Indoor to outdoor: Transformation of Coffee Shops in Jakarta

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ABSTRACT

From the colonial period to the Covid-19 pandemic, coffee cafes in Jakarta have seen significant changes. Coffee shops as public places must adjust to the pandemic situation by reducing their operating activity to prevent the virus from spreading. This adaption process then prompts coffee industry participants to come up with ways to keep coffee consumption habits consistent, such as employing outdoor spaces that are similar to rural aspects in urban settings. This study will examine the transition of coffee shops in the new normal era of the Covid-19 pandemic, building on prior research on the meaning of traditional-modern coffee shops and the performance of interior design in coffee shops. In addition, this research aims at the meaning of open space and how it relates to consumption patterns. The research method used is a literature review with in-depth analysis in order to solve issues that are related to the subject. The findings reveal that the current open space trend is a negotiation between urban-rural and public-private places. This tendency, however, poses a dilemma in terms of the monetization of the artistic portrayal of rural components adopted by coffee shops in Jakarta.

Keywords: Coffee Shop, Urban, Outdoor, Negotiation, Commodification

1. Introduction

Coffee consumption is one of the activities that Indonesians of all ages, from the old to the young, enjoy. Indonesia produces more than 400 thousand tons of coffee annually, accounting for 9% of global output. People's lifestyles, as seen by the introduction of roasteries, cafés, and coffee shops, have aided the enormous expansion or development of the coffee business. Coffee shops, which provide coffee and a variety of non-coffee drinks such as chocolate, matcha, and others, have been a major trend in the coffee market to date. The community uses the coffee shops for a variety of activities in addition to drinking coffee, such as reading, discussing, finishing work, and so on [1].

The coffee shop movement then ran into roadblocks or hurdles during the Covid-19 pandemic, which began in early 2020. In general, the pandemic altered people's perceptions of the world, their thoughts, and their daily lives, as well as having an economic influence. T the Covid-19 pandemic has generated new issues in the coffee business throughout the world, including the import market and the primary coffee consumption in Europe, North America, and Asia, particularly in Indonesia. This has had a substantial impact on coffee drinking habits. People's daily coffee consumption patterns are affected by the adoption of Covid-19 preventive measures, such as social distance, and they are unable to attend coffee shops as frequently as before. Coffee consumption gives rise to several options, such as coffee consumers who interpret coffee as a daily necessity by taking brewing courses so that they can make coffee at home. However, the decline in coffee is also unavoidable, especially for visitors who interpret coffee as a medium for socializing [2].

The new situation that businesspeople are facing during the pandemic, which is distinguished by an increase in demand to serve consumers at home, requires changes in supply chain management, distribution, and facility modification to ensure the safety of individuals who begin their activities outside the house. One of the changes made in the coffee industry to grow its company despite the limits of health procedures during the Covid-19 outbreak was to maximize the utilization of open space (outdoor). This attempts to stop the infection from spreading while keeping the number of customers the same.

2.   Material and Methods

The modifications in the coffee industry are in reaction to shifting demands among coffee customers, who prefer to frequent coffee shops with open areas (outdoor). This shift in the main use of open space has implications for local culture, coffee consumption, and new interpretations of open space. During the Covid-19 pandemic, open space, which was previously viewed as an alternative, has become the primary orientation for visitors. We examine this shift using Guy Debord's theory and concept of the spectacle of society to understand how the pattern of coffee consumption links to the meaning of open space. Textual analysis of postings to the Instagram account @jakartacoffeespot in 2020 was used to make observations. The constancy and routine of publishing photographs and information linked to famous coffee shops to coffee businesses that are still pioneering led us to choose this Instagram account as the corpus of research.

Many studies have been conducted on coffee shops, one of which was conducted to see a shift in the meaning of coffee shops from traditional to contemporary, as evidenced by their growth as a public place in Makassar equipped with numerous services and sources of information [3]. The variables of visitor comfort in coffee shops and cafes in Bandung are highly influenced by the performance of interior design components [4]. Another research also aims to analyze the coffee culture in historical coffee shops with cultural heritage buildings, as well as the influence of historical values on coffee shop culture [5].

