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Self-Styling, Popular Culture, and the Construction of Global-Local Identity among Japanese Food Lovers in Purwokerto

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ABSTRACT

People are currently faced with the kaleidoscopic flux of dishes, that almost everyone encounters various foods from around the world, one of which is Japanese Food. The presence of Japanese food in Purwokerto City, Central Java is the consequence of the global power with its capability to produce thoughts and ideas, real or illusory, related to their products and all of which influence local values and cultures. This research studies the impacts of globalization as reflected in the formation of identity and lifestyle in connection with Japanese food consumption. The research's objective is to study some powers the decision to consume Japanese food is based on from the perspective of popular culture's influence. The research result shows that according to the participants, media and popular culture products contribute to the formation of layered identities. The globalization of Japanese food consumption culture does not produce cultural homogenization process, as one of many powers in the participants' life, and media has encouraged heterogenization. Through concept and practice of appropriation processes, Japanese food consumption has become part to communicate their cultural identity. The presence of Japanese food is one factor of the emergence of a new lifestyle, namely "Japanese lifestyling", which is one lifestyle practiced by some people of Purwokerto which serves to enrich its consumers' identity to be individuals who attempt to embrace the world through eating experience.

Keywords

Appropriation, cultural homogenization, cultural heterogenization, Japanese lifestyling, food culture

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INTRODUCTION

One of the impacts of globalization is that the society is taken as the subject of an unprecedented process of change. The global power generates thoughts, ideas and notions related to their products and influences local values and cultures, one of which is Japanese food. Japanese food is not only consumed in its country of origin, but is present and becomes a favorite outside Japan, including Indonesia. It is

not only present in Indonesia in the form of food itself, but also through magazines, newspapers,

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cooking books, and particularly manga, anime, TV show and Japanese dramas, even long before they are actually present at surrounding restaurants or shops.

According to JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization), for ASEAN territory, Indonesia is the second biggest target after Thailand as the target country of Japanese culinary development (Jetro, 2013)¹. Therefore, Indonesia is deemed as one country which massively accepts the influence of Japanese culture, as shown with successful distribution of Japanese popular cultures, such as anime, manga, music and fashion, which serve as entrepreneurial opportunities for youths, which has currently reached to culinary business. This may be identified with the presence of Japanese food with any of its variations as we may find from luxurious restaurants to cafés, shops and stands on the roadside. Japanese food has become one outdoor culinary destination of the Indonesians (Wicaksono, 2013; Pinilih & Shaferi, 2015).

This research aims at investigating media's influence on the decision to consume Japanese food by exploring how Japanese popular cultures (manga, anime, etc.) influence the sense of cultural identity and how this identity is later expressed through a decision to consume Japanese food. The decision to focus on the channels is based on the fact that Japanese popular cultures are the media which present much information of the lifestyle phenomena. This study investigates the impacts of globalization as reflected in formation of identity and lifestyle with regard to Japanese food consumption by the people of Purwokerto, Central Java.

Through an ethnographic research, this study is based on three big questions: First, does Japanese food consumption influence Purwokerto society's 'sense of cultural identity'? Second, does Japanese food consumption, which is present through magazines, televisions or internet, lead to Purwokerto society's cultural homogeneity or cultural heterogeneity? Third,

how is the homogeneity or heterogeneity expressed through Purwokerto society's lifestyle?

Globalization: Global-Local Connection

Giddens (1990) states that globalization will lead to an intensification of social relation which connects one place with another allowing a certain implication as the result of an event occurring in a geographically distant place.

The intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by event occurring many miles away and vice versa....social relations within locale or place are being 'disembedded' and '...lifted out' from local contexts of interaction and restructured across time and space."²

The existing social relation is a global relation, such as one occurring with a local eating habit influenced by an eating habit from another corner of the world. Local activities are formed by 'events existing tens of kilometers away'. This means that various celebrations or other events occurring in a place are clearly influenced and formed by events existing kilometers away. This is the effect of globalization with regard to time narrowing. In addition, the concept of distance also changes. Robertson (1992) reveals something which may well explain spatial distance in globalization as follows:

Globalization as a concept refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole...both concrete global interdependence and consciousness of the global whole in the twentieth century."³

Furthermore, Laksono (2009, p. 9) argues that in the globalization process, there are processes of adaptation or resistance to the incoming waves, both locally and regionally.

Therefore, every region is touched by global interconnection which makes local communities or localities in all corners of the world can no longer be deemed isolated and exotic communities⁴. This research employs the globalization approach as the basic framework to get an understanding of localization process which will illustrate the global-local connecting process of Japanese eating culture in Purwokerto. The global-local relation serves as the reference of how interaction is performed by local community in the process to go worldwide through eating experience. This globalization approach views how the existing process is a non-linear, unavoidable process which seems to make local culture eliminated, overlapped (Appadurai, 1996) and disconnected (Appadurai, 1990; 1996).

Mediated Globalization

Global-local relation serves as the reference of how interaction is performed by local community in the process to go worldwide through eating experience. This globalization approach views how the existing process is a non-linear, unavoidable process which seems to make local culture eliminated, overlapped (and disconnected (Appadurai, 1990; 1996). Another interesting thing is the concept of mediated globalization, which is a process of going worldwide occurring through media and communication (Rantanen, 2005, p. 8). In other words, humans in the world connect with each other because of global current's influence brought by media.

The idea of the concept of mediated globalization refers to the fact that an individual or community may remain living in a place physically, but may become the subject of or play an active role in the globalization process, as stated by Tomlinson (1999, p. 150) that "Though increased physical mobility is an important cultural aspect of global modernity as a whole, it is fair to say that for most people most of the time is the impact of globalization is felt not in travel but in staying at home." He

states that although human's increased physical mobility is an important cultural aspect in the global modernity, but for most people, the globalization aspect which is felt is not in travel, but in the aspect of not going anywhere physically or, in other words, staying at home.

Mazzarella (2004, p. 356) states that the concept of mediation is the main concept in viewing culture in the framework of globalization phenomena. Globalization causes changes to the concept of culture of which initial boundaries are clear to be something very complex. The fact influences the cultures and identity of a group of community which are initially clear (differences and similarities) to be difficult to identify. In observance of this, Mazzarella proposes the concept of mediation through information technology development as embodied in the main form of mass media. Furthermore, mass media serves as the key aspect to create significant values in a culture. Mazzarella optimistically views the existing process in media's work as the one to form culture itself.

Globalization allows foods and eating cultures from all corners of the world to move across space and time. Therefore, it is not surprising that we find various typical foods of other regions in a place and that almost everyone throughout the world has become fanatic consumer of goods or foods from out of their own geographical area. Such a condition may be illustrated with a term "*kaleidoscopic flux of dishes*", a condition where various foods come from around the world (Laemmerhirt, 2010, p. 232). This fact allows an individual to have an adventure of taste, have a taste of and consume various foods from around the world without having to leave their home or domestic territory.

