

ACEHNESE COFFEE SHOPS AS PUBLIC SPACES: ACEH POLITICAL PARTICIPATION MODEL IN YOGYAKARTA

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Abstract

Purpose: This paper aims to recognize a new form of political participation that is expressed by Acehese coffee shop drinkers in supporting and criticizing local Acehese politics, particularly those in Yogyakarta. Furthermore, this research examines the role of informal movements and clubs involved in decision-making related issues of Acehese living in Yogyakarta.

Methodology: This is a critical qualitative approach with in-depth interviews and participatory observation over several months. Participatory observation was conducted through immersive participation in Acehese coffee shops as public spaces and in-depth interviews with coffee shop managers, community leaders, and regular customers.

Findings: The Acehese unique cultural and social culture of coffee drinking plays a dynamic role with Acehese community's relationship with politics. This culture facilitates the existence of Acehese identity in Yogyakarta and intensifies political participation through informal discussion. Acehese coffee shops are free and autonomous public spaces, which are collectively owned and persevered by the community.

Implication: Informal politics and local identity expressed through far political distances are interesting in Indonesia to examine social cohesion and capital nationwide. Our study also develops a model contributes to political science in Indonesian by explaining the relationship between informal and formal politics. It helps explain differences of different cultural and ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Originality: Our paper investigates the perspective of local politics within Indonesian politics. Furthermore, most contemporary political research focuses on formal and official politics, while this paper uncovers long distance informal politics embedded in unique Acehese social culture in coffee shops. The civic contribution of Acehese coffee shops as a public place in Indonesian democracy is convincingly established in this paper.

Keywords: *Public Spaces, Acehese Coffee Shops, Political Participation, Identity, Local Politics*

INTRODUCTION

Public space is a necessity in the process of democratization, this is because public space is a place where the interaction between the two main entities, namely the state and society, is carried out openly or autonomously (Roza, 2013). In this case the coffee shop can be said to be a public space, that are a tangible form of practical political life that describes democracy in an empirical way (Gaffar, 1999). Coffee shops are political spaces that can provide a platform for the society to interact with each other (Mauriza, 1998). People are used to come to coffee shops to find a communication partner, thus there will not be any coffee shops that are free from the buzz of conversations (Mauriza, 1998). Other than that, many recognize that coffee shops can provide many inspirations and information. This is tied to one of the benefits of coffee shops as a place to find ideas and notions. Though the community has understood various scales of city spaces as public spaces, they have yet to understand how those public spaces have formed (Madanipour, 2003).

On this note, Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta is chosen as our field of research because it has a 'neutral' function as an open place where the community can freely and independently express themselves. Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta is accessible to the public and used collectively by every layer of the society because it is in disperse places in the city of Yogyakarta and Sleman.

This research examines three prominent Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta, which are Raja Sabi, Warung Kupiku, and Duta Serambi Jakal branch. The objective of this research is three folds. The first objective is to investigate the form and type of political participation medium that exist in these public spaces. The second objective is to identify the stakeholders that participate and the classification of discussions that occur in these public spaces. Lastly, we uncover the outcomes of political participation in these public places.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Public Spaces

The term "public sphere" was first coined in a book by Jürgen Habermas in 1989 titled "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society". That public space is basically a space that's created

by a group of private bourgeois people to respond public authority. The requirement for public space is maintain communication that allows citizens to form discourses and wills together (Habermas, 1989).

“The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor”. (Habermas, 1962/1989:27, as referenced in Nasrullah, 2012)

There are three criterions to understand public spaces (Nasrullah, 2012). The first criterion is the disregard of status, or specifically the avoidance of critical discussion on status. Public spaces do not discuss wishes to equalize status with the authority in power, instead it provides an equal opportunity to express and criticize a reality. Unlike cafes, salons, or an association, public spaces emphasize institutionalized and objective claims that can be accepted or made aware to the society, regardless of whether its realized.

The second criterion is a focus to the domain of common concern. The historical reality is that there are domains whose discussions are entirely dominated by powerful authorities or the church, when those discussions could be discussed and participated by the public. Philosophy, arts, and literature which are claimed to only be allowed to be interpreted by the church, has become something that can be publicly accessed. These literatures not only need to be accessible but has also become a commodity that's traded within its own industry. The distribution of these literatures become the materials required for critical discussion in public spaces and their interpretations become more various, originating from any member of the public space.

