

A Study of Cultural Dynamics among Gayo Coffee Farmers, in Indonesia

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All businesses connected with coffee have good prospects, both nationally and internationally. Presently, coffee farmers' way of life is changing their cultural values, increasing cherry coffee production. This qualitative study investigates changing cultural dynamics, among Gayo coffee farmers in the Gayo Highland, Indonesia. It adopts the methods of ethnography, comprising participative observation and in-depth interviews. Ongoing analysis synergised with the usual data analysis stages. This study showed that culturally Gayo people have knowledge and a conception about coffee cherries for producing the best coffee cherries, based on the orientation of their cultural values. The change of cultural values is believed to result from the resistance of the younger generation, the majority of whom are descendants of coffee farmers, in response to Gayo coffee industrialisation. In conclusion, Gayo coffee farmers are aware of conservative and specialty coffee production patterns. In particular, coffee production drives people's coffee-based businesses as to raw materials for example.

Key words: *Cultural value orientation, Dynamical change.*



Introduction

Today, it is not difficult to find all things related to coffee. The presence of cafes with a menu including coffee, with all variants of processing, indicates a change in the value of coffee. Recognised or not, coffee has gone up in class. This phenomenon relates not only to changes in the economic value of coffee, but has also begun to influence the motives and goals of farmers growing coffee. If previously, coffee was only one type of drink, now coffee has become a way of expressing yourself. There are levels for coffee consumers. In the basic standard is only the coffee drinker. The next level is the coffee enthusiast, and the highest level of coffee consumer is the coffee connoisseur. This stratification of coffee consumers has contributed to a change in perspective, including coffee farmers seeing and giving value to their efforts in producing coffee.

The changing economic value of coffee also becomes a pendulum, which also encourages the movement of other coffee benefits. Socially, coffee has become the basis for the birth of a group or maybe a new social class. Coffee now also encourages a variety of missions among coffee growers. Waves associated with this coffee became a longitudinal wave, one that covered many human beings connected with coffee. The symptoms were felt right to the base of the first coffee produced — the same symptom seen in the region of the famous coffee-producing centre that is Gayo. Gayo Coffee already has an image as a separate brand of premium coffee. Gayo coffee farmers also feel the value of coffee climbing socially globally. Historically, Gayo Coffee farmers related closely to their occupation, with both Robusta and Arabica coffee. Changes in the value of coffee occur as a slower participation in the changes in society, in the highlands of Gayo. Previously in Takengon, as the city with the highest dynamics in the Gayo Plateau, there were only coffee shops that served limited coffee. This has now changed. In every corner of Takengon, there are cafes and coffee shops which always serve coffee drinks with a variant of the manufacturing process. They also provide processed coffee powder with variants.

The older generation, too, has been accustomed to and participated in accepting a variety of trends and modes of consuming coffee which is loaded with material that never existed before. The presence of the owner, the manager of the café, and the coffee shop or even as a barista which is dominated by the millennial generation, also shows a change in the way people look at coffee. It inevitably indicates a change in the value referred to as a basis for action. By borrowing Clukchon's concept of cultural value orientation, the change progressed the crossing of cultural values owned by the Gayo coffee farmers. The choice of word development looks more realistic than change. The concept of development will include the presence of new variants that may differ from fundamental cultural values, or may be in line with them yet accompanied by modifications on several sides, without eliminating the previous benefits.



Based on ethnographic references written by several groups, it appears that the primary motive of the Gayo people to grow coffee is the same as that of most traditional farmers, namely to maintain life. Some Gayo farmers grow coffee to make a living. The motive still exists, but other variants have emerged that have increasingly enriched their social and cultural life. The mission of maintaining the life of a coffee farmer will only be realised by selling coffee fruit which is now better known as coffee cherries. The concept of cherry coffee is clearly a relatively new concept among Gayo coffee farmers. Formerly coffee farmers only mentioned coffee fruit. As a new concept, coffee cherries turned out to be the primary goal of Gayo coffee farmers in treating coffee planted. It means that producing the best coffee cherries, in the maximum amount, is a mission that must be carried out, to realise the purpose of maintaining life. Other changes relate to the coffee boom and the current value of coffee farming, which gave birth to variants of cultural value orientation.