Glocalization: A Melting-Pot of the Global and the Local

One characteristic of globalization is open possibilities of global and local interaction (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 181). Contemporary eating

culture cannot be separated from the concept of globalization. Cultural globalization has created a cultural space where there are, on one hand, cultural uniformity, homogenization and cultural imperialism; on the other hand, there are very complex cultural crossing, exchange and enriching (Piliang, 2009)⁵.

The issues presented by globalization such as Americanization, new colonization and cultural imperialism are criticized, for example, by a view which tends to see that globalization also creates cultural adaptation and accommodation through a process called by Roland Robertson (1995, p. 145) as 'glocalization'. The term is adopted from Japanese language, *dochakuka*⁶. In a conference "Globalization and Indigeneous Culture" in 1997, Robertson states that glocalization 'means simultaneous emergence of universal and centralized tendency'. Some state it as *think globally and act locally* (Sigismondi, 2005) and *globalization with local flavor* (Budiharjo, 2015). We may state that glocalization is an attempt to adapt a product or service for it to be accepted throughout the world, in adaptation to local taste and needs. The adaptation does not necessarily change the product, but a change in marketing strategy may be sufficient to draw a new market from a new community.

Globalization illustrates that eating cultures are moving, taken or moved from their roots, from their region or place of origin and distributed to other places throughout the world. In its journey, when they meet and interact with other eating cultures, they create new hybrid culture. We here find the impact of cultural diffusion and corporate glocalization. In this case, the researchers will investigate what and how global media's exposure to the respondents will influence their identity formation, particularly regarding global-local identity formation formed and conveyed through consumption style.

Hybridization and Appropriation Strategy

The emergence of glocalization will in turn lead to cultural complexions called by Canclini (1995) as "hybrid culture" or as cultural logics of globalization as stated by Kraidy (2005) as "hybridity" or 'glocal culture', since globalization itself is a process of 'hybridization', as revealed by Neverdeen Pieterse "globalization as hybridization" (Ibrahim & Akhmad, 2014, p. 27). Hybridization may also be called mixing or fusion. In this case, there is mixing of food material, cooking method, serving method and how to eat a dish which then produces new, previously unimaginable culinary culture. Hybridization process is a creative process to combine various aspects of a food in a creolization process. Pieterse (2004) states that improved quality and quantity are expected in this fusion process. The fusion takes place with an element which is deemed excellent, which is then taken and combined with other element which is also deemed excellent.

Appropriation is a process to adapt to the taste, to adopt terms used and use the existing surrounding materials, make them different and bias original culture. Appropriation is an act to make something foreign to be 'its own' (Laksono, 2009, p. 19). The concept of appropriation assumes that when an individual buys and uses an object, he will willingly or unwillingly modify it by trying to fuse it into daily routines. A process where an individual makes his own goods and makes them suitable for him is called 'appropriation working method' (Carrier, 1995; Miller 1987 in Niva, 2008).

The researchers assume that one of the interesting aspects in this research is the possibility to explore further the respondents' possible hybrid identity. The discussion will continue to explore of to what extent media has encouraged creation of mixed identity. It will also explore the behavior of how Japanese food has been used to express hybridity.

Food, Culinary, and Popular Culture

Food is more than just a fuel for bodies. It is a site of consumption process, pleasure, morality and art. As Krishnendu Ray (2007, p. 57) asserts the “very visibility of something that was mundane, trivial, and habitual is somewhat embarrassing but the source of discomfort for some may be the dissolution of boundary between the life world and the art world”. Meanwhile, Chamberlain (2004, p. 468) concurs that food permeates relationship between humans, enters language and imagination worlds and exists around human life. Food as popular culture exists saturating human visual and sensory modes through television, magazine, newspaper, specialist food blogs and recipes sharing sites (Chamberlain, 2004).

Through print culture, broadcasting, advertisement and branding, food enters capitalism domain, as formation of wish or desire and distribution of certain food through cultural rules or codes of mass media. Media culture is a cultural industry organized with mass production model and shown to mass audiences pursuant to certain type, rule and code. Media culture integrates culture and technology. Media culture leads audience, defines what is deemed good and bad, positive or negative and more or immoral (Keller, 1995, p. 1). Media culture show shows which eating behaviors are healthy and which are unhealthy, who may consume such food and where to consume. The presence of food in mass media makes food as part of popular culture.

Popular culture may influence individual's change in taste to choose a food. Individual's acceptance of a popular culture may change the society's behavioral pattern. Initially, all issues of taste are deemed individual, private, subjective and entirely personal. Taste is a preference which is based only on personal interest. However, according to Bourdieu (1984), taste is not something natural. In his opinion, taste is not a person's 'choice'. It is a social construction which is built, particularly through education and nurturing. In further process, taste serves as

a signifier of social status. He explains how taste is formed socially and serves as the 'differentiator' of individual's social status. In addition, the proponent of French eating culture 'Brillat-Savarin' states that we may identify a person's personality and a country's culture from the food they consume continuously “*Tell me what you eat, and I will tell you what you are.*”

In this context, eating culture actually cannot be understood monodisciplinarily, such as anthropology, psychology or sociology. Reviewing food in human life actually reaches the domain of how humans construct meaning personally, which is at the same time constructed by socio-cultural situations in which there is power relation. Eating culture has become part of cultural studies. Ashley et al. (2004) then seriously studies food from the perspective of cultural study. For almost a decade, cultural studies explore food issues in relation to the history and textual analysis of food media, such as recipe books, cooking program in television, emergence of celebrity chefs and eating out practice.

Here, popular culture becomes an arena of contestation where new narrations, change in identity and its practice become part of contemporary subject making. This is made by making projection of the future, searching for alternative reality and proving that various interests, closeness and aspirations or a collective imagination may become the background of social agent or movement. In this case, imagination may be political, since it comes to form and regulate a social practice and discourse (Appadurai, 1996, p. 4).

In this domain, the relation between food and popular culture is built when eating activity is human's very important experience which depends on material, physique and body. We are aware of how complicated the relation between body and imagined reality, such as desire, imagination, memory and dream existing in and around body which influence individual's growth is. Where do the desire, imagination, memory and dream come from? Parasecoli

(2008) states that imagination, image or idea will be out of the body but keep shadowing our thought, which is derived from exposure to popular culture. In his opinion, popular culture contains visual element, idea, practice and discourse which influence the body, regarding what we eat and use through all systems which will ensure that we will obtain what we imagine with all of social and political consequences (Parasecoli, 2008).

