

**TERROIRS IN BETWEEN: A Closer Look at Food Axes in and Around
Indonesian Immigrants' West Coast Homes**

by

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A dissertation accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in Architecture

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Summer 2025

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy in Architecture

Title: **TERROIRS IN BETWEEN: A Closer Look at Food Axes in and Around Indonesian Immigrants' West Coast Homes**

Socio-cultural and spatial disorientation is a common experience among immigrant communities, including Indonesians in the United States. Despite significant changes in the environment, Indonesian immigrants continue to practice traditional food culture, using it as a tool to maintain cultural identity, evoke memories of home, and create a sense of place. This study examines how Indonesian immigrants engage in food-related spatial practices in the U.S., particularly in the absence of a centralized ethnic enclave. Drawing on the concept of the *food axis*—a network of food-related spaces in and around the home that include storage, preparation, consumption, and disposal nodes—this research examines how these practices contribute to placemaking in a dispersed immigrant context. In contrast to Indonesia's strong place-based food culture, where certain foods are closely tied to regional identity, Indonesian immigrants navigate a transnational network of food places that spans both the U.S. and Indonesia. This mobility reflects what I call *terroirs in between*, emphasizing the hybrid, adaptive, and transformative nature of the immigrant food axis. Due to the geographic dispersion of Indonesian immigrants and businesses, their presence in U.S. urban landscapes is modest and often overlooked in architectural discourse. This study aims to fill that gap by investigating how traditional food practices enable cultural continuity and spatial adaptation. Employing ethnographic methods—including interviews, participant observation, spatial analysis, and mapping—across multiple case studies in Oregon and Southern California, this research highlights the strategies Indonesians use to construct culturally meaningful domestic and community spaces relevant to Indonesian food culture. Ultimately, this study bridges architectural and socio-cultural frameworks to advance a more inclusive understanding of immigrant placemaking. It emphasizes the role of everyday food practices in maintaining identity and offers insights for architectural design responsive to underrepresented communities.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The accomplishment of my Ph.D. degree is integral to the 4-year full funding from the Fulbright Foreign Student program and the Indonesian Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education. I am also profoundly grateful to the University of Oregon's Division of Global Engagement for the partial funding I received over the last two academic years. These generous funders have enabled me to achieve my dream of studying abroad.

I would also like to thank my committee chair and members, Mark Gillem, Courtney Cox, Jeff Hou, Jim Buckley, and Hans Neis, for their resourcefulness and encouragement. Their guidance helped me go through difficult times in my program. More than just an academic role model, these respectful figures have helped me discover the joy of teaching and research, which I want to share with my own students.

My mentor, Max Skorodinsky, and my sangha mother, Elayne Puzan, were those to whom I relied for advice, understanding, and compassion. They can always see the good in me, and their faith in my ability to achieve what I want has fostered my self-compassion and confidence. Along with them, my meditation community, “Stillwater Sangha”, lent me the freshness, the stillness, the solidity, and the spaciousness every Saturday morning and beyond.

I might be the one who gets the Ph.D., but my husband, Jeffrey Sawyer, was my writing and parenting partner who deserves a high accolade. He read my manuscripts for multiple years and assisted me in many ways, including managing our family schedule when I was too busy finishing my dissertation. He was behind every success of mine.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to two wood dragons that gave me the reason to keep going when things felt impossible for me to accomplish and when I was facing my deepest fear. To my mother, Enny Yulaika, and my son, Sambhara Indrawati-Sawyer, I hope you will be able to read my work when you are ready.

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INTRODUCTION

Background

Despite the relatively small population and publicly underrepresented cultural practices, multiple generations of Indonesian immigrants, who live in geographically dispersed locations, survive by finding unique ways of placemaking to reconstruct homes and sustain Indonesian food cultures in the U.S. Living the American Dream, immigrant communities across multiple ethnic backgrounds start a new life and use their cultural roots in the placemaking while attaching meanings to these places. However, this process is often remarkably challenging, especially for the first generation, because the unfamiliar living environment and significantly different way of life trigger culture shock and disorientation (Rishbeth, 2013). Dealing with multiple identities, the succeeding generations could struggle with self-crisis (Lie et al., 2018).

Scholarly works consistently suggest that the production and consumption of traditional elements—such as familiar food practices—help individuals reconnect with a sense of home and collective identity (Bourdier & Minh-Ha, 1996; de Certeau et al., 1998; Miller et al., 1998; Lind & Barham, 2004; Supski, 2006; Choi et al., 2013; Mikulak, 2013; Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014; Halloran, 2016; Sen, 2016; Sučić et al., 2019; Tandywijaya, 2020). Each food practice has its socio-cultural, temporal, and spatial dimensions. The shift in one dimension during the transmission between generations of community members will transform the whole practice (Sammells, 2014). Vice versa, the noticeable adaptation to a new food culture indicates changes in the spatial practices of immigrants, and thus their ways of placemaking. On one hand, the French-originated concept of “terroir” suggests that each food practice is contextual with a particular socio-spatial and natural setting; in other words, every place has its own taste (Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014). On the other hand, the immigrants’ everyday cultures suggest that the spatial context of their food practices is not fixed (Sen, 2016). This phenomenon relates to food culture being a mobile apparatus that reconnects immigrants with a sense of socio-cultural and spatial familiarity when practiced.

Historian Yuval Harari (2014) suggests the importance of a detailed mental map of territory for one’s survival because one needs to gather knowledge about one’s surroundings, including how to acclimate one’s body and acquire food. Successful attempts in navigating the challenge of habitation grant one a sense of belonging (Fox, 2016). On the other hand, people who experience one or more migrations develop an understanding of freedom and an intention to adapt to a new place spatially.

Verschaffel (2012) suggests that this group of people dwells in a “permanent in-transit-condition” and performs the identity of “nomadic subjects” who rarely find a fixed, defined territory of home.

These nomadic subjects are vulnerable to anxiety if their original cultures are less dominant than the cultural practices of the majority where they live (Bhabha, 2015). Bhaba (1994) proposes the term “ambivalence” to demonstrate their encounter with the unfamiliar dominant culture. Along with this encounter, Hernández (2010) suggests that one’s former identity transmutes and incorporates the new cultural setting. All these processes create an ambiguous intersection of multiple identities yet are very constructive to producing significantly new cultural practices and at the same time embrace the liminality: between tradition and revision, between past and present, between here (the current place of living) and there (the place of origin), as well as between Self and Other (Clifford, 1989; McDowell, 2007; Hernández, 2010; Schulze-Engler et al., 2018). The spatial liminality that characterizes the placemaking of immigrants is evident in the non-fixed spatial context of immigrant food practices.

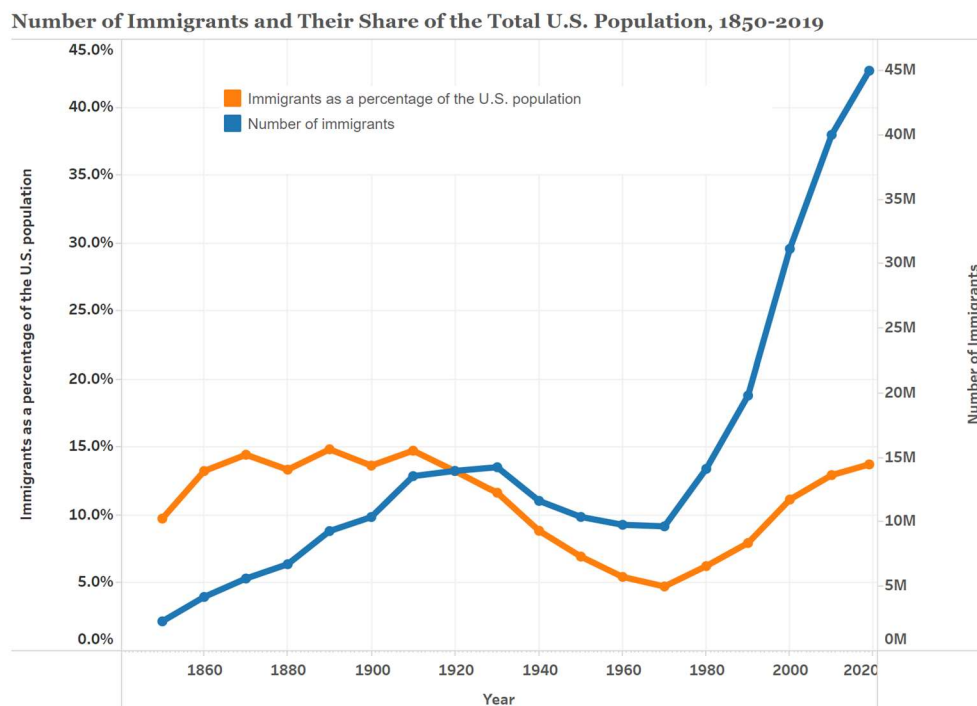


Figure 1. The Increasing Immigration Rate to the U.S. Since 1970

(Source: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/data-hub/charts/immigrant-population-over-time>, 2020)

Since the U.S. is one of the leading destinations of immigration (Connor & López, 2016), the work of American scholar Edward T. Hall (1966) is important to give a historical picture of the issue surrounding the welcoming attitude of American society in the 1960s toward immigrants, which was suggested to be

less inclusive. Considering the close timeline with massive migration from Asia to the U.S. in the 1970s after the federal law's lift of immigration restrictions ¹, this issue might persist, and thus, motivate this dissertation study to revisit the issue in the contemporary context, particularly by closely looking at the spatial context of Indonesian immigrants' food practices. This intention is more necessary since the data (see Figure 1) shows a significantly increasing wave of immigration to the U.S. since 1970 (migrationpolicy.org, 2020). Additionally, Figure 2 shows a steady increase in immigration from Indonesia to the U.S. between 2000 and 2019.

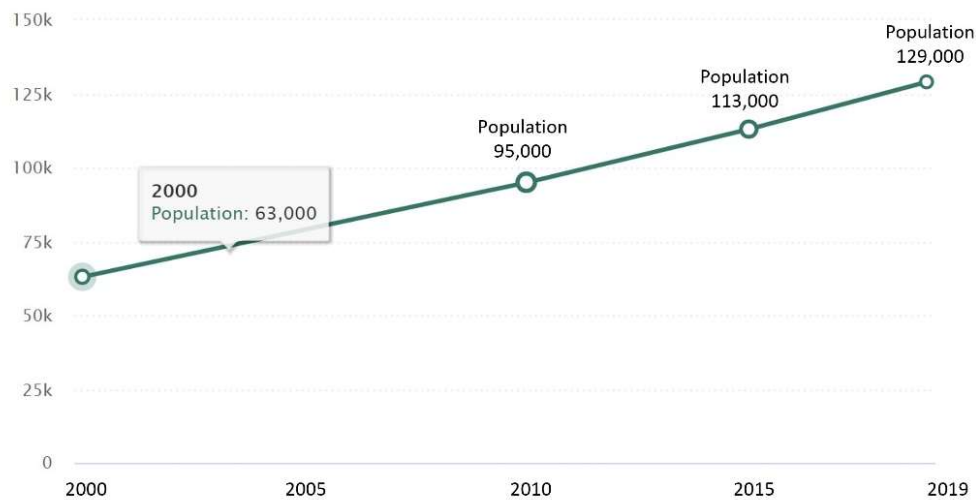


Figure 2. Indonesian Population in the U.S. from 2000 to 2019

(Pew Research Center, 2025,

<https://www.pewresearch.org/race-and-ethnicity/fact-sheet/asian-americans-indonesians-in-the-u-s/>)

Purpose

This dissertation study intends to raise awareness about today's importance of multi-ethnically inclusive spatial design in the U.S. and bring it to the attention of related professionals so that immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds can find themselves accommodated in carrying on their intersectional identities and appropriating cultural practices in a new country. Because immigrants have used food practices to evoke memories of their places of origin while recreating a new home and connecting specific terroirs in between two places, I firmly believe that the spatial discourse of the immigrant food practice can shed some light in the attempt to understand the way immigrants make their places on the domestic scale, especially for the underrepresented ones like the Indonesian community.

Klarich (2010) argues that food practices can explain a community's socio-economic and cultural transformations, such as a shift in livelihood, cooking technique, and size of a household. The work of Elizabeth Cromley (2010) confirms this thesis through a historical report that the new idea to rearrange spaces in 17th-century American homes was regulated by the processes involved in food provision, which need careful planning, take place in particular spatial and temporal settings, and employ special equipment. Cromley (1996; 2010) developed the “food axis” theory to denote the indoor and outdoor places surrounding the dwelling where the activities involved in food provision occur. In the context of a place with high cultural diversity like the U.S., the immigrant food provision shapes the urban fabric and is spatially manifested in ethnic food restaurants and markets (Gabaccia, 1998). The collection of these ethnic food-related places, both on the domestic and urban scale, constructs what I am calling the immigrant food axis.

In his autobiography, Los Angeles’ street food chef Roy Choi (2013) narrates his food axis during his time growing up as a South Korean immigrant including his family-owned restaurant, the street food stalls around Los Angeles, the kitchen and dining room in his family’s home and claims them as the incubator of the reconstruction of his ambivalent identity (Martin & Lee, 2017). He describes his family’s restaurant as working more like a community center for Korean immigrants in the Los Angeles Area by providing social space and facilities, such as a corkboard full of event announcements, flyers, business cards, or a poster of someone’s second-hand goods for sale (Choi et al., 2013). As a comparison, Figure 3 shows an example of a community board in an international supermarket in Chandler, Arizona, that includes job offers, business advertisements, and other information in Vietnamese, English, and Chinese.

Furthermore, I argue that scholarly works that involve architectural analysis in discussing the intersection of spatial design, food practice, and immigrant culture, not to mention the non-fixed phenomenon in the spatial practices of marginalized immigrant communities, are under-researched. This urgency is also brought up by scholars who study the intersectionality of food, space, and immigrants, such as Singley & Horwitz, 2004; Abramson et al., 2006; Cromley, 2010; Elliot, 2010; Michailidis, 2011; Crotch, 2012; Davis, 2012; Castro et al., 2018; Parham & Carta, 2018; Salvador, 2018; and Allison, 2020. Herewith, studies of the spatiality of food cultures are more important than ever due to today’s constant global flows of people, products, and ideas. This social mobility will destabilize the understanding of place that has traditionally been understood as fixed within a bounded territory.



Figure 3. Example of a community board at the Lee Lee International Supermarket in Chandler, Arizona

(Source: Lauren Cusimano, 2017, <https://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/restaurants/the-supermarket-that-brought-the-world-to-metro-phoenix-9255157>)

The placemaking of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. through Indonesian food practices is an example of the socio-spatial phenomenon of the commons. It incorporates two inseparable aspects of spatial practice and socio-cultural practice, in which one aspect's transformation will affect another's (Lefebvre, 1991). Since the 1960s, scholars in social science and humanities have shown a growing interest in turning into a space of the built environment as a means to study social processes (spatial.scholarslab.org, 2021). In the mid-1990s, human geographer Edward Soja coined the term "spatial turn" in the field of humanities and social sciences to criticize the longstanding subject matter of the discipline they studied because it excluded spatial phenomena from social study (Winkler et al., 2012). Inspired by the "spatial turn" initiative, scholars in the discipline of architecture suggested the incorporation of social phenomena to understand spatial phenomena and started recognizing the dependency between them. The discourse of socio-spatial phenomena like the placemaking of the commons relies on the understanding of the user community as the agency in the production of space.

Scholars from multiple disciplines, such as urban historian Lewis Mumford and religious scholar Mircea Eliade, suggested the term "commons" as an attempt to determine a more universal language for subjects who experience space (spatial.scholarslab.org, 2021). In the 1970s, scholars Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Michel de Certeau mainly criticized the exclusion of collective participation from architectural studies to suggest certain spatial practices. Lefebvre (1991) defines space as a social

product since the production of space determines the production of social relations. Lefebvre's argument illustrates a city as a totality of civic participation, the site of social negotiation and struggle (Allweil, 2010). Lefebvre (1991) further argues that professional designers and planners perform the production of space, resulting in the "representation of space" as a concept that he refers to as a kind of space irrelevant to the users' aspirations, because the institutionalized space like this tends to set aside the agency of users in the placemaking. In contrast, the commons appropriate the representation of space and demonstrate the more democratic type of space called "representational space" (Lefebvre, 1991).



Figure 4. The Settlement of Baduy Subsistence Community, West Java, Indonesia (top) and Pondok Indah Townhouse Project for White Collar Professionals, South Jakarta, Indonesia (bottom)

(Source: 1001 Indonesia, 2016, <https://1001indonesia.net/sunda-wiwitan/suku-baduy/>; Pondok Indah Townhouse, 2025, <https://pondokindah.co.id/>)

The socio-spatial turn-inspired placemaking pays attention to the details of material artifacts that shape the everyday spatial practices of the masses and represents a connection between the physical-geographic space and the mental-cultural space (Markus, 1993; Winkler et al., 2012). The congruence of the notion of spatial turn with the term "vernacular" appeared when the 1980-established American Vernacular Architecture Forum started using the walking tour, which is a spatial-turn approach, to study

a place (spatial.scholarslab.org, 2021). However, I argue that the notion of vernacular differentiates itself from resemblance by incorporating the discourse of the nationalist agenda in the search for the nation-state's cultural authenticity. Since my research will not focus on nationalist identity politics, rather than using the term vernacular, I will gravitate my study toward the term spatial turn and socio-cultural turn, which brings about the discourse of placemaking of the commons and socio-spatial phenomena.

The placemaking of the commons employs everyday life as its spatiotemporal context. The proponents of the socio-spatial paradigm suggest that the patterns of social organization in modern society demonstrate spatial consequences, and vice versa, a spatial organization is significant to understanding patterns of human activity (Gottdiener, 1985; Markus, 1993; Tschumi, 1994). For example, the settlement patterns of the communities that employ a subsistence economy will show a stark difference from those that maintain white-collar jobs (see Figure 4). In the next section, I elaborate on the research questions that underlie this research.

Research Questions

My study intends to answer the following questions:

- 1.) Across multiple generations of immigrants who still cook Indonesian foods, what are the elements of Indonesians' food axes in and around homes, where they can find necessary ingredients and cooking tools?
 - 1.1) By using immigrants' homes as points of reference, where are the locations of food axes' elements around homes, such as grocery stores, ethnic stores, or food banks?
 - 1.2) Where are the locations of food axes' elements in immigrants' West Coast homes?
- 2.) In what way do places in and around immigrants' homes on the West Coast accommodate Indonesian food practices? In other words, how do the spatial features along the Indonesians' food axes specifically enable Indonesian immigrants to perform Indonesian food practices, including the process of getting the foodstuff, storing, preparing, consuming, & disposing of the meal(s)?
- 3.) By focusing more on a home setting, how do the spatial features along Indonesians' food axes at the domestic scale on the West Coast explain the adaptation and transformation of Indonesian immigrants' food practices in the U.S.?
 - 3.1) How do cultural adaptation and transformation in terms of sustaining Indonesian food cultures in their homes affect Indonesian immigrants' identity and subjectivities?

The availability and accessibility of places that provide ingredients for Indonesian foods may indicate a public acknowledgment of Indonesians' presence in one area. The use of spatial features in immigrants' homes to facilitate Indonesian foods can inform the adaptability on the domestic scale. My dissertation study will focus on the West Coast, where the majority of Indonesian immigrants reside. I will conduct fieldwork of multiple case studies in different locations in Oregon and Southern California with different sizes of the Indonesian population because I hypothesize that the size of the population will significantly affect the functioning of the Indonesian food axis and the strategy of Indonesian placemaking. This ethnographic fieldwork will occur in Eugene, Springfield, Portland, and Ashland to cover Oregon, and San Bernardino to cover California.²

In applying and extending Cromleys's Food Axis theory, the map of an Indonesian food axis starts from where the ingredients are grown or sold, to the room where they are stored, to the arena where they are prepared and cooked, to the area where they are served, shared, as well as enjoyed, and finally to the point where they are discarded. The spatial manifestations of this flow of food provision may appear in the form of a garden, farmers' market, grocery store, ethnic store, food pantries, kitchen, or dining room. I suggest the food axes of Indonesian immigrants will demonstrate a repertoire of food-related places that indicate Indonesian placemaking, particularly on the West Coast.

By employing multimedia tools for data collection and analysis, I expect the findings of this research will uncover the food axes of Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast with a focused analysis and discussion of the food-related places at immigrants' homes. Since Indonesian immigrants do not have a special district or ethnic enclave such as Koreatown in Los Angeles or Chinatowns in San Francisco and New York, the emerging food axes should demonstrate the repertoire of Indonesians' places in Oregon and California cities as well as immigrants' adaptations in making their homes suitable for Indonesian food cultures.³ Although typical food axis elements may appear, I assume each immigrant's food axis will vary regarding personal preferences for certain Indonesian meals, cultural backgrounds/geographic origins within Indonesia's national boundary, as well as the spatial characteristics where immigrants live.

Positionality & Significance

Having studied architecture for more than a decade, I find that my genuine interest lies in the architecture of the commons, which I understand as the spatial practice of non-professional architects and planners. I want to promote the architecture of the commons because I found it very important to examine users' points of view to better understand what matters in spatial design. I argue that the

expanded application of architectural knowledge is essential, especially to reach out to the marginalized community that finds it economically unaffordable. My half-decade experience working with various Indonesian communities in rural and traditional contexts has given me substantial insight into the spatial practices of the commons holistically aimed at economic, social, and ecological sustainability. If the discipline of architecture can see the life of the commons as a site of knowledge production, I argue it will provide a better arena for the scientific, creative, and socially equal pursuits of multiple agencies (Chen, 2013; Hou, 2013; Manzo, 2013).

As a person of Chinese descent whose community is culturally marginalized in Indonesia (Cunningham, 2008; Urban, 2013; Tanasaldy, 2022), I share common adversity with any marginalized and underrepresented communities, including the small size population of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. who possibly found challenges along their food axes to perform Indonesian food practices because of their underrepresented culture in the American spatial design. The absence of an Indonesian ethnic district on the West Coast may exacerbate these challenges. Research shows the significant function of ethnic enclaves to empower and mobilize the solidarity of accordant immigrant communities in their assimilation endeavor within designated boundaries (Lin & Dumin, 1986; Lin, 2001; Mazumdar et al., 2000; Crump, 2002; Goetz, 2003; Abramson et al., 2006; Miller, 2011).

The lack of representation in spatial planning and design will also affect another type of accessibility, such as a smaller opportunity for Indonesian-related businesses that may have provided immigrants with familiar household equipment and food products. This issue became more critical when I personally observed Indonesians in the U.S. are attached to their traditional food practices and maintain regular consumption. I intend to investigate this issue by using the West Coast as a geographical framework in my approach to using multiple case studies.

As an Indonesian student at the University of Oregon who lives in subsidized housing for students and their families, I use a fitted kitchen as big as 9.5' by 6' to cook Indonesian foods regularly; I find the countertop area is relatively small to prepare all the ingredients I will cook. The lack of preparation space is worsened because I also use my countertop for storing several frequently used ingredients and cooking gear. After the birth of my son, my countertop has once again been reduced significantly because of a dedicated area of food preparation and dishwashing separated from the adults. This personal experience raises curiosity about the way Indonesian immigrants maneuver the use of their American kitchens throughout the multiple stages of their lives to overcome challenges that change over periods of time.

In Indonesia, many families do not eat at the dining table. Family members will prefer a more relaxed seating type, such as on the floor, moveable chairs, or couches. My own family uses the living room with a lower table and a couch to eat dinner. Frequently, a dining table becomes an extension of the

countertop in the kitchen. Since the American-fitted kitchen was not originally designed to accommodate Indonesian food cultures, I intend to study how Indonesian immigrants adapt to their kitchens in the U.S. and how they use other domestic spaces to facilitate Indonesian food practices. Elements of Indonesians' food axes outside their home like ethnic stores/supermarkets and American grocery stores will provide a wider context of places Indonesians go to get ingredients for Indonesian foods. Figure 5 demonstrates my thought process as the researcher of this study.

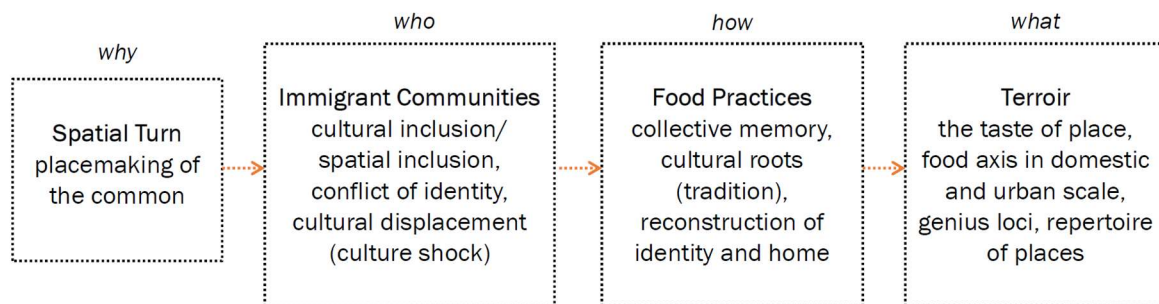


Figure 5. Researcher's Thought Process

(Source: Klara Indrawati, 2019)

Regarding the constantly increasing rate of Indonesian immigration to the U.S. since 2000 (Pew Research Center, 2025), my study also aims to anticipate the presumably higher urgency to involve Indonesians' participation in the American spatial design so that it can work as a point of reference for the stakeholders to proceed with a community-based design project. This quest comes from my concern of knowing very few scholarly works from any disciplines discuss Indonesian cultural practice in the U.S. I find it is necessary to spatially facilitate Indonesian immigrants in their pursuit of a homely and welcoming environment by knowing what types of spatial features and experiences along their food axes Indonesians interpret and perceive as familiar.

I intend to fill several gaps according to my study of the relevant works in the discipline of architecture as follows:

- Scholarly works on the subject of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. are very rare, although the trend of immigration from Indonesia to the U.S. constantly increases. Moreover, the placemaking of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. has not yet become an object of research for any scholar.
- In Indonesia, studies show food practices can regulate the design of dwelling units (Tjahjono, 1990; Santosa, 1997; Santosa, 2000; Indrawati, 2013) and give shape to the city fabric (Tjahjono, 1990; Arciniegas, 2016; Arciniegas, 2021), however, the food practices of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S.

seem to be under the scholars' radar. This knowledge inadequacy motivates me to study Indonesian immigrants' placemaking through traditional food practices on the West Coast. I intend to offer new insight into the strategy of Indonesian placemaking in the U.S., especially in the absence of an ethnic district as a territorial marker.

- Because American society is highly multicultural, placemaking based on one's food practice will be more complex due to the practice of familiar foods in a territory that was not its place of origin. It is very typical for a major group of society and the governing institution to standardize the spatial features mainly based on the dominant cultural practices. My proposed study on the multicultural aspect of food-related places will bring new insight into design strategy that better serves multiple cultural practices in the context of a cosmopolitan society.
- Currently, more scholars are starting to connect the study of food practice and architecture (Cromley, 1996; Van Slyck, 2002; Singley & Horwitz, 2004; Trabalzi, 2004; Weiss, 2004; Trubek, 2008; Cromley, 2010; Elliot, 2010; Michailidis, 2011; Davis, 2012; Mikulak, 2013; Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014; Halloran, 2016; Sen, 2016; Parham & Carta, 2018; Allison, 2020), however, it's very rare for them to frame the study through the lens of a specific ethnic group. Therefore, my study on the Indonesian immigrants' food axes on the West Coast can contribute to the development of this area of study.
- Although most scholars of everyday architecture study spatial organization using linguistic analogies and interpret spatial features as the signifier of ideas, scholars Michel de Certeau (1984), Pierre Bourdieu (1990), and Dell Upton (2002) offer another approach by shifting the focus to the user's bodily practice and its relations with the everyday material culture. I believe this alternative approach will be more significant in the study of specific cultural groups.
- As both a critic and proponent of Lefebvre's theory on the social production of space, Gottdiener (1985) argues that social organization and spatial formation will regulate and give shape to each other. My study will perform a necessary case study for this thesis by perceiving food practices as a manifestation of the social organization and food axes as an epitome of spatial formation.

METHODOLOGY

An Inquiry with Combined Strategies

As Greene (2008) suggests, the mixed methodological approach is helpful in studying practical fields that involve a dynamic interplay with creative practice; I see the relevance of this approach in my architectural dissertation. To produce understanding, I borrow the perspectives of the commoners or the users of the built environment. In other words, I will embrace all the complexities that emerge from the viewpoint of the users (Otto & Smith, 2013). Additionally, Groat and Wang (2013) suggest the benefit of moving back and forth between the induction and deduction in the mixed methodology, which allows the observation to produce a theory that will be assessed through findings in the fieldwork. By choosing the placemaking of the commons as my research lens, combined strategies are the consequential approach because my investigation is designed to answer research questions that relate to social phenomena of everyday life, which are the Indonesians' food axes, and the inhabitants of the social settings, who are the Indonesian immigrants.

The qualitative part of the inquiry will approach questions through an investigation of social settings and the inhabitants who arrange these settings and attach meanings (Berg, 2007; Hill, 2012). Qualitative research is helpful in this project because the phenomena can be deeply and holistically investigated due to the complex layers of non-numerical facts (Yin, 2003; Groat & Wang, 2013). Based on my preliminary study about the placemaking that is generated by one's food practice, the scholars show the involvement of complex human factors, cultural conflict, and socio-economic issues such as memory, identity, subjectivity, poverty, racial discrimination, displacement, unequal power relation, diversity, spatial inclusion, gender construction, technology development, collectivity, affection, and everyday resistance of the commons (Salzman, 1986; Cromley, 1996; Van Slyck, 2002; Singley & Horwitz, 2004; Horwitz, 2004; Protschky, 2008; Protschky, 2009; Cromley, 2010; Elliott, 2010; Michailidis, 2011; Mikulak, 2013; Otto & Smith, 2013; Halloran, 2016; Arciniegas, 2016; Kuipers, 2017; Budiyanto & Latifah, 2018; Castro et al., 2018; Salvador, 2018; Allison, 2020; Arciniegas, 2021). These scholars' studies demonstrate the researchers' immersion into real-life contexts and interaction with actual participants to understand their perceptions, opinions, and experiences within specific spatial and temporal settings (Otto & Smith, 2013).

A qualitative inquiry with an ethnographic approach allows me to investigate motivations, behaviors, and emotions in the socio-spatial process of Indonesian immigrants from an insider's point of view. My study understands Indonesian immigrants as the actors who perform Indonesian food practices and

placemaking in the United States, so that the elaborations from participants are not treated as a way of reasoning but a way of knowing. Through this perspective, the researcher collects evidence and builds arguments (Otto & Smith, 2013). In other words, the interaction between participants and the researcher is the site of knowledge production. The theoretical framework and literature review work to expand the researcher's knowledge about the research topic without necessarily directing the findings (Hill, 2012; Groat & Wang, 2013). Since the qualitative approach will work best to study some ambivalent phenomena that demonstrate contradictory facts (Hill, 2012), I want to understand how Indonesian immigrants find a unique strategy for reconstructing homes and sustaining their traditional food practices. However, they do not have an ethnic enclave.

The critics of qualitative inquiry argue the data will be non-statistical, which means there is no solid and deterministic knowledge about the relationship among phenomena that may cause a problematic interpretation of data (Berman & Wang, 2018). Thus, the quantitative part of my research design will help break down problems into measurable factors; in other words, some measurable factors, such as the size of spatial elements in the American fitted kitchen, will help me understand its application in Indonesian cooking. The quantitative approach will be helpful in my research, mainly because the phenomena of food practice and food axis take place in everyday spatial and temporal settings. The productive way to study these settings is by investigating material culture or the users' physical artifacts and bodily practices (Upton, 2002).

The qualitative and quantitative approaches will complement each other's weaknesses with each other's strengths. A qualitative inquiry will enable me to understand the motivations, behaviors, and emotions underlying the socio-spatial process of Indonesian immigrants' food practices and food axes. In contrast, the quantitative approach will accommodate an investigation of the material culture, such as spatial features, in studying food practices and food axes as the micro-social organization in the everyday life setting. This type of study will involve the measured description of cultural artifacts found in food-related places in conjunction with the spatial practice. This spatial analysis will involve documenting the floor plans in participants' houses.

In the discipline of architecture, the qualitative methodology facilitates a focus on sociocultural, theoretical, and historical dimensions of architectural research, and the quantitative methodology helps to explain the formal and spatial consequences of sociocultural and theoretical aspects (Yin, 2003; Richards, 2005; Akšamija, 2021). Therefore, the qualitative approach allows my positionality as a researcher to be more open to the narratives of Indonesian immigrants as the subject of my study, while the quantitative approach will reveal the physical evidence of spatial factors related to the qualitative data.

Multiple Case Studies

My dissertation research intends to respond to Cromley's (1996) invitation to view food axes as activity arenas that reveal systems of tasks and spaces. I navigate my research to start with Indonesians' food-related everyday activities, followed by studying the places they use to conduct the activities. This way allows the incorporation of the unstable and transformative relation between forms and functions in the food axis. In other words, I use Cromley's (1996) reference to "space-in-action" in understanding the food axes of Indonesian immigrants, which is aligned with the basic principle of everyday architecture or the placemaking of the commons.

This research is designed to focus on the sociocultural, theoretical, and historical dimensions of immigrants' food practices and the involved bodily practices, which I hypothesize to be the instrument of placemaking in the U.S., with a goal of reconstructing a sense of belonging. Thus, the research encompasses mostly intangible social phenomena that affect tangible spatial phenomena and are affected by them. I study the making of spatial phenomena, the processes involved, users' motivations, and the significance of places and agencies. Due to the complex nature of the data, it is crucial to set up specific contexts, such as the research's location and the participants' characteristics, to guide the data collection and interpretation (Yin, 2003; Richards, 2005; Akšamija, 2021).

My study also benefits from the multiple case studies approach because it covers real-life context, the capacity to explain causal links, the strong theory development in the research design phase as a sufficient "blueprint" of the study, the reliance on multiple sources of evidence, and the power to generate theory (Groat & Wang, 2013). As an appropriate strategy to answer "how" or "why" questions, I find that multiple case studies will allow me to produce causal explanations and utilize multiple sources of evidence as well as to find patterns, similarities, and differences in the results (Akšamija, 2021). Herewith, the evidence will be more compelling and help me to achieve a robust result. Although the multiple case studies model will reduce the risk of problematic generalization, I am aware that differences in temporal context and participants' daily cycle of activities can cause some nuances in the generalization of my findings.

In completing multiple case studies, I will implement ethnographic methods, specifically, I will use the descriptive type of case study, which combines Berg's (2007) suggestion to use a predefined framework, such as research questions, theoretical framework, and identification of the units of analysis, with Yin's (2003) argument to leave a flexible reinterpretation of the framework. I aim to conduct a close-up, detailed, and in-depth investigation of the underlying interconnected factors of the Indonesians' food axes. As Gillem (2007) argues, multiple case studies can prevent the fallacy of an ethnographic approach, such as relying solely on one informant from a single site. Furthermore, scholars will be able to locate

their project within a larger sociocultural context when the investigation uses multiple sites (Gillem, 2007).

This study applies grounded theory to deliver the findings and discussions; therefore, I exclude the general theory-based framework. I utilize the review of all relevant literature in Chapter 1 (Part 1 and Part 2) to gain a deeper understanding and clarification of the phenomena that appear in my study, rather than as a theoretical framework for analysis. My study aims to build a theory based on the interpretation of findings. The literature review does not constrain the emergence of a novel theory in my study.

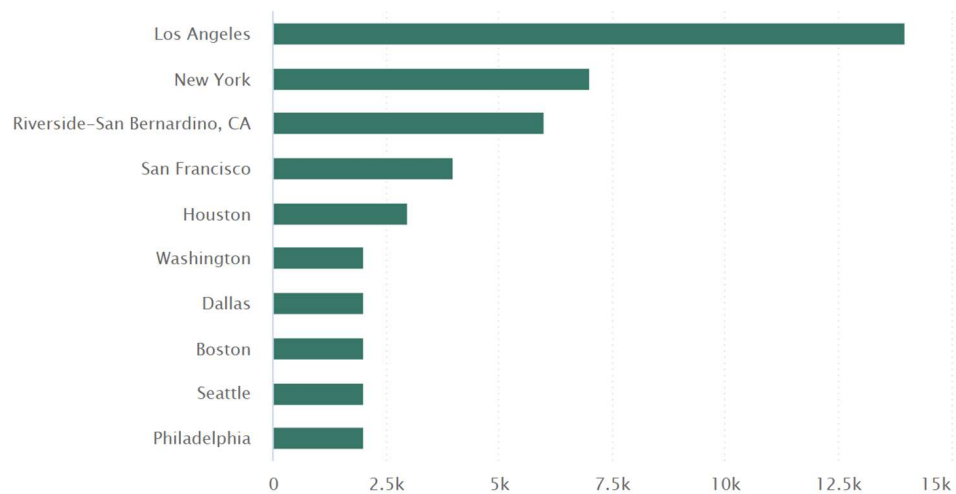


Figure 6. Top Ten Metropolitan Areas by Indonesian Population

(Source: Pew Research Center, 2021)

I have carefully picked the subject population of the interview and the spatial setting where the phenomena happen to deliver findings that represent reality. In my study, I arranged different contexts regarding the scale of the subject's population and the type of spatial development in their area. Based on the 2019 demographic data and other studies about the Indonesian immigrant population in the U.S., Southern California has the largest Indonesian population (see Figure 6). Los Angeles, Riverside-San Bernardino, San Francisco, and Seattle are among the top 10 metropolitan areas on the West Coast where most Indonesian immigrants reside.