The farming is not a practice without reason. There are many non-economic reasons why farming is still chosen by many - including the younger generation - as their livelihood choice (Hamzana, 2017). That a group of people want to practice a funded livelihood is undoubtedly based on subjective, rational decisions. Therefore, exploring the emic side of farmers in understanding their choice of action is very important. Moreover, the behaviour of a person, including the farmer, is also not a single stand-alone behaviour. Every effort must be born from the thrust of ideas in the head. The concept that drives this action in cultural studies can be Kluckhohn's "cultural value orientation" (Hills, 2002; Kluckhohn, 1949). Meanwhile, actions taken by people can be understood by using many perspectives, through utilising the concept of "habitus" drawn from Pierre Bourdieu (1977).

The two above concepts can be used to understand people's actions or behaviour. That will lead to an understanding of why the reasons were not chosen. The same is also feasible as to understanding the various actions of farmers as a community. Currently one group of farmers, Gayo coffee farmers, are the centre of attention in Indonesia, specifically Aceh. At present, efforts to understand the actions of Komi farmers in taking care of their crops are very useful. The purpose is to respond to issues and information which later covers Gayo Coffee Farmers, a community that runs businesses without considering consumers' health. In October 2019, the European market was widely reported as rejecting the Aceh coffee community, due to allegations of contamination with dangerous drugs, pesticides, and other agricultural products (Bisnis.com, 2019; Republika.co.id, 2019).

The Gayo coffee community responded to the growing issue of alleged contamination. It clearly had a potential to negate the welfare of coffee farmers in particular, and Aceh people in general. To that end, it is valid to describe and analyse their actions toward the ultimate goal of improving coffee crop care and production, to confront or argue the issues at hand. In



line with their choice of farming methods, exploring their cultural orientation values will help explain their arguments in taking action.

Considering this concept of cultural value orientation has a very professional and broad scope. Habitus, however, is more oriented to the mind and/or routine of action that forms an epistemology for individual collectives, through historical processes. It is then cared for, maintained, perceived and preserved through custom and habit continuously, dynamically and adaptively. Inevitably then, both concepts must be seen as a straight continuum. It means that the narrative of the actions practised by coffee farmers in Gayo is undoubtedly based on the orientation of their cultural values. Ultimately, the farmer increases production as much as possible, to make a profit. The final goal becomes motivation in action, which is then supported by the orientation of cultural values, upon which the “rights and wrongs” of work become very subjective. Published research then becomes very important, to bridge this condition. This paper addresses the orientation of cultural values, as a reference for coffee farmers in the Gayo Highlands in viewing coffee as an agricultural product, and asks what changes in habitus occur in their efforts to increase coffee production?

Methodology

This qualitative study adopts the methods of ethnography, with participatory observations and in-depth interviews. The data was analysed by utilising ongoing analysis, which synergised with the usual data analysis stages for selecting the domain analysis, taxonomy, and the discovery and discussion of cultural themes.

Results and Discussion

Cherry coffee and Habitus of Gayo Coffee Farmer

Coffee became a cultural identity for the people of the Gayo Highlands. The researchers travelled there. Along the way the natural scenery presents only coffee plants. Though we also see rice fields occasionally, it is only slightly, between the slopes of hills full of coffee. We started from the District of Bener Meriah, Central Aceh to Gayo Lues. It seems that no Gayo family does not have a coffee garden. Of course, there are many coffee commodities in Indonesia, but the world recognises the matter of taste. Coffee from the land of Gayo remains excellent, and discussed. Dian, the owner of the Coffee Gallery in Takengon told of the actual existence of coffee in the lives of the Gayo people. "Coffee is not a plant that was brought by the colonials to the land of Gayo," he acknowledged. The reason is that coffee-like plants are already ahead of the stem, reaching four metres or more. Local people call it jackfruit coffee or forest coffee. This plant became known as Liberika, a coffee plant originating from Liberia. This type of coffee has leaves, branches and fruit larger than Arabica and Robusta coffee and is more resistant to disease, but the fruit is not so abundant. It can also grow in the



lowlands. What was brought by the Dutch to the archipelago was knowledge of coffee, how to process and produce it. Over time, they brought new Arabica coffee and Robusta.

