


**WARKOP (COFFEEHOUSE) AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SPACE IN  
MAKASSAR CITY**

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<p><b>Article history:</b></p> <p><b>Received</b> 04 October 2022</p> <p><b>Accepted</b> 06 November 2022</p>	<p><b>Purpose:</b> In Makassar city, the coffeehouse is one of the most crowded places visited by the public from morning to night. Various elements are involved in it, such as the media, public figures, and community groups, interacting with each other to perform in a public space. Seeing the various public elements and the strategic role of the public space of <i>Warkop</i> that accommodate various interests, the existence of <i>Warkop</i> cannot be separated from the relations behind them. This article analyzes critically the various power relations that construct and shape the public space of <i>Warkop</i>.</p>
<p><b>Keywords:</b></p> <p>Warkop; Coffeehouse; Public Space; Power Relations; Second Space.</p>	<p><b>Design/methodology/approach:</b> The qualitative approach with the ethnographic method is taken as a method of research. The research data are analyzed using cultural studies to reveal the practices and power relations that shape the public space of <i>warkop</i> in Makassar.</p>
	<p><b>Findings:</b> The research results indicate that every element of the public has formed the public space of the <i>warkop</i>. The different interests and social groups that exist have created distortions between public and private interests. The <i>warkop</i> becomes not only a space of social and political interaction (space of politics), but also it has undergone spatial politicization (politics of space).</p>
	<p><b>Research, Practical &amp; Social implications:</b> The results of this study have given social implications that the presence of <i>warkop</i> has changed the public's perspective on the role of coffee shops as a third and second space for easy interaction and exchange of interests.</p>
	<p><b>Originality/value:</b> The results of this study have contributed to the development of cultural studies on the social function of <i>warkop</i> as public spaces</p>
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**LOGOTIPO HALAL DA MARCA PARA ATRAIR TURISTAS MUÇULMANOS**

**RESUMO**

**Objetivo:** O logotipo Halal é a marca de uma atração turística para turistas muçulmanos. Com o branding Halal, os visitantes vão assumir se os alimentos e bebidas são Halal para comer ou beber. Este artigo tem como objetivo apresentar a marca da exibição do logotipo Halal nas atividades de turismo Halal na Indonésia.

**Referencial teórico:** A abordagem utilizada é a semiótica da comunicação. Os dados foram obtidos por uma pesquisa online com entrevistados que viajaram para a Indonésia, particularmente em áreas de destino turístico onde a maioria da população não era muçulmana.

**Desenho/metodologia/abordagem:** A abordagem utilizada é a semiótica da comunicação. Os dados foram obtidos por uma pesquisa online com entrevistados que viajaram para a Indonésia, particularmente em áreas de destino turístico onde a maioria da população não era muçulmana.

**Resultados:** Este trabalho conclui que a forma como os turistas determinam comida e pelo menos Halal é encontrando um restaurante com o logotipo Halal, pesquisando na internet sobre restaurantes Halal, perguntando aos funcionários do hotel sobre restaurantes Halal e perguntando a amigos ou familiares que visitaram o mesmo destino turístico sobre Restaurantes Halal na área para visitar.

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**Pesquisa, implicações práticas e sociais:** Sugerimos uma agenda de pesquisa futura e destacamos as contribuições feitas para a educação executiva e gerencial.

**Originalidade/valor:** A representação do Halal em um restaurante são os restaurantes que possuem um certificado Halal marcado por uma etiqueta com o logotipo Halal e aqueles que não possuem um certificado Halal com um logotipo Halal, mas que oferecem comida Halal.

**Palavras-chave:** Warkop, Coffeehouse, Espaço público, Relações de Poder, Segundo Espaço.

## LOGOTIPO DE MARCA HALAL PARA ATRAER TURISTAS MUSULMANES

### RESUMEN

**Propósito:** El logo Halal es la marca de una atracción turística para turistas musulmanes. Con el branding Halal, los visitantes asumirán si los alimentos y bebidas son Halal para comer o beber. Este documento tiene como objetivo presentar la visualización del logotipo de Halal en las actividades de turismo Halal en Indonesia.

**Metodología:** El enfoque utilizado es la semiótica de la comunicación. Los datos se obtuvieron mediante una encuesta en línea de encuestados que habían viajado a Indonesia, particularmente en áreas de destino turístico donde la mayoría de la población no era musulmana.

**Conclusiones:** Este artículo concluye que la forma en que los turistas determinan la comida y al menos Halal es encontrando un restaurante con un logotipo Halal, buscando en Internet sobre restaurantes Halal, preguntando al personal del hotel sobre restaurantes Halal y preguntando a amigos o familiares que han visitado el mismo destino turístico sobre Restaurantes halal en la zona para visitar.

