

Coffee Culture in Indonesia: A Symbolic Interactionism Point of View

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ABSTRACT

The coffee industry has evolved in several waves which resulted in coffee culture among a culturally diverse society. Drinking coffee culture has taken part in consumers' daily life not only as cultural drinking, and routine but also as a medium for interaction and communication. Millennials are seen as a group of society who consume coffee on a day to day basis. The issues highlighted in this study is regarding how the meaning of drinking coffee is constructed and shared among millennial as coffee consumers through their interaction and communication. This is a phenomenological study conducted based on the constructivism paradigm whereby a qualitative approach is employed. Five (5) focus group discussions with a total of 23 informants were conducted. A snowball sampling process was applied to identify participants in this study based on the characteristics defined, whilst Symbolic Interactionism Theory is used to guide the study. Discussion is presented towards textural and structural descriptions of coffee culture meaning. Findings show that coffee culture is seen both as personal and social construction of meanings. Interactions with surroundings have given experience whereby individuals created the construction of drinking coffee as a personal journey and social tool for interaction.

Keywords: *Drinking coffee, culture, consumption, meaning, symbolic interactionism.*

INTRODUCTION

Coffee drinking in Indonesia is seen as part of daily activity. Coffee has changed the style of social interaction whereby coffee is not only a drink but also is seen as a compliment while having a meeting with friends or colleagues, conducting a discussion, or just hanging out with friends (Said, 2017). Initially, only adults would be having coffee which is dominated by men. However, it has changed along the way (Fauzi, 2019). The coffee industry in Indonesia has developed as the number of coffee shops and cafes is increasing (Kurniawan & Ridlo, 2017). The coffee industry is seen as a promising business that is predicted to be developing 10-15% growth by the year 2020 (Prasetyo, 2020).

Meanwhile, consumption is both a physical and a social phenomenon (Verma, 2013). It is about both acquisition and transfer of meaning in a culturally constructed world of the consumer. Through their intercultural interaction, individuals are introduced to and learn about new cultures every single day, it does not exclude the fact that they learn about daily food and drink intakes from their environment.

A group can be culturally set apart from the other on the basis of what it consumes which creates different interpretations of the activities. To some degree, cultures affect what people sense, but they have a much greater influence on their perceptions (Jandt, 2018).

Situation and activity can be interpreted differently by diverse people. When it comes to coffee consumption, Prakosa (2019) argues that coffee quality sometimes does not directly influence the coffee consumption decision, hence drinking coffee is not merely reflecting the good taste of coffee. Coffee mediates interaction similar to the way computers mediate communication (Garner, 2015). Garner stated that coffee shops have become socially appropriate places to meet as their environment can stimulate a positive mood, and help people to focus on their conversation partner. Drinking coffee might be seen in a broader manner; not only about the coffee itself but also the technique of brewing, type of drink, and even the place. Drinking coffee individually or taken as an activity during interaction is an experience to be further explored.

Darwin, Diah, Lita and Sulton (2020) conducted a study about the cultural construction of drinking coffee culture among millennials in Kediri, Indonesia. The study found that drinking coffee is seen as a contemporary culture which is related to trends and lifestyles. The shifted meaning in drinking coffee has relations to the construction of meaning in society. When drinking coffee could be seen as culture, thus drinking coffee culture could be shared as something meaningful similarly or differently among the society. Samoggia et al. (2020) stated that drinking coffee entails several aspects, for instance, pleasure, experience, lifestyle, and even social status.

Furthermore, reflecting the advancement and development of the coffee industry, as well as the increased number of coffee consumers, the culture of drinking coffee has probably been shifted. Millennials are one of the targeted groups who consumes coffee on a daily basis. Chang and McGonigle (2020) based on the study on coffee culture consumption among millennials in Singapore argued that coffee and coffee shops provide a window into the dynamics of youth identity and consumption. However, beyond the habit of drinking coffee itself, meaning constructed and shared with regard to drinking coffee as part of their culture is something important to be explored and understood for it communicates and represents something. Thus, from various studies regarding coffee culture, meanings created through the drinking coffee itself, as well as the core value that drinking coffee is one of the cultures in Indonesia are keys towards the justification of communication perspectives take part to explore the phenomenon.