3.   Results and Discussions

The Historicity of Coffee Shops in Indonesia

Coffee was brought to Southeast Asia in the 17th century by Dutch traders who were unable to process coffee in their nation, so it was taken to Java and became the principal commodity of the time. Arabica was the first coffee plant farmed for over a century in Pondok Kopi, East Jakarta, and it quickly became the principal product. Other coffee varieties, such as Liberia and Robusta, were also produced. During the colonization of Indonesia, the Dutch also introduced the concept of a coffee shop as a cultural commodity. Coffee shops arose in the Dutch East Indies, particularly in Batavia, the Dutch government's seat, as more and more Dutch citizens moved to Batavia and wished to continue their lifestyles, which included sipping coffee in coffee shops. The coffee shop began as a hostel for tourists and evolved into a meeting spot for intellectuals and upper-class individuals. Locals and visitors alike may enjoy coffee shops ranging from the top to lower classes in Batavia, which serves as the entrance to Java. Several significant coffee companies, from local to worldwide sizes, such as Tech Sun Ho (Weltevreden), ENIK, and HAG, have factories, headquarters, and marketing strategies. Coffee shops in the Dutch East Indies became icons of modern life and strengthened social stratification in Batavia [6].

At Warung Tinggi, the coffee shop was transformed into a venue for Batavian people to share their stories and thoughts in the 19th century for the first time. After a long day at work, visitors to Warung Tinggi unwind with a

meal or a cup of coffee. Starbucks' presence has become a driving element in the expansion of Indonesia's local coffee shop business throughout time. Starbucks originally opened its doors at Jakarta's Plaza Indonesia in 2002. From 2017 to 2018, newcomer local coffee shops such as Janji Jiwa, Kopi Kenangan, Kopi Soe, Fore, and others opened, bringing the total number of outlets to hundreds. Janji Jiwa Coffee has opened 500 outlets, Kulo 300 outlets, and Fore 100 outlets. Until now, the number of local coffee shops rivals Starbucks, which only has 421 outlets [7].

Men in their 20s and 60s used to frequent the coffee shop since the coffee was still natural, with only sugar added to relieve drowsiness. Coffee may now be enjoyed by men and women of all ages, including children, the result of the emergence of Starbucks. This is due to the development of coffee varieties that are not as natural as before but are blended with other substances such as milk, fruit, and chocolate to make the image of coffee more inclusive, allowing anybody and at any time to enjoy it. In 2014, the rising trend of local coffee consumption began, and many bars in Jakarta have transformed into coffee shops with a variety of originality and large-scale promotions. Many stores provide modern coffee machines as well as pave the path for the expansion of local coffee production, such as Gayo, Toraja, Flores, and Luwak [8].

Many individuals, even conventional coffee shop patrons, spend hours at coffee shops. Lower-income coffee drinkers like to sip coffee at tiny stalls, where they may spend hours conversing about a variety of topics with no obvious focus. In other words, the encounter lasts longer than the coffee itself. The coffee served is brewed coffee, which is not the same as what is served in modern coffee shops. Because of Indonesia's considerable coffee bean production, coffee drinking is also seen as a symbol of affection for the country's goods. If coffee shops in Indonesia used to be basic places of business with a standard menu of coffee or side dishes and a meeting spot for men to talk, they now have a broader range of services. In general, a coffee shop serves as a gathering space, a place to rest or unwind, a place to work, and even a location to conduct commercial operations. Individuals' coffee-drinking habit has its own meaning for them, not just to fulfill their daily necessities but also to express themselves [5].

A coffee shop may be regarded as a third-place or a public space to gather and interact on a community level. In contrast to the first place, which is home, and the second place, which is work, the third-place serves as a hub for creative and social engagement and is sometimes referred to as life's anchor. The phrase "third place" reinforces Habermas' argument that the growth of the public sphere as a space for collective performances bridges boundaries and signals the emergence of democracy. Low profile, neutral, inclusive, accessible, accommodating, full of return customers, conversational, and enjoyable are seen to be the traits of third place. Some people go to cafes to meet friends, but these cafes are still considered part of their 'home' or community's 'living room' [9].

The arrival of international coffee shops, such as Starbucks, has a significant influence on urban lives. Starbucks' quick expansion as a modern-style coffee shop in Indonesia has had a considerable impact on urban lifestyles. Other Indonesians, particularly those who frequent Starbucks, see coffee shops as a sign that they are individuals who are informed about current events. This demonstrates that coffee has become "software" in people's new lifestyles, while coffee shops are "hardware" in achieving this aim [10].