Locations of Cases & Participant Eligibility

Studies show the importance of the United States Immigration Act of 1965 as a key temporal benchmark of international immigration, especially from Asia (Allen & Turner, 1997; Sen, 2002;

Cunningham, 2008; Choi et al., 2013). The U.S. federal law lifted immigration restrictions and allowed the stream of Asian immigrants to the U.S. in the 1970s, mainly on the West Coast. The Los Angeles Metropolitan Area was one of the locations on the West Coast that attracted Asian immigrants. Among many factors, wars and socio-political conflicts in several countries in Southeast Asia, such as Cambodia, Indonesia, and Vietnam, gave birth to the flow of refugees to the U.S. (Van Esterik, 2008). Allen and Turner (1997) argue that one of the biggest challenges in the immigrants' acculturation process is fluency in the English language, which affects the opportunity to pursue education and have a broader range of employment options.

Southern California in the 1960s observed a pattern of suburban development and the significant presence of immigrant communities (Allen & Turner, 1997). The globalization of the American economy induced a stronger connection between the U.S. and other countries, which stimulated migration. In the case of Indonesian immigrants, Cunningham (2008) reported a census from the year 1990 that showed the proportion of Indonesian immigrants is less than 0.5% of almost 7 million Asian immigrants in the U.S. Two events of political turmoil in Indonesia might be relevant as push factors to emigrate. The former happened in late 1965, marking the end of the Old Order Regime led by President Soekarno. It was followed by the transition to the New Order Era led by President Soeharto, which was full of civil violence. This turmoil caused the wealthier group of Indonesians to immigrate to the U.S., especially in the 1970s, with an average age of 30 (Cunningham, 2008).

The latter happened from 1998 to 2000, when the nation's political ideology underwent several transitions. This started from an economic crisis and political turmoil in 1998 that forced President Soeharto to give up his long-standing dictatorship. Afterward, the Reformation Era was formed with continuous changes of presidential leadership before a period was fully completed. During these years, the minority groups of Indonesians who were also people of Chinese descent or were Christian experienced systematic violence, abuse, persecution, and racial hatred (Cunningham, 2008). These people fled to the U.S. to begin a better life.

However, the Indonesians who entered the U.S. were considered non-refugees because the Indonesian government did not acknowledge the tragedy they experienced. At that time, the national airline Garuda Indonesia could only land in Los Angeles for any U.S. destinations (Cunningham, 2008). Furthermore, government officials' diplomatic visits and trade missions frequently connected Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, and the city of Los Angeles. This situation made Los Angeles more accessible and known to Indonesians. During this second significant wave of arrival in the U.S., American churches in the Los Angeles area and their congregations assisted Indonesian immigrants by providing stability. Cunningham (2008) suggests the importance of family ties as the essential source of emotional support and social security for Indonesians, which causes familial or kinship migration to be more common rather

than individual migration. In the 1990s, these fresh-off-the-boat Indonesian immigrants more typically manned the food and beverage businesses or grocery stores (Allen & Turner, 1997). During the time of this study, it has been more common for Indonesians to work or pursue higher education as their reasons for immigration to the U.S.

Cunningham (2008) also reports that about 60% of Indonesian residents in Southern California are persons of Chinese descent. The majority of Indonesians in Southern California are Christian. These interesting facts suggest a particular socio-cultural background for my case study in Southern California. The 2019 data in Figure 5 shows that the highest population of Indonesian immigrants resides in the Los Angeles metro area, and the third highest is in the San Bernardino-Riverside metro area. There is also a Consulate General of Indonesia in Los Angeles to provide consular and social assistance for many Indonesians who live in these areas. To have diversity in terms of socio-cultural, economic, and spatial development aspects of Indonesian immigrants, I chose the study locations in Oregon and Southern California to represent Indonesians on the West Coast.

Although Oregon is not a state with a large population of Indonesians in the U.S., I can still find different scales of small concentrations in a few cities. An online mapping database called ZIPAtlas demonstrates the percentage of Indonesians in Oregon (<https://zipatlas.com/us/or/city-comparison/percentage-indonesian-population.htm>, 2024). The combination of the sister cities Eugene and Springfield has about 67 immigrants out of 112 Indonesians. The city of Portland has about 164 immigrants out of 960 Indonesians. The database shows no Indonesians detected in the town of Ashland. However, my Google search of any Indonesian restaurants owned by Indonesians directed me to one location in Downtown Ashland. Based on this data, I decided to find a participant for each location to represent findings in Oregon. I have a decent understanding of the food practices of Indonesians in Eugene because I have lived in the city since the end of 2019. Here, I have personal experience as an international student from Indonesia, who socializes with other Indonesians in the same geographic area, and as a practitioner of the Indonesian food culture. For the Southern California location, my snowballing recruitment from a participant in Oregon led me to find participants in the San Bernardino area to represent one of the most significant Indonesian populations on the West Coast.

Among the food-related places along Indonesians' food axes in these locations, my study will include areas where Indonesian immigrants obtain cooking ingredients and tools, such as grocery stores, specialty/ethnic stores, and food banks. This study will focus on areas in a domestic setting where Indonesian immigrants store (such as food pantries, kitchen shelves, refrigerators), prepare (such as kitchens), serve (such as dining area), and enjoy (such as dining rooms, living rooms, porches, and outdoor public areas) Indonesian dishes. Figure 7 illustrates the flow of food production to consumption (or one may understand it as a food-supply chain) and the part I want to focus my study on.

Eligible participants may come from any generation of immigrants within the adult age range and who still maintain a regular schedule to cook and consume Indonesian foods. Based on the preliminary study showing two significant temporal contexts of immigration waves in the 1970s and late 1990s to early 2000s, I assume the participants from the earlier group have spent at least four decades since their arrival as immigrants in their 30s. Many of the youngest group, who came to the U.S. as young professionals or to pursue their higher education, are in their 20s and 30s. Age varieties and the period of immigration of the Indonesian immigrants will inform the nuances of Indonesians' food practices and food axes over time.

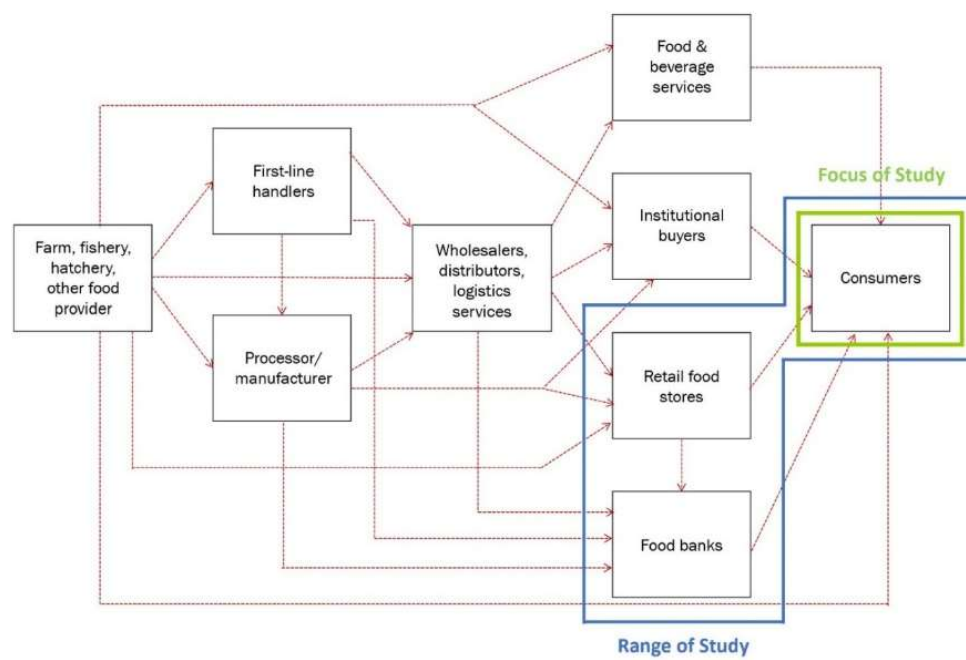


Figure 7. Flows of Food Supply Chain and the Focus of My Study

(Source: Stock, 2004; Nesheim et al., 2015; reproduced by Klara Indrawati, 2022)

Data Collection Techniques

Interviews & Participant Observations

The ethnographic data collection employs interviews and participant observation with a snowballing technique to recruit participants so that I could start from a small number of participants (Berg, 2007). After gaining my initial participants' trust, I asked them to introduce me to prospective participants in their social circle. Through the in-depth interviews, I conducted repeated in-person

interactions with participants to uncover particular perspectives, behaviors, and experiences that are delivered in the participants' words (Taylor, 1984). The interview sessions were situated more like informal and fluid conversations (Yin, 2003). I intended to minimize or even eliminate my intervention with the participants' answers to spotlight the participants' perspectives (Groat & Wang, 2013). The prepared questions work more as a general guideline rather than fixed queries. This method is discussed by Berg (2007) as a "semi-standardized interview."

Communication during interview sessions and observations of participants' activities was done mainly in Bahasa (the mutual native language of mine and participants) and occasionally in American English. This way, I could prevent misunderstandings in every session of the interview. Participant observation was helpful in my study because it allowed me to perform both passive (outsider) and active (insider) roles in a more natural way (Taylor, 1984; Yin, 2003; Groat & Wang, 2013). There were five sections of interview questions. First, it started with questions about participants' immigration stories. Second, it was followed by questions about the practices of Indonesian food culture when participants lived in their Indonesian homes (before coming to the U.S.). Interviews included questions about participants' immigration backgrounds and the stories of their initial cultural adaptations. It allowed the participants to talk about their memories related to traditional food practices and the related places (Meah, 2016). Third, the questions pertained to participants' practices of Indonesian food culture in the U.S. Fourth, I asked questions about the rooms, areas, and equipment in their West Coast homes that they used for cooking and eating Indonesian foods. Fifth, I asked questions about participants' perceptions of their identity relevant to the intersectionality of food practices in the U.S. The Appendix of this dissertation (see Appendix A No.3) consists of a more detailed list of questions for each section.

I have been aware that food practices always bring back a memory from the past, either positive or negative. So, it was essential to act gently, sensitively, and conscientiously during my interaction with my participants. Participants might feel emotional if they had past trauma that motivated their immigration. I shared a traumatic experience with prospective participants who were affected by the 1998 political turmoil that occurred in Indonesia. This experience equipped me with empathy to prioritize the emotional well-being of my participants during the interview. I conducted the first three sections of the interview without any specific activities, which meant asking questions without observation. The observation happened when participants shopped for ingredients, cooked them into Indonesian dishes, and consumed them. On top of the observation during the activities of preparing and cooking the dishes, I then ask the fourth and fifth sections of the interview questions.

Both interview and participant observation were done inside and around the participants' residences. However, the primary focus was on the inside area as the more personal site of participants' cultural adaptations. Units of observation inside the house might include (but are not limited to)

participants' kitchens, dining rooms, living rooms, and backyards. To connect these domestic places with the presence of places like grocery stores or ethnic stores in urban settings and achieve a more holistic understanding of food axes regarding the full cycle of food provision, I observed participants' shopping activities in places they visited to obtain Indonesian ingredients.

Although I have learned the power of ethnographic strategy through my interviews and observations, I also acknowledge its several weaknesses. First, it is hard to completely understand the sociocultural practice from the participants' perspectives if the researcher is not native to the community being studied. A language barrier is a serious issue. The gap will be in different ways of knowing and perceiving things between the researcher and participants (Hammersley, 2006). This issue is intensified by the fact that the researcher might not spend the whole day with participants. This first weakness might not be a particularly high risk for my study because I am a member of the Indonesian community on the West Coast of the U.S., and I speak the same first-tongue national language. To avoid misunderstanding and build trust, I built a close relationship and spent as much time as possible with the participants whenever they felt like it.

Second, the multidimensional nature of socio-spatial data that is ethnographically collected often leads to a large collection of data. Thus, a regular evaluation of small findings is required in dealing with an exhaustive amount of data that will be represented in multiple ways. I maintained the steady steps of the analysis process to avoid getting overwhelmed. Soon after I collected data from one participant, I started the thematic analysis process from the interview results to identify emerging themes. When nothing new from the data analysis appeared, I could claim the achievement of data saturation (Richards, 2005). In the next step, I synthesized my findings. By keeping track and making notes for each necessary change during each phase, I could trace back and evaluate the logical progression of my study thus strengthening the robustness of my findings.

Sketch Map & Photo Story Technique

I intended to map the activities and locations related to Indonesian immigrants' food practices that would reveal the elements of participants' food axes. In producing this map, I needed to follow the participants during their visits to Indonesian food-related places. On the urban scale, I used a geographic map to mark a participant's home and other places he/she visits to get cooking ingredients or tools. On the domestic scale, I used a floor plan as a base map. Together with participants, I marked any revelatory spatial narrative and experience along the food axis by using three phases of activities in food provision: shopping, preparing, and serving/consuming. To protect the participants' privacy and confidentiality, my

map did not show the exact geographic coordinates of the participants' houses. I will use a bigger map to pinpoint the location of residences that could only identify the area of the neighborhood.

This mapping procedure is known as a “sketch map” (Boschmann & Cubbon, 2014), which is an example of the qualitative technique in utilizing the Geographic Information System (GIS) as a mapping tool. This technique attempts to discover spatial narratives of individuals or groups, including the complex emotions produced while experiencing one place (Shumack, 2015). Thus, a map can productively work as a representation and explanation of social phenomena. Boschmann and Cubbon (2014) highlight some merits of the sketch map, such as its ability to reveal different spatial perceptions of certain ethnic groups in a cosmopolitan place and its power to identify the placemaking of the commons together with the attributive meaning, value, and memory.

This qualitative mapping approach promotes a bottom-up or participatory production of knowledge. Interviews during the process of marking locations will clarify contextual affective attributes for each visited location. All data from a participant is later combined into a digital map (see Figure 8). Sketch mapping allowed a better understanding of the spatiality of Indonesian food practices through an ethnographic lens.

Having a similar goal and relevant to the sketch map procedure, Maruya (2017) suggests a technique called “mapping the common living sphere” and emphasizes its importance in enabling participants to express the relationship between the space and themselves and the result can help participants to notice the common space they shared with other participants who live in the same area of observation (see Figure 9). This technique would be particularly helpful if I had more than one participant residing in the exact location of the case study. Rishbeth (2013) suggests that immigrants may start feeling that they belong in the new place after visiting multiple shops, tagging landmarks, and finding places with a flexible utilization in this new place of living, in other words, attaching significance to places around them.

While sketch-mapping, I simultaneously conducted a photo story, a journalism technique that uses photos to tell narratives about a person, situation, or place (Shurbaji, 2014). In my case, I used the photo story to reveal connected themes of the spatial experience of participants regarding spatial elements of food-related places in an urban setting (if any), that made them feel at home or may have relevance to places in Indonesia. The caption for each photo came from my conversation with participants at the time the photo was taken. I asked why certain spatial elements helped the participants to make a formerly unfamiliar environment feel like home and audiotaped the answer so that I could match the photos with the narratives.

As Hou (2013) suggests, the mundane details and nuances in the physical environment may have deep cultural significance for immigrants. Mars and Kohlstedt (2020) suggest that the placemaking of the

commons in a public space is facilitated with everyday objects, such as signage and civic monuments. Therefore, my mapping in the urban setting is expected to find objects along the urban-scale food axis that relate to the participants' experience performing Indonesian food practices. Through the photo story, I could also observe the visual preference of participants and their true feelings about their cultural identity and comments on how to be resilient yet underrepresented.

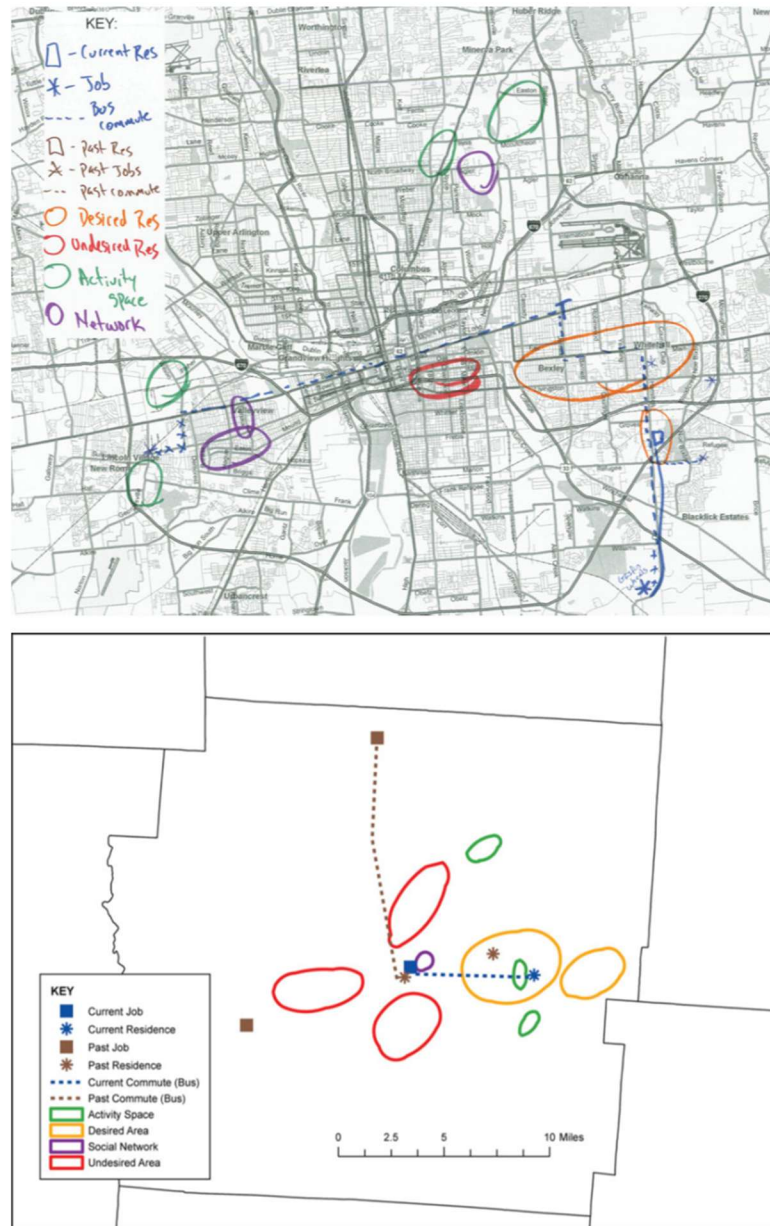


Figure 8. Example of the Sketch Map and Its Digital Version from Research About Participant's Commuting Experiences

(Source: Boschmann & Cubbon, 2014)

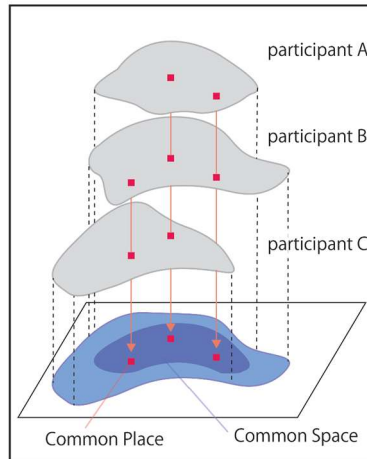


Figure 9. A Sample of Maruya's Participatory Mapping Analysis Showing the Common Living Sphere

(Source: Maruya, 2017)

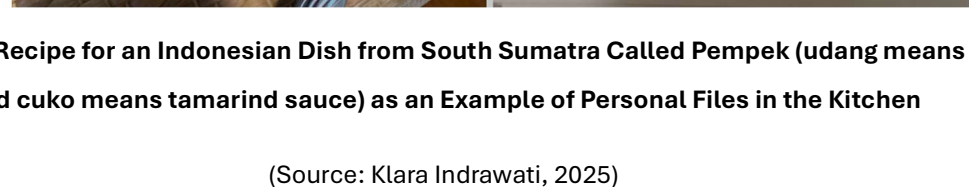
Material Culture Study through Behaviors/Bodily Practices Observation

Another vital source of data came from material/cultural artifacts due to their capacity as sedimentation of events and significances (Meah, 2016). The artifacts of material culture, including architectural objects, are valuable sources that come with a significant quantity of information (Glassie, 1975). Correspondingly, Yin (2003) and Willis and Cromby (2020) suggest that the physical and cultural dimensions of material artifacts allow the researcher to study the aspects of experiences that are hardly explained by textual qualitative description.

The banality of everyday artifacts often makes them forgotten in scholarly works despite their objectivity of information (Deetz, 1977). Material culture, as Deetz (1977) defines it, is roughly synonymous with artifacts that consist of objects of mankind to cope with the physical world and facilitate social intercourse. For instance, a material culture study on cutlery and tableware shows certain changes in food practices in 17th-century England. At that time, forks were not present, and knives facilitated their function with pointed ends (Deetz, 1977). The artifacts of material culture found in participants' food-related places were my object of study, complementing my interviews and observations.

I expected to find personal files in participants' houses, especially Indonesian recipes that list the Indonesian ingredients (see Figure 11). This list could be a starting point to indicate where food-related places around a participant's home sell these ingredients. During the observation of the cooking process, I photographed or sketched the relevant participants' activities, the spatial elements in the observed rooms, and everyday objects like cooking tools and dinnerware. I made behavior observations during the

(Source: Klara Indrawati, 2012)



(Source: Klara Indrawati, 2025)

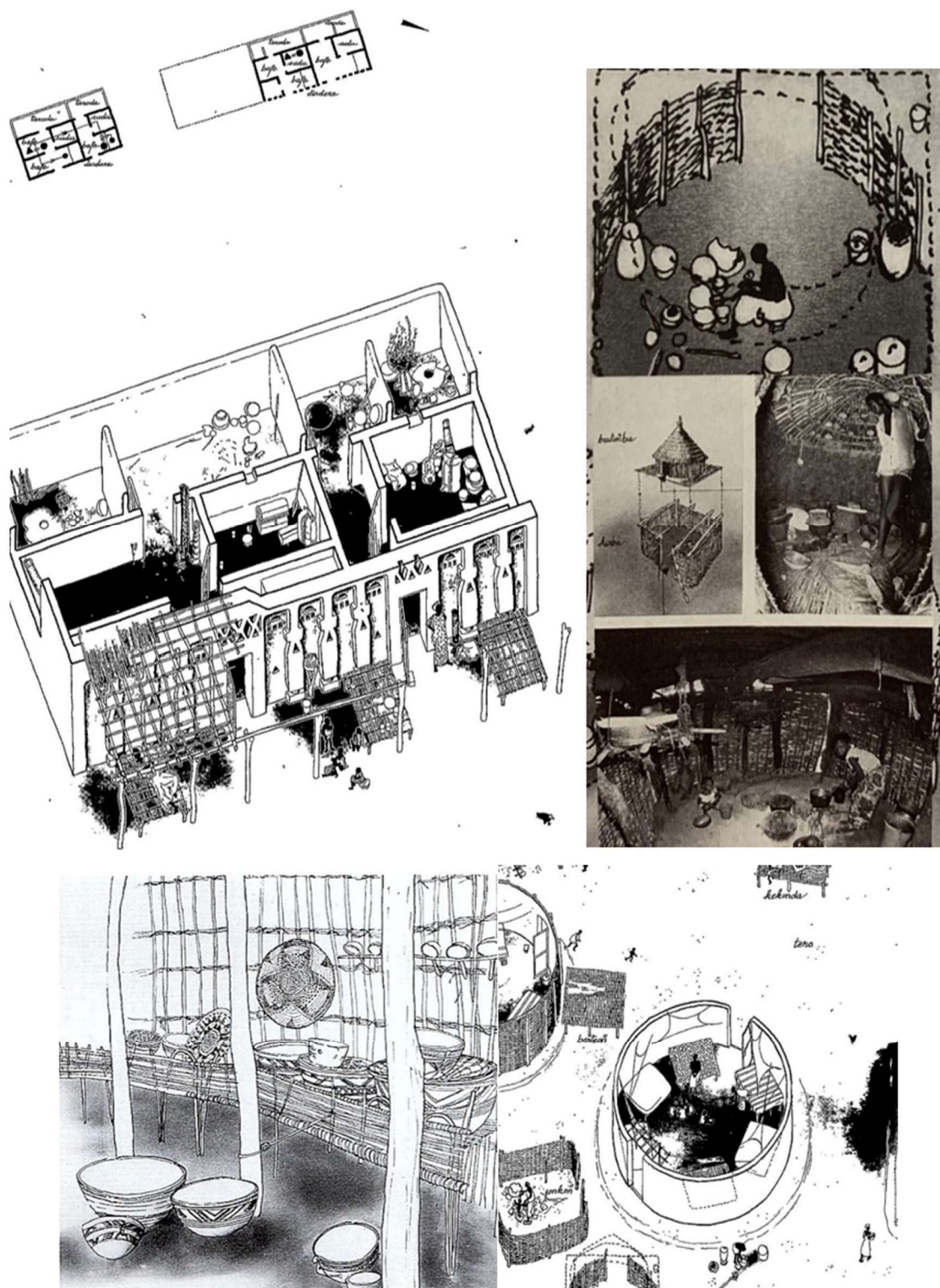


Figure 12. Visualization of the Material Culture Study & Behaviors/Bodily Practices Observation of African Dwellings Performed by Bourdier and Minh-Ha

(Source: Bourdier & Minh-Ha, 1996)

The behavior observation used the relevant floor plan as the base map on which participants' bodily practices or gestures would be observed. I drew all the floor plans. Regardless of the number of floors in the house, the necessary floor plan to draw was only the location of observation, where the cooking and eating activities happen. Figure 10 shows examples of my observation of behaviors/bodily practices of a cook/server and the consumers across from the cook/server in a street-food district in Yogyakarta City, Indonesia. This visualization came from my undergraduate thesis. Figure 11 shows a recipe for an Indonesian dish from my own kitchen. Figure 12 is the visualization of a material culture study in *African Dwellings* by Bourdier and Minh-Ha (1996).

Document Study

I use document study to understand the general context of Indonesian immigrants' lives on the West Coast, specifically Indonesian media in the format of a magazine published on the West Coast. Although no Indonesian media is published in Oregon, there are a few in California. An electronic magazine called Kabari was published in San Francisco for the Northern California area (<https://issuu.com/kabari8>). Los Angeles cartographer and neighborhood explorer Eric Brightwell (2015) suggests that the first Indonesian media ever published is called the *Indonesian Journal*. It was based in the city of Fontana, San Bernardino County, in 1988. Established in the same county in 1996, Brightwell (2015) also mentions *Actual Indonesian News*, which was based in the city of Loma Linda. *Indonesia Media*, which the cartographer informed, was based in Glendora, Los Angeles County, and seems to be the only one that survives in Southern California.

Indonesia Media facilitates the dissemination of information about various events in Indonesia, the U.S., and other countries. First published after the 1998 political turmoil in Indonesia, this magazine has electronic and printed formats using mainly Bahasa and secondarily English (see Figure 13) with a mission to promote cultural diversity among Indonesians in the U.S., particularly on the West Coast so that the discrimination against Indonesians of Chinese-descent and religious minority groups in Indonesia can be repelled. Many of the editions from 2011 to 2019 are available to read on issuu.com (<https://issuu.com/indonesiamedia>) and the latest publication is on the magazine website (<https://www.indonesiamedia.com/>). The printed copies of this magazine are also available for free in Indonesian Consulate offices as well as some Indonesian restaurants and churches.



Figure 13. The Homepage of Indonesia Media Website & Some Covers of Printed Edition

(Source: <http://www.indonesiamedia.com/>, 2021; <https://issuu.com/indonesiamedia>, 2021)

Procedure of Participant Recruitment & Data Collection

I aimed to find one to two participants in each case study location. Each adaptation and modification by the Indonesian immigrants who use the American kitchen to cook Indonesian foods would produce different kinds of stories; thus, I did not focus on the generalization of spatial adaptation. I intended to find a personal strategy for each participant to make the American kitchen work for Indonesian ways of cooking. It was also very unrealistic to define each participant as merely generalized Indonesians because participants may come from any of 17,500 islands and any of 1,300 ethnic groups across the archipelago who practice different kinds of local food cultures. The diversity of local food cultures affects the way of cooking and the spatial formation of the kitchen. Similarities across participants' adaptation may appear in Chapter 2 Part 1, where I will elaborate on my findings. Chapter 2 Part 2 includes further discussion and interpretation of any similarities.

My fieldwork started in Oregon during the Fall of 2024. Portland was the first location I visited at the end of September to collect data in the first participant's house. The next two participants were from Eugene and Springfield. I visited them throughout the months of October and November. I found participants in Portland, Eugene, and Springfield from my personal Indonesian circle who were connected with me either because of our roles as Indonesian students, or parents, or our experiences as Indonesian spouses of Americans. I contacted one participant in each city through text messages and showed them my recruitment text (see Appendix A No.1). This text includes information about the focus of my research,

the purpose, description of research activities, the way I collect data (photographing, videotaping, and audiotaping), and the timeline of my visit to their homes. Once they confirmed their approval to participate, I asked for their email addresses so that the informed consent form could be sent (see Appendix A No.2). This form contains more information about my study. I stated that I would use the information from this research in my dissertation and further relevant publications, and that I would protect participants' privacy and confidentiality by not using their real names or exposing their home addresses, and explained that participants have the right to withdraw from the research at any time. This study did not offer direct benefits (such as souvenirs or money) to the participants. This form was signed at the beginning of the first interview session.

My fourth fieldwork location was in the City of Ashland. I first contacted my fourth participant via email using the contact information the participant provided on the Indonesian restaurant website. The follow-up communication was done via text messages. The fieldwork happened in early December with a similar consent process, which I elaborated on in the previous paragraph. My first participant introduced me to a friend from her social circle who lives in San Bernardino County. This fifth participant later introduced me to my sixth and final participant from her religious circle in the same county. My fieldwork in San Bernardino happened from mid-January to the end of January 2025.

First, I started the data collection with a semi-structured interview to cover the first, second, and third sections of interview questions using either Indonesian or English per participant preference. I did not conduct observations during this part of the interview. I asked questions such as *Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome homesickness? Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back nostalgic memories about Indonesia? Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?* I used an audio recording app to tape the interview. Appendix A No.3 displays my complete list of interview questions.

Second, I observed participants' bodily practices during the preparation and consumption of Indonesian foods. At the same time, I asked questions from the fourth and fifth sections of the interview. I videotaped the observation and the interview. I also took photos (photo story) of the interaction of participants and the kitchen tools and equipment. Third, I drew the floor plan of parts of the house where the cooking and eating activities take place. I use the floor plan as the base map for observations of bodily practices/behaviors. I did not draw other parts/floor plans of the home that were not used in the research activities (such as bedrooms).

Visual documentation through photographing and videotaping will give richer data than audio recordings alone (Willis & Cromby, 2020). However, as Back (2012, p. 252) suggests, these techniques should not reduce the vigilance of my interview and observation. Thereby, in my study, different media

(photos, videos, audio recordings, notes, and sketches) work as comparative evidence and are the means to provide materialized explicit participants' activities (Bourdier & Minh-Ha, 1996).

The fourth step was participatory mapping, which included the photo story technique and a material culture study. In this step, I joined the participants on a shopping trip to purchase ingredients for Indonesian dishes they make regularly. This procedure helped me find out where participants acquire ingredients and/or equipment to cook and consume Indonesian foods on the West Coast. Understanding the reason behind the preferred store (or other resources like local farms, food banks, or personal gardens) was also helpful.

Bruno Latour's (2005) idea to "follow the actors themselves" was the main inspiration behind my chosen mapping procedure. Latour (2005) suggests this strategy allows an observer to fully immerse oneself in the participant's actual settings and spatial experiences. The role of the commons as the agency of placemaking can be studied from the resulting maps. In line with Latour's suggestion, I found that the United Kingdom-based Professor of Architecture and Design Activism Doina Petrescu (2012) calls this technique "the mapping of relational practice" or "relation-scape" with the purpose of displaying the unique territorialization of the commons within a specific temporal context. As Willis & Cromby (2020) explain, this kind of strategy allows an understanding of space as a site of feelings produced by social encounters during everyday events.

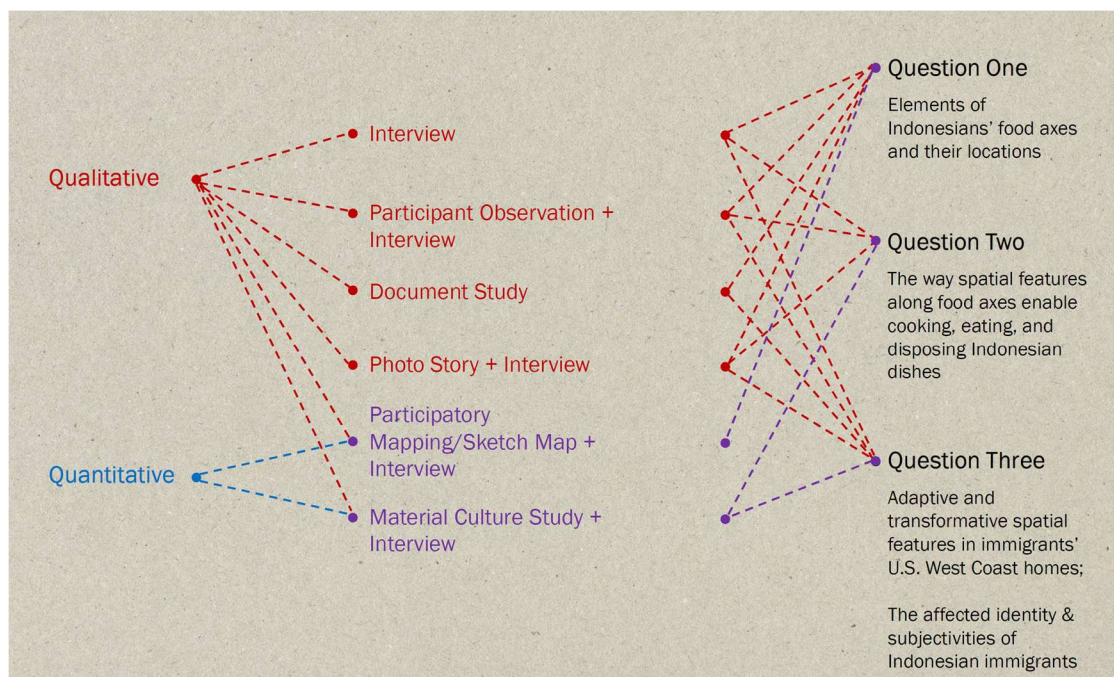


Figure 14. Methodology Diagram Relevant to Research Questions

(Source: Indrawati, 2023)

I observed and interviewed participants during the whole shopping process. I used a PDF version of the map retrieved from Google Maps, which included the participant's house and all stores and other locations to visit during the mapping session. Due to the participatory nature, the participant helped me identify the stores' locations on the map. If there were any spatial elements of the places we visited (such as store signage, arrangement of aisle, and size of aisleway) that brought significance to participants as an Indonesian immigrant, I would take photos and discuss the story behind the signification. I did not take photos/videos of other visitors during this mapping process to protect their privacy and confidentiality. The duration of this mapping was determined by the length of each participant's shopping trip. Once we returned to the participant's house and stored away all the purchased items, I concluded the data collection process.