Fiske (in Suwarno, 2012, p. 13) states that popular culture is new culture and will keep developing in line with the development of information media as the consequence of globalization. Food as one form of popular culture which has reached many countries is closely related to the globalization process. 'Food and globalization cannot be separated' said Alexander Nutzenadel and Frank Trentman (2008, p. 1). In their opinion, there is relatively high correlation between globalization process and food, where food may trigger globalization movement, while globalization may change perception of food.

Furthermore, Ibrahim (in Suwarno, 2013, p. 3) states that popular culture contains elements which are not only related to art and norms, but also contains political values of how cultural productions progress. The relation between popular culture and food lies on how popular culture may influence our decision to choose, buy, consume and enjoy food. In addition, the worldwide distribution of communication media presents us information of what we should eat and how we should live our life, how to live a lifestyle.

Lifestyle and Symbolic Consumption

Review on lifestyle and consumption may, for example, be viewed from food choice. Globalization and economic growth, according to Belk (in Chua, 2002, p. 5), do not only change community's lifestyle, but also change the function of community's consumption. Consumption becomes part of lifestyle which

then becomes the media to construct identity by consuming goods.

Gerke (2002) states that in China and Indonesia, identity and status construction shown through consumer product are unavoidable, that eventually social meaning becomes inherent in goods. This leads to interrelation between the expansions aspects of consumerism to be mid-class lifestyle in Indonesia. The increase in the number of mid-class society is closely related to educational system improvement, thus there is a hope for upward mobility, better income, consumption improvement and lifestyle. This may be observed from an increased number of ownerships of private cars, private motorcycles and modern housing complex.

Furthermore, Gerke (2002) also reveals that the Indonesian mid-class society is not equal to that of other countries such as Europe, America and Asia. The characteristics and identification of the Indonesian mid-class society cannot be grouped based on their occupation, education and income. Gerke (2002, p. 145) states that in Indonesia there is no clear line between mid-class and other social classes, thus it is difficult to identify who are in mid-class and who are not when the parameters for developing countries are used. The classical parameters commonly used to identify mid-class in America and Europe (SES=occupation, income, education) cannot be used to explain the Indonesian mid-class. Gerke concludes that the Indonesian mid-class grouping cannot be made with the three parameters, but with social behavior and lifestyle.

He states that the Indonesians tend to view individual's social class through the lifestyle they choose and show, although the Indonesian mid-class society is economically weak. Such a behavior is called by Gerke as *lifestyling*. "*Lifestyling refers to the symbolic dimension of consumption and can be defined as the display of standard of living that one is in fact unable to afford*" (Gerke, 2002, p. 137).

It is an act made to show certain social class identity by consuming various items which represent that class but without buying or consuming the real items. This symbolic consumption is also said to be virtual consumption used in place of real consumption. This virtual consumption is called by Gerke as a substitute for real consumption, thus showing modern symbols is a substitute for buying items of that lifestyle (Gerke, 2002). Pambudy (2012) calls they who make this lifestyling like to consume and imitate. In his research, the researchers will try to observe the functions of Japanese food consumption by the Purwokerto society, whether to the Purwokerto society, Japanese food is part of real consumption and also shows symbolic consumption as revealed by Gerke.

Globalization of Japanese Food

Based on the investigation summarized by the research team of *tirto.id*, an online media or site which presents news, article and infographics (Wibisono, 2017), the presence of Japanese food in Indonesia may roughly be divided into four generations. The first generation, Japanese food was present in restaurant *Kikugawa* established by Kikuchi Surutake in 1969. The second generation, restaurants emerging in 1970-1980s, namely restaurant *Keyaki*, a Japanese restaurant at Sari Pan Pacific Hotel, and *Hoka-Hoka Bento*, the first fast food restaurant in Indonesia, established by Hendra Arifin in 1985. The third generation, restaurant emerging in 1990-2000, such as *Ajihara*, located in Melawai which is known as *Little Tokyo*, and *Tenpura Hana*, a Japanese restaurant in Yogyakarta. The fourth generation, restaurants which were present in 2000 and later, such as *Pepper Lunch*, *Yoshinoya*, *Marugame Seimen*, *Aeon Mall* (the first Japanese styled shopping center in Indonesia, located in BSD City, Tangerang) and *Yamazaki Baking* (Japanese biggest bread company which produces *Myroti*).

Japanese food is not only consumed in its country of origin, but is also present and favorite

of people outside Japan, one of which is Indonesia. Culinary enthusiasts in the country are getting more familiar with *yakiniku*, *sushi*, *shabu-shabu*, *sukiyaki*, *udon* as well as *takoyaki* and *matcha* (Halo Jepang, 2014, p. 22). As reported by tabloid *Halo Jepang* on December 28, 2012, although many foreign culinary foods enter Indonesia, but the foods and drinks from this Land of the Rising Sun shows an increasing trend, as may be viewed from 19 Japanese snack and soft drink companies' plan to enter Indonesian market in 2013. These products may be easily obtained in supermarkets, such as *miso* (Japanese typical fermented soybean), *shoyu* (Japanese salty ketchup), peppermint, ice cream, biscuit, bread, spices, Kewpie mayonnaise and *shitake* (mushroom

Japanese food is not only popular in big cities, but also in small city, such as Purwokerto, a city in Central Java. Here, we may find various types of restaurants, stalls or shops which serve various Japanese delicacies on the sides of main streets. Everything is within reach, where we do not necessarily go to Japan to enjoy *sushi*, *sashimi*, *ramen*, *udon*, or snacks such as *okonomiyaki* and *takoyaki*. Japanese menu is even present in renowned American based fried chicken fast food outlets, *Kentucky Fried Chicken* (KFC). This new menu is named *KFC bento*, warm serving of rice box with chicken strips as its topping and sauce (there are choices of sauces, including *Barbeque*, *Blackpepper* and *Oriental*) and the latest one is *Japanese Teriyaki* sauce.

Until now, KFC remains the only existing outlet of fast food fried chicken specific international franchise in Purwokerto. One of the evidences of its distribution may be observed with various Japanese terms, such as *sushi* and *tempura* which are used without translation into any target language. Similarly, many Japanese words are adopted by world language dictionaries. For example, in the English-Japanese dictionary *Shogakukan Random House* there are 950 words derived from Japanese. By genre, the cuisine and food related

words in the dictionary are dominating (Kumakura, 2000).

METHOD

This research was conducted in the paradigm of cultural and media studies, a research on the people's lives which had been influenced by globalization, particularly culturally, and focuses on how its relation with identity and lifestyle which have become the main theme of cultural studies (Barker & Dariusz, 2001, p. 2). Besides studying the impacts of globalization on culture, this research also studied the impacts of media. This approach was taken in attempt to explore the influence of media in the form of television, internet and magazine. During the research on cultural identity, the researchers assumed there was significant relationship between media roles, particularly when culture was deemed 'a life order where humans build meaning through practice of symbolic representation' (Tomlinson, 1999, p. 18).

