

Korean street food in contemporary Indonesia: Glocalization in a semi-medium city

Makanan jalanan Korea di Indonesia kontemporer: Glokalisasi di kota semi-menengah

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Abstract

Korean street food in Indonesia is part of the 'Korean Wave' (*hallyu*) that hit Indonesia in the early 2010s. It is not difficult to find Korean street food in Indonesian cities. Korean street food has become part of urban culture in Indonesia. This research aims to analyze the existence of Korean street food in Indonesia using the concept of glocalization according to Roland Robertson. This research also analyze the glocalization of Korean street food in the local context in the form of halal Korean street food so that it is accepted and consumed by Indonesian people. This study uses a qualitative method with a case study approach as a research strategy. Data collection was carried out by means of observation, interviews, and documentation. The result of this study has shown that through various forms of glocalization, Korean street food has become part of Indonesian society. Korean street food has carried out relative syncretism of food through a process of particularization as universalization. This process is carried out by adopting the halal concept in Korean street food. The results of this research contribute to understanding the glocalization of street food in adopting the halal concept.

Keywords: street food; glocalization; korean street food; halal product; urban culture

Abstrak

Makanan jalanan (street food) Korea di Indonesia merupakan bagian dari 'Korean Wave' (hallyu) yang melanda Indonesia pada awal tahun 2010-an. Tidak sulit menemukan street food Korea di kota-kota Indonesia. Makanan jalanan Korea sudah menjadi bagian dari budaya urban di Indonesia. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menganalisis keberadaan street food Korea di Indonesia dengan menggunakan konsep glokalisasi menurut Roland Robertson. Penelitian ini juga menganalisis glokalisasi makanan dalam konteks lokal berupa makanan jalanan Korea berlabel halal yang dikonsumsi oleh masyarakat Indonesia. Studi ini menggunakan metode kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus sebagai strategi penelitian. Pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan cara observasi, wawancara, dan dokumentasi. Hasil studi ini menunjukkan bahwa melalui berbagai bentuk glokalisasi, street food Korea telah menjadi bagian dari masyarakat Indonesia. Di Indonesia, makanan jalanan Korea telah melakukan sinkretisme relatif terhadap makanan melalui proses partikularisasi sebagai universalisasi. Proses ini dilakukan dengan mengadopsi konsep halal. Hasil penelitian ini memberikan kontribusi untuk memahami glokalisasi makanan jalanan dalam mengadopsi konsep halal.

Kata kunci: makanan jalanan; glokalisasi; makanan jalanan korea; produk halal; budaya urban

Introduction

The Korean Wave or Hallyu has hit Indonesia in the early 2000s. The presence of the Korean wave cannot be separated from the invasion of Korean popular cultural products throughout the world (Shim 2006, Huat & Iwabuchi 2008, Kuwahara 2014). Various popular culture products, such as films,

computer games, television drama series, music and food (Siriyuvasak & Hyunjoon 2007, Nugroho 2014, Yoon 2019). Without realizing it, all-Korean products have surrounded the lives of Indonesian people, from cars, electronic equipment, gadgets, to Korean hypermarket chains. Representatives of Korean companies thrive in Indonesia. Based on data from the Korean Cultural Center in Indonesia, there are around 1,300 branch offices of Korean companies established in Indonesia (Sumantri 2012).

The most contemporary development of the Korean wave is the Indonesian people's liking for Korean food (Suryani 2014, Setiawati et al. 2019). This does not only happen in Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia. In Yogyakarta, for example, Korean food is offered from small restaurants to luxury restaurants that use famous chefs from Korea. Bornga Restaurant in Yogyakarta, for example, carries the concept of authentic Korean flavors with promotional media for chefs who are very well known in the South Korean culinary industry (Rencidiptya 2020). The same thing happened in Surabaya (Sia 2013). Korean food has also penetrated several cities outside Java in Indonesia (Putri & Reese 2016, Zamharira & Abdullah 2022). In Jambi City, people's interest in Korean food can be seen through the increasing number of Korean eating places in Jambi (Mahardika 2023). This eating place offers food with the taste, shape, and authenticity of food ingredients like typical Korean food. A similar thing also happened in Purwokerto City, Banyumas Regency, Central Java Province. In this city, Korean food is sold from luxury restaurants to street food stalls.

The presence of Korean food in the city of Purwokerto is a unique phenomenon. The population in this city is around 231,669 people (BPS Kabupaten Banyumas 2023). In the notes of van Klinken & Berenschot (2016) it is stated that cities with a population of under one million residents are part of the semi-middle city category. Most of the networks of residents of semi-medium cities are networks of more local relationships. The presence of Korean culture and even Korean food in the city of Purwokerto is an interesting phenomenon.

Korean food sellers put up banners about the products they sell. Several Korean food vendors sell their products side by side with the typical food of the people of Purwokerto City, often referred to as market snacks. This can be seen through promotional banners in front of their food stalls. The banner is side by side with a promotional banner for an Indonesian street food seller. In fact, some Korean food sellers write the names of Korean food using Indonesian spelling to make it easier to read the food names and attract buyers' interest. This condition results in a kind of cultural hybridization situation (Shim 2006, Ritzer 2008), namely Korean food as a global thing and Indonesian street food as a local thing mixed in food naming. There is a cultural integration between local and global, but they do not eliminate each other. What happens is that it produces a unique new culture. A creative process that produces new cultural realities.