Data Analysis Toward Grounded Theory

Two main data types became available at the end of my data collection phase: audio data and visual data (photos and videos). The audio data came from the interview, and the visual data came from the observation and participatory mapping. There was also textual data as a result of document study. In the data analysis phase, textual data was included in the data mining and thematic coding process, and the result generated a visualization such as a word cloud/word mapping shown in Figure 15. Data mining and qualitative coding are intertwined techniques to analyze textual data (Sadokierski & Sweetapple, 2015). The procedure is to find common words and classify them into groups of different themes. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), this technique is also commonly known as thematic analysis, which identifies, analyzes, and reports patterns/themes within data. Themes reveal essential information from the data to answer research questions. I used an inductive approach, per Braun & Clarke's guidance (2006), in my thematic analysis, which is a data-driven approach without preconceived themes prior to data analysis. This approach has similarities to grounded theory. Although Braun & Clarke (2006) also suggest that researchers must acknowledge that we will not be free from theoretical commitment while conducting an inductive analysis. In an inductive analysis, one must actively search for themes because they do not simply emerge (Taylor & Ussher, 2001).

Richards (2005) argues that qualitative coding allows the generation of ideas and the classification of data based on relevant topics or themes. Furthermore, as Berg (2007) explains, this procedure is an initial process to derive significance and will be developed gradually and consistently throughout the analysis phase. Coding was an iterative and revelatory process. Thus, I carefully read each participant's interview transcriptions at least three times. I took the codes directly from what participants

I used Braun & Clarke's (2006) systematized six steps of conducting thematic analysis. First, researchers should familiarize themselves with their data by transcribing and reading the interview recording multiple times. Second, researchers generate initial codes by assigning words or phrases to a topic of passage in the transcript. Third, researchers search for themes, which means identifying broader patterns of shared meaning across the coded data to illuminate research questions (Charmaz, 2001). Fourth, researchers review themes by examining if the themes are coherent and later if the development of themes accurately represents the whole data set. Fifth, researchers define and name themes, including the creation of a narrative for each theme and the relationship between themes. Sixth, researchers produce reports that will tell the rich story of the data and a compelling argument in relation to the theme, organization, and response to research questions (Clarke & Braun, 2014).

Parallel with the textual analysis, I analyzed the visual data using bodily practices/behavior analysis. I also created a montage of images from the videos and photos that could be combined with thematic keywords in the textual analysis. Figures 16 and 17 are examples of montages that illustrate how I present the results of my data analysis. I argue that a montage is a good visual reflection and presentation to demonstrate my participants' experiences that I witnessed throughout my multimedia data collection. Mann and Warr (2017) suggest the power of montage to link diverse multimedia data bits into thematic sorting, condense information, combine various forms of data, synthesize interpretations, and animate the researcher's logical arguments. Moreover, a montage technique is helpful in repurposing scientific visualization to create a visual narrative that is more open to diverse interpretations (Aston, 2010; Cooper, 2014). Any photos with participants' presence did not show participants' faces to protect privacy and confidentiality.

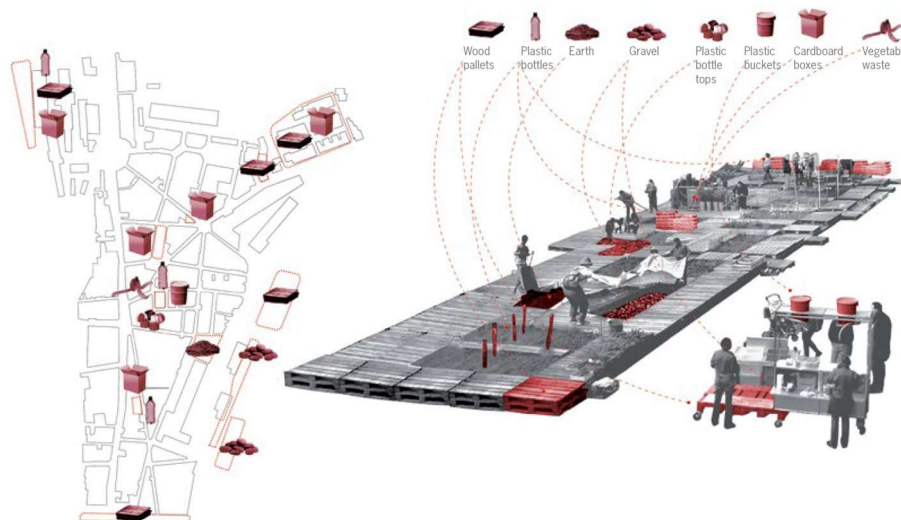


Figure 16. An Example of Montage Combining Textual and Visual Data: Eco Box Project

(Source: Atelier D'Architecture Autogérée, 2001)

By using a digital mapping program (such as GIS and Tableau), I created the digital version of the sketch maps. The digital mapping program is a powerful tool for analyzing everyday socio-spatial phenomena' patterns, complexities, and ambiguities by using points, lines, polygons, and pixels to represent data (Bodenhamer et al., 2010). Because each human activity, data, or event has a geographic reference, digital mapping analysis will facilitate the data interpretation process through a holistic visualization technique. Each participant's map will be individually produced and discussed.

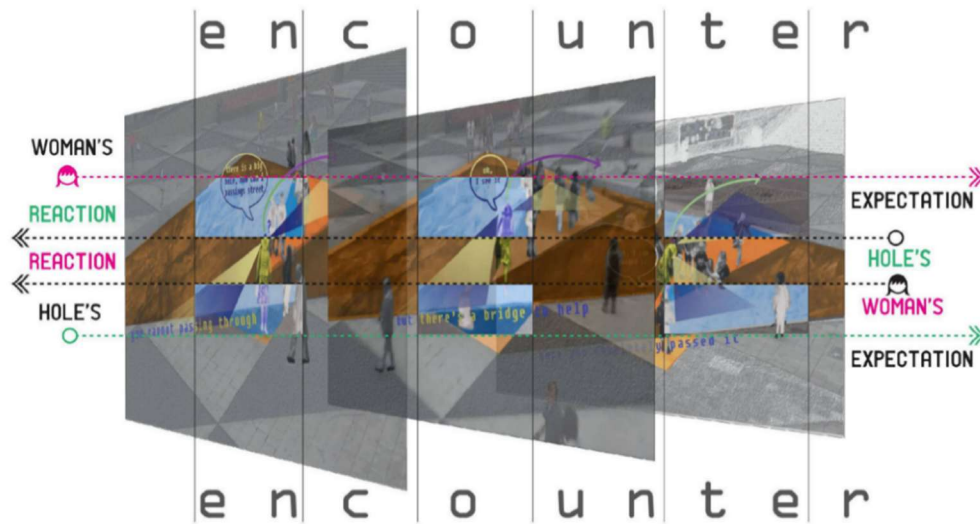


Figure 17. An Example of a Montage Combining Texts and Visualizations from My Thesis Project

(Source: Klara Indrawati, 2013)

After the analysis I interpreted all information toward the development of a theory or in other words, I developed a grounded theory (Holloway & Todres, 2003). The grounded theory resulting from this study attempted to explain the food axes of Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast, identified the repertoire of Indonesians' places around immigrants' homes, and provided detailed analyses of the use of spatial features inside immigrants' homes to sustain Indonesian food cultures. In the future, the findings will be relevant to the fact that the world's most populous countries, like Indonesia, contribute to an increasing rate of immigration to the U.S. (Fox, 2016). This phenomenon is observable in Figure 17, which shows a constant increase in immigration from Indonesia to the U.S. every year between 2000 and 2019. My work will serve as a valuable point of reference for incorporating Indonesian cultural practices into home design and city planning in the U.S. In a broader sense, my study is a continuation of prior scholars who have attempted to promote more democratic architectural practices and inclusive places toward a socially equal, multicultural society of today and tomorrow.

1. REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Part 1. The Notion of Food Axis and The Immigrant Food Practice

Elizabeth Cromley's Food Axis

In her 2010 book *The Food Axis*, Elizabeth Cromley introduced the term “food axis” by first elaborating on the activities involved in food provision. These activities are full of careful planning. They take place in particular spatial settings and employ designated equipment. The journey of a meal starts when one has access to the edible supply that needs to be stored so that it will be available for the cooking process and the consumption event. Each step of this journey generates places such as a garden, farmers’ market, grocery store, kitchen, pantry, and dining room. The continuous processes that happen from one place to another give shape to a constellation that Cromley (2010, p. 2) called “the food axis.”

To avoid misunderstanding, Cromley (2010, p. 2) clarifies the use of “axis” in the term by defining the word as a group of spaces with relevant interest, which in this case is food provision. The relationship among spaces is essential in discussing the food axis rather than the independent existence of individual spaces in the axis. In her study, Cromley focuses on the food axis in the domestic boundary, in other words, food-related spaces in a house. Multiple factors, including geographic location, local climate, economic class, temporal setting, and cultural practice, regulate the elements involved and the whole formation of the food axis. A seasonal kitchen may be appropriate in subtropical regions. Cromley (2010, pp. 58-59) found that a couple of American farmhouses in Maine and New Hampshire have a summer kitchen in the basement to keep the main floor cool. A study in the field of anthropology reports that eating habits and traditional customs in various ethnic groups generate the physical formation of vernacular houses (Fox, 2010; Salvador, 2018).

In his review of Cromley’s 2010 book, Howard Davis (2012, pp. 126-127) rephrases the definition of the food axis. He explains it as the collection of indoor and outdoor domestic spaces in which food provision is the primary purpose. In her historical analysis of the spatial rearrangement of 17th-century American homes, Cromley found that the food axis helps to elaborate the way food-related spaces order the design and planning of the site and every room in the house. Furthermore, Davis (2012, p. 127) argues that the way Cromley anchors the study of the food axis to the activities related to the network of food provision brings a new understanding of a house as a physical manifestation of a complex system involved in human life.

The food axis connects two primary basic needs in the sustenance of humankind: food and place. Historian Yuval Noah Harari (2014, p. 54) argues that this connection can be traced back to the era of

hunter-gatherer society. At this time, Homo Sapiens maintained their settlement territory through a detailed depiction of a mental map that was used to plan the activities of hunting and gathering food efficiently. They needed to study the behavior of animals. They identified which plants were edible and located the specific places to find these animals and plants. The hunter-gatherer Homo Sapiens also observed the seasonal succession to acclimate their bodies and secure food on a daily basis. This thorough study of territory will give one a bigger chance to survive and proliferate.

In correspondence with Harari's theory of humankind's history, Salvador (2018, pp. 141-142) suggests the ancient relation between living space and food. He explains that shelter and nourishment are universal, basic, and essential. Any changes in the latter will reciprocally transform the former and vice versa. It is observable in the transition of humankind's relationship with the natural environment. During the dependence of humankind on the natural environment, the nomadic hunter-gatherer Homo Sapiens dwelled in natural shelters such as caves and trees. In the next epoch, the domination of humankind over the natural environment gave rise to the agricultural society, which built more permanent shelters to dwell in, cultivated food, and raised cattle. The intertwined relationship between place and food regulates how one lives in a territory, incorporating one's culture and the place where that culture is practiced. This phenomenon also explains the existence of some food materials and tastes that are unique to specific places (Michailidis, 2011, p. 7).

Similarly, Shannon Elliot (2010, p. 9), in her master's thesis, suggests the primordial hearth of early society was a spatial manifestation of the placemaking of early community in terms of food provision. The community gathered around the hearth's fire to get some warmth, light, and protection from predators and to cook. Intriguingly, anthropologist Richard Wrangham (2009, pp. 2-4) suggests the act of cooking is quintessential for humankind. He found that the importance of cooperative and organized behaviors in human social lives was intensified since the invention of knives to cook meat on the fire to be shared within a group. Thereby, Elliot (2010, p. 9) indicates the making of the fireplace as the root of a designated place, especially within the domestic realm. She further suggests that food-related places within a house demonstrate the center of domestic space. In discussing the center of human settlement, Elliot (2010, p. 9) extends her observation of the axis to the city scale and reports that temples once became an urban center in the era of early civilization. Temples were the sites where rituals and feasts were performed, as well as the sites for agricultural warehouses. In temples, harvests were first stored and offered to the gods to be eventually distributed back to the people (Mumford, 1968).

The discussion about place and food by Castro et al. (2018, p. 131) uses the term "foodscape" as a concept within a broader concept they call "food's intangible landscape." The concepts are borrowed from Mikkelsen's work in 2010, which discusses macro, meso, and micro scales of the food landscape. The macro scale refers to a global or national geographical context, and the meso scale refers to a regional

or local community context. Finally, the micro scale encompasses the built environment where activities related to food occur (Mikkelsen, 2010).

Castro et al. (2018, p. 131) explain the four types of micro landscapes. The first is called “roomscape” and is defined as an overall venue for food preparation and consumption. The second is “tablescape,” which means the frame used by individuals to consume their meals, such as tables and car seats. The third is “platescape,” which refers to the containers of meals, such as plates and glasses. The fourth, “foodscape,” is understood as the actual food itself. Although the term foodscape sounds like it would have a close relationship with the food axis, I argue that the focus of the study is different, mainly because the food axis gives emphasis to both each food-related place and the relations among the places occupied in the journey of food provision rather than merely investigating each point in the axis or the landscape of food provision as an independent socio-spatial phenomenon. Moreover, the concept of foodscape applies an increasingly smaller spatial scale that is not observable for human occupation (for example, in the case of the table, plate, and actual food). The Food Axis Theory employs an occupied space as its unit of analysis (which is relevant to roomscape).

According to the previous elaboration, the concept of the food axis revolves around the discussion of food and place. Since the focus of architecture as a field of study is transforming a site into a meaningful place to serve users through certain functions, I argue that the term “place” is interchangeable with the term “architecture”. Many scholars whose studies connect these two fields suggest that place/architecture and food do not seem closely related at first (Michailidis, 2011; Parham & Carta, 2018), and academics viewed food trivially during the 20th century (Allison, 2020). However, scholarly works have shown a paradigm shift in the intellectual relationship between food and architecture over the past few decades. This shift seems to be happening because more fields of study are turning into external subjects that were initially researched and developed more exclusively. Recently, a higher number of scholarly works have shown interest in interdisciplinary subjects such as the interplay between food and place/architecture. The possible research topics from this interplay have attracted multiple practitioners as well.

Parham and Carta (2018, p. 69) argue that architects, academics, urban designers, planners, farmers, food practitioners, and enthusiasts can enrich the study of food and architecture. They also suggest this type of interdisciplinary study will be very relevant to the increasingly globalized society. Congruously, Davis (2012, p. 126) declares that “food is hot,” which explains a growing interest in making food the main subject of scholarly works. In the field of architecture, Cromley (2010, p. 240) advocates for food as the agent of architectural change. Furthermore, interdisciplinary scholars who study food have started approaching the subject more critically, such as from its spatial dimension (Allison, 2020).

Scholars in the humanities and social sciences who study food consumption as a socio-cultural

process reveal a close link to spatial phenomena that explain where food is grown, processed, served, consumed, and discarded. These spatial phenomena create points along the food axis that resonate with Cromley's explanation (2010). The food axis is articulated through the connected everyday places, from the domestic kitchen to downtown markets, food trucks, and restaurants. In other words, spatial manifestations are produced in each phase of food provision. These manifestations inform distinctive expressions of architecture (Singley & Horwitz, 2004).

Food consumption is a complex social phenomenon because of its multidimensional aspects of everyday life: functional, spatial, economic, and cultural. It is also closely linked to multifaceted socio-cultural and economic issues of identity, ideology, memory, community cohesion, economic inequality, sustainability (Singley & Horwitz, 2004; Salvador, 2018), and even marginalized communities and poor neighborhoods (Allison, 2020). The everyday food practices along the food axis can explain how communities maintain their commonality, integration, and cohesion because food is a shared material culture. Among the philosophers of phenomenology, Goldstein (2010) cited Emmanuel Levinas, who conspicuously discusses the meaning of food consumption for human existence and how it makes humans ethical.

As Goldstein (2010) explains, Levinas suggests that the pleasure of satisfaction from consuming food allows one to experience the abundance of nature. He argues that sustenance is not the primary motivation for eating. It is the feeling of hunger that motivates us to eat. We want to get over this feeling of discomfort, which happens because we long for food. The capacity of the world to feed us shows its quality to nourish us like the gentle womb of a mother. One grows empathy with others' hunger through the ability to enjoy food individually. The shared experience of hunger motivates one to share the pleasure of eating. Goldstein (2010) also suggests that the mutual experiences of desperate hunger and joyous food consumption activate our ethics. This argument reaffirms the collective value of food consumption. By understanding the meaning of eating, one is aware of others and is present for them.

Optimistically, Salvador (2018, pp. 144-145) believes the study of food and place/architecture will advantageously reveal an understanding of more productive tools to resolve today's and tomorrow's interconnected issues in both fields. Despite the quiet encounter between food and place/architecture in scholarly works of the 1990s, the term food axis first appeared in 1996. It was Elizabeth Cromley's journal article about the shift along the food axis in the domestic setting after World War II. She found the transformation of a kitchen from a closed and service-oriented space into an open sociable space due to the changing roles of women and the household economy. In this article, Cromley (1996, p. 9) interchangeably used the terms "food axis" and "eating axis." I assume during this time, Cromley was still in the process of developing and exploring the term, which was not the case in her later 2010 book, in which she coined the food axis as a spatial term.

The idea offered in this article is helpful in tracking the intellectual lineage of the food axis, together with its theoretical concept and model of analysis. The invitation that I need to pinpoint from Cromley's method of study is to turn the attention to activities or functions of the place rather than the names of the designated rooms or the typical spatial arrangement that leads to the naming of the room. The architectural study will be more productive if these food-related places are seen as "activity arenas" (Cromley, 1996, p. 9), which means systems of tasks and spaces. Thus, in understanding the food axis, one needs to investigate systems of tasks and spaces associated with food provision as well as each spatial feature included in the system. This way of seeing how a place/architecture works would be impossible without setting up the first mindful and curious gaze toward the users and their activities.

In the 1996 article, Cromley showed her intention to see spatial phenomena from the perspective of the users when she recommended looking at "spaces in action" (Cromley, 1996, p. 9) that users created. Cromley (1996) argues that spaces in action are a conceptual axis that demonstrates a spatial succession of activities in storing, preparing, serving, and disposing of food. Each activity is not fixed in only one place, so Cromley (1996) aims to avoid the inelasticity of architectural labels such as a kitchen or dining room since she believes that the relation between function and form is historically unstable. It is observable in the domestic phenomenon throughout history, such as bathing a baby in the kitchen and chopping ingredients in the dining room. The kitchen is not only a place for cooking; the dining room is more than a place for eating.

Motivated by factors such as changing economic status, gender role, or dwelling location, cooking and eating activities have migrated through the house. Cromley (1996) reports the migration of cooking from the basement during the winter to the rear outbuilding during the summer in the 18th-century United States. Similarly, dining has been done in the kitchen area as well as a dedicated dining room. The continuous shifts along the Americans' food axes over time, as Cromley (1996, p. 19) argues, are not an aesthetic product of professional architects. They come out as responses to changes in the food-related activities along food axes. Beyond the theoretical shift in the discipline of architecture through the incorporation of everyday cultural and spatial practices, Cromley (1996, p. 19) recommends using the food axis as a methodological shift in the object of architectural study: from named rooms to activity arenas inward and outward of the domestic setting. Its mobility is the spatial property that Cromley (1996) mainly finds in studying the activity arenas/space in actions/food axis in the domestic settings of Americans.

A reader of Cromley's work, Davis suggests the idea of extending the study of the food axis into the urban landscape (2012, p. 126) to connect sociocultural and environmental happenings and the growing scholar's interest in food study with the study of places, such as the Slow Food Movement. This movement was started in 1986 by Carlo Petrini in Italy with the mission to promote local food production

and food practices as a resistance to the homogenized culture in a more globalized world (Crotch, 2012). The Slow Food Movement reconnects the community with local places, craftsmanship, and sustainability within the domestic and urban range.

Since the introduction of the food axis in 1996, scholars whose primary field is architecture have published studies that employ the connection between food and its spatial phenomena to find architecture's culinary dimensions (Singley & Horwitz, 2004). I will discuss two scholarly works that connect food with architecture and extend the discussion of the food axis beyond the domestic setting. The first is the 2002 published article by Abigail Van Slyck. The second is the 2020 dissertation by Noah Allison. Both works investigate the spatiality of food practices in the United States to explain socio-cultural phenomena. These two examples demonstrate an important contribution to the study of food axes in public settings.

Van Slyck (2002, p. 668) interprets the food axis at American Summer Camps between the years 1890 and 1950, when camping was an important rite of passage for American boys to be able to socialize properly as adults in the future. She investigated public kitchens and dining areas in the summer camps to understand the socially constructed ideas about American childhood and the transition to adulthood. The summer camp's food axis suggests the activity of eating as "the most exquisite social test" for middle-class children (Van Slyck, 2002, p. 670). Public kitchens and dining areas also introduced the importance of table manners and teamwork to the boy and girl campers. In the case of boy campers, the summer camps used food axes and food practices to civilize them, so they could be a decent head of household when the time came. They did so by involving the boys in the cooking and dish-cleaning activities. However, Van Slyck (2002, p. 686) argues that the boy's involvement in cooking and dish cleaning was understood as temporary because the homemaking tasks were not for the men of the households. On the other hand, in the case of girl campers, the involvement in meal preparation was meant to be the conditioning and normalization of domestic tasks as girls' future daily routine. At the time, society expected girls to be competent homemakers for their future families.

Almost two decades after Van Slyck's publication, Allison's dissertation (2020, pp. 1-29) examines the relationship between everyday urban places and immigrants' food practices in Queens, New York. Although he did not cite Cromley's works on the food axis, Allison shares the mutual perspective and focus of the study that is covered by the concept. This ethnographic study reveals elements of the food axis on an urban scale, specifically how restaurants and food trucks affect ethnically diverse neighborhoods' spatial and socio-political dimensions. Allison finds four points. The first is the existence of racial discrimination in the food infrastructure. Second, ethnic restaurants and food trucks enrich the urban fabric. Third, the activities involved in immigrant food provision demonstrate the everyday placemaking that interlaces the cultural differences. Fourth, placemaking through food

practice is a strategy to create a more inclusive and participatory urban environment.

From the discussion of the theory and methodology of the food axis among cited scholars, I argue that two main properties generate the concept: the placemaking of the commons and everyday cultural practice. Based on my understanding of the spatial turn as a school of thought that I use to ground my positionality and the two main properties of the food axis, I argue that the food axis is very relevant to this school of thought. The theory and methodology of the spatial turn have appeared since the 1960s, and Cromley's food axis appears to be one of its offshoots. Singley and Horwitz (2004, p. 15) suggest that Cromley's food axis is an articulation of "the social production of space," which Henry Lefebvre disseminated in his French-language book *The Production of Space* in 1974. The English translation of the book came out in 1991.

Horwitz (2004, p. 259) further argues that it is relevant to see the transformation of food-related space (or in other words, the non-fixed nature of food-related places in the food axis) through the lens of Lefebvre's theory of everyday life. He based this argument on Dell Upton's 2002 article *Architecture in Everyday Life*. Upton (2002) suggests Lefebvre's publication was the start of the incorporation of everyday life into the discipline of architecture. In studying everyday life, one needs to get into the realm of material culture, which I argue will include the food axis and food practice.

The concept of everyday architecture pays attention to the detail of material artifacts that shape the everyday spatial practice of the masses (Markus, 1993), such as the informal design or built environment produced by the commons. Thus, Cromley's position to see the food axis as a spatial response of the commons during the process of everyday food provision in American homes, as explained earlier, shows an example of the investigation of everyday material culture in the discipline of architecture. The methodological shifts in the food axis are the improvisatory consequences of everyday practices of the commons that are not inherent in architecture's disciplinary methodology (Horwitz, 2004, p. 260).

Despite earlier publications that discussed the commons' spatial practices, geographer Edward Soja coined the term "spatial turn" three decades after the interest emerged in the 1960s and significantly in the 1970s in the social sciences and humanities disciplines that marked a novel intention to examine the space of built environment in relation with social processes. Soja introduced the term in the mid-1990s to criticize the longstanding ontological and epistemological bias in all human sciences (Winkler et al., 2012). This turn also made its way to spatial disciplines like architecture by balancing focus on the spatial context with the temporal context (Allweil, 2010).

A number of scholars in the spatial, social, and humanities disciplines resonated with Soja's criticism and found the subject matter of the discipline they studied problematic. The scholars of the spatial turn suggest the incorporation of spatial phenomena to understand social phenomena.

Meanwhile, the spatial turn in the discipline of architecture suggests the integration of social phenomena to understand spatial phenomena. The discipline of architecture studies spatial phenomena. Thus, it is very likely that its scholars will find an attempt to incorporate the concept of spatial turn absurd because a shift to study spatial practice is unnecessary. However, the development of the spatial turn in the social and human sciences has inspired architectural scholars to think about the mutual interaction between social process (or social organization) and spatial practice. In other words, architectural scholars have started recognizing the dependency between the two.

Furthermore, in the discipline of architecture, the spatial turn is understood as a way to include ordinary people or the commons as the leading agency in the creation of a place. This turn has opened new doors in architecture to welcome other disciplines that focus more on the realm of the users. Historian Lewis Mumford and religious scholar Mircea Eliade suggested the term “commons” to refer to the users, as an attempt to determine a more universal language in experiencing space (spatial.scholarslab.org, 2021). Therefore, I will use the terms user and commons interchangeably in the following paragraphs.

Before the term was established, the discussion of the spatial turn in the 1970s thrived in France through the works of Henri Lefebvre, Michel Foucault, and Michel de Certeau. They used everyday life as a micro context and global flows as a macro context to study the relationship between spatial practice and social process. From the discussion of the food axis, one can observe food provision as a complex everyday cultural practice that needs constant careful calculation, planning, and mobilization of the physical bodies of some agencies along the axis. To achieve efficacy of the space, the user will appropriate this professionally produced space through the reproduction of space, which explains the instability Cromley finds in the relation between architectural form and function along the food axis. This example of the commons’ reproduction of space results in what Lefebvre (1991, p. 41) called “representational space,” or the space that represents the identity of the commons.

In his work based on Lefebvre’s theory, Mark Gottdiener (1985, p. 7) suggests that patterns of social organization in modern society demonstrate spatial consequences. On the other hand, spatial organization is significant in understanding patterns of human activity (Gottdiener, 1985, p. 26). The evidence is observable in the transformation of how people provide and consume food.

Similarly, Dell Upton (2002) discusses the importance of understanding everyday life as a socio-spatial context of architecture. He suggests the materiality of architecture naturally works to accommodate the sociocultural processes of everyday life. The realm of sophisticated theory and design has generated Architecture (with capital A), while everyday spatial practices of the commons have demonstrated the architecture (with lowercase a). The productive tension between Architecture and architecture in Upton’s analysis offers an alternative insight by focusing on the materiality of the landscape and studying the manifestation of everyday life through bodily practice (Upton, 2002, p. 708).

To begin with, professionals and scholars of Architecture should position themselves in both the shoes of the legitimate experts and the commons. The multiple positions will prevent a dichotomous classification of what Diana Agrest (1998) calls “design” and “non-design”. The former has an association with high academic and artistic Architecture and the latter with the work of the folks, the vernacular communities, the craftsmen, or the popular aesthetics (Agrest, 1998; Venturi et al., 1977).

On this matter, the excellent work of Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown (1977, p. 27) pinpoints a problematic aesthetic taste that defines Architecture. They suggest that the aesthetic reality of the majority of users shows the “untidy-looking” diversity as its significance, which is the opposite of tidy-looking architecture. Unlike the majority of proponents of the theory of everyday life, Upton’s work is very important because he promotes the dismantling of the dichotomy between the high-style professional design works and the low-aesthetic folk crafts. Upton (2002) suggests that, realistically, professional work inhabits both everyday and elite realms.

The proponents of everyday or vernacular architecture do not view their subject of study as belonging to the past. The everyday encompasses the commons' past, present, and future reality. Architecture cannot exist without the everyday discourse. Thus, it is natural for Architecture to be more relevant to the everyday world because its mission is to better the lives of the people/users/commons. Additionally, Margaret Crawford (1999, p. 9) argues that we, as professionals and scholars of Architecture, should no longer overlook the anonymous vernacular works. Through a closer look at everyday architecture, one would find the immense possibility of the ingenious commons so that more social problems can benefit from the discipline (Cranz, 1998; Crawford, 1999; Lara, 2008; Hou, 2013).

Another key element in the theory of everyday life comes from de Certeau (1984, p. 48), the employment of tactics of survival, which means the way the commons get away with things with a recognition of their less powerful position under the control of multiple powerful modern institutions, such as the state government. Upton (2002) further argues that de Certeau’s elaboration sheds some light on grounding the formerly abstract concept of the everyday in an action-based model. The understanding of the concept was quite abstract because the scholars approach the everyday by studying architecture through linguistic analogies. Scholarly works in the postmodern era of the 1970s discussed building as a kind of language or as a signifier of ideas.

As Upton (2002) criticizes, this approach downplays the essence of everyday practice: the embodied action as its material nature. This essence acknowledges that humans are territorial; thus, we expect our daily environment to be mostly predictable. This predictable (or one can say familiar) environment gives our bodies orientation to act and be acted upon. In other words, it allows humans to gain a sense of agency to act practically and at the same time derive meaning from our actions within the territory (Bourdieu, 1990; Low, 2000). Anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu (1990, p. 52) called this mechanism

“habitus”.

This social process is indispensable in one’s endeavor to internalize particular identities and construct subjectivities. If accumulated and connected between bodies that mutually inhabit one territory, these processes give shape to a social formation (or social organization) that structures and governs everyday space and time. We can observe the result in a practical sense: the repeated action of a person in certain events. Although repeated in an organized everyday event, an action goes toward a creative and inventive pathway as a response to the changing elements in the environment. For example, the gestures revealed during meal preparation activities change over time.

In discussing the instability of the users’ utilizations of spaces or, in other words, the commons’ creation of places, Marc Augé (1995, p. 95) suggests the involvement of “a rite of passage” to inform the nature of the process. This includes a performance of spatial practices between the pre- and post-stage of spatial transformation as an expected result of the attempt to overcome everyday challenges. Additionally, Galen Cranz (1998, p. 15) suggests that the study of material culture in the context of everyday life, such as her work on the chair, can explain the social transformation of specific ideas over time. Variations of everyday postures are both economic and cultural products that embody practical as well as symbolic values. Cranz’s study shows a good example of the economic, cultural, and spatial connection: better economic capacity might allow one to have more time for social life, and the development of mobile and lighter chairs is necessary to facilitate better person-to-person social engagement. Thus, the incorporation of the changes in one’s habitus will be an effective design strategy to solve everyday spatial issues. The spatial practice of the commons crafts the narrative of the ordinary users who struggle with spatial issues and typically will show disjunctions (Tschumi, 1994).

The study of the food axis seems to need further studies and the involvement of scholars to expand the contribution. However, I argue that in a few decades, more scholars will find the theories, methodologies, and implementations of food axis relevant to a more globalized context in today’s society. By looking at material culture components, such as food practices and food axes from different cultural backgrounds, scholars can learn how the multicultural placemaking of the commons comes together in a shared temporal and spatial setting of everyday life.

Embracing food and place (particularly in the form of home/dwelling/living space), as two essentials for survival, the food axes of humankind have continuously shifted and delivered multiple types of human settlement over time, from the natural shelter of the nomadic hunter-gatherer to the permanent farm-model dwelling of the agricultural society to the housing unit of postindustrial society, in which spatial features such as houses’ hearths and agriculture cities’ temples perform a fundamental function to prepare and store foods as well as a center to nurture social cohesion (Mumford, 1968; Diamond,

1997; Harari, 2014; Wrangham, 2009; Elliot, 2010). The relevant literature I discuss in this section clearly shows that food practices regulate the spatial organization of living spaces and cities from time to time.

The Liminality of Immigrant Food Practice and Food Axis

According to the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) glossary, an immigrant means an alien who has been granted the right by the USCIS to reside permanently in the United States (<https://www.uscis.gov/tools/glossary>). Immigrants are involved in the activity of travel. James Clifford (1997, p. 90) defines this activity as a voluntary practice to leave a familiar ground in search of difference, wisdom, power, adventure, and an altered perspective. Additionally, Halloran (2016) suggests that there is an expectation for immigrants to fully assimilate into the host/adopted culture. Historian Hasia R. Diner (2001) claims that one of the main reasons for immigration to the U.S. is the promise of an abundant food supply. Although in his book, Clifford (1997) mainly discusses the experience of the diaspora, I argue that his elaboration of the spatial in-betweenness is also applicable to immigrant communities. Clifford (1997) observes difficulties in maintaining exclusive identity because diasporic people expose themselves to a process of transnational identity formation while traveling the national and geographic borders. These people attach to their roots as well as to their routes, and they co-present here as well as there. Jonathan Boyarin (1992) identifies this cultural in-betweenness using the term “mixing” and further argues that one’s culture (and I suggest culture also refers to one’s tradition) can only continue to exist as a product of the mixing.

This kind of attachment and mode of presence implies the constant reconstruction of identity that Gilroy (1993) explores in connection with tradition.¹ In discussing diaspora identity that I claim lends itself to studying the immigrants’ experiences, he argues that tradition is a way to conceptualize the fragile communicative relationship across time and space, which is the foundation of diaspora identification instead of diaspora identity. Diaspora identification conveys an active role of the immigrants in reforming their identities. Clifford (1997) argues that identifications show the acts of relationship, whereas identities are pre-given forms. Here, I suggest that, compared to identification, identity has a more passive attitude to define the processes immigrants have to go through in navigating the network of cultural realities from their past, present, and future.

I also find the study surrounding tourists’ experiences useful to understand the feeling of alienation that immigrants face, especially in the initial state of settling down in the new location. In his study, British sociologist James Urry (1990) points out that a certain sense of distance or alienation becomes part of being a tourist and even contributes to the tourists’ openness to new sensory impressions. Just like immigrants, tourists carry with them their routines of everyday practices. They will

feel more at home when they consume food and experience spatial settings that are familiar and remind them of home. Steiner (2016) calls this tension a complex interplay between proximity and distance or between something known and something unknown.

The consumption and production of traditional elements suggest a quest for a reconnection with one's cultural roots (Roy, 2004; Huang & Hou, 2018). Traditional food consumption that is traceable in immigrants' food axes is a profound demonstration of this thesis (Mikulak, 2013; Halloran, 2016; Sen, 2016). Activities of food provision, such as growing, producing, storing, transporting, selling, purchasing, preserving, cooking, serving, and eating, facilitate one's attachment to a place (Trabalzi, 2004). Even when immigrants already feel accustomed to their new way of life in the host country and let go of many parts of cultural practices from their place of origin, they hardly abandon the food practices of their homeland (Wood, 1922; Baum, 1964; Smart-Grosvenor, 1998). Among other rooms in the immigrants' food axes, the kitchen seems to be the place where one can start finding a way back to one's heritage.²

At the collective level, food is an important commodity that facilitates cultural sharing and the expression of social support (Manzo, 2013). Familiar foods from their cultures are arguably the first aid for immigrants who experience homesickness and everyday mental and physical stresses.³ Gabaccia (1998) claims that immigrants' familiar food practices become the means to maintain social relationships, combat disease, and even to reward or punish children's behavior. She also suggests that the control to decide what to eat is one of the controls that immigrants can exercise because they have relatively little control over other everyday things, such as the locations available to live in, the type of jobs, and the required languages. Similarly, Halloran (2016) suggests that through cooking and eating, immigrants get a chance to perform and embody their cultural belongings, and this embodiment is crucial because of its capacity to help immigrants address the sense of emotional displacement in their new place of living.

Robinson-Tomsett's (2012) writing on the European women who travelled by ship in the 19th century describes how these women brought personal items to their cabins that reminded them of their homes and enabled a connection with their homes. In the case of immigrants, I observe that these items often include food products such as packaged seasonings, dried ingredients, bottled sauces, traditional herbs, and cooking tools. Moreover, certain types of foods help one to create a sense of familiarity in a formerly unknown location, thus one starts building a sense of belonging there. Sen's (2016) research on the Bangladeshi immigrants' consumption of imported freshwater fish in Chicago shows a close connection between food preference and the "imagined pasts": a memory of family dinner at former home, nostalgia of childhood, and the overall traditions. This research also suggests that the consumption of certain foods can channel one with her or his ethnic roots, and the occupation of different spatial settings to prepare meals does not automatically change one's food practices. Spatial contexts of immigrants' cultural transformation become critical arenas for the reconstruction of immigrants'

identities and belongings (Wolterink & Roodenburg, 2011). Intriguingly, this critical arena seems to appear within the domestic range, like the kitchen, where an immigrant can recreate and consume their cultural foods in the new home. A complex identification process seems to take place in the kitchen, especially among cross-cultural communities. As Wolterink & Roodenburg (2011) suggest, an example is that the kitchen is not only a nutritional center for immigrant families but also a place where parenting activities are performed, such as supervising the kids in their studies and playing with them.