Meanwhile, Tomaselli (2005, p. 35) states that cultural and media studies emphasize criticism and interpretation, based on which this research employed the interpretative and constructive approaches. Since this research was related to cultural identity and its form of expression as identified through consumption activity, the interpretative approach was employed in attempt to explore "how people understand their social world and how they express it through personal style and social ritual."

The research then explored the media's consumption aspect and the respondents' eating method or lifestyle. The research would study how these two things influence each other and create meaning. The fact was based on the assumption of cultural and media studies that the fact was present, deliberately built and constructed, instead of just found (Tomaselli, 2005, p. 39). Based on the two approaches employed, the authors hoped to explore how media constructed the meaning and reality for the respondents, with the emphasis on how the respondents made appropriation which then

constructed the meaning and interpreted it in their respective way, and they eventually found a way to express it through their taste of food consumption.

The research subjects were the people of Purwokerto who consume Japanese food and Japanese restaurant owners. Meanwhile, the research object was Japanese food and Japanese food interpretation process made by Purwokerto society. The research on consumption experience was conducted with three groups of the society, namely those who came to restaurant and chose to eat Japanese food, those who came to Japanese festival and Japanese food business owners or entrepreneurs.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Japanese Food in Purwokerto

Purwokerto is the capital of Banyumas Regency, Central Java, situated on the slope of Mount Slamet and where the biggest river in Java Island, Serayu, passes through. Purwokerto is a small city in the western part of Central Java, renowned as the center of Banyumasan culture. In the context of Javanese culture development, Koentjaraningrat (1984) states that Banyumas is an integral part of Javanese culture. In regard to typical food, Purwokerto is currently not only known for its *mendoan*⁷, that its culinary delicacies get wider and richer. The presence of foreign food starts to enrich the people's taste. The modern menus and delicacies which are commonly only present in big cities start to be present in this city of *kripik*, from restaurants which serve Western styled cuisine, typical of Italia, Pizza Hut, and doughnut shop with a brand of J-Co, XO Suki Signature to cafes which offer country specific cuisine like *sushi* and *kimchi*.

The Japanese style in Purwokerto may be considered something interesting considering that the development and distribution of Japanese culture does not only take place in big cities, of which connectedness with Japan is higher and more varied. Similarly, there are no really many Japanese people in Purwokerto, and

we may even state that there is no company with Japan's investment there, even if Japanese industrial products may be easily found, from household instruments to vehicles on the road.

However, it does mean that the interest of people of Purwokerto—particularly the youths—in Japanese culture non-existing at all. This may be observed from the lively Japanese festival held almost once annually and the emergence of Japanese culture lover groups *Harajuku Nation* (Hana, established March 2008), *J-Fans* (established January 1, 2010) and *Pujakomu* (Purwokerto Japanese Community, established April 1, 2010 on Facebook and June, 2012 on Twitter @pujakomu).

The Japanese cultural communities regularly hold Japanese events, one of which is *J-Fest* which was held on May 2017. Based on the data obtained from *akihabaranation.com*⁸, in Purwokerto and its surrounding there are about 11 (eleven) Japanese culture lover communities. Their existence is supported with the establishment of Japanese Literature Study Program in Jenderal Soedirman University, which presents Japanese performance or event under *Festifal Jepang Unsoed (FJU)*, held at least once annually since 2011 in Purwokerto.

There were various competitions in the Japanese cultural festival, including eating *sushi*, *takoyaki* and *ramendoan* (abbreviation of *Ramen* and *Mendoan*) as shown by Figure 1, which was eating *ramen* with *mendoan* as one of its toppings. This *ramendoan* was served by putting a piece of *mendoan* on top of ramen. The committee required the participants to eat ramen using chopsticks and slurp the soup. “We put *mendoan* in order to preserve our culture, of which flavor is not inferior to that of foreign cuisine. The ramen soup must be slurped, intending to introduce Japanese culture” (Mega, FJU committee, interviewed on March 3, 2017 in Purwokerto).

There is *Oramen*, a restaurant which carries the theme ‘Japanese ramen shop with Banyumasan flavor’, always full of visitors, most of them are of Junior and Senior High School students. The restaurant, open December 12, 2012, names itself ‘*Oramen*’ so it is easy to remember. The word ‘*ora*’ in Banyumas language means ‘not’ or ‘no’, thus *Oramen* means it is not original Japanese *ramen* noodle, but Banyumasan *ramen* noodle instead. This *Oramen* shop serves the main menu *Ramen* with some variations such as *Seafood Ramen* (Masamune), *Sausage Ramen* (Ieyasu Tokugawa), *Beef Ramen* (Oda Nobunaga) and *Chicken Ramen* (Sanada Yukimura).

The Japanese nuance is not only inherent in food menu, but also in the interior design. Japanese restaurant, including in restaurant specialization category, has tone and decoration in adaptation to the typicality of food served (Marsum, 2005, p. 11). The concept carried by Japanese restaurant is Japanese culture, which may be observed through its interior ornaments with bamboo, cherry blossoms and *kawaii* nuances.

The cooking process is also not different from that of Japanese culture, for example with kitchen at the front. In addition, the waiter/waitress and the cook also wear Japanese typical suit and *hachimaki* (headband), politely saying *irasshaimase* (welcome) and *konnichiwa* (good



Figure 1. Ramendoan (source: instagram hijasu unsoed)

One activity which attracts visitors' attention the most was music and feast events.

afternoon), as may be found in Japanese restaurant “Warung Jejepangan” (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Warung Jejepangan (source: research documentation)

Situation in ‘Warung Jejepangan’, serving *teppanyaki* and ramen, kitchen outside of restaurant, with interior dominated by various Japanese ornaments and bamboo nuance. Furthermore, Japanese food may also be found at restaurant Hangout café & Restaurant, namely “Sushi Ngapak Banyumasan”. The restaurant, which is situated at Jalan HR. Bunyamin No 41 Bancar Kembar, Purwokerto offers ‘sushi ngapak’ consisting of *Sushi Nyelekamin*, *Sushi Mbamba*, *Sushi Njetor*, *Sushi Sementlep*, *Sushi Njeblug*, *Sushi Semreset*, *Sushi Remed’s*, *Sushi Kemriyik* and *Sushi Nyelekitho*.



Figure 3. Sushi Ngapak Banyumasan (source: Instagram Hangout café)

The *sushi ngapak* dish is included in the *makizushi* and *nigirizushi* groups, which is *sushi* made by clenching cooked rice and making it oval, with various toppings added on top of it. *Sushi Ngapak*, besides using Banyumasan or ngapak term, in addition to sliced cooked fish, cayenne pepper and onion topping (*Sushi Sementlep*) as well as *sambal uleg* (*Sushi Njetor*) are also added (Figure 3). These types of sushi are offered ranging from 27 thousand to 34 thousand Rupiahs.

