

CULTURAL CHANGE OF COFFEE FARMER SOCIETY IN GAYO HIGHLANDS, INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT: *This study of cultural change looks at the cultural change aspect of coffee farmers in the Gayo Highlands that is famous in the world as the producer of Arabica coffee. The change of plantation culture is seen from the number of transitional types that are cultivated by the local community and the transitional period of government in Indonesia. The changes in plantation management, from the management model traditionally such as the period before the Dutch colonial administration (garden system), the colonial period (plantation company system); the post-independence period of Republic of Indonesia (state plantation companies system, private plantation company, and people's plantation), and the late 1990s (the people's plantation system). The factors that encourage the change in Gayo coffee plantations are divided into two forms, namely directly and indirectly. Directly it is caused by the inclusion of LTA 77 companies to Gayo Highlands in 1983. While indirectly it is caused by cessation of operational PTP I Langsa Kebun Takengon in 1980, the occurrence of frost in 1993, the tsunami disaster in Aceh in 2004, and there is technological innovation.*

KEYWORDS: Coffee Plantation; Cultural Change, Gayo Highland

INTRODUCTION

Coffee is one of the most traded commodities in the world right now after petroleum (ICO, 2013). Coffee is cultivated in more than 80 countries in Asia, Africa, as well as in South and Central America, which is the foundation for 25 million farming families (ICO, 2013). Besides farmers, who are involved in processing and distribution of coffee includes almost 100 million families.

Coffee can only grow in tropical climate with the certain highland and certain soil type. Topographic criteria and requirements are the region along equator or in the term called coffee belt tropic. Countries around coffee belt tropic become country exporting coffee to all over the world. Because of being commodity that become world celebrity, it makes disparity between exporter country (coffee producer/coffee farmer) and importer country. Most coffee exporters are included in this coffee belt tropic categorized as a poor country generally located in the southern part of the earth. In contrast, the largest coffee consumption in the world is actually done by people from rich and developed countries that are generally located in the northern hemisphere. The processed coffee from coffee beans form (green bean) becomes a variety of drinks more done by people in developed countries. Similarly, cafe, restaurants, roasting, and several processing and enjoying coffee places is available and easier to access in developed countries than in countries where coffee is grown and processed early.

The global market system through imported exported results in a mutual relationship between importers and exporters is more developed not only as buyers and sellers, but more developed in the determination of quality control that includes cultivation systems, management, maintenance systems, and marketing. The control system adopted by the world market system

shows how coffee farmers are dominated by the market system. The implementation of this system makes farmers as coffee producers adapting to these demands. Starting from the preparation of plot, how to plant, care, harvest, post-harvest coffee processing, to transportation and coffee sale take changes. The change does not only happen because of the arrival of foreign buyers who become the distribution market including America and Europe, otherwise farmers as producers, sellers and exporters of coffee coming from the Gayo Highlands also often visit to buy American and Europe coffee. In each visit, Gayo highland coffee farmers learn more about coffee processing techniques and other fields that support plantation management such as, studying coffee cupping, accounting, plantation, downstream industries in coffee, coffee roasting, some involve international experts and use the newest product machines.

From the various ways mentioned above, the farmers and people involved with coffee production at Gayo highland will spread it to other farmers, and try to learn new things for them. Eventually these changes propagate to other fields that are not always associated with the coffee plantations management. Some of the old cultures of society directly related to plantation culture are slowly being replaced by new cultures. The machines have replaced the human power in coffee management.

The coffee farmer community in Gayo highland also can not escape the phenomenon of globalization. Since having Gayo Arabica coffee as one of world-class coffee, they can not avoid the invasion of globalization. This causes the management of coffee plantations to change. Cultural change in the management of plantations is a normal situation that always takes place in the life of people in plantations everywhere, including in this Gayo highland. The presence of plantations in Indonesia can not be separated from the Dutch colonial government. Therefore since its presence has brought the banner of the global capitalist economic system. This system is certainly different from the indigenous economy rooted in the old traditions of farmers. The meeting of these two distinct interests will form different plantation management.

