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Depiction restoring women's power through eatery names

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Depiction restoring women's power through eatery names

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# Depiction restoring women's power through eatery names

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## Abstract

Empowering women entails bolstering their mentality and state of mind, as patriarchy is founded not only on sexuality. Addressing a married woman with the name of her husband or first son is claimed to be a sign of respect. Woman's public inclusion is also still considered undervalued, which is shown in the way they name eateries. This study, which unfolds eatery names in Yogyakarta Municipality in Indonesia and Malacca in Malaysia, two places with identical historical backgrounds, analysed women's efforts to increase their bargaining position in society through the naming of their eateries. Although two eateries do place women in a strong position, many of them still struggle to achieve women's positionalities and social respect.

## <sup>3</sup> Keywords

Cultural cities, eatery name, empowering women, Yogyakarta, Malacca.

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## Introduction

Every society has its own unique system of government but the terms matriarchy and patriarchy are frequently employed in certain civilizations. In practice, the majority of contemporary societies are patriarchal (G. Lockard 2015; C. Pateman 2016). Patriarchy is a formalized social system in which men dominate, but specifically it can also refer to male dominance over women. It can also refer to a wide range of manifestations in which men exploit or oppress others through social privileges, for example, male moral authority and property control (G. Hunnicutt 2009; I.M. Young 2014; K.P. Ewing 2020). Most patriarchal societies are patrilineal, which means that inheritance of property and position passes down the male line. Patriarchy is coupled with a system of thought which explains and justifies this dominance by attributing it to significant biological distinctions between men and women. Academics disagree about whether patriarchy is a social construct or the effect of inherent gender disparities. They argue that gender roles and disparity are weapons of power which have evolved into social norms in order to maintain control over women. These reasons contribute to justifying women's oppression (Young 2014). Throughout history, patriarchy has presented itself in the social, legal, political, religious, and economic organization of a variety of different cultures (F. Malt-Douglas 2007).

Meanwhile, a matriarchy is a society in which females, particularly mothers, hold the central roles of political leadership, moral authority, and property control. It does not include societies in which females occasionally lead for non-matriarchal reasons, or occupations in which females generally predominate without regard for matriarchy, for example, prostitution or women's auxiliaries in organizations run by men. Various academics say that matriarchy is a "culture or community in which such a system

predominates” or is a “family, society, organization, et cetera, dominated by a woman or women,” a “female domination” (H. Göttner-Abendroth 2018), or even “women’s reign” (Göttner-Abendroth 2004). Most academics distinguish egalitarian non-patriarchal systems from more rigidly defined matriarchies. Göttner-Abendroth (2004) also says that a reluctance to accept the existence of matriarchies could be attributed to a culturally biased understanding of what a matriarchy is: because men rule over women in a patriarchy, a matriarchy has frequently been conceptualized as women ruling over men, (P.R. Sanday 2002; Göttner-Abendroth 2018), despite her belief that matriarchies are egalitarian (Sanday 2002; M.A. Lepowsky 1993).

Cooking provides an appropriate portrayal of the patriarchal and matriarchal systems which exist in society. M. Blair-Loy (2006) asserts that there is a common idea of “family devotion schema” or broad cultural idea that women’s primary obligations should be only at home and to family. Men are not expected to perform these caring duties; instead, men are supposed to have female partners who do it. Taken with the historical concept of feeding the family as a women’s task, these cultural ideas lead to women continuing to cook more frequently at home. It is because women have been brought up to believe it is their role to make meals and perform other domestic tasks. This is most likely a combination of the influence of older women in the family and observed social attitudes and traditions through ordinary interaction, television, or advertising and promotion. Put another way, a woman’s decision to cook dinner might be driven by a real passion for cooking or a mutually beneficial arrangement with other family members based on equitable task allocation and convenience. The American Time Use Survey (2012) published a survey result showing that women spent more than five hours per week preparing meals, while men spent less than two hours per week cooking. However, women make up only a modest percentage of restaurant head chefs. These findings are a bit

surprising since America, but not Indonesia and Malaysia, is known for its liberalism. These countries share the same vein of patriarchy and place women in an inferior position to men in the tourism field, including restaurants in hotels. To be more specific, men have more rights to earn a higher salary and become the head of kitchen section (T.N. Peng, L.S. Li, and J.C.K. Lian 2021: 324; I.Y. Septiani and M. Siscawati 2022: 130). To exemplify, according to R. Sutton (2014) of Bloomberg News, women accounted for 6 percent of high-ranking chefs in big restaurant chains. F. Villeneuve and I. Curtis (2011) state that women make up between 5 and 15 percent of executive cooks. Given that women spend more than double the amount of time in home kitchens as men, it is perplexing that there are so few women working in commercial kitchens. In a New York magazine, D. Maurer (2009) highlighted Chef Mario Batali saying that women “do not cook to compete; they cook to feed people”. Competition, on the other hand, is central to the restaurant sector, with chefs battling for customers and media attention.

Although tons of studies related to the restaurant trade have been written, unfortunately there is lack of research scrutinizing any hint of gender bias which might occur in eatery names. Most studies pay attention to portraying or criticizing gender inequality in employment cases in restaurants. In reality, there are so many eateries proliferating with various brands, including names representing males and females. The choice of whether the names are masculine or feminine is an interesting topic for further discussion to enrich the postulates of gender ideology emerging nowadays. In their study on gender and brand, R. Pogacar et al. (2021: 113-114) mention that feminine brand names offer some benefits like suggesting warmth and surprisingly are not hindered by any obstacles like gender tendency among customers buying their product. In other words, despite the product's female name, both men and women still purchase it. However, their study has limitation in that they investigate only product brand names, not delving

into eatery names. This gap, which has been paid insufficient attention by researchers, provides the backbone for our research.