The coffee industry has evolved in several waves which resulted in drinking coffee culture in a society that is culturally diverse. Drinking coffee culture has taken part in consumers' daily life not only as cultural drinking but also as a medium for interaction and communication. With the advancement and development of the coffee industry and the increased number of coffee consumers, the culture of drinking coffee might be shifted. Millennial is seen as the group of society who consume coffee on a day to day basis. Thus, understanding the meaning of drinking coffee culture in society, especially among millennials, is a gap to be filled within the study of intercultural communication. Thus the focus of this study is on how the meaning of drinking coffee culture is constructed and shared among millennials as coffee consumers through their interaction and communication. Thus, how does the meaning of drinking coffee culture be constructed and shared among millennials through their interaction?

LITERATURE REVIEW

The Coffee Industry

The coffee industry has undergone at least three waves. Rothgeb, as cited in Glick (2017), observed that the waves of the coffee industry came from the West perspective with regards to coffee trends globally who can only enjoy drinking coffee but not growing it. However, coffee consumers in growing coffee countries have their own waves that differ from the Western.

Prakosa (2019) in his work articulated the waves of coffee cultures briefly. The first wave was indicated by industrialisation in the coffee business. The emergence of instant coffee was the indicator of the first wave era. The second wave of the coffee industry was indicated by the coffee shops network that introduced coffee drinks with high creativity to attract youngsters; such as being served with various ingredients such as caramel syrup and cream which is usually served by a well-established coffee shop that has opened hundreds of branches which mark its global expansion. Prakosa further stated that the third wave coffee industry is indicated by the perspective that coffee should be appreciated as art. Coffee consumers seek the understanding of the coffee origin, coffee profile, fair coffee trading is one of their concerns, as well as on how the coffee is served. The concern has led the coffee drinker from a regular consumer to a more coffee thinker.

Nor Hashimah et al. (2017), based on their work, stated that even youth in Malaysia nowadays seem to have created a trend in society whereby they tend to meet with family or friends at cafes. She argued that this trend has led to the mushrooming of both local and western-themed cafes opened in the neighborhood. Kavitha (2011), as cited by Nor Hashimah et al. (2017, p. 39), stated that generation Y or so-called millennials are those who are targeted by the food industry for their eating habits and lifestyle. This has basically contributed to the fact that food and beverages industries, including the coffee industry, are promising businesses as the targeted consumers are in abundant numbers.

In Indonesia, a study on coffee culture has been conducted by Gumulya and Helmi (2017) who aimed their study to introduce the coffee drinking culture in Indonesia. They argued that ever since Dutch brought coffee to Indonesia, coffee has become a daily consumption among locals. However, coffee drinking eventually has only been seen as part of daily habitual activities. Whereas coffee is unique and in fact, Indonesian coffee has been well-known all over the world, it is unfortunate if in the local community coffee is considered one type of daily drink per se. Furthermore, Indonesia is an exceptional country with thousands of islands whereby coffee plantations are all over the place. Thus, coffee drinking culture could be possibly found in every corner of the country.

Millennial and Drinking Coffee Culture

Millennials or Generation Y are referring to those who were born in the late 1970s and the late 1990s (Nor Hashimah et al., 2017, p. 39). However, Ng and Johnson (2015), in their work, have cited Foot and Stoffman (1998) who stated that millennials are a cohort born between 1980 and 1995. Moreover, they stated that millennials are heavily influenced by the trends that affected them as well as affected their parents. Furthermore, Ng and Johnson have cited several scholars in order to conceptualize millennials based on their characteristics.

Other than the argument that they are influenced by the trends, millennials are also considered the most ethnoculturally diverse. In their work, Ng and Johnson (2015, pp.124-128) have differentiated millennials from any other generations based on personality and

work values whereby their personality conceivably shifts over time and across a generation as a result of the changes in their external circumstances. Tilford (2018) as cited by Chang and McGonigle (2021) support the idea that millennials are those who experience the magnitude of the 21st century with technological advancement with specific attention paid to their work environment values, financial stability, and utilization of innovation. However, with regards to work values, millennials' preference for extrinsic rewards and the search for meaningful and interesting work suggest a generation of employees who are increasingly crossing sectoral boundaries to fulfill their work lives.