### Implicaciones de la Investigación:

La representación de Halal en un restaurante son los restaurantes que tienen un certificado Halal marcado con una etiqueta con el logotipo Halal y los que no tienen un certificado Halal con un logotipo Halal pero ofrecen comida Halal.

**Palabras clave:** Warkop, Cafetería, Espacio Público, Relaciones de Poder, Segundo Espacio.

## INTRODUCTION

Makassar City is one of the big cities in Indonesia, which is located on the southwest coast of the island of Sulawesi, facing the Makassar Strait. This city is the largest city in eastern Indonesia and the fifth largest city in Indonesia after Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung and Medan. If you visit the city of Makassar, it is easy to find coffeehouses spread throughout the city, which are crowded by the public from morning to night. Even some coffeehouses are open 24 hours. Various terms are used to name the coffeehouse, such as coffeestall, coffeehouse, café, coffee shop, and so on, all of which are alternative places for Makassar's public to socialize and interact. Although with various terms and concepts, all these terms have something in common, namely a place to sell coffee drinks and their variants, so that these names can be united in one general term, namely coffeehouse (*warung kopi* or *warkop*). To facilitate the explanation, the term "Warkop" (coffeehouse), abbreviation from Warung Kopi, is used then to describe and elaborate the analysis of the public space of coffeehouse in Makassar.

The variety and spread of coffeehouses (warkop) in almost all corners of the city, makes Makassar often dubbed "a city of a thousand Warkop". Aside from being a place to drink coffee, hang out, and socialize, warkop is often also used for press conferences, consolidation meetings,

seminars, political discussions, and so on, and not infrequently it is also used as a place to work because most warkop have provided internet facilities (wifi) which can make easier for the public to carry out their activities online. In the warkop, the public of Makassar discusses various issues, ranging from their private and daily issues to public issues such as issues of education, running of government, public facilities, and so on. In short, warkop has transformed into a contemporary public space in the city of Makassar.

The proliferation of warkop in Makassar in the last 15 years (Tribu Timur media reports) is an indication of the increasing number of (contemporary) public spaces for the community to interact and discuss issues and their private and public interests. In South Sulawesi in general and Makassar in particular, the booming warkop phenomenon began to be felt in the 2003s. However, the existence of warkop in Makassar is not new ones, even before the proclamation of independence in 1945, regulations were made regarding the existence of warkop in Makassar (according to Makassar city government archives).

Many interesting things take place at the warkop, one of which is regular discussions/talkshowsheld by radio and television stations. At warkop, Mercury radio and Fajar Television (Fajar TV), for example, discuss the actual and local issues around Makassar in particular or national issues in general, involving all elements of society to participate in it, both as warkop visitors and as radio listeners. Likewise, public figures (politicians, government officials, intellectuals, community leaders) often use warkop to “turn on” the public discourse, either through talkshowsor through press conferences. In addition, news seekers (journalists) often use warkop as a place to find news and information for the benefit of the media. The local Makassar news media, Fajar and Tribun Timur, often publish the results of talk showsor matters related to press conferences held at warkop as their coverage reports (online reports by Fajar and Tribun Timur media). Visitors and loyal warkop connoisseurs often organize themselves in a warkop community as a forum for their aspirations to socialize and interact, and not infrequently they create activities/events to enliven and enliven their flagship warkop. They make various arts and sports activities such as karaoke competitions, domino games, chess, futsal, or other entertaining activities.

Seeing the role and strategic position of warkop in accommodating the public in socio-political life in Makassar and the variety of public elements involved in it, warkop has become a trendsetterin the contemporary public space of Makassar and a representation of various interests and groups (the public). Because of its position as a public space that accommodates various elements with various interests, the existence of warkop in Makassar cannot be separated from the power relationsbehind it. Therefore, this paper aims to uncover and analyze

the (power) relations that have been built up in warkop, namely how warkop becomes public (political) interaction spaces between those with an interest in public hegemony and at the same time how warkop as space physically, socially and politically constructed for specific purposes and interests.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This paper is the result of research that aims to reveal the social life of warkop and explain the relations (power) behind the construction of the reality of the public space of warkop in Makassar. By using an ethnographic approach (ethnography) (Sauko, 2003; Spradley, 2006; Ratna, 2010; Endraswara, 2012), data collection is carried out using field research methods (Ratna, 2010: 188-190) to obtain data, the desired primary data, namely the warkop in Makassar, the media, in this case, the radio stations that often cover talk shows in warkop and also several leading media dailies in Makassar, including media Fajar, Tribun Timur, as well as several public figures who represent the public in warkop, and visitors and warkop communities. Meanwhile, secondary data is obtained from library data by using note-taking and photographic techniques. These secondary data can be sourced from books, archives, magazines, newspapers, report results, and so on, which describe various information about warkop and reviews about warkop interactions/discussions, or other library information that can support the research data.