Yogyakarta is a well-known city which exhibits Indonesia's diverse cultures. This city is alive with various Indonesian ethnicities, languages, and foods. It is also considered the holder of the Javanese cultural heritage as it is still the site of a Javanese sultanate. The patriarchal system of Javanese society is one of the cultural heritages which has been preserved (T. Octastefani and N. Azizah 2018: 219; M. Pirus, M. Shahnawi, and H. Nurahmawati 2020: 54). This system prioritizes men over women in all aspects of life, including the household (S. Naafs 2012: 53; A. Rohman 2013: 213). Meanwhile, Malacca, or Melaka as it is called in Malay, was once controlled by a sultan (S.J. Noor Muhammad 2017: 185). However, this city later developed with the introduction of many other cultures besides the Malay. Chinese, Portuguese, Indian, and Peranakan cultures have all contributed to its mosaic (G.H. Pue 2016: 71; F. Hamzah et al. 2019: 64).

There are various possibilities from which eatery owners can select the names their food-selling businesses to highlight the food identity journey in particular places. These can range from the owners' names, their backgrounds, their hopes, and even popular sayings (A.P.A. Tur 2019). A gender identity consequently emerges based on what food is being promoted. Certain eateries have female names as the food is usually sold by a woman, and vice-versa. Although R. Mukherjee (2015: 76) and J.A. Centra and B.G. Noreen (2000: 17) define gender bias broadly as treating people differently, even unjustly, purely on the basis of their gender, these articles do not to delve into this assertion. They only try to capture and explain the "culture" in naming eateries based on the product sold, especially the gender-marked names. Moreover, in its discussion of the culture, this research provides in-depth descriptions of the data from two different cities in different



countries: Yogyakarta (Indonesia) and Malacca (Malaysia) to make a contribution to the enriched cultural understanding of the naming field.

Some similar articles are evaluated in support of this research in order to fill some of the gaps. The domination of male names for eatery is very pronounced in some areas in the world. One study which can be taken as a prelude to this article is B. Neethling's (2019: 99-115) about liquor names. The results show that historically male names were preferred for naming spirits. However, late the liquor-producers began to use female names to attract more consumers. J.B. Walkowiak (2018) has also discussed the existence of female street names in some Polish cities, producing the meagre result of only 11 percent. D.G. Mora and D. Oto-Peralías (2021) also find the equity for gender in street names around Spain in a similar proportion. Of the 15 million street names, only 12 percent is feminine. D. Zuvalinyenga and I. Bigon (2021) have also identified gender bias of street naming in urban Sub-Saharan Africa. Their investigation also shows a preponderance of masculine street names and the writers map the influential judicious factors behind this result. Even in the USA, there is strong bonding among Afro-Americans to commemorate Martin Luther King in the place names chosen for their eateries (D.H. Alderman 2000).

However, in an immigrant society, female names or certain female identities have a bigger opportunity to be attached to the eatery names.

F. Akbari (2019) has analysed Persian restaurant and supermarket names in Vienna. Unfortunately, the study only elaborates each category found in the data-collection process. It reveals that the most predominant names indicate the geographical origins or female names of the immigrants living in Vienna. A. Setiawati, I. Santosa, and Widiharjo (2016) have also found aspects creating gender identity in female-themed restaurants shown by their brands and interior elements. D.W. Wulansari (2020), supported by L.N.H. Chen (2017) who examined the names of American Chinese restaurants in Los Angeles County, has scrutinized the names of *Padang* restaurants in Surabaya, Indonesia. Among the patterns emerging are the owners'

names, prayers, locations; names related to togetherness or enjoyment of good food (Tur 2019) are also noticeable. More specifically to eatery names, E. Setiawati and E. Worobroto (2020: 145-148) have listed *bakso* eatery names in Malang, East Java, Indonesia. They have also found a semantic relationship among them and conclude that various categories have emerged, for example, owners' names, locations, and expectations. In relation to the owner's names, the researchers mention some female names which indicate a female presence, although male name predominate, indicating that gender bias does exist in *bakso* eatery names, exhibiting a tendency to favour the males.

These studies highlight that gender-themed eaters exist and are proliferating. Women's names continue to rank second to men's in restaurant names, despite the fact that the distribution is more equitable in some places. Additionally, the homogeneity of culture and eateries which sell traditional or iconic foods should not be overlooked. In a society with a single culture, the men's names enjoy absolute dominance. As just said, female names begin to arise in immigrant communities. However, the treatment of women's names in the designation of restaurants in a multi-cultural society has not yet been adequately examined. The sorts of eateries highlighted in the studies above are also broad in scope and do not include the iconic traditional eateries which every community nurtures as a reflection of its culture (L.S.M.W. Kurniawati and R.F. Marta 2019: 27). Therefore, this gap is open to investigation. The purpose of this study is to examine the presence of gender in eatery names and the influence of culture in accepting gender representation in eatery name branding.

#### Methods

This research is qualitative in nature. Direct observation and documentation, strengthened by online searching via the Google platform were conducted to cover all the names of eateries selling the 363 targeted foods in Yogyakarta: *gudeg* eateries, *angkringan*, and places selling soup-like dishes, for example, *mie ayam* (chicken noodle soup), *bakso* (soup with meatballs), and *soto* (traditional hearty Indonesian soup with meat and vegetables). In Malacca the

focus was on the 384 eateries serving Malay rice-based dishes, *laksa*, and *asam pedas* and eateries identified with Chinese or with Peranakans, regarded as “locally born” (P. Wee 2015: 12), often described as Chinese-Malay offspring (H. Hussin 2014: 219). Because nowadays everything can be traced on Google, the online data collection strategy was chosen. Specifically, Google also assists the sellers to make their products easily accessible and marketed through reviews, maps, and so on. Therefore, it is a rational assumption that finding the eatery names from online platforms would be reliable, and more efficient, especially as a complement to initial direct observations and documentations. The collected data were categorized according to the semantic relationships previously represented in Setiawati and Worobroto’s research (2020: 145-148). Moreover, there was a thorough analysis of the survival of women’s names in eatery names found followed by a pattern elaboration for gender-marked specific naming. To elaborate the motivation behind the name, the owners of the targeted eateries were interviewed.