Of the around 3000 varieties of coffee in the world, 2000 are found in Indonesia, and 1700 in the Gayo Highlands. Knowledge of coffee farming is inherited and hereditary. In short, over time, knowledge grows such that it gives birth to various types of coffee beans with different tastes. Knowledge, practices, systems, experiences, and habits practised by farmers form the Gayo farmer's habitus in their treatment of coffee plants. In the context of Gayo coffee farmers, we can see the disposition represented by habitus as follows (Bourdieu, 2012):

First, the knowledge and practice of coffee farming lasted a long time. As explained earlier, knowledge about coffee is mostly a legacy from previous generations. On average, farmers are currently the third generation. The behaviour is formed as an awareness of practices that have left an imprint on the lives of farmers because they have been present and internalized since they were early in their environment. Therefore, being a farmer is something that is considered "natural" and occurs naturally. For example, what was said by Budi, one of the coffee entrepreneurs, said that he was the second generation and the coffee plantation he owned today inherited from his parents. In Bourdieu's concept, this condition is called *sense pratique*; praxis awareness capable of moving perceptions and actions as a result of the inculcation process; the process of recording that remains in mind because of repeated and continuous events that last a long time (Bourdieu, 1993).

Second, there is structure. Objective social conditions shape a person into a farmer so that the same habitus is born or the similarity of habitus to an agent from the same social class. Third, the structure itself is structured. This disposition explains how agents are able to give birth to practices appropriate to a particular situation or condition. Here, the topography of the land and natural conditions at a certain height give rise to the method of coffee farming. Coffee is a suitable crop to be planted on such soil types and natural conditions, and is included in terms of increasing yields at each harvest, and in preventing coffee plants from disruption by pests. Coffee farmers always try to explore and develop knowledge about coffee. Even local farmers often do "experiments" to get maximum results. Pruning, maintenance and treatment systems must differ from one coffee plant to another. Therefore, it is crucial for farmers to always improve their knowledge, so that there are no negative farming methods. Calculated roughly, one coffee tree requires one hour and 30 minutes of maintenance each year. One coffee tree will produce 24 kg of cherries (red fruit) in one year. If processed as export quality, then it can only be 3 kg. One farming family is only able to work 1000 coffee stems a year. If appropriate maintenance is carried out according to the proper procedures, farmers can produce 3000 kg of coffee a year. If the price per kg is IDR 70,000.00, the annual income of farmers reaches IDR 210,000,000.00.

To get good coffee cherries and high economic value, many things must be considered, starting from the initial land clearing, and planting until harvest time. According to Wardo, a coffee farmer, the community initially cleared the land by cutting down trees, then burning the remnants after choosing wood that could be sold and could be used as firewood. But now, there is a change in behaviour in clearing land, which is done by "chopping." After large trees are cut down and used for some wood, then the rest of the felling is not burned, but chopped and allowed to rot on the ground. The rest is believed to turn into organic fertiliser for plants later. Just like a falling coffee leaf, it is fertile for the plant itself. Next is the planting period. In the Gayo cultural treasure, coffee is likened to the oldest "biological child." This principle exists, because treating coffee as the "oldest child" allows the family to provide for all the needs of the "other" children. Needs range from necessities for living, to requirements for education. It is reflected in their treatment through the reading of the "mantra" at the beginning of the planting of coffee: *"Bismillah; Siti kewe kunikahen ko orom kuyu; Wow, your guardian; Look at your witnesses; Lo ken your kalam witness"* (Bismillah; Siti kawa, marry you with the wind; Water as your guardian; Land as your witness; the Sun as your witness). It is the initial "dialogue" in the early planting period, although in his journey the farmer must often communicate positively. For farmers, coffee is not only an ordinary commodity for panning for material. Instead there is an invisible "fortune" that cannot be touched by the regular eye.

A lot of literature tells about the mantra "Siti Kewe". The story has even been made into a novel and raised to the big screen. For example, a novel was written by Raihan Lubis, a journalist with one of the national media organisations. He talked about coffee as the primary commodity of the Gayo community in building their community (<https://aceh.tribunnews.com>, 2017). The "siti kewe" mantra in the Gayo tradition is the result of collective intelligence passed down genetically, from generation to generation. The knowledge is represented through symbols, so it is appropriate when Cassirer (1987) refers to humans as animal symbolism. That is, symbols become mediators for humans in passing down knowledge, civilisation, and culture (Abdullah, 2002). Besides that, the metaphor presented through the poem above closely relates to the human body, which also consists of water, earth, air and fire. So the symbol of *"marrying thee"* used when growing coffee indicates reproductive activities that will continue to develop. Therefore, the prayer mentioned in the mantra "Siti Kewe" was read by the farmer during the initial planting. *"Siti Kewe kunikahen ko orom kuyu (Siti kewe, marry you with the wind)."* That is, the presence of the wind becomes a mediator that will bring pollen to the pistil. The wind can bring coffee pollen as far as three kilometres. The meeting of dust with the pistil then causes pollination which will bring the fruit of coffee.

