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Pursuing Uniqueness: Unpacking the Social Identity of Young Urban Migrants through Coffee Culture

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INTRODUCTION

'Ngopi' is a dictionary that represents the activity of consuming coffee. However, ngopi is more than just coffee drinking; it can be interpreted as relaxation and enjoyment during downtime. The habit of drinking coffee has become a separate culture passed down from generation to generation in Indonesian society (Khakamulloh et al., 2020). Until now, drinking coffee has become an exciting activity and a daily routine for most Indonesian people (Ramadhan et al., 2024). Coffee and coffee activities have become popular in all regions and all circles of society, including people in Surabaya City.

Surabaya City is one of the cities that is very promising for the growth of the coffee business. This is evidenced by the growing number of cafés, which continues to increase yearly. According to data from Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kota Surabaya in 2020, 175 cafés were registered and had business licenses (Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kota Surabaya, 2020). While Asosiasi Pengusaha Kafe dan Resto Indonesia (APKRINDO) stated that, the food and beverage (F&B) industry in Surabaya has experienced growth of up to 20% each year (Fitri, 2023). The significance of café growth is inseparable from the 60% dominance of young people (generations Y and Z) who create a new lifestyle in consuming coffee (Azzahra et al., 2023). This is confirmed by Liliani, who believes cafés can fulfil young people's needs for a comfortable place to enjoy coffee and a means of self-existence (Liliani, personal interview, June 16, 2024). Also, coffee and cafés become a space for anyone to develop themselves or their mindset through interaction (Alamsyah, 2022).

Coffee is also used as a medium for self-actualization, especially to display subjectivity by the times. *Fear of Missing Out* or 'FoMO' is one of the appropriate terms to describe the condition of young people who always pursue novelty, including novelty, in coffee culture. FoMO arises not from what is needed but from what may be missed from the surrounding environment (Carolina & Mahestu, 2020). In this case, trends on social media contribute to social reproduction, which determines standards in coffee culture. Cafés will contest to get the claim of being current and hits from these trends. Both are the place, the product, and the owner's social status. Thus, young people from both the city and outside the city flock to enter the circle of the novelty of coffee culture based on the contestation of their identity among young people in the developing trend (Prihanada et al., 2022).

In its development, the coffee industry has now created standardization in coffee products and the concept of space provided by cafés as a place to make coffee. In the name of consumer desire, the cultural industry creates consumer awareness and false needs. Technology is shaped and used through the cultural industry to produce goods that construct standards for consumer needs (Muqtafiah et al., 2024). Consumers are treated to a modern design of the café's premises and facilities. Thus, what consumers consider comfortable becomes a standard required by café owners (Prihanada et al., 2022). The standardization in question is the existence of a menu that has the same characteristics in each café, coffee concoctions, the type of coffee used, the type of menu served, and the arrangement of the café space or interior that always puts forward 'Instagramable' principles to attract visitors.

The standardization that emerges is a standard deliberately created by capitalists to perpetuate the status quo and reap maximum profits. "All mass culture under monopoly is identical, and the contours of its skeleton, the conceptual armature fabricated by monopoly, are beginning to stand out" (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2020). Thus, as the main subject of coffee culture, young people face these standardizations that distance them from the authenticity of coffee taste and always require them to try innovations and pursue coffee novelty.

Easy access and facilities trigger many young migrants to migrate to cities with better conditions (Salim, 2023). Many young people migrate to Surabaya City to pursue higher education. In the context of this research, these young people are referred to as 'young urban migrants'. Those who migrate to Surabaya City come from various regions in Indonesia, from regencies to big cities. It becomes interesting then when the cultural culture understood by young migrants in their place of origin is so different from the cultural culture of the city. Young urban migrants are conditioned to be part of the city culture. City culture is always identified with popular culture that is always represented in the daily lives of young people (Prihanada et al., 2022). In other words, if these young urban migrants find it difficult to adapt to the new environment, either emotionally or socially, it will cause individuals to experience isolation (Hapsari et al., 2024). Through this conception of thinking, it is unsurprising that the new culture that young migrants must adjust to is an urban cultural system that requires changing new habits. Urban society is more creative, radical, and dynamic in accepting changes and new habits without being bound by customs (Haeruddin, 2022). This includes coffee culture, which they previously understood as a simple activity: enjoying a cup of coffee, but which has become a place for self-actualization.