Some Japanese food creations in Purwokerto (Figure 4) are presented below. In the figure, the *sushi* offered is not like that commonly served by Japanese people, since its shape has been modified into that of doughnut (a) and of heart (b).



Figure 4. Type of culinary is a result of the collaboration of Banyumas and Japan taste that offered in Purwokerto (source: research documentation)

Takeshi Gen is a food stall in the form of cart, situated at Jalan Bunyamin in front of Faculty of social Sciences Unsoed, and serves *sushi* and *mie ayam* (see Figure 4, part c.). In addition, there is also Japanese food *donburi* (white cooked rice with various side dishes and vegetables on top of it served in a large bowl)

offered by *Cafe Djoeragan Purwokerto*, under the name of *Kimono Teriyaki* and *Kimono Cheese* (*kimono* is Japanese traditional garment) (see Figure 4, part d).

Media, Popular Culture, and the Imagination of Japan

Japanese food is one type of food which attracts many people's attention in the world, one of whose is Dian (36 years old), a Javanese woman living in East Purwokerto. Her knowledge of Japanese food is the result of reading and information collected from media such as TV show and posts in social media. She presented her opinion of Japanese food at *Hokke Sushi*, a restaurant serving Japanese food fusion.

I got to know Japanese food like sushi, sashimi and ramen from television shows and from friends' posts in social media, Instagram and Facebook (Dian, 35 years old, interviewed on February 25, 2017, Purwokerto).

For Dian, Japanese food had become part of introduction to knowledge and widening of discourse, "*Supaya tidak dianggap ndeso* (not to be deemed rustic)," she said. She stated that Japanese food was a choice of eating out for health reason (not using much oil, cheese or salt) and she was happy when her only child liked Japanese food since it was deemed to make her child smart (consume fish in *sashimi* and *sushi*). However, with regard to taste, Dian said that she had Indonesian original taste, prefer Javanese or Padang cuisine for daily consumption.

Meanwhile, Cincin (37 years old, owner of Japanese restaurant, *Hokke Sushi*) revealed her knowledge of Japanese food when she was adolescent (born and growing in Jakarta) and when she was in a study overseas. Cincin who grew in a Chinese family expressed her concern about the high use of MSG in Chinese cuisine. This encourages her and her husband to open a Japanese restaurant. Besides health concern, she also observed that Japanese food becomes a

trend in big cities like Jakarta and Yogyakarta. She observed that the awareness of health does not only occur to her, but also most of the Purwokerto society.

Other Japanese food business owners, Sheila (22 years old, student, born to Javanese family, owner of *Sansei Food*) and Icha (24 years old, student, and owner of restaurant *Oramen*) stated that the background of their food business was inspired by Japanese food. The two students consider Japanese food as one favored by the youths and targeted school children (Junior and Senior High School students) as well as college students. They had not ever been to Japan, and the information of Japanese food was acquired from the internet.

This *Sansei food* is the joint business between I and my younger sister. She liked cooking and learnt the recipes and how to cook *Sansei Food* from the internet, Youtube, self-trial, found it delicious, and got an idea to sell it. Why choosing Japanese food to sell? Well, besides deliciousness and preference, we see it is the current trend, popular among the youths and adolescents. It is simple to consume, delicious, nutritious and may be made affordable. It is quite suitable for college students (Sheila, 22 years old, interviewed on February 13, 2017, Purwokerto).

In the young mothers' opinion (Dian and Cincin), Japanese food is good for consumption by children since it is healthy and its fish-based material may make them smart. The knowledge of Japanese was obtained from television shows, such as *TV Champion*, *Waku Waku Japan* and *Channel Japan* in Metro TV. Cooking and cuisine show are one of the themes they love.

However, a slightly different reason was given by Shela (21 years old) and Lina (18 years old), that they consumed Japanese food since they wanted to try what they had read in manga and watch in anime. They wanted to taste what they had found so far in books, television, social media or internet. They wanted to confirm the

images and information they obtained of Japanese food from the media they read and watched. Was it really tasteful just like what they had imagined?

My hobbies are watching drama and anime and reading manga. I frequently saw Japanese people eating ramen, sushi, takoyaki, sashimi and bento. I have longed to have a taste of them that I haven't ever been to the Land of the Rising Sun, thus I could only drooling over them. Fortunately, it happened to exist in my own town, making me very happy. Reading reviews in Instagram, there were some good places with delicious affordable food, and I immediately went there. Ah., I'm so happy...even though it is surely different from the original taste in its country of origin, but it is alright for now (Shela, 21 years old, interviewed on March 20, 2017, Purwokerto).

For Dian, Cincin, Shela and Lina, their knowledge of Japanese food is clearly obtained from media and popular culture products, which are the main factor of further process: consumption. Their acquired knowledge results in imagination of Japanese food which may make them healthy, smart with its cute and interesting shapes, making them try to have a taste of it. Media exposure presents knowledge of various foreign foods, including Japanese food, which Dian, Cincin, Shela and Lina perceive to widen their horizon or insight of the world.

Through media and popular culture products, they are exposed to new methods of consuming food, trying completely foreign foods (for example, trying to consume *sashimi* and *wasabi*), instead of giving negative perception, for example because of commonly used materials (such as *mirin* or other materials/ingredients with alcohol content). They enjoy reading and watching anything about Japan through TV shows, *anime*, *manga* and many posts in internet and social media. These media channels make them adventure to a new place, Japan (as done by Cincin and Shela).

The presence of foreign foods in our environment starts with frequent TV broadcasts like *Asian Food Channel*, *Waku waku Japan*, domestic cooking shows which are presented in more interesting ways, travel books, magazines and tabloids specially discussing foods and how to make them, posts of recipes at social media flooding our timeline. Information of various types of food materials, cuisines, cooking processes, and origin of cuisines, cooking methods and info of new restaurants almost emerges every day, filling our mind through our senses of hearing and sight.

Furthermore, after getting to know of Japanese eating culture in television, our desire to try emerges. The presence of restaurants or food shops which serve Japanese food in Purwokerto and various Japanese typical food materials or ingredients sold are welcome well by Japanese pop culture lovers. The presence of restaurants or food shops increases the snacking behavior, while the presence of Japanese typical food materials or cooking ingredients causes cooking at home behavior.

We may state that the respondents have successfully caught the important essence of mediated globalization, where currently the media may provide easy and quick access to distant places without having to travel there physically. Through media and popular culture products, the respondents have successfully explored their imagination since they have explored the world without leaving their home (Barker, 1999, p. 3). Some of the Purwokerto society's hunt of Japanese food in restaurants and food shops and trial to make Japanese food at home to have an adventure of taste open new different things, making them knowledgeable of Japanese culture.