#### Findings And Discussions

By comparing the number of female and male names of the research items, the study was ultimately looking for the emergence of a gender ideology. As women’s power is emphasized in this study, the analysis not only captured the number of names as proof of gender equality in the restaurant industry, particularly for women, but also reveals women’s struggles in competing with males in the hospitality industry. More thorough explanations are provided in the analyses below.

#### A. Strong FeMAle MArKer AttrAction

Yogyakarta and Malacca are iconic in terms of cultural preservation because of the royal presence in the regions in the past. Indeed, the sultanate of Yogyakarta continues to exist. Its existence functions as a cultural

stakeholder, preserving and ensuring the survival of Javanese culture. However, despite sharing a common historical past, their social conditions have shifted. Javanese culture, in all its manifestations, is vibrant and powerful in Yogyakarta, despite the fact the city has been dubbed a miniature Indonesia because of the presence there of numerous ethnicities. Nevertheless, labelling Yogyakarta a multicultural city is not an easy matter. On the other hand, Malacca is renowned as a multicultural-multi-lingual city. Diverse cultures live there, forming a new social framework free of ethnic dominance. The existence of cultural diversity has become widespread through intermingling and exchange.

The first exchange is through social interaction (E.S. Bramwell 2018). Immigrants have come to share their culture with that of the Javanese community in Yogyakarta. The most interesting point here is the assimilation of other cultures into Javanese culture. Immigrants, in this case, those in the culinary field, blend seamlessly into Javanese society, motivated by a desire to be accepted by the local population. Ethnic Chinese, for example, have adapted flexibly to local culture in order to become a part of and accepted by the community (P.K.W. Tan 2006). They have named themselves or their businesses to identify with a «Javanese sound» or have merged or mingled their own language with Bahasa Indonesia or Javanese (B. Bailey and S. Lie 2013; P. Sercombe et al. 2014; S.D. Blum 1997). In contrast, the Malay community in Malacca, which embraces a multi-cultural worldview, views immigrants as individuals. This diversity is what binds people together in the process of establishing a natural cohesion. There are numerous names which are identical to Ethnic Chinese, Indian, or other cultures, as well as names associated with religious identities, for example, Islam, Christianity, and others, existing and receiving equal status in the society.

Another exchange might be facilitated by the presence of technology (Bramwell 2018). Technological development has an effect on many aspects of life and can even alter deeply ingrained social traditions. In the culinary context, for example, numerous shopping applications offer great culinary services; simply by entering specific food keywords, the smartphone screen displays the horizon of eateries (Ewing 2020; Lockard 2015). This facility boosts both space and time efficiency (Blair-Loy 2006). Consumers are not required to visit a restaurant to place an order. Through those applications, they can order a meal and pay for it from their homes, and the food will be delivered to them (Sanday 2002).

Because of the intersection of these two cultural spheres, culinary industry actors must compete for branding opportunities (Blair-Loy 2006), one manifestation of which is eatery names. Technological sophistication operates as a magnet, attracting both established and new eateries. Established eateries are vying to become iconic, while newcomers are attempting to increase their popularity to the point at which they are always at the top of the meal menu search list in the applications. It is intriguing to note two eateries in

Yogyakarta and Malacca: *gudeg* and *laksa*, in relation to this phenomenon. The two foods have been picked not for their popularity or distinctiveness. Rather, they have been chosen because of existence and power of a strong female marker attraction which makes them iconic.

Table 1. contains seven patterns of some of *gudeg* eatery names which are fostering the existence of female markers attached to the eatery names with gender markers, none is male-named.

| no | eAtery nAMes   | MeAnIng                            | Gender IdentIFler |
|----|--|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1  | Gudeg <b>Yu</b> Djum; Gudeg <b>Yu</b> Sum; Gudeg <b>Yu</b> Sus; Gudeg <b>Yu</b> Retno      | elder sister                       | Female            |
| 2  | Gudeg <b>Bu</b> Tjitro "1925"  | mother in Indonesian               | Female            |
| 3  | Gudeg <b>Mbok</b> Joyo   | mother in Javanese                 | Female            |
| 4  | Gudeg Mbarek Bu <b>Hj.</b> Amad  | a woman who has completed the Hajj | Female            |
| 5  | Gudeg <b>Mbah</b> Lindu  | grandmother                        | Female            |
| 6  | Gudeg <b>Mbak</b> Lia; Gudeg <b>Mbak</b> Rara; Gudeg <b>Mbak</b> Nisa; <b>Mbak</b> Lucinta | elder sister                       | Female            |
| 7  | Gudeg <b>Rahayu</b>  | common name for a woman            | Female            |

Table 1. Female marker examples of *gudeg* eatery names.

*Yu* is the initial marker. When a person wishes to approach an older sister in a Javanese manner, the word *yu* is used. This is an abbreviation of *mbak ayu*. "In the past, *yu* referred to a biological older sister. Today, it is used to address any woman, frequently, those who are older,"<sup>1</sup> said the owner of Gudeg Yu Sus. In former times, *yu* placed heavy emphasis on older sisters from the same family. However, the term has been expanded to include all women regarded as older than the speaker as a sign of respect or politeness, for example, Yu Djum, Yu Sum, Yu Sus, or Yu Retno. The owner of the Gudeg Yu Djum branch, when asked why the name was *Yu Djum*, said "It [Yu Djum] is one of its branches. It is so famous, so that marketing is easy."<sup>2</sup> Other

<sup>1</sup> *Nek mbiyen yu dipake buat manggil mbak kandung. Kalau sekarang, ya, buat nyapa siapa aja, umume sing tua-tua.*

<sup>2</sup> *Niki cabange, Mas. Lha kan sudah terkenal, jadi biar marketing gampang, Mas.*

owners using *yu* also argue that marketing is the reason. “Frankly, it [Yu Sum] was my grandmother’s name. She sold *gudeg* and people called it Gudeg Yu Sum. Now, I use the name for my business.”<sup>3</sup> Yu Sus and Yu Retno are much younger businesses than the previous two. However, they use *yu* to attract customers, although their reasons by using it are different. “*Yu Sus* is the way people address me”.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, the owner of Yu Retno said, “To make it look like legendary business. Hopefully, to make it sell well. *Yu* is the identity of Yogya, isn’t it?”<sup>5</sup>