In the Marxian tradition, what happens in cities is an extension of the capitalist production system conceptualized as the culture industry, which requires production and reproduction space (Steinert, 2009). Using Lefebvre's ideas, Biagi elaborates on the development of cities with social spaces within them intended to reproduce subjects' existence and drive the economy (Biagi, 2020). Space is created in a city to complement and support the goals of capitalists (Purnomo et al., 2023). Thus, cafés and coffee culture can be interpreted as part of the capitalist system, which wants capital accumulation and creates subjects subject to the standardization of cultural values. Standardization does not apply to cultural industry products alone; it also applies to consumers.

In line with the idea of the culture industry, it is not the social subjects who control symbols, status, or prestige, but they are entangled in the capitalist system (Mariani, 2016). The issue that is then important to elaborate further is how virtuality stands for the culture industry. Through social media, which exists virtually, consumers are encouraged to continue consuming popular culture to benefit the industry (Prakoso, 2020). By not realizing the impact of commercial mass media, individuals are trapped in a condition where conformity is the norm.

Research conducted by (Yugantara et al., 2021), states that coffee is an icon of a modern lifestyle aiming to gain prestige and social status. This relates to using leisure time to consume symbols and lifestyles. The result is that a simulation created by a coffee brand can lead to a distinction or grouping of individuals based on taste, which triggers class classification in an individual or group. Research conducted by (Krisnayana, 2020), shows that the coffee culture in cafés among adolescents fulfils the millennial lifestyle needs of urban teenagers. Cafés are public spaces with many purposes, from productive activities to fun. Therefore, visiting cafés is often used to fill spare time as an alternative place to avoid boredom and find a new atmosphere. However, the coffee culture of migrant youth who are university students has not been comprehensively explained, especially in the construction of 'FoMO'.

Through existing debates, this research focuses on coffee culture through the utilization of leisure time. Critically, coffee culture presents the idea of seeing how needs and wants, which are crucial to explaining the paradoxes of advanced capitalism, have infiltrated the utilization of leisure time. Furthermore, young urban migrants who try to immerse themselves in the pseudo-subjectivity of urban culture have shown the limitation of the urban concept that seems to be differentiated from other areas. The desire to always be up to date on new trends that are developing is permanently embedded in the consciousness of young urban migrants in coffee culture, which is a sociological condition that is crucial in this study. Thus, the coffee culture of young migrants is constantly faced with the pursuit of novelty and innovation without regard to the essence of coffee itself.

This research intends to find out how the consumption of coffee commodities by young urban migrants is related to the mass culture and leisure time they use. This research also emphasizes the coffee culture that is always required to create novelty by ignoring the coffee's authenticity and the coffee culture's essence. Not only that, the standardization of cafés by mass culture unwittingly boxed in the café industry by trends that make it look identical (Pratiwi & Widhiasti, 2022). Thus, urban migrant youth are manipulated and passive due to the pleasure obtained through the consumption of popular culture.

METHODS

The method used in this research is a critical phenomenological approach. "In this sense, critical phenomenologists seek to move beyond a narrow focus on classical phenomenology's reflection methods and means of interpreting the world to practices that create social and political change" (Petherbridge, 2024). In qualitative critical phenomenology, researchers try to interpret information in detail about the coffee experience of young urban migrants in Surabaya City to actualize self-identity and utilize leisure time. Thus, researchers try to critically analyze the coffee industry so that people can escape the slavery of the coffee culture industry that capitalists manipulate.

Researchers used in-depth interview techniques, participant observation, and literature study to collect data. In-depth interviews were conducted directly with informants by asking questions about their experiences associated with the meaning of the coffee experience for young urban migrants. In this case, the researcher captured all information from the informant, including the informant's expression, tone of voice, and behaviour. Participant observation involved directly observing and experiencing coffee activities in coffee shops in Surabaya City, especially those that are viral and visited by many young people. The literature study technique necessitated looking for other sources of information in articles, news, magazines, books, or other print media that could support the research data (Sari, Purnomo, et al., 2023).

Informants were determined using purposive, where researchers have specific criteria for selecting informants based on the research context (Ramadhan et al., 2023). The total number of informants in this study was eight. The desired informants criteria are young people from outside Surabaya City who live in the regency area and are studying in Surabaya City, a barista who actively works in a café in Surabaya, and one of the café owners.