The existence of Korean food in Purwokerto City becomes more interesting when you see that the majority of Purwokerto City residents are Muslim. The book entitled '*Data dan Informasi Kabupaten Banyumas 2022* (Banyumas Regency Data and Information 2022)' (2023) states that 90 percent of the people of Purwokerto are Muslims. The majority of Muslim people only eat halal food. What is happening in the city of Purwokerto is that Korean street food is emerging with the halal label. The halal label is often found on promotional banners for Korean street food. Korean street food and the concept of halal food carry out an interpenetration process so that it becomes a unique phenomenon. Robertson (1996) calls this glocalization, namely the mixing of local and global culture to become a new form of culture. The existence of halal Korean street food means that the people of Purwokerto City can adopt and consume Korean culture while fulfilling the Islamic way of life through halal Korean street food.

Based on several things mentioned above, the article aims to analyze the existence of Korean street food in the city of Purwokerto using the concept of glocalization according to Robertson. Through this analysis, this paper also aims to analyze the glocalization of Korean street food in a local context so that it is accepted and consumed by the people of Purwokerto City.

This article employs Robertson's theory of glocalization as an analytical framework. In brief, this theory posits that universal concepts are adapted to fit and function within local contexts. Glocalization refers to the process by which global culture is adapted to local settings. Examining Korean food through this lens helps reveal how it has been adapted to Indonesian flavors, ingredients, and eating habits. This includes how Korean food vendors modify their products to make them more acceptable to Indonesian consumers.

Several studies across Southeast Asia have analyzed Korean food in local contexts. Caldito et al. (2022) examined Korean food in Metro Manila, Philippines; Khoo (2019, 2022) and Chee & Yazdanifard (2021) studied Korean food in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Park (2017) and Choo et al. (2023) investigated Korean food in Vietnam; while Lim (2019) focused on Singapore. The focus of research on Korean food in these Southeast Asian countries has generally been on communities in national or provincial capitals. A similar trend is observed in Indonesia. Research on Korean food in Indonesia also concentrates on communities in or around national and provincial capitals. For instance, Sia (2013) studied Korean food in Surabaya; Putri & Reese (2016) in Jakarta; Rencidiptya (2020) in Yogyakarta; Mahardika (2023) in Jambi City; and Zamharira & Abdullah (2022) in Banda Aceh.

Other studies on Korean food in Indonesia have attempted to examine the factors influencing the purchase of Korean food. For example, Jeong & Choi (2019) investigated the factors that influence the purchase of Korean food in Indonesia. Additionally, research on Korean food purchases in Indonesia has expanded to include studies linking the concept of halal with Korean food purchases. This category of research includes studies by Firdaus et al. (2022), Puspita et al. (2022), Widyaningrum (2023), Najia (2023), and Rahma et al. (2024), some of which analyzed the effect of halal labels on Korean food purchasing behavior. However, previous studies have not thoroughly examined the presence of Korean food in semi-medium cities (from a geographical perspective). The existence of Korean food in local contexts where residents are still deeply connected to local networks has not been extensively evaluated.

This study seeks to fill that gap by examining Korean food in local contexts using glocalization theory. In this study, glocalization theory serves as a tool to better understand how Korean street food is transferred to semi-medium cities and becomes part of everyday life. Although Nadhifah et al. (2019) have attempted to study Korean food using glocalization theory, their research was limited to the representation of Korean food in online media. Consequently, a more detailed analysis of the interaction between Korean and Indonesian cultures through food has yet to be fully explored. By addressing this gap, this study aims to provide a better understanding of how Korean street food is integrated into semi-medium cities and becomes part of everyday reality. This includes how Korean food both influences and is influenced by Indonesian culinary traditions, as well as how local identities and cultures interact with global elements. Understanding these dynamics is also crucial for comprehending how Indonesians in local contexts construct their identities through the consumption of foreign food. Since food often symbolizes cultural identity, analyzing glocalization can reveal the complex interplay of identities in the context of globalization.

Research Method

This article uses a qualitative research method with a case study approach as a research strategy. Through this approach, various types of data sources and research evidence are cross-checked based on research themes. Yin (2009) argues that the case study strategy allows different types of data and relevant empirical evidence to be cross-examined. In general, the data sources for this research are primary and secondary data. Data collection was carried out by means of observation, interviews, and documentation. Primary data was obtained through interviews with 21 informants, including Korean street food outlet owners (5 informants), waiters (12 informants), sellers (6 informants), and buyers (8 informants). The criteria for selecting informants were as follows. Korean street food outlet owners and sellers were chosen based on the criterion that they have been selling and managing their outlets for more than two years. It was assumed that they already had regular customers and were able to survive during the pandemic. Waiters at Korean street food outlets were selected based on the criterion that they

have been working for approximately one year. This period was chosen with the assumption that they have mastered the presentation process and are accustomed to interacting with customers. Meanwhile, Korean street food buyers were selected based on the criterion that they purchase Korean street food at least once a week. It is assumed that they are accustomed to consuming Korean street food weekly. Secondary data consists of Korean street food sales banners, menu lists, and online Korean street food promotional flyers via social media.

This research was conducted in Purwokerto City. This city is located in the middle of Java Island, which geographically connects the western and eastern regions and connects the northern and southern regions. In other words, Purwokerto has a strategic location. This city is classified as the ‘second city’ in the hierarchy of cities in Indonesia and receives less academic attention than main cities (provincial capitals) (Probo 2020).