The main focus of this research is to understand the changes that occur in the coffee plantations management in farming communities in Gayo highland that is caused by cultural globalization in cultivation, processing and trading of coffee. Furthermore, how the adaptation of society to the occurred changes is, all has implications on socio-cultural changes in society on this plantation as a whole. In addition, this research examines the development of theories that explain the cultural changes that occur with the change of the coffee marketing system from only local national to global. The changes will have implications for the overall change of coffee plantation governance in this research area. This research is also to prove that the people who live in the plantation is not only a homogeneous and static life, but also full of dynamics.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Plantation in Changing Context

Coffee plantations in the Gayo Highlands have long played an important role in supporting the economic life of local communities, and this role has been going on across generations. Coffee is not only the main livelihood of the population here, but it is also connected to all dimensions of people's lives. For the Gayo Highlands residents, cultivating and managing coffee

plantations has become part of their daily lives. Although coffee is not a native of this region, coffee cultivation is an integral part of Gayo ethnic culture, and plantation communities in the Gayo highland.

There are nearly a hundred thousand people in the Gayo highland who work as coffee farmers (BPS Bener Meriah Regency, 2013). This number will increase if others are not directly employed as coffee farmers, but their work can not be separated from coffee plantations such as collectors, small traders, wholesalers, exporters, coffee picker, coffee chooser, coffee taster, packing seller, coffee milling, roasting coffee owner, certification officers, extension agents and others. Directly and indirectly everyone can be said to be connected to coffee, for them coffee is not just one of the plants that can meet their needs, but coffee becomes something that 'binding' their relationship as a community group. Gayo highland has long been one of the goals of global capitalist penetration in plantation business in Indonesia. Since the Dutch colonial era, The place that is located far in interior of Aceh province has been present in various foreign and government plantations with various types of plantation. This coffee plantation in this area has existed since the Dutch colonial period. This can be proved by the establishment of a Dutch coffee processing plant in the village of Bergendal, Central Aceh district which until now the former factory can still be witnessed.

This coffee plantation in Gayo highland is experiencing a period of up and down. Since it is planted, it has not continued to be the main plantation in this region, because in the decades, this plant has been lost as a primadonna plantation in Gayo than pine merkusii which has also been one of the main economic of the Gayo highland community, especially the period of the 1950s to the early 1980s. The golden age of coffee at Gayo highland takes place around 1998, when coffee plantations is broke in Brazil caused by frost. That situation causes that the other place is saken to fill the coffee vacuum from Brazil, one of them is coffee derived from Gayo highland. The turning Gayo coffee marketing directly to America, European and the other developed countries has encouraged cultural change of plantation management with some requirements decided by importer. For example, it is prohibited to use chemicals in the process of cultivation and coffee processing that must maintain biodiversity in plantation land, and not allowed to use child labor in processing and must based certain drought standards of green from froduced beans etc.

All the requirements have implications for change not only in the management of coffee plantations, but also extending to the culture of the community in this plantation. The communities that have used to process coffee based on the culture that they know for decades and change all based on the standard that is decided by customer. However, it is not easy to change the culture that has been attached to their daily lives, which has been incorporated into the culture of the local community.

The change is also supported by growth of coffee consumption that has increased spectacularly in the past two decades, especially in major coffee consuming countries, such as the United States and some countries in the Europe. The increase in coffee consumption is also triggered by the growth of the coffee roasting industry coffee that is also one of the factors that encourage the increasing demand for supplying of green bean from coffee producing countries in the world, including from Indonesia.

One of the causes of these changes is the demands from consumers for quality coffee and meet some of the requirements related to environmental sustainability that they always hope. All of this has encouraged consumers to find out directly to coffee producers in developing countries

to get information about the geographical environment and the socio-cultural life of coffee farmers.

Society and Cultural Changes

Cultural change is a change that concerns many aspects of human life, especially in relation to changes in the elements of a universal culture. Meanwhile social change is a change that occurs in the social system of society. Social change is usually a change that occurs to accompany cultural changes, as stated by Kingley Davis that "social change is part of cultural change. From this explanation, it can be concluded that cultural change is broader than social change, and social change is a change that concerns only one aspect of culture and social change are both related to the acceptance of new ways.