The data that has been collected needs to be tested to ensure its validity and integrity. Therefore, it is necessary to triangulate the data. According to Sugiyono, data triangulation is a data collection technique that combines various existing data and sources (Sugiyono, 2015). furthermore, the data that has been collected is analyzed using qualitative, prioritizing exploration and depth (Evianti & Rosa, 2024). data were grouped and analyzed to identify patterns and key

findings relating to the coffee experiences of young urban migrants in Surabaya City. The analysis results were used to provide an understanding of the complexity of young urban migrant's experiences of coffee as a means of self-actualization in the growing coffee trend.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Standardizing the Café Culture Industry: A Look at Urban Coffee Culture

Everywhere, cafés often sell something similar, from the type of drinks and food to the concept of spatial arrangement and service system. The differences sometimes only concern the design and vibe of the café (Yuliandri, 2023). In terms of drinks, what is served is not far from espresso and all its derivatives. Also, even non-coffee menus like dairy and tea will look identical to other cafés, making it look like menu standards are equalized in each café.

In general, the menu found in almost every café is processed coffee. In this case, processed coffee drinks such as cappuccino coffee are examples of drinks almost always available in any café. The coffee menu provided by each café will not be very different, such as cappuccino, latte, piccolo latte, and hazelnut caramel. As a differentiator, while creating a characteristic, the café owner usually has a signature food or drink as a typical café menu (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). This menu is always available, given its high popularity among fans. Thus, the need for a menu of coffee drinks seems mandatory in any café. When we talk about coffee in cafés, the menu is not only about the *tubruk* coffee. Instead, there are types of blended coffee that are best known by urban communities (Anderson & Paramitha, 2015). This is because the development of the coffee industry has triggered the emergence of a wide variety of processed coffee creations tailored to the tastes of urban youth who always like new things. With the increasing number of cafés that provide coffee and innovation in making it, new coffee addicts will be born (Prihanada et al., 2022).

The base of the blended coffee menu is espresso. Espresso is coffee produced by brewing coffee at high temperatures. It has a thick flavour and texture, making it suitable for various other coffee menus (Musika, 2023). From espresso, various blended coffee menus can be made. Cappuccino and coffee latte are examples of menus from several processed espresso drinks. Cappuccino is processed espresso with added hot milk. There is also a caffe latte, and a lighter cappuccino version (Supargo & Prodjo, 2021). If we look closely, the coffee menu the café provides is mainly processed espresso. The coffee menu has changed its flavour by adding additional ingredients. Espresso drinks and their derivatives are generally rooted in a small cup of espresso combined with various other flavours, thus creating different coffee variants (Cafémaker, 2023). This is also one reason why the coffee menus in each café are similar. Cafés create various variants of espresso-based coffee menus to attract customers, and the processed espresso menu is the right way to increase café sales.

In addition, the interior and exterior design of the café is a particular concern for café owners. Café owners need to pay attention to the design and interior space of their café. This is closely related to the beauty, suitability of decoration, and cleanliness of the café (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). In addition, the *Instagramable* concept will help bring a contemporary atmosphere to the café. The meaning of *Instagramable* is that the café design looks good when used as Instagram social media content. This concept will attract café customers, especially young people. Café owners always prioritize the *Instagramable* principle and follow current trends (Agustina et al., 2020).

There are three factors in planning the interior and exterior of the café that can attract visitors to come to the café. The three factors include aesthetic, eye-catching, and comfortable (Veronica & Indrani, 2024). Aesthetic means that the interior arrangement is aesthetic or has an artistic impression suitable for visitor photo spots. This means that the café design must be beautiful when seen by the eye to attract consumer attention. Meanwhile, comfort means that the facilities provided and the equipment used must be ergonomic for the comfort of visitors. The three factors of café planning will also help with *Instagramable* café arrangements.