With the above explanation, this research is trying to relate the characteristics of millennials with their coffee drinking or coffee consumption as stated by Nor Hashimah et al. (2017) in their study that millennials tend to meet with their family or friends in cafes whereby it is related to the establishing of coffee business in Malaysia. Furthermore, Nor Hashimah et al. (2017) stated that millennials tend to be loyal customers of cafes whereby the quality of coffee is the most important aspect compared to the atmosphere or brand. Nor Hashimah et al. (2017, p.39) in their work have cited Kim (2014) and Yoong (2014) who stated that the younger generation is inclined toward conspicuous consumption and patronizes luxury restaurants and cafes, as a means of self-expression or symbols of their desired lifestyle. Besides, Nurhasanah and Dewi (2019) highlighted the fact that the creativity of Indonesian had made the culture of coffee drinking easily adopted.

Verma (2013) gave a statement that coffee is considered a celebratory drink whereby coffee is considered an outside drink for social and related to aesthetic as well as emotional roles. This articulation has related to the term millennial with extrinsic rewards preference. Said (2017) stated that even in the United States, where coffee culture started in 1971, young people are starting to patronize or become customers of coffee shops. As time goes by, coffee consumption is expanded towards youth as regular coffee consumers. Millennial in this study refers to those who are considered within the category of the cohort born between 1980-1995, productive as in working or possess employment, domicile in Jakarta, and considered themselves coffee drinkers who are drinking coffee and patronize cafes or coffee shops regularly.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, found by Geroge Herbert Mead and Herbert Blumer, is a way of thinking about society, self, and mind that has contributed greatly to the socio-cultural tradition of communication theory (LittleJohn, Foss & Oetzel, 2016). This theory introduced that as people interact with one another over time, they come to share meanings for certain terms and actions and thus come to understand events in particular ways. Mardon et al (2021) explain that the theory conceptually addresses three principles that people act towards things, meanings are derived through social interaction, and lastly meanings are managed as well as transformed through an interpretive process. Society itself interlinked conversation among individuals.

Symbolic interactionism focuses on the ways in which people form meaning and structure in society through conversation. The following are the premises of symbolic interactionism that a) people make decisions and act in accordance with their subjective understandings of the situations in which they find themselves, b) social life consists of interaction processes that constantly changing, c) people understand their experience through the meanings found in the symbols of their primary groups, d) the world is made up of social objects that are named and have socially determined meanings, e) people's actions

are based on their interpretations, and lastly one's self is a significant object and, like all social objects, is defined through social interaction with others (LittleJohn, Foss & Oetzel, 2016)

In this theory, the concepts of mind, self, and society are three different aspects of the same general process called the social act. Husin et al (2021) discuss the current research using Symbolic Interactionism Theory and explain that interaction of self and mind, and self and society create implications that oversee the actors' practices. Acts relate to one another and are built up throughout a lifetime which begin with an impulse; they involve perception and assignment of meaning, mental rehearsal, weighing of alternatives, and consummation. While the self as the second concept is generalized to others, a composite perspective from which you see yourself. The primary way you come to see yourself as others see you is through role-taking or assuming the perspective of others which leads you to have a self-concept. Lastly, the third concept, the mind, refers to a process. This ability to develop alignment with the self is crucial to human life for it is part of every act.

In this research context, the experience of drinking coffee among millennials will be explored in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of how drinking coffee's meaning is constructed. The very first experience of them knowing coffee, followed by their consumer behavior towards a coffee product, and how they take into account daily interaction in various contexts as the factors affecting the construction of meaning intended in this study. Therefore, a set of comprehensive methodology has been set as follows:

METHODOLOGY

This study was conducted under a constructivist paradigm whereby a qualitative approach was employed. Creswell and Poth (2018) define constructivism or social constructivism frameworks as possible for the researcher to understand the world in which subjects live and work for background recognition as shaping interpretation. Thus the framework is suitable to enable this study to explore participants' experiences and construct drinking coffee meaning.

Data Collection and Sampling Techniques

As the data collection technique, Focus Group Discussions were conducted among five (5) different groups. Snowball sampling was an appropriate technique applied by the researchers to ensure the suitability of the informants with characteristics defined. Five (5) focus group discussions with a total of 23 informants were conducted.