Individual immigrants carry with them “taste memories” or “palate’s memories” that refer to the food taste of particular places where they come from, in other words, the *terroir* (de Certeau et al., 1998; Beard, 2002; Trubek, 2008; Sen, 2016). Practicing their food cultures also means that immigrants actively reproduce their cultures and reimagine the spatial contexts of these food cultures, thus inventing an imagined home that I argue is relevant to Benedict Anderson’s (1983) theory of imagined communities. In his book *Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origins and the Spread of Nationalism*, Anderson (1983) argues that nations are social constructs, and the members interact through shared ideas, including symbols, stories, and histories, instead of in-person contact and physical proximity. These shared ideas bring about a powerful emotional and communal connection.

To validate my argument on the phenomenon of imagined home, I find Brinda Mehta’s (2005) discussion on “homeland imaginary” sheds some light. In the phenomenon of homeland imaginary, one employs the sensory construction of the distant place of origins to localize the unfamiliar place. One imagines home through familiar ingredients, tastes, smells, and colors. Mehta (2005) suggests that one’s practice of food culture is an act of mapping one’s way back home. I see the similarity in this act of mapping with the food axes immigrants create to maintain their food cultures. In performing their food practices, Sen (2016) argues immigrants create a network of food axes that can span national borders. Consumption of a type of food would link the kitchen in immigrants’ dwellings to the relevant store to the place where the food is produced and imported from, thus creating what Sen called as the immigrant’s home range in the U.S. Because food is the agency to bring back the memory of place, time, and relatives they left behind, the creation of this home range in the U.S. accommodates immigrants to start feeling at home. I suggest that immigrants’ food axes incorporate multiple *terroirs* that embrace transnational spatial contexts, traceable between one’s homeland and host country. Wherever immigrants move, food becomes a mobile apparatus to reconnect with a sense of socio-spatial familiarity.

Halloran (2016) learns that despite the attachment to their own cultural food practices, immigrants demonstrate a willingness to try other food cultures in a pursuit of novelty, pleasure, and recreation, and Gabaccia (1998) suggests that the cross-over eating practice contributes to the reconstruction of immigrants’ identities in the host countries. It is useful to bring back the discussion about authenticity to examine how the encounter of multiple food cultures in an immigrant’s everyday

eating practice affects the identity transformation. Scholars who study identity as an expression of cultural authenticity branch out into an exclusive and an inclusive view. As a proponent of the latter, Molz (2004) claims that many scholars believe authenticity is a subjective reality. The inclusivists argue that authenticity always occurs in a cycle of construction and negotiation within a social context (Moscardo & Pearce, 1986; Evans-Pritchard, 1987; Cohen, 1988; Lu & Fine, 1995; Edensor, 1998). Challenging the notion of authenticity, the cultural practices of a community and its relevant spatial practices show transformation during the transmission to the succeeding members that is worth studying (Upton, 1993; Alsayyad, 1995; Anderson, 1999; Felch, 2005; Alsayyad & Tomlinson, 2012). The transformation of culture makes pure original societies unable to exist; thus, authenticity works as a social construct rather than an objective reality (Sims, 2009).

Molz (2004) also introduces Arjun Appadurai's (1986) work on culinary authenticity, particularly his questions about whether an authentic location of a cuisine is realistic and whose authority is to judge a designation of authenticity. He strongly suggests that exclusive authenticity will not work in studying the unavoidable evolution of one's cultural practice in general and food culture in particular. Regarding elements of material culture, I believe Molz's (2004) argument that food facilitates a readily accessible cultural exchange in comparison with language is true. I also suggest that this cultural exchange will include the exchange of authenticity, which is key to the process of an immigrant's reconstruction of identity. Here, the phenomenon of cultural authenticity and identification in the immigrant case shows a state of liminality, or I call it "in-betweenness" due to its transnational locational references and the continued transformation of the immigrant's cultural practice in the host country. Henriette Steiner's (2016, p. 232) reflection on a visit to Denmark becomes a vivid expression of this in-betweenness that I view as conceiving a shared feeling with any immigrants, as she writes, "So, when I sit at 'home', in a flat that only will be 'mine' for a short period of time.....Sitting on this chair, eating my breakfast, the chair thus simultaneously connects me to something deeply local,... but also to wider, even global developments,... including complicated questions of authenticity and copy... mediated by my own body and this chair, and the basic need to eat and drink."

In opposition to the inclusivists, MacCannell (1976) perceives authenticity as an objective phenomenon that takes place in a fixed place or time. This exclusivist's claim is difficult to prove in the case of immigrants whose spatio-temporal contexts are shifting rather than fixed. Immigrants' spatial experiences may challenge the fixed spatio-temporal context because the practices of shaping and understanding places fluctuate between moments of realization in the original territory and phases of dematerialization in the shifting landscape of other territories (Huang & Roberts, 2019). Huang and Hou's (2018) study suggests the emergence of "relocated authenticity", which is the term they use to

demonstrate the relocated individuals' ongoing process of negotiation, adaptation, recollection, and reinvention of authenticity. This kind of authenticity is the response to relocation and resettlement within the cultural instability (meaning its formation and reconstitution) in the shifting terrains of today's cities (Hou, 2013). It means that this authenticity is multi-sited as opposed to the view that authenticity is rooted in a specific physical locality or place. Huang and Hou (2018) strongly argue that the sense of authenticity moves and resettles with the relocated person in new physical and social settings.

The discourse of in-betweenness, which I offer to understand the terroir of immigrants' food cultures and frame immigrants' food axes in the U.S., reveals what I observe as two interconnected realms in immigrants' reconstruction of home. The first realm is virtual, and one may understand it as ideas about traditional elements, memories, cultural practices, prior knowledge, aspirations, and imagination. The second realm is actual and simpler to grasp because it relates to one's current physical actions (a term I use interchangeably with bodily practices and bodily actions introduced in the material culture study). To support this claim, I find Steiner's (2016, p. 238) excellent description of her touristic experience that is once again applicable to the immigrant socio-spatiality, as she argues, "The fact that the encounter with a new place hinges on preverbal form of experience, moreover, makes it even more relevant to think about the role of material culture, be it architecture, furniture, or food."

Immigrants' gestures of eating and cooking, as well as the household size, generate a certain spatial arrangement, which is transformed over time due to differences in available equipment and ingredients via modified bodily practices or bodily actions (de Certeau et al., 1998; Cromley, 2010). As de Certeau et al. (1998), Carman (2008), and Meah (2016) suggest, these bodily actions manifest in the interaction between one's physical being with the materiality of spatial features and reveal a spatial phenomenon Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubio (1996) coins as "weak architecture," which shows the way the commons derive meanings from interaction with architectural space in a particular event. de Solà-Morales' term is essentially useful to better understand the flexibility necessary in a spatial design to accommodate the wider needs of the commons, that is also the architectural attitude of Cromley's theory of Food Axis. As an architect, philosopher, historian, and educator, de Solà-Morales (1996) advocates for an open, adaptive, and responsive approach in architecture and criticizes an architectural design that is dominant over the environment and local culture. Just like the movement in architecture that turns to the understanding of the commons' socio-spatial practices, weak architecture does not rely on the grandiosity of a spatial design and does not apply authoritative forms (or an instructive approach of spatial design, such as pre-determining how the users have to use the space). It acknowledges the importance of human sensory experiences and the multiplicity of time in determining the usefulness of a place/building over time.

The places that immigrants physically experience are often already foreshadowed by some ideas, or in other words, the immigrants access the unfamiliar living environment through familiar ideas. This reality is also in line with the discussion on the phenomenon of imagined home that I discussed earlier. Through this virtual-actual operation of home reconstruction, immigrants connect the ideas of their former place of living with the experience of new places, where they try to attach meanings. Instead of perceiving sites of former and latter homes as disconnected, this virtual-actual spatio-temporal occupation indicates that the migrating community or its members assign home as a multiplicity and continuum through their shifting spatial presence (Huang & Hou, 2019). These multiple and continuous sites also explain the essence of the in-betweenness of multiple terroirs.

In her conclusion on the evolution of identity in the multicultural food practice, Molz (2004) claims that the experience of enjoying others' food cultures not only exposes immigrants to new cultural practices, identity, and authenticity, but it is also a way of affirmation for immigrants' original culture and identity. One may appreciate the diversity of cultural tastes and, as a result, feel prouder of the food culture one grew up with. As Williams-Forson (2019) cites from Renzaho and Burns (2006) and Williams-Forson (2006), within the differences, food practice strongly communicates that oneself (or one's identity) is different from others. Maintaining their identity through the activities of cooking and eating familiar food, immigrants need to allow shifts and transformations due to the inescapable differences between resources in the homeland and the host country. Regarding the availability of immigrants' food items, Williams-Forson (2019) argues that although cultural food practice is an essential element to restore memory and maintain identity, oftentimes immigrants face challenges in accessing their familiar foods because of high cost and lack of availability in the host country. However, Gabaccia (1998) suggests that the everyday challenges in the kitchen led to the mother's creativity in presenting good foods that children of immigrants always impressively remember.

The dissimilarity of spatial settings in the homeland versus in the host country will be noticeable once a spatial element breaks or is dysfunctional, and at this very moment of one's acute awareness, Steiner (2016) claims, one experiences the sense of reflective distance between the familiar and strange form of spatial utilization. I argue that in this moment of acute awareness, immigrants find the encouragement and opportunity to start tinkering on spatial adaptation projects that may look like an extension of the kitchen countertop, mobile drawers, or foldable step stool. Wolterink & Roodenburg (2011) suggest that the transformation of design principles, the use of appliances, and the appropriation of the kitchen have affected the users in creating the meaning of dwelling and building their identity. When the question about where to find the manifestations of one's spatial adaptation comes up, Amos Rapoport (1978) suggests examining one's everyday actions and one's socio-spatial practice in the

residential environment. Studies reveal individuals' small-scale modifications around their new home to recreate a familiar spatial organization and to represent their tradition (Manzo, 2013; Huang & Hou, 2018).

Lynne Dearborn's (2008) study on the Hmong people's houses in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, gives lessons on what kind of space in a domestic setting will be more helpful for immigrants' spatial adaptations. This study uses the foundational understanding from Rapoport's (1981) "culture core" model, which posits that core elements (such as rituals, religions, languages, family structure, and, I add here, food practices) go through a slower modification than the peripheral elements in the process of cultural change. The continued explanation proposes the emergence of a unique mixture of old elements from the more culturally resistant core and new elements from the fast-changing periphery as an expression of immigrants' cultural changes. Just like the prior argument about one's identity affirmation during the encounter with multiple food practices, Berry (1997) correspondingly theorizes that this process of cultural transformation is more strengthening immigrants' home cultures than accelerating adaptation in the host country.

Certain conditions of the host country's residential setting arguably will provide wider opportunities for immigrants' spatial adaptations. Dearborn (2008) infers that an ambiguous (or open-ended) utilization is necessary for a place that has the possibility to accommodate multiple cultures, so different ethnic groups can adjust to this ambiguity based on their needs during their stay, and later, the new occupant from other ethnic groups can proceed with the next adjustment. In the extension of one's food axis beyond the home range, Williams-Forson's (2006) study on the food practice of the Ghanaian migrants in the U.S. demonstrates a vital role of the ethnic grocery store (also known as a specialty store) that serves as a multilingual and transnational hub for multicultural immigrants.

The taste of each place is embodied in the immigrant's physical and mental being; therefore, it will migrate and be resurrected in the new spatial context. The performances of certain food practices mark the cultural territory of the immigrants' ethnicity. Commercial places that sell ethnic foods serve as a visible acknowledgement of the presence of related ethnic communities in the urban landscape. Today's big-box American retailers and supermarkets, such as Walmart and Kroger, have begun installing dedicated aisles for international foods. However, immigrants whose cultural practices are underrepresented often need to obtain most of their ethnic food from suitable ethnic stores due to the limited selection and variety available. The ethnic store provides immigrants with imported food products from multiple countries or certain fresh ingredients so that immigrants can continue their cultural food practices. William-Forson (2006) also notes that some Ghanaians grow their own food in home gardens and use substitute ingredients if they cannot find the original ingredients in stores near their residences.

In a doctoral study about the kitchens of the post-war immigrant women in Australia, Sian Supski (2006) finds a strong positive feeling related to the women's occupation of the domestic kitchens in

Australia. These immigrant women came from different places such as Scotland, West Germany, Austria, Italy, and Sri Lanka. They spent intensive time in the kitchens and felt confident and comfortable there. They experienced displacement the first time they arrived in Australia during the 1940s and 1950s, when mass media in Australia promoted the modern kitchen as an ideal for women consumers. However, these working-class or lower-middle-class immigrant women did not buy the idea. Once they had the chance to own a house, they focused on renovating their kitchens based on their traditional food practices. In the kitchens, they could speak their native languages. They were healed from the loss caused by displacement due to migration. The immigrant women saw cooking as an act of love they could share with the rest of the families in difficult times. They were proud of their kitchens because they could demonstrate who they were and where they came from. Supski (2006) suggests that the immigrant women's kitchens have helped them and their families build a new identity as Australians while retaining their cultural roots.

Another story of immigrants' food axes comes from the era of the late 19th century and early 20th century in the area called Greenbush in Madison, Wisconsin, where Lombard, Sicilian, and Sicilian-Albanian artisans and common laborers congregated and demonstrated an eating community (Gabaccia, 1998). These Italian immigrants did not have much financial means, yet they chose to maintain their traditional food cultures. They grew and made their own because fresh foods and wine were expensive. A mother, who did not have her own garden, used to pick dandelions in the area. She brought them back home and then washed and cooked them with onions and garlic. Men worked hard in their gardens while their wives processed the harvests.⁴ Italian immigrants, who lived in a bigger city and struggled with smaller dwelling units, expressed difficulties in storing and cooking a large quantity of food, so they shopped for food on a daily basis.

In conclusion, the exploration of immigrant experiences through the lens of food culture reveals a complex interplay of identity, home, and belonging. This analysis underscores how food functions not only as a means of sustenance but as a pivotal element in the reconstruction of identity and cultural heritage for immigrants navigating a new environment. The act of cooking and consuming traditional foods serves as a bridge between past and present, allowing for the maintenance of cultural roots while simultaneously facilitating engagement with the broader culinary landscape of the host country. The notion of in-betweenness, as articulated by various scholars, captures the dual reality that immigrants face—the struggle to retain their identity while adapting to the norms of their new surroundings. The kitchen emerges as a critical site where this negotiation occurs, offering a space for familial connections, cultural expression, and personal healing. Through the shared experiences of food, immigrants can foster social bonds and create a sense of community, even amidst feelings of alienation. As the discussion highlights, immigrants demonstrate a remarkable resilience, adapting their culinary practices and identities in response to the challenges posed by their new environments. This resilience not only

reaffirms their cultural heritage but also enriches the multicultural tapestry of society as a whole. Ultimately, the research reinforces the idea that food serves as a powerful vehicle for cultural exchange and identity formation, emphasizing the enduring connection between immigrants and their homeland, while also embracing the possibilities of a shared future in their new communities.

Part 2. Placemaking and Place Attachment

Understanding Placemaking and Place Attachment

According to Huang and Roberts (2019), placemaking is an assemblage of concepts and practices relevant to the phenomenon of place. Rios (2013) suggests the term “place” in placemaking refers to several definitions, such as territorialized local communities, collective memories associated with territory, social relationships among people in territorial communities, and a co-presence of spatial setting and practice, ideas, and identity. Moreover, Zambonelli (2013) claims that place emerges as the result of mundane activities and reiteration of everyday practices, like inhabitation, place-naming, walking, and other everyday routines. A Place is an arena for spatial practice, including territorial imagination, identification, production of the narrative of meaning, and mobilization of the multiple imaginations and narratives. However, Zambonelli (2013) also argues that a place is not only such a product; it is also a process involving purposeful activities that occur in a setting to transform elements of this setting into places of significance, memory, and attachment. Schneekloth and Shibley (1995) see placemaking as a set of practices with an aim to create, transform, and care for places and the inhabitants. More simply, Yi-Fu Tuan (2001) defines placemaking as a process to transform an abstract and unfamiliar space into a familiar and meaningful place.

Huang and Roberts (2019) recognize that placemaking as a spatial practice has found its practical application before the contemporary academic discourse that is primarily known to flourish in the 1970s, such as in the cultures of the Ancient Greeks, Chinese, Aborigines, and precolonial North Americans. Currently, placemaking is a subject of study in the disciplines of environmental psychology, architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and civil society (Huang & Roberts, 2019). In the 1970s, human geographers, namely Yi-Fu Tuan in 1974 and Edward Relph in 1976, started recognizing the importance of place as an inseparable phenomenon in studying humankind, and this recognition motivated the writing of placemaking. In the next decade of the 1980s, environmental psychologists promoted the rapid development of placemaking as a scholarship by focusing the study on orientation and identification. According to Hester (1999), placemaking often became synonymous with community building or community design (particularly in the U.S.) or community architecture (particularly in the U.K.) in the

1990s. This more current definition adds the characteristic of a bottom-up procedure with emphasis on the everyday cultural practices to challenge the top-down physical planning.

What is interesting to observe is the Huang & Roberts' (2019) statement that the current context of higher mobility of people across the world has challenged the parochial fixity of placemaking. Two cases can demonstrate how placemaking comes about in the shifting spatial and temporal contexts of immigrants in Chen's (2013) study about Little Indonesia in Taiwan and Sen's (2013) study about a deli of a Muslim immigrant family in Devon Avenue, Chicago. From both cases, I observe the importance of mundane details and more impermanent spatial elements such as the smell, lighting ambience, and particular bodily gestures that echo Hou's (2013) claim that everyday mundane details may hold significant cultural meanings in the immigrants' placemaking. In both cases, I can also corroborate Williams-Forsen's (2019) thesis that cultural and familiar foods are instrumental for the process of self-identification, placemaking, and agency building.

Every Sunday from 5 am to 8 pm, Indonesian migrant workers in Taiwan congregate in Little Indonesia, the hidden and old urban blocks that look like a slum in the southeast of the central transportation hub, Taipei Main Station. There are multiple businesses in the area where Indonesians can go to eat, sing karaoke, and get together. Each shop is typically multifunctional. Chen (2013) reports that a 36 square meter space can house up to eight functions, combining restaurant, karaoke, remittance service, money exchange, disco, electronic store, magazine and book stall, and headscarf (hijab) shop. Indonesian foods in the Little Indonesia help migrant workers to survive by maintaining the connection to their homeland and facilitating the making of their place in Taiwan. Some business owners operate as street vendors and embrace a parasitic mode in front of stores. They adapt to being highly mobile by selling the merchandise out of portable cases to quickly avoid police inspection. Chen's (2013) study shows Indonesians' placemaking strategy through functional multiplicity and physical mobility relevant to the principle of weak architecture.

In another case, Arijit Sen's (2013) study reveals the placemaking inside the restaurant through the partial transformation of the space for a collective praying space and a get-together space for a group of Muslim South Asian immigrants in the U.S. The rigid physical barrier, like walls, is not the central element of the placemaking here. The smell of food marks a territory for buying and consuming familiar dishes. Certain religious-themed pictures on the wall designate the sacred transition of space that requires footwear-free practice. The difference in lighting intensity shows spatial distinction regarding levels of privacy. Only the group that belongs culturally to this restaurant knows that they need to go downstairs for their religious activities. This is a safe space for this minority group to make everyday social transactions like arranging religious activities or even childcare. In the public's eyes, this place might look just like a regular food shop on Devon Avenue, Chicago.

In the 21st-century U.S., Hou (2013) witnesses the rise of multiculturalism, which indicates the minority groups' (including immigrants) emerging quest for recognition of their distinct cultural practices. Hou (2013) also acknowledges the institutionalized effort to incorporate multiculturalism in the immigrant-receiving countries. However, he argues that the actual practice of celebrating cultural diversity remains highly contested. The recent phenomenon shows immigrants are widely dispersed to the suburbs instead of the city center, resulting in an intriguing ethnic patchwork (Hou, 2013). This dispersal becomes the way of Indonesian immigrants' placemaking on the West Coast, who chose not to live in an ethnic enclave but still maintained their social networks. The placemaking of immigrants is an important way to understand the plastic way immigrants from one cultural group interact with other cultures and transform their cultural identification and spatiality according to the meaningful attachment to the everyday multicultural encounters. In this context of study, Huang & Roberts (2019) keenly notice that there is not sufficient attention to investigate the placemaking practice in the private realm, as Dyck (2005) describes as the hidden placemaking practice in the site of caregiving, namely homes, in its relation to local-global context.

Placemaking as a spatial practice goes hand in hand with the phenomenon of place attachment. In place attachment, there is an emphasis on one's emotional connection to the environment and on one's act to transform a generic space into a meaningful place of one's own, thus involving identity formation (Tuan, 1974; Armstrong, 2004; Creswell, 2004). Since this bonding or attachment is integral to the formation of one's identity, which is crucial to the existence of a larger community in which one shares cultural practices, a disruption to the attachment in the case of migration may cause emotional distress (Low & Altman, 1992; Smith, 2018). Therefore, one's attachment to place is physical but also essentially social, and the physical and social interactions foster the place (Casey, 2001; Young, 2001). Place attachment explains how a place provides a sense of predictability and security, offers an opportunity to be relaxed and creative, as well as to exercise control (Low & Altman, 1992). It is also useful to understand that place attachment can be abstract or symbolic instead of physical, for example, immigrants' attachment to their homeland and the socio-cultural value of the nation. This imagined place and community maintain immigrants' identity and sense of self-pride.

Manzo and Devine-Wright (2014) recognize that a better understanding of the phenomenon of place attachment affects the improvement of policy making, design practice, and the study of community design. Additionally, Strong (2018) recommends studying immigrants' place attachment to promote a broader awareness of place-related anxiety that can lead to a generational sense of placelessness (non-belonging anywhere). This awareness is critical because even voluntary migration can involve place disruption and place rootlessness (Brown & Perkins, 1992). In studying Indonesian immigrants' spatial practices on the West Coast, I follow Low and Altman's (1992) suggestion to investigate cognitive

elements (perception, knowledge, and belief) that motivate the spatial practice elements (behavior and bodily actions) of their place attachment. I utilize domestic food practices and food-related places to frame these two elements, particularly to understand what contributes to the well-being of Indonesian immigrants and their everyday difficulties.

Just like placemaking, place attachment has become a subject of study in multiple disciplines. According to Smith (2018), these disciplines include anthropology, art history, cultural studies, community planning, family studies, geography, gerontology, philosophy, psychology, sociology, and tourism. Low and Altman (1992) explain that throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the study of place attachment was mainly the interest of phenomenological scholars such as Mircea Eliade and Gaston Bachelard. In the 1970s and 1980s, the focus moved to scholars who studied issues of environmental behavior, such as Yi-Fu Tuan, Edward Relph, and David Seamon. Tuan's book, notably *Space and Place* (2001, originally published in 1977), becomes one of the primary texts in the disciplines of architecture, geography, and landscape design (Smith, 2018). The development of the study arguably faces limitations in this day and age due to a higher trend of migration and mobility, which challenges the comfortable connection between place attachment and the stability of location (Low and Altman, 1992). I view this limitation as different from the impossibility of building a productive discussion of place attachment in a more mobile context, such as in the case of immigrants' spatial practice.

Multiple place attachment as the spatial reality of immigrants is worth studying because the findings may help us better fathom the attachment's plasticity, just like the phenomenon of relocated authenticity from the prior discussion. In other words, this effort will make place attachment a contextual discourse of the 21st-century mobile society. Gustafson (2014) claims that today's age of mobility requires an insight into a contemporary form of attachment that embraces mobility, flows, and networks versus a stable, static, and bounded form of spatiality and community. Therefore, this type of attachment is no longer an exception; it is the recent norm that would be more enriching than problematic. Additionally, Schnell (2018) elaborates that immigrants are constantly navigating between places and identities. It is not an exaggeration to describe the starkly different setting in the place of relocation as a whole new world in comparison with the familiar setting in the homeland. Immediately after immigrants experience a rupture with their homeland, they must quickly adapt to the strangely new physical and cultural setting.

The study of immigrants' place attachment should explore the transformative process by which place attachment comes into being through an individual case study (Schnell, 2018). In other words, both phenomena and processes of the attachment to a more stable place, like a homeland, and the multiple places immigrants experience during their migration and relocation are vital to reconstructing a sense of belonging and self-identifying as a cultural being. Gustafson (2014) calls these phenomena "attachment

to multiple places,” and I will term it as multiple place attachment in this dissertation. I find my position in studying the place attachment of Indonesian immigrants particularly relevant to Per Gustafson's (2014) argument that the underlying assumption that a place loses its importance to mobile people is no longer helpful because a growing body of studies shows that places matter to people, including those who practice a high degree of mobility. This group of people may even develop a significantly strong attachment to place (Gustafson, 2001, 2009; Giuliani et al., 2003; Pollini, 2005; Savage et al., 2005; Lewicka, 2011).

Scholars of place attachment suggest that attachment happens when one's bodily actions are in sync with the everyday objects and spatial elements one interacts with. In other words, familiar elements of a place facilitate one's bodily routines (everyday bodily actions) over time that shape one's habitual regularity and bestow one with meaningful spatial experiences, hence the attachment (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; Seamon, 1979; Brown & Perkins, 1992; Toombs, 2001; Allen, 2004; Fullilove, 2004; Seamon, 2014). Therefore, I use the material culture approach to understand Indonesian immigrants' place attachment along their food axes. I argue that communities use cultural food as one of the most central elements of material culture to maintain collective identity and foster collective place attachment as Abrahamson (1996) suggests, surrendering one's preference for food, culture that one holds dear, and the values one considers familiar would mean a complete loss of identity in an abrupt and damaging manner. This suggestion explains why so many immigrants are still practicing their food cultures in the U.S., even after many years of relocation. In addition to food practices, newspapers and other online communication construct what Cheng (2005) suggests as a sense of dual belonging for immigrants, which means simultaneous attachment to their homeland and new place of living. In the case of Indonesian immigrants in Eugene, Oregon, I find that a group texting application and social media help keep the community members in touch.

It is also important to notice that many immigrants do not have English language proficiency when they first arrive in the U.S. Immigrants seem to demonstrate resiliency to solve this issue of linguistic barrier through what Tan (2010) narrates as an imaginative negotiation. Place attachment starts happening when the immigrant begins to derive meaning from an experience in a place, although colored by a sense of inconclusion and incompleteness without the presence of linguistic translation. Shaun Tan's (2006) graphic novel *The Arrival* is an excellent work that describes the private sphere of an immigrant's place attachment. Tan uses no words in his work and only illustrations to show the absence of linguistic translation and the overwhelming experience. The novel is about a nameless male fictional character who leaves his homeland for a new country. His transformative experience made this new country his new home. Schnell (2018) discusses the two images in the novel that show the material artefact and physical characteristics in a private space, which are instrumental in making an unfamiliar space a meaningful,

familiar place. The first image pictures the moment the character bids farewell to his wife at the kitchen table of his home in the homeland, and the second image describes the moment the character rekindles with his wife and daughter at the kitchen table of their new house in the new country. In these two images (see Figures 18 and 19), the author shows everyday objects from the old kitchen that are similar to the objects in the new kitchen, such as a hat, a kitchen towel, a family photo, the daughter's drawing, and origami. Different objects, such as different types of kitchenware, utensils, and foods, are also observable between the two images. In the new kitchen, they use an electric kettle.

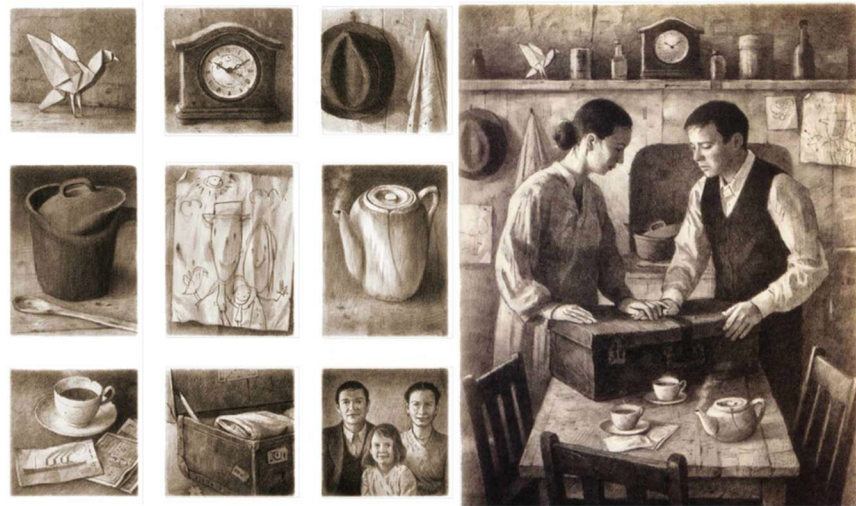


Figure 18. The Old Kitchen of the Immigrant Man's Family in His Homeland

(Shaun Tan, 2006, pp. 7, 9)



Figure 19. The New Kitchen of the Immigrant Man's Family in His New Country

(Shaun Tan, 2006, pp. 110-111)

In his discussion on the old and new kitchen of the immigrant man's family, Schnell (2018) suggests that Tan (2006) emphasizes the importance of the similarity of everyday objects of the two kitchens in creating "rhymes." These rhyming objects help the man's family develop familiarity with the new home. In a similar spirit, Lewicka (2010) argues that physical factors mattered most for place attachment in the case of dwelling. Regarding place attachment in a home and around it, Seamon (2014) suggests that people who live in contemporary Western societies exercise more control/power in their domestic space to decide what aspects of the larger world they want to bring to their private space. Huang and Hou (2018) also recommend that the design of private and public spaces should address the transformative and commemorative practices of the relocated subjects to allow rehabilitation of their sense of belonging. I view this way of power exercise as part of the transformative practice of immigrants who intend to be open to what is foreign and domesticize it in their home, just like the way the immigrant man's family continues to utilize the function of the pot but in a different form of an electric kettle.

Terroir

The cook and cultural anthropologist Amy Trubek (2008)'s introduction to the definition of *terroir* starts with the realm of winemaking, in which the term envisions an understanding that the natural environment can shape the taste of wines. When one tastes a particular wine, one can trace back this taste to the region where the farmers grow the grapes and the winemaker's method of transforming grapes into wine. Proponents of *terroir*, who are the French tastemakers, including journalists, cookbook writers, chefs, winemakers, cheesemakers, bakers, and cooks, suggest that any differences in the regions will create different kinds of wines. This distinction of taste creates a higher value due to its authenticity. Having food or drink goes beyond the purpose of sustenance. The core use of *terroir* as a culinary instrument, especially in the wine industry, is to determine the quality of a wine (Camerlenghi, 2016). This term even has a political-economic implication. In France, the state government applies an authenticity mark to label a wine's *terroir*. This effort aims to identify which region a specific wine comes from and, consequently, to protect the economic value of the locally made wine.

Trubek (2008) discusses the extended definition of *terroir* in her book *The Taste of Place: A Cultural Journey into Terroir*. *Terroir* originally means the environmental factors of a crop's phenotype, like the taste, and it also defines the spirit of place that explains the genetic tie of a crop to the non-replicable location where it is grown and processed (Trubek, 2008; Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014; Carmelenghi, 2016). The study of *terroir* suggests the biological components of an environment bring uniqueness to food-related products of a place, so the products could not be reproduced in a different location due to specific minerals in the soil, the topography, and the condition created by humans in that location, thus a

particular food informs the spirit of its place of origin (Weiss, 2004; Di Giovine & Brulotte, 2014; Camerlenghi, 2016). Particularly in France, the people are faithful to the location where food comes from. French people believe that food and drink from specific locations in France possess unique tastes.⁵ They also want to prevent the traditional ways of growing, eating, and drinking from getting lost (Trubek, 2008).

According to Trubek's study (2008), the rise of terroir as a food view in French has its own history. Particularly in the late 19th century, this view was important in discussing the quality of food. In the early 20th century, it grew into a socio-political movement to protect French agricultural products. In the 1930s, the French witnessed the establishment of an agency within the French Ministry of Agriculture whose task was to determine, monitor, and promote wines that received authentic designation from the Institut National des Appellations d'Origine (National Institute of Appellations of Origin).⁶ In 1990, a new French law allowed using this authentic designation for any agricultural products. This designation also says that certain agricultural products have the best quality if they come from a particular place in France. In the 21st century, the even broader use of terroir has appeared. The emphasis is primarily on a form of nostalgia in the context of more urbanized and fast-paced lives (Trubek, 2008). Thus, the commons' interest in terroir is beyond its relevance to the French tastemakers and taste-producers regarding taste quality and authenticity. Terroir becomes a term for the urban commons in France to refer to their home (where they come from or the place where they grew up). Here, an idea of home or an imagined "home" shows the feeling of alienation one experiences in the urban setting. The real home is where one can find a welcoming place, familiar people, and good food.

The exploration of terroir also leads to the way multiple cultures view their food practices. Trubek (2008) gives a comparative example of the food cultures in France and in the U.S. Unlike Americans, who have a weekly grocery shopping schedule, French people shop for food daily. And unlike the French, as an American, Trubek (2008) suggests that taste and place are not the identifiers of foods. It is rather the ability to purchase a consistent food commodity.⁷ This culture of ensuring abundance and accessibility seems to have deep roots in the harsh past living conditions of the ancestors of most current Americans, who came from countries in Europe and Asia in the dire times of poverty and war. The early immigrants of the 19th century left their countries to find a place where the bounty of food and a readily available food marketplace became the symbol of socio-economic equality and well-being that they did not find in their place of origins (Gabaccia, 1998).

Trubek (2008) argues that what tastes good varies immensely across nations, cultures, and communities. In other words, different communities will have a distinguished flavor that reminds them of home. For example, most people in my home country, Indonesia, require a portion of rice in their meal, and for many others, a portion of hot sauce (more commonly known as *sambal*) is another requirement to elevate the flavor of the food. Additionally, Trubek (2008) argues that foods and tastes are cultural

because what, where, when, how, why, and with whom one eats make one's food practice meaningful. One can understand terroir as the locational philosophy of taste since all the meaningful experience surrounding one's food practice is always embodied in a place or spatial setting. French people refer to the local taste of their origins when they want to commemorate past experiences or to express a sense of identity (Trubek, 2008).⁸

In discussing terroir, Belasco (2014) emphasizes a significant difference between a state of living in a place and a state of loving a place because the latter will bring "a pride of place", which identifies a broader meaning of terroir. Belasco's argument aims to transcend the motivation behind the original initiative of terroir: from the culinary authenticity game into a more democratic view. Citing Russo (2009), Belasco also suggests that the pride of place should be an instrument to regenerate local culture, environment, and economy without putting too much importance on the pureness of authenticity. By doing so, the creation of hierarchical culinary value that will increase for what is considered a more authentic product will not harm the commons and contribute to social injustice.

I argue that the value of locality in the term terroir is comparable to the term *genius loci* in the study of architecture, as discussed in Christian Norberg-Schulz's book *Genius Loci: Towards a Phenomenology of Architecture* (1980). In the book, Norberg-Schulz (1980) suggests that a meaningful architectural work engages deeply with the natural, cultural, and historical characteristics of its site. Therefore, a good building provides space that helps users to feel rooted and connected to the site. Returning to the conceptual development of terroir, its advocates, who were originally from France, intend to enable the experience of connection to the land where ingredients come from during the activity of food consumption. If the term *genius loci* is about the spirit of place, the term terroir is about the taste of place. Because both food and architecture are elements of material culture, they can help us to get connected and understand the cultural, historical, and natural values of the location where we experience them.

I view shelter and place of living as the manifestation of design, and thus, they are manifestations of architectural works. Camerlenghi (2016), who writes about *Terroir and Architecture*, begins the discussion with a fundamental understanding that food and shelter are the utmost priority for humans. Although terroir proponents in the 1990s branched out to be environmentalist groups or culturalist groups (Scheffer & Sylvander, 1998), Camerlenghi (2016) believes that the study of terroir bears insights into the connection between nature (or environment) and architecture (as an element of material culture). As a term, terroir encompasses a holistic notion that combines sociocultural, spatial, and ecological aspects by observing the interwoven human activities surrounding food, place, nature, and culture. Because food comes from the environment, it is a natural product, but at the same time, through the preparation process to make it more edible, it is also a cultural product. In the recent development of terroir, its

advocates have applied the term to wider gastronomy products beyond just wine, and they started including the cultural factors, such as the local technique of processing food and drink products in a region. These elaborations show how broad the application of terroir can be beyond the idea of authenticity; therefore, in this dissertation, I aim to use the term to frame the phenomenon of immigrants' food practices and food axes. Camerlenghi (2016) concludes that terroir is a useful paradigm to investigate alternatives to a homogenized built landscape. Thus, this paradigm will help me to understand how food-related places of immigrants' homes incorporate multiple cultures or even multiple authenticities.