Coffee shops have become an integral component of city life. Coffee shops in malls and shopping centers have evolved into a type of social actualization facility, serving as a

place to fill spare time from busy schedules. Coffee shops are attempting to trade "symbols" in the same way that other lifestyle companies do. Products built of symbols are distributed through multiple channels so that customers can consume them, and they are continually recreated, resulting in a never-ending symbolic chain. A cup of coffee has become a very attractive symbol since it has been changed into a symbolic code used by customers to actualize their presence in social groups and is no longer confined to getting rid of drowsiness [11].

The layout of the coffee shop, which represents elegance, comfort, and stability, may also be used to identify coffee as a symbol. In general, design themes with eye-catching decoration details and a pleasant ambiance created by ample lighting, cool temperatures, and comprehensive amenities like air conditioning and internet are employed to create a comfortable layout that is associated as a symbol. A minimalist external design and an industrial interior, such as the utilization of a steel frame and translucent glass as fundamental materials, help to convey an urban lifestyle. Furthermore, this way of life is reflected by a basic house with no carvings, square and flat, which represents a rejection of tradition. The usage of industrial interiors depicts a life that is closely related to the industrial world, as seen by the use of monochrome or gray color schemes. The coffee fryer is housed in a unique chamber with glass doors, and the use of wood reflects the current industrial lifestyle [12].

As a result, the rise of coffee in Indonesia is directly linked to global exchanges, such as the establishment of coffee shops, which may be considered one of the colonial period's legacies. In recent years, the fast expansion of local coffee shops in Indonesia has aided the arrival of international coffee shops from the United States. Since colonial times, the coffee shop has evolved from a nostalgic location for the Dutch, a hostel for visitors, a gathering place for men and intellectuals, to a third-place or public space with a larger range of purposes. However, the culture of drinking coffee and the coffee shop itself is gradually being characterized as a means of creating a lifestyle for Indonesians through the consumption of symbols of the usage of advanced instruments and pleasant and elegant surroundings. The following subchapter will examine the meaning of a coffee shop during the Covid-19 epidemic.

Coffee Shop Resilience in the Face of the Covid-19 Pandemic: Indoor to Outdoor Trends

In order to limit Covid-19 transmission and preserve public health in 2020, restrictions on the use of public places and social separation have become crucial legislative measures. People all throughout the world are facing increasing limitations on their usage of public areas. Half of the world's population has been told to stay at home or to limit their mobility in public spaces. Cities are known for their vibrant street life, such as Jakarta, suddenly appear to be 'ghost towns,' as city residents choose to stay at home for the public good [13]. Of course, this has a significant impact on coffee shops and other food and beverage establishments. Due to space restrictions, coffee sales dropped by 50-90 percent, forcing coffee shops to close and exports to stop as a result of the implementation of regional quarantine in export destination countries.