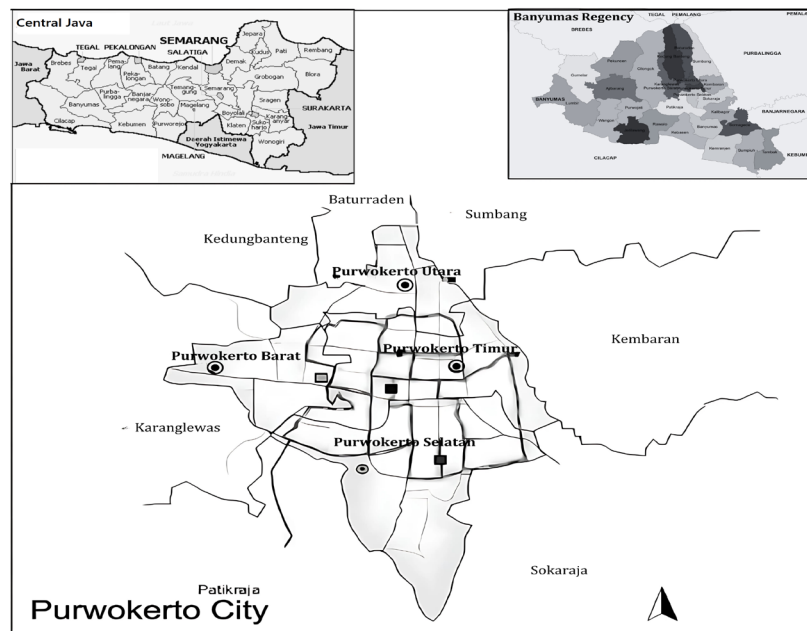


Figure 1.
Map of Purwokerto City
Source: Wibowo (2014) and Probo (2020)

This city has developed into a service city that functions as a growth center in the southwestern part of Central Java Province. This city is the capital of Banyumas Regency. This city has a total area of 39.58 square kilometers (BPS Kabupaten Banyumas 2023). At the beginning of its growth, this city was a supporting area of a larger city (provincial capital), but recently this city has grown into an industrial city. This certainly plays a very important role in accelerating the growth of Purwokerto City. The characteristics of the population of Purwokerto City have become increasingly heterogeneous since the presence of several universities. In Purwokerto City there are 2 state universities, 3 private universities, 4 high schools, 2 educational academies, 2 polytechnics, and 1 institute (Dinas Komunikasi dan Informatika Kabupaten Banyumas 2023). There are thousands of active students from various regions studying in Purwokerto City. The average annual economic growth rate of this city is around 2% (Probo 2020). This data describes changes in the structure of the economy and illustrates changes in people’s consumption orientation from primary consumption to secondary consumption and even tertiary consumption. This can be marked by street food outlets which are starting to mushroom in the city of Purwokerto (Purnomo & Russiadi 2022). The most contemporary development is Korean street food.

The data analysis process takes place in three stages of analysis; (a) Data condensation, namely the stage of data analysis which includes selecting, namely the process of determining and selecting the important dimensions needed, sorting, and selecting meaningful relationships. This stage is the stage of structuring data in a more systematic form based on the theme of the writing; (b) data presentation

which is an attempt to show the data that has been found in tabular form (interview quotations); and (c) data verification or data conclusion stage by following trends in the data obtained. Data verification can be temporary. If data is still needed to complete the analysis, it is still possible to retrieve the data. This process is carried out interactively between each stage. The data processed through these three stages was then analyzed based on the socio-cultural context surrounding the research location. This kind of data analysis process follows the data analysis flow proposed by Miles et al. (2014).

Results and Discussion

This article explains the process of glocalizing Korean street food in the Indonesian context using Robertson's glocalization concept. This is used to explain how Indonesian people accept and consume Korean street food in relation to the concept of halal food. In order to achieve this goal, this article opens by tracing the development of Korean culture in the city of Purwokerto. This explanation is used as a background to understand the Korean street food phenomenon in Purwokerto City. After that, this article explains the contemporary situation regarding Korean food in Purwokerto City along with all the knick-knacks that appear in these conditions and how Korean street food adopts the concept of halal food so that it is accepted by the people of Purwokerto City.

Dynamics of Korean pop culture in semi-medium city

Korean pop culture began to develop in the city of Purwokerto in the 2010s. This was marked by the emergence of a shop called 'Korean Edition' (Khaidar 2022). The shop sells goods related to K-Pop. Since it first opened, the shop has been busy with customers. Several customers said that the shop provides the most complete goods and provides K-Pop attributes at affordable prices. "In addition to being cheap, the goods here are complete. My friends also come here to look for their idol posters," (Informant CND), a customer of the shop. Most of the shop's customers are K-Pop fans.

Heryanto (2015) stated that K-Pop fans in Indonesia are middle class in purchasing power for entertainment, oriented towards transnational consumption-lifestyle, and have attended college. This condition has undergone slight modifications in Purwokerto City. In this city, most K-Pop fans are still in middle school. Their age range is around 14-18 years. Several K-Pop fans in Purwokerto City claim to have known Korean culture when they were still in elementary school (Khaidar 2022). A K-Pop fan admitted that around 2009 he saw the magazine "Gaul" (the name of a national youth magazine) with the cover of a South Korean idol group. Around that time, in Purwokerto you could still find many magazines and book sellers on the side of the road. "When I was in 5th grade, I already liked K-Pop. Initially, it was because I saw Super Junior on the cover of a magazine, they looked so cute. Be curious and find out about the group until you find the songs and finally like them," (Khaidar 2022).