Furthermore, *instagramable* spatial arrangements are closely related to the use of Instagram social media. The café owner will endeavour to present an image of the café that follows the standard content on Instagram. The determination of interior design has a role as a visual attraction so that café visitors can share the atmosphere felt through social media,

such as Instagram (Veronica & Indrani, 2024). Imagining in this café is crucial because it will also involve visitors in promoting the café visited. Promotions are carried out by visitors who post photos on Instagram with content set in the café. In this case, the better a café is, the more visitors will share posts about the café. That way, the intensity of visitors to the café also increases. Thus, an *Instagramable* spatial arrangement is very beneficial for a café.

On the other hand, to meet the standardization of the café, a café will also look at other cafés as a reference. In this case, besides serving customers, baristas are also tasked with finding references through coffee activities carried out in other cafés. This aims to increase the coffee experience and share knowledge with other baristas (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). Observing each other is done to see what trends are developing in the coffee business. Thus, the café can immediately adapt to the trend and imitate it. At this point, one café with another seems to have the same concept.

Standardization in cafés is a game in the coffee industry that makes coffee lovers more consumptive—the standardization of taste results in increased coffee consumption (Hasyim, 2024). Every café ultimately uses this consumptive point to reap the maximum profit. Cafés will gladly use the existing standards to sustain their business. Thus, the presentation of menus and *Instagramable* spatial arrangements are used to increase coffee drink consumption.

It is not uncommon for the standard of spatial arrangement in each café to pay attention to the needs of its consumers. In this case, the need for space in the café is of particular concern. This creates various spaces in a café with different uses and functions. In addition to paying attention to the menu served young people in choosing a café have also considered the facilities provided at the café such as smoking areas, charging stations, toilets, working spaces, meeting rooms, and outdoor places (Liliani, personal interview, June 16, 2024). An example, which can be found in almost every café, is a space for smoking or a smoking area. This space is generally used to hang out with young people while smoking cigarettes. Therefore, the arrangement of space in the café and paying attention to beauty also pay attention to the needs of consumers.

It is no less important that the current standard of spatial arrangement in cafés also pays attention to the needs of young urban migrants who are students. A space with a concept suitable for doing lecture assignments is another reference that the café uses to arrange its place. In this case, urban youth coined the term *unusable*. The concept of a café that is never empty of visitors, especially students, is a café that provides a fast internet network and a coffee place that supports doing college assignments or is *unusable* (Liliani, personal interview, June 16, 2024). The term means that the café is very suitable for lecture work. At a later stage, the concept of a space for doing coursework was adopted by many other cafés. Thus, once again, the spatial arrangement of the café seems to be a standard that every café must follow.

The next concern is that the standard menu and spatial arrangement also apply to cafés located in areas outside the city. In this case, it cannot be denied that the development of large cafés will influence local cafés to develop (Rahma et al., 2019). Cafés in urban areas may become a reference for cafés in non-urban areas. Therefore, there seems to be no clear distinction between the standards of cafés in urban and non-urban areas.

Furthermore, the phenomenon of imitating concepts and standards in cafés is based on the fear of being left behind by a trend in a developing café. For this reason, every café in urban and non-urban areas flocks to imitate the concepts and standards of the coffee business world. Therefore, any café anywhere will look the same in terms of the menu served and the design of the café. The fear of being left behind by a trend at a later stage will make café owners and consumers continue to pursue novelty.

Chasing the Uniqueness in Urban Coffee Culture

Always bringing something new to the table is how the café business keeps on turning. In this case, societal trends become the primary reference in managing a coffee business. Therefore, both café owners and customers will try to always be up to date on trend developments, as seen in FoMO (*Fear of Missing Out*). FoMO is a great desire to keep up with every latest trend or moment (Akbar et al., 2019). From the café's side, pursuing uniqueness can attract many visitors and help the café's business continue to grow.

The novelty or innovation presented by the café is a place to compete for customers. Innovation is needed because it creates uniqueness or new ideas to increase product competitiveness (Dwi, 2023). In this case, the uniqueness presented by the café helps attract customers to the café. Every innovation made will be tested on customers through feedback. This trial is carried out to see whether an innovation is created. That novelty or innovation is intended for customer satisfaction itself.

Furthermore, the novelty presented regarding the café atmosphere relates to customer needs. For visitors, a comfortable and unique café atmosphere is the primary consideration when choosing a café (Wibowo et al., 2022). Cosy and unique in the café context is the provision of various ergonomic and comfortable facilities that make customers feel at home and linger while enjoying a meal. In this case, the emphasis on the uniqueness of the café in presenting a new and different café concept from the café concept in general is significant. The emphasis aims to create customers' desire to return to the café. Thus, the novelty in the café atmosphere is based on customer needs.