Each group consists of 4-5 participants which are considered an ideal size to conduct a fruitful-manageable discussion. As support, Koentjoroningrat (2005) suggested a group of 4-7 for conducting FGD, which is applicable in this study. The informants' characteristics and group division details are presented in Table 1 as follows:

Tabel 1: Informant characteristics and group division details

Group based on sex	Number of participants, Date of FGD	Names (initials) & Occupations	Characteristics
Male	5 persons 28 Feb2021	IP - Civil Servant SF – Freelancer JS – Private Company FD – Private Company DN – Private Company	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Age between 25-40 years old ● Regular coffee drinker ● Domicile: in the greater Jakarta ● Occupation: employee/working in Jakarta
Female	4 persons 20 Feb 2021	HY – Private Company DS – Bank AP – Private Company ST – Entrepreneur	
Mixed Group	4 persons 21 Feb 2021	KW – Freelance BU – Retailer AN – BUMN GN – Lecturer	
Mixed Group	5 persons 27 Feb 2021	RZ – Civil Servant DN – Civil Servant FR – Govt. Inst. IT – Govt. Inst. TH – Telco Company	
Mixed Group	5 persons 7 Mar 2021	SY – Govt. Inst. RM – Private Company ND – Freelance GR – Private Company AD – Private Company	

In order to obtain appropriate informants for this research, the first screening was to make sure that the informants' age is between 25 – 40 years old followed by making sure that they are drinking coffee and had experience visiting any coffee shops. Then other characteristics have to be certain that they are working in the greater Jakarta area to make sure that they are exposed to the development of the coffee industry. Focus group discussions were conducted based on the agreement on schedule between researcher and participants. Due to the current pandemic situation and restricting movement, all focus group discussions eventually were conducted virtually through the Zoom Meeting application and conducted within 1,5 – 2 hours. The focus group discussions were conducted based on prior time arrangements.

Data Analysis Technique

The process of data collection, data analysis, and report writing are not distinct steps in the process—they are interrelated (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 185). Data analysis in this study was employed the Data Analysis Spiral proposed by Creswell and Poth (2018) which consists of several steps as (i) managing and organizing data by preparing files and unites, ensuring ongoing secure storage of files, and selecting the mode of analysis, (ii) reading and memoing emergent ideas by taking notes while reading, sketching reflective thinking, and summarizing field notes, (iii) describing and classifying codes into themes by working with words,

identifying codes, applying codes and reducing codes to themes, (iv) developing and assessing interpretation by relating categories/themes to generate contextual understandings, followed by relating categories/themes, and (v) representing and visualizing data by creating a point of view and reporting the data (Creswell & Poth, 2018, p. 187).

Data in this study were analyzed manually through three basic stages: (1) data reduction, (2) data presentation, and (3) conclusion of the analysis. Data reduction was conducted by focusing on the process of selecting, simplifying, and transforming data taken from the field; field notes/memos and transcripts. Data were recorded during the data gathering process and then grouped and categorized based on the themes drawn inductively along with the data analysis process. Data presented in this paper is part of the above findings which focus on two constructed meanings of drinking coffee culture among millennials shaped based on their drinking coffee habits, interaction, and activity in sharing their coffee drinking experience through social media. The process was followed by data presentation whereby assembling and organizing data which enable to conduct a comprehensive analysis and draw conclusions.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Drinking is part of the cultural intake which is sometimes taken for granted as we know that it is a basic human need. However, speaking of drinking, we are well aware that we not only take plain water to drink but rather have several preferences that eventually can be addressed as cultural drinks in our daily life. Based on the discussion, it is known that family, relatives, and even neighbors are the first agents that introduce them to coffee as a drink. Family members mostly introduce the drinking coffee culture among informants, as stated by AP, GN, and AN with different styles of drinking; plain coffee, with sugar or milk, or even instant coffee.

...after working, my mother usually asks for coffee, usually we will have coffee with some snacks such as fried bananas. We will have coffee over chit-chat. Basically, the best part of drinking coffee is drinking it over coffee. - AP
I took coffee when visiting cafes or restaurants for recreational purposes, and continued when I found that there's a coffee shop nearby campus with an affordable price, that's how my coffee journey began. - ST

They saw their family members having coffee as their morning routine or as their daily type of drink thus have attracted them to try the taste. Some of them tried their first coffee from their father's cup, some had experience from their mother, as well as other relatives such as grandparents. Family and neighbors as the closest circle in their social interaction have become the first source of their experience of knowing coffee and having it later.