Like humans, coffee also needs water during its life. Not only that, coffee plants are also believed to be able to store excess water reserves, to reduce the risk of landslides. It has a

positive correlation with the topography of highland hills, which are prone to landslides even with sunlight. Without light, living things will not be able to grow and develop. At the end of the story, the chanting above is a form of farmer's expectation, conveyed to coffee. Later, he becomes a strong coffee with a satisfying harvest. Other valuable knowledge is related to wind direction, speed, land elevation, and seasonal weather conditions. There are coffee farmers who use essential GPS technology to facilitate their calculations. GPS essential functions record location, accuracy, altitude and speed. December is the rainy season and coffee blooms, most plants which do not become fruit because of failed marriages, because wind accuracy is not suitable. Therefore, accurate calculations are needed so that coffee can grow optimally.

Another important piece of knowledge is its handling during harvest. If all coffee fruit is picked while still green, yellow, and red, when processed into beans there will be more stale and inadequate coffee. Therefore, farmers must be selective in picking coffee, so that beans can be harvested weekly. The knowledge of coffee can be ideal, starting from the initial land-clearing, planting, and maintenance until the harvest period. If that knowledge is then practised, the results picked by Gayo farmers are high-quality and satisfying cherry coffee.

Figure 1. Coffee sequence starting from the flower until the coffee is ready to harvest



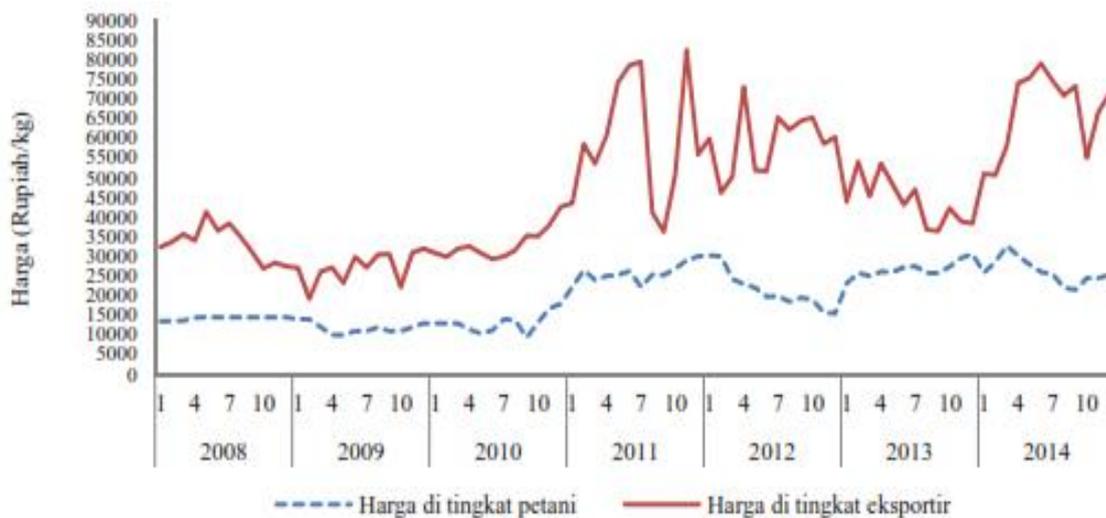
Typologies of Gayo Coffee Farmers Based on Period of Plant Time

A Narrative about the General Pattern of Coffee Farming Practised by Gayo Coffee Farmers

In general, coffee farmers in Gayo can be seen in the eyes of farmers as close to nature and the environment, because coffee is a commodity that generates income for 77,000 farm households in Gayo in general. The area of coffee land in Bumi Gayo is almost 80% (96 thousand hectares) of the total land area in Aceh as a whole (121 thousand hectares) (Juliviani et al., 2017). As a commodity that dominates the lives of many people, coffee has become one of the products that often receive attention from various academics. That is so as

to the connectedness of world market conditions, the practice of organic farming based on local wisdom, and the practices of political economy. But in general, the lives of Gayo coffee farmers always coincide with organic farming practices and market conditions that tend to be asymmetrical. As Juliviani et al. (2017) once pointed out, coffee farmers have never felt price changes similar to the ups and downs felt by exporters and their comparison with farm-gate prices in Central Aceh. Juliviani et al. (2017) show it in a picture as follows:

Figure 2.