Most K-Pop fans in Purwokerto City start out of curiosity. Their curiosity is triggered by their social friends and then they find out for themselves. They use many sources. Apart from the internet, their main sources are Korean dramas and K-Pop music. Starting from social friends and having the same hobbies, gradually K-Pop fans in the city of Purwokerto formed a community. "It started because I wanted to find idol information more easily. It turns out that many people share the same preferences. Therefore, we agreed to form a community," (Informant YTN), a member of the NCTzen Purwokerto community. Like the K-Pop phenomenon in other cities in Indonesia, in the city of Purwokerto several communities of South Korean lovers (K-Lovers) were formed. Just to mention a few names, in Purwokerto City there are communities called K-pop Family Purwokerto (popmipwt), NCTzen Purwokerto, ExoL Purwokerto, ELF Purwokerto, Ahgase Purwokerto, Carat Purwokerto, ARMY Purwokerto, Oneit Purwokerto, and many more (Linggarwati et al. 2021).

The development of K-Pop in the city of Purwokerto became increasingly lively in the 2014s when events related to K-Pop began to take place. Events such as dance cover competitions and K-Pop bazaars have been held several times in Purwokerto City. At Rita Super Mall, for example, every year a dance cover competition is always held (Khaidar 2022). At Jenderal Soedirman University there is a South

Korean study center called the Korean Center Unsoed (KCU) (Linggarwati et al. 2021) as a forum for academics and students to get to know and study everything related to South Korea. The study center has held the Purwokerto Korean Festival. This event is an event that displays several popular South Korean cultural performances. Meanwhile, K-pop fans among students held an Idol School event which was attended by representatives of state high schools (SMA) in Purwokerto. These various events were greeted enthusiastically by K-Pop fans in Purwokerto City.

Various events related to K-Pop in Purwokerto City experienced inactivity when the COVID-19 pandemic hit in 2019 to 2021. After the pandemic was declared successfully overcome, the movement of K-Pop fans in Purwokerto City began to appear in early 2022. Several communities began holding activities. The Army Space Community, the BTS Purwokerto Fan community, has begun to actively carry out community activities (Azhar 2023). They started holding viewing events together every time BTS concerts were held online, BTS member birthday projects, and BTS anniversary celebrations. The Purwokerto NCTzen Community also did the same thing (Syafina 2022). They often hold agendas or events related to NCT, such as Gatherings or Cafe Events, Anniversaries, and watching movies together. Their activities are carried out in cafes or restaurants in Purwokerto City. Likewise, what the Carat fandom community (fans of the Seventeen group) did, they held a Cup Sleeve Event (Andina et al. 2020). These events are fan gatherings organized by fandoms to celebrate a group's birthday, group members' birthdays, or even celebrate a group's victory. The event is usually held in a cafe. They will get their idol's face on the cup sleeve that fans will get when they register and if they buy food or drinks from the cafe.

One interesting thing about the meetings of various K-Pop fandom communities in Purwokerto City is that most of their meetings are held in cafes or restaurants. "We held the event at a Korean food restaurant to enhance the Korean atmosphere. It happens that all the members love Korean food, so it is not a problem to meet and eat our favorite dishes," (Informant SNT), a member of the BTS Purwokerto Fan. This shows that K-Pop fans use eating places as the center of their activities. Pinilih & Shaferi (2015) stated that teenagers in Purwokerto City choose eating places with an international image as their favorite places to eat. One of their favorite places to eat is a place to eat with a Korean food image. Until 2021, there are several South Korean style restaurants in Purwokerto such as BuldaQ Korean Bbq, Restaurant Korean Garden, Cheonsa Korean Kitchen, Manse Korean Grill, Oppane Korean Soul Food, and Manayo Resto (Linggarwati et al. 2021). The existence of several restaurants shows that the Korean wave in Purwokerto City has reached the food consumption stage.

Korean food wave hits semi-medium city

Puspita et al. (2022) stated that the Korean food phenomenon in Indonesia cannot be separated from the increasing number of Korean fan communities in Indonesia. This community does not directly influence Korean food consumption, but it plays a very good role in forming purchasing intentions. In the context of Purwokerto City, the development of Korean food cannot be separated from the habits of the K-Pop fan community. It has been mentioned that K-Pop fandom communities in Purwokerto City often hold meetings in restaurants or cafes. Some communities use several restaurants that sell Korean food as meeting places. However, not every meeting is held at a Korean restaurant. A member of the K-Pop fandom said that they meet at Korean restaurants when the event being held is an important event such as a community birthday or a celebration of their idol's success in receiving an award. "In Korean restaurants, the prices are expensive, so regular meetings are usually held in ordinary cafes that have Korean menus," (Informant JYS).

In subsequent developments, price is not something that K-Pop fans or the people of Purwokerto need to worry about when they want to eat Korean food. It is when Korean food in Purwokerto City develops in the form of street food. This means that Korean food prices can be reached by all groups. Korean street food can be found easily on several streets in Purwokerto City. Several shop stalls display banners prominently to promote sales of Korean street food. Korean street food is becoming easier to find around high schools. This phenomenon shows that Korean culture, especially Korean food, can quickly be adapted to the needs of Indonesian society.

Street food, according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, is ready-to-eat food and drink prepared and/or sold by street vendors, especially on streets and public places (Abrahale et al. 2019). The World Health Organization (WHO) has created a definition of street food that is not much different from the FAO (Winarno 1986, Calloni 2013) definition. FAO has attempted to define the main characteristics of street food long ago. In the FAO Regional Workshop on "Street Food in Asia" held in Yogyakarta, street food was defined as follows:

Street food describes a variety of ready-to-eat foods and drinks sold and sometimes prepared in public places, especially on the streets. Like fast food, final preparation of street food occurs when the customer orders the dish, which can be consumed at the point of purchase or taken home. Street food and fast food have low costs compared to restaurant food and offer an attractive alternative to home-cooked meals. Despite these similarities, street food and fast-food businesses differ in variety, environment, marketing techniques, and ownership (Winarno 1986, Calloni 2013).