Similarly, *mbak*, form of like *yu*, has also undergone the same extension in meaning and definition in the Javanese community, for example, Mbak Lia, Mbak Rara, Mbak Nisa, and Mbak Lucinta. “*Mbak* as a term of address is better known than *yu*”,<sup>6</sup> said the owners of Gudeg Mbak Lia supported by the owner of Gudeg Mbak Nisa who said, “Nowadays, *mbak* is still often used as a form of address, the younger generation longer use *yu*.”<sup>7</sup> “*Yu* seems oldfashioned and archaic. I am still young,”<sup>8</sup> said the owner of Gudeg Mbak Rara. “It would be funny if I were to be addressed as *yu*, very awkward. *Mbak* will do,”<sup>9</sup> said the owner of Gudeg Mbak Lucinta. The all share the same reason for their choice: they are the significant persons behind the eateries and promote what they sell by attaching their gender identifier to *gudeg*. People are very familiar with these.

Meanwhile, *mbah* is a greeting reserved for someone who is deemed to be elderly, either in terms of age or life experience, or who has grandchildren. *Mbah* can be used to refer to either a male or a female, but when combined

<sup>3</sup> Jan-jane itu (Yu Sum) nama nenek. Dulu merintis jualan gudeg dan orang-orang mengenalnya Gudeg Yu Sum. Ya, saya meneruskan jadi ya memakai nama yang lama saja.

<sup>4</sup> Yu Sus itu panggilan saya.

<sup>5</sup> Biar kelihatan legendaris, Mas. Ben laris manis. Kan khas e Jogja pake yu, to?

<sup>6</sup> Nama mbak kan lebih dikenal daripada yu.

<sup>7</sup> Sekarang kan yang muda-muda manggilnya mbak bukan yu lagi.

<sup>8</sup> Yu ki ketok tua je Mas. Lha aku kan isih nom.

<sup>9</sup> Yo lucu to Mas. Masak aku dipanggil yu, ra luwes. Minimal mbak lah.



with a female proper name, *mbah* is confirmed as a female marker. In the reverse direction, in Javanese society, proper names often conjoin with gender identity. E.M. Uhlenbeck (1969, 1982) argued that there are numerous patterns in names which indicate gender. These include the sound of the last syllable *-i*, *-tun*, or *-ah*, as in *Wartini*, *Parmiatun*, or *Misrikah*, rhyming patterns which are *a-i-i* in *Partini*, *u-i-e* in *Sugiyem*, or *u-i-a-i* in *Djumiati*. “*Mbah Lindu* is an address, not an official name. Because people were more familiar with it than her real name, this form of address was used as a trademark,”<sup>10</sup> explained her daughter.

*Bu* and *mbok* are two words which have originated in two distinct languages: Indonesian and Javanese. Both these terms apply to female markers. *Bu* refers to mother, in both formal or casual contexts and, when referring to kinship, *bu* is frequently used in the spoken language. It is an abbreviation of *ibu*. The owner of Gudeg Bu Tjitro “1925” said, “*Bu* was chosen because it was still rare to use it as a form of address among the common people. Only those of high social status used it. At that time, our customers were civil servants, the so-called *priyayi*.<sup>11</sup> The form of address can even determine the customers’ choice. Meanwhile, *mbok* is an abbreviation of *simbok*. However, the notion of *mbok* can have different meanings under certain circumstances. Tur (2014) lists at least seven Javanese meanings and functions for *mbok*. These differences in perspective of *mbok* are employed by business owners to generate unique eatery names, for example, *Mbok Mandeg* (*mbok* ‘please’, *mandeg* ‘stalled, stagnant’) means ‘please stop and visit us’ or *Mbok Reneo* (*reneo* ‘come here’) meaning ‘please come here’, both the names of *gudeg* eateries. However, *mbok* with

<sup>10</sup> *Mbah Lindu* itu nama panggilan, bukan nama sebenarnya. Karena orang-orang lebih mengenal nama itu, ya akhirnya dipakai aja sama simbah untuk nama merek dagang.

<sup>11</sup> Memilih pakai *bu* karena dulu itu *bu* jarang dipakai. Hanya mereka yang dipandang memiliki status sosial tinggi yang menggunakan *bu*. Jadi ya, konsumen kami saat itu adalah pegawai-pegawai kantor, Mas. *Priyayi* gitulah.

the meaning of mother as business name is represented by Gudeg Mbok Joyo. Its owner said, "The business name is the legacy of my mother who began the business under the form of address *ibu*."<sup>12</sup> This is a female name as a legacy in business.

Furthermore, the final female marker in *gudeg* eatery names is *Hj*. This stands for *hajjah* which is an honorific title bestowed by the community and considered legal for public use to refer to women who have completed the Hajj. However, in a more limited context and during daily talks with a high degree of bonding between the speakers and interlocutors, *hajjah* can be used to express respect for a woman's religious behaviour and knowledge, despite not having made the Hajj. "The form of address was not an intentional choice. Women around the house often used it."<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, the business owners who choose to use their names, without any form of address, as a trademark have reflected the gender identity as female. The owner of Gudeg Rahayu said, "*Rahayu* is a common female name. So, it is to the point."<sup>14</sup>

Similarly, in Malacca, eateries selling *laksa* show a strong preference for female name markers. The Table 2 below consists of some examples of patterns which can be utilized as cultural icons.

| no | eAtery nAMes                               | MeAnIng                               | gender IdentIFier |
|----|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1  | <b>Nyonya</b> Laksa di 486 <b>Baba</b> Low | ma'am; old man<br>(Chinese Peranakan) | Female; Male      |
| 2  | <b>Donald</b> and <b>Lily</b> Restaurant   | proper names for men;<br>women        | Male; Female      |
| 3  | Restoran <b>Nyonya</b> Makko               | ma'am                                 | Female            |
| 4  | <b>Nancy's</b> Kitchen                     | proper name for<br>women              | Female            |

<sup>12</sup> Itu tinggalane ibu yang merintis usaha dengan nama ibu.