My study uses a more liminal definition of terroir, or in other words, I embrace the enigmatic meaning of authenticity for the immigrants who attempt to keep practicing their former (or one may say authentic) food practice in a new place where it often presents a completely different nature. It is my curiosity to understand the longing for the roots or the intention to connect with one's cultural origin that brings the immigrant person a sense of home and familiarity in the new place of immigration. If authenticity attaches to the actual place where one performs one's cultural practices (such as preparing food and eating/drinking), then the practice of immigrant food culture that brings the taste of home is far from authenticity since the ingredients available in local grocery stores are not appropriate to compose the food an immigrant tries to recreate. However, I argue that immigrants may lose their cultural roots (in other words, their authenticity) and feel estranged if they only use local ingredients, equipment, and techniques from the new place of living to facilitate their main food practices.

I follow Camerlenghi's advice (2016) to use terroir as a hardly straightforward concept. I view this dynamic as positive because it means that terroir can help to open up a more inclusive understanding about authenticity within different contexts of study, especially when involving a phenomenon of cultural migration. Although in the prior discussion, I compared similar and different aspects of *genius loci* and terroir, I want to emphasize that terroir has an intriguing definition of locality and authenticity that appears to be unstable regarding its attachment to place when I include immigrants as my subject of study. Therefore, I believe that a deeper exploration of terroir will enrich my study of immigrants' socio-spatiality of their food practices.

2. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Part 1. Findings: A Closer Look at Food Axes in and Around Indonesians' West Coast Homes

This section elaborates on my findings from my fieldwork with six Indonesian immigrants in multiple locations across the West Coast, from Portland to Eugene to Springfield to Ashland in Oregon, and then to San Bernardino in California. I visited each participant in their kitchens, surrounded by the view of Indonesian food items and the familiar smells. Each day of my fieldwork, I returned to my community in our collective imagined terroir with actual material artifacts in the kitchen and dining room, such as Indonesian snacks, seasonings and spices, coffee, and warm dishes. Beyond the interview, observation, drawing, and mapping processes, we shared lots of stories about being an Indonesian who lives for a while in the U.S.—both joyful and heartbreaking. I spent a few hours to a few weeks in my participants' homes to understand how my participants maintain Indonesian food culture in the American fitted kitchen. Challenges present but do not last. The creativity and ingenuity to solve socio-spatial conflicts prove their determination, resilience, and perseverance.

I open PART 1 by introducing the general Indonesian food practices in Indonesia as a point of reference before delving into Indonesian immigrants' food axes on the West Coast, which will show similarities and varieties. The data about the general food practices of Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast came from my small research project in 2022, covering the Eugene-Springfield metro area, and a document study about the food practices of Indonesian immigrants in Southern California. Following up, I divided the analysis of my findings into two sections within the holistic approach of socio-spatial analysis. First, I invite the reader to turn their gaze to the socio-cultural findings of Indonesians' food axes on the West Coast. Second, I invite the gaze to turn to the spatial findings. My findings on Indonesians' food axes in and around their homes in each metropolitan area will close Part 1. In Part 2 of this chapter, I discuss my interpretation of the socio-spatiality of Indonesians' food axes on the West Coast using the notion of terroir as my hyperopia lens, and a conclusion will close the whole chapter.

Indonesian Placemaking through Local Food Practices: Rural, Suburban, and Urban Context

The consumption of Indonesian food practices within the national boundaries and abroad reflects the large cultural diversity of this island country of Indonesia. With a total population of 283,488,000 (worldpopulationreview.com, 2023), Indonesia is home to 1,300 ethnic groups across 17,508 islands. The Indonesians' sacred value of food is rooted in an understanding that the living and nonliving elements in the ecosystem conceive the divine quality and nourishment of nature; for instance,

rice fields are often treated as a pregnant woman. People should avoid making loud noises and being disruptive around a rice field that is in the process of yielding rice (Marks & Soeharjo, 1981; Van Esterik, 2008; Indrawati, 2015). Traditionally, Indonesian food practices rely on a tropical rainforest climate that consists of two seasons: dry from April to October and rainy from November to March. The former is suitable for fishing and the latter for growing crops. Quite renowned for having intense tastes and spicy levels, Indonesian foods are defined by a greater range of flavors due to the encounter of multiple culinary cultures, such as Indian, Dutch, Chinese, and Arabic (Marks & Soeharjo, 1981; Arciniegas, 2021).

As I discussed earlier, French people embrace the notion of *terroir* to refer to where one comes from and that the taste of food from a place of origin allows the qualities of the place (including the soil, climate, plants, animals, and so on) travel to one's body and construct one's identity. In Indonesia, there is a national concept, called *tanah air*, that shares a similar understanding with *terroir*. This concept is a combination of two terms: *tanah*, which means land, and *air*, which means water. Thus, *tanah air* literally means land and water. This concept often appears in many Indonesian patriotic songs. Indonesians use the notion of *tanah air* to develop affection toward their country and the national identity. One of the most popular shared values is that Indonesians live in a very fertile soil that provides them with bountiful food. Indonesia has a diversity of natural resources and food crops that can grow in all regions due to the geographical location of the Indonesian islands in the tropics. As an Indonesian, I observe the notion of *tanah air* as a contemporary form of a more traditional philosophy of mythical patrons of earth, food, fertility, and domestic life. Traditional communities often use the feminine or motherly characters, such as female deities, to personify the land as the source of food. For example, in Java and Bali, people recognize Goddess Sri as the goddess of agriculture, who ensures the production of rice as a staple food. Sri is also the patron of fertility who protects the well-being of families and their homes. Javanese believe Sri is a unifier of nature and culture who has her own space in each Javanese dwelling (Santosa, 2000).

The concept of *tanah air*, in the context of Indonesian traditional society, encourages people to respect the land and water around them. Merleau-Ponty explains his understanding that the actualization of one's body becomes a medium to achieve existence in the world in a specific place. In other words, one's body acts as a medium of understanding of the world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). Interaction between one's body and one's dwelling has become a cultural practice to articulate the meaning of place, so that a body becomes part of the world and vice versa, the world becomes part of a body. Meanwhile, Edward S. Casey (1998) wrote that the local inhabitants always transform a place into an idea or concept, just like *tanah air* and *terroir*. Body and place relations work in a reciprocal reaction in order to achieve the highest potency of each other. Taylor Carman (2008), a philosopher who studied the relation between the body and the world, argues that the body is the starting point to understand the surrounding environment

through conceptualization. Indonesians create a conception of tanah air as an understanding of dwelling through a series of experiences with nature, such as land and water, as a food source.

The process of food fulfillment also influences the pattern of dwelling. Hunter-gatherers are nomads. The next generation of food producers is more sedentary; they even have storage spaces for the food surplus, as one can still find them in Indonesian traditional houses. Traditional communities are highly knowledgeable and skillful in cultivating their land and water to grow food. Types of food across the nation show regional varieties; however, generally, every dish is built on a particular set of basic seasonings from a variety of tropical plants. Indonesians commonly transform these seasonings into a paste using a mortar and pestle. Typically, Indonesians eat their dishes with a portion of rice. On top of the diverse cultural background alone, I find that socio-economic circumstances define Indonesians' food practices and food axes, although they live in the same province, city, or rural area. In the past, I have studied three types of spatial settings: the high-density urban area of Jakarta, the lower-density urban area of Yogyakarta, and the rural area of Alor. These are useful in explaining the variations of Indonesian food practices and food axes.

The first two are located on the west side of the country, whereas the last is on the east side (see Figure 20). Yogyakarta has become a pretty dense city with a current population of 476,289 people (<https://worldpopulationreview.com/cities/indonesia/yogyakarta>, 2025). However, the long-standing tradition of Javanese culture continues to dominate the cultural practices of Yogyakarta people. Meanwhile, Indonesians of Jakarta, who come from multiple ethnic groups mainly because of better employment opportunities, maintain traditional practices less intensely. They also experience more exposure to international foods. On the far east, the people of the Takpala village in Alor Regency, East Nusa Tenggara, still primarily maintain a subsistence system based on their traditional way of life.

Jakarta City

Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia, has a population of approximately 11.5 million (World Population Review, 2024). A home to both a rising middle class and many disadvantaged communities, Jakarta also has a large population of workers in the non-agricultural sectors. Many people in Jakarta are supported by rural and peri-urban food production. Jakarta people get their foodstuffs, such as meat, eggs, fresh produce, pre-processed seasoning, ready-to-eat snacks, and side dishes from the markets within the city boundaries (see Figure 21). One market typically supports a few working-class neighborhoods. The upper-middle class can afford fancier supermarkets that sell foreign-brand food products, clean-looking vegetables, pre-packaged meats, organic produce, and imported fruits.



Figure 20. Map of Indonesia Showing the Location of Jakarta City, Yogyakarta City, and Alor Regency Relevant to Eugene, Oregon

(Indrawati, 2025)



Figure 21. An Example of a Working-Class Market in North Jakarta

(Source: megapolitan.okezone.com, 2021)

During the daily office hours, which last from 8.00 am to 5.00 pm, workers from sister cities around Jakarta, such as Tangerang, Depok, Bogor, and Bekasi, substantially increase the number of people in the city. Due to severe traffic congestion, workers typically spend two to four hours daily on a round-trip commute, of which two hours consist of traffic jams (Indrawati, 2015; tomtom.com, 2021). A total of thirteen hours of grueling experiences before dinner rationalizes the trend of buying food instead of cooking. With “just enough” money, busy workers prefer street foods for breakfast, lunch, and dinner because they are affordable and convenient. To facilitate their food axes, Jakarta people often choose to use food delivery services, which employ motorcycle drivers.

Payment day is an exciting time of the month for working-class families. Once in a while, they would visit restaurants or malls that offer fancier types of meals. However, packaged food like instant ramen as well as fast food, including prominent American brands, are the all-time lifesavers (Arciniegas, 2021). A study found that this type of industrial food has been continuously increasing and replacing rice consumption since 1999 (bps.go.id, 2014). YouTube channels of multiple Jakarta-based food vloggers that attract subscribers are also a growing phenomenon. They promote higher consumption of commercial foods by giving a reference to food establishments (Cunningham, 2020). During the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown, they partnered with food delivery companies, while recommending what to order through the online application.

Side by side with the rising middle class behind the sophisticated urban landscape of Jakarta, disadvantaged communities live in the *kampung*, which refers to a concentrated and overly dense type of low-economy neighborhood with some characteristics of a slum, such as the circulation network of narrow alleys and houses next to the river (Arciniegas, 2016). The *kampung* dwellers are the descendants of migrants or the migrants themselves who came from other provinces or islands and did not make significant upward mobility. They earn a daily income from running informal businesses that prevent them from spending money upfront to purchase weekly groceries, thus encouraging a dependency on street vendors, who are also members of the *kampung* community. In the neighborhood, multiple street food vendors and food stalls are available during the day and night. A few dwellers also open stalls attached to their houses (see Figure 22), which are called *toko*, to provide food products such as fresh produce, sweets, snacks, sugar, cooking oil, and spices.



Figure 22. An Example of a Toko

(Devi P. A. Yahya, 2021)

Kampung's general food axis moves in and out between the private and public realms because dwellers buy out-of-home side dishes but combine the consumption with rice at home (Arciniegas, 2016). Some economic reasons motivate this food practice. The dwellers cannot afford clean water, gas, and oil because the selling unit is in weekly sizes, if not monthly. They also cannot afford the necessary types of cooking tools and kitchen appliances. Additionally, the severely restricted floor area of each dwelling unit demands the elimination of the kitchen, storage space, and dining room, together with appliances like a gas stove and refrigerator. By taking over the role of the cooks for the rest of the dwellers, street food vendors enable a system of food provision and even serve as an economic support system (Arciniegas, 2016).



Figure 23. The Mobile Cart of Kaki Lima Street Food Vendors

(Source: <https://www.deviantart.com/realz19>, 2016; Susah Waras, 2024)

Kampung's street food vendors show three types of spatial arrangements (Arciniegas, 2021). The mobile cart type called *kaki lima* carries the necessary ingredients and all cooking tools, such as a gas stove, a frying pan, and sometimes plastic stools for customers. The vendor stores them on the compact shelves all over the cart (see Figure 23). A less mobile type called *tenda* uses a temporary tarpaulin structure (see Figure 24). The vendor of the last type, known as *warteg*, serves meals in a permanent building that consists of a kitchen area and a serving area (see Figure 25).



Figure 24. An Example of Tenda with The Outside-In and Inside-Out Views

(Source: Fachri Reza, 2015; Asmanu Sudharso, 2022)



Figure 25. An Example of a Warteg

(Source: Gunawan Kartapranata, 2011; Ajeng Dinar Ulfiana, 2020)

There are plenty of wartegs all over Jakarta, but the kampung's warteg is distinct due to the absence of a dine-in space. The buyers bring their containers or dinnerware, serve themselves, and eat at home. The kampung dwellers do not consider these commercial food consumptions similar to eating out

because the interplay between commercial and domestic food provision creates the individual's everyday food axis (Arciniegas, 2021). Eating out means having fancier meals in restaurants or malls outside the neighborhood. In conclusion, the food axis of kampung dwellers informs the function of street food stalls as the extension of domestic food-related places, and thus it extends home boundaries to the scale of the whole neighborhood (Arciniegas, 2021).

Yogyakarta City

On the west side of Indonesia, Javanese is the largest Indonesian ethnic group (Van Esterik, 2008; Tandywijaya, 2020) and refers to those who live in the Central Java area, including Yogyakarta Province. Santosa (1997) defines Central Java as the homeland of the Javanese-speaking people. Javanese people believe rice is the manifestation of the Goddess Sri (see Figure 26). They pay devotion to her as the protector of rice and dwelling who yields the offspring and prosperity for Javanese families. A common Javanese house, which is called *omah*, has a special room called *central senthong* (see Figure 22) to perform an offering ritual of the first harvested rice to Sri, thus showing the emphasis on the symbolic importance of rice (Tjahjono, 1990; Santosa, 1997). For the farmer families, the central senthong fundamentally facilitates the creation of a sacred axis that spans from heaven to earth. The smoke that wafts to the ceiling from the burning incense during the offering ritual symbolizes the recreation of the sacred axis. The smoke is meant to overflow the central senthong and travel to the domestic kitchen to protect the family's subsistence and provisions.



Figure 26. A Painting of Goddess Sri Hovering Above the Farmers who Work in the Rice Field

(Source: Soedibio, 1971)

Revianto Budi Santosa, a researcher of Javanese vernacular architecture, explained that dwelling is a manifestation of the relation between a man (a body) and the earth (a place) through body contact with the land. Harmonized interaction between one's body and the land will ensure prosperity, including an abundance of food (Santosa, 2000). Currently, this special tribute is no longer common practice among every Javanese, but rather to those who still hold their belief in Sri, especially the farming community. Another female deity, revered as a nurturer of the earth in Javanese mythology, is Pertiwi (meaning the Earth in literal translation). Pertiwi is the protector of agriculture (Bali Culture Tours, 2025).

Traditionally, the Javanese house has no dedicated room for eating, so the eater will sit on a floor mat anywhere except in the kitchen (Tjahjono, 1990). This seated position, known as *lesehan* (Santosa, 2000), demonstrates the cultural paradigm of Javanese people who closely link themselves to the earth. This paradigm is also relevant to the Indonesian term *bumi putera*, which means the son of the Mother Earth. This term was popular in the colonial era to distinguish the natives from the colonizers. Javanese people practice *lesehan* in domestic, neighborhood, and urban settings (see Figure 27). Javanese demonstrate particular habits in their eating practices. Each family member can autonomously adjust the eating time because eating is not a collective event for a family who resides in the omah (Tjahjono, 1990). Collective eating commonly happens in social events in both formal and informal settings to cultivate community cohesion (Tandywijaya, 2020).

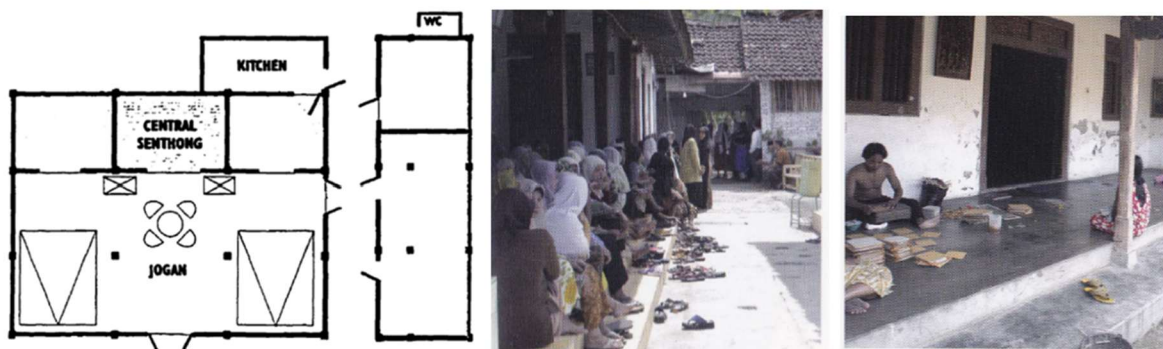


Figure 27. A Floor Plan of Omah in Yogyakarta and The Practice of Lesehan in Neighborhood Setting and Domestic Setting

(Source: Revianto B. Santosa, 1997; Bambang Tri Atmojo, 2007)

The local market is a socio-economic institution and the long-standing center of economic activity in a Javanese city or town (Tjahjono, 1990). It is also the place where non-agricultural Javanese people purchase food. The look of the local market is comparable to that of an American farmers' market,

and it typically features a main building and an open area where sellers and buyers congregate. The Javanese market has a food stall called *warung* that becomes a place for evening chats. Warungs also commonly appear on the side streets or in the neighborhood. The visitors will practice either *lesehan* or squatting as they enjoy the meals and drinks. In the city center of Yogyakarta, one can find an example of a district full of modest food stalls or *angkringan(s)* next to the main train station of Tugu. The district is originally a section of Wongsodirjan Street consisting of a pedestrian on every side (see Figure 28, top image) until a group of small business owners transformed it into the place of evening meals and drinks that last from dusk to sometimes before dawn using temporary tents and mobile shelves or a cart with two wheels (Indrawati, 2012).

Since Yogyakarta is the home to a large number of higher education institutions, migrant students and workers around the city highly depend on the food stall businesses. The student apartments usually do not provide a personal kitchen and dining facilities within the unit, so eating out is a very common practice. Most apartment units do not have personal refrigerators and microwaves to make the rent affordable. In American culture, these two kitchen appliances are indispensable in a dwelling unit, especially to keep food fresh for a longer period, and also because typical Americans do not cook every day. They tend to cook in a bigger batch and keep the leftovers in the refrigerator and later reheat the meals in the microwave. Without the refrigerator and microwave, many city dwellers in Yogyakarta do not practice the culture of leftovers. Online food delivery services through mobile applications are also very popular. The delivery cost is lower in comparison with such services in the U.S., which encourages many users in Yogyakarta.

In the temporal presence of the *kampung's* street food vendors in Jakarta and the *angkringan* district in Yogyakarta, I find the example of multiple place attachments. The pursuit of efficacy found in the interactions between territorial and temporal properties of the event in these kinds of food places represents the placemaking of the commons and suggests the presence of multiple temporal contexts in one territory (Schulze-Engler et al., 2018; Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Consequently, this interaction will produce multiple place attachments at one location each in different time frames. The architecture exhibited in these places seems weak because of its simplicity and ephemerality, yet the users always know when this architecture is available to experience and therefore establish the monumentality of its weakness (see Figure 28). The everyday spatial practices through which the commons constantly explore meaningful experience are the essence of placemaking (Ingold, 1995). In this light, architectural buildings can work as artifacts of meaningful events rather than solely physical support for the common users (Baird, 1998).

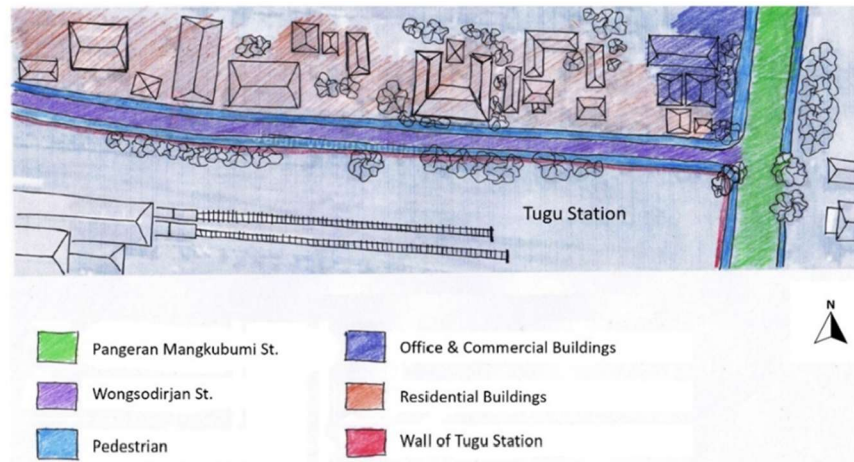


Figure 28. The Pedestrian of Wongsodirjan Street & the Angkringan District on it

(Source: Klara Indrawati, 2012)

Alor Regency

The Alor Regency, with a population of 226,650 as of 2024, consists of multiple islands with a rugged mountainous topography, where the Abui people of Takpala settle in the higher elevation of the biggest island, called Alor Island. They live in a self-built multistory dwelling unit with stacked rectangular floor plans and a pyramid-shaped roof that is called a *fala house* (see Figure 29). The Abui people install a horn-shaped ornament at the tip of the pyramid roof, known as *hatang poka*. This house tip represents the dwellers' open hands to receive ancestors' blessings and good wishes, while asking for the continuation of the blessings (Indrawati, 2013). A virtual axis connects the center of each floor plan and spans from *hatang poka* to the ground, where the poultry is kept as a food source (see Figure 29). I interpret this virtual vertical axis as the domestic food axis that passes through each floor plan.

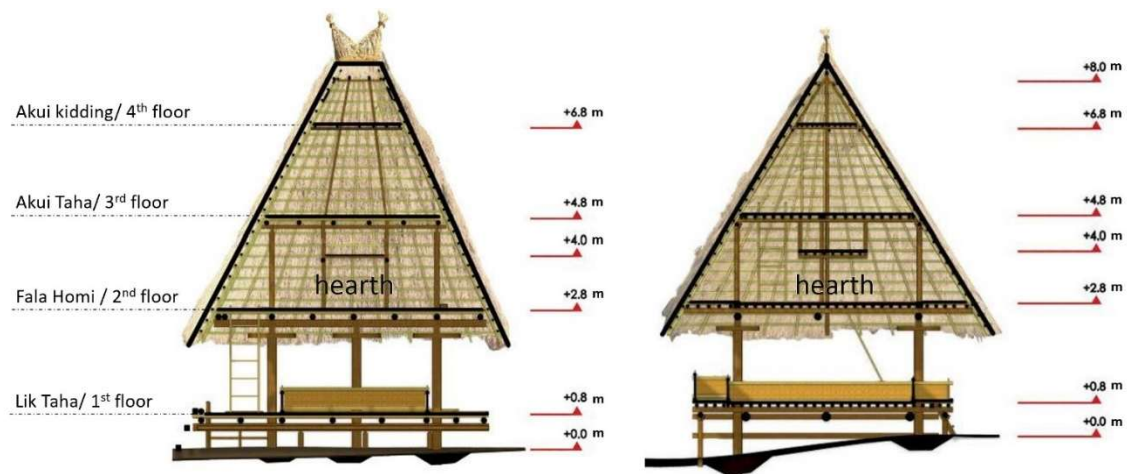


Figure 29. Sectional Drawings of Fala House with Hatang Poka on the Rooftop

(Source: Alor Excursion Team – University of Indonesia, 2011)

The elevated first floor (see Figures 29 and 30), the first floor known as *lik taha*, adopts a wall-free open plan to accommodate social activities, such as food sharing and consumption among household members and neighbors. Abui people use the next level floor *fala homi* (see Figures 29 and 30) to sleep, cook, have dinner, and store personal items in the absence of windows. At the center of *fala homi*, the woman of the family prepares meals on the hearth, which is also the only source of heat and light when family members gather around for a nighttime meal. The open-plan and no-window upper floor (see Figures 29 and 30), *akui taha*, gets heat exposure from the hearth in *fala homi* to stock and preserve crop seeds and harvests for the dry season. Closer to *hatang poka*, the non-habitable top floor, *akui kidding* (see Figure 29), safely stores the family treasures such as inherited bronze drums from the prehistoric era called *moko* that informs the socio-cultural status of the family of a bride or a groom. The virtual sacred (food) axis first passes *moko* before the food stock.

Abui people combine food production with fishing (Indrawati & Devanastya, 2011). Once a week, some women will work in the field during the planting months or harvest some food during the harvest months, and men will go to the sea to harvest some fish during the dry months. Food cleaning and dishwashing tasks are done outdoors with water gathered at a public pipeline in the shared village yard because the indoor utility system is unavailable. In this yard, the Abui people also grow some food plants. Except for the cleaning activities, the food axis seems to merge with the virtual sacred axis that delivers the ancestors' blessings from the realm of heaven to the place where the dwellers safely keep the family heritage to the food storage to the living-dining-cooking area to the social space and eventually to the food source on the ground.

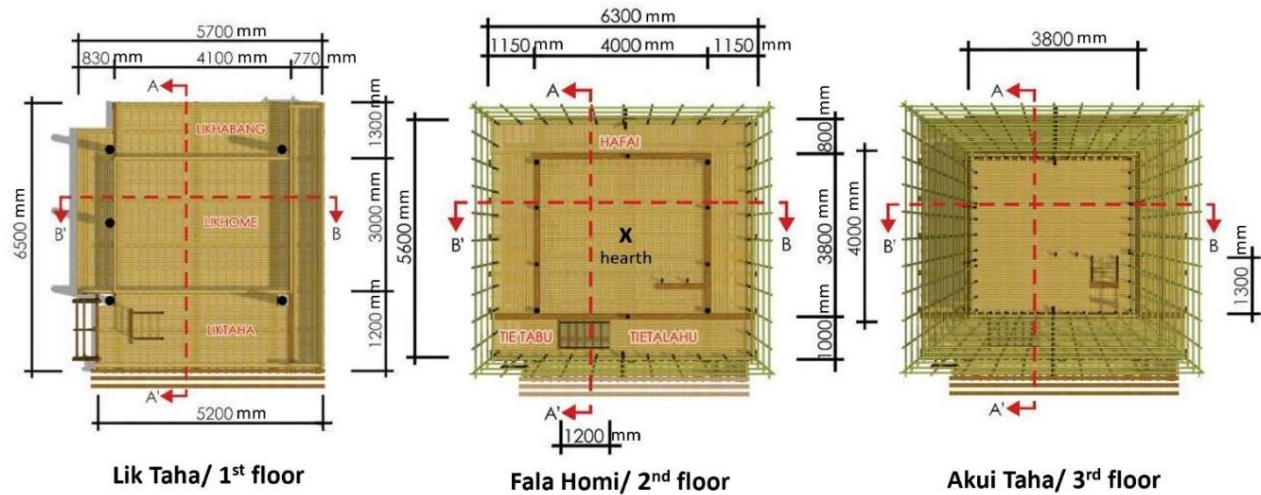


Figure 30. Floor Plans of Fala House

(Source: Alor Excursion Team – University of Indonesia, 2011)

Indonesian Food Practice on the West Coast

Although having multiple ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds, Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. generally form a more common identity as Indonesians and support each other (Cunningham, 2008; Lie et al., 2018). Indonesians still maintain their traditional food practices in the intersection with the significantly different food practices of typical Americans, which food scholars define as meat-heavy, processed, calorie-intensive, and odorless with everyday consumption of processed food as well as fast food (Mikulak, 2013; Elliott, 2010; Halloran, 2016; Bowen et al., 2019). Due to the relevance of one's regional food practice with a specific place where one spends significant time in their lifetime, consuming Indonesian food will resurrect memories of familiar places. In Indonesia, cultural food consumption also facilitates the commemoration of cultural or religious events and thus becomes a signifier of a temporal point of the year, for example, the event of Chinese New Year signifies the first quarter of the year, Eid Day denotes the second quarter, the 17th of August or Indonesian Independence Day marks the third quarter, and Christmas Day indicates the end of the year. These events are relevant to a specific set of meals and demonstrate foods as the “edible chronotope,” which means a consumable spatiotemporal element of one's cultural practices (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004).

Indonesians, who celebrate Christmas and New Year's Eve, often get the pineapple cookies (*nastar*), the snow sugar cookies (*putri salju*), or the cheese cookies (*kastengel*) ready for their family. The Muslim community would serve beef rendang, white curry with chicken (*opor ayam*), and rice cakes wrapped in woven palm leaves. The Chinese Indonesian community celebrates the Lunar New Year with

symbolic dishes: chow mein is the metaphor of longevity, an egg dish is for fertility, sticky-sweet rice cake is for a strong family bond, a thousand-layer cake is for prosperity, and mandarins are for fortune and wealth (“10 Makanan Sajian Imlek”, 2018). There is also a performative function of food practice, which Indonesians use to express their thoughts or sentiments about past national tragedies.

Boen Hian Tong is an association of Chinese Indonesian culture based in Semarang, Central Java Province. It has been active since 1876 and campaigned against anti-Chinese ethnic sentiment in Indonesia (Sutanti, 2024). This group annually holds a multi-religion memorial event to eat a made-up dish called *rujak pare sambal kecombrang*, which consists of bitter melon and *kecombrang* flower mixed in spicy sambal. This dish tastes bitter and spicy, but includes a beautiful flower in the ingredients. The bitter and spicy tastes represent the painful collective trauma, and at the same time, refuse the public’s amnesia about how sexual violence against the female body became a political tool to terrorize the public. The group honors the precious and innocent female who became the victim and still endures the fear to date by including Kecombrang flowers in the dish.

Boen Hian Tong termed this event “a food ritual every May” as a grieving response to the socio-political and economic turmoil throughout the month of May in 1998. It was the end of an Indonesian dictatorship regime called the New Order. The confusing turbulence ended with riots in multiple big cities in Indonesia, such as Medan, Jakarta, Tangerang, Surabaya, and Solo. Many Chinese Indonesians, significantly the women, fell victim to the breakout violence. In the food ritual, Indonesians from multiple ethnic and religious backgrounds come together to pray for the victims. The tragedy became one of the motivations for Chinese Indonesians to immigrate to the U.S., which could explain why Chinese Indonesians make up the majority of Indonesians in the U.S. (Brightwell, 2015; Wijaya, 2008).

After moving to the U.S., Indonesian immigrants often face challenges maintaining their food practices, such as a bigger budget to buy imported ingredients, the unavailability of appropriate cooking tools, and limited variations of food products. The Indonesian immigrants’ gathering events, which typically include Indonesian food consumption as the main activity, have become a precious remedy for these difficulties. The gathering uses a potluck system; participants usually can choose what they want to cook without prior agreement. Indonesians from multiple regional and religious backgrounds joined as one group (Wijaya, 2025). This gathering has become an important venue for Indonesian immigrants to share information about the necessary resources to solve everyday problems in multiple aspects of life, mainly because Indonesians do not congregate in one district or an enclave. Although they live in a similar city, Indonesians tend to reside in different neighborhoods sporadically. Brightwell (2015) suggests this condition makes noticing and exploring the presence of Indonesian immigrants more challenging, even in the Los Angeles metro area, where most Indonesians choose to stay across the U.S.

In Eugene, Oregon, these events typically take place in one of the Indonesian immigrants' homes. As one of the participants, I observe that the Indonesian community in Eugene uses these events to create an imagined neighborhood and social circles they left in Indonesia. Despite not living in the same neighborhood, they operate like next-door neighbors and perform the idea of an Indonesian neighborhood for a few hours, just like what is defined by Benedict Anderson (1983) as an "imagined community." In each gathering, Indonesian immigrants activate a network of multiple kitchens to provide food in one place. There are no strict rules about the management of the menus. However, the host usually provides steamed rice and the main entrées, while some guests will voluntarily prepare and bring appetizers, desserts, or snacks that represent their traditions or familiarity. All collected dishes will be presented at the host table during the event. The host table becomes a node in the Indonesian food axis, where the gathering participants can enjoy Indonesian foods from multiple kitchens (see Figure 31).

Indonesians adjust their food practices both inside and outside their U.S. homes. Kitchen arrangements in each dwelling unit in the U.S. usually vary based on housing rates. A low-cost dwelling unit may not provide ample countertop area, which often makes preparing meals more difficult (Bowen et al, 2019). In Eugene, I live in a subsidized student family housing with my partner and our toddler. One of the participants of my study, Julie (pseudonym), who moved to the Portland metro area, lived in the same neighborhood. In my interview with her, we discussed the restricted kitchen space in the student family housing. Julie (personal communication, September 26, 2024) expressed that she remembered her kitchen was messy with things scattered around as she described below,

"I am pretty happy with the size of the countertop in my current rental house, but my former student family apartment in Eugene, where I was a Ph.D. student, had a limited countertop and storage area in the kitchen. So, when I needed a larger prep area, for example, I made chicken satay or baked, I occupied the dining table next to the kitchen.... With small children, it is even harder in a limited kitchen space in Eugene because they have their own dinnerware, bottles, equipment, etc. Those things occupied the same space in the kitchen, creating spatial competition."

In the U.S., Indonesians have adapted to the American fitted kitchen setting, which has its own development history. The recent dwelling units of an individual, single parent, and a couple in the U.S. tend to show smaller-sized kitchens and dining spaces as well as high reliance on microwaves and refrigerators (Elliott, 2010; Michailidis, 2011). These two appliances have their own history in changing food practices and food axes in the U.S., for example, allowing the storage of leftover foods. The refrigerator was invented between 1910 and 1930, while the microwave was introduced in 1967, together

with the idea of ready-made dishes and frozen food that celebrated the success of space travel (Cromley, 2010; Surmann, 2017).



Figure 31. A Host Table in Eugene, Oregon

(Source: Indrawati, 2021)

In the 1950s, post-World War II working-class families' longing for freedom, leisure, and bounty drove the housing market. Mainly white Americans, these families bought the low-cost house with a ranch or bungalow style. Among other rooms, the kitchen became the central fascination. The mass media and women's magazines marketed it as the "kitchen of tomorrow" with sophisticated technology as the main element (Miller, 2004). Future-oriented homemakers should replace the old-fashioned appliances with "push-button technology" in the new stoves, washers, toasters, and vacuum cleaners. The designers and fabricators of war weapons initiated this innovation. Main contractors of defense weapons, such as General Electric, Goodyear, Motorola, and Chrysler, shifted their post-war business to the domestic appliance market (Miller, 2004). This advanced domestic technology was also a political performance emphasizing the American government's and society's superiority during the Cold War.

Miller (2004) further suggests that the idea to fill the food pantry with food items came from the U.S. government's 1961 recommendation to build a bomb shelter within the house. Consumer culture was considered patriotic because it helped to build a strong postwar economy. This idea continues to appear in bunker-like hoarding mentality regarding the accumulation of foodstuffs in pantries, refrigerators, and freezers today. This dissertation study finds that the food pantry is a key node in the

Indonesian food axis in the U.S., although this kitchen feature is uncommon in Indonesia. We tend to buy food items in small quantities because we can always return to buy more the next day. The location to get the food typically does not require a drive. People in Indonesia would walk, ride their bicycles, or ride a motorcycle to buy food every day.

The American fitted kitchen has its own noteworthy historical story of development. Decades earlier, at the beginning of the 20th century, American home economists, such as Christine Frederick, studied the factory's streamlining concept. Frederick Winslow Taylor introduced the concept of streamlining. Frederick found the principle of a "work triangle" that demonstrated the most efficient track of movements in between the range area, the sink area, and the storage area in the kitchen (Cromley, 2010; Surmann, 2017). Reducing unnecessary motions produced a smaller, well-organized kitchen that became the recommended type of kitchen for American houses. During this time, working-class Americans experienced an era of housing and domestic reform and embraced a higher standard of living, equipped with some new mechanical appliances to attain a more efficient home (Jacobs, 1970; Hubka, 2020).

In the 1970s and 1980s, Americans witnessed a cozy kitchen concept that integrated the kitchen into the living area (Snodgrass, 2004). The subsequent and latest development of the American kitchen in the 21st century shows the incorporation of entertainment and relaxation features, such as a TV and a music player. In a pricey area, the smaller apartments have the living and dining functions merged in the kitchen area (Cromley, 2010). Nowadays, people in the U.S. commonly purchase pre-washed, pre-packaged, or half-cooked foodstuffs from grocery stores and use refrigerators, microwaves, stoves, ovens, and toasters as standard appliances in their kitchens. Consequently, the kitchen should provide multiple electrical outlets and ample storage for these appliances. Families buy large quantities of food and store it in food pantries to achieve time efficiency and cost-effective grocery shopping. People in the U.S. also complement their food axes with dine-in and drive-thru restaurants (Salvador, 2018). Due to advanced information technology, people can even order take-out food and groceries from home and get them delivered through various online applications. Simultaneously with these food practices, large-sized refrigerators seem preferable both for producers and consumers.