It is estimated that around 2.5 billion people worldwide consume street food every day (Gelormini et al. 2015, Abrahale et al. 2019). This reflects the increasing popularity of street food over the past few decades. Street food is a typical cultural, social, and economic phenomenon in most urban areas (Popkin et al. 2012). In urban communities, according to Vorster et al. (2011), the time spent cooking food at home has decreased drastically. Street food has become an attractive and popular alternative for daily food because it is practical, low cost, and delicious taste (Winarno & Allain 1991, Liu et al. 2014).

In general, Korean street food in Purwokerto City is developing along with the wave of Korean culture that is going global. Korean street food is one of the markers of social change that has occurred in the lives of the people of Purwokerto City. The presence and development of Korean street food is an indication that Korean culture has been accepted in the city of Purwokerto. In Korean street food, there is a convergence of place and human experience. For some individuals, eating Korean food is an aspect of identity. "I eat kimchi about once a week. If I don't eat kimchi, I feel like something is missing," (Informant MLN), said with a laugh. Informant MLN's expression shows that Korean food has become part of her life. Informant AJN said something similar. "I usually buy other snacks, but when I buy Korean food, it really feels like a part of me," (Informant AJN). Cicchelli & Ottobre (2021) stated that in several countries there are indications that consumers of Korean culture, especially teenagers, feel they have a unique identity. In Purwokerto City, this uniqueness is welcomed by Korean food traders who sell typical Korean street food. In Purwokerto City, several Korean food stalls grow like mushrooms in the rainy season.

Traditionally, street food has been part of the Indonesian food model, both in urban and rural environments (Koentjaraningrat 2007). Mobile food sales systems have been part of everyday food practices for centuries (Protschky 2008). Street food has become a source of food security for many groups (Kolopakings et al. 2011, Steyn et al. 2014). According to Anggraini et al. (2016) street food in Indonesia facilitates the consumption of high-calorie foods. This food is acceptable to many people. Street food often represents a particular culture and has infinite variations (Vita et al. 2021). There is much variation, both in food ingredients and food preparation and presentation (Alfiero et al. 2017). The variety of origins of street food in Indonesia no longer recognizes national borders. In the development of street food in Indonesia, street food has emerged from many countries such as America, Italy, Mexico, countries on the Arabian Peninsula, India, Japan and many more. The most recent development is street food originating from Korea.

In Purwokerto City, Korean street food sellers sell their goods in many ways. What is most striking is the place and way of selling Korean street food. Based on the place of the sale, there are two models for selling Korean street food in Purwokerto City, namely static and dynamic models. Static sales model means Korean street food sellers stay in one place. In general, they rent a kiosk which is used as a place to sell Korean street food. 'Seoulmate Purwokerto' (Figure 2), for example, sells food by renting a kiosk.



Figure 2.
The Kiosk of Soulmate Purwokerto
Source: Research documentation

Soulmate Purwokerto is located on Jalan Jatisari, Sumampir, North Purwokerto District. “This place is a branch. The Soulmate center is in Cilacap (one of the districts about 40 km from Purwokerto City). I saw on social media that there are many K-Pop fans in Purwokerto, and there are also many schools and universities here. That’s why I decided to open a branch here,” (Informant PIJ), owner of Soulmate Purwokerto. On the sign of this place, it clearly says ‘Korean food’. Several typical Korean food menus are available at this place. This place offers a Korean street food menu with the names chicken *dakkochi*, *tteokboki*, *odeng*, *kimchi*, and many more (Informant KSM, one of the ‘Soulmate Purwokerto’ employees).

Another alternative for selling Korean street food statically in Purwokerto City is to build a semi-permanent building on the edge of the sidewalk. A Korean food stall called ‘Jajanan Drakor’ is an example of this model. This kiosk is located in Jalan HR. Bunyamin, Bancarkembar, North Purwokerto District. To the north of this kiosk is the largest university in Purwokerto City, namely Jenderal Soedirman University. “We sell Korean food here, and so on”, (Informant DSN), one of the employees of Jajanan Drakor. The following is a picture of the ‘Drakor Snacks’ stall.



Figure 3.
The Kiosk of Jajanan Drakor
Source: Research documentation

The dynamic or mobile selling model for Korean street food is selling using sales carts. Sales carts are used as a place to sell as well as a mode of transport from one place to another. This way, sellers have more freedom in choosing their selling locations. Some Korean Street food carts sell some without wheels and some use wheels. In fact, some of the carts sold are modified in such a way that they can be combined with motorbikes.

One example of a street food seller who uses a cart without wheels is a street food seller labeled ‘Hotteok Purwokerto’. With that name, the cart was modified in such a way that it was flexible to move around. The location of the sales place is Jalan Jenderal Soedirman, right in front of the P&D Aroma Purwokerto shop. This shop is widely known by the people of Purwokerto City as a shop that sells all kinds of raw

materials and Chinese, Japanese, and Korean food recipes. "My wife and I have been selling since 2013. Initially, we moved from one location to another before settling here, in front of Toko Aroma. The business did well here, so we decided to stay," (Informant GMS). Located on the main road of Purwokerto City, 'Hotteok Purwokerto' is always busy with customers. "Here the best sellers are *hotteok* and *bungeoppang*. For example, the sauce is *topokki*", (Informant TNT), seller of 'Hotteok Purwokerto'. The following is a figure of the 'Hotteok Purwokerto' sales cart.