In other words, Japanese food serves as the media to explore and build a new identity as modern and cosmopolitan society. Although the respondents' Javanese and Chinese cultural identities become the eating taste foundation, but media exposure have contributed to their eating taste. What they have received through

media and popular culture products present different variations of experiences and widens their insight of food consumption.

Homogenization and Heterogenization in Food World: Getting more similar taste or unique taste?

Regarding the meeting of local and global cultures, when it is assumed that the “local” is at a subordinate position and the “global” at a dominating position, and with the understanding that it gets more difficult to change the taste of a food, the meeting of Japanese and Purwokerto cultures will cause tension, leading to tactics or strategy as an effort to live together.

The Purwokerto society has different eating culture from that of Japanese people, from the food materials used, ingredient, and cooking method to how to serve it. The Purwokerto society does not know any cuisine served with raw materials, that almost all cuisines have strong taste, with varied cooking method and simultaneous serving and everyone may take cooked rice, side dish and vegetable of their choice themselves. The underlying difference between Japanese food and Purwokerto food is on the material used, raw fish.

Nuri (22 years old), a college student, states that the first impression in her mind of Japanese cuisine, particularly with raw fish as its material, is unhealthy, hazardous, fishy, strange taste and goose bumps. “How can raw fish be eaten?” she said. In addition, Ajeng (23 years old) said,

Living in a small town like this, at subdistrict town, with eating hobby, requires me to think smartly of how to taste delicious food without having to go out of town. Plus, there is no Go-food of my favorite cuisines here, I have to choose go-dapur application, Sushi-sushian, steak-steakan, ramen-ramenan, bento-bentoan, since I like all of these types of food, but they must have Indonesian taste. Thus, be it Western, Japanese or Korean, it must be modified

to adapt to my original taste, with Indonesian spices and ingredients. For example, sushi. I do not eat raw food, thus all ingredients of sushi will be made cooked, with original Indonesian taste (Ajeng, interviewed on March 20, 2017, Purwokerto).

Of what expressed by Ajeng above, we may assume that it is difficult to compromise the choice of taste. A taste which has been tasted since childhood, even from pregnancy can hardly be replaced by other or different taste. Rejection of raw fish’s fishy smell is the result of cultural learning. The instilled definition that non-cooked flesh consumption is hazardous that it contains bacteria makes the taste of raw fish not present.

Japanese food is one choice of food for the Purwokerto society. Initially consumed only at expensive restaurant, *sushi* may currently be found at Toko Aroma as well as other fast food traditional cuisines, and *takoyaki* may currently be easily found and deemed snack for school children. In addition, Japanese typical spices such as *teriyaki* and *nori* are currently not considered unique, exotic foods which are difficult to obtain. Although Japanese food is acceptable to the Purwokerto society, however, their presence does not always form homogenization process. In the face of globalization flow in the form of the presence of cultural flow of Japanese food, local community strongly responds to it by restraining the incoming cultural flow of Japanese food by mixing it and creating hybrid products.

We may observe this from the various Japanese food products offered by some restaurants. In this regard, we may observe that the globalization flow does not necessarily create cultural homogenization, since hybridization and fragmentation take place in the field with relatively equal power.

The heterogeneity aspect also seems to be the result of Japanese eating culture exposure in Purwokerto, with not only enjoying its own typical traditional food, but also Japanese

typical foods/drinks, such as *sushi*, *ramen*, *tempura*, *takoyaki*, *ocha*, etc. The people of Purwokerto have currently created new menus using Japanese typical foods or ingredients, such as *nori*, *teriyaki* ingredient, and *ocha* drinks. The cultural mixing phenomena are called hybridization process, which cannot be separated from the appropriation strategy, since hybridization phenomena in the form of combination, crossing or mixture may be a combination of basic ingredients, mixed ingredients, mixed cooking techniques, mixed tastes, etc. Such hybridization is commonly made by performing an appropriation strategy, which is borrowing material, form, technique, style, etc.

In regard to Japanese food, the Purwokerto society negotiates their taste and flavor, and its presence results in various cuisines as a combination of taste and flavor, as may be observed from creation of *Ramendoan* (Figure 1) and *Sushi Ngapak Banyumasan* (Figure 3). The practice of mixing of two or more eating cultures is called a work of hybrid, which is a mixture of two or more certain food materials, cooking techniques or cultural elements in a work as shown in Figure 4.

The field result shows appropriation to Japanese food may be classified into two, namely conceptual appropriation and practical appropriation. The main idea of the conceptual appropriation concept is to understand that an object (something which may be observed and perceived by senses) carries and has meaning, and in the object there is human's daily thinking. Objects around humans do not only exist physically, but also in 'human's mind' as seen in how we view and think of the world. This conceptual appropriation does not completely work individually; they occur in social-cultural scope, forming meaning of the object or commodity.

The existing conceptual appropriation to Japanese food includes, first, regarding the new view of health, constituting the change in view of Japanese food from 'Nauseating to delicious' or

'from yucs to yummy'. This change opens a new insight of healthy food, which is raw fish based foods, *sushi* and *sashimi*. The respondents' first experience of tasting *sashimi* (raw sliced flesh eaten raw) and *sushi* (seasoned clenched cooked rice with various sliced raw fishes) is something uncomfortable. Raw food, in this case sliced fish flesh, is not part of the Purwokerto society's eating culture. Their animal based food should be fully cooked in order to remove any existing bacteria. For acceptance (without feeling nauseated or disgusted when consuming raw fish), the idea of raw food is adapted by covering it with healthy food idea, that the sliced raw fish flesh in *sushi* is nutritious and good for the body. Moreover, a group of mothers clearly explain to their children that eating raw fish is one way to be smarter.

The second conceptual appropriation, regarding beliefs and risks. The presence of Japanese food is considered by most of the respondents as something good, and its presence in Purwokerto is believed to have passed various supervisions and thus considered safe. Japanese food is not consumed regularly, but once in a while at certain moment. However, the people also demands clarity of the Japanese foods marketed, particularly ones directly imported from Japan. These foods must be under official approval before they are sold in the market and their marketing must be under the Government's supervision, at least there should be MUI's approval for halal label.

Furthermore, practical appropriation is in relation to material and daily matters, which is in relation to the part of the material properties of objects used and found in daily life. The objects must become real or concrete part of life. They become part of our daily life, and we do not necessarily question or debate of its presence anymore.