On the other hand, not every individual in the group is attracted to coffee due to their family. Some were attracted through their circle of friends or colleagues during work, such as HY and DS who had their first coffee for the sake of interaction with friends or mingling in the office pantry. It is interesting knowing that the decision to have their first try towards coffee was just following the habit of their friends or office mates. Besides, the drinking coffee culture applied in a working place has given the construction of new habits for the other office members to eventually try to drink coffee with their colleagues. The more interesting response was the fact that an informant decided to drink coffee due to its smell. It was not

because of their family or friends' circle, but merely the smell of coffee that attracted them the most.

The participants have agreed that the environment, family, friends circle, or office mates, played a role in shaping the drinking coffee culture for each individual. Therefore, the society where we live and interact has influenced our drinking habits and preferences. Society refers to group life which consists of the cooperative behaviors of society's members. From the point of view of symbolic interactionism, acts relate to one another and are built up throughout a lifetime. Acts begin with an impulse; they involve perception and assignment of meaning, mental rehearsal, weighing of alternatives, and consummation. Thus, drinking coffee as an act started from the very close relations to their circle where they acknowledge the drink for the first time, are interested in the drink for various reasons, and started to have the experience to consume it on a daily basis.

Informants as FD, IP, NG, SF and GR have various reasons to have coffee on a daily basis; to release stress due to workload, energy booster to start a day, or overcome drowsiness. Some of them take coffee repeatedly during the busy day. Yet, it starts a new habit before they realize it.

Drinking coffee has slowly become my daily habit. I have to drink coffee to start my work...I feel more focused after drinking coffee. – GR

Drinking coffee has become my daily routine nowadays. I have to drink coffee in the morning to keep my brain functioning. I usually drink coffee at home and take the second cup on my way to the office. – FD

From the coffee drink to the specific brand, it has led the discussion towards their perspective on how they see people, or even themselves, drinking coffee from that famous coffee shop. DS has visualized the proud feeling when carrying a Starbucks coffee cup, and SY added the cool feeling when someone enters the meeting room with a Starbucks cup in hand. BU mentioned that drinking Americano from Starbucks gives him the feeling of being a true professional.

...different places will represent different coffee cultures. Starbucks has given values that when people drink it they will feel good about it. I even feel it. – BU

The above arguments are among the similarities stated by informants during FGDs. It is an intriguing point of view on how a brand can deliver value over a drink; hence the brand enhances or constructs a new value for the consumption. The brand identity plays a role in this experience (Ahfa et al, 2022) Starbucks has created brand recognition among the consumers that strengthens its values that affect the customer. It also affects local community coffee culture (Yuliati & Purnomo, 2019). The argument stated that different places for having coffee will give different coffee culture, and experience, and presented a perspective that drinking coffee is not only a drink that you could see your family having, or your neighbor pours into a mug, yet it becomes a value(s) constructed among the consumers or society. However, those who are not really into coffee yet still consider drinking coffee for some reason have another perspective regarding Starbucks as one of the distinguished coffee shops in Indonesia as stated below:

I am not a big fan of drinking coffee, but if I drink coffee and I visit Starbucks it's actually due to its place and facilities. – JS

Throughout the years of consuming coffee, individuals perceived different perspectives on drinking coffee. Along with the advancement of the coffee industry whereby the production of various instant coffee became the most consumed, the trend somehow has shifted. This discussion is supported by the statement of Afdholy (2019) who stated that a well-established coffee brand is a product with prestige value. This situation is also happening to some other brands, including locals such as Janji Jiwa as the competitor to Starbucks (Ahfa et al, 2022). Thus, it is argued that drinking coffee or consuming coffee is no longer in the literal meaning, however, it has been evolving the meaning based on the value attached.

Furthermore, they explain that the interpretation of coffee consumption behavior in society has changed which can be relooked based on the coffee drinker, the activity they do, their appearance, their reason for having coffee, and finally regarding the place where drinking coffee takes place. From the discussion, it is known that coffee with elevated taste and presentation are the ones preferable in the market. One of the coffee brands that was widely discussed during the discussion is Starbucks. This is due to the value attached to the brand itself, thus, this is not merely about the coffee but also about the prestige of being able to buy and drink the coffee with a certain brand. Therefore, the preference for a coffee drink is not only about a personal choice but also affected by the circle of interaction.