Conditions that are harmful to the coffee shop business demand adaption in order for the coffee shop to exist till the Covid-19 pandemic is over. Some coffee shop owners have begun to adjust their marketing strategies by expanding media promotions for selling coffee online, while others have adapted by providing free delivery or discounted rates. To recover the Indonesian economy, the Indonesian government imposed a quarantine policy until May 2020, followed by a new normal period in June 2020. As a result of this regulation, coffee
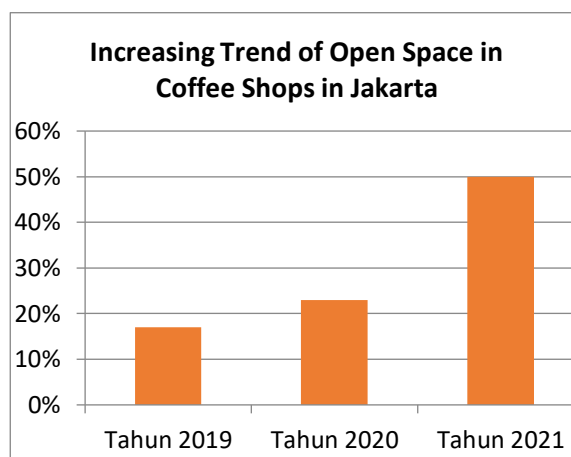
shops are now permitted to provide dine-in for a limited time. Coffee shop owners are beginning to clean up and establish health precautions at their businesses as a result of the new laws, such as asking visitors to wear masks, wash their hands, and have their body temperature checked before entering. The identity of each visitor will be noted in the guest book. The table and chairs must be separated by 1.5 meters. Waiters and coffee shop employees are also required to wear masks, gloves, face shields, and a body temperature of no more than 37,5°C [14]
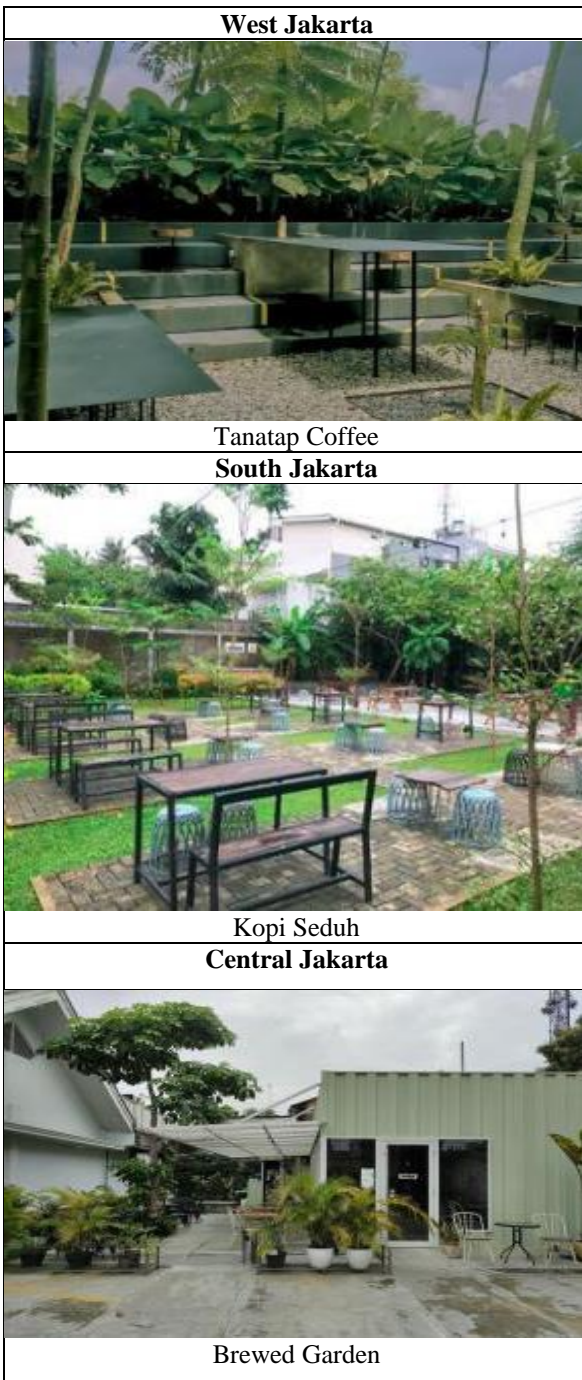
The Covid-19 pandemic, particularly the lockdown and use of social distancing, has altered people's lifestyles and urban environments; the virus appears to have generated an "anti-urban" and "me vs. them" mindset. Spatial planning, particularly open space, is another area where new ideas have been implemented. The coffee shop was later renovated into an outside location with the goal of limiting the massive spread and keeping customers. If outdoor usage was merely an option before the pandemic and was meant for smoking places, it became one of the orientations during the pandemic.

Before the pandemic till the Covid-19 pandemic, the Instagram account @jakartacoffespot gives suggestions for various coffee places. According to the graph, 11 of the 64 coffee shops recommended by @jakartacoffespot in 2019 featured an open space style. This demonstrates that while outside open space is appealing, it does not serve as a source of direction. Twenty-three of the 102 suggested coffee cafes in 2020 are outside. From 17 percent to 23 percent, there was a 6 percent gain. In 2021, there was a considerable rise in recommendations for open coffee shops, with as many as 20 out of 43 being recommended until June 2021. When compared to the previous year, the proportion in 2021 hit a high of 50%, a 27 percent gain. As the economy and public activities steadily recover

in 2021, there is a shift in attitude regarding patronizing coffee shops. The following is an examination of the @jakartacoffeespot account's open coffee shop trend and an analysis of the open space suggestion chart:

Table 1: Increasing Trend of Open Space in Coffee Shops in Jakarta from 2019 to 2021

North Jakarta

Norte Coffee

East Jakarta

Dos Hermanos

West Jakarta

Tanatap Coffee

South Jakarta

Kopi Seduh

Central Jakarta

Brewed Garden

Source : Instagram @ jakartacoffeespot, 2020
Figure 1: Coffee Shops with Open Space during the Covid-19 Pandemic

For many individuals, having access to open spaces, recreational and exercise facilities, and children's playgrounds has become a new priority. Physical distancing rules have focused on the number of spaces pedestrians need, not only for movement but also for social interaction, exercise, and play. This emphasizes the significance of the open spaces between and around structures. It's also worth mentioning that some coffee shops in Jakarta use the leftover space that may be renovated into open spaces. Buildings that have been modified for reuse have become a challenge in the architectural science field regarding sustainability and innovation. Adaptive reuse, also known as remodeling, retrofitting, conversion, adaptation, reworking, rehabilitation, or repair, is a term used to describe this approach [15]. The following is an example of an open space model:
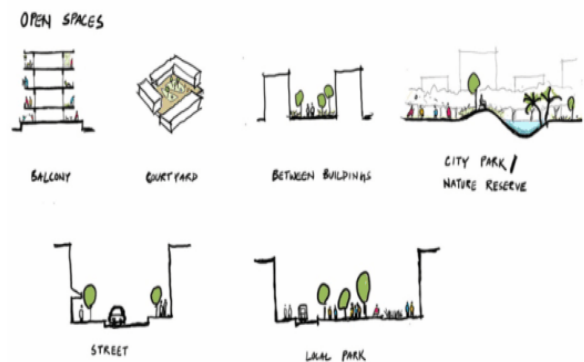
Source : Deshpande, 2020
Figure 2: Land use model for the formation of open space

One of the cultural goods generated as a result of social management is space in architecture. A building or architecture, like language in general, has a structure as a cultural product. As an example of nonverbal communication, architecture is regarded as a systematic and structural communication to express ideas and concepts, with their meanings ordered according to societal traditions. As a symbol, the structure may transmit meaning through components, patterns, and structures [16].

No.	Before	After
1.	Epilog Kopi, East Jakarta	
	Description: Use of leftover space in the backyard	
2.	Bruno Cofee in The Park, South Jakarta	
	Description : Use of remaining space at local park Sunshine Park	
3.	Kapitan Lim, Central Jakarta	
	Description: Use of leftover space in old buildings	

4.	Rooftop West, West Jakarta	
	Description: Use of the remaining space on the roof of the building	
5.	Obrol Kopi Coffee Truck, North Jakarta	
	Description: Use of the remaining space on the road	

The building was re-modified spontaneously based on community efforts. This method of utilizing space is termed vernacular adaptation to establish a new use in the space, based on the study of the space in the coffee shop. Do-It-Yourself is a term used in urbanism theory to describe this method [17]. This is a small-scale, creative approach that is centered on contributions or enhancements to urban places that are inspired by official infrastructure [18]. The use of social distancing, which is intended to shield the public from the virus, leads to a loss of intimacy between persons acquired via social interactions. Coffee shop owners and community members participate in urban participation to reconstruct public places that were destroyed by the Covid-19 outbreak.

We regard coffee shops as a type of public space that helps a healthy and functioning society in the context of this study. Those

who see coffee shops as a social gathering spot create a sense of detachment, and lockdown is a state of confusion. The presence and expansion of open spaces demonstrate society's reliance on one another to achieve pleasure. The trend of open spaces caters to these demands. Healthy societies rely on ongoing contact among diverse individuals in various ways. Prejudice and paranoia would develop without one form, such as the open space trend, which allows for social contact in the middle of a pandemic. Business actors recognize community needs and put in place tools to advocate for those needs, which are often intertwined. In other words, the trend of open space in coffee shops is one of the cultural products as an effort to intervene and 'maintain sanity' during the Covid-19 pandemic.

Coffee Shop Trend Representation (Textual analysis of Instagram @jakartacoffeeshop)

According to Instagram @jakartacoffeespot analysis of the elements that make up the open space of coffee shops in Jakarta, there are several changes or efforts, including the tendency to oppose land development with existing land uses, conserve open space, accept the power of nature as an influence, and prefer self-sufficiency. The colors given reflect the initial aspect that symbolizes the trend in coffee shops during the pandemic. Color is the initial physical representation in architecture and has various uses. Color is used in architecture for various reasons, including ornamentation as well as psychological impacts, communication, and influence on the visitor's perceptual process [19].