The third criterion is inclusivity. However exclusive the public can become in a certain issue, they will remain part of a small group. Ideas that appear among debates do not become their absolute ownership, but once its distributed through public media, these ideas become accessible. Issues that are raised in the discussion become more general, because every person can access the sources related to the issue. At its core, each person in a public space finds themselves not as the public itself, but instead as a spokesperson or even a teacher.

Political Participation

Hadjon explains put forward that the concept of community participation is related to the concept of openness (Rahim, 2013). Specifically, without the openness of the government, it's impossible for the society to have a role within governmental affairs. Openness is important for the implementation of a good and democratic government. Thus, openness can be viewed as a principle of governance in terms of the implementation of proper authority. Political participation can be individual or collective, organized or spontaneous, steady or sporadic, peaceful or violent, legal or illegal, effective or ineffective (Huntington and Nelson, 1994).

In the meanwhile, according to Keith Fauls in “Introduction to Sociology” (as referenced in Damsar, 2010:180), the limitations for political participation is “active involvement from an individual or group to the process of governance”. Every governmental decision not free from the involvement of citizens and directly or indirectly influences the lives of citizens. In democratic countries, generally higher civil participation is better, because with higher public participation, the society cares about every policy and regulation crafted by the government. Lower public participation is an indication of apathy and selfishness to oneself or group. Normally there are two forms of public participation, which is influencing the contents of public policy and participate in the taking and implementation of political decisions.

From these definitions, criterions and definition of political participation can be concluded according to Ambardi (2009:288-290):

1. Political participation relates to things that are objective not subjective, because it is concern with what's observable not an attitude or orientation.
2. Political participation is conducted either directly or with a mediator.
3. Political participation is intended to influence the governmental decision making, as a persuasion, pressure, or rejection to a political figure/government.
4. Political participation is an effort to influence the government regardless whether it succeeds or fails.
5. Political participation can be conducted through a conventional procedure or beyond conventional procedure that involves violence
6. Political participation is an individual or group activity to participate actively in political life such as electing a leader or efforts to influence government policy.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

This is a qualitative research with a descriptive qualitative approach to illustrate the objects, subjects, locations, and problem solving at three Acehese coffee shops. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with the owners or managers of the coffee shops and prominent Acehese figures in Yogyakarta, as displayed in Table 1 and Table 2 respectively. We approached owners and managers of Acehese coffee shops to uncover information about the coffee

shops as a public space, such as how they operate, who regularly visits, their motivations, and communal activities that are conducted. Acehese prominent Acehese figures were interviewed because they were the main stakeholders involved in political discussions in Acehese coffee shops. We raised questions on the types of activities that occurred in Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta, how the process of political participations happens in these public spaces, the types of issues that are discussed, the mechanism process for filtering and aggregating aspirations on policies to elite circles, the formation of pressure groups, and the creation of outputs from these discussions. In addition to in-depth interviews, we also conducted our own observations of the activities conducted in the coffee shops. We were particularly interested to observe whether there were political discussions in these coffee shops and how they arose. In some instances, we actively interacted with some of the visitors, to record their opinions of the activities conducted in the coffee shops.

Table 1. List of Interviewed Owners and Managers of Acehese Coffee Shops

Name	Position	Coffee Shop	Date
Musliha	Owner	Duta Serambi	6/11/2017
Wiwit	Owner	Warung Kupiku	3/11/2017
Rizza Saldi	Operator Manager	Raja Sabi	4/11/2017

Table 2. List of Interviewed Prominent Acehese Figures in Yogyakarta

Name	Position and Organization	Date
Zulfan Febrian	Head of <i>Taman Pelajar Aceh</i>	6/11/2017
Imam Abdul Aziz	Secretary General of <i>Komite Mahasiswa dan Pemuda Aceh Nusantara</i>	6/11/2017
Iskandar	Initiator of <i>Gerakan Surah Buku</i>	7/11/2017
Wain Al-Qarni	Coordinator of <i>Komunitas Peduli Pemilu dan Demokrasi DIY</i>	5/11/2017
T. M. Farizan	Head of <i>Forma Kutaraja</i>	10/11/2017
Chairullah	Head of <i>Ikamabar Aceh Barat</i>	5/11/2017

The Case Studies

The three Acehese coffee shops we had authentic styled Acehese coffee making methods. Particularly each coffee shop sold “Kupi Weng”, which in its making involves a unique form of filtration method. Furthermore, the chosen coffee shops had baristas who had enough experience as “Ureng Tarek Kupi”, which is a unique Acehese brewing method.