Practical appropriation to Japanese food may be observed from the naming of restaurants, dining spots or food carts in Purwokerto, as that of *Kedai Oramen*, *Shibuya Japanese Snack*, *Warung Jejepangan*, *Nihon no*

Ryouri, *Kedai Kimochi* and *Takoyaki Jaya*. The food business players borrow Japanese terms for their part of work. *Kedai Oramen* is a restaurant which carries the theme “*Kedai ramen Jepang rasa Banyumasan* (Japanese ramen shop with Banyumasan flavor)”. The word *oramen* consists of two words, *ora* and *ramen*. The word *ora* in Banyumas language means ‘not’ or ‘no’, while *ramen* is a dish of noodle with soup as well as various toppings from Japan. The word *Oramen* may be defined as “not original Japanese ramen, but Banyumasan ramen noodle”.

After the form of practical appropriation to the naming of dining spot, the next appropriation strategy takes place with the naming of menu. The example of menu naming is that in *Kedai Oramen*. This shop provides ramen as its main menu, besides offering other various Japanese typical foods, such as *sushi*, *okonomiyaki* and *takoyaki*. The niche ramen menus are named with Japanese names, such as *Masamune* for *seafood ramen*, *Ieyasu Tokugawa* for *ramen sausage*, *Oda Nobunaga* for *beef ramen* and *Sanada Yukimura* for *chicken ramen*. Japanese typical names are used as menu names, such as *Masamune*, *Ieyasu Tokugawa*, *Oda Nobunaga* and *Sanada Yukimura*, which are the names of Japanese samurai warriors. Besides menu, in *Kedai Oramen*, the names of samurai are also used as the name of *sushi* served at *Hokke Sushi & Kitchen*, which is *Hattori Hanzo Roll*. *Sushi* is the main menu at *Hokke Sushi*. This *sushi* constitutes rolled rice containing *nori*, cut cucumber and chicken meat, while sliced raw salmon and a pinch of fish eggs (*tobiko*) are put on top of it.

Furthermore, the form of practical appropriation may also be observed with the menu offered by *Hangout café & Restoran*, “*Sushi Ngapak Banyumasan*”. This restaurant offers ‘*Sushi Ngapak*’, consisting of *Sushi Nyelekamin*, *Sushi Mbamba*, *Sushi Njetor*, *Sushi Sementlep*, *Sushi Njeblog*, *Sushi Semreset*, *Sushi Remed’s*, *Sushi Kemriyik* and *Sushi Nyelekitho*. *Sushi Ngapak*, besides using Banyumasan or *ngapak* terms, for the toppings, besides sliced

cooked fish flesh, there is also cayenne pepper and onion topping (*Sushi Sementlep*) and *sambal uleg* (*Sushi Njetor*) as shown in Figure 3.

The form of practical appropriation also occurs with the place where Japanese food is offered. Japanese food as a foreign food cannot only be found at mall or restaurant. Japanese foods like *sushi*, *ramen*, *okonomiyaki*, *takoyaki* and *dorayaki* may be found and are sold at street-side with a sidewalk concept. For most of the Purwokerto society, at least until the early 2000s, *sushi* is still known as one of Japanese typical cuisines offered only at restaurant, thus expensive and exclusive impressions are inherent in this food. However, in Purwokerto, in the last few years, Japanese typical food starts to be sold at street—at side-walk stalls, at street-side. The Japanese food is served at dining spots with food shop and *angkringan* concepts. The word *angkringan* comes from Javanese social language ‘*angkring*’ or perch which means to sit relaxed and feeling free. Consumer sitting on a long wooden benches that placed around the *angkringan* carts can enjoy the food served while lifting of folding one leg up onto a chair. The Japanese foods that served there are offered at cheap price, more affordable than similar foods offered at restaurant.

One of the renowned Japanese food shops is *Shoppu Atto*, which may be called sidewalk dining spot with five-star taste. It serves various types of *sushi* at affordable price but with taste and serving not different from those of restaurant. An example of a dining spot with *angkringan* concept is *angkringan Shushimake*. Its presence shows practical appropriation, which is a change in design of technology (dining spot) since it uses local culture.

The conceptual and practical appropriations performed by culinary business players in Purwokerto are their form of appreciation and also criticism of the existence of Japanese food at local environment. The appropriation practice they do shows that Japanese food consumers in Purwokerto

actively face the globalization flow of Japanese food. The existing mixing or hybridization phenomena with the eating culture cannot be separated from appropriation strategy implementation, since hybridization phenomena in the form of crossing or mixing may be in the form of a combination of concepts or practices. Such hybridization is usually achieved by performing appropriation strategy of borrowing of form, technique, style, material, etc.

Such borrowings take place in conceptual and practical domains. Japanese food hybridization in the form of *fusion* is the local community's strategy to face homogenization of Japanese culture which has been widely disseminated throughout the world. Through appropriation process, the Purwokerto local society is born as the actors with active capability to negotiate, contribute and identify the elements they deem necessary for themselves and their group. The existing dialog interaction process in the globalization process does not lead to universal (general) symptom. There is a possibility that globalization operates with the same stages, but its derivatives tend to accommodate local values, knowledge and cultures.

What the Japanese food consumers experience and their observation of the Japanese food they consume in Purwokerto city conform to the main criticism of the homogenization concept, where they do not acknowledge the fact that "*people creatively modify the messages they are given from the media and elsewhere to fit their own ways of thinking and living*" (Lull, 2000, p. 64). This is the case since individual plays a role as an agent with active capability to manipulate text, so that it may be adapted to local context they have (Appadurai, 2003, p. 7).

Japanese food in Purwokerto is the result of local value accommodation process, which is present through an "*akur?* (mutual)" agreement as the requirement for the Japanese food to be in harmony with the Purwokerto society's taste. This is in line with the opinion of anthropologists

who believe that eating culture and taste which have become a group of society's habit will be difficult to change (Linton: 1984; Foster & Anderson, 1988; Sanjur, 1982; Kardjati, Kusin and deWith, 1977; Saptandari, 2004). In regard to food, there is belief which is based on taste, habit, dignity and honor. Eating habit is called a set of cooking activities and related to preference or dislike, folk wisdom, beliefs, taboos, superstitions related to food production, preparation and consumption. In other words, food is included into important cultural category (Foster and Anderson, 1988; Sumartono, 1986; LeMay, 1988).

The process of adaptation to local taste with appropriation strategy presents the type of food *fusion*¹⁰. Fusion food means cooking style which uses materials and techniques from throughout the world, producing diversity and unique quality of taste. Mixing process which is part of adaptation process is an overview that local eating culture may compromise with local expression, in mixture into a collaboration of tastes. The capability to cooperate and collaborate in taste gives a room for local culinary culture and community to resist and negotiate with global culture. With the ethos of this fusion or collaboration, culinary business players and consumers may experiment, make something different, be creative, and 'play' with food or cuisine they create.