Cultural change is essentially an adaptation process of a group of people to something, either ideas or objects that have their life either through imitation, diffusion, or acculturation process. Humans, as other living things are capable of being adaptive to their environment in order to survive. Although humans can do this adaptation principally through cultural tools, the process is guided by the rules of natural selection such as regulating biological adaptation (Meggers 56, pp. 4 in Keesing, 1997). The five factors that cause cultural change are: (1) changes in the natural environment; (2) contact with other cultures; (3) changes due to discovery; (4) changes that occur because a society or nation modifies some elements of material culture that have been developed by other nations elsewhere; 5) changes that occur because a nation modifies its way of life by adopting a new knowledge or belief, or because of changes in life view and its conception about reality (Setiadi and friends 2010).

RESEARCH METHOD

This research uses ethnography method by giving insight on the element of cultural change and adaptation of farmer society to marketing change of coffee in Gayo highland from local and national to global. This research is also on the scope of economic anthropology, because there are two main focus in this research, namely culture and livelihoods. The emphasis is on the importance of investigating how external structures, especially buyers and importers of coffee from abroad, influencing local farmers' decisions to change their plantation management cultures that they have done for decades. However, researcher will also see whether external parties also have a dependence on farmers' coffee products in the Gayo highland and participate in changing or bargaining with the situation at Gayo highland.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The Forms of Coffee Plantation Change

The changes in plantation management culture in Gayo highland also can not be categorized in the same model, because there are also various forms of plantation management. Based on the reasons for various models of plantation management in this Gayo highland, the researchers will divide it based on several periods to be able to distinguish the main features in a certain period. However, every existing period can not be described in the same model, because here there are various forms that can not be included in the same classification. Including overlap,

where the system existed in one period, it also appears in different periods. The determination of this period is not based on the range of the same number of years, but there is more emphasis on the occurrence of a certain moment that has encouraged to the change of this plantation management which takes place on a wide scale and on the basics.

To facilitate understanding, the researcher divides the process of change into four phases, namely the period before the Dutch colonial administration (garden system), the colonial period (plantation enterprise system); the post-independence period of the Republic of Indonesia (the system of state plantation companies, private plantation companies, and 'smallholders' plantation), and the late 1990s (the people's plantation system). Here are described the stages of cultural change in plantation management and the changes that took place. The process of management changing of plantation is divided into 4 history period of plantation in Gayo highland that consist of: (1) First Period (Pre-colonial, colonial till 1945s); (2) Second Period (1945s still last 1980s); (3) Third Period (1980s till 2000); and (4) forth period (2000s till now).

1. Period I (Pre Colonial; Colonial till 1945s)

This first period has taken place before the presence of colonial ruler in this region, namely the pre-colonial period, the colonial period (colonialism) of the Dutch Indies until the 1990s. Forms of agricultural / plantation management in this Gayo highland are listed as follow, the first part is the earliest form of management, and the last is the most recent known. However, this division is not always rigid, because it may be the garden system that has existed since the emergence of planting activities in Gayo, until now still going on. Thus, although new methods have emerged, the old ordinances do not automatically disappear, but remain or experience little change to adapt to the new situation.

a. Plantation System

With its location in the interior and far from water resources, then the livelihood of the population in the Gayo highland are the jobs associated with the processing of land, such as planting rice and gardening. Farmers in the Gayo highland generally rely more on physical strength in processing their garden, without the aid of modern tools. Because with very small amount of land they only get few results, so it is difficult to pay workers' wages. While doing citation of their coffee, they often use wage labor from the inhabitants to avoid changing the taste of the coffee beans that are harvested, so it does not reduce the market price.

The change from farming to gardening in the dry field by itself also encourages the change of land use from wet farming to dry, this condition makes the switch of some former rice fields to pepper plant field, and coffee plant. What drives the change is because the results obtained from planting coffee and other dry plantation is bigger than result obtained bt them in planting rice. whereas at that time rice harvest only can be done once a year, while coffee or other plants can be done twice.