Field data collection is carried out through involved observation and interviews using recording, photo, and note-taking techniques to support the data collection process. For data samples, a sampling data collection technique is used, namely the purposive sampling technique (Moleong, 2006: 224-225). In addition, data on news coverage in several media and on the internet is also used, involving the public spaces of warkop in Makassar in their coverage, interviews with several people who are considered to be able to provide additional information, and data from various other references such as books, magazines, or anything related to the research topic.

The research data obtained is then analyzed using cultural studies to reveal the construction of practices and power relations that shape the reality of the public spaces of warkop in Makassar city.

Warkop as public space as the main topic of this research refers to the combination of warkop space (concrete place) as a place that is visited, constructed and experienced by the public in carrying out various activities such as a place for discussion, a place to drink coffee,

a place to meet friends, and so on in daily life (public space), with the warkop as a space for discussion, arguing with various goals and interests to form a discursive opinion (public sphere).

Warkop in the context of this research is highlighted in the framework of the “spacio-publico sphere”, namely space which is not only seen as a space for interacting in forming discursive opinions (public sphere), but also as a space for social products (public space) from various processes, social relations and actions, namely as the product of the spatial practice of ideological, economic, political forces (the realm of power) that seek to limit, regulate, and control the activities that take place in and through them (spatial production).

### **Public Space Terms**

The term public space itself raises debate among practitioners and theorists of public space. Theoretically, there are various perspectives on the concept and term of public space. The public sphere can be seen as a result of the social practice of modern capitalism from a geographic-architectural perspective (Lefebvre, 1991; 2009; Soja, 1996), as a field of public services (Peters & Savoie, 2000), as a sphere of cultural reflection (Eagleton, 2003), as a space for appearance and self-freedom (Arendt, 1998), and as a discursive-political reflection of the open, rational, and critical collective involvement of civil society (Habermas, 1993). In practice, the study of public space refers to two things, but they are interrelated, namely, public space which is seen in a spatial framework, as a physical-geographical-architectural space (public space) and secondly, and public space which is seen in a general framework, political, discursive and metaphorical (public sphere).

Some of the results of studies on public spaces in the physical-geographic-architectural framework can be seen in the works of Gottdiener (1985), Soja (1989), Lefebvre (1991), Low (2000), Harvey (2001), Mitchell (2003), Massey (2005), and so on. These experts seek to understand how social, political, economic, and cultural processes and relations shape specific public spaces. While studies of public space in a political-discursive and metaphorical framework are rarely seen spatially, they are more focused on the communicative interactions of the community in forming discursively shared opinions and wills in public spaces, both physically/directly and virtually. Some of the results of studies and writings on such public spaces can be seen in the works of Habermas (1993), Hannah Arendt (1998), Fraser (1990), Cheah and Robbins (1998), Craig Calhoun (1992), Crossley (2004), and Castell (2000).

The diversity of perspectives makes experts conclude the public sphere in their respective views, because it not only concerns aspects of the circulation of goods, services, and ideas, but also concerns aspects of domination, contestation, negotiation, and conflict in it so

that the issues related to it are also involved. can be highlighted in terms of what, where, who uses it, how it is used, and why (Loukaitou-Sideris & Renia Ehrenfeutch, 2009; Kusno, 2009; Low & Neil Smith, 2006; Gottdiener (1997); Lefebvre (1991) However, there are still general criteria regarding the idea of public space, which includes all aspects of life, both physical and non-physical, open, widely accessible to the public (Orum & Zachary P Neal, 2010; B. Herry-Priyono, 2010; Low & Smith, 2006).

Therefore, the perspective of public space can no longer be seen dichotomously within the framework of mere discursive space (public sphere) or in a spatial framework only (public space), but combines the two perspectives within the framework of the “spacio-publico sphere” and puts it in what context. where, who, how, and why a public space appears and is constructed as a social reality.

### **The Rise of Post-reform Warkop (Coffeehouse)**

When the reformation winds blow hard on all aspects of life in Indonesia, the hope for a democratic life begins to appear in public spaces. The 1998 reformation has exposed the “dark cloud” that has shrouded the public sphere in Indonesia for 32 years. The wind of reform has brought a strong liberalization urge to the new government (Post-Orde Baru) to further implement freedom, including freeing public spaces from government control. However, when the power of the state has ended and is replaced by market power, the existence of public space is not free from control, it is back under another control, namely the control of market forces (Hidayat, 2003). The power and logic of the market in the flow of liberalization have then largely co-opted the existence of contemporary public spaces in the country today.