I am not a big fan of drinking coffee, but if I drink coffee and I visit Starbucks it's actually due to its place and facilities. – JS

The place, ambiance, and facilities are aspects to be considered within the FGDs. The above statement is clearly stated by one of the participants with regard to his experience doing his work at Starbucks. The convenient place has pushed coffee to be more as a lifestyle (Nurhasanah and Dewi, 2019) rather than just a drink. Most of the time come to the coffee shop not for the coffee, but for the place that is considered comfortable to do his work and its facilities; the environment, good quality internet speed, and power supply. Besides, variants of coffee drinks served by the coffee shops are varied which tend to serve sugar drinks with coffee. This is seen as a shift in the business following the market preferences in consuming coffee.

The idea of visiting a coffee shop for working, not for coffee, is supported within another context. The fact that there are tremendous numbers of coffee shops in Jakarta, triggers curiosity for the potential customers to pay a visit or try the coffee products. There is a coffee shop in the Blok M area, Jakarta, which has given a trend among youngsters to visit. The prominent coffee shop namely *Filosofi Kopi*, based on the argument of an informant in FGD, has created a place to hang out for millennials visiting the coffee shop not merely for trying their coffee but most importantly to have the experience of visiting the place.

It's like the trend of youngsters going to Filosofi Kopi café, and buying a cup of coffee; hanging out a little in the coffee shop, it actually feels like drinking coffee in a usual coffee shop, however, the feeling of being there is different.
–HY

...coffee shops nowadays tend to focus on the coffee bean, there's a coffee shop whereby they seek for the best coffee bean and explain the planting and grinding process. Besides, they are also very thoughtful about the ambiance of their coffee shop, for many Jakartans are stressful and need a place to enjoy their coffee as well as the place. – DS

The idea of visiting a coffee shop due to its decoration has been highlighted further by Karina (2016) that the boom of third-wave coffee culture has reflected the fact that consumers, in this case specifically in Jakarta, are adopting drinking coffee that is adopted as one of their daily routines. Prakosa (2019) supports this argument that the place and coffee display affected the buying intention for coffee lovers. Widyaningsih et al (2021) highlighted that coffee shops are seen as a neutral ground for the workplace. From the discussion, drinking coffee and visiting coffee shops could be seen as consumers' preferences based on both individual and group-influenced.

The habit of having coffee on a daily basis has brought participants of this study toward drinking coffee as one of their routines. Aside from the fact that a brand of coffee would attract an individual's coffee preference, however, the experience of having coffee has given space for individuals to further learn and explore the taste of coffee itself. Thus, drinking coffee is not about how fancy the look or how famous the brand is, but it is more toward a philosophical understanding of the coffee itself. Place of origin, how the roasting process, how are the taste notes that they will get from a sip and the technical part of how to brew the coffee matter. This experience and decision of no longer having fashion coffee have been taken along with a profound understanding of coffee culture. Those who prefer single-origin coffee will refuse to have sugar added to their coffee or have coffee with some toppings. The natural flavor matters the most, thus brewing technique becomes the thing that they are concerned about when having coffee.

People choose food for them to eat based on their preference, similar to coffee, they would say. It is again the interesting point of view that some informants address "senior customers" for those who prefer coffee without sugar or the ones who prefer single-origin coffee—coffee that refers to the place of origin where the coffee grew or planted (Masdakaty, 2016).

...coffee is like food that we prefer, for those who like coffee; they will have their own preference in drinking coffee. As senior customers, they tend to choose coffee without sugar, bitter taste. However, in my opinion, coffee has various tastes, I prefer the one with sour for the after taste. There are coffee with present trends (kopi kekinian) such as coffee with palm sugar and milk and so forth. Thus preference for drinking coffee might differ from one person to another. –DN

When a participant mentioned senior customers which refer to those who prefer black coffee, in fact, another participant has a different perspective towards it. Black coffee has given other values from the perspective of millennials when they bought it from a shop with an established and well-known brand. Thus, it gives added value to who consumes it, where to consume it, and the brand that sticks to the coffee cup matters.