The economic life of coffee traders looks better than most farmers, they are classified as new elites within the Gayo Society. The emergence of new traders in the community gives a lot positive value to the life of farmers, because now people can know directly about the development of coffee prices every day and prices by traders can also compete.

b. The Model of Garden and The Way of Opening the Garden

In the garden system, they will open the garden in two ways namely *muger tamas mude*. At that time so seldom the people has the garden by buying other people's ready garden. Almost all farmers do the process from the initial form. Here is a description of the two ways of opening the garden:

1. Muger: Muger is a term in Gayo Language to describe how to open a garden for the first time, example by opening a forest that has never been planted by other people jointly with villager. Muger begins with the following steps: (i). Permissions. Permission is the first step that must be done by the prospective owner of the garden to the headman; (ii) .The area of land given by each family is generally only about 2 hectares of land for their plantation land; (iii) Conducting a special ritual feast that essentially asks the landowner for permission to avoid the calamity that befell during gardening; (iv) The implementation of the ritual is not complicated, it is only attended by relatives who have intentions and their relatives and are attended by priests who will lead the prayers. Usually this event is accompanied by the provision of certain foods, such as roasted chickens and sweet rice; (v) the farmers begin to cultivate the gardens by cutting the large woods in the forest, then clearing their fields by shifting the logs from the previously log that has been cut as barriers to separate the ownership of one person from another; (vi) *mendugal* (making a hole by pressing the wood into the ground to sow the seeds of the plant), then the seeds are sowed and dumped with land, after this it finishes the process of planting. The next activities are the maintenance of the garden by keeping the disturbance of animals, cleaning the grass regularly, and finally harvest the results.

c. Plantation Company System

The Dutch that introduces coffee for the first time to Gayo highland has managed this coffee plantation with a plantation system based on the calculation of global capitalist trade. Supported by a system of forced cultivation, that is also begun in Java which has delivered much wealth to the prosperity of the mother country, causes to the colonial government also opening land for planting plantations that is sold well especially for the European market. At that time, the coffee production of Java Island is famous for its good quality, so at that time the term Java has been identical with coffee. The popularity of the word "Java" as a substitute for the word of coffee is caused when the Dutch is success to grow coffee on Java island based on the "taste 'of the Europeans at that time. Thus there is opinion that always links coffee from Jawa as coffee with guaranteed quality

The Dutch coffee plantation located in Bergendal Village, Belang Gele, Central Aceh, has been able to attract many coffee enthusiasts in Europe, hence there is the emergence of poster with a word written "products for the future". However, the propaganda written in the advertisement about Coffee from Gayo, it is only realized today, which is about a hundred years after the establishment of the coffee plantation.

d. Coffee Plantation in Japan society period

The Japanese society period takes place short in the Gayo highland. It is equal that happens throughout Indonesia, although the Japanese society period is short in Indonesia, however, this short time has given many gloomy notes to the life of the Indonesian nation. In the Gayo highland it happens, it was marked by an extraordinary upheaval, with many public figures descending directly against the Japanese colonialist.

The management of plantations in Gayo during the Japanese colonization relatively does not get much interference. Japan actually gives wider freedom to the people to manage their plantations, as long as it does not violate the prevailing regulations. During the Japanese colonization, Gayo residents even have many opportunities to learn the techniques of gardening that the Dutch are in power they could not get.

e. Coffee Marketing on Colonial Period

Coffee marketing on colonial period is carried out by plantations. In this case the local community who became laborers in the plantation does not know at all how the marketing system is done by the plantation. They only work based on the rhythm that has been organized, without any special initiative or preferences.

