

Gentrifying Yogyakarta through (online) culinary: Investigating youth practice and culinary space in @ke.jogja

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ABSTRACT

Within contemporary contextualization, representation has transcended its traditional role as a mere reflection or symbol and has become a dynamic force that actively shapes and challenges material reality. This netnographic research outlines the dialogue between Instagram posts, as a contemporary mode of representation, and the construction of the material realm, as constituted by the youth demographic that predominantly engages with the social media platform. By examining the discursive investing framework, this research focuses on the use of Instagram by the popular culinary account @ke.jogja and its intersection with material development, specifically in the Yogyakarta region of Indonesia. Through Instagram's culinary posts, @ke.jogja is found to not only represent but also materially amplify the presence of youth-oriented culinary spaces, as it contributes significantly to the promotion and marketing of the aforementioned spaces. This symbolic-to-material amplification emerges as a transformative force that significantly contributes to the phenomenon of culinary-based gentrification in the Yogyakarta region. The findings highlight the intricate relationship between Instagram culinary posts as symbolic and concrete material transformation in an urban landscape.

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Introduction

The popular Instagram account @ke.jogja was established during the late period of COVID-19 pandemic in 2021. As quoted from its administrators or so-called *admins*, the Instagram account has the initial purpose as an alternative media to share culinary experiences in everyday lives. Implied in its username, @ke.jogja's Instagram posts contain various information on culinary practices spread across the Yogyakarta region—covering the regency of Sleman, Bantul, Kulon Progo, Gunung Kidul, and the city of Yogyakarta. Through visuals as its main medium, the account highlights a wide-range of culinary-related info including menus, places, activities, and events. Hence, the account has issued a discursive link between *culinary* and *space* which is considered as the basis of urban culinary practice (Bell, 2002; Lim, 2014; Reddy & van Dam, 2020). In urban contextualization, culinary practice is defined not solely based on consuming cuisines or beverages. Instead, urban culinary practice also encompasses the experience of consuming (culinary) spaces for recreation, leisure, or even work. Herein, @ke.jogja particularly highlights these dynamics of urban culinary practice through visual representations in the form of images or videos. Clear and interactive captions were also equipped in which, hypothetically, led their Instagram culinary posts to capture more appeal for the online visitors. When the researcher visited the account for the first time in 2021, the account's followers' amount was still a little above a thousand. However, as of October 2023, it is found that @ke.jogja has now captured more than fifty thousand followers. This growth of audiences on Instagram can be linked to the appealing aesthetics the account has always been provided (Leaver et al., 2020). Specifically, the researcher found that @ke.jogja's

Instagram culinary posts are always curated and thoroughly crafted (i.e., the images are layered with filters to deploy aestheticism). It thus provokes the impression that the account puts effort in publishing Instagram posts which have the characteristic of being *carefully crafted, image conscious, and branded*. Their careful visual presentation does fit the performative tendency of youths in social media nowadays where social media posting is posited as a performance to constitute certain socially engaging self-image (Vițelar, 2019). Besides, there is indeed an underlying objective of the account as a popular media platform which posits expectation for their posts to always appear appealing.

As an online form of culinary reviewing as well as advertising, @ke.jogja always echoes the material reality of the spatiality it represents, the Yogyakarta region. As profoundly known, the Indonesian province has undergone a massive and rapid change due to large-scale urban expansion and development in the recent two decades (Setyono et al., 2016). Herein, massive-scale tourism and perpetual incoming mobilities have particularly constructed the phenomenon of gentrification in the region. For the definition, gentrification refers to the material process of transforming a region to cater the needs and aspirations of class-affluent settlers or so-called *gentrifiers* (Lees et al., 2013; Schlichtman & Patch, 2014). It is explained that gentrification involves the displacement of marginalized communities and the erasure of equal access to infrastructure (Glass, 1964; Zukin, 1987). In the certain case of Yogyakarta, the occurring community marginalization and displacement, which is followed by the disappearance of equal access towards life infrastructure becomes unavoidable due to gentrifying forces. The rapid and widespread development of urban infrastructures that heavily center around tourists and comers—

such as café, hotels, nightclubs, boarding houses—as supported by local government and investors (Vives Miró, 2011; Suharyanto et al., 2023) has detracted land availability and soared the prices of the remaining (Mahaswara, 2016). As a result, Yogyakarta is no longer accessible by all of its population in equal manner (Amrozi et al., 2021). Instead, the region is now haunted by the growing distance from capital access, losing of belonging, as well as social segregation which particularly impacts its non-affluent citizens the most as peripheral subjects (Afandi, 2018). It portrays that gentrifying forces have become a substantial challenge towards the physical and social landscape in Yogyakarta today.

