coffee shops are self-taught or learn the coffee knowledge on international coffee associations such as the Specialty Coffee Association of Indonesia (SCAI) or Specialty Coffee Association of America (SCAA). They learn and adopt the standards of coffee beans, the processing techniques, and how to brew coffee. The way they develop coffee knowledge embraces the Western coffee culture entirely. However, their business is completely different from the philosophy of Starbucks and other modern coffee shops. Local coffee shops establish a community for people to learn about coffee by building a closer relationship between business owners and customers; it
is necessary to maintain loyalty and spread views on fair business principles and alignments to the farmers.

The pattern of relationships built between coffee shops and farmer groups is also part of their anti-thesis network of unfair coffee marketing. Although their coffee bean needs are not high enough, several coffee shops, especially those with enough capital start, stock the coffee beans if the harvest is not good or the price is too high. Indonesia shows a different pattern of a more autonomous relationship because local coffee shops can obtain coffee beans directly from farmers. Looking at the development pattern of the coffee community in Indonesia, creolization apparently cannot fully describe the dynamics, especially the resistance to the establishment of the global coffee culture. If creolization is a fusion process from different cultures to form new culture, drinking coffee in Indonesia that consistently highlights the efforts of cultural deconstruction is a symbol of resistance rather than a symbol of business. Such a view has been institutionalized and becomes reference values of the coffee lover community and the coffee shop owners.

4. Conclusions
This article illustrates how the local coffee culture responds to popular culture introduced by Starbucks and other similar modern coffee shops in the last ten years—whether or not the local coffee culture follows the same creolization or domestication pattern as in other parts of the world. Indonesia is a coffee-producing country with rich indigenous culture and is relatively independent in terms of global coffee supply. As a result, local coffee shops in Indonesia have selected some global elements and accentuate local characteristics. With resistance against the global coffee culture, the process turns into a kind of encapsulation process. Thus, the local coffee culture adopts the Western culture when it comes to product standardization, processing techniques, and some menus. For business practices, the local coffee shops in Indonesia prefer to develop more localized styles—they improve small and simple traditional coffee shops into relatively modern but localized coffee shops called “kedai” or coffee stalls. Additionally, business owners, coffee lovers, and coffee activists also develop a more fair business value in opposition to the global coffee shops chain they consider exploitative.

If we look at the phenomenon, the domestication of global coffee culture by the local coffee shops applies only to technology adoption and green bean quality. In contrast, the business model built by the local coffee shops is very different from that of the international coffee shop chains. Consumers are overwhelmed with feelings that drinking coffee at Starbucks guarantees them the best taste and quality of coffee. The local coffee shops counter this view by ensuring customers that drinking coffee is not only about taste but also about being fair to the people planting the coffee we drink. Thus, local coffee consumers are more likely to resist mainstream values developed by international coffee shops rather than forcing local coffee shops to follow them. Thus, the booming coffee culture among Indonesia’s middle-class is different from the customs in other countries such as Japan, China, and European countries. Although it is not growing rapidly, the local coffee culture still dominates and even articulates the local coffee business.

Considering the development of coffee culture, especially among Indonesia’s middle-class, the encapsulation process is relatively in line, although it has some differences. More precisely, there has been a process of affirming the local value and local coffee culture in the coffee business. Still, the proprietors selectively induce some parts of the global coffee culture and new coffee techniques from the West. Thus, the coffee community has constructed a “permeable membrane” that limits the possibility for the Western coffee culture to change the local coffee culture; however, certain parts of the global coffee culture are let to come into contact with the local coffee culture. If creolization is the mixing process of different values, encapsulation, on the other side, is the process of selection and adjustment of different values with the local identities. Regarding management practices, the shift in a more local environment will largely determine the standard of the hospitality of coffee shops; it is no longer based on the comfort we understand so far but based on the local coffee culture. The differences characteristics of the various forms of coffee shops in Indonesia can be seen in Table 1.
Table 1. Differences between traditional coffee shops, semi-modern coffee shops, and modern coffee shops

| Differences                      | Traditional coffee shops (Warkop) | Semi modern coffee shops (Kedai) | Modern coffee shops (Café/Starbucks, etc.) |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| Featured identity                | Use traditional styles            | Accommodate modern styles        | Pure modern styles                        |
| Segmentation of consumers        | Old generation                    | Young generation                 |                                           |
| Menus offered                    | Coffee is served in traditional technique and becomes a complement of other food such as traditional snacks and rice | Coffee becomes the main menus and is complemented with traditional snacks without rice | Coffee is the main menus and is complemented with modern snacks without rice |
| Consumers network base           | The local community               | Young people, middle-class, hobby groups such as cyclists, motorists, music lovers, etc. | Coffee lovers, impulsive consumers, middle-class |
| Attractiveness/marketing         | Traditional, conservative         | Social media and simple advertisement | Social media and massive advertisement, promotion |

Sources: Primary data processed (2020)

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