Inevitably, food axes generated from these practices affect the formation of Indonesians' food axes in the U.S., which is presumably visible through the observation of Indonesians' adaptive placemaking. Several urban-scale places facilitate Indonesian food practices in the U.S., such as Asian stores, Indonesian restaurants, and Indonesian food trucks in combination with regular grocery stores and fast-food chains. In their West Coast homes, Indonesians practice their food culture by utilizing the standard appliances of an American fitted kitchen. In 2022, I conducted a survey and asked sixteen Indonesian immigrants in the Eugene-Springfield metro area where they would go to buy Indonesian

ingredients or dishes in the area. Figure 32 shows the map of the survey results, and Figure 33 depicts the number of mentions indicating the food places of participants' preference.

The result shows eighteen places, including grocery stores and big box chains (Fred Meyer, Costco, WinCo, and Walmart), ethnic stores (King's Asian Market, Eugene Asian Market, El Torito, and Sunrise Asian Food Market), a local organic store (Capella), an Indonesian food truck (Bali Kitchen), and a Thai Food Truck (Chaiyo). According to the participants, they prefer a particular store (see Figure 33) because the store has a complete selection of Indonesian food items, sells familiar brand names of food and non-food products, and offers good quality food items. Sunrise Asian Food Market was the most mentioned place across all stores, particularly because it has the most complete selection of Indonesian food and non-food items, and participants could have social interaction with a few Indonesians who worked at the store. Participants bought Indonesian dishes from the Bali Kitchen food truck because of the outdoor sitting area, the familiar delicious tastes of the food, the familiar geographic name of Bali, the look of Indonesian foods advertised on the truck, the option of an Indonesian drink brand, and the fact that participants had an option to choose the spicy level of their food. In Indonesia, this spicy level has become an exciting experience, mainly because most Indonesians favor spicy foods. On the other hand, a participant happily found that a fried rice dish in the Chaiyo Thai Truck was identical to the taste of Indonesian street-food-style fried rice. Among these food places, the only Indonesian-owned establishment was Bali Kitchen, which closed permanently in 2023.

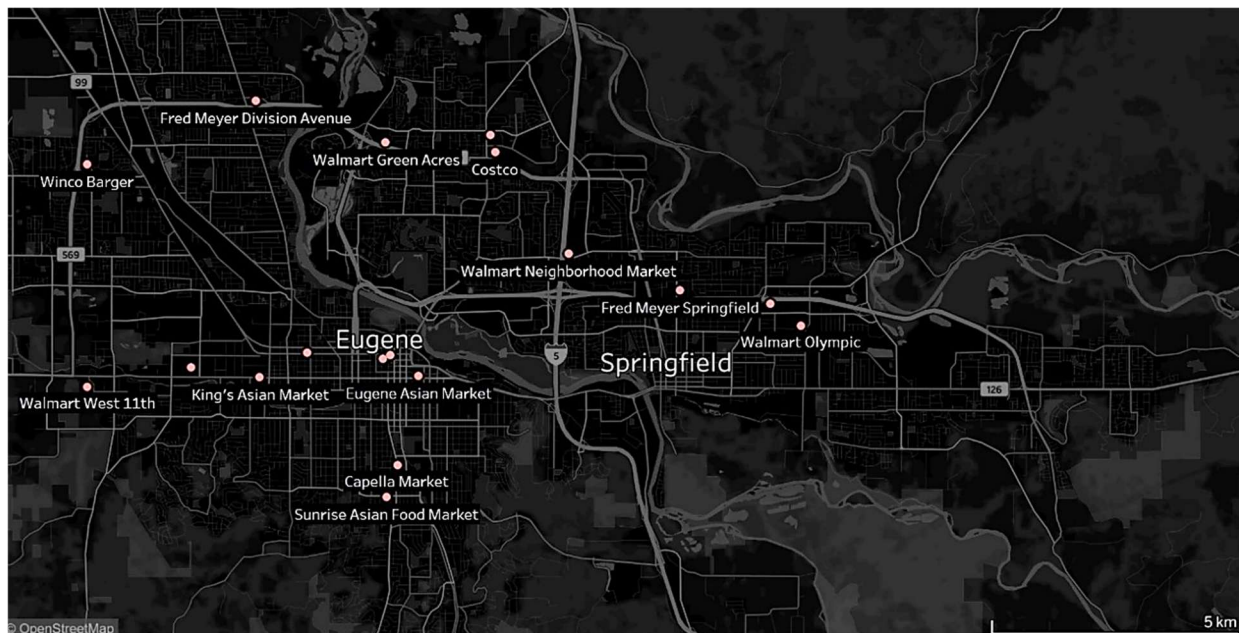


Figure 32. Food Stores in Eugene-Springfield to Buy Indonesian Ingredients or Dishes

(Source: Indrawati, 2022)

Most of the food places on the map (see Figure 32), especially the ethnic stores, crowd around Eugene's west and south sides. It seems that the location of the University of Oregon (UO) on the west side of Eugene plays an important role in creating this location trend. The UO international student population very likely lives close to the university on the city's west side. Moreover, the university subsidized students with families living in affordable student-family housing on the southern side of Eugene. Like me, students from all continents prefer to reside in this affordable apartment complex. The surrounding commercial, wellness, multi-level educational, and public park facilities make the South Eugene location very convenient for international students to live with families. A variety of ethnic stores in the West and South Eugene have helped the international student community maintain the consumption of their ethnic cuisines.

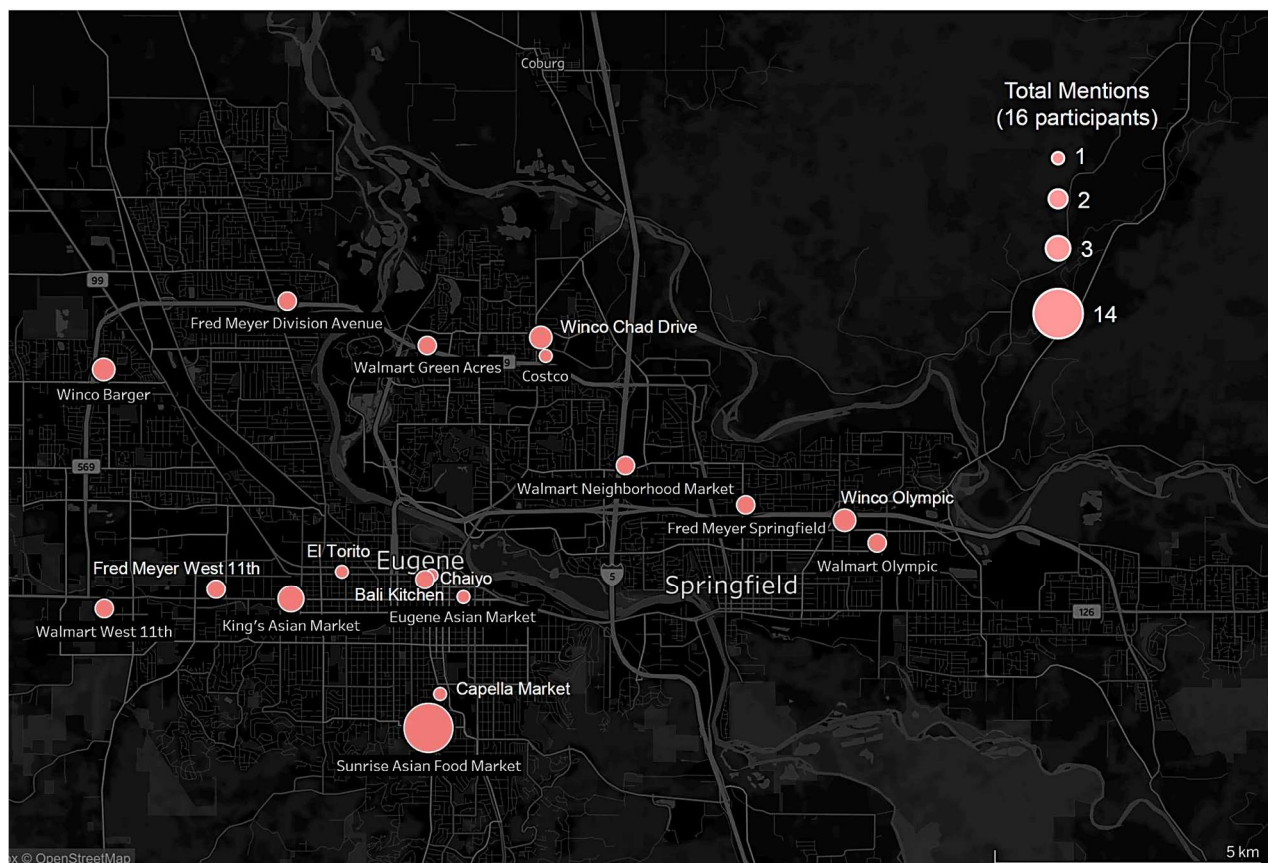


Figure 33. Food Stores Preference from the Survey in Eugene-Springfield

(Source: Indrawati, 2022)

Portland, Oregon, has a few Indonesian restaurants that are still open, such as Wajan, Gado-Gado, and Pasar. According to Google's directory, the prices per person for each location are about \$20 to \$50 for the lower end and up to \$100 for the upper end. This pricing shows a medium to high scale range and might not be affordable to support the regular food practice of many Indonesians on the West Coast. In Figure 34, there are a few Asian stores in the Portland metro area that I know from the participants of this dissertation study, and I have visited before, that show up on the map. None of these stores is Indonesian-owned. However, some popular food items, such as Indonesian-brand sweet soy sauce, coconut milk, sambal, and instant ramen, are available in these stores.

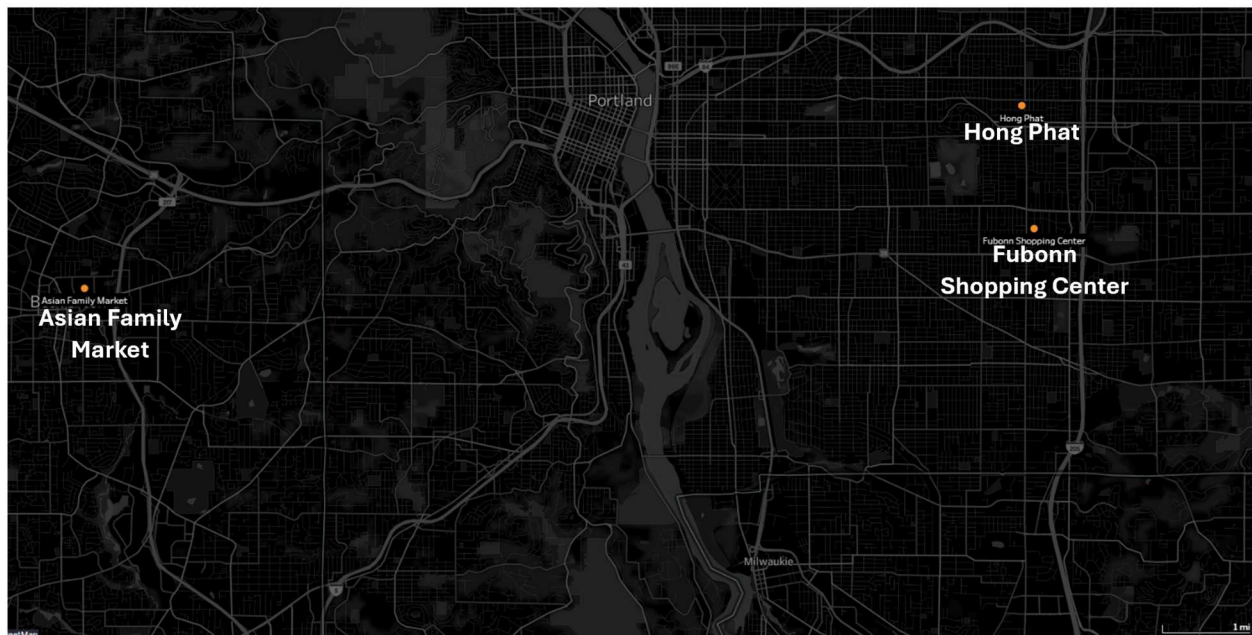


Figure 34. Asian Food Stores in Portland

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Based on my interview with Chef B, who runs an Indonesian restaurant in Downtown Ashland, Oregon, only very few Indonesians live in the city of Ashland. However, because there is a population of Indian immigrants, Chef B informed me that the Shop 'n Kart grocery store typically includes Indian seasonings and spices that are also part of Indonesian cooking (see Figure 35). Thus, Indonesians in Ashland can take advantage of this similarity. For food items that are unique to Indonesia, the Ashland Food Co-op in the downtown area (see Figure 35) has a tempeh brand that Indonesians in Oregon consider most resembling the taste of Javanese tempeh in Indonesia. Tempeh is one of the most affordable sources of protein in Indonesia. Javanese invented this plant-based food by fermenting soybeans. To this day, in Indonesia, tempeh and tofu have been cheaper options for reliable protein sources for all economic classes. Eugene is the location for the tempeh factory. Indonesians in Eugene

prefer this brand because of the taste and because we can buy a larger quantity at a cheaper price directly from the factory. Over time, since Chef B came to Ashland in 1986, the number of Indonesians in Ashland has decreased significantly. With a handful left, they rarely hold an Indonesian gathering/potluck. When my 2022 survey asked about participants' opinions on having a Little Indonesia in Oregon, six out of sixteen expressed uncertainty, and one of the six did not favor the idea because of the unfamiliarity of Americans with the Indonesian community in comparison with other Southeast Asians (such as Thais, Vietnamese, and Filipinos).

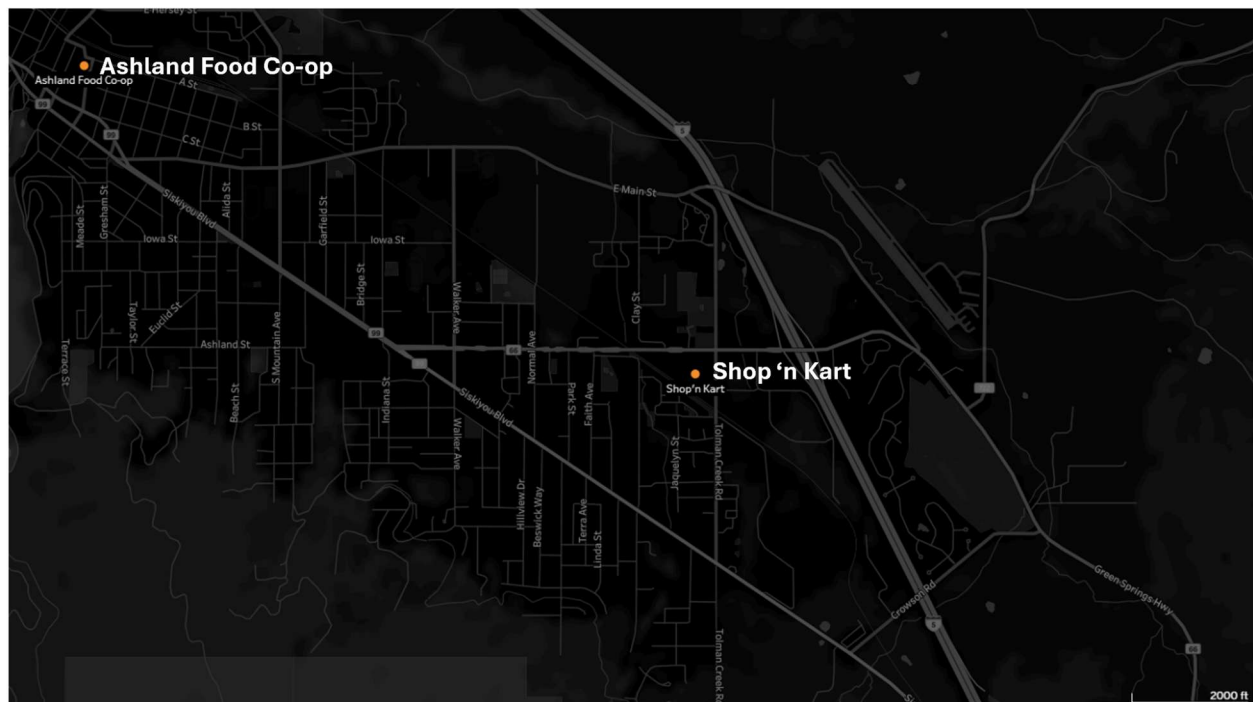


Figure 35. Stores that Sell Indonesian Ingredients in Ashland

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Wijaya (2008) traces the presence of Indonesian immigrants in Southern California and finds that it started in 1949, when the U.S. formally acknowledged Indonesia's status as an independent country by opening the first Indonesian embassy in Washington, D.C. Based on her interview with Consulate General officers, Agusti Anwar and Eddot, Wijaya (2008) reports that the first wave of Indonesians arrival in the U.S. started in 1950s. The primary purpose was to continue higher education at multiple universities in the U.S. Some of these students had a sponsorship from the Indonesian government. After the U.S. government lifted the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in 1968, the number of Indonesian immigrants increased (Brightwell, 2015). During this period, Indonesia transitioned from the Old Order to the New Order Regime, which unfortunately brought chaos and violence. One of the victimized groups

was Chinese Indonesians due to some accusations of their relevance to communism, which the new regime wanted to clear up from the country (Brightwell, 2015).

The consulate officers suggest that in 2006, about 45,000 Indonesians resided in the state of California, and 25,000 of them lived in the southern part (Wijaya, 2008). Most Indonesians prefer to live in the Inland Empire, which includes cities like San Bernardino, Rialto, and Loma Linda. Some other Indonesians choose the eastern side of Los Angeles, like Duarte, Arcadia, and Pasadena. Many others opt for the San Fernando Valley area, such as in the Reseda neighborhood. This location preference has its own history, although it is hard to trace the complete timeline and events because of the lack of a published record and documentation. One story that Wijaya (2008) became aware of is the immigration wave of Indonesians of Batak (from North Sumatra) and Manado (from South Sulawesi) ethnicities that started in 1978. The Adventist Christian group (Seventh-day Adventist Church) sponsored these Indonesian immigrants to stay in the Inland Empire and work as healthcare workers in the Adventist-owned Loma Linda Hospital. This Christian group also established the first Indonesian church in the U.S.

Another significant wave of arrivals followed the May 1998 political and economic turmoil, when the Indonesian government transitioned to the democratic period. Many Chinese Indonesians, who moved to the U.S. because of the persecution during the economic crisis of May 1998, chose to stay in Southern California. Brightwell (2015) suggests that an estimated 60% of Indonesians who live in Southern California are of Chinese descent. There are Indonesian churches whose majority of the congregants are of Chinese ethnicity, such as the First Indonesian Baptist Church of Los Angeles in Monrovia and Maranatha Christian Fellowship in Northridge. In terms of weather, Southern California is very familiar to Indonesians because we have sunny weather throughout the year. A bigger population of the Asian community also affects Indonesians' decision to stay in Southern California, which seems to provide a network of job opportunities. For example, my participant in this dissertation study, Padma (not a real name), got her first job in the U.S. at a Korean-owned grocery store through her church (Maranatha in Northridge) connection.

Wijaya (2008) indicates that the more current reason for Indonesian immigration to the U.S. is no longer for advancing their education; mainly, Indonesians come to get a higher-paid job and climb the ladder of upward mobility in the U.S. Nowadays, many Indonesians start restaurants and food store business in the area of Inland Empire. One of the reasons for the concentration of Indonesians in the area seems to be the more affordable housing prices compared to Los Angeles, and Indonesians who have already settled in the area have assisted the newcomers to find housing, jobs, and other resources. Another one is the proximity of this area to Los Angeles, a city known for its Hollywood culture, where Indonesians build their imagery about American popular culture (Brown, 1994). The Inland Empire has multiple Indonesian churches (such as the Indonesian Seventh-day Adventist Church), as chapters of

different American denominations, that allow Indonesians to rebuild their community and maintain their food culture after weekly service. Although Indonesians in the U.S. maintain their food practice without the presence of an ethnic enclave, Urban (2013) reports the existence of some structured communities in Southern California's churches, markets, and restaurants (see Figure 36). Indonesians engage in social activities in these places and continue to observe their traditional food practices. There are 54 Indonesian places in Southern California, including restaurants, pop-ups, churches, and media offices (Brightwell, 2015).

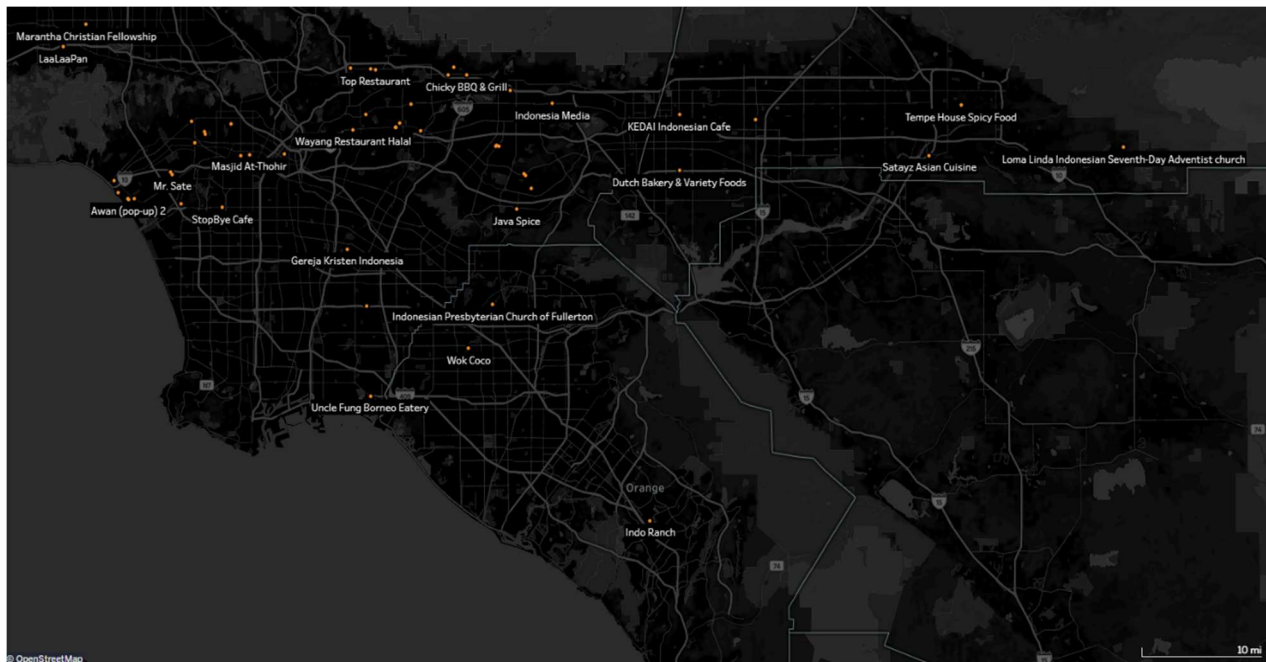


Figure 36. Indonesian Commercial Food Places, Churches, and Media Office in Southern California

(Source: Indrawati-updated from Eric Brightwell's 2015 Map, 2025)

From my conversation with participants of this dissertation study, they witness economic growth in multiple industries, such as logistics (Amazon warehouses), retail, and healthcare in San Bernardino, as part of the Inland Empire. This growth provides more job opportunities for Indonesians in the area. The leading distributor of Indonesian food products across the West Coast, Empire International, also has their office in Ontario, which is part of the Inland Empire. Participants who live in the area can get Indonesian food items from Indonesian-owned stores. Some owners combine an Indonesian food store and an Indonesian restaurant to form an integrated business so that customers can shop for food items and also enjoy freshly-cooked Indonesian dishes.

In the situation where an Indonesian ethnic enclave is available, Indonesian immigrants and migrant workers view the space as their imagined home to find comfort from the Indonesian community and perform their cultural practices, like speaking the Indonesian language and consuming Indonesian regional dishes. An example of the importance of an Indonesian enclave appears in Taipei, Taiwan, in a district called Little Indonesia. It is a modest commercial enclave that provides traditional foods and has become a refuge to ease Indonesian workers' longing for a sense of home and a social-networking space among female workers (Chen, 2013). Regarding the presence of an enclave, Abramson et al. (2006) suggest that ethnic minorities benefit from the concept of an enclave in maintaining identity, accessing information, and attracting socio-cultural services. These authors acknowledge that the use of territorial markings to define the ethnic landscape and create a well-defined neighborhood is dominant among urban design and planning professionals. It is easier to study and administer the enclave with clear boundaries under the understanding of complete neighborhoods. However, Abramson et al. (2006) also witnessed the rise of an alternative spatial operation to the enclave. Instead of showing up in an enclosed area of shared identity, it works as an ethnic network or "space of flows" that is compatible with the spatially dispersed population of similar ethnicity, just like in the spatiality of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S.

Indonesians in Southern California in the 1990s tried to assert their national identity through the making of an Indonesian Town. According to an article by Scott Shibuya Brown (1994) in the Los Angeles Times, Indonesians were aware that their identity in Southern California was not clearly visible to the public. At the time of the article, a couple of wealthy Indonesian siblings have become the new owners of the Metropolitan Hotel and the nearby plaza on Sunset Boulevard, Hollywood, for the past 1.5 years. Some Indonesians proposed to the new owners that they bring Indonesian-related businesses to the plaza on the boulevard, and since then, Indonesians have been 80% of the tenants. The location had a fine dining Indonesian restaurant that also became a casual gathering spot for Indonesians. Indonesians transformed the plaza into a performance arena for Indonesian cultural events like fundraising, bazaars, and folk dancing.

Brown (1994) found that Indonesian immigrants in Southern California still cooked Indonesian food, spoke Bahasa (Indonesian national language), and celebrated Independence Day in August of every year. An ethnic enclave typically becomes a representation of a country or nation in an overseas location. I suggest this is why some of the ethnic enclaves use the term "little," like in Little Saigon. However, this is not the story of Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. Unlike Indonesia, where more than 90% of the population is Muslim, Brown's report shows that about 90% of the Indonesian immigrants in 1994 Southern California are Christian and of Chinese ethnicity. Traveling forward to 2025, it seems like the

owner of the Metropolitan Hotel is no longer the Indonesian siblings, and the Indonesian Town initiative has been discontinued.



Figure 37. The Indonesian Food Court in Hong Kong Plaza

(Source: yelp.com – photos by Leasing T., 2017; Maggie C., 2010; Phillip Z., 2019)

Today, Indonesians maintain their connection through a “network society” and “satellite-like” spatiality, with some particular places playing the role of a “core” or “spine.” Before the COVID-19 pandemic, Indonesians had an informal gathering spot in the Hong Kong Plaza Food Court, West Covina. There were multiple Indonesian food stalls, such as Borneo Kitchen, Bethania Depot, Janty Noodle, and Bakmi Parahyangan, which were opened alongside Filipino and Malaysian food stalls (see Figure 37). They also had Indonesian groceries available. Gordon (2014) describes the environment as mimicking the street food in Indonesian cities, with the smoke, steam, and smell emanating from the cooking process. This place seems to no longer bring the Indonesians together post-COVID-19 due to the closure or the moving of the food business. In their study, Lie et al. (2018) also find that the second generation of Indonesian immigrants in California do not necessarily speak the Indonesian language anymore at home. However, they still maintain a strong affinity toward Indonesian foods that the first generation introduced to them in the kitchen and dining room of their American West Coast homes. Second-generation Indonesian immigrants even consider Indonesian food an important element in forming their Indonesian identity and community in the U.S.

Turning to the Socio-cultural Findings of the Indonesians' Food Axes on the West Coast

This elaboration comes from a thematic analysis of the transcription of my interview with six participants in Oregon and California. I used pseudonyms for each participant. Participants mainly spoke in Bahasa, so I translated their responses during transcription. All transcriptions are available in the Appendix. As I explained in the Methodology chapter, I used Maestra AI in combination with manual transcription due to Maestra's limitations in producing an intelligible translation from Bahasa to English. I read the transcription up to five times during the analysis procedure in order to develop themes. To highlight the themes, I write them in a bold style. All themes I describe in this section will be relevant to socio-cultural aspects of the food practices and food axes of Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast.

Two of my participants live in the same metro area as I. Piper lives in Eugene, and Edelweiss lives in Springfield. Both Piper and Edelweiss are married to Americans. Data from Piper and Edelweiss represent findings in the Eugene-Springfield metro area. Julie resides in the Portland metro area with her Indonesian husband and two American-born children. Chef B and her American wife live in Ashland, which is part of the Medford metro area. These four participants represent Indonesian immigrants in Oregon. My other two participants, Rosie and Padma, come from Southern California's San Bernardino metro area. Rosie lives with her Indonesian husband, who is a naturalized American. She also lives with her three children, two Indonesian-born and an American-born. Padma lives with her family, who are all Indonesians. I conducted an interview and observation in Julie's home from September 26-27, 2024, in Piper's home from October 9-14, 2024, in Edelweiss' home from October 29-30, 2024, in B's restaurant kitchen from December 3-8, 2024, in Rosie's home from January 13-27, 2025, and in Padma's home from January 21-23, 2025.

Immigrant Identification and Regional Origins in Indonesia

Piper, Edelweiss, Julie, Chef B, and Padma identify as first-generation Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. Some family members, such as a few aunts, uncles, and her own mother, had already stayed in Southern California before Rosie's arrival. However, Rosie gained her permanent residence status through her marriage to an American, thus making her a first-generation Indonesian immigrant as well. Chef B, Padma, and Piper have stayed in the U.S. for more than 15 years, while Julie, Rosie, and Edelweiss have stayed less than that. Participants shared with me a variety of background stories that led them to immigrate. Chef B came as an individual initially for educational purposes, but later decided to stay longer and became an American because he wanted to travel the world and found himself in the process. Piper and Edelweiss came as individuals to build a family. Half of the participants immigrated collectively with their Indonesian family members. Julie and her husband got married in Indonesia and moved to the

U.S. as an employee and a Ph.D student. They wanted to build their family in the U.S. and take advantage of the early childhood education in the U.S. for their children while looking for work experience. Rosie more or less had the same idea when she decided to move to the U.S. She wanted to build a family, have some working experience, and put her older two children in the American school system. Padma was a successful career woman who owned a company in Indonesia before she decided to restart her life in the U.S. because she wanted her three children to experience a better education than hers.

Participants come from multiple regions in Indonesia, across the western and eastern sides of the country. The cities they came from are all urbanized. Half of the total participants came from bigger and more populated cities: B and Padma were from Jakarta, and Rosie was from Surabaya. Julie was from the city of Kupang, which is on the eastern side of Indonesia. Piper was from the city of Surakarta in Central Java, and Edelweiss was from the city of Malang in East Java. Regarding food culture, some participants, like Julie, Padma, Rosie, and Edelweiss, show their preference for mainly Indonesian food. However, they also consume food from other food cultures, as they told me,

“We are still very attached to Indonesian food... I still love Indonesian food the most because it is a part of me, and I am familiar with it.” (Rosie)

“For me, Indonesian food is my comfort food and my main diet... However, if I do not eat Indonesian food every day here in the U.S., I am not suffering; it is okay.” (Julie)

“I feel even more proud of my Indonesian identity and our food culture. Our food, other than the fried one, is actually healthy. We use lots of herbs like ginger and turmeric in our seasoning. Due to our regional differences, we have so many varieties of Indonesian food. Compared to other food cultures, I think Indonesian taste is no.1 for me.” (Padma)

“My favorite food is still Indonesian because the spices are strong and the seasonings are aromatic, such as lemongrass, lime leaves, and basil leaves...I am exposed to multiple cultures through food consumption here, but I am still very proud of Indonesian food culture.” (Edelweiss)

Initial Challenges from Cultural Differences in the U.S.

Some participants express that they experience difficulties due to different ways of life in the U.S., especially during the initial years of their stay. The challenges occurred in multiple aspects of life. Padma told me how she felt exhausted when working at the Asian store because she was on her feet for long hours. Julie got sick the first time she came because she was not used to drinking tap water. Piper

deeply missed her community and felt isolated. Edelweiss was struggling with the extreme differences in weather because she arrived during the cold months. Chef B was excited to experience the world, and Rosie was at ease because her mother, aunt, and uncle had already lived in the U.S. However, only Rosie did not experience a severe longing for Indonesian food. Other participants spent significant time sharing the daunting experience of missing food from home. Some emotional keywords that can describe their feelings at the moment are upset, anger, strange, tears, and problematic.

Indonesian Food as a Source of Comfort

The culture shock that participants experienced in multiple aspects of their lives was remedied when they were able to consume Indonesian food again. Participants acknowledged that Indonesian food was very important in easing their hardship during their initial years in the U.S. It is their eating habit, palate, familiar taste of home, and everyday diet. Julie and Piper view Indonesian food as satisfying their soul and physical needs. Rosie claims it is part of her. Julie felt better after eating Indonesian food her Indonesian friend cooked for her when she got sick. Julie and Piper also emphasize that Indonesian food is a medium to recreate an Indonesian community from which they are separated, as Piper told me,

“... when I gave birth, I felt much better after eating an Indonesian dish made of chicken feet that I had cooked and already stored in the refrigerator. However, it is not only about the food, but also the interaction with other Indonesians. I enjoy meeting Indonesians, cooking with them, and eating with them because I can share stories with them.” (Piper)

Emotional Value of Practicing Indonesian Food Culture

Participants' responses about how they feel when they cook and consume Indonesian food in the U.S. show two kinds of sentiments. All participants mentioned that they always feel excited to eat Indonesian dishes when they have the time to cook them at home. However, at the same time, some also express exhaustion, shadowing their intention to cook because of the multiple layers of the procedure for cooking Indonesian dishes. Statements from Padma and Rosie below precisely describe the emotions.

“I feel excited and burdened at the same time because the cooking process is typically complicated and requires a lot of work.” (Rosie)

“I think Indonesian food is very complicated; it is not simple. The preparation is long and tedious... I want Indonesian food so much, but they are expensive, and the cooking process is exhausting.” (Padma)

Participants also shared with me that the particular tastes and looks of Indonesian ingredients, seasonings, spices, and dishes bring back memories of loved ones, events, and places in Indonesia. Chef B remembers his late mother every time he eats beef rendang, a special dish his mother cooked to celebrate Christmas. Padma thinks of her late brother every time she smells the aroma of Medan-style stir-fried rice noodles. She said that the dish was her brother's specialty. Julie recalls her memories of the family party in her hometown when she ate grilled fish and explained a corn dish called *jagung bose* to me. Rosie remembers celebrating Christmas with her kids in Indonesia every time she eats pineapple cookies (*nastar*). She used to make it for her kids. Edelweiss fondly talked about her late father when she told me that she found a satay dish in a Korean restaurant in Eugene that was identical to what her father used to buy her. She also had a good time eating fried chicken on her birthday when she was little.

"When I was little, my dad would slaughter our own chicken, and my mom would make it into fried chicken for my birthday." (Edelweiss)

"But in my family culture, in Kupang, we have many extended family members from both sides, my mom and dad. So, there were lots of parties, like an engagement and a birthday. Those were big parties, dozens to a thousand people. The food was all local dishes, like jagung bose, salad rumpurampe. In each party, the kitchen was led by what we called "the mama of the kitchen." This person is a member of the community whose cooking is excellent, and she is appointed to lead the cooking team. So, every time I eat Kupang food, I remember the party, my family, my community, and my hometown." (Julie)

"I feel nostalgic about Christmas time and the end of the year. My mother used to bake cookies and cook beef rendang. That was our favorite. Beef rendang is not from my hometown in North Sumatra but from West Sumatra Province. But, when I was little, I remember we passed a restaurant that sold West Sumatran/Padang food every time we went back to my hometown. My favorite dishes from that restaurant were rendang and Padang fried chicken." (Chef B)

"I have some cookies that I made only for Christmas, like nastar and kastengel." (Rosie)

"I remember my late brother every time I eat Medan-style stir-fried rice noodles. My brother cooked it the best, so I remember him." (Padma)

Rediscovering Indonesian Food Culture

Piper regularly cooked before moving to the U.S., but none of the other participants did. It is common for Indonesians, especially those who work all day and reside in a more urbanized context, not to cook their food, as discussed in the earlier part of this chapter about food practice in the urban context. People can choose from a wide range of food prices. Many food vendors sell their food at an affordable price and still deliver a delicious dish. However, in the U.S., participants do not have other ways to maintain their food culture if they do not cook. Buying Indonesian food is expensive, if not rare. Participants delved into their food culture in their American kitchen and started learning about Indonesian ingredients, spices, seasonings, and cooking methods while experiencing a moment of aesthetic distance. They increase their cooking skill and become more knowledgeable about Indonesian dishes. In the U.S., Julie and Rosie come to realize that the taste of Indonesian food is very special, and when they were still in Indonesia, it was very easy to take it for granted. When Padma, Piper, and Edelweiss talked about their favorite Indonesian dishes, they told me the rising feeling of joy. All participants agree that particular dishes function as a signifier of time, thus corroborating Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (2004) notion of edible chronotope.