Moreover, it is mapped that gentrification is also molded by the extensive growth of culinary spaces, such as cafes and restaurants, in the developing urban region (Alkon, et al, 2020). Herein, urban culinary practice is nonetheless considered as an active subject sculpting the gentrification in Yogyakarta. In this context of urban settings, culinary practice has particularly encouraged and pushed the construction of more culinary spaces which prefer and accommodate the capital-superior subjects or the class-affluents (Lütke & Lemon, 2021). To simplify, urban culinary practice is never posited as *everyone's experience* as it only caters to those who have sufficient capital access to enjoy the experience. The widespread development of urban culinary spaces, such as café and restaurants, has known to negate those with limited capital access or whom-so-called 'undesirable population' (Abdulkader, 2022). Herein, the growth of urban culinary spaces signifies the biased transformation of a region—which favors the class affluents, while at the same time, forgetting and displacing the rest (Bourlessas et al., 2021).

Moreover, the mass use of social media, such as Instagram, also plays a role in the expansion of this gentrification-led-to practice. As clearly seen, the online platform today is congested by a peculiar trend of mass culinary posting. Users usually post various photographs and videos related to their everyday culinary encounters, covering cuisines and places where they are served. As an ongoing practice, this trend is deeply anchored in the users' intention to articulate their identity and belonging in accordance with the foods they consume and the place they visit (Peng, 2019). This intention particularly becomes the force which turns Instagram representation to be curated, saturated, and intentional (Ross, 2019). In term of culinary posting, this dynamic is clearly seen in the heavy focus on posts visualizing certain menus and places which are considered *hip*, *cool*, and *high-end*—fitted with the taste of the class-affluents or those who have sufficient capital access (Bronsvort & Uitermark, 2022). Moreover, this sedimented Instagram representation is argued to act as an *advertisement* which constructs and perpetuates particular ideas of culinary and urban spaces, so that they remain *marketable* and *commodifiable* for the gentrifiers in actual reality (Zukin et al., 2017; Walters & Smith, 2022). This intertwining of Instagram as a discursive variable within the discourse of gentrification as actual phenomenon is somewhat still absent within the present spatial discussion of Yogyakarta as a gentrified urban region.

Hence, there remained two discussion gaps left from the previous research. First, the interrelation between urban culinary practice with gentrification in the specified spatial context of Yogyakarta; and second, the intertwining of social media as a contemporary space which contributes to the prior issue. In order to fill this gap, this research conducts a case study of an

Instagram account, @ke.jogja, to ask the following questions: How is Yogyakarta represented by @ke.jogja on Instagram? How does Instagram representation contribute to actual gentrification in the region? The aim of this research is to dissect how producing representation on Instagram does take part in the construction of gentrification in Yogyakarta today. Hence, the research findings may be considered as novel variables which shapes gentrification as an actual urban issue in the specified region. The hypothesis proposed herein is that social media, and its representation, plays a discursive part in the construction of gentrification happening in the region today.

Method

This research employed a qualitative approach to dissect the relationship between Instagram culinary posts as representation mode and the structure of material reality in urban landscapes. Herein, @ke.jogja was specifically posited as research corpus due to its massive online engagement as proven by its high numbers of followers and daily posts views, as well as its popularity among youths in real life—especially those who are looking for the culinary recommendation in Yogyakarta. Therefore, there is this significance possessed by the account especially in term of social reach in everyday basis. To dissect the problematization that has been mentioned in the previous section, the research utilized netnography (Hine, 2015) as the core method to collect and arrange data. The Instagram account @ke.jogja was treated as a fieldwork site, while its posts were considered as ethnographic data. Moreover, offline space was also integrated in this research to gain deep immersion and fully embedded context of the online-fragmented dynamics (Pink, 2016; Beta, 2019). Therefore, the interview with @ke.jogja admins as key

subjects was also employed as part of the data collection process.