<sup>13</sup> Tidak ada maksud apa-apa Mas pas memilih pakai nama hajjah. Ibu-ibu sini yang biasa pakai panggilan itu.

<sup>14</sup> Lha kan Rahayu itu umumnya nama perempuan. Biar to the point aja.



|   |   |       |        |
|---|---|-------|--------|
| 5 | Seri <b>Nyonya</b> Peranakan Restaurant | ma'am | Female |
| 6 | Big <b>Nyonya</b>                       | ma'am | Female |
| 7 | Aunty Lee's <b>Nyonya</b> Restaurant    | ma'am | Female |
| 8 | <b>Nyonya</b> Licious Kitchen Melaka    | ma'am | Female |

Table 2. Female marker examples of *laksa* eatery names.

There is little variety in the pattern of female markers in the names of eateries in Malacca selling *laksa*. The majority use *nyonya* and the restaurant owners' proper names. This could have been motivated by a sense of cultural identity. The predominant ethnic group in Malacca is Malay, and immigrants including ethnic Chinese/Peranakans, Indians, Portuguese, and Europeans/Americans live there peacefully (Wee 2015; Pue 2016). The *laksa* menu is identical to that of Chinese or Peranakans, who are descended from Chinese (Wee 2015). It shows an attempt is being made to integrate into the local community and to live alongside them.

The use of the name *nyonya*, which denotes a woman's identity, in their eatery names, demonstrates how Ethnic Chinese immigrants can be embraced by the native community. *Nyonya* is defined as a foreign married woman (Wee 2015). Socially, however, these women can be seen as having a higher literacy than the indigenous people. In some cultures, *nyonya* is even the term of address used to refer to a maid's master (Pue 2016: 71; F. Hamzah et al. 2019). They use these names as eatery names to legitimize the predominance of female roles in culinary concerns, which is prevalent in Chinese society (Sanday 2022). Women play a major role in household management (A.P.A. Tur and G. Pratishara 2018). This is then elevated to the public realm. Almost no Chinese or Peranakan restaurants serve *laksa* without attaching a female persona to it, for example, Restoran Nyonya Makko, Seri Nyonya Peranakan Restaurant, or Nyonya Licious Kitchen Melaka. "*Nyonya* is our identity as Peranakan here. Almost

all restaurants here use *nyonya* to legitimate our role in running the business”, said the owner of Seri Nyonya Peranakan Restaurant. For those who incorporate male identity terms, for example, *baba* into restaurant names, it is certain that female identities will also be included, for example, Nyonya Laksa di 486 Baba Low, “*Baba* is my husband’s form of address. We are *peranakan*”, said the owner. As with *gudeg* restaurant names, female proper names are directly incorporated into restaurant names, for example Nancy’s Kitchen or Auntie Lee’s Nyonya Restaurant.

Both the eatery names mentioned in the previous paragraph: *gudeg* and *laksa*, present a picture of a woman’s identity in public, which is employed as branding for the eatery names. Both have established themselves and have become symbols of their respective regions. However, when it comes to promoting the potential of women’s identities as brand names for restaurants, the two have very varying viewpoints. At the very least, the historical features and cultural connections can all be observed as being different.

*Gudeg* and *laksa* originate in distinct social backgrounds in society. *Gudeg* is associated with the urban and is a staple dish of lower middle-class society (N.B.R. Palupi 2019). *Gudeg* refers to the *abangan* class, according C. Geertz (1960) classification and hence are neither *santri* nor *priyayi*. It is made using unripe jackfruit and a variety of spices. What is fascinating is that *gudeg* needs to undergo multiple cooking processes and can be reheated for days. Having said this, the more frequently the *gudeg* is warmed up, the more delightful it will taste. It is part of the way of life of lower middle-class society, in which people must process the same ingredients for their daily food in order to keep costs down. In contrast, *mie laksa* was a dish brought to Malaysia by Ethnic Chinese (S. Cosmo 2017). The main component is flour, which was not widely utilized at the time. The basic noodles were enhanced

by flavours which were suited to the tastes of the indigenous people. Therefore, *mie laksa* gained access to and became a part of the Malay ethnicity's culinary richness (M.A. Adzkiyak 2017). It can be claimed that *gudeg* is an original dish of middle-class Javanese in Yogyakarta, whereas *laksa* is a food which originated among immigrants who resided in ethnic Malay communities and was gradually accepted and paired with local cuisine.

This historical process has had an impact on the establishment of a cultural identity. To the general public, *gudeg* conjures up the image of middle-class Javanese society, which is identical to the patriarchal system (M. Oh 2009). Oh (2009) also believes that formerly the women's names attached to *gudeg* eateries were depictions of those who cooked the food, but recently their names have been utilized as branding strategies to present themselves to the public as the struggle for equity in the middle-class society. This contrasts with the influences of Chinese culture prevalent among ethnic Malays. The Chinese have been proud to introduce their culture to Malay society which has adopted various elements from it. Men and women in Ethnic Chinese society are treated equally in public, despite most of their society being patriarchal (Y. Wang and T. Liu 2020). This theme is expressed in the names of eateries as a symbol of women's power and recognition in the culinary world. Furthermore, female identity in the names of businesses is a legacy of authenticity, for both *gudeg* and *laksa*. Language usage also demonstrates the cultural affiliation provided by both. *Gudeg* eateries employ indigenous language since they live and breathe their branding in their own community, whereas *laksa* incorporates some English or other language lexicons as a means to achieve international recognition. Additionally, Ethnic Chinese believe that the use of English in their names is a sign of higher service standards (Tan 2006), implying that they are responsive, their establishment is cleaner, the food is certain to be delectable, and the name is easily recognized by foreigners (Tur and Pratihara 2018).