During FGDs, topics pertaining to drinking coffee experience among the informants have given a wider knowledge and perspectives. As they experienced drinking coffee from a

father's cup, and having their own coffee by pouring hot water into a glass with instant coffee coming from a sachet, they have expanded their drinking coffee experience throughout the year. Along with their experience, some of the informants noticed that they tend to have problems with the digestion system after having coffee. Yet they have never given up on coffee and keep on exploring "the right" coffee for them. This journey has given new knowledge regarding health as well as coffee and its derivatives for them to try.

Having coffee with individual choices has given the construction of self as a coffee drinker. In fact, the discussion has directed toward the classification of coffee drinkers based on the type of coffee they have. Those with instant coffee, those with branded and fashion coffee, and lastly what is so-called "advanced" is those who are having single-origin coffee or espresso. In fact, those who are not really into coffee or do not really understand coffee profoundly once trying to have an americano which end up with undesirable feelings afterward due to being unable to handle the caffeine contained in the drink. Some others have gone through several journeys of tasting this and that type of coffee serving variants which led them towards the single-origin and become "a true coffee drinker"—black, single-origin. This explanation somewhat brought into the construction of the identity of the coffee drinker. Coffee represents the self who has it.

...along the way I feel like if there's no coffee within a day, there's no break...I even drink coffee before sleep when I feel really tired; it gives a relaxing effect
—AP

...drinking coffee is part of our culture, we tend to drink coffee over having conversations in coffee shop (warung), it's just a matter of packaging; in warung it's more about brewed coffee, however in the fancy coffee shops it's more varies – SF

...due to my environment, I might say that drinking coffee is one of the lifestyles among youngsters...we used to say 'let's hang out', however nowadays we tend to say 'let's have coffee (*ngopi, yuk*)' ... – DN

We further will be discussing the self as the second concept is generalized by others, a composite perspective from which you see yourself. The primary way you come to see yourself as others see you is through role-taking or assuming the perspective of others which leads you to have a self-concept. The self-concepts drawn from the discussion have been very intriguing that coffee drinkers are seen as divers from one to another. How coffee has brought every individual towards different drinking coffee experiences yet classify themselves as one kind of coffee drinker.

The textural description of meaning is derived from the vantage point of an open self (Moustakas, 1994). In this study, the experience of the individual knowing coffee from the first time to the level that they have acknowledged various meanings about drinking coffee. In a textural meaning, drinking coffee has given a wide range of experiences for every individual in the study to know about drinking coffee culture. From the moment coffee is seen as a type of cultural drink in the family to the point that it elevates one's value. As the first degree of meaning, drinking coffee is somewhat like drinking coffee as a cultural drink. Coffee is seen as a drink which is culturally bound with Indonesian culture.

In the structural description, coffee culture is seen as a social tool. Coffee break time in the office which is usually used not only for taking a break and enjoying the coffee but also for brainstorming platforms (Moustakas, 1994). The second-degree meaning shows that coffee could be further seen as a lifestyle whereby various values could attach which will give another level of meaning based on a specific social context, including the personal journey of a coffee lover as well as coffee drink in a social interaction context.

Furthermore, participants agreed that they prefer to have serious discussions outside the office and use “*ngopi*” or “*ngafe*” to refer to having coffee while continuing with the discussion; work-related matters, or other matters as well. While “*ngopi*” means having coffee, however, “*ngafe*” means going to a coffee shop or café. Family gatherings or meeting with old friends for some catch-ups are also usually addressed as “*ngopi*”. Thus, having coffee with an inner circle of the professional circle is however seen as a tool to engage with them or finish the unfinished business in a more comfortable manner. Interactions with surroundings have given experience whereby an individual created the construction of drinking coffee is seen as a personal journey or social tool for interaction. Therefore, aside from the variants of coffee drinks, further discussion regarding coffee comes to the point that drinking coffee, or “*ngopi*” in casual Bahasa Indonesia, is usually used for tools of negotiation, business context discussion, professional meetings as well as casual meetings such as gathering and so forth. The word “*ngopi*” is not registered in *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Dictionary Bahasa Indonesia), however, it is constructed culturally as a term to ask to have a meeting

The two construction of drinking coffee culture among millennials in the Greater Jakarta are as follows:

Personal Meaning

Coffee as personal meaning is not only seen as a cultural drink that has been introduced among the family members. However, it becomes a ritual drink for breakfast or afternoon talk. Besides, along the way, a ritual becomes very personal and some of the participants agreed that coffee could be their booster to make sure that their brains function in the morning for work. It is said that people understand their experience through the meanings found in the symbols of their primary groups, whereby language is an essential part of social life (LittleJohn, Foss & Oetzel, 2016), thus, family play role in starting the process of shaping coffee drinking as part of individual’s culture; preference-based or ritual-based. When we are talking about coffee with no name on the cup.