In Makassar, especially in the post-reformation era, many contemporary public spaces appear in the form of coffeehouses (warkop). Warkop that were once only counted on the fingers are now mushrooming, becoming places for interaction and discussion, rather than being (just) a place to drink coffee. Social issues are no longer only discussed on campuses or in seminar rooms but have moved to warkop where people don't need to be formal to talk about serious things. Discussing and chatting in warkop, has become a trend and lifestyle for the public of Makassar.

One of the internal factors that gave rise to the euphoria of the rise of warkop in Makassar in the post-reformation era was the momentum of direct Regional Head Elections (Direct Pilkada) in 2004, which was previously in the New Order era (before the 1998 reform) were elected by members of the House of Representatives (DPR) both at the provincial level as well as districts. With the change in the regional head election system, the public is open and

busy looking for a place that is considered comfortable to talk about political topics in a relaxed manner but can still discuss common and serious topics such as the topics of regional head elections or other public topics. Thus, in the post-reformation era, these “warkop” are considered to have opened and mediated discussion spaces for the public to discuss various social aspects in social life as well as the course of the governance process in South Sulawesi in general and in Makassar in particular. In other words, the existence of this warkop in Makassar has become a political public space for the public to express their aspirations for the social, cultural, political, and economic processes of the people of Makassar.

The existence of these political public spaces are no longer just places to drink a cup of coffee or hang out but have become a place for all ideas, information, and interests to interact, and even become an arena for public debate and ideological battles for gain public acceptance. The public space of warkop has become a “free” land for all interests, both social, economic, cultural, and political interests involving actors (*agents*) from various levels of society, such as politicians, scholars, NGOs, officials government, legal practitioners, journalists, or entrepreneurs.

There are several warkop that often become places for hangouts and discussions for Makassar residents, including warkop Phoenam, Daeng Sija, Daeng Anas, Ahzahra, Mappanyukki, Sipakarennu, Dottoro’, Ogi, Turbo, Rally Cafe, Kopi Zone, Kopi Tiam, Tongsang, Tujuh Samudra, and Short Tune, and so on (coverage of the *Tribun Timur* media).

One thing that needs to be observed in the rise of public discussion in the public space of the coffeehouse in Makassar is the role of the mass media, in this case, the radio station, in mediating the talk show or discussion. The mass media then competed to hold talk shows. Radio stations that often hold warkop are Mercurius FM and Fajar FM radio. The phenomenon of the presence of mass media and representation of public figures in warkop has become a picture of the current condition of Makassar's contemporary political culture so that spaces that should belong to the public, are now widely defined by the mass media and public figures as a result of the influence of openness in this post-reform era.

## DISCUSSION

### **Warkop, Political Space, and Public Space Struggle**

The rise of warkop in Makassar as a place to interact (political, social, economic, and cultural) is a sign of the stretching of contemporary public spaces. Makassar public has various spaces to express themselves and their culture. Warkop become trendsetters and representations of contemporary political practice in Makassar. Political practices in the public

space of warkop also involve various public elements in it such as radio stations (eg Mercurius radio, viva news), TV stations (Fajar TV), newspaper media (Fajar and Tribun Timur), warkop owners, public figures, and visitors/communities of warkop. These public elements interact with each other and try to fight for their respective interests towards hegemony.

As the media initiated the talkshow “Chat of Warung Kopi” at the Phoenam warkop, Mercurius media tries to construct the reality of the Makassar warkop public space by forming strategic coalitions with several warkop including the Phoenam, as well as with public figures so that their interests lead to hegemony. as the leading media that is referred to as a news source, can be achieved. Likewise, the media like Fajar and the Tribun Timur, often use information in warkop as a source of initial information, both information from talk shows or press conferences from public figures. Information that develops in warkop can be a source of news or background ideas for print media to be further developed into a large coverage. Through warkop talk shows, a discussion was held that discussed actual issues surrounding the city of Makassar or national issues that were developing. The topics of discussion that are most often raised are the political theme surrounding the regional head election (Pilkada) and its problems, or the theme of public service in the city of Makassar. For a radio station, warkop discussions can be a place to develop a role as a public services facilitator in Makassar, while Fajar media sees it as a source of raw materials (initial information).