## b. Engaging the Female recognition of Eatery Names

Women in some areas are treated as second-class citizens in practically all spheres of life, particularly in the public sector. This is the result of society's intrinsic patriarchal bias (Pirus, Shahnawi, and Nurahmawati 2020: 54). However, nowadays they are no longer shy about revealing their dual roles, no longer just confined to household duties, but also career women. Despite the lesser number of women working, as sampled in Indonesia (Michele Ford and Lyn Parker 2008), the matter highlighted here is that the awakening of women towards striving for their status equity in many fields, including working in the public sphere.

This has also influenced the eatery names in Yogyakarta and Malacca. *Gudeg* and *laksa* serve as role models of this public emergence. Currently, via the Internet women are offered the same opportunities to claim an equal position to males in the patriarchal society, most notably in the context of restaurant names. Even though *gudeg* and *laksa* have established a strong standing in the community and have achieved a favourable bargaining position, the following several types eateries are still battling for recognition.

The soup food group in Yogyakarta uses both sexual identity forms of address, whereas in Malacca, common eateries and those which sell various types of *nasi* dishes use both gender-specific addresses. This is because the opening hours of these establishments are usually the same, whether they are associated with men or women. They offer food for brunch, lunch or between the hours of 10 a.m. and 4 p.m., though some eateries open or close earlier or later. Under these circumstances, both men and women work these hours. Men are confined to their employment by set working hours but, while their husbands are at work, women work at home taking care of their families. As a result, they both work the same hours. Table 3 is the pattern of the names of eateries selling a variety of soups, for example, *bakso* (with meat balls), *soto* (traditional Indonesian soup with meat and vegetables), and *mie ayam* (chicken noodle soup).

| no | Eatery Names | Meaning | Gender Identifier |
|----|--------------|---------|-------------------|
|----|--------------|---------|-------------------|

|   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Bakso <b>Pak</b> Ateng<br>Soto <b>Pak</b> Roto<br>Bakso & Mi ayam <b>Bu</b> Wid<br>Soto Sapi <b>Ma'e</b>   | sir<br>sir<br>mother/mum<br>mother/mum  | Male<br>Male<br>Female<br>Female                         |
| 2 | Bakso <b>Bang</b> Nono<br>Bakso <b>Mas</b> Kribo<br>Mi ayam <b>Mas</b> Tri<br>Bakso Raksasa <b>Cak</b> Joko<br>Soto <b>Cak</b> Salli<br>Soto Kudus <b>Mbak</b> Mun<br>Bakso – Mi ayam – Soto Ayam <b>Mbak</b><br>Ragil 9 | elder brother<br>elder brother<br>elder brother<br>elder brother<br>elder brother<br>elder sister elder<br>sister | Male<br>Male<br>Male<br>Male<br>Male<br>Female<br>Female |
| 3 | Soto Seger <b>Hj.</b> Fatimah<br><br>Soto Jogja <b>H.</b> Alwi   | a woman who<br>has completed<br>the Hajj a man<br>who has<br>completed the<br>Hajj                                | Female<br><br>Male                                       |
| 4 | Bakso Urat & Mi ayam <b>Rizky 2</b><br>Soto Ayam Cilacap <b>Ghani</b><br>Mie Ayam <b>Tumini</b>  | proper names<br>proper names<br>proper names  | Female<br>Male<br>Female                                 |

Table 3. Recognition of female marker in eatery names in Yogyakarta.

Meanwhile, Table 4 indicates a preference for female markers for eateries in Malacca, especially those vending a selection of dishes and those selling various kinds of *nasi* dishes.

| No | EAtery NAmEs   | MeAnIng  | gender IdentIFler                        |
|----|--|--|--|
| 1  | Nasi Beriani <b>Haji</b> Tamby<br>Warung <b>Hajjah</b> Robiah  | a man who has<br>completed the Hajj a<br>woman who has<br>completed the Hajj           | Male<br>Female                           |
| 2  | <b>Pak</b> Putra Tandoori & Naan Warung<br><b>Pak</b> Enal Bukit Katil   | sir<br>sir   | Male<br>Male                             |
| 3  | Resto <b>Mohd Yaseem</b><br>Restoran <b>Rashid</b> Corner<br><b>Yazid</b> Daun Pisang<br>Restoran <b>Nuraini</b><br>Resto Nasi Lemak <b>Anis Putri</b><br>Restoran Nasi Kandar <b>Subaidah</b> | proper names proper<br>names proper names<br>proper names proper<br>names proper names | Male<br>Male<br>Male<br>Female<br>Female |
| 4  | Restoran <b>Kak Ros</b>  | elder sister   | Female                                   |
| 5  | Nasi Lemak <b>Hang Tuah</b>  | legendary hero   | Male                                     |

Table 4. Recognition of female marker in eatery names in Malacca.

Both sites create their eatery names in the same manner, by affixing personal names to the menus on offer. *Pak* (sir) is employed by the two distinct ethnicities, for example, in the most sought-after meatball restaurant in Yogyakarta, Bakso Pak Ateng (R.T. Febriani 2022), and in Malacca's Pak Putra Tandoori & Naan and Warung Pak Enal Bukit Katil. People typically utilize *pak* to address their father or another older male with respect. In this context, however, *pak* refers exclusively to an adult male. This form of address is the most neutral and free of any ethnic overtones. "I use the name *Pak Roto* because I run this business; this is my stall",<sup>15</sup> said the owner of Soto Pak Roto. This notion is shared by the owner of Warung Pak Enal Bukit Katil, "No ulterior motive behind the name. It is my name and I combine it with *name tempat ini lah* (name of place the stall is located)." Likewise, *bu* is neutral and does not favour an ethnicity when used as an eatery name. In contrast, Javanese people typically use *ma'e*, which is also a female marker. "As far as I know, it [*ma'e*] is dialect, isn't it? I am from another region, so I just use term I know,"<sup>16</sup> said the owner of Soto Sapi Ma'e.