"When you cannot have access to it anymore, then that's when you realize, oh, this is actually something special." (Julie)

"I took Indonesian dishes for granted in Indonesia... Now, I cook Indonesian food instead of other cultural foods." (Rosie)

Strategies to Maintain Indonesian Food Culture

Since they first came, participants have explored multiple ways to maintain Indonesian food culture. Cooking at home is still the primary strategy, but luckily, they have alternatives when their physical and mental capacity do not allow that. One of the reliable lifesavers is the Indonesian community gatherings or parties. Typically, these events incorporate Indonesian dishes. Although in the potluck system, each gathering participant should bring food or drink items, there is no requirement to cook Indonesian dishes. Some female Indonesians, including the host, will cook large quantities of multiple dishes for the event so everyone can eat Indonesian food. If they have extra money, they will go to an Asian store, an Indonesian store, or an Indonesian restaurant to get cooked dishes or a pre-prepared one. Edelweiss and Julie tried to buy from an informal business that operates from home.

"I have ordered a few times from other Indonesians who sell food in an Indonesian WhatsApp group chat. I also go to the community events of Indonesian immigrants. There,

I can find Indonesian food at the potluck. If my Indonesian best friends come, they will also bring some ingredients for me to cook. I also like to share the harvest from my garden with them.” (Edelweiss)

“For now, mainly I have to cook to eat Indonesian food. But when I was in Wisconsin, I would go to an Indonesian community gathering. We usually had gatherings frequently there. So, the aunties cooked, and I just enjoyed the food. When I was in Eugene, I also bought from Indonesian friends who sell Indonesian food via a WhatsApp group. They are typically Indonesian wives who open an informal food catering business from home.” (Julie)

Participants who are the congregants of an Indonesian Christian church, like Padma and Rosie, also have an opportunity to enjoy Indonesian food at the luncheon after the weekly service. Just like in the Indonesian community gathering event, consuming Indonesian food is not the primary purpose of the service. However, it has crucially helped Indonesian immigrants to reconnect with their familiar food and the sense of being at home. This sense of belonging is necessary to expel the feeling of alienation in the U.S., thus improving immigrants’ well-being physically and mentally. When relatives or friends visit Indonesia or come to the U.S. to visit them, participants also request that they bring some food items. In Rosie’s case, sometimes her family members in the area share their cooking with her. Piper and Julie had experience managing a collective Indonesian food-sharing with a few Indonesians who live nearby.

“I also cooked a lot in Wisconsin because I had an Indonesian roommate and another Indonesian student who lived in the same apartment complex, just in a different unit. So, it was the three of us, and we would go grocery shopping together and go to an Asian store together. We made a schedule for when each of us would cook, and we took turns. Each of us has a specialty menu because we also came from different regions in Indonesia. We cooked a simple dish, basically the menu had rice and vegetables. So, when I was still in Wisconsin, I mainly ate Indonesian food. First, because of efficiency, we can collectively arrange to cook Indonesian food among the three of us. Second, it was also cheaper because we would bring the food for lunch to the campus. That is for weekdays.” (Julie)

“In the past, I had a few Indonesian wives in Eugene who agreed to take turns cooking, and we would share the food among us, but now they are all working and busy with their own things.” (Piper)

Encounter with International Food Culture

Oftentimes, participants find it easier and more affordable to buy non-Indonesian food when they do not feel like cooking. Half of the participants indicated a negative sentiment towards non-Indonesian food cultures, especially during the initial years of arrival. They considered the new flavors hard to accept, and they needed to give these flavors multiple chances before finally normalizing them. Two participants show neutral sentiment because they like to explore new flavors but are still attached to the Indonesian palate. Chef B is the only one who expressed a significantly positive sentiment. He said that he likes eating, and the main reason he wants to travel the world is to try the local food of different countries.

Participants told me that the availability of non-Indonesian restaurants or food trucks around them has piqued their curiosity to try these non-Indonesian foods. In other words, they show openness to get involved in a novel cultural experience. Some food cultures that the participants have tried come from South Korea, China, Brazil, Japan, Mexico, Vietnam, the U.S., Dominican Republic, Italy, the Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia, India, Afghanistan, Nepal, Laos, Myanmar, Ethiopia, and other Mediterranean countries. Intriguingly, participants' motivation to try these new cuisines is not only to experience novelty, but to find a mutual taste that resembles Indonesian food. Padma, Edelweiss, and Rosie have found that some food items in Chinese, Thai, Korean, and Mongolian restaurants that they visited had a very close flavor to some Indonesian dishes.

"I would go to a Chinese restaurant if I wanted to take out food. I tried Hawaiian food, but I didn't like it either. I like the Mongolian buffet better... One time, I tried Korean food in Eugene, a beef satay, and the taste was exactly like Indonesian goat satay. I was amazed and plan to return to get the same food." (Edelweiss)

"I just found a Thai restaurant with very similar fried rice to Indonesia." (Rosie)

"When my kids were younger, we used to get burgers. They liked them, but my husband and I didn't want them as much as Indonesian food. In our early years, it was hard to find rice like what we had in Indonesia. Only Thai rice, not jasmine, was available, which is not as good as it is nowadays. In the restaurant, usually, they didn't have rice; Only Chinese restaurants had rice." (Padma)

Turning to the Spatial Findings of the Indonesians' Food Axes on the West Coast

In this section, I present detailed findings relevant to the spatial aspect of Indonesian immigrants' food practices and food axes. The central theme of this section is participants' efforts to preserve Indonesian food culture through adaptive practices that include substitution, acceptance, and modification. It will explore how the adaptive practice manifests spatially throughout Indonesian food axes in participants' American homes. Unlike the socio-cultural findings section, this section contextualizes the spatial findings within the framework of the cooking process. Because cooking and eating Indonesian food have served as a commemorative and transformative practice for the participants, two subthemes focus on each type of practice as each participant engages in both practices.

Commemorative Practice Along Indonesians' Food Axes in and Around West Coast Homes

Participants demonstrated intentions and attempts to keep the elements of Indonesian food culture as much as possible in their American kitchens. For example, Julie and Piper still use an Indonesian mortar and pestle (see Figure 37) that they brought from Indonesia to make basic seasonings or Indonesian sambals. Because we use a gas stove in Indonesia, participants in Southern California have an easier time adapting to the range in their American kitchen. On the other hand, participants in Oregon mostly use electric stoves and ovens. Chef B gets an opportunity to cook Indonesian food with a gas stove because he uses a commercial kitchen. When Julie moved from Eugene and looked for a rental house in Portland, the availability of a gas stove in her current home became a primary consideration for her decision. Padma likes to make Indonesian snacks and cookies. She says she only wants to use high-quality brands for the ingredients, which means brands that people in Indonesia typically use to make snacks and cookies. Sometimes, she takes orders from her friends, and she does not want to negotiate the quality of the taste. So, Padma asks her sister to bring all the tools she needs when she visits Padma in the U.S. Julie does the same thing each time her mother visits. No stores in the U.S. sell these particular tools (see Figure 41, right image).



Figure 38. Julie's & Piper's Mortar & Pestle

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

Chef B wants the taste of his food to represent the “authentic” Indonesian dishes with the least modification in cooking technique. He suggests that his Indonesian dish is authentic because he uses ingredients that we use in Indonesia, even if he has to import them. Chef B found distributors through the grapevine, and now those distributors regularly send him dried Indonesian spices and seasonings (see Figure 39). Edelweiss told me that the tastes of spices and some ingredients in the Asian store have mostly transformed due to the packaging process. Moving on from her disappointment, she decided to grow some Indonesian spices, vegetables, and seasonings in her backyard. She grows tomatoes, cauliflowers, garlic, green onions, bokchoi, green beans, carrots, spinach, basil, eggplant, lemongrass, lime, and kefir lime. The plants are spread throughout the garden as well as inside a greenhouse (see Figure 40). She also raises chickens in the backyard to get eggs. This has helped Edelweiss to have more access to fresh ingredients, spices, and seasonings.

Julie and Piper said that sometimes the process of cooking Indonesian food can take a while, mainly because they need to collect the ingredients that are not always available. Sometimes, Julie and Piper plan to go grocery shopping to start gathering ingredients if they already have an Indonesian dish in mind (see Figure 41, left image). Chef B said that he needs extra burners to make Indonesian dishes for many customers in the busy season; however, currently he is surviving by practicing good work management in the kitchen, such as being flexible to cook which dish while considering what kind of cookingware to use and the preparation area to occupy.

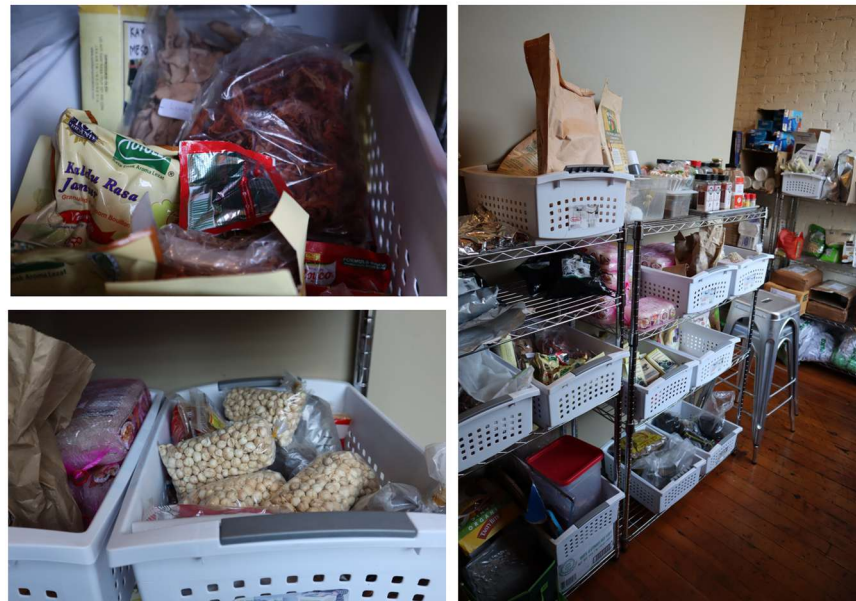


Figure 39. Chef B's Collection of Dried Indonesian Spices at the Food Pantry of His Kitchen

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 40. Edelweiss' Food Garden in Her Backyard: Garden Beds, Greenhouse, and Chicken Coop

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

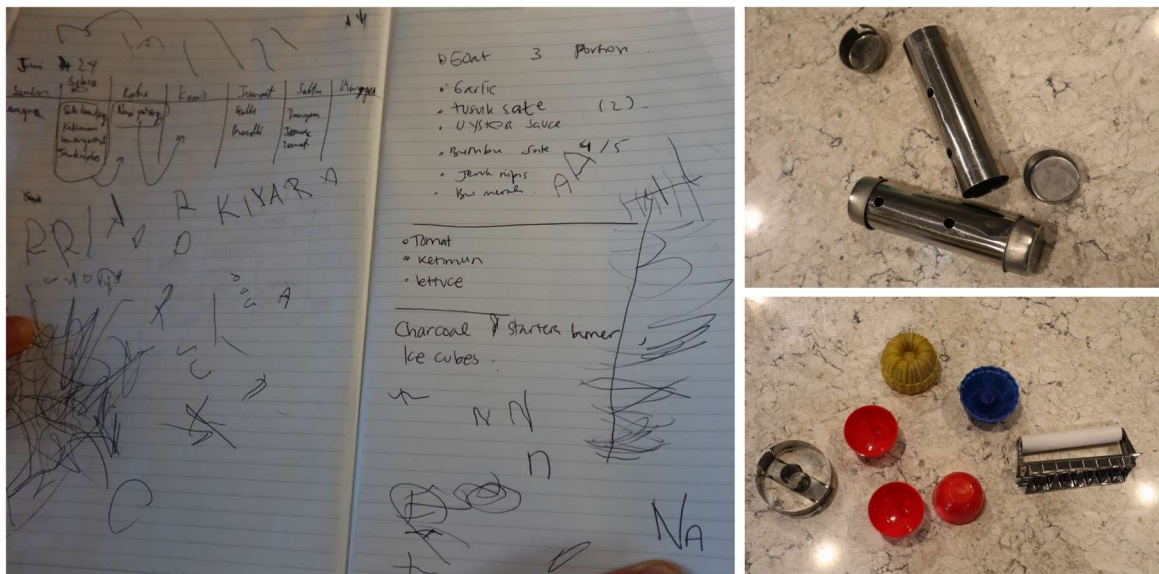


Figure 41. Julie's Meal Plan Book and Tools to Make Indonesian Snacks

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

Material Artifacts of Participants' Kitchens in Indonesia

When I asked participants to describe what their kitchens look like in Indonesia, they mentioned multiple material artifacts and keywords. Participants have a portable gas stove with two burners connected to a gas tank. This stove usually sits on a lower-level countertop (see Figure 42). Some kitchens have a connection to the outdoor space or feature windows, but lack a fan. They have a dining room with a dining table and chairs, where some participants also place a television to watch while eating. They rarely have an oven. Their kitchens have a sink and a countertop. Few kitchens have shelves and upper cabinets. Participants also mentioned that they have a smaller refrigerator than in their American kitchens. Typically, they have a rice cooker and a drying rack on the countertop because most people do not have a dishwasher. Most participants' kitchens are at the back of the house. They use a mortar and pestle to make sambal and basic seasonings. They also remember that their mother used a portable kerosene stove when they were little. Figure 43 shows a house of a wealthier family. The design of this house is not standard due to its upscale features, including a lift and a swimming pool. However, the open layout of the kitchen, dining room, and living room on the second floor is very typical in Indonesian homes. These three food axis elements often appear as a collection of places without any wall separations.



Figure 42. A typical Kitchen of a Working-Class Family in Indonesia

(Source: BBC News Indonesia, 2025)

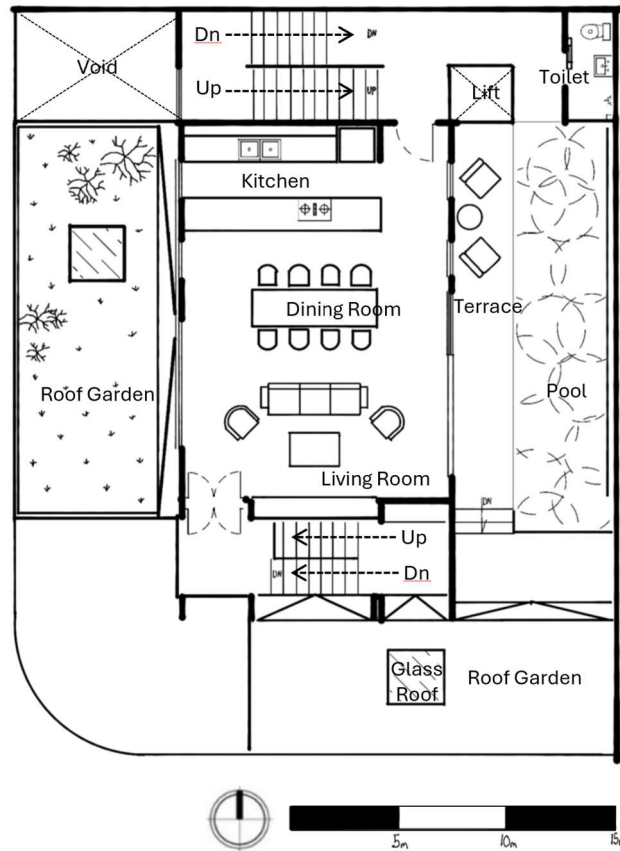


Figure 43. The Second Floor of an Indonesian House Owned by a Wealthier Family

(Source: Suwardana Winata/DSP Architect, 2022)

Transformative Practice Along Indonesians' Food Axes in and Around West Coast Homes

Due to differences in ingredient availability, kitchen appliances, and cooking tools, participants have initiated multiple transformations, adapting their cooking processes to what is available. First, they partially let go of the need always to use fresh ingredients, especially spices and seasonings. They opt to use dried, powdered, or frozen versions. They are also open to substituting the ingredients, such as vegetables, with what is cheaper and common in regular grocery stores. Sometimes they eliminate some ingredients from the recipe. Sometimes they prefer to go to the non-Indonesian store to get some food items, for example, Padma will go to a Vietnamese store in Little Saigon, Garden Grove, to get Indonesian sweet soy sauce, instant ramen, or margarine because the price is cheaper than in the Indonesian store.

Participants told me that they needed to accept a different standard for judging whether an Indonesian dish was authentic or delicious. They lowered the standard or even stopped eating certain dishes. They already feel appreciative that they can still enjoy Indonesian dishes. This expression is once again relevant to an experience of aesthetic distance. Because what was familiar now becomes

inaccessible, representing that familiarity becomes satisfying for participants. Participants like Chef B and Piper modified their cooking steps to make them more straightforward and less time-consuming; for example, they lightly cooked the ingredients and stored them until the final cooking process came. Piper also uses a few cooking gadgets in her American kitchen and smaller-sized pots and pans. This way, her storage space becomes more manageable.

Participants learned to use kitchen appliances and cooking tools to make Indonesian dishes. They invented a new way of cooking Indonesian dishes. Piper uses an oven to make fried chicken, Julie bakes vegetables instead of stir-frying, and Edelweiss minimizes fried food by cooking Indonesian dishes in her oven. To make the preparation process easier, most participants employ a blender or a food processor to make the basic seasoning. The traditional way is to use a mortar and pestle. Participants have shown their effort to familiarize themselves with electric appliances and flat-bottom pans due to the different shapes of stove burners in the U.S. The trials and errors have grown into positive sentiments regarding American kitchen appliances. Piper shared with me that she was scared the first time using an electric stove because in Indonesia, she had found many incidents due to the short-circuiting of the electrical installation, and it is also common to have power outages. However, after learning that the electrical system in the U.S. is much advanced and safer, she has been more confident to use her electric kitchen appliances. Participants also acknowledge that the kitchen appliances in the American kitchen are easier to clean, have better quality, and offer advanced technology like a timer and automated turn-off. Most participants use the dishwasher in their kitchen and told me it has lifted the burden of hand-washing and reduced storage space on the countertop because they do not use a large drying rack.

The bigger refrigerator and freezer, as well as the availability of a food pantry (see Figures 44-49), have become essential kitchen features that support Indonesian food culture. For example, participants will buy a larger quantity of fresh products, especially the ingredients to make basic seasonings. They will clean, chop, or even make them into paste with a blender or food processor to keep them in the freezer or refrigerator. Chef B will blend the dried spices and seasonings into multiple powdered mixed spices that are ready to use for different kinds of dishes. So, next time they want to cook, they only need to thaw the spices/the basic seasoning or grab them from the food shelves/food pantry. This strategy helps participants save many shopping trips and ensures a more stable stock of Indonesian ingredients and food items at home. The availability of food items in the Asian or Indonesian store is not guaranteed. One day they are on the shelves, and the next day they can be gone for months. Participants also typically cook in a larger quantity so that they can have leftovers for the following days. This is why a bigger refrigerator and freezer are very central to maintaining Indonesian food culture in the U.S.



Figure 44. Piper's Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 45. Padma's Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 46. Chef B's Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 47. Rosie's Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Padma's and Edelweiss' kitchens do not have a dedicated food pantry, so they creatively made their own (see Figures 45 and 48). Padma transformed part of her large indoor garage by using shelves, drawers, racks, and large plastic boxes to store cooking appliances, Indonesian ingredients, snacks, and food items. Padma wishes to have an integrated food pantry in her kitchen that will enhance her mobility and efficiency in the kitchen. Edelweiss places a food shelf in her laundry room and also wishes for an integrated food pantry. They both need to move to another room that is separated by doors to get ingredients each time they cook. Edelweiss also uses this laundry room as an extension of her preparation area, especially when she needs to use a blender or food processor, which produces loud sounds. Therefore, this additional use of space is not due to space limitations, but rather to isolate disturbing sounds that might travel to the bedroom, where family members might be having some restful time. In cases where the countertop is no longer sufficient to contain preparation activities, the dining table in the dining room becomes very useful for participants. Piper has a flat burner stove, so after making sure it is off, she sometimes uses the surface as an extended workspace for preparation. She also modified her cabinet by installing a rolling rack, allowing her to maximize the storage space at the back of the cabinet.



Figure 48. Edelweiss' Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 49. Julie's Food Pantry

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

Even further questioning the extent of the kitchen appliances' functions in her American kitchen, Rosie extends the use of her kitchen window and appliances (see Figure 49). She uses her windowsill as

a space to dry wet dishes. She has an overhanging kitchen window with a larger windowsill where she places multiple drying racks. She keeps pots and pans in the oven. She uses one compartment of the two-compartment sink to wash the dishes and another one to dry them. During my observation, I noticed that her son, whose regular chore is washing dishes, often prefers to hand-wash the dirty dishes and then place them in the inactive dishwasher to dry them passively. I observe that Chef B and Rosie demonstrated a similar gesture when they pulled out the pans to cook. Chef B has an open storage under the stove and grill to keep pots and pans. In a very convenient and smooth way, he grabbed the pot and placed it on the burner. It seems clear that a space under the stove is the most helpful one to keep pans and pots; however, in the home kitchen, an oven typically occupies the space. In this restricted condition, I learned from Rosie that the space inside the oven was free for use, and thus pots and pans can occupy the space. Regarding the same issue, Edelweiss performed a different problem-solving method. She puts some hooks on the kitchen wall to hang big pans and pots within her comfortable arm's reach (see Figure 51).



Figure 50. Rosie's Adaptive Modification in Using Kitchen Window and Appliances

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

One of the most prominent conflicts participants have shared is that the American kitchen is not open, unlike the tropical kitchen in some houses in Indonesia, which connects to the outdoor space. In my own experience, Indonesian tropical kitchens are typically open to the outdoors, featuring half walls, open walls, and other techniques, unlike the American fitted kitchens in participants' homes, which had

very few openings to the exterior. Indonesian cooking incorporates the direct-fire grilling technique and intense frying. Additionally, many Indonesian dishes have a strong aroma due to the generous use of spices and seasonings in our cuisine. Participants mentioned that they liked shrimp paste but were very reluctant to use it in an American kitchen because the smell stayed throughout the house for a long time. Julie will close the bedroom doors in her house while she cooks. All participants practice turning on the kitchen hood each time they cook. Sometimes they will open their kitchen windows when necessary. Some add outdoor appliances, such as an outdoor grill or smoker, so that the smoke detector will not activate.



Figure 51. Edelweiss' Hanging Wok

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



Figure 52. Julie's Experimentation with Wok

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

Modifications in the participants' kitchens have never reached a renovation level. I assume it is because of the high cost. Participants experimented with making Indonesian dishes that require special

cooking ware or appliances by adding new appliances to their food axis, although they only showed up occasionally. For example, Julie successfully made sweet Indonesian pancakes using a portable gas stove, and she is currently experimenting with a big wok to cook smoky Indonesian fried rice. She said she will install a burner extension on her stove to enable her to use the wok (see Figure 52). The range of heights among my participants is from 4 feet 11 inches to 5 feet 5 inches. Except for Chef B, all the others use a stepping stool to reach the top cabinet or food shelves (see Figure 53).

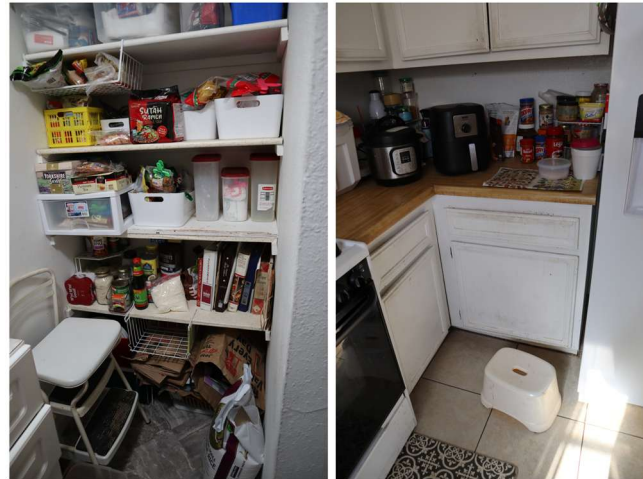


Figure 53. Piper's and Rosie's Stepping Stools

(Source: Indrawati, 2024; Indrawati, 2025)

Material Artifacts of Participants' Food Axes in their West Coast Homes

Figures 54 to 59 illustrate the kitchen of each participant in their West Coast Homes. The smaller images under the kitchen image show the material artifacts that they claimed remind them of Indonesia. On the right side, I include a table that lists material artifacts from participants' American kitchens that make up their Indonesian food axes. Julie feels that she has a piece of Indonesia when she looks at Indonesian products in the food pantry and powder spices/seasonings in the drawer. Piper loves Indonesian snacks that bring back memories of Indonesia. I can see a gamelan set from her dining room that makes her home feel like Indonesia. However, Piper clarified that that effect is not intentional. The placement of the gamelan is functional because his husband and son are members of a gamelan group, and they have regular practice in Piper's home. Edelweiss enjoys her garden so much because, in her opinion, Indonesia means the freshness and the green natural environment. I felt like visiting an Indonesian museum when I walked into Chef B's restaurant. Many Indonesian cultural artifacts, such as traditional fabrics, wooden sculptures, and carvings, populate the dining room and the back room, where

he keeps stockpiles of Indonesian spices and seasonings. Rosie feels at home when she is around her Indonesian family, so she puts family photos on the refrigerator door. Similarly, Padma, a familiar brand of Indonesian food items, sends her back to Indonesia for a moment.

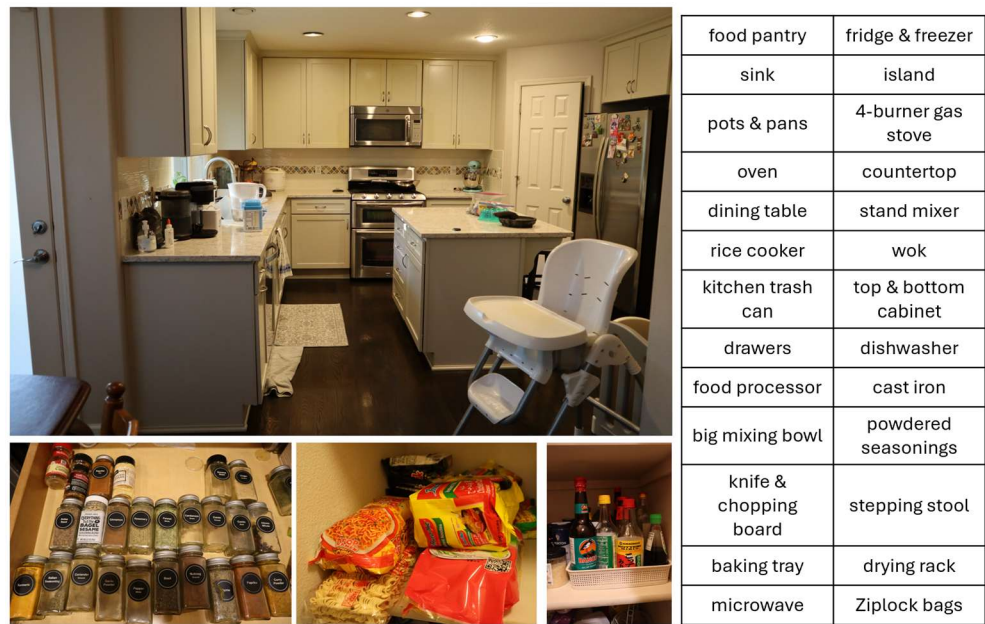


Figure 54. Julie's Material Artifacts along Her Food Axis

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

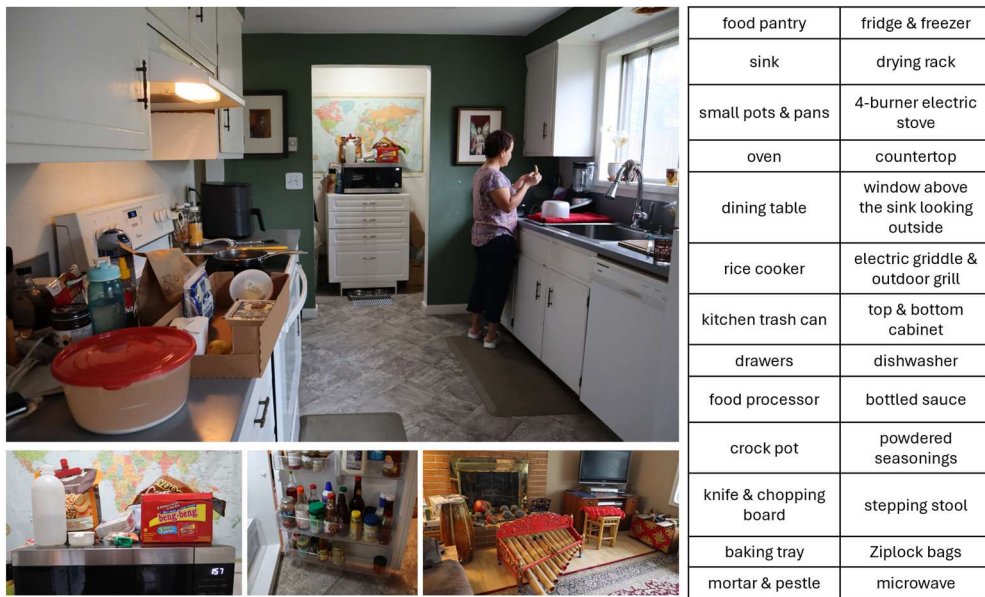


Figure 55. Piper's Material Artifacts along Her Food Axis

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

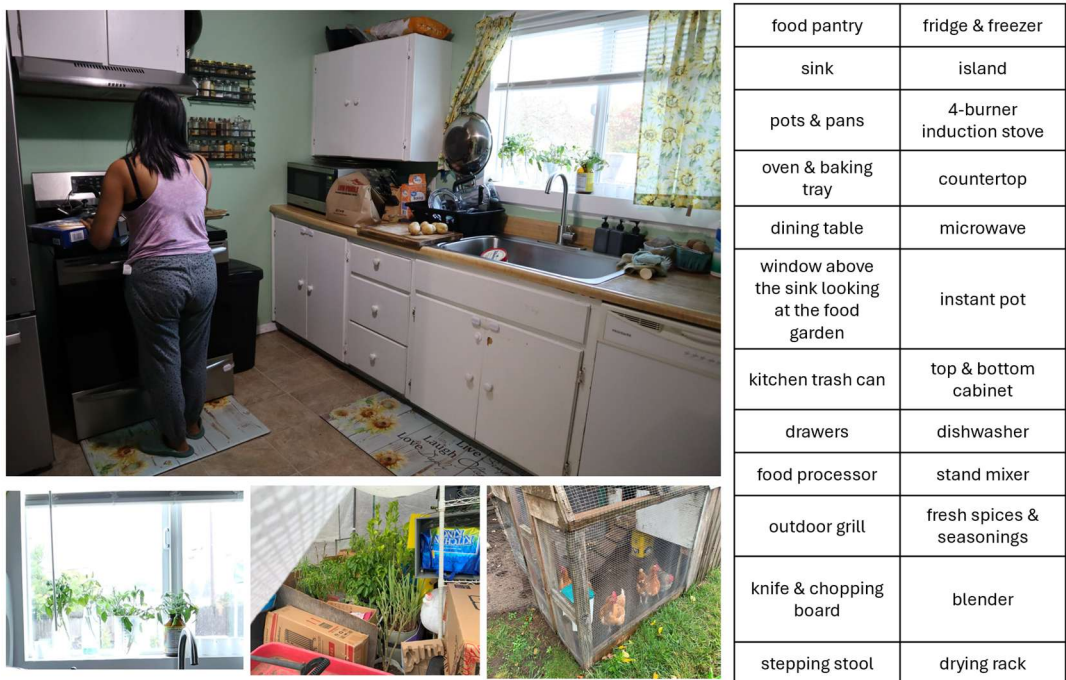


Figure 56. Edelweiss' Material Artifacts along Her Food Axis

(Source: Indrawati, 2024)

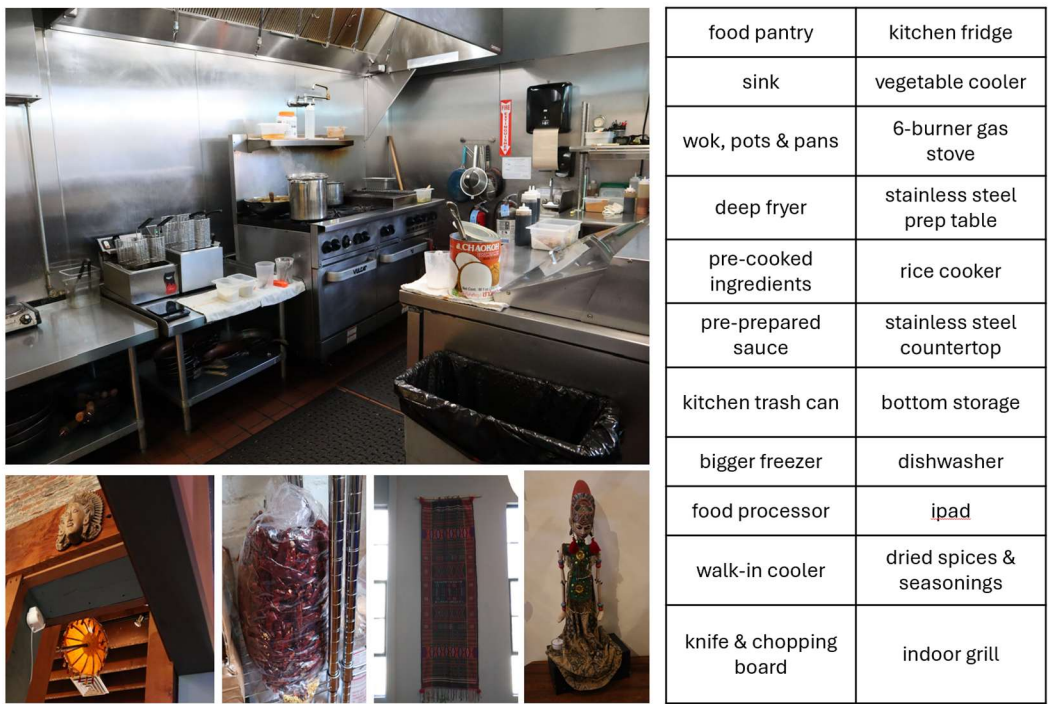
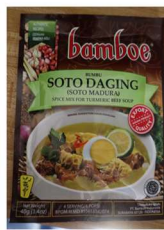


Figure 57. Chef B's Material Artifacts along His Food Axis

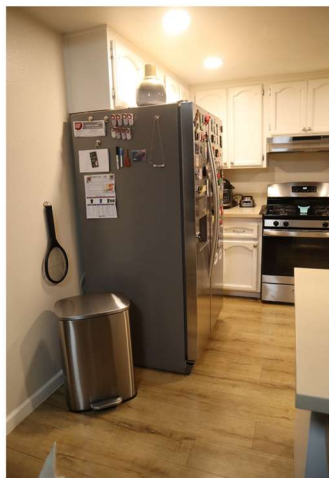
(Source: Indrawati, 2024)



food pantry	fridge & freezer
sink	deep fryer
pots & pans	4-burner gas stove
oven	countertop
dining table	microwave
hanging windowsill	instant pot
kitchen trash can	top & bottom cabinet
drawers	dishwasher
food processor	air fryer
outdoor grill	pre-packaged seasonings & bottled sauce
knife & chopping board	stepping stool
tv	drying rack
reusable to-go containers	baby's equipment
small waste bin	water filter

Figure 58. Rosie's Material Culture along Her Food Axis

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)



food pantry	fridge & freezer
sink	ingredients of Indonesian snacks
pots & pans	4-burner gas stove
oven	countertop
dining table	microwave
paper plate	instant pot
kitchen trash can	top & bottom cabinet
drawers	dishwasher
food processor	stand mixer
outdoor grill & smoker	onions & bottled sauce
knife & chopping board	stepping stool
gospel music player	drying rack
espresso machine	equipment to make Indonesian snacks
kitchen trash can	window looks out to the backyard

Figure 59. Padma's Material Culture along Her Food Axis

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Food Axes in and around Participants' West Coast Homes

To determine the elements of each participant's food axis, I followed participants on their shopping trips to get Indonesian ingredients and food items. I observed their cooking process while also asking them to narrate the process. I use a floor plan, a map of the shopping trip, and a montage of images and texts to demonstrate experiences or opinions while shopping. Narration for each participant describes the elements of the food axis inside their homes, around their homes during a shopping trip, and other elements around their homes that become functional only at a particular time of the event.