The urgency of media involvement in warkop in the form of public discussion is to become a public facilitator and control over the government which presupposes the direct involvement of media in the matter, and for that reason, the warkop, including the Phoenam warkop, are formatted into a “political public space” for discussing various Makassar public issues. This, of course, can be a positive point for the media as facilitators of public space, but also an “ideological” point for the sustainability of public space life in Makassar, because of the cross between the interests of media as “facilitators for public services” with the social construction of public spaces in warkop. Warkop discussion for media, internally and politically are efforts to become a “hero” for the public interest and get closer to decision/policy makers (power). Because of the results of the talk show, recommendations are then made to be forwarded to parties related to the discussion. This means that radio media directly, on behalf of the public, provide reports on the performance of decision-makers in various social, cultural, political, and economic fields in Makassar. Meanwhile, for newspaper media managers, the information that develops in warkop can be a source of news or background ideas for the media to be further developed into a large coverage, and at the same time as a first step for the media to conduct an in-depth investigation of power relations in Makassar.



Public figures often use warkop as a place for press conferences and invite media to cover it. The relationship between the media and public figures here has a reciprocal relationship, a mutually beneficial relationship, in the sense of a mutually negotiating relationship to achieve the interests of each party, where public figures need the media to convey their political messages in shaping public opinion concerning a topic, and vice versa, the mass media need the support of news sources from public figures, especially from A1 sources, to obtain information that has “news value” (sales value) that can help media to become the foremost media for forming public opinion and economically it will have an impact on boosting the media rating in the world of press, and automatically there will be many readers or buyers who are interested in the mass media. This is where the presence of the media begins to “utilize” the warkop’s public space as a source of news and make the space of warkop a social battle space to get “news value” so that media coverage can be widely accessed by the public to fight for its interests to become the leading media in Makassar.

The construction of “public space” that radio stations and newspaper media want to establish in warkop, is an effort to strengthen the arena of institutional/mass media struggle in Makassar particularly and in Indonesia generally towards leading media that is referred to as a news source. This is where the ability of the media to reposition itself continues to create alliances and coalitions with warkop and well-known public figures to build their hegemony towards leading media. In Gramsci's words (1996: 206-207, 229-241) the coalition with the Phoenam warkop and public figures involved in it, it is an effort to “war of position” of media to struggle over hegemony in public spaces in Makassar. “War of position” is a strategy to build a group consisting of various social forces united by a common conception of building hegemony.

Seeing the role of the media in constructing reality in the public space of warkop, on the one hand, it has carried out the public function of the media, namely opening up discussion space, disseminating information to the Makassar public, and passing it on to related parties on behalf of the public. But on the other hand, because it is in the era of media liberalization which requires strong competitive capabilities, the existence of the media cannot be separated from efforts to survive in the world of the media industry, due to the fierce competition in the era of capitalism and media liberalization, so that the logical consequence of the competition between the media is, that it triggers every media, both radio media station and print media, to make consensus (war positions) with parties who want the formation of public opinion, and at that stage, the political economy of the media also works.

Likewise with warkop owners, by creating a strategic coalition with radio stations, print media, and warkop communities, it will facilitate the interests of warkop hegemony in achieving its goal of warkop business that has a brandin Makassar. The creation of a strategy of cooperation with the media will enable the owners of warkop to be more widely known by the Makassar public and ultimately attract public interest to “drop by” to their warkop, and this directly or indirectly has implications for the increasing financial benefits obtained from the results of selling drinks and food in the warkop.

As stated by one of the warkop owners in Makassar, warkop Phoenam, who stated that cooperation with the media would provide double benefits, both in the form of promotion by the media and an increase in the number of warkop visitors. This cooperation strategy is a form of warkop consensus with the Makassar public towards business hegemony to compete for the market share of coffee drinkers in Makassar, considering the increasing number of warkop that have begun to appear in Makassar as business competitors such as warkop Daeng Sija, Dg. Naba (Dottoro), Rally Café, Kopi Zone, and Daeng Anas. By collaborating with the media, the warkop “politicize” the public space of warkop as a tool to fight against its competitors towards the hegemony of the famous warkop in Makassar.

Meanwhile, for public figures, the warkop public space can be a space to organize and formulate their political strategies and maneuvers in achieving their interests. These political maneuvers are not only used to defend an issue or respond (to counter) an issue but also to launch “attacks” against opposing groups to divide the alliance of their political opponents. In other words, the public space of the warkop is “transformed” into a political space to formulate a political strategy that will be launched through a press conference at the warkop, and at the same time it becomes a space for the construction of political reality to obtain the hegemony of public acceptance (public consent) and public opinion on the political ideas that are being fought for, and this, of course, requires strategic negotiations with other public elements in the warkop, including the media and warkop visitors. In addition, the public space of public space is also a space for contestation on a public problem as well as a space for co-optation by public figures to achieve hegemonic interests.