Some other forms of address like *bang*, *mas*, and *cak*, which are also represented in the eatery names, reveal a specific ethnicity. These various titles have one meaning, 'bro'. However, the kinship terms are drawn from different societies. *Bang* or *abang* is most widely used in Sumatra. Javanese people prefer to address a man who is older than the speaker as *mas*. But Javanese specified as East Javanese, specifically living in Madura, will mostly employ *cak* (KBBI Daring 2016). "I am mixed-race, Yogja-Medan. My mother, from Medan, calls me *bang* and my friends imitate this,"<sup>17</sup> said the owner of Bakso Bang Nono. The owner of Soto Cak Salli shared the same information about the origin of its name, "Yes, brother, I am from Pamekasan [Madura]. [I have deliberately used *cak*] in order to build solidarity with migrants [from Madura]."<sup>17</sup> In Malacca, *kak* can refer to either an elder brother or an elder sister. Given that *kak* has a neutral connotation, gender is determined by personal names or the name of the owner which follows it. However, it differs from *mbak*, which is the antonym of *mas* in Javanese culture. Therefore, even without any personal names after it, it relates directly to the feminine gender.

Another concern is the usage of a socially recognized title such as *H*, *Haji*, *Hj.*, or *Hajjah*, for persons who have undertaken the Hajj. As previously established, the use of *H*. before personal names in eatery names indicates a man who has completed the Hajj. He has been accorded the title either by society or has adopted it personally in recognition of this achievement. Meanwhile, *Hj.* or *Hajjah* is a social designation given to women who have

<sup>15</sup> Saya menggunakan nama Pak Roto ya karena ini yang jualan saya dan warung saya.

<sup>16</sup> Setau saya, itu dialek, bener ya Mas? Saya bukan asli sini, jadi ya pakai yang saya tau aja. <sup>17</sup> Saya blasteran Jogja-Medan. Ibu saya dari Medan dan biasa manggil saya pake bang. Jadi kebawalah temen-temen saya.

<sup>17</sup> Iya Dek, saya dari Pamekasan. Kami biar ada solidaritas di antara perantau.



completed the Hajj. They can be seen in the names Nasi Beriani Haji Tamby, Warung Hajjah Robiah, Soto Seger Hj. Fatimah, and Soto Jogja H. Alwi. The use of direct personal names is also prevalent in the naming of eateries. "Formerly, our family used the title in recognition [of] completing the Hajj. But now, it is our company brand,"<sup>18</sup> said the manager of Nasi Beriani Haji Tamby. Other eateries do not beat about the bush about the types of food on offer, for example, Bakso Urat & Mi ayam Rizky 2 and Soto Ayam Cilacap Ghani, which clearly announce that they are offering meatballs, chicken noodle soup, and *soto*. Other examples include Yazid Daun Banana, Restoran Nasi Lemak Anis Putri, and Restoran Nasi Kandar Subaidah offering various rice menus.

The use of the name of a legendary hero for an eatery, however, is exclusive to Malacca and not found in Yogyakarta. Nasi Lemak Hang Tuah is an example. In Malacca, Hang Tuah is a famous legendary hero. He was one of the nine Hangs who played a significant part in the development of Malacca under the sultanate (R. Idrus 2016: 1-2). "I don't really have any relationship to the hero's name but my dream is to build up the business. I want to be a success and the name is the representation of my ambition," said the owner of Nasi Lemak Hang Tuah. To date, the names of heroes in Indonesia have been applied only to public places, for example, streets, buildings, and even government institutions. This raises a question for further research about how these names have been employed.

Street food is another sort of eatery linked with males. These eateries are distinguished from others by their use of semi-permanent or temporary structures, for example, tents or stalls which are simple to build and easy to remove. In the Yogyakarta, these are referred to as *angkringan*, whereas in Malacca, *kedai* is used. Because of the masculine stereotype associated with street life, both are identified with men. In addition, in Yogyakarta *angkringan* are linked to nightlife because they open after the sun has set and

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<sup>18</sup> Formerly, *keluarga kami pakai untuk appreciation, pulang pegi haji. Tapi sekarang, itu brand our company.*

sometimes remain so until late into the late or early morning. In Malacca, *kedai* operate in step with the working hours. Here are a few instances.

| no | eAtery nAMes                                       | MeAnIng       | gender IdentIFler |
|----|--|---------------|-------------------|
| 1  | Angkringan <b>Lek</b> No Angkringan <b>Lik</b> Man | uncle         | Male              |
| 2  | Angkringan <b>Pak</b> Man                          | sir           | Male              |
| 3  | Angkringan <b>Kang</b> Harjo                       | elder brother | Male              |
| 4  | Angkringan <b>Pakdhe</b> Amin                      | uncle         | Male              |
| 5  | Angkringan <b>Mbah</b> Mono                        | grandfather   | Male              |
| 6  | Angkringan <b>Mas</b> Wied                         | elder brother | Male              |
| 7  | Angkringan <b>Memet</b>                            | common name   | Male              |
| 8  | Angkringan <b>Bang</b> Jon                         | elder brother | Male              |
| 9  | Angkringan Si <b>Broo</b>                          | brother       | Male              |
| no | eAtery nAMes                                       | MeAnIng       | gender IdentIFler |
| 10 | Angkringan <b>Om</b> Kempok                        | uncle         | Male              |
| 11 | Angkringan <b>Bu</b> Ning                          | mother/mum    | Female            |
| 12 | Angkringan <b>Mbok</b> Luwuk                       | mother/mum    | Female            |
| 13 | Angkringan <b>Yu</b> Soim                          | elder sister  | Female            |
| 14 | Angkringan <b>Mbak</b> Ika                         | elder sister  | Female            |

Table 5. Recognition of female marker for *angkringan*.