Initially, the researcher conducted online tracing and data gathering of Instagram posts by @ke.jogja published over a year period, from July 2022 to July 2023. It was discovered that more than 300 Instagram culinary posts were made available online during this timeframe. Subsequently, the research was followed by interview with three admins who operate @ke.jogja. The purpose of this interview was to dissect the motive and meaning underlying the representation produced on their Instagram account. Within the analysis, this case-based research adopted and adjusted the analytical steps by Bronsvort & Uitermark (2022) to break down the role of Instagram posts in shaping gentrification in material reality. Specifically, the Instagram posts and interview transcripts were treated as a coherent text to be analyzed textually to initially interpret the existing representation within the Instagram posts. Then, the interpretation of the previously dissected representation was posited as a *sign* to depart the main interpretation in accordance to the concept of *discursive investing* by Zukin et al. (2017). In this analysis, representation products were critically perceived to capture material consequences as the development of culinary spaces tangents with culinary trend popularized on Instagram. Herein, @ke.jogja's Instagram posts have the discursive role as *advertisement* or *marketing* to attract material capital flow in the sphere of culinary, ultimately transforming the material structure of the referred urban landscape (Zukin et al., 2017, in Reades et al., 2019; Mathayomchan & Taecharungroj, 2020).

Results and Discussion

The results and discussion section is divided into two parts. In the initial part, it will focus on the description of how Yogyakarta as a growing urban region is represented by @ke.jogja on Instagram. Then, in the later part, it will break down the significance of these representations through Instagram posts as symbolic subjects towards the material construction of gentrification in Yogyakarta.

Representing Yogyakarta on Instagram

Based on the trace and reading of culinary posts by @ke.jogja from July 2022 to July 2023, it is found that the Instagram account has produced a certain evocative representation of Yogyakarta. Through visualization of culinary experiences, @ke.jogja has

represented Yogyakarta as a profound urban space for youths. This interpretation is anchored and reflected in the dominant, recurring appearance of coffee shops on their culinary Instagram feed (see the example of coffee shop posts by @ke.jogja in Figure 1). The prominence of coffee shops in @ke.jogja indicates that Yogyakarta's urban landscape has been actively molded by youth practices as reflected in the centering of coffee shop spaces' appearance on Instagram posts (Zokaei, 2015). As in the contextual sphere, coffee shops today play a role in defining youth identity through social-characterized 'hang-out practice' (or known as *nongkrong* locally) (McCulloch et al., 2006; Al-Mutawa, 2020). Within this space, youths not only encounter culinary experience—especially related to coffee—but they also work, socialize and exchange ideas with their peers (Perasovic, et al., 2023).



Figure 1. *Spatialty* (left) and *Dasawarsa* (right) as two examples of coffee shops posted by @ke.jogja

Looking deeper, this representation on Yogyakarta, centering on youths as signified by predominantly coffee shop posts, turns out to be coherent with the identity of @ke.jogja's admins themselves. This coherence is implied in the interview with the three admins—Zharfan, Bella, and Handiz—in July 2023. The three youngsters in their early to mid-twenties were not so long-ago graduated college. Departing from their love for culinary and their hometown, Yogyakarta, the young admins decided to create and manage the culinary Instagram account, @ke.jogja as a collective. When being asked about the account purpose, Zharfan, one of the admins, debunks that @ke.jogja exists solely for marketing or business purposes. Though the account accepts paid endorsement for those who are interested in promoting their culinary business. Instead, he clarifies that the Instagram account is anchored in the motivation to share the culinary experience of the young admins collectively. The explanation by Zharfan enlightens why the representation constructed by @ke.jogja is centered and segmented in coffee shops posts:

"Actually, we do not aspire to only post viral places. It is way better when we post things that we really love, right? Like a place that we visit and enjoy on a daily basis. It doesn't really matter if a place is considered popular or not, though... As long as we like the place, then it is good to post. And well... There are a bunch of coffee shop contents because I can't deny that we hang out there frequently. I suppose it is like the 'culture' here. Everyone goes to coffee shops, enjoying their time, socializing, and doing all kinds of activities."