2. Period II (1945s till last 1980s)

This post-independence phase, the management of plantations has changed, where during the Colonial Government, plantations in the form of companies, generally belonging to private Dutch companies. After being independence, the coffee plantation is done by the community, namely the plantation people with limited land area of approximately 2 hectares per family. This period is also marked by the growing development of smallholder coffee plantations that are managed privately and with a limited area. This period also happens side by side between people coffee plantation and pine merkusii plantation in Gayo highland. It is different what happen to pine plantations, where pine plantations, despite the transition from Dutch companies to state plantations of the Republic of Indonesia, namely State Plantation Company / *Perusahaan Perkebunan Negara (PPN)* (changing PPN, PNP), but the management is in the form of a plantation company. Despite many changes with the management of pine plantations, there is a special note here, the succession of the country's leadership from the Netherlands to Indonesia when it causes to various changes in almost every dimension of community life. The difference is that pine survives with a plantation system (big company), while coffee begins to shift from private / state plantations to private plantation.

In this period primary forest develops widely to be society plantation either coffee plantation or the other plantation because at that time coffee has not given yet the great influence to society life or farmer in Gayo highland. At that time coffee as primadonna around Gayo is not greater than pine plant that is not only from foreigner but also Gayo people themselves that know the plant called uyem or damar, for society that is besides Gayo people

a. The plantation Opening Management

The opening of foreign-owned plantation companies, especially Dutch company and European company follow the establishment procedures of companies that have their own arrangements. It is usually started by surveying area before opening. Then opening the garden by way of *muger* and *tampas mude* (forest that has been processed by other farmers), and *empus* (the ready garden which has grown plants)

b. Plantation of Society

Dutch goes out from Gayo Highland or the other region in whole Indonesia that is a moment by transition of coffee plantation farm from plantation system managed by the company to an independent plantation. The change led to various changes in people's lives in this plantation, not only in relation to coffee, but also to the various dimensions of people's lives.

Here is the job that is liked by many people in this second period: (1). Coffee farmers at the same time become farmers of vegetables and fruits or farmers who cultivate rice in the fields. This means they plant coffee as one of the few plants they produce. (2). Coffee farmers who at once become farmers, or fisher. This phenomenon is specifically seen in the residents whose residence is located around Lake Laut Tawar near Takengon Town. They catch fish of freshwater fish, gold fish and the other kind of fish. (3) Coffee farmers is also as employees, both in government offices and employees on state plantations, namely State Plantation Company/ *Perusahaan negara perkebunan (PNP)* I which changes into limited Plantation company/ *PTP (Perusahaan Terbatas Perkebunan)* I which is owned by Damar and Turpentine factories in Lampahan, Subdistrict of Timang Gajah and headquartered in Langsa City, East Aceh. And (4). Coffee farmers who concurrently work other as traders, artisans, teachers, and so forth.

The conditions that is described above can be said that gardening coffee at that time is not the work that becomes choice for the people, but only an additional job or work done to help earn additional income. In relation to the situation, in the second period this could be said that the choice of gardening coffee as the work of the population is still not the only work option.

3. Period III (the late 1980s till 2000)

Plantation management in this period is almost the same as that occurs in the period after the independence of the Republic of Indonesia from the 1945s to the 1980s (second period), in the form of people's plantations. However, the distinction of this period is that in the late 1980s or early 1990s there is a tremendous change in almost all of the coffee plantation governance in this area. This period is also characterized by the growing number of coffee cultivation areas if it is compared to the previous periods, after the occurrence of many conversion of ex-land of pine plantations that are not replanted after the barren of pine forest in Gayo highland after being used by the paper company into raw materials in paper production. Increasing coffee plantation land is caused by halting of Pinus plantation management, researcher explains about pine plantation as following:

Land preparation stages in the third period, some farmers still follow the gardening way commonly practiced by farmers in the previous period, namely by opening/making the forest first. But most of them get a garden by buying a ready-made garden and have been processed from the forest into *tamas mude*-shaped fields. Although these *tamas mude* require further processing to produce, but the work that every farmer must do is not as heavy as to have to open the jungle from the beginning. One of the reasons is that at this time it has been difficult to find a free forest of ownership of the community. This period people is forbidden to cultivate state forest. At this period the farmers have greater role in processing coffee that they own started from the preparation of plantation land to the marketing. The stages are as follows:

The first step in preparing coffee seeds that will be used as a prospective coffee plant. There are several methods used by farmers in this Gayo highland to obtain plant seeds. The way to obtain seed that is usually done is by slipping and grafting. This purpose of grafting is to get the good nature of two different plants, for example by using a jackfruit trunk that resistant nematode attack as rootstock. In the preparing plot for the cultivation of coffee, the first step that should be taken is to find the right land for planting and should be clear for avoiding coffee from fungal attacks or other diseases from previous plants. The need for prevention of this disease because the coffee that is attacked by the disease is usually difficult for having fruit or producing only a small amount of fruit.