Figure 4.
The cart of hetteok Purwokerto
Source: Research documentation



Figure 5.
'Topoci Purwokerto' cart
Source: Research documentation

The way to sell Korean street food using a wheeled cart can be found at a Korean street food cart called 'Topoci Purwokerto'. This cart usually sells the food in Jalan Gatramas Raya, Dukuhwaluh Village, Kembaran District. The location is in the same complex as the largest private university in the city of Purwokerto, namely the Purwokerto Muhammadiyah University. Apart from *topokki*, this selling cart offers a menu of *ramyeon*, *oden*, *twigim*, and many more. AGS, the Topoci Purwokerto seller, revealed that he started selling at around 14.00 WIB. "Initially, I went around the complex here, to several boarding houses. After that I stayed here and closed around 9 pm," (Informant AGS). The shape of the 'Topoci Purwokerto' sales cart can be seen in Figure 5.

The several ways of selling Korean street food above show that there is a lot of Korean food in the city of Purwokerto. Korean food is food that is sold daily in Purwokerto City. This shows that Korean food is like the food usually consumed by the people of Purwokerto City. Korean Street Food is the same as market snacks that are usually sold every day. A wave of Korean food has hit the city.

Glocalization in a semi-medium city

Glocalization in Robertson's (1996) view is a globalization process characterized by social intensification and global cultural connectivity through communication media and international travel. Taking the understanding from the Japanese agricultural tradition, *dochakuka*, namely the process of adapting agricultural techniques to local conditions, Robertson said that glocalization is formed through the integration of the global and the local so that they combine. Local culture adapts and redefines any global cultural product to suit local cultural needs, beliefs, and customs.

The existence of Korean street food in the city of Purwokerto illustrates how transnational food can be reimagined and revived by local communities in new and surprising ways. Korean food is a product that is closely associated with global associations. For the people of Purwokerto City, Korean street food has become food that can be bought every day. Some people even consider Korean street food to be street food that is easy to find. This cannot be separated from the mix-and-match process that occurs in Korean street food in the city of Purwokerto. In Korean street food, there is a connection between the global and the local, resulting in something new and even unique. In the source of food processing ingredients, for example, there is a combination of local sources and global food recipes. This results in an image of the taste of food that is different from the image of the taste of global recipes, namely Korean food recipes. Informant ING, owner of a Korean food stall called 'Cheonsa Korean Kitchen' explains how she cooks Korean street food as follows:

"For various raw materials, like *topokki* products, *tteokbokki*, we use rice flour. It is homemade processing so that we don't use preservatives at all. Then for the seasonings, like *gochujang*, the ingredients are all available on the market so that it's relatively affordable and easy to find everything. It's just that in the past it was a bit troublesome because everything was offline, you had to look for your own ingredients at the market, whereas now you can order online and just wait for them to come here. The best-selling menu here is *kimbab* so seaweed (*nori*) and *nasi* (rice) are needed in addition to flour in other products. We use local brands of flour such as 'Rosebrand', and we also use a lot for meat, for example chicken. Then the processing, because it's homemade, we use household equipment, for example stoves, pans, steamers, which are all available at home." (Informant ING).

ING's explanation above shows that Korean street food in Purwokerto City uses locally sourced ingredients. For the main ingredient, rice flour, for example, she uses an Indonesian brand of rice flour, namely 'Rosebrand'. Likewise with other raw materials, she relies on local sources to process Korean street food. This shows that not all food processing ingredients are imported from Korea. "In addition to the expensive Korean ingredients, some of the seasonings may not be suitable for Indonesian tastes. So the recipes still use ingredients available in Indonesia, as long as they are similar and appropriate," (Informant RGH), owner of Topoci Purwokerto. Korean street food in Purwokerto City, in Sedda (2016) is discovering "other" culinary cultures. In the city of Purwokerto, Korean street food is neutralized so that it becomes food that has a local taste. A type of food that is different from the type of food where the food originates even though it is the result of a mix and match. The following table (Table 1) shows an overview of the mix and match practices carried out by Korean street food sellers in Purwokerto.

The most visible combination of Korean street food and the local community context of Purwokerto City can be seen in the naming of the food (Table 1). Several banners offering Korean street food name the Korean food using Indonesian spelling. In fact, several Korean street food sellers use the names of Korean food types by combining English, Indonesian and the local Purwokerto language, namely Banyumas. This gives a funny and witty impression. "Just to attract attention and look cool," (Informant JSF), owner of 'Peachy Korean Street Food', when asked about the reason for using a mix of languages in the name of the food. The following is a compilation figure of various banners, promotions, and social media flyers for Korean food sellers in Purwokerto City (Figure 6).

Tabel 1.
Mix match Korean street food vendor

Sellers	Food Ingredients		Recipes		How to cook		Naming Foods in Non-Korean Languages		
	Local	Import	Korea Recipes	Mix & Match	Home made	Instan	Banyumas	Indonesia	English
Soulmate Purwokerto	√	-	-	√	√	√	-	√	√
Jajanan Drakor	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	-
Hetteok Purwokerto	-	√	√	-	√	-	-	√	√
Topoci Purwokerto	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	√	√
Gerobak Korea	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	√
Oppane Korea	√	-	-	√	√	√	√	√	√
Angkringan Oppa	√	-	-	√	-	√	√	√	√
Peachyy Korean Street Food	√	√	√	√	√	-	-	√	√
Corndog K-Pop Purwokerto	√	√	√	√	√	√	-	√	√
Cheonsa Korean Kitchen	√	-	-	√	√	-	-	√	√

Source: Processed primary data



Figure 6.