All three coffee shops were in the northwest region of Yogyakarta, as shown in Figure 1. Raja Sabi is in Monjali Street, Warung Kupiku in Godean, and Duta Serambi in Jakal area. All three coffee shops started operating at 5:00 P.M. to late in the night.

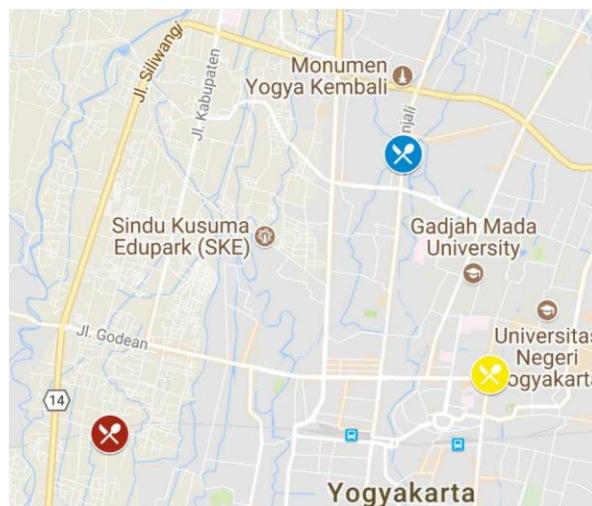


Figure 1. Locations of Case Study Locations in Northwest Yogyakarta (Source: Google Maps)

Legend: Blue (Raja Sabi Coffee), Maroon (Warung Kupiku), and Yellow (Duta Serambi)

Raja Sabi was established by M. Candra Riski, an Acehese university student in Yogyakarta, on March 2015. This coffee shop is established to be as similar as possible with Acehese coffee shops in Aceh. Most of their visitors are Acehese people themselves, reaching a daily visitation of 35 Acehese people.

Warung Kupiku was established on July 2016 by a transport tourism entrepreneur, Mr. Wiwit, and is located at a bus garage for out of city travel. The location of the coffee shop is unique because it is in an area with large rice fields and close to railroads, which give it a more countryside feeling than the city center coffee shops. Daily visitations are 40 Acehese people a day. Visitors to this coffee shop regularly play “Peh Bate”, a domino-typed game played enthusiastically by a group of people.

Duta Serambi started out as an Acehese-styled fried noodles shop that slowly expanded to include Acehese coffee. It was founded on September 2012 by Musliha. There are two branches, the first located in Sleman, while the one chosen for this study is in Jakal, since it is completed with more authentic Acehese coffee options. Unlike the other coffee shops, Duta Serambi starts operating at 11:00 A.M. typically as a normal restaurant serving mainly fried noodles to many university students in Yogyakarta. Its ambience starts to become like a typical Acehese coffee shop at night, with visitors playing Peh Bate here also. Daily, Duta Serambi receives 45 visitors.

DISCUSSION

The Participating Stakeholders

They majority of customers and visitors are Acehese university students, the public, community organizations, and political leaders. The geographical locations of these coffee shops still highly determine the customers they receive. Customers that live in northern Yogyakarta prefer to go to Raja Sabi, those in Jakal prefer to go to Duta Serambi, and those in western Yogyakarta prefer to go to Warung Kupiku.

According to Zulfan, the head of Taman Pelajar Aceh, the number of Acehese people in Yogyakarta is estimated to be around 5,000 people, with 15 community organizations, six university organizations, and six community dormitories. 33% of Acehese organizations regularly visit Duta Serambi, while Warung Kupiku and Raja Sabi get regular visitations from 18.5% and 48% of Acehese organizations respectively. Duta Serambi and Raja Sabi has the same amount of community organizations that regularly visit their coffee shops, but Raja Sabi receives more regular visitations from university organizations and dormitories. Warung Kupiku has the lowest number of community organizations and dormitory organizations visiting regularly, with the same number of university organizations as Duta Serambi.