According to Gramsci (1996), the role of public figures (intellectuals) in achieving a hegemony is very strategic. Because their involvement in the public space is considered “representing the public” in discussing public issues regarding various processes of administering power by the government their existence can be a bridge between the public and decision-makers (government/parliament). It is these public figures, in reality, who play a major role in shaping public opinion which is formed through various public discussions among public

elements. However, due to various public interests that are facing each other and overlapping in it, the public space of warkop becomes a battle space to win public acceptance of the interests being fought for (hegemony). The struggle in question is not only how to build common strength but also to divide forces, and organize themselves to achieve their respective interests towards hegemony.

The role of public figures is very strategic in forming a general view of a problem because it is public figures who play a large role in knitting ideas and hegemony during society. However, this role can of course be mixed with the interests of public figures to construct their identity as referred people or have reliable capacities as qualified public figures. In other words, the public space of a warkop is a space to convey political messages to the government and the people of the city of Makassar as well as a space for identity constructions that they want, and warkop becomes a possible space for this purpose. However, to build the desired identity construction, “negotiation” strategies are needed that involve various “agreements” with other public elements, including negotiations with the mass media, so that interests towards hegemony are achieved. This is where the crucial relationship between public figures and the media can be formed.

This is where the process of meaning-making and reinterpretation of the warkop as a public space takes place, where each public figure carries out the construction of the public space and a “position war” for the interests being fought for hegemony. The term “public interest” can also be biased when “in the name of the public interest” there is a deviation or mixing, between the public interest that is represented (the real one) with personal or group interests, as a result of interest struggle to create public opinion and acceptance of the public (public consent).

With the complexity of the conflict of interests in the public space of warkop in Makassar, the process of creating meaning for public space in Makassar has become political and ideological. Positional warfare in the public space is an ideological struggle strategy that is used and carried out by a person/group to enter the fields of power struggle. To understand interactions in society or to explain an event or social phenomenon, it is not enough to just look at what is being discussed or what is happening, but it is also necessary to examine the social space where the interactions, transactions, and events occur (Bourdieu, 2005: 148). The meaning of a social analysis does not only mean placing an object of research in its historical context, but also interrogating the practices that have been carried out, by whom, and for whose interests these practices were carried out (Thomson, 2008: 67). Thus, warkop becomes a “political” space that is used by a person/group who has a variety of capital, material capital or

social, political, and cultural capital to enter the fields of a power struggle with a “dynamic” strategy, which moves up or down, from one field to another, to gain, fight, or maintain power and domination (hegemony).

### **Warkop, Power Relations, and Spatial Politics**

Since the booming of warkop in Makassar as a place for discussion, talk shows, meetings, or even as a place to carry out other socio-political activities, warkop can no longer be seen as a product of mere economic interaction as a place to sell food and drink, but also as a social product, politics, culture, from the various public interactions of the city of Makassar. In other words, modern warkop is a social product of various ideological, economic, and political forces (the realm of power) that seek to limit, regulate, and control the activities that take place within and through them, as stated by Lefebvre (in Zieleniec, 2007) that every social relation creates its own space and becomes a tool of thought and action to achieve and create control and domination. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991: 26) states that:

*“(Social) space is a (social) product... the space thus produced also serves as a tool of thought and of action; that in addition to being a means of production, it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power”.*

Furthermore, according to Lefebvre that every social practice is a spatial practice. Social practice always adapts the physical spaces where social practice occurs/takes place (spatial practice), either through physical and concrete actions or through scientific construction (ideas) (representation of space and space representation), which allows the practice of meaning to space (Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 1996). Space (social) is not objective and neutral; not a scientific object independent of (ideological) and political interests, but always political and strategic (Lefebvre, 2009: 170-171)

Business interactions, politics, discussions, talk shows, and so on, it assumes the need for space as a place or locus for these interactions, and warkop then becomes an alternative, a trend, as well as a lifestyle for the urban people of Makassar in realizing the production and reproduction of their social practices. In that sense, the “space of warkop” is produced in such a way as to perpetuate power and only through socio-historical relations can a social space be produced. The presence of electronic and print media holding warkop discussions can be seen as a facilitator who has carried out its public function in controlling the running of the government. To achieve this goal, warkop is formatted into a “political space” (spatial politics) to discuss various issues, and radio media feel responsible for being directly involved in

facilitating the public. This of course can be a good point for the media in carrying out its public functions in public spaces in Makassar. However, if you look at the political economy of the media, then this will have an impact on the “politicization” of the public space of warkop for the sake of the construction of public space by the media.