Unlike the soup establishments, the *angkringan* in Table 5 give the idea that the Javanese community is associated with the eatery itself. *Angkringan* is derived from the word *angkring* meaning *pikulan dalah saprabote dinggo ider-ider* (W.J.S. Poerwodarminto 1939), which can be translated as a set of baskets carried on a bamboo pole which is used for peddling. According to its history, in the past popular *angkringan* sold their menus in villages. Sellers often still follow a regular itinerary and do not remain at a single location. Today, this trend is shifting. *Angkringan* now tend to have a specific location, utilize a wheeled cart, and offer a wider choice of menu



options. When *angkringan* are juxtaposed with other Javanese identical forms of address, for example, *lek*, *kang*, *pakdhe*, *mbah*, *mas*, *mbok*, *yu*, and *mbak*, this essential characteristic is even more pronounced. However, there are some female identifiers in *angkringan* names but the owners represent masculinity in a patriarchal system seeking to earn a living. The owner of Angkringan Bu Ning said, "I am a widow and have to pay the children's school fees. What I can do is run this business: in the morning I go around selling our food and then operate this *angkringan* from noon until night."<sup>19</sup>

In Malacca, despite being classified as street food and having a transient construction, *kedai* follow a pattern comparable to that of other types of eateries (see Table 6).

| No | eAtery nAMes                                     | MeAnIng                            | gender IdentIFier |
|----|--|------------------------------------|-------------------|
| 1  | Rojak & Mee Rebus Taman Asean <b>Haji</b> Nordin | a man who has completed the Hajj   | Male              |
| 2  | Asam Pedas <b>Pak</b> Man                        | father/sir                         | Male              |
| 3  | Kuih Keria Antarabangsa <b>Hj.</b> Jalil         | a woman who has completed the Hajj | Male              |
| 4  | Asam Pedas <b>Hajah</b> Rahmah Bukit Katil       | a woman who has completed the Hajj | Female            |
| 5  | Cendol <b>Aunty</b> Koh                          | aunt                               | Female            |
| 6  | <b>Nyonya</b> Kuih                               | ma'am                              | Female            |

Table 6. Recognition of female markers in *kedai* names.

They continue to utilize the same name identities as other eateries, notably *Haji*, *Hj.*, *Hajah*, *Pak*, and *Nyonya*. There is only one other name option available, *aunty*. However, unlike *angkringan*, *aunty* is not identified with a particular culture. In fact, this option alludes to global recognition, as English is a global language known in nearly all countries. "Here, it is

<sup>19</sup> Kula sampun ditilar. Trus anak-anak masih sekolah. Yang bisa saya lakukan ya jualan. Kalau pagi, ider, kalau sore sampe malam buka angkringan niki.

common to find aunty besides *nyonya* to identify ethnicity. I use aunty to be easily recognized,"<sup>20</sup> said the owner of Cendol Aunty Koh.

The preceding tables, notably Tables 3, 4, 5, and 6, are not intended to demonstrate that statistically male names predominate over female names in eatery names. They are a representational pattern of eatery names and have been chosen to demonstrate that female names are used for a variety of reasons. According to Tur and Pratishara (2018), market attraction, networking, and authenticity are some of the most common factors in selecting a name. Survival of the fittest is an additional factor in the selection of female names.

Interviews revealed that market attraction and networking are the key factors. Some interviewees stated that, in their families, female names were more socially acceptable than male names and, hence, they opt for female names for marketing and networking purposes (Tur and Pratishara 2018). Perhaps because of her husband's lack of social activity in the community, a wife's name is better known and therefore more frequently used. This seems to contrast with the common Javanese usage that a married woman is typically referred to as "Bu + husband's name", for example, Bu Condro, where *Condro* is her husband's name. This demonstrates that females can penetrate the patriarchal barriers of Javanese culture in the choice of eatery names. Their participation in community activities also demonstrates that women are able to achieve parity with men and can be accepted by society.

Authenticity is another reason. Originality is another quality which must be possessed and preserved. It can also serve as an identification tool to distinguish one identity from another. Among the plethora of the names of eateries which sell the same foods, the reason for the name chosen will ultimately provide a unique identification. This motivation applies to both male and female names attached to eateries. However, according to the interviewees, this motivation is preferred by those who give their eateries female names. It is directly related to the cook who prepares the food served. Women feel they should take responsibility if there are complaints or

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<sup>20</sup> Di sini terbiase menggunakan aunty selain *nyonya* untuk menerka etnis mereka. Saya menggunakan aunty agar mudah dikenal.

testimonials from customers about the dishes they serve. Moreover, their function is more central than that of men.

Survival is also a consideration when selecting female names for eatery names. Some stated that they did not fully comprehend what patriarchy and matriarchy meant. They are merely trying to manage the family's finances advantageously. This happens in one-parent families, in which the mother has to earn enough for the day-to-day expenses and other needs, including school fees, savings, social funds, and other unexpected expenses.

These reasons indicate that female names are preferred for eatery names under certain circumstances. As stated previously, this motivation arises from the existence of the name of a male who cannot be relied upon and does not support the running of the business, the popularity of the male name in society, and from the social status of widows who are required to seek an independent income in order to survive. Although it cannot be generally stated that, when men play a central role in a business, the male name will be attached to the restaurant's name. However, it is possible that this trend in the future will require women and men to play equal roles in society.

#### Conclusion

In a patriarchal culture, women despite all their merits, are considered secondary citizens with a non-central role. One way they attempt to gain equality with men in their social roles is in their choice of eatery names. The name of eateries names which sell *gudeg* and *laksa* are good examples to serve as role models for the social appeal of women's power. The notion that women represent the distinguishing characteristics of *gudeg* and *laksa* has become deeply ingrained people's minds. Despite this, women's identity in patriarchal societies still requires a struggle to achieve equal roles in eateries which are associated with masculinity, for example, soups, *angkringan*, and *kedai*. These place men at the centre of business operations,

despite women might be playing an indispensable role in running the business. Claiming power can be accomplished through selecting eatery names which incorporate women's names as icons. Men and women show an equal aptitude in running a culinary enterprise, including in naming their eateries. Nonetheless, the upbringing of people living in a patriarchal system forces women to battle to gain an equal position in society, especially in culinary concerns. They must also be able to cook, not only for their own families but also be able to play a central role in the culinary industry by utilizing their own identities. In the effort to claim women's power in eatery names, it is necessary to work hard at motivational factors: networking, market attraction, and authenticity. However, there are other aspects which require further investigation. Take, for instance, the responses of customers to the names of their favourite eateries. These responses and the information shared by the owners of eateries can be observed as a form of an interplay with the names of the eateries.

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