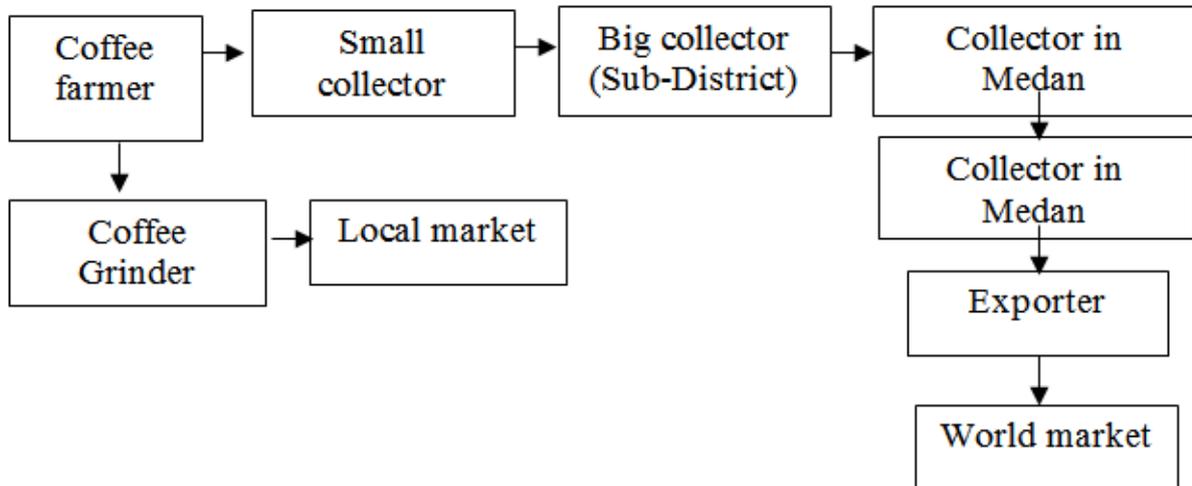
Gambar 1. Perkembangan Harga Kopi Arabika Gayo di Tingkat Petani Kabupaten Aceh Tengah dan di tingkat Eksportir tahun 2008-2014 di Provinsi Aceh

Sumber: Disbunhut Kabupaten Aceh Tengah 2015 (diolah); Disperindag Provinsi Aceh 2015 (diolah)

Source: Juliviani et al., (2017)

The phenomenon of coffee farmers in Gayo is very apparent when we talk about earning income from world coffee prices, and their relationship with best quality (Zainura, et al. 2016). Gayo coffee prices are strongly influenced and dominated by large traders. It can be seen from a study conducted by Cristovao (2015) in Julviani et al., (2017), about the structure of imperfect competition markets (oligopsony). Studies have also been conducted by Ima (2016) in Julviani et al., (2017) of conditions experienced by farmers in Tana Toraja and Enrekang Regencies. They found marketing systems are generally not efficient due to the long production chain, less than professional intermediaries, oligopolic markets, and non-integrated markets generally. Juliani et al. (2017) even conclude that farmers now do get certain advantages when they join certain institutions, in terms of increasing their bargaining position. Their position is not optimal. Likewise, with the obstacles faced by farmers as to facilities and infrastructure in the post-harvest system, farmers inevitably choose to sell coffee in the form of grain. Some even sell it in the form of logs.

Figure 2: Gayo Coffee Marketing Chain, Processed from Primary Data (2019)



After the rapid development of technology, farmers began to find out about the development of the price of coffee as a world commodity day after day, and its relationship to their needs when selling green beans to collectors in the district centres. Usually, farmers will check prices in the 'terminal' to find out coffee prices for that day. The emergence of movements to add value to the sale of coffee production means that coffee farmers need not take uncertainty in prices. They have begun to have a way to add value to the final product that they previously only sold to large collectors. They are now starting to create their market with all the complexities of a typical coffee flavour.