In addition, novelty or innovation is also carried out on the café's beverage menu to create café differences with others. Signature coffee is one way for the café to bring innovation to the product (Yuliandri, 2023). This statement is reinforced by the results of an interview with one of the baristas. For Ramdan, every coffee shop must have a differentiator from others, which can be from the type of food and signature drinks (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). Signature coffee is a unique coffee drink created and innovated by baristas that characterizes a café and cannot be found in other cafés (Bitka, 2024). The innovation involves combining various flavour elements, brewing techniques, and adding specific food ingredients. Through signature coffee, the café has a distinctive characteristic that differs from one café to another.

Besides making updates, cafés must be consistent in serving the menu. Consistency is essential because it relates to customer trust in the quality of the café. According to Ramdan, consistency in serving the menu can maintain customer trust in the café's products and services (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). If a café is consistent with the taste of the menu served, customers will feel satisfied with the service provided. Thus, customers will return the next day because the quality of coffee and service is always satisfying. Therefore, the demand to consistently serve the menu is crucial for the café to create customer trust.

Besides that, baristas face renewal issues in the coffee business world. Baristas who serve coffee drinks daily must know the latest trends. In this case, baristas will even do coffee activities in other cafés to find references. Ramdan's statement reinforces that for him, coffee in different places is an activity to look for references or knowledge of the coffee served (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). Thus, a barista is indirectly required to seek novelty in the world of the coffee business.

No less important is how the café utilizes social media, especially Instagram, to pay attention to trending novelty. The café owner will apply the novelty or trends on Instagram to increase the café's popularity. According to Ramdan, cafés must be able to adapt to trends that are developing on social media and are being loved by many people. This can be done through product promotion through social media such as Instagram (Ramdan, personal interview, July 9, 2024). In addition, café owners will also advertise their café products through Instagram. Thus, in addition to viewing updates, cafés also utilize Instagram social media for product promotion activities, and it is a stage in virtual image production (Sari, Ramadhan, et al., 2023).

Customers will inevitably use Instagram as a reference when choosing a café to visit. In this case, cafés that can present exciting content on Instagram will be the most ogled by customers. If it feels engaging, these customers will visit the café that they have seen before on Instagram social media. That way, customers will see café references on Instagram before visiting it. In addition to being interested in the café content on Instagram, always wanting to be updated certainly affects the café customers. At this point, the trend and novelty on social media are played by the café owner. That way, pursuing novelty will attract many customers to the café. In the sense that the more customers who are interested in visiting the café, the more benefits they will obtain. Both customers and the café are equally faced with the pursuit of novelty and seem to be required to always be up to date.

Leisure Utilisation, Social Class Production in Urban Coffee Culture

Young urban migrants are those from outside metropolitan areas who migrate to urban areas. In the context of this research, the urban area in question is Surabaya City. Thus, urban migrant youths are those who are not from Surabaya City. These young people migrate to Surabaya City from regencies or other big cities.

When migrating, urban migrant youth will undoubtedly encounter a culture different from their home area, including coffee culture. If coffee activities only seem to involve enjoying coffee in their place of origin, young urban migrants must face a more complex definition of coffee activities. Most people in the past enjoyed drinking coffee in the coffeehouse accompanied by small talk or discussion between visitors, and this became a culture the next day (Rahma et al., 2019). Hence, the coffee culture in the place of origin of young urban migrants is very different from the coffee culture in the city.

Coffee activities in urban areas are more than just a matter of coffee drinks. However, more than that, coffee activities can be used to show their existence (Yugantara et al., 2021). In this case, a café with a high reputation is visited only by customers with high financial capabilities, in the sense that customers who can buy coffee products from the café will indirectly be seen as upper-class. Thus, coffee drinking in urban areas is not only regarded as a beverage but also has hidden meanings related to social status.

Urban coffee culture is rife with attempts to demonstrate self-existence and social identity. They show off certain symbols or brands through social media to show their social identity (Wibowo et al., 2022). Social media is the right place to form virtual social status, containing text, photos, and videos. Therefore, using social media, young urban migrants like to upload photos and videos of the food, drinks, and atmosphere of the café to their social media accounts. They hope uploading pictures and videos of themselves at the café will show their social identity and gain popularity.