When we touch on the market-wise, brand of coffee is somewhat giving another value than just coffee. It could escalate the social status or values towards social interaction, which personally function as a self-esteem enhancer. Referring to one of the premises of symbolic interactionism that people make decisions and act in accordance with their subjective understandings of the situations in which they find themselves (LittleJohn, Foss & Oetzel, 2016), the discussion is going further toward the places, a good place with good coffee will give more benefit for personal values and satisfaction.

Values cannot easily be changed quickly and easily. It is what people do; it refers to everything in society’s daily life as norms, way of living, rules, social legacy, and so forth. It is pertaining to how we talk, act, and even eat (Semenik et al., 2012, p. 196). However, when discussing coffee drinking as a personal meaning, the more varied type of coffee drinking, the more individuals seek their kind of coffee; thus, several participants have their coffee journey towards the single-origin type of coffee. Exploration of the taste of single-origin coffee,

understanding the bean and coffee making process, as well as trying barista's suggestions or preferences are considered advanced coffee drinkers. These advanced coffee drinkers would not consider instant coffee or fashion coffee as "real coffee", they choose single-origin instead.

Social Meaning

Even though the journey of an individual towards drinking coffee has something related to their social interaction, as well as the construction of drinking coffee meaning, however social meaning in this finding is more towards how coffee is constructed as a social tool. Social life consists of interaction processes that are constantly changing. Thus, people understand their experiences through the meanings found in the symbols of their primary groups (LittleJohn, Foss, & Oetzel, 2016).

In daily life, among the family, coffee becomes the tool for gathering or even a catalyst when the discussion is going on. This culture is also reflected when participants discuss how they "use" coffee for their social interactions such as meeting up with friends, hanging out, or having a light meeting. The term "*ngopi*" or asking people to drink coffee apparently refers to various activities; discussion, break time in between office hours, business meetings, and so forth. Regarding values that have been stated in the personal meaning, drinking coffee will relate to the brand or place where the activity takes place.

Modern or newest coffee shops in the town will attract individuals to visit; it is perhaps not only because the coffee is good, but also because the place is so representable. Nowadays, the use of social media has given a place for individuals to give a showroom in them to showcase their personal life. Not to mention where they are having coffee for that particular day. Mardon et al (2021) stated that the representation of someone's identity can be adjusted through the use of social media. New media has distinctive characteristics which promote interactive nature (Geni et al, 2021), this enables individuals to represent themselves based on their daily habits. Hence, drinking coffee is seen as a tool for presenting their lifestyle as well.

The presentation that we are discussing in this study leads to the identity construction of individuals who consume coffee; whether it is regarding the coffee itself, or the brand attached to it. These findings are relevant to the brand identity development discussed by Rashid, Cohen and Ghose (2018), and the findings of this research can further be considered in building brand identity.

CONCLUSION

This study concludes that the drinking coffee culture among millennials in Jakarta, Indonesia, has constructed (i) personal meaning and (ii) social meaning. Based on the findings, the fact that experience in drinking coffee culture has changed how participants in this study enjoy their coffee on a day to day basis. The process of interaction with family, friends, and colleagues have brought them different coffee drinking experiences throughout the years from the day they have their first sip of coffee. Their drinking coffee experience has shaped them into a certain preference when it comes to coffee; with regards to the bean, pouring system, serving style, and even place. Drinking coffee is not only defined literally as drinking a cup of coffee but at the second-degree level, it represents individuals' preference and self-representation. Furthermore, as a social tool, drinking coffee is used as a social term for various contexts of interactions. Thus, the interaction and experience constructed coffee and

coffee drinking activity in different labels and meanings which are determined by individuals in personal and social contexts. Individual preference and how they associate coffee with value and meaning are defined through social interaction with others which further defined the identity in drinking coffee among millennials.

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