Processed coffee and supply chains are growing, and heavily influenced by youth's creativity. This creates a desire for entrepreneurs to start their fortune in selling processed coffee directly to consumers (local and regional markets). They are creating new ranges in the coffee commodity chain, because of an orientation towards economic rationality that provides higher profit margins in the local market share. This desire arises because of a global interconnection, one that is directly proportional to the increase in the willingness of local entrepreneurs to expand their business with indicators of coffee shop growth significantly in recent years.

Dynamical changes and Variations of Cultural Orientation Values of Gayo Coffee Farmers

Coffee not only comes as a satisfying taste. It also serves as a vessel for the livelihood of the Gayo people. Of course, coffee planting has an orientation that is not only in economic value, but also in cultural values. Its journey started from the colonial era until now. Of course there are changes which are cumulative in how coffee itself is viewed. For example, initially coffee

was presented only to meet the needs of the colonial market. Now it is the primary source of livelihood for the highlands of Gayo. In this paper, the orientation of cultural values can be seen from the perspective of conservative coffee farmers and specialty coffee farmers. These two perspectives give birth to different treatments and practices over time. To examine this, we can refer to the thinking of Koentjaraningrat (1992) who talks about the orientation of cultural values in human life, as shown in the following table:

Table 1: Cultural Value Orientation

Basic problems		Cultural Orientation	Value
The essence of life	Life is bad	Life is good	Life is bad, but try to be good
The nature of work	Work for a living	Work for honour	The work is to add work
Human perception of time	Orientation to the past	Orientation to the present	Orientation to the future
Human view of nature	Humans are subject to nature	Humans are deliberately in harmony with nature	Human nature controls nature
The nature of human relations with each other	Collateral orientation with a sense of responsibility to each other	The vertical orientation of a sense of dependence on superiors	High-value individualism on the strength of one's efforts.

Source: Koentjaraningrat (1992).

Cultural Value Orientation of Conservative Coffee Farmers

Fighting for life, for the better, is human nature which is so obsessed with giving birth to works. In practice there are stages. Some work just to live (subsistence). Some work for honour. Others work and then give birth to new tasks. The way that Gayo coffee farmers produce works can be seen from their treatment of coffee plants, specifically their methods of gaining new knowledge for the development of jobs. According to Pak Dian, who is more than half a century old, coffee in Gayo is "Pancasila coffee." This concept will explain to us the orientation of cultural values contained in conservative coffee farming communities. First, when he started planting coffee, there were hopes and prayers offered by farmers; for example, I "*bismillahirrahmanirrahim prayers, I planted you to take me to the holy land, the rest was for living, for education, and my needs*". Through the coffee media, farmers seek to

get the income which will be used to fulfil the fifth pillar of Islam; pilgrimage and also to support the family; things that are indeed the command of God the Creator. The first precept of Pancasila which contains religious values.

Second, Gayo farmers grow coffee carefully and uphold morality. One is the aesthetic value, where coffee plants are planted neatly. According to Pak Dian, this implements the second principle of Pancasila, which talks about human civilisation. Third, coffee can unite the variety of people despite their different backgrounds. It accords with the third principle which states the unity of Indonesia. Fourth, coffee becomes the main menu in every deliberation and meeting held in Acehese society. In fact, in the sessions held at the hotel, we have the name “coffee break” to indicate a break in our work. And fifth, coffee leads us to equality and justice. It is conceivable; coffee shops are proof of the meeting place of people with various backgrounds ranging from entrepreneurs, lecturers, contractors, teachers, even parking attendants. Coffee is the glue between humans. At this point, coffee is not only drinking to satisfy the desires of the audience. Instead it is present as a medium of cultural diplomacy that can strengthen interpersonal relations.

Indeed, in the journey of Pak Dian, there was a change in perspective in Gayo farmers’ lives. For example, a father’s expression towards his child: *“Don’t be a farmer like me ..., tired ... your school, so that work will be good!”*. This kind of mindset is a warning for a coffee farmer’s son to be diligent in attending school, so that one day he can work in an occupation different from his father, a farmer. But in his journey, after his child attends school and then becomes a Civil Servant or becomes a member of the National Police, the child will again choose to become a “farmer” even though in a different form. For the child, being a state worker seems to be to make it easier to get facilities in life, such as getting loans at a bank which they then use to buy a garden. That is, their life cycle will continue to spin and find the point where they become “farmers”; it is just that they are included in the category of modern coffee farmers who give birth to works that are different from conservative farmers. The general narratives about variations in the orientation of the cultural values of specialty coffee farmers persist:

“... now if we look at the prices of some of our buyers for the coffee that we have processed, they usually buy with a certain quality and taste experience. Imagine that someone bought Rp. 300,000 per kilogram of processed coffee. In one cup of coffee, usually consisting of 8-10 grams of coffee beans, if the coffee they make is delicious, then in 1000 grams of specialty coffee, it will produce 100 cups of ready-to-sell coffee which is usually worth Rp. 10,000 to Rp. 12,000 per cup. So you can see the profit margin of 1 kg of coffee yourself”. (Interview, AB 4 December 2019)

In its further development, farmers are starting to emerge in market segments apart from the potential of Gayo Arabica Coffee. In general, two market segments have developed in the lives of Gayo farmers. First, coffee with conventional segments, and the second with processed segments. An informant explained:

“... so the conventional segment, as we all know, is the exporter class, meaning that the conventional process is the material, so if we consider the position of processed coffee, so if we vary the types, there is wine, it is natural. But if conventional is not, they are just one type, export orientation, and only one variant”. (Interview, AA December 3, 2019)

However, some farmers usually sell their coffee to collectors and tokens that already exist. Some of them have started to get out of their standard, which is beginning to expand the processed coffee market segment, as did AA and his friends gathering that afternoon in the cold weather in Takengen. They are generally the children of coffee farmers who also live from coffee plantations. Now they are starting to see a vast market potential of processed coffee, one with a higher profit margin than the market share of coffee farmers in Gayo in general.

All who sat that afternoon had a coffee garden; they were AA, AB, AC, AD, and AE. As stated by AA, “all of those sitting here have coffee plantations”. “We are here when we know that we have the opportunity to sell processed coffee, so we put coffee from our plantations, including for various experiments we have conducted to produce its coffee flavour”. At present most of the children who come from families with coffee plantations are still in the coffee production chain. However, young people are starting to see the market potential with processed coffee, that can contribute more profits than selling on the existing market. In line with AA's experience, currently, the number of coffee farmers who start to pursue processed coffee is 10% -15%. That is his highest guess, but he cannot specify the exact number. Because of the narrative, ‘players’ processed coffee only joins in the form of community or group categories, based on needs in the processed coffee marketing chain. According to AA, that is due to farmers' knowledge of their choice to remain in the coffee production process. Their knowledge has been received from childhood. It can even be called a doctrine that has been accepted as truth, that they produce coffee only to be sold to tokens during their lives.

With the farmers’ knowledge of the added value of coffee production, processed coffee as practised so far is one form of product diversification produced by young people. AB said that if the government could facilitate the diversification of coffee products produced by farmers, then farmers would follow extensively. With the existing production chain however, farmers are comfortable and do not want to get out of the standard unless there is a market. Further, “if the government wants to intervene, there is a market, I don't think it's called big warehouses anymore, because everyone will want to participate because the margins are



more significant, their children who don't go to school are also not a problem, as long as there are people who buy all the coffee he processes". The farmers' calculations of imagined excess profits are a rationality of the current coffee market conditions. AB told us that if there was government support in establishing a specialty market share, like conventional farmers' markets, farmers would definitely not sell it to tokens. Indeed the warehouse would be empty. It is conceivable at this time that the price of conventional coffee that farmers market to the warehouse costs IDR 110,000.00. We say per can of produce. But if it is with us, we dare to buy from farmers at IDR 150,000.00 per box because we know there is still a margin we can get after we process it. There's no way we would want it if we didn't realise there would be a profit in the process.

Conclusions

In conclusion, this study identified that the knowledge of coffee, rooted in the life of the Gayo community, is generically constructed with inheritance patterns prevailing from previous generations. Further, life experiences, social practices, systems, rules, and organised habits among Gayo coffee farmers become a crucial factor, in shaping the farming habits of the Gayo community. Also, there is a change in the orientation of life values in the Gayo community. In this case, the direction is cumulative. Initially, the orientation of coffee cultivation was only as a fulfilment of primary living needs, but now it has developed into the realisation of tertiary living needs. This condition has a correlation with the goal of working on getting social recognition; and finally, coffee is not just a commodity of economic value. It also exists as a medium of cultural diplomacy that grows and develops in Acehese society in particular, and Indonesia in general.



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