Ahead of the regional head direct election (Pilkada) both in the province of South Sulawesi and in the city of Makassar, the candidates for regents in South Sulawesi or candidates for the Governor of South Sulawesi who will compete, often use warkop as a space of “testing the water, a trial space to map and read the electability situation of each candidate in front of the Makassar public. By the winning team of each candidate, the public space of warkop is used to become a strategic space to formulate political steps that will be taken in navigating the political struggle for regional head direct elections. Not infrequently the Pilkada candidates of Pilkada use warkop as the headquarters (secretariat) of the volunteer team in formulating a winning strategy for themselves as regional heads. A number of agendas are discussed at the warkop, starting from the formation of a social media team, training, throwing issues to public, to counter-attacking the haters, especially on social media, all of which are centered and compiled in the warkop. In the season leading up to the Pilkada, warkop experienced “politics of space” because every socio-political practice (such as Pilkada for example) would need space, in this case warkop, as a place to produce the candidate’s ideological interests. In this context, the public space of warkop has become “political” due to the spatial political actions taken.

### **Warkop, Third Space, and Tactics in Public Space**

Ray Oldenburg in his work *The Great Good Place* (1999) explains that the existence of places such as coffeehouse, bars, bookstores, hair salons, and others are “hanging out” places that are used to build communication and a sense of togetherness (community). For him, these places are the third place after the home as the first place and the office as the second place. Home and work are relatively small worlds and limit individuals to play their social roles in these places, even though these places can be anchors in social life. However, these two places are not sufficient to build community and develop individual social roles. Therefore, to meet these needs, a third place is needed, a place where people from diverse backgrounds come together to broaden their understanding of the world, and communities are formed.

According to Oldenburg (2013: 7-20) in his writings *The Cafe as a Third Place*, highlighting the early emergence of coffeehouses in England in the XVII century as a space of intimacy from the various social stratifications of society at that time. The emergence of coffeehouse which he called “Penny Universities” as a place to bridge the public from various

backgrounds in order to build their social life and play a role in generating social capital and democratic life.

Oldenburg's presentation shows how the role of warkop in bridging the public in building their social roles and communities. However, from the results of observations and interviews with several visitors at warkop in Makassar, it was revealed that warkop in Makassar is no longer a third place (third place) as described by Oldenburg, but in fact, some of the contemporary warkop function as a second space (second place) or as a workplace or a place to find work.

One of the interesting descriptions of warkop as a second place or work place is the experience of Mr. AL (not his real name) in using warkop as his "work place". He does not have a regular job everyday. He is known by the Makassar public and the warkop consumers as an environmental observer. Almost a minimum of 4-6 hours, he spends his time to build relationships, look for, get "jobs" and "fees" at warkop. He has many acquaintances with elite figures (politics, business, government). Thanks to his shrewdness in getting to know and communicate with people (warkop consumers), he easily made friends with the consumers, who on average are elite people in Makassar. He often also participates in warkop talkshows held by radio stations as one of the speakers representing Makassar youth, thanks to his proximity to the radio station talkshow manager.

Apart from being an environmental observer, Mr. AL is often considered a "political broker" by some of his colleagues. As a political broker, he connects a person/group who wants to "get closer" to top political figures in Makassar or South Sulawesi. From his services as a liaison (political broker), he earns a "cost of living (fee)" from people who need his services. In addition, as an environmental observer (consultant), he is often asked for his advice and consultation by those who need him. From there, he also received a fee for his services, and the consulting services are carried out at the warkop. As for his relationship with the warkop owner, he gets a "privilege" because he participates in enlivening the warkop by inviting all his clients/relations to meet at the warkop to conduct "work" transactions. The warkop owner will give him leeway in the form of discounts on food and coffee drinks and pay monthly (cash bon) for all his bills. Mr. AL's relationship with the warkop owner is a symbiotic relationship of mutualism because, on the one hand, Mr. AL invites outsiders to come, and this benefits the warkop owner because more and more people come, and then vice versa, the warkop owner will provide discounts or cash voucher services (installments) for Mr. AL for his bills.

Sometimes at a certain time, Mr. AL cleverly takes the opportunity in a tight spot, if there are party or business elites who hold a meeting at the warkop, then he asks that his bills

be included in the elite's bill because usually if the elite the party/business elite who is present at the warkop, will tend to "treat" (pay) all his colleagues who are present with him, including AL. So Mr. AL take advantage of the "treat" by putting all his bills into elite bills.