Table 3. The coffee shops source of regular visitors

Coffee Shop	Organization	Association for	Organization Type
Duta Serambi	KABY	Greater Aceh	Community
	HIMAPALSA	Langsa	Community
	PERMATA	Tamiang	Community
	IPEMAH LUTYO	Lut Tawar Gayo	Community
	HIMA	Gayo	Community
	IKAMARA	Southeast Aceh	Community
	KomNAD	UIN	University
	Asrama Sabena		Dormitory
	Asrama Pocut Baren		Dormitory
	KEPIJAY	Pidie Jaya	Community
Warung Kupiku	HIMASNARYA	Naga Raya	Community
	KAMA ABDYA	Southwest Aceh	Community
	PEUHABA	UMY	University
	Asrama Meurapi		Dormitory
	KEMALA	Lhokseumawe	Community
Raja Sabi	IPMAS	Singkil	Community
	KBMS	Subulussalam	Community
	IKAMAS	South Aceh	Community
	IKAMABAR	West Barat	Community
	FORMA KUTARAJA	Banda Aceh	Community
	HIMANAD	UGM	University
	FANS	STTA	University
	KEMAH	UII	University
	HIMPASAY	Graduate Students	University
	Asrama Ponco		Dormitory
	Asrama Cut Nyak Dhien Barat		Dormitory
	Asrama Cut Nyak Dien Timur		Dormitory

Acehnese Coffee Shops' Public Space Dimensions

a. Free and Autonomous

From the thoughts of (Carmona et. al, 2010) the elements that must be considered in forming good public space are comfort, uses and activity, access, and sociability. Acehese coffee shops can fulfil that elements, thus making it free and autonomous. The highly visible and vibrant appearance of Acehese in these Acehese coffee shops makes these coffee shops centres of Acehese culture and habits. This strong cultural existence means that Acehese coffee shops allow Acehese to freely express themselves, without the interference of other cultural traditions that exist outside of these public

spaces. For example, Acehese people have fostered a character of talking and discussing loudly and vocally in Aceh language, which are often perceived as a nuisance by non-Acehese but are welcomed in Acehese coffee shops. Acehese students can maintain relationships with other Acehese people, even while being away from Aceh. Acehese coffee shop also as a place to produce discourse without pressure and restrictions ([Al Fairusy, 2013](#)).

These coffee shops are also able to unite the various Acehese groups, from their origin regions, undergraduate and graduate students, commoners to political elites. This means that the status of the Acehese individuals does not become a barrier for them to enter the public space but are further tied closer by the common Acehese food, beverages, language, accessible prices, and traditional games.

Institutionally, these coffee shops are a part of the Acehese identity in Yogyakarta, that is not controlled by an organization, but collectively by the general Acehese community. The owners of the coffee shops for example do not police nor assert influence into shaping the public discussion in their shops. This means that the Acehese coffee shops have are autonomous, independently operating within the community instead of being controlled by the political elite or commercial powers. Interestingly, this Acehese identity is viewed as a more positive form of public involvement in comparison to more negative forms of public involvement, such as narcotic groups. From this view, Acehese coffee shops are public spaces that are autonomous but also competing with other public spaces and their identities.

b. *Budaya Ngopi* (A Culture of Coffee Drinking)

The act of maintaining relationships while drinking coffee at coffee shops has become a culture known as “*ngopi*” by Acehese people. It means that *ngopi* is cultural activity. *Ngopi* can be understood as a culture of meeting with friends over coffee, specifically drinking one or two cups of coffee over a long period of time, normally at night or after work. Mr. Wiwit reports that the life of Acehese society revolves around coffee drinking, such as starting an activity by drinking coffee, drinking coffee in between activities, and ending an activity by doing the same. This culture is often perceived as simple and populist, tying Acehese together around drinking coffee.

The Political Participation

a. Model of the process of articulating political aspirations

Ngopi results in sporadic and spontaneous initiation of political discussions, either by a single person or by a group. These political discussions do not happen throughout the coffee shop but by small groups. Furthermore, since the Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta try to replicate a “feels like home” ambience, the political discussions held are normally casual, non-formal, and without an internal schedule or agenda.