Furthermore, young urban migrants are also influenced by the coffee culture in urban areas. When buying coffee drinks from highly reputable cafés such as Starbucks, they feel like they are part of the upper class. This can be motivated by the paradigm that considers Starbucks a special place full of prestige (Alamsyah, 2022). It will influence young urban migrants to become more consumptive in buying coffee beverage products. In other words, the more wasteful the expensive and prestigious products are, the higher the social status will be achieved.

The consumptive lifestyle towards coffee beverage products is not intended for needs. In the sense that coffee drinks purchased at cafés only reinforce social status in urban coffee culture. The social status in question relates to the ability of customers to buy coffee products at a café. Consumption behaviour that occurs is not only self-satisfaction but also a tool to show self-identity to gain prestige and aims to improve the image and social status (Yugantara et al., 2021). The more expensive the coffee drinks are purchased, the higher the social status they want to show. This issue of social status in coffee culture then makes coffee a false necessity.

Furthermore, the false need for coffee drinks felt by café customers is used by café as a field for profit. Young urban migrants who are students are a group that has not been active in doing economic work. In their daily lives, most students still rely on the money given to them by their parents. From this money, it is not uncommon for them to over-consume and waste their leisure time like a leisure class society. For example, they had coffee every weekend at a famous and expensive café. It can be seen as the utilization of leisure time by young urban migrants in coffee culture as part of the cultural industry. This conspicuous leisure then benefits the coffee industry in the sense that the consumption of coffee by young urban migrants in their spare time continuously benefits the café. The more customers buy coffee drink products, the more the café's income will increase. Thus, in reality, excessive consumption by customers increases café sales.

Coupled with the behaviour of café customers who like to post food and drinks on Instagram, it positively impacts the café profile. Many café visitors use their social media to upload their dishes and selfies while at the café (Alamsyah, 2022). This behaviour is also very beneficial for the café and is considered a promotional activity for café products. By

posting the café's beverage products on Instagram, everyone will quickly know the profile of a café. That way, the behaviour of customers who like to post food and drinks on Instagram indirectly helps the café promote the café. In addition to fostering coffee and cafés, social media is also used to motivate consumers to come directly to the café. Consequently, consumers will be urged to look 'current' by coming directly to the café and uploading their photos on social media (Rahayu et al., 2020).

Furthermore, Instagram social media is a means of self-actualization for young urban migrants. This is triggered by the trend of posts about consuming processed coffee drinks that are increasingly prevalent on Instagram social media. In this case, the coffee beverage brand displayed as Instagram content is of grave concern. The popularity and price range of a coffee brand are related to the purchasing power of customers. The more famous the coffee brand is and the more expensive the price, the more customers who buy it are considered to have high purchasing power. Therefore, sometimes young urban migrants make coffee at cafés just to be featured on social media. Cafés have become a place not only to drink coffee and hang out but also a tool that helps improve the 'position' of its consumers on social media (Rahayu et al., 2020). Their consumption activities indirectly create a social system that is organized socially and virtually.

CONCLUSION

Using critical phenomenology, this research tries to understand the cultural industry that has transformed the essence of coffee culture into a place for maximum profit. Then, it critically elaborates on the sociological logic of chasing the uniqueness that drives coffee consumption. Nonetheless, this study has yet to comprehensively explain the significant social consequences of the coffee culture industry on the consumption behaviour of urban youth. The standardization of coffee culture created by the culture industry highlights the issues of social identity and the typicality of modern cafés. Also, the *Fear of Missing Out* (FoMO) has become an impetus for young urban migrants to be updated with the latest social media developments.

Furthermore, the FoMO phenomenon has not dissatisfied the youth, and it is constructed to chase the uniqueness of their virtual presentation, including the development of urban coffee culture. This sociological perspective can be compounded by the fact that leisure time for coffee is deliberately used to amplify the desire for social and virtual identity. Again, sociologically, this research found that young urban migrants ultimately use coffee drinking to assert their social identity, mainly by focusing on their position in social class construction. However, the problems of social identity and simultaneity that are structured within the culture industry need to be elaborated more, primarily to elaborate creativity as part of youth cultural aspects.

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