Zharfan illustrates that coffee shops have a significant position within the constellation of youth identity in his hometown. It is indicated that Yogyakarta's youths, including Zharfan himself, have

posited coffee shops as a prominent space in their daily lives, since everyone goes there. This fact then further emphasizes that coffee shops have become a prominent force in the Yogyakarta region. Bella, the other admin of @ke.jogja, acknowledged this phenomenon. As someone who has been profound with coffee shops since college years, she departs her explanation based on her own experience:

"It [the coffee shop widespread] is inseparable from the fact that Yogyakarta is a 'student city' ('kota pelajar'). There are many campuses... college students are everywhere. When I was still in college myself, doing assignments alone at home could get really... boring... [laughing]. Therefore, I'd go to coffee shops... to get a new ambience, meet my friends, and well... order food, of course. It really makes a difference... Sometimes we go for a one-hour ride from the city center to 'Kopi Merapi' [at Kaliurang, in the north—the foot of Merapi] to capture a different vibe. Cool air really helps [me] to work better."

Bella highlights that coffee shops as a culinary space today do not only exist to have mere culinary encounters. Instead, coffee shops have been utilized by youths to perform other activities related to their social and work or school. This dynamic further affirms the discursive characteristic of coffee shops as manifested within the convergent activities by youths (Perasovic et al., 2023). This dynamic is made possible due to the accessibility (i. e. accommodative road infrastructure and traffic) in the region. As Bella referred through her experience, youths can effectively juggle between distanced areas since it takes sufficient, if not less time to commute. Here, come across the illustration that coffee shops which spread across the Yogyakarta region are within the reach of everyone. Hence, it explains the reasoning behind the lively coffee shop culture in the city.

Moreover, even though coffee shops have appeared to be dominant within @ke.jogja's posts on Instagram, it does not alter the fact that there are other enliven culinary spaces. These are the various forms of culinary spaces which remain linked in the thread of admins' daily practice as Yogyakarta's youths themselves. This convergent representation of culinary spaces is further elaborated by Handiz, another admin. He mentioned how diversification of culinary spaces remains to be endeavored inside a culinary-focused Instagram account which posts come across as very coffee-shops centric:

"Of course, we do cover other [culinary] places. There was this one time, I really wanted to eat something traditional... Like... Umm... Javanese noodle (bakmi Jawa) ... I just went to this one stall and there, I felt like 'Oh I really wanted to post it on Instagram...' Then I did! And there

are other times when we posted 'old-school [culinary] places and public [culinary] events in Jogja, as well. We just tried covering them all. Even though I can't deny... Most of our [paid] endorsement comes from coffee shops."

It is grasped that beyond the coffee shops frenzy brought up, there remained other culinary experiences, such as Javanese noodle stall (*warung bakmi Jawa*), highlighted by @ke.jogja on Instagram. It depicts that amidst the prominence of coffee shops in their daily encounter, Yogyakarta youths remain present for different culinary practices available in their region. The researcher's trace and reading towards @ke.jogja's posts does confirm this case of culinary spaces convergency. It is discovered that instead of total domination by coffee shops, other forms of culinary spaces remain catered by the Instagram account. Examples of other



Figure 2. Saikiwae Ramen (left) and Kampoeng Ramadhan Jogokaryan (right), two non-coffee shop culinary spaces posted by @ke.jogja

culinary spaces can be seen down below in Figure 2. Alternative culinary spaces such as food stalls (such as Saikiwae Ramen), restaurants, festivals (e.g., *Pasar Ramadhan Kauman and Kampung Ramadhan Jogokaryan*) and street market (e.g., *Ketandan Market*) are also found between the congested coffee shop posts. It, therefore, represents that the youth culinary practice in Yogyakarta has been diversified during strong presence of coffee shops.

In the bigger picture, whether it is coffee shops or other culinary spaces, youth identity remains as a subject anchoring and sparking the culinary representation by @ke.jogja. As dissected, @ke.jogja bases its culinary posts upon actual culinary experiences of its youth admins. It, therefore, produced a representation that has a characteristic of being sedimented as well as curated (Márquez et al., 2022)—in which Yogyakarta is particularly framed as a youth fragmented space in accordance with the narrative sculpted in culinary posts. This finding echoes the conceptualization by Hall (1983) which highlights representation as inseparable and intertwining with the subjects' identity involved within. Conceptually, it is established that the produced representation is always in accordance with the contextualization of the subject it represents. In the case of @ke.jogja, the represented subject refers to the identity background of the admins themselves—Zharfan, Bella, and Handiz—as Yogyakarta's youths. Through producing representation, their identity is further enunciated so that it can be recognized in extensive approach (Hall, 1995 in Li, 2000). Herein, the culinary representation by @ke.jogja can be perceived as a way to announce and portray the identity of Yogyakarta's youths today with Instagram posts as its medium. It therefore further engages with the discourse of

Instagram as a discursive space where young people articulate their identities nowadays (O'Donnell, 2018; Prajarto & Purwaningtyas, 2021). Herein, the youth identity articulation produced in online space is tied in a dialectical relationship with the practice in physical realm. The Instagram culinary posts by @ke.jogja, for specific instance, is always formed by the actual culinary practice by the admins in their everyday lives.