Political discussions normally revolve around controversial policies made by political elites or when general elections are undergoing. Groups of Acehese from a region can raise local issues of their region among themselves and with Acehese of other regions, unlike in Aceh itself. These topics every day depending on what is interesting to discuss. During the Acehese gubernatorial election, Acehese watched the political debates together at coffee shops instead of at homes, to spark discussions on their preferred candidates. Other discussions involved criticizing the newly built electric umbrellas that were installed at Aceh’s grand mosque.

Unfortunately, the intensity and effectiveness of the political discussions vary among the coffee shops. Due to geographical reasons, Warung Kupiku does not see as much political discussions as Duta Serambi, because its locations are not centrally located in Yogyakarta. Demographically, customers that visit Warung Kupiku already have initial intentions to enjoy the scenery and play dominos.

According to Almond, political communication can flow in a butt-up and top-down manner. Almond imagines that in every political system there is always a flow of information flowing from society to political authorities. The flow of political communication can be either demand or support ([Rauf, 2000](#)).

Since the political elites often visit these Acehese coffee shop in Yogyakarta, the Acehese community in Yogyakarta can directly interact and discuss with the political elites. As such, they can vocalize their concern and conduct political lobby on various issues. In the political system, as well as functional structural theory put forward by Gabriel Almond, interest groups have an articulation function, which is to strengthen and streamline the delivery of people’s aspirations, to influence government policy. In addition to the articulation function, interest groups also carry out the oversight function and make criticisms of government performance ([Surbakti, 1992](#)). Since discussions are conducted in a non-formal manner, the contents of a discussions are perceived as someone’s individual opinion, instead of a forum that can be communicated to the government in an accountable manner. As such, these informal discussions exhibit a bottom-up form of political participation. Thus, ideas, topics, and discussions are collected and accumulated, filtered by the frequency and interest of those ideas. Afterwards, interest groups such as “Gerakan Surah Buku” connect these informal discussions into a more formal, accountable, and structure form, by raising these issues into a more intense and detailed forum. These forums can be attended by the entire Acehese community in Yogyakarta. As seen in Figure 2, discussions in formal groups are aggregated and communicate to the Acehese government or political elites, expecting an output from that communication. The role of Gerakan Surah Buku for Acehese in Yogyakarta can’t be understated. The organization is a force that raises awareness and education of issues to the broader Acehese community, formulize the discussions into detailed discussions,

and invite Acehese political elites to discuss directly. Gerakan Surah Buku is also an umbrella movement for the Taman Pelajar Aceh organization and KMPAN organization. These organizations are legally recognized organizations that are expected to represent the aspirations of Acehese people in Yogyakarta in an official and formal manner. Thus, non-formal discussions in Acehese coffee shops filtered to reach more formal platforms.

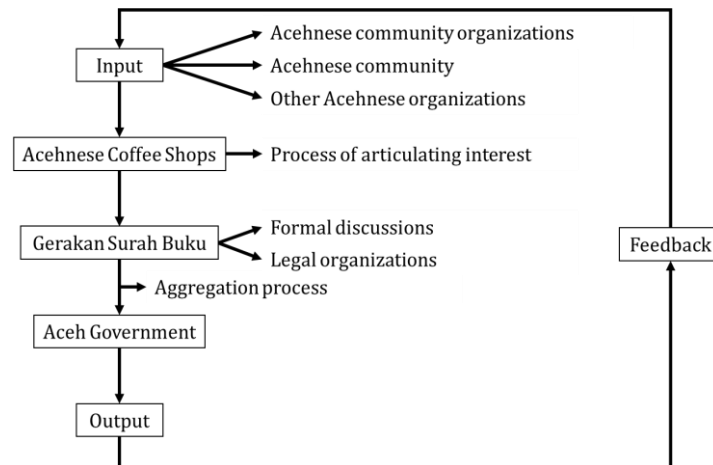


Figure 2. Process of filtering aspirations at Acehnese coffee shops in Yogyakarta