From here, Mr. AL used what Michel de Certeau called in *The Practice Everyday Life* (1988), as a "tactic" (tactic) by taking advantage of existing situations and conditions (Certeau, 1988). De Certeau explained that tactics depend on time (momentum), and always look for "opportunities in adversity". Therefore, for De Certeau, a tactic is actually an "art of manipulation and enjoyment" which always takes advantage of time and opportunity. So, for Mr. AL, warkop is a second space (workplace), as a place to work (workplace) in providing environmental consulting services and political brokerage services in order to obtain a fee for his survival, and at the same time as a space of tactics, a space of opportunity in adversity who "take advantage" the presence of every elite/consumer of warkop, to achieve their political goals, including their economic goals.

In addition to the experience of consumers, warkop is also often a space to obtain job opportunities/information, especially for those who do not have yet permanent jobs. These job seekers deliberately often visit warkop to get information on job vacancies or offer products or services to warkop consumers. They use warkop as a space to market their individual "service" capabilities, such as home repair services (builders), electrical and electronic repair services, to house cleaning and washing services. In short, all types of services can be offered at warkop, so that warkop can become a center for information on services and products. In addition, warkop is also often a gathering place for brokers, from small goods brokers that cost hundreds or thousands to those that cost hundreds of millions to billions such as land brokers or real estate brokers.

These brokers take advantage of the "crowded" warkop to find customers and expand relationships. They consider warkop become their "office" (third place) and even their "home" (second place). Several brokers, dealers, or those who work in the marketing world stated that they almost spend most of their time at warkop. They only come to the office early in the morning to just check logs(absence), and go straight to the warkop afterwards, and return to the office in the afternoon just to be absent again. At warkop, they offers and presents the products in the form of "cars/motorcycles/hajj/housing/land, etc., to warkop consumers, and often final decisions and transactions are made at warkop. Because according to them, everything in the warkop is available, such as eating facilities, drinking, place of worship/mushollah, toilets, and mats as a place to lie down just to relax, so that it no longer needs to go home to do all of this with consideration of distance and time efficiency. In addition, the wifi network in the warkop

is adequate enough to make the brokers feel at home in the warkop for a long time. For the warkop owners, the presence of the brokers as regular customers will provide their advantages because they will invite other visitors or their clients to meet at the warkop. Therefore, the warkop owners will usually provide monthly installment dispensations or cash receipts for loyal customers as an attraction, so that their warkop still has loyal customers.

From the explanation above, it shows that how the relationships between warkop costumers/ consumers and warkop owners have a simbiotic mutualism relations in which they need each other for their specific interest. The regular consumers use benefits from the warkop and take every chance and play “tactics” to get as much as possible what they want from the public space of the warkop in Makassar city.

## CONCLUSION

Since the re-emergence of the “coffee culture” in Makassar in the last 15 years after being confined by the ruling regime for a long time, Makassar’s public enthusiasm has returned to hang out and interact outside their homes. Warkop (coffeehouse) then became an option as a space for freedom of expression and assembly. Various social activities took place at the warkop. Starting from private activities such as meeting friends, family gatherings, social gatherings, and playing chess, to public-oriented activities such as discussions, press conferences, consolidation meetings, and so on. Warkop then turned into contemporary public (political) spaces.

One of the interesting things is the holding of warkop discussions/talkshows conducted by radio stations, to provide space for the public to critically question the performances of the government (power). Radio stations, newspaper (print) media, public figures, community groups and visitors came together to form public opinion. This is (seemingly) encouraging with the enthusiasm of the Makassar public again towards social life and democracy in the country. But on the other hand, ideological struggles for hegemony over the public also occur given the variety of intersecting interests in warkop. Private and public interests are intertwined, overlapping, and (even) clashing with each other. Domination, negotiation, and contestation occur as a result of the “war of positions” between the public elements involved in it. Warkop public space becomes a space of politics as well as public “politics of space” formed by various economic, political, social, and cultural relations in order to gain hegemony.

The concept of Warkop as a third space after home (first space) and workplace/office (second space) is no longer relevant. Some of the public from various backgrounds use warkop as a place of work (second space), as a space for earning a living and self-actualization.



Although it is often considered as a space that is open to the public, but in reality most of the warkop have their own public (community), which makes warkop located between the public and private spaces at the same time. In addition, the Habermasian concept of coffeehouse (warkop) as a space for the formation of discursive opinion is not fully accepted in explaining the phenomenon of warkop in Makassar. The (public) opinion formed is no longer based on discursive rational debate, but is constructed by various kinds of private interests, although under the pretext of public interests. To struggle over the hegemonic interests of the public, the public space of warkop are “transformed” into strategic and tactical spaces, so that the production and reproduction of ideological relations can continue constantly controlled and dominated. Nevertheless, contestation (resistance) over the practices of domination and control over warkop also continues to emerge either through critical groups who participate directly in warkop, or through “alternative” warkop formed by those who much involved in the world of activism.

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