Gentrifying Yogyakarta through Instagram representation

Moreover, Instagram culinary posts by @ke.jogja does not simply represent youth identity as fragmented in youth culinary practice and its respective spaces. Rather, it also exposes the underlying force which propels the entirety of youths practice and the material transformation of Yogyakarta's urban setting. Initially, it needs to be emphasized that the prominence of youth-centered culinary practice is always inseparable from the existence of *consumption* as anchor and leitmotif (Aaker, 1982). In the previous discussion, @ke.jogja admins has demonstrated that hanging out at culinary spaces, such as coffee shops, serves as a form of *necessity* for Yogyakarta's youths today. It is hence signified that devouring culinary is motivated by youths' desire to attain self-contentment—which at the end, is fulfilled through *consuming* cuisines and space as a mode of experience (Ahmad et al., 2022). Here, @ke.jogja's representation on Instagram is particularly considered to amplify the ongoing practice of culinary consumption through its continuous *promotion* of culinary spaces—whether in conscious or unconscious manner (Bronsvort & Uitermark, 2022). By publishing culinary posts continuously, culinary consumption has been posited as a subject that is openly *advertised* and *idealized*. Herein, @ke.jogja has encouraged people,

notably youths, to take their part in the everyday practice of culinary consumption. Thus emerges the picturization that @ke.jogja does not only represent culinary consumption as it also encourages the actual culinary consumption by youths. Herein further affirmed that Instagram has become a discursive platform to initiate youth practice in their actual real life (Khalid et al., 2018).

Meanwhile, on the side of culinary spaces, the advertisement of culinary-based consumption by @ke.jogja is interpreted as a motor to attract capital flow—in the form of customers and investors—to manifest further material transformation (Burnett, 2014). In other words, the culinary posts by @ke.jogja are found to benefit culinary spaces who aim for certain material objectives. The initial illustration of this dynamic can be drawn from the explanation of Bella, @ke.jogja's admin. She dissected her observation on how @ke.jogja, through their Instagram posts, has manifested an actual change which is materially beneficial for culinary space:

"I still remember there was this coffee shop that we went to visit in Bantul area a quite long time ago. They have this artsy concept, and their location is pretty cool... On the riverside.... We thought that 'oh it was interesting', so we decided to post them on our account. Just as our usual daily content. But for your information, we also have this funny voiceover, though... [laughing]. Anyway, it turned out that the post attracted a massive amount of attention online. Like really massive! I think people get hyped over the place because of its concept and ambience... especially at night. Then, months later, we visited this coffee shop again.... And you know what... The place has now expanded. I talked with the owner, and he said that it was because they have more visitors now."

It is denoted above that @ke.jogja, through their Instagram culinary posts, has taken part in transforming, if not proliferate

the culinary space in material sense. With their audience reach and engagements, @ke.jogja has magnified the existence of certain culinary spaces to the wider public, which further leads to a material effect towards culinary spaces. As Bella explains, @ke.jogja's culinary posts have attracted more people to visit the culinary space they posted on Instagram. This arrival of new visitors is the foundation of what is considered as the advent of capital flow to the culinary spaces. Herein, the culinary visitors outflow their material capital (i.e., money) to participate in the consumption practice which is profitable for culinary space. Naturally, the profit in the form of material earnings is subsequently utilized by the culinary space to expand and proliferate themselves, materially—to acquire more material earnings. This dynamic thus places @ke.jogja's posts on Instagram to be evident amplifying culinary spaces by allowing expansive material transformation or proliferation of culinary spaces. By amplification, it means that @ke.jogja has allowed more highlights and exposure towards the culinary space so they become becomes more well-known to the potential visitors. Moreover, this material amplification by @ke.jogja appears to be extensive among youths since they are considered as avid social media users and eloquent culinary consumers. As suggested in the previous discussion, youths' everyday practice is heavily influenced by what is popular or trendy on social media. Therefore, Instagram culinary posts by @ke.jogja have somewhat influenced, if not dictated, youths' culinary preference which thereupon initiate their actual visit to culinary spaces. As a result, youths have become an active subject in the amplification of culinary spaces as suggested by Instagram crafted culinary trend. However, in the particular case @ke.jogja, it is still worth noting that culinary space amplification as the result of

Instagram posting is not a universal case. It is because there are also other culinary spaces which are already popular and crowded by visitors, regardless of the follow-up exposure employed by the Instagram account.