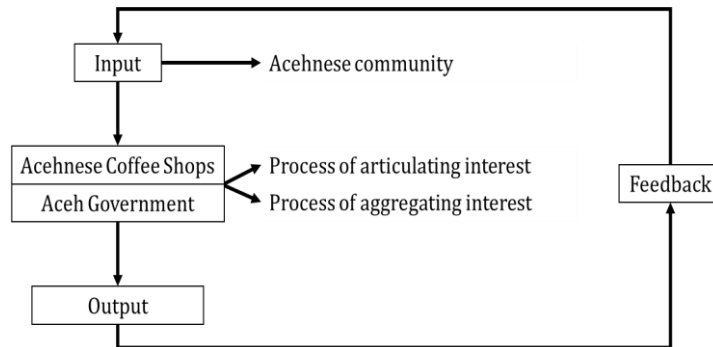


Figure 3: Process of filtering aspirations at Acehnese coffee shops in Aceh

Contrasting with the process of filtering aspiration model of Acehese coffee shops that are in Aceh, as displayed in Figure 3, the Yogyakarta model requires the formal and structured intermediary organizations to communicate their aspirations to the Acehese government. Coffee shops in Aceh however can articulate and aggregate their aspirations simultaneously, because political elites interact directly with the Acehese people. Formal discussions in Yogyakarta are typically conducted at the Acehese dormitories, because the coffee shops are not equipped with the space to accommodate the formal discussions and are also visited by non-Acehese customers. Coffee shops in Aceh however are large and virtually visited by Acehese only, allowing formal discussions to be held there.

b. Procedural form of political participation

Since the political participation at Acehese coffee shops are largely intellectual discussions, which do not involve physical acts of violence, at its core it is classified as a conventional procedure for political participation. However, the discussions held at these Acehese coffee shops have been used as a catalyst to inspire non-conventional procedures of political participation, particularly demonstrations.

For example, on the 23rd of April 2017, the Acehese community held a demonstration at the University of Gadjah Mada to protest the Yogyakarta state court's decision on a land dispute involving the Poncowinatan dormitory. Specifically, the Acehese community wanted the Acehese government to provide protection for the dormitory against the court's decision. The demonstration was the result of intense and enthusiastic discussion of the Acehese people at Raja Sabi. Raja Sabi was the medium for the different community organizations to unite on the land dispute issue.

CONCLUSION

About 5,000 Acehese people live in Yogyakarta, but Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta are mostly visited by Acehese university students. People different community organizations, university organizations, and dormitories also gather at the coffee shops, 33%, 18.5%, and 48% of these organizations visiting Duta Serambi, Warung Kupiku, and Raja Sabi respectively. This condition illustrates that being Acehnes as social, cultural, and political identity has been preserving in everyday life as can be seen in coffee shops.

The Acehese coffee shops have a dynamic relationship with the Acehese community, the former facilitating the existence of Acehese identity and culture in Yogyakarta and the latter intensifying the Acehese identity and culture of the coffee shops themselves, better resembling the coffee shops at Aceh. The strong Acehese culture results in a free public space for Acehese people in Yogyakarta, because they can discuss in a manner only acceptable in Acehese cultures and discuss topics relating to Acehese identity. Politically, Acehese coffee shops are also autonomous as a public space, because the public space is collectively owned by the member of communities. The coffee shop owners nor political elites have never interfered in the public discussions held at these coffee shops.

Ngopi as a unique Acehese culture of maintaining relationships over long periods of coffee drinking influence and define the type of discussions that are held at Acehese coffee shops. Discussions happen sporadically, spontaneously, among small group of friends. The topics of the discussion heavily depend on controversial and interesting issues that are currently happening and are sparked by individuals or groups. These discussions are not structured, happen informally, and change day to day.

Though sometimes Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta facilitate discussions directly with political elites, this does not always happen. Furthermore, since the discussions are informal and unaccountable, Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta require intermediary organizations to aggregate the sporadic and spontaneous discussions into more formal discussions and to provide a platform that can accommodate the discussions. Through legally recognized organizations such as “Gerakan Surah Buku”, “Taman Pelajar Aceh”, and “KMPAN”. A formal, structured, and accountable discussions are held and communicated to the government. This is different than in Aceh, since the government is more active and unhindered in directly interacting with coffee shop customers.

Though most of the activities conducted in Acehese coffee shops in Yogyakarta are classified as a conventional procedure for political participation, they can become the catalyst for non-conventional procedures. In the past, discussions at Acehese coffee shops inspired demonstrations to draw the attention of the Aceh government.

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