4. Period IV (2000 till now)

Since about the late 1990s, there has been a tremendous change in the plantation management in this area. The change is caused by the tremendous changes associated with the change of the coffee marketing system. Gayo coffee since that era has become one of the world's best quality coffee. This situation has invited many people to visit directly to the plantation site that has produced the coffee, namely to Gayo highland. Many people from different countries with the aim to buy or see the situation of coffee plantations in this Gay highland by itself gives impact for the cultural life of this society widely or specifically related to this coffee plantation management.

At this period, there are also many land transfers from the former land of pine plantations that some people takes to be used as gardens, not only coffee plantations but also gardens to plant vegetables and fruits. All the gardens that exist after the cessation of limited plantation company /PTP I activities are plantations people that are managed independently, for all types of plants that they produce. On the late 1990s, there is a noticeable change, when at that time the opening of coffee plantations is not mixed with other plants, its mean that when in the past the farmers plant coffee as well as other plants such as red beans, sugar cane, vegetables, etc simultaneously in a similar garden, so now there is a special, that is only coffee plant or if anyone wants to grow vegetables, they only plant vegetables, thus there is a specialization of types of plants produced. Therefore, the community also begins to concentrate more attention on one field of work, for example being a farmer only.

CONCLUSION

The growth of coffee plantations in the Gayo Highlands has been around the 1900s. In the work of Hurgronje (1903) explains that the Gayo people has known coffee long before the colonial invaders entered the territory. Gayo society has long known the various types of agricultural commodities produced by local communities. The community has experienced various models of agricultural management, from the traditional gardening and agricultural management system, followed by the management of the Dutch colonial government plantation model, then the state plantation company; until the last people's plantation. Currently, almost all agricultural management in Gayo highland, Bener Meriah Regency is in the form of smallholder plantations.

Since the Dutch is in the Gayo Highlands in 1908, it has been the beginning of socio-cultural change in this region. The change factors in Gayo coffee plantations are found in two forms, directly and indirectly. Directly, it is the establishment of the LTA company in Pondok Gajah Village, Bener Meriah Regency in 1983, and the demand for foreign coffee buyers, that specifies certain cultivation and processing techniques to suit their tastes. The indirect factor is the cessation of Pine Plantation company operations (PTP I) / Limited plantation company in Lampahan, Central Aceh (now in Bener Meriah regency) and the occurrence of a frost disaster in Brazil which is the world's largest coffee exporter, both Arabica and Robusta coffee, in 2004, as well as the monetary crisis that hit Indonesia in 1998, causing many layoffs and the shift of these workers into farmers.

The forms of coffee plantation change are divided into four periods namely period I (Pre Colonial, Colonial, Until the 1945s marked by the application of the garden system, opening

the garden (*muger*), plantation system, forced cultivation); Period II (1945s- until 1980s) marked by the management of plantations that originally shaped the garden then turned to the colonial government, when this phase has been managed by plantations in the form of private Dutch companies. Then after independence, coffee plantations are managed by a community called people plantations; Period III (late 1980s to 2000) is actually almost the same as the previous phases, difference is that in the late 1980s there is a tremendous change in almost all coffee plantation governance in Gayo highland. This period is also characterized by an increasing number of coffee areas when it is compared to previous times; and lastly, the period IV (Since 2000 till right now) that is characterized by changes in the coffee marketing system. Gayo coffee since the 2000s has become one of the best quality coffee in the world, so it causes in the transition of land from the former land of pine plantation, vegetables, and fruits changing to the coffee plantation.

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