However, the particular case emphasized by Bella previously remains as a valid point to be perceived critically. Here, the culinary posts are not only found to affect the culinary scene as reflected in the increase of culinary space visitors. Instead, they also further employ a more significant impact towards the development of Yogyakarta's urban landscape. As encountered in @ke.jogja, the recurring culinary posting on social media has popularized and idealized youth culinary consumption. Subsequently, to accommodate the preference and popularization of this particular practice as crafted in social media, Yogyakarta is now pushed to manifest itself in an alignment. Herein, the widespread and entrenched culinary advertisement has affected, if not directed the current to prospective material development of Yogyakarta as a developing urban region. In this context, this constellation of development is manifested through an excessive growth of youth culinary spaces, such as coffee shops. The explanation by Zharfan below signifies the rapid and massive expansion of coffee shops which is currently happening:

"As someone who now lives in Jakarta to work, I can say that coffee shop culture in Jogja is somewhat more prominent in comparison. Especially if we want to talk about the growing number of coffee shops... It is just very rapid. I observe that there is at the very least... hmm... one... yes, one new coffeeshop every month here. So, I think it might speak about how solid the hanging-out-in-coffee-shop culture is going on."

Implied above, the growth of coffee shops as youth culinary spaces in Yogyakarta

captures this nature of being continuous and prevailing. Zharfan dissects that there is at least one new coffee shop established every month in the region. This excessive increase of coffee shop spaces is thus considered to transform the landscape of Yogyakarta as a whole. This particular development of new culinary spaces contributing to urban material transformation can be traced to the popularization of youth culinary practice on social media. In other words, Instagram culinary accounts such as @ke.jogja do also contribute to the increase and proliferation of youth culinary spaces which further transform Yogyakarta urban landscape as a whole. However, it is important to highlight that Zharfan, as well as other admins of @ke.jogja, might not be conscious that the Instagram account they operate is not only visualizing the growth and widespread of youth culinary spaces in their region.

In the conceptual basis, it is highlighted that social media accounts owning cultural capital—in the form of followers and engagements—to frame a certain region, then direct its prospective development (Zukin, et al., 2017 in Bronsvort and Uitermark, 2022). Through representing and advertising youth culinary spaces such as coffee shops, @ke.jogja does its significant part in defining Yogyakarta by directing its urban material development. Due to @ke.jogja's framing and popularization, youth culinary practice has ended up as a subject which is urged to be accommodated in the actual urban development. Specifically, culinary posts as contemporary forms of advertisements have attracted the interest of capital power to develop culinary spaces (Hyde, 2014). Therefore, the current growth of coffee shops in Yogyakarta, for specific instance, can be interpreted to be also anchored in the recurring posting practice in social media, as what done by @ke.jogja.

This amplification of youth culinary spaces is deemed to be problematic, particularly in the contextualization of Yogyakarta. The occurring massive urge to accommodate the popularized youth culinary practice, as propagated in social media, has led to the worsening of gentrification issue in the regional sphere. The excessive increase of youth culinary spaces, such as coffee shops, is known to be coherent with the mass-conversion of land use (Alkon et al., 2020). Here, the practice of displacement or forced exile becomes unavoidable in exchange to urban development (Lees et al., 2013). Due to the popularization of youth culinary practice, there is this impetus and aspiration to shift land function for the mass development of youth culinary spaces, such as coffee shops or restaurants. In the specific sphere of Yogyakarta, it is usually civil plantations in village settlements which are prone to be converted for this scheme of urban development (Prihatin, 2015; Prasada & Rosa, 2018). Hereby thus occurs the erasure towards the possibilities for the population to access and develop their own land in an empowered and equal manner. Instead, it is the force of capital flow which leads the land conversion to occur in a large-scale and rapid gesture. In corollary, the region is now conquered by the capital owners who perceive the popularization of youth culinary practice as an opportunity to prolong their capital dominance through gentrification.