Green and brown hues dominate coffee shop Instagram accounts, including earth tones or colors associated with nature, such as forest, sea, sky, land, mountains, etc. The hue conveys a sense of warmth, comfort, and naturalness. The earth-toned décor of the coffee shop appears to provide relaxation treatment and a welcoming atmosphere. Natural subtleties may also be seen in ornaments or furniture, such as wood, natural stone, and, of course, the inclusion of plants. Plants and trees are planted simply if sparsely, to demonstrate the importance of coexisting with nature. Efforts to utilize natural light and nuance are also demonstrated by the large open space and outdoor area that is commonly used so that visitors can enjoy coffee while sitting in the open air. This is, of course, following the concept of a tropical climate in Indonesia. Thus, the open space becomes the center of activity in the coffee shop through the design that is presented.

Furthermore, the welcoming coffee shop design demonstrates an effort to develop more personal or intimate contact with customers. This is aided by the rising usage of house structures in coffee shops, which helps to satisfy people's need for open spaces with natural hues. Some coffee shops have reused colonial structures by keeping the fundamental shape and character of the buildings while updating the interiors to reflect current trends. For individuals who desire to reminisce about Jakarta's history, many colonial buildings offer prospective historical tourism opportunities.

Natural elements in the interior, such as decorations, furniture, and colors, are used to create a 'warm' environment while also balancing the modern architectural style. With a design built on function and space efficiency following the practical and sophisticated ideals of urban culture, the modern style appears 'cold.' However, the characteristics of a coffee shop as a whole reflect a rural lifestyle, in contrast to the characteristics of a coffee shop that are closely related to an urban lifestyle, such as the desire to live in a high-density

environment, the appreciation of various interactions between individuals, and cultural diversity [20]. This trend of open space with rural elements raises one of the views that human nature is incompatible with urban life and that the human species thrives in a green natural environment compared to an artificial and dense urban environment [21].

Coffee industry players introduce characteristics of rural life to coffee shops for individuals who cannot physically escape to rural places. Because of current constraints, the Covid-19 epidemic has driven people to rely on modernity, particularly technology. The health regimen also attempts to bring the community together and encourage people to stay at home. This anti-urban phenomenon compels city dwellers to adopt a rustic lifestyle at coffee shops to escape boredom with modernity. The open space movement may be described as an attempt to mediate between private and public places and a statement of frustration with modernity. The usage of structures and open space that is closely connected to natural elements is an attempt to 'get back to the roots' through the nostalgia that is expressed in the area. Individuals felt inauthentic or disconnected from themselves throughout the Covid-19 period since their societal position was changing [22].

Architecture as Spectacle of Society: Paradox and Commodification of Outdoor

Aside from the generic definition of Spectacle refers to a show, display, event, performance, representation, or view; Debord's definition of spectacle in this subtitle has more to do with politics and economics or the mode of production as a result of capitalism. Spectacle refers not just to the decoration of an object but also to the outcome and objective of a manufacturing system. Furthermore, spectacle pervades all parts of people's lives, with news,

propaganda, advertising, and entertainment serving as continual reminders of a system or ideological dominance. What we observe in terms of how the world is built is a manifestation of the dominant worldview. As Debord points out, the spectacle is anchored in the economy, and the output of that economy tends to dominate the market at the end of the day. A spectacle is not a collection of pictures; rather, visuals facilitate social connections between individuals [23]

In the phenomena of the open-space trend in coffee shops, there is an irony in negotiating public-private or urban-rural areas. This open area is seen to have the ability to unite people in society, yet it may also lead to alienation. Open spaces connect people. However, this medium actually isolates them from one another due to a lack of physical connection. As a result, open space is like bringing people together in a state of separation.