Compilation of banner and promotion flyer of Korean food in Purwokerto

Source: Reseachdocumentation

Some of the names of Korean street food sold in Purwokerto City are not written uniformly. Each seller writes the name of the food according to their wishes without paying attention to writing rules. For example, for the name of a food, in one place it is written ‘tteobokki’, but in another place it is written ‘teoboki’. Somewhere it is written ‘topocci’, in another place it is written ‘toppoki’. In South Korea, writing like that might invite a smile, but in the city of Purwokerto it is considered normal. Korean food sellers prefer the same pronunciation sound (homophones) or similarities when writing food names. For Korean street food sellers, the most important thing is that many customers buy their goods. “If the name of the food is difficult to read, people won’t even buy it. So the most important thing is that it sounds familiar and is easy to remember,” (Informant JSH), owner of ‘Angkringan Oppa’. In fact, some sellers modify the names of food in such a way when selling their products. A *cilok* seller, for example, uses the Korean name for the ‘cilok’ menu he sells. ‘Cilok’ is the name of a food (an abbreviation of ‘aci dicolok’) made from starch and added additional spices such as peanut sauce, soy sauce and sauce. This food doesn’t exist in Korea, but the seller in Purwokerto added the Korean name to sell it.

The seller (Interview with informant WGY) said that several times he added Korean-flavored sauces such as *seollongtang*, *sundubu jjigae*, *kimchi jjigae*, and *doenjang jjigae* to the selling menu. In Korean the words *guk*, *tang* and *jjigae* mean soup. The street food ‘cilok’ in Indonesia is often served with spicy soup. The addition of Korean-flavored soup makes the Indonesian street food called ‘cilok’ unique and interesting. Writing the names of Korean street food using Indonesian language shows that Korean street food in Purwokerto City has gone through a process of translation and combining global and local elements. Sedda & Stano (2022) call this situation relative syncretism and new indigenization of food. It occurs with different rhythms, forms, and valorizations.

It has been stated that the majority of the population of Purwokerto City is Muslim. In Muslim religious practices, halal food is an important idea (Nadhifa et al. 2019). This is the main consideration for Muslims in choosing food. However, the term ‘halal’ is somewhat difficult to apply to Korean food because some basic food ingredients are made from non-halal ingredients (Vanany et al. 2020). Some Korean Street food ingredients come from fermentation and use meat as a base (Amin et al. 2020). The result of fermentation is alcohol. For Muslims, food and drinks containing alcohol are ‘haram’ (not allowed) to consume. Likewise, it is better for Muslims not to consume meat ingredients whose processing methods are questionable. “If I doubt whether the Korean food sold is halal, I choose not to buy it,” (Informant HNY). Korean food sellers in Purwokerto City are well aware of this. Apart from obtaining halal product certification issued by the Indonesian Ulema Council, they always display the halal label in their social media promotional flyers. A Korean food seller named ‘Seoulmate Purwokerto’, for example, includes a halal label on their Instagram application address. An image of the ‘Seoulmate Purwokerto’ Instagram home page can be seen in Figure 7.

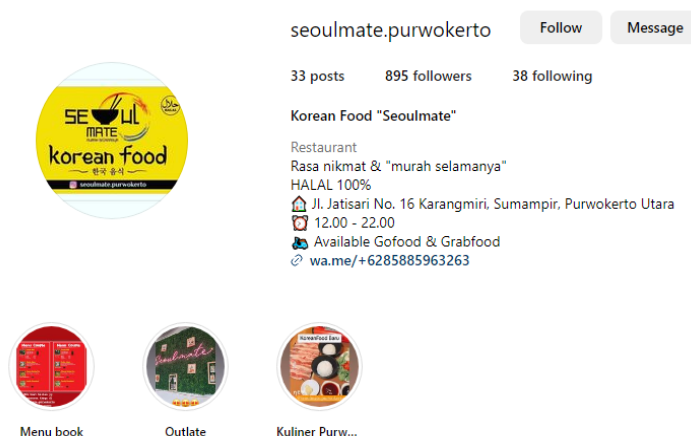


Figure 7.

The instagram home page of Seoulmate Purwokerto

Source: Research documentation

Based on data reported by the Korea International Foundation on Korean Food Information (Horng & Tsai 2012, Fikri & Hwang 2020), it is stated that there are several popular Korean street food names, namely *teokbokki*, *odeng*, *bungeoppang*, *dakganjeong*, *gyeranppang*, *chapssal*-donuts, *hotteok*, and *dakkkochi*. In Indonesia, several Korean street food names are often found being sold on street vendors in several cities in Indonesia, including the city of Purwokerto.

In a relatively short time, Korean street food has become popular in Indonesia. However, as mentioned above, there are several issues that often accompany Korean street food. The main issue regarding Korean street food is ‘halal food’. Several customers admitted that they asked Korean street food sellers about the ‘halal’ nature of the menu they were going to buy. In Muslim religious practices, halal food is an important idea (Nadhifa et al. 2019). This is the main consideration for Muslims in choosing food. Halal food in the Islamic sense is that which meets two conditions, namely *halal* and *thoyyib* (Mulyati et al. 2023). *Halal* means it is permissible to eat and is not prohibited by Islamic law. *Thoyyib* (good) means that the food consumed is nutritious and beneficial for health (Alzeer et al. 2020). In a more specific sense *thoyyib* is good and safe for consumption (food safety aspect), clean (good manufacturing practices aspect), healthy, and high quality (quality aspect).

The issue of halal food is important for Korean street food sellers in Purwokerto City. They try to show a halal label on the products they sell. Informant IST, owner of ‘Grobak Korea’ stated that he always sells menus that do not use non-halal ingredients. He also processes the ingredients using halal procedures such as slaughtering animals and not using fermented ingredients. For him, it is important to maintain customer trust. Mungaliyatun (2022) shows that 95.5% of students at the State Islamic University ‘Prof. K.H. Saifuddin Zuhri Purwokerto’ buys Korean food products based on the halal label on the product.