Japanese Lifestyling

Consuming Japanese food for some of the Purwokerto society becomes part of their new lifestyle. The view that Japanese food is healthy, making people smart and halal makes the people creatively work pursuant to their capability and taste. They who are curious about how Japanese food taste may have a taste of it at an affordable price (may be found, for example, at Shappo Atto, D'Lavina or Nihon Ryouri) or of Japanese food which is close to authentic, but with less affordable price (such as at Meteor Café, All Rich and Hokke Sushi).

The wish or desire to consume Japanese food, from watching or listening to mass media, makes them ones who use food as an effort to enrich their self-identity, who attempt to embrace the world through eating experience. But, they cannot consume Japanese food in real Japanese food for several reasons, for example because basically Japanese food uses ingredients that are not in accordance with traditional eating culture (using raw fish raw materials, tasteless, and spices that are considered to be halal, and the price is expensive).

The presence of Japanese food in Purwokerto is one factor of the emergence of new lifestyle. This “lifestyling” is one lifestyle taken by some of the Purwokerto people to be in good terms with current trending lifestyle demand, namely “*Medang, Madhang lan Mojok*” as written on a banner at a cafe called Djagongan Cafe. *Medang* is a Javanese term that means drink. But not just drinking activity, this activities must be accompanied by snack such as *mendhoan*, while *madhang* or *madang* means eating (meal). The word *Mojok* is identical to the activity of chatting with friends in the corner of the room. These activity become lifestyle that associated with eating out.

Japanese food consumption may be performed virtually (Gerke’s term) by consuming Japanese food pursuant to one’s capability. The form of conceptual and practical appropriation to Japanese food reveals that Japanese food cannot only be consumed at mid-upper class restaurants, but also at street-side, at food stalls with the sidewalk concept. The existing form of conceptual and practical appropriation gives the opportunity to those who hardly consume the ‘real’ one by economy. For example, by having Japanese food at a sidewalk food shop of Jalan Ovis ‘Nihon no Ryouru’; eating various affordable types of *sushi* at Shoppu Atto, student-friendly *ramen* at Kotaro Ramen, to *takoyaki* sold at street-side carts or motor-carts. Just like Ajeng said, “Sushi-sushian, steak-steakan, ramen-ramenan, bento-bentoan, since I like all of these types of food,

but they must have Indonesian taste. Thus, be it Western, Japanese or Korean, it must be modified to adapt to my original taste, with Indonesian spices and ingredients.” (Ajeng, interviewed on March 20, 2017 in Purwokerto).

CONCLUSION

With regard to food, we cannot actually say that a food is originated from a certain region since there is no single type of food which is actually originated from a region. Purwokerto city, with Javanese culture and relatively thick Chinese culture, has a diversity of eating cultures. We may state that the complexity around identity, particularly in relation to eating culture, has been present before the mediated globalization.

The text flow of media throughout the world has certainly had influence at different levels. Media’s influence on the formation of identity tends to operate at a more general and indirect level. Japanese food consumption is one consequence of the exposure to media which give people ideas, illustration and various cultural practices from around the world. Instead of embracing Japanese cultural imperialism or homogenization, various ideas and practices which are present through this media channel interact with local cultural influence, creating various cultures and heterogeneity.

The people of Purwokerto are able to negotiate with Japanese culture by appropriating strategy conceptually and practically, generating a hybrid eating culture. Japanese food in Purwokerto is the result of accommodation process of local values, which exist through a “akur” mutualagreement as the requirements for Japanese food to be in harmony with the Purwokerto society’s taste. The existing mixing, matching or crossing in the food world are not merely non-meaningful mixture, but may be observed as a struggle for continuous negotiation of cultural ideas, notions and practices by expressing local and global ones in a shared space.

Furthermore, the Purwokerto society in

the relevant global-local context of eating cultures actively plays a role in response to Japanese popular culture in attempt to explore and build a new social class resulting from interaction in its effort to go worldwide. Japanese food serves to enrich its consumers' self-identity to be ones who struggle to embrace the world through eating experience. The presence of Japanese food is one factor of the emergence of new lifestyle, namely "Japanese lifestyling", which is one taken by the people of Purwokerto to embrace the world through Japanese food consuming experience.

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¹The survey which was conducted on December 4-18, 2013 aimed at examining the foreign food consumers' habit and examining their opinions about Japanese food. The cities serving as the research subjects were Jakarta (Indonesia), Moscow (Russia), Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam), Bangkok (Thailand), San Paolo (Brazil) and Dubai (United Arab Emirates). The survey stated that Japanese food took the first place (38.4%), higher than Chinese and Italian foods, as the favorite foreign food. Indonesia in this case was represented by the Jakarta society, which was the second country to choose Japanese food as its favorite foreign food. One of the questions inquired in the survey was "What is your favorite foreign food to have at a restaurant?" About 83% respondents responded with Japanese food, the

remainder responded with other answers. Furthermore, for the inquiry about the reason they choose Japanese food, the first most answers were for its deliciousness (88%) and the second most answers were since Japanese food was deemed as healthy food (53%). *Results of JETRO's Survey on Japanese Foods Directed at Overseas Consumers - Japanese dishes rank top as most popular foreign cuisine in six-city survey of emerging markets* – Press Release. March 28, 2014

²Anthony Giddens, 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 21.

³Roland Robertson. 1992. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage, pp. 56-89.

⁴P.M. Laksono. (2009). *Peta Jalan Antropologi Indonesia Abad Kedua Puluh Satu: Memahami Invisibilitas (Budaya) di Era*

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⁶The term *dochakuka* is derived from Japanese language which means indigenous culture (Matsuura, 1994, p. 146), used in agriculture, referring to an agricultural product marketing strategy in adaptation to market taste.

⁷*Mendoan* is a cuisine made of tempeh. The word *mendoan* is derived from Banyumasan dialect, *mendo* which means semi-cooked or soft. Thin sliced tempeh is coated with seasoned flour and sliced leek or chives, and then fried in hot, much oil quickly, thus it will not be overcooked (Winarno et al., 2017, p. 91).

⁸https://www.akibanation.com/kompilasi-foto-go_anilo-first-gathering-event-bareng-komunitas-jepang/

⁹Based on KBBI, the word *akur* means (1) *mufakat; setuju; seia sekata; bersatu hati*. (2) *cocok; sesuai*. Synonym of the *akur* is *asese, bersatu hati, bersetuju, cocok, damai, harmonis, kompak, lengket, mufakat, oke, rukun, sama, sehati, seia sekata, sepaham, sesuai, setuju*.

¹⁰*Fusion* is a cuisine which combines different culinary traditional elements. This type of cuisine is not categorized according to one certain cuisine style and has played a role in the innovation of many contemporary restaurants' cuisines since 1970s. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fusion_cuisine#cite_note-NYT-1, accessed on September 12, 2018.

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