The appearance of fragmented representation is nothing more than the goal of the open space trend's manufacturers, who market superiority, which leads to a social class divide. The Covid-19 epidemic has highlighted the disparity between space for the poor and space for the wealthy, particularly open space, which has become a tightly controlled and mass-produced product. Balconies, gardens, and other open space features are highly valued during the Covid-19 Pandemic and are associated with opulence. The Covid-19 pandemic is perceived differently by individuals who have access to coffee shops with gardens and those who do not since orientation is used to fulfill primary needs. Access to coffee shops with open spaces as public spaces tends to be for workers with higher incomes who can work remotely to spend time at the coffee shop.
By recognizing rural trends that indicate authenticity, luxury, renown, or a better existence, a Coffee shop might be considered

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an enjoyable show and an alternative to consumer misery. A pleasant spectacle with architectural designs that incorporate stunning village and natural aspects, as well as eye-catching signage that can be seen from the highway. A coffee shop with an open space is then transformed into a representation of how a pastoral lifestyle is envisioned for metropolitan areas. As a result, a rural-urban or traditional-modern divide emerges. The coffee shop's rustic image is then geared towards achieving financial success. This, of course, leads to another inconsistency: the open space trend's creators attempt to reflect humans' initial interaction with their surroundings or nature. However, the authenticity of the rural elements is deliberately and carefully designed to create an attractive rural element.

Producers of this style, for example, introduce natural aspects, such as a garden or lush trees, to a coffee shop's courtyard or a shop's corner that are regarded alien to urban areas, but they utilize a modern appearance or design, such as minimalist or industrial. The vast open space at the coffee shop has a country feel to it, although the equipment is fairly contemporary and elegant. Bars at coffee shops place a premium on cleanliness or bright lighting, which may differ significantly from rural aspects, in order to strike a balance between unknown rustic characteristics and the standards or image of an urban coffee shop. Thus, the uploaded photo presents a commodification of rural elements and the aesthetics of everyday life.

The providing of communal interactions, in terms of family values, and how playground facilities in open areas such as Bruno Cofee in the Park represent activities together with family are also exhibited as typical rural traits. Rural people prioritize spending time with their families above metropolitan residents. The open space style promotes intimacy, togetherness, and warmth among family members. In actuality, the tendency to adapt rural values is not entirely realized [24]. However, in the production process, it is the packaging of such authenticity or representation that becomes vital in order to develop a relationship with customers. The monetization of rural features creates the notion that this lifestyle can be achieved by drinking coffee and going to coffee shops.

Development, rapid urban rhythms, high pressure, loss of identity, and pandemics evoke nostalgia for the pre-industrial rural past, resulting in a hyperreality of rural space in Jakarta's coffee shops. This tendency results in a hyper-reality of rural space, obscuring the challenges of agricultural work in the village. Challenging rural conditions, rigorous and demanding employment, dirty surroundings, and problematic family ties are all erased to get access to a romantic and warm country image. A coffee shop with an open area displays emotive and emotional labor. It capitalizes on customer closeness as if it were an adaptive asset from the countryside, oblivious to the irony of the image of a backward or neglected town. The rural picture depicted is lovely and romantic, not the brutal reality of rural life, which is rife with exploitation and tyranny. During the Covid-19 epidemic, the adaption of rural features by coffee shops is utilized as therapy to soothe anxiety in urban societies. It stimulates a deep-rooted cultural urge to "return to nature," producing hyperreality. True, a coffee shop with an open area has a rustic quality, but it is a vision directly linked to commercialization. The aesthetics of daily living and rural life blur the lines between reality and fiction.

4. Conclusion

From Dutch colonialism until the present, coffee shops have changed. This dynamic may be observed in the evolution of the meaning of space, which began as a location

to sip coffee and evolved into a public area and even a social status symbol. The introduction of coffee shops from America has an impact on the expansion of local coffee shops, demonstrating the existence of hegemony and opposition in this phenomenon. During the Covid-19 epidemic, significant changes occurred when the utilization of coffee shop space evolved, resulting in a transition to the dominating open space idea.

In the new normal period, the phenomena of the open-space trend in coffee shops is a sort of coffee shop resilience. by incorporating rural natural components into the remaining land. During a pandemic, a coffee shop with an open area is viewed as an 'escape' from modernity's saturation. Negotiations between rural and urban areas may also be visible regarding design, tool use, and so on. The presence of rural components in urban areas also suggests that attempts are being made to reconcile private and public places. However, this phenomenon can then be seen as a paradox because the open space in the coffee shop is a spectacle of the aesthetic commodification of rural elements and the hyperreality of rural space, which can again present the dualism of urban and rural spaces.

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