Halal Korean Street food that has appeared in the city of Purwokerto shows that Korean street food has adapted to local culture. The adaptation process extends to the area of religion. By carrying the halal label, Korean street food in Purwokerto City has carried out a process of particularization as universalization (Sedda & Stano 2022). Here, the naturalization effect merges with the universalization mechanism. In the initial stages, efforts to fulfill the halal food label were a particularization effort. Once the halal food label is met, Korean street food in Purwokerto City can be consumed by anyone and anywhere. Korean street food no longer knows boundaries. This shows that the mixture of Korean street food and local culture is running smoothly. Several Korean Street food customers in Purwokerto City accept and have their own tastes. Informant NRI, a customer of Grobbak Korea Mangunjaya, revealed the following:

“If you buy here, it’s because the price is more affordable, and it tastes good too. But I’m more curious about what the food in Korea tastes like because Indonesian tongues are different from people there. Apart from that, we often see Korean food from dramas and the daily life of Korean people, so it attracts our interest in trying these foods, and it turns out that after trying them, they really suit our taste buds, but there are some that don’t suit us at all. very. “Yes, especially here we feel that it is more suited to our tastes, because there are several places to eat that also provide Korean food, but it doesn’t always suit our tastes.” (Informant NRI).

NRI’s statement above shows that there are compatibility and even similarities between Korean culture and Indonesian culture. This can be seen through food. Azeharie (2023) said that like Asian people who consume rice as their main food, both Koreans and Indonesians consume rice almost three times a day. The similarity in consuming rice can be an indication that Korean street food is easily accepted by Indonesian people. Korean street food in the city of Purwokerto has really become a part of people’s lives. It is also important to add that the acceptance of Korean street food in Purwokerto City cannot be separated from the surrounding culture, namely Banyumas culture. This culture has its own cultural style. This cultural style is different from Javanese culture in general. Banyumas culture can be seen from the Ngapak language dialect (Hadiati 2014). In Banyumas culture, the nature of ‘cablaka’ and ‘blakasuta’ is known, namely the nature of being open and honest. In Banyumas culture, everyone is in an equal position. It is often said that this is the egalitarian nature of Banyumas society. This characteristic makes the phenomenon of food glocalization in Purwokerto City possible.

Based on the analysis of Korean street food in the local context using the theory of glocalization, it is found that the processes of globalization and localization occur simultaneously. In the context of Purwokerto City, globalization does not result in cultural homogenization but instead produces cultural diversity. This is evident in the creative adaptation process of Korean street food at the local level, ranging from food preparation recipes to the naming of dishes. In Purwokerto City, the glocalization of Korean food and its integration into the local context takes the form of Korean street food with adaptations and innovations that align with the local cultural context. This type of food is no longer limited to luxury restaurants, making it accessible to a broader audience. The process involves the creativity of various agents, including outlet owners, food sellers, K-Pop communities, and even Korean street food buyers who initially tried it out of curiosity. The collaboration of these agents takes place within a semi-medium city culture that values egalitarianism, influenced by Islamic principles and interconnected through social media. This aspect marks the uniqueness of this study compared to other studies on Korean food in Indonesia.

Unlike other foreign foods that are distributed through transnational franchises, such as American-style fried chicken via Kentucky Fried Chicken outlets, Italian-style pizza through Pizza Hut, or Japanese-style food via Hokben, Korean food in Purwokerto City manifests as street food and spreads widely. This phenomenon is closely tied to the egalitarian culture of the people in Purwokerto City. The glocalization of Korean food in Purwokerto can be seen as a sign of the cultural flexibility of Indonesians, particularly the people of Purwokerto City. By employing Robertson’s glocalization theory, this study demonstrates that the local context plays a crucial role in shaping the dual processes of globalization and localization.

Contextualizing glocalization theory with local phenomena in a semi-medium city like Purwokerto reveals that cultural products, such as food, have a greater influence than other cultural forms. A glocalization perspective helps to understand how Korean food is adapted and accepted in Indonesia, as well as how local Indonesian elements shape its interpretation and acceptance, leading to a new cultural form—halal-labeled Korean street food.

Conclusion

The Korean wave that hit Indonesia has spread to a semi-medium city called Purwokerto City starting in the early 2010s. Starting from the emergence of K-Pop fandom communities, the development of Korean culture in this city has included Korean food (K-Food). The most obvious thing about the development of K-food in this city is that Korean food has become street food. Korean street food in Purwokerto City is sold in various places. Starting from restaurants to being sold using food carts. The existence of Korean street food shows that there has been an integration process between Korean culture and local culture in the city of Purwokerto in the form of food glocalization. This form of glocalization is realized through the combination of food ingredients, food naming, and halal food labeling.

This article has shown that through various forms of glocalization, Korean street food has become part of the society of Purwokerto City. Korean street food has carried out relative syncretism of food through a process of particularization as universalization. This process is carried out by adopting the halal concept in Korean street food. This adoption takes place from food preparation, food processing, food serving to seeking halal food certification permits. Through these various processes, Korean street food has become integrated into the lives of the people of Purwokerto City, the majority of whom are Muslim. It must be admitted that this article has not discussed how glocalization is taking place in Purwokerto City based on the perspective of social class formation. This paper also has not made comparisons with other cities around the study area. Studies using this perspective and making comparisons with other cities, in the future, are worthy of being on the agenda.

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