Alternately, the expansive growth of youth culinary practice in Yogyakarta corresponds to the marginalization of the less-affluent population as shown in two aspects. First, the widespread development of youth culinary spaces has proliferated the region and increase its land value; this occurrence is notably apparent in the extreme soaring prices of housing or property, especially among high-urbanized areas where culinary

spaces are mainly concentrated. As a result, there is a wider distance towards equal access of life-support infrastructure, adding to the list of structural issues which already exist among Yogyakarta's population, such as low minimum wages, poverty, and unequal access to capital resource (Dewi & Rachmawatie, 2020). Second, the popularized youth culinary practices have also materially manifested (culinary) spaces which are only accessible by those with sufficient capital access. Particularly in the contextualization of Yogyakarta where capital access is not fairly distributed among population, culinary spaces do not posit as an inclusive subject as they are not universally and equally accessible by everyone or, specifically, every youth. The construction of culinary spaces instead tends to favor those who are only affluent in term of capital, therefore, plays as an amplifying subject towards gentrification (Cócola-Gant, 2018).

Therefore, here obtained the effect as well as continuity of social media posting by @ke.jogja towards the material reality in the Yogyakarta region. The Instagram culinary posts by @ke.jogja have framed and popularized youth culinary practices which further takes account in the urban development of the Yogyakarta region. Particularly, it is materially reflected in the rapid growth of youth culinary spaces, such as coffee shops, which can be traced to the construction of social media trend as ideas and practices dissemination. In corollary, there is this massive urge to cater to the popularized youth practice forcing the urban development in Yogyakarta to manifest itself in alignment. Herein, @ke.jogja is exposed to own a significant material implication via their practice on Instagram. Their culinary posts are interpreted to not merely represent reality, but also taking part in the process of crafting reality itself. This constellation further affirms

and strengthens the conceptualization by Zukin et al (2017) that online practice and its representation does take account in the transformation of material reality. Specifically, the representation on Instagram is found to possess a symbolic force which is conceptually highlighted to be attributive towards the occurrence of gentrification as a material phenomenon (Zukin, 1996). It is emphasized that representation is posited as a symbolic investment which initiates an actual material investment to develop and proliferate culinary spaces (Zukin, et al., 2017). Here, the culinary posts by @ke.jogja posits themselves as a symbolic investment which attracts and encourages the advent of material investments to expand culinary spaces in terms of number, dimension, and appeal—which further engages with the construction of gentrification in broader sphere. All these dynamics occur for the sake of accommodation and perpetuation of youths culinary practice happening in the Yogyakarta region accordingly.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has unveiled a previously unexplored interrelation between Instagram culinary posts and the construction of gentrification as an urban phenomenon. This intersection signifies an addition of variable within the current discussion of gentrification happening in the specified context of the Yogyakarta region. At base, this research reveals a significant representation of Yogyakarta's youths through culinary posts shared by @ke.jogja on Instagram. These posts depict Yogyakarta's youths as subjects whose identity is closely linked to culinary consumption as a prevalent collective practice in their everyday lives. However, @ke.jogja's culinary posts, in this case, serve not only as representation or symbol. In extensive and

reciprocal manner, their Instagram culinary posts also act as medium which promote and advertise youth-centered culinary consumption to the online audiences. The continuous gesture of culinary postings by @ke.jogja on Instagram has resulted in tangible impact, particularly manifested in the transformation and proliferation of youth-centered culinary spaces. The corollary is specifically noticeable in the rapid growth and development of culinary spaces, especially coffee shops, which aim to align with prevailing youth culinary trends on social media. However, in the specific contextualization of the Yogyakarta region, the increase and proliferation of culinary spaces resulting from culinary advertising on Instagram raises concerns regarding gentrification. It is because the material development based on youth practice does intersects with issues in the urban sphere, such as soaring land prices as well as the creation of (culinary) spaces which are not equally accessible to the Yogyakarta's population in universal manner due to prominent disparities in capital access. Therefore, it is grasped that @ke.jogja's culinary posts have played a constructive role in shaping the material landscape of Yogyakarta as it contributes to the gentrification process in the region. As dissected in this research, there is a crucial interplay found between online representation and actual urban transformation as pictured in the initiation of culinary-based gentrification by Instagram practice.

Declaration of Ownership

This article is our original work.

Conflict of Interest

There is no conflict of interest to declare in this article.

Ethical Clearance

This study was approved by the institution.

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