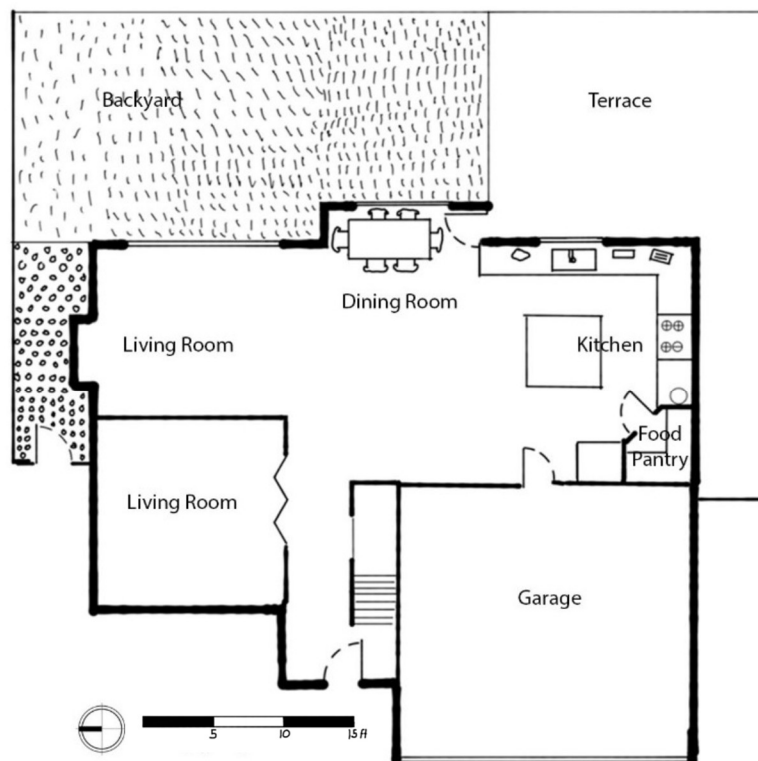


Figure 60. Floor Plan of Julie's Home

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Julie went shopping with me at an Asian store in Beaverton. After we arrived home, Julie parked in the indoor garage. She opened and closed the garage door with a remote controller. Afterward, she opened the kitchen door and opened her car's trunk to pick up all the purchased food items. She walked to the kitchen and placed everything on the island. Each type of food item has its particular storage space. She went to put things away in the food pantry, refrigerator, or freezer. The organization of her food pantry

was based on the types of food items, and she did not group Indonesian food items in a single location. Outside her home, her food axis elements include the Indonesian community gathering, the Indonesian restaurant in Portland, and relatives who help her get food items from Indonesia when they visit her in the U.S.

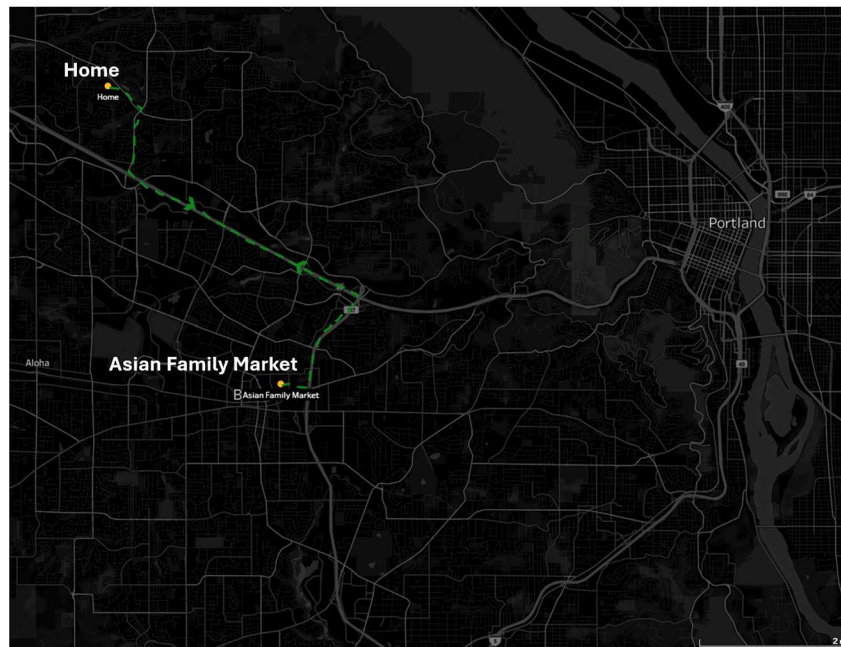


Figure 61. Julie's Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

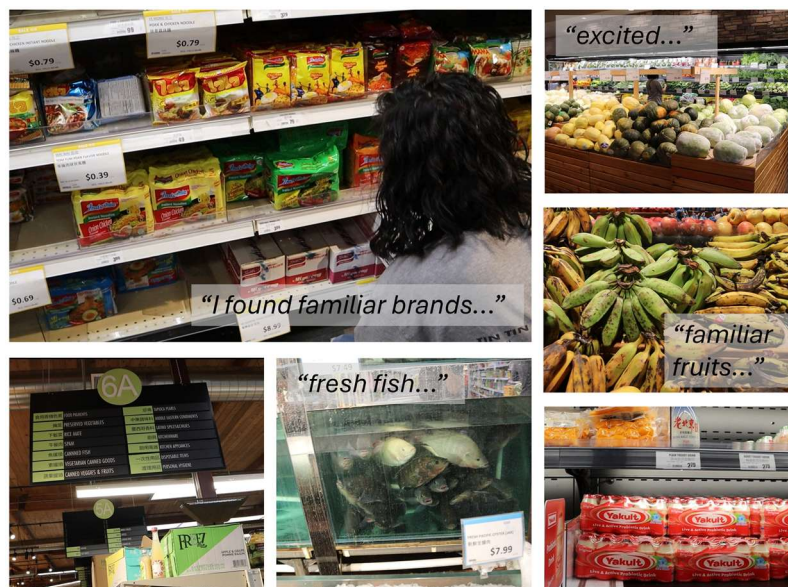


Figure 62. Montage of Julie's Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

When I observed her cooking process, Julie demonstrated her flow of movements from one element of the food axis in her kitchen to the next. First, she got the ingredients from the food pantry, refrigerator, freezer, or a combination of these three elements. Second, she began preparing the ingredients, seasonings, and spices, including chopping, cleaning, and defrosting them in the sink and on the kitchen island. At the same time, she collected waste in the trash can in the cabinet under the sink. Third, she removed her pan from the bottom cabinet and turned on the stove burner, range hood, and range light. Fourth, she got the ingredients in the pan. While waiting for the dish to cook, Julie occasionally stirred the pan. All of these four steps took place in the kitchen. She then moved to the dining room to serve the dish at the dining table. Julie and her family always have their meal in the dining room. After consuming the food, Julie moved back to the kitchen. She cleaned up the waste in the trash can and collected the dirty dishes in the sink to be put in the dishwasher later. Julie turned on the dishwasher during the sleeping hours, and on the next day, she would store away the clean dishes in the top cabinets and drawers.

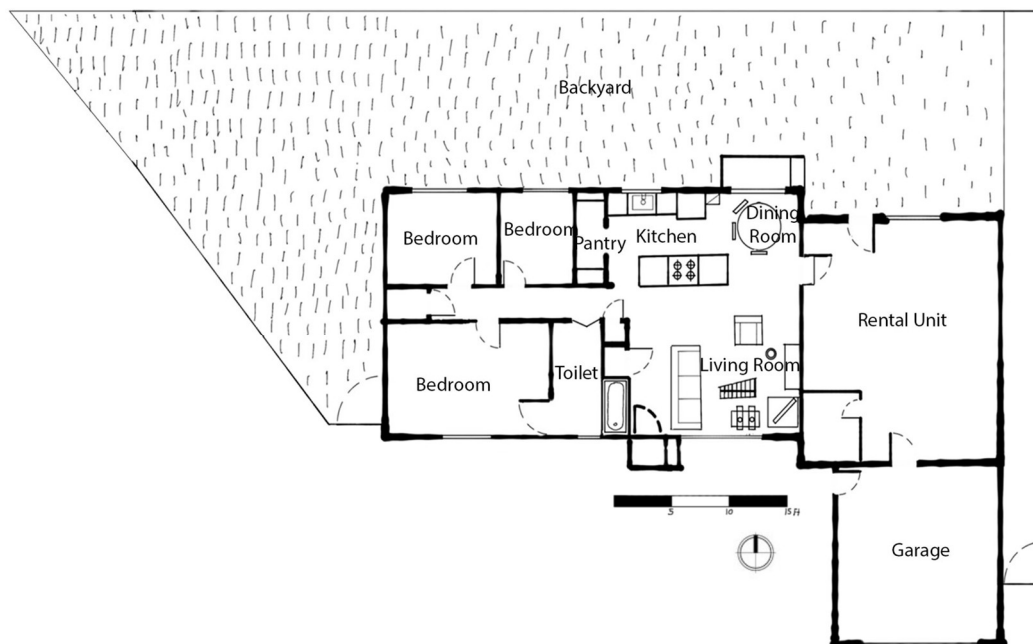


Figure 63. Floor Plan of Piper's Home

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

With Piper, I went to two stores: Kiva Grocery and Sunrise Asian Food Market. We drove in a loop to return to her home. Piper opened the garage door with the remote controller and pulled in. We picked up all the purchased items from the car and walked together to the side door of the garage. We continued

walking to the front door to get into the house. We put everything in two spots: the countertop and the dining table. Piper then sorted out the food items and put them in several locations. They either went to the food pantry, top cabinet, countertop (for bananas and onions), refrigerator, or freezer. To support her Indonesian food practice, she has additional food axis elements around her home, including food-sharing with her Indonesian friends in Eugene, Indonesian community gatherings, and a friend in Denmark who can send her Indonesian food items.

Piper's cooking started in the kitchen by getting the ingredients from the food pantry, refrigerator, freezer, top cabinet, or a combination of these four elements. In the second step, she started the preparation (such as chopping, cleaning, and marinating) at the countertop around the sink while collecting the waste inside the sink. The third step was taking the pan out of the bottom cabinet and placing it on the burner. She turned on the burner, the range light, and the hood, followed by putting the ingredients into the pan. She would occasionally check and stir the pan. After the food was done, Piper grabbed a plate and moved some food from the pan to her plate. She ate at the dining table, but said sometimes she would go to the living room and have the food on the couch. She tossed the food waste in the trash can and placed dirty dishes in the sink and later in the dishwasher. She would turn on the dishwasher later, after the family was done eating for the day. The next day, she would store the clean dishes in the top cabinets and drawers.

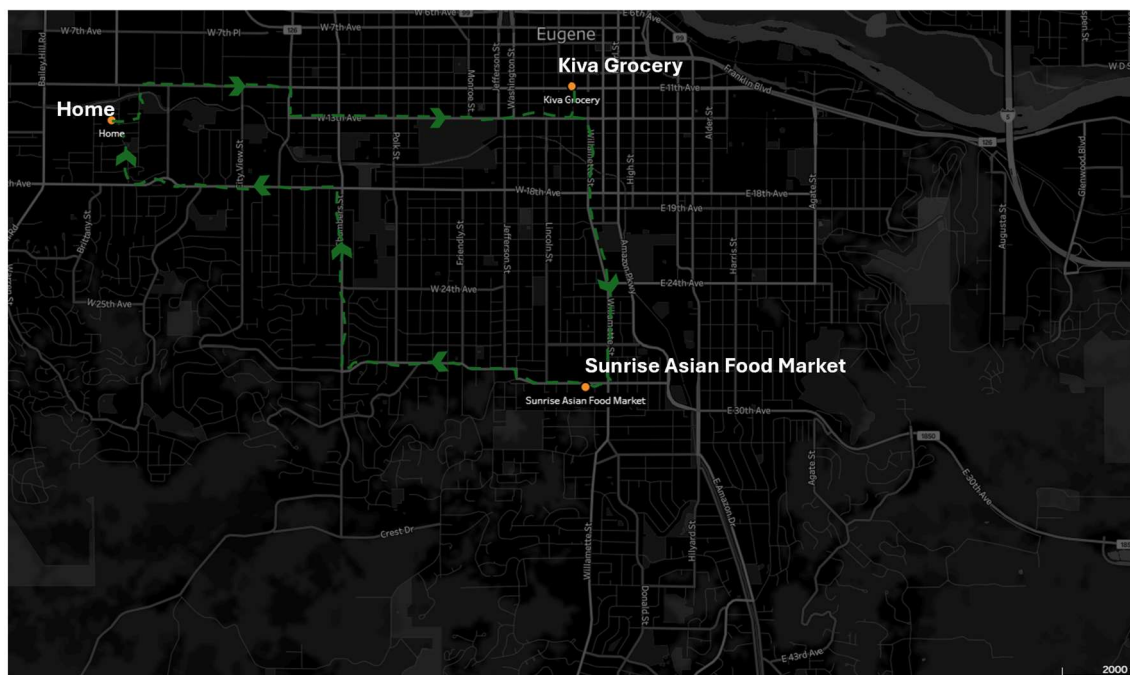


Figure 64. Piper's Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)



Figure 65. Montage of Piper's Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

My trip with Edelweiss was short; we did not go to any Asian stores in Springfield. Edelweiss preferred Walmart to get some organic produce. However, she mentioned two Asian stores, King's and Sunrise, in Eugene that she would go to if she needed specialized ingredients. After returning home, she parked in front of the indoor garage and picked up the groceries from the car's trunk. She walked to the front door carrying the shopping bags and opened the door. I helped her move the bags to the kitchen, next to the dining table. Edelweiss then put the groceries away by placing them in six locations: in the space under the dining table (for potatoes and yams), on the dining table (for fruits), the refrigerator, the freezer, the kitchen cabinets, and the food pantry. Besides the stores that she mentioned, Edelweiss shared that she has additional food axis elements outside her home. These elements include an online Indonesian store on Facebook, the Indonesian community gathering, food-sharing among her Indonesian best friends, her mother, who brought Indonesian food items when she visited, and food orders from a few Indonesian female immigrants with an informal catering business.

My observation recalls that Edelweiss got the ingredients from some of the six locations as her first step. Next, she prepared the Instant Pot on the countertop because she did not use the stovetop that day. The tomatoes that she used for the dish that day came from her food garden. In the third step, she prepared the ingredients (chopping and cleaning) on the countertop around the sink, while she collected waste in the kitchen trash. She turned it on after putting all the ingredients in the Instant Pot. Because it took a while to cook the dish, she cared for her two young kids while waiting. After the Instant Pot informed us that the cooking was finished, Edelweiss served the dish at the dining table, and we ate together. She

told me that sometimes she and her family would go to the backyard to eat there during the summer. Afterward, she moved back to the kitchen. She collected all the dirty dishes and put them in the sink. She said she would use the dishwasher later. The final step was putting away all clean dishes from the dishwasher in the top cabinet. The cooking process mainly occurred in the kitchen space.

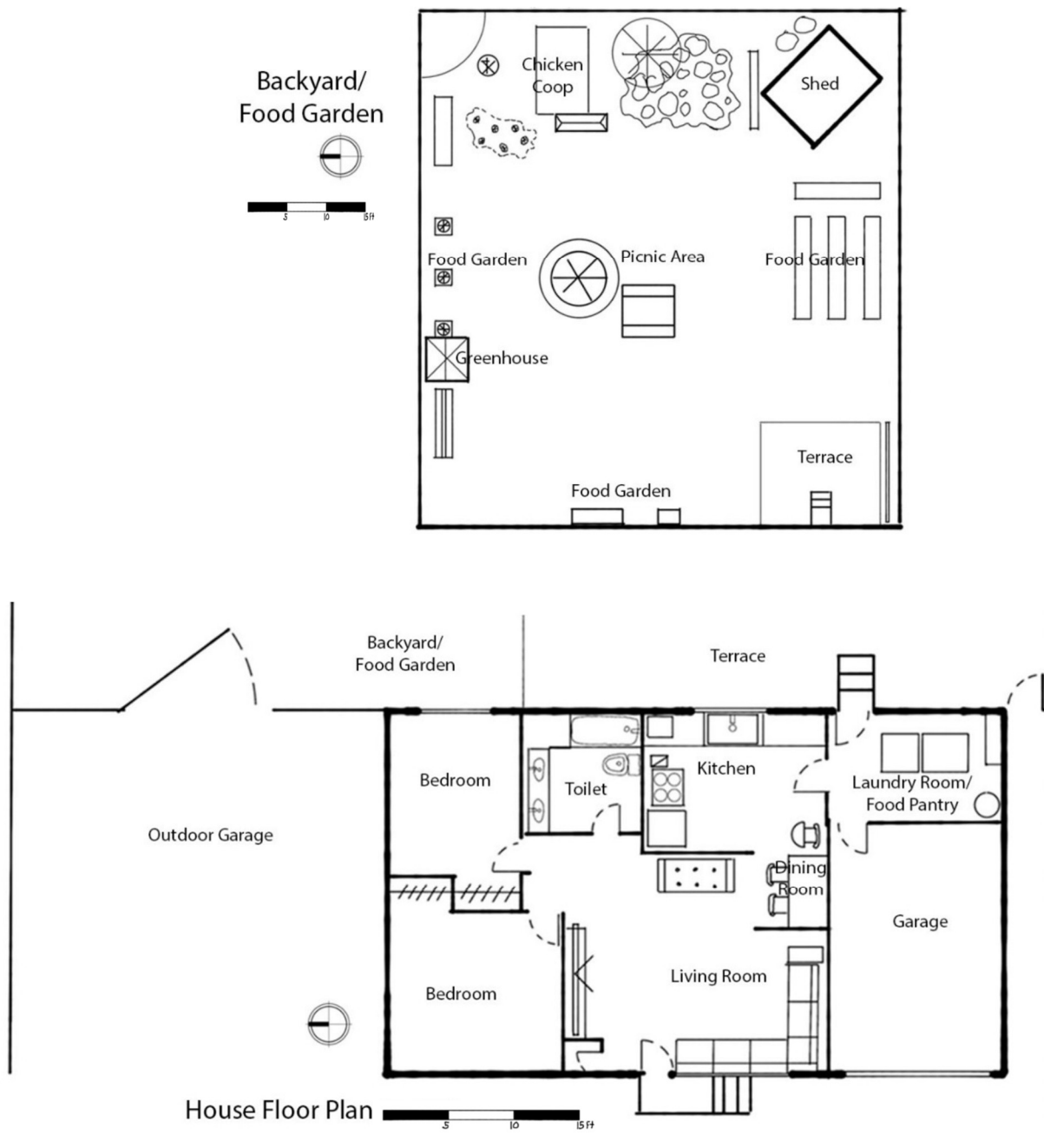


Figure 66. Floor Plan of Edelweiss' Home (bottom) & Site Plan of Garden (top)

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)



Figure 67. Edelweiss' Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)



Figure 68. Montage of Edelweiss' Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

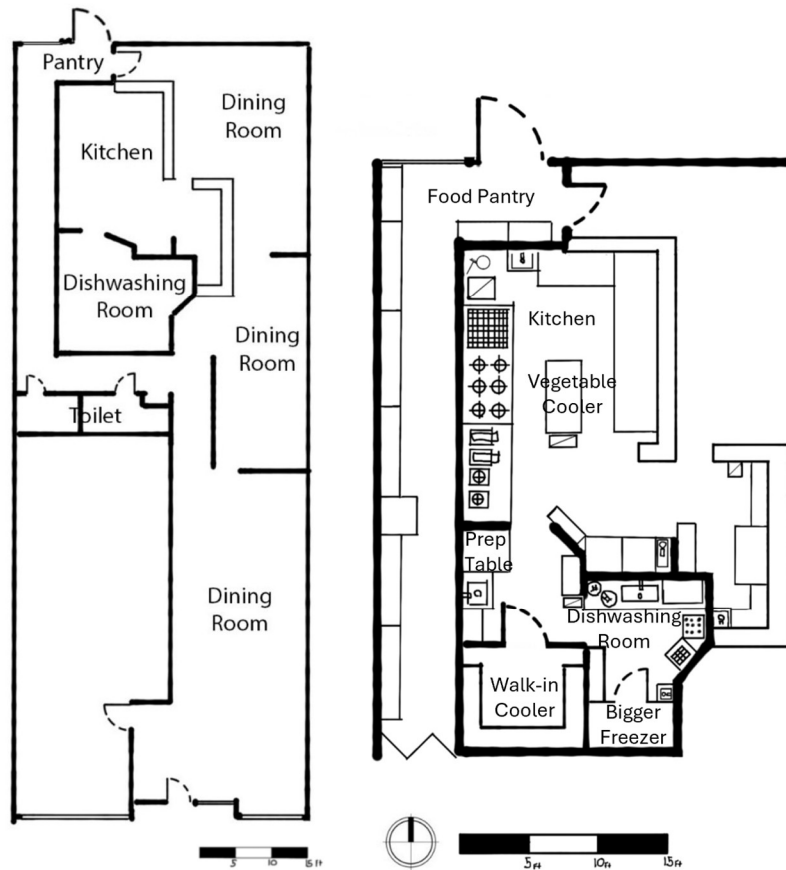


Figure 69. Floor Plan of Chef B's Indonesian Kitchen (Left) & Restaurant (Right)

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

When the restaurant closed, it was time for Chef B to go grocery shopping. He drove us to multiple stores in Medford, but not to any Asian stores. We went to the U.S. Foods Chef's Store, Costco, WinCo, and the Ashland's Own Shop 'n Kart before returning to the restaurant in downtown Ashland. He parked in a downtown parking lot and walked to the restaurant while pulling a cart full of groceries that he had just bought. He opened the restaurant's front door and walked to the back, where the kitchen was. He sorted out the food items and kept them in different locations. Some stuff went to the kitchen fridge, some to the walk-in cooler, bigger freezer, and food pantry. Although it did not show up in the mapping, the most important element of Chef B's Indonesian food axis is the distributor of Indonesian food items. Occasionally, the Indonesian immigrant community potluck becomes an addition to his food axis.



Figure 70. Chef B's Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

When I observed Chef B cooking in his restaurant kitchen, he seemed very passionate but calm. The atmosphere of the commercial kitchen, which can sometimes be stressful during busy hours, did not affect his level-headedness in the cooking process. His commercial kitchen is a miniature version of Indonesia and thus his true home because he is always engaged with Indonesian ingredients. He spent long hours every day and week in his kitchen. When he cooked his meal in the kitchen, he would get the ingredients from any place where he stored food items, but mainly the ingredients came from the walk-in cooler, the vegetable cooler, and his kitchen's food shelves. He prepared the ingredients on a stainless-steel table inside the dishwashing room. Next, he moved to the kitchen and tossed food waste in the kitchen trash can. Afterwards, he grabbed the pan from a storage under the burner and put it on the burner and the hood. He would stir the pan after putting all the ingredients in. His assistant would put a plate on top of the veggie cooler so that he could place his dish in it. Chef B ate his meal standing in front of his preparation table in the dishwashing room while watching videos from his iPad. He put dirty dishes in the sink because the staff member who operated the dishwasher would combine them with all the dirty dishes from the customers. This staff would store all clean dishes on the countertop.



Figure 71. Montage of Chef B's Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

The trip with Rosie made me understand that Indonesian immigrants who live in San Bernardino and other Southern California areas are dispersed over an area of approximately 100 miles. We went to an Asian Market and WinCo in Victorville, and then we drove to Java Bistro, an Indonesian food store and restaurant in Rancho Cucamonga. Returning from the trip, Rosie parked her car in front of the indoor garage and started picking up shopping bags. She carried all the purchased items by walking to the front door. She then opened the door, moved everything inside the house, and closed the door. I helped her bring some bags as we walked to the kitchen. Rosie put the food items away. She has five places to store the food items: food pantry, refrigerator, freezer, countertop, and dining room table. She stored long-term items in a fridge/freezer in the garage. On top of the restaurant and stores we visited, Rosie's additional food axis elements around her home include food-sharing with her friends and relatives in the area, Indonesian luncheon in her church after weekly service, Indonesian community gathering, and the international food shipping service.

Her first step in the cooking process was to get the ingredients from the places where she stored the food items. She prepared the ingredients, seasonings, and spices on the countertop around the sink. She had a small waste bin next to the sink to collect food waste from the preparation. Afterward, she took the pot out from the bottom cabinet (and sometimes from the oven or dishwasher). She then turned on

the burner, the hood, and the light in the range before she got all the ingredients in the pan. The cooking process took a while, and she stirred the pot occasionally. After the cooking, we grabbed a plate, got some already-made rice from the Instant Pot, and scooped the soup dish onto the plate. We ate in the living room and watched TV. Rosie said that she only wanted the children to eat at the dinner table. The adults usually eat wherever they like, sometimes at the dinner table and sometimes in the living room. She collected all the dirty dishes in the sink, and her son would wash them either in the dishwasher or by hand. He would place clean dishes to dry on the windowsill and in the dishwasher. Rosie's other son would keep the dried dishes in the top cabinets and drawers.

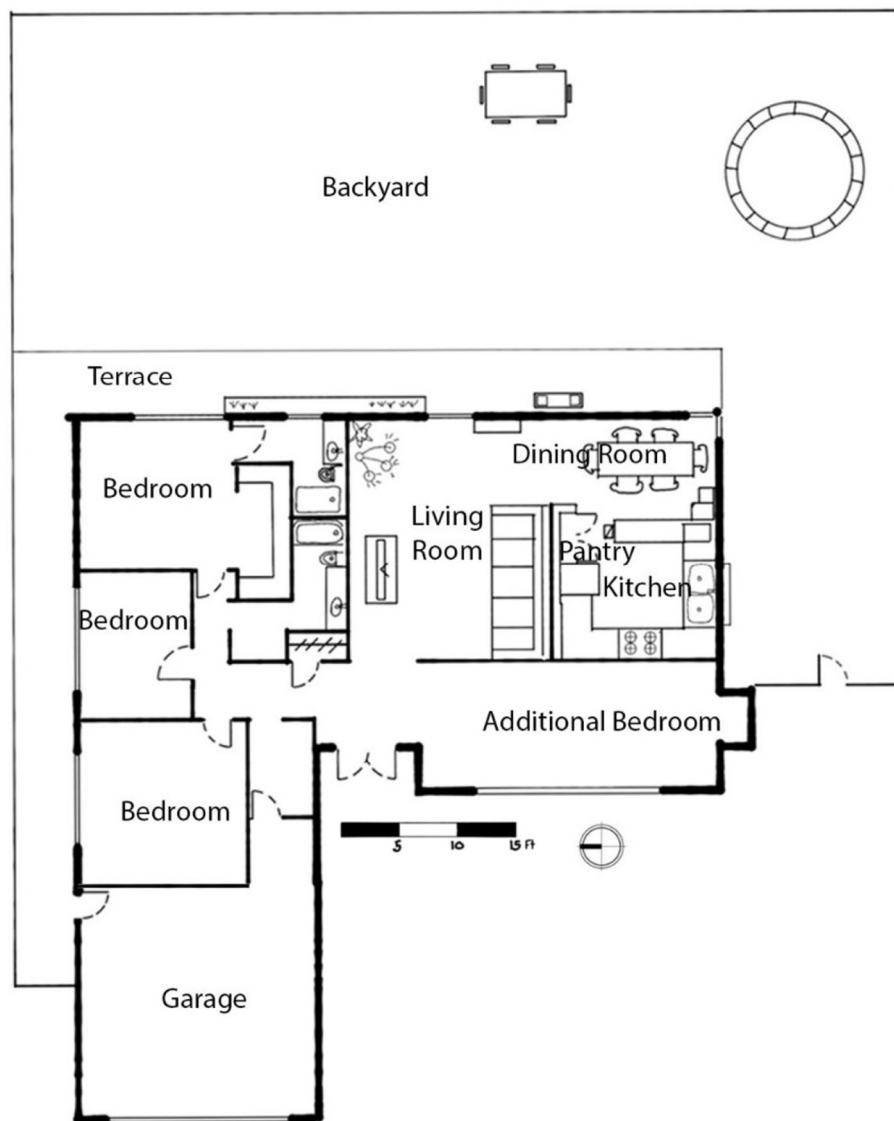


Figure 72. Floor Plan of Rosie's Home

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

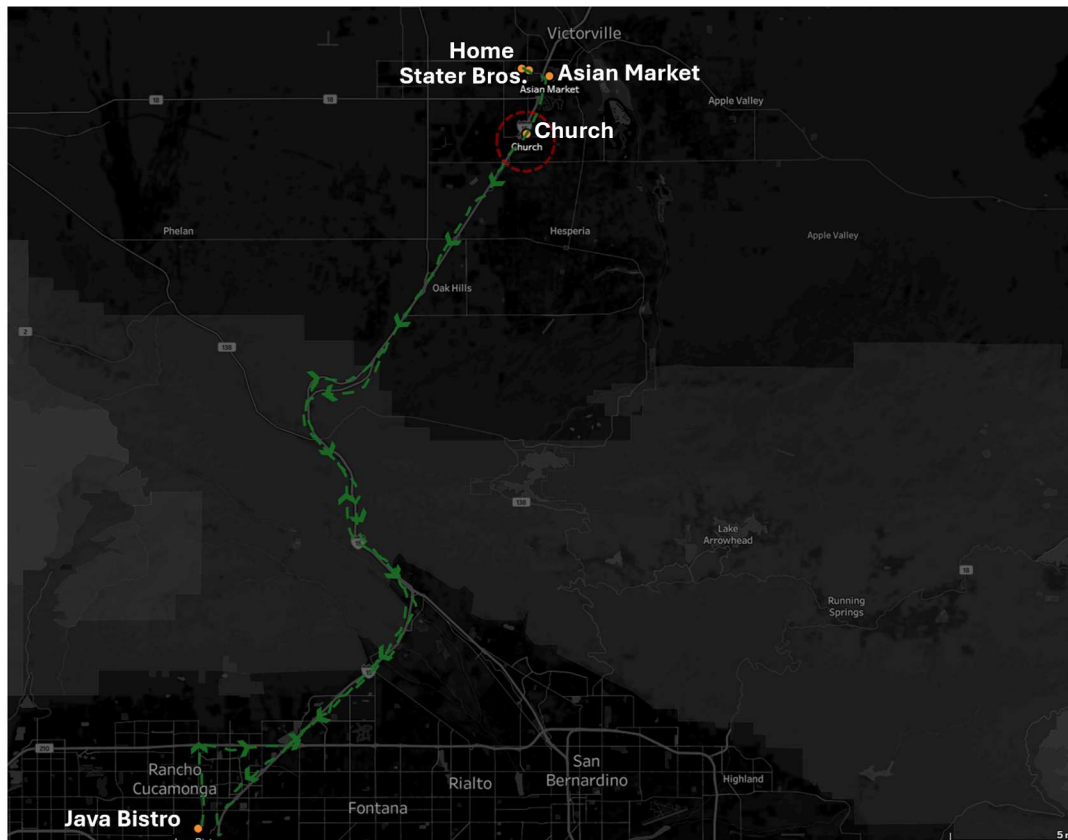


Figure 73. Rosie's Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

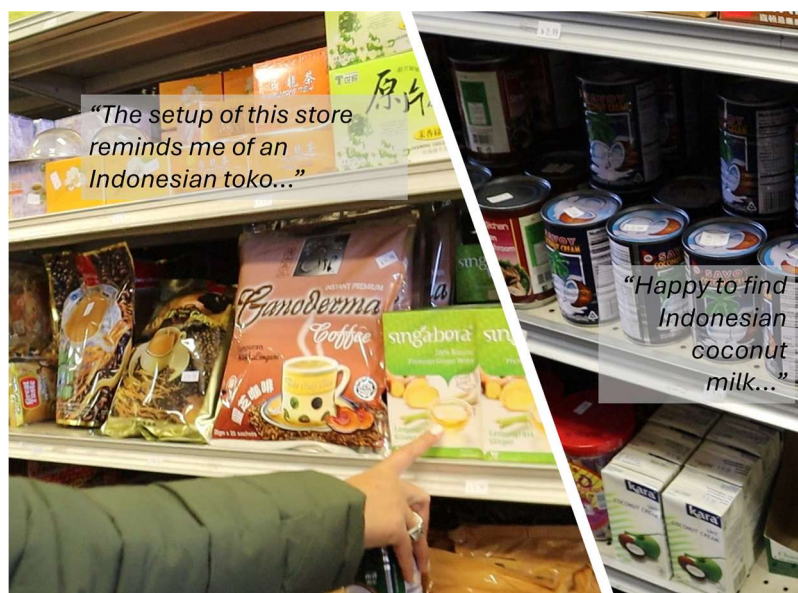


Figure 74. Montage of Rosie's Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

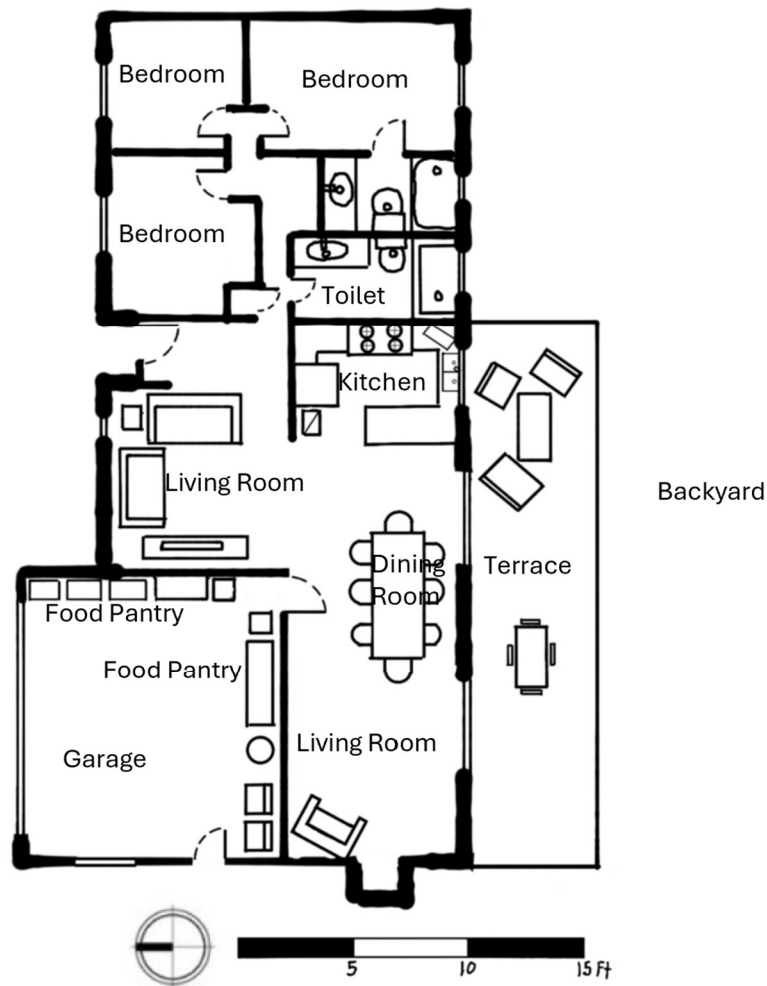


Figure 75. Floor Plan of Padma's Home

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Padma included me in her weekly shopping trip to Garden Grove, which took about two hours one way. We went to Little Saigon to get produce, fresh fried fish, and other Indonesian food items from a Vietnamese store called Hoa Binh. After a long trip and finally arriving back at home, Padma parked her car in the indoor garage. She used a remote controller to open and close the door, then moved all the purchased items out of the vehicle, placing them on the garage floor. Some of the food items, such as dried noodles, instant ramen, and onions, went to the food shelves in the garage's food pantry. Next, Padma opened the door to the kitchen, and we carried all the other things to store in the refrigerator, freezer, and countertop. In addition to the store we visited, Padma's food axis elements around her home

include Indonesian luncheon after a weekly service in her church, Maranatha Church's Food Co-op in Northridge that sells low-priced Indonesian food items, Indonesian community gathering, food-sharing with Indonesian friends in the area, relatives who bring some Indonesian food items each time visits her, and the kitchen of Hoa Binh store. Padma's family loves eating fried fish, and instead of making it at home, she usually picks a fresh fish at Hoa Binh, and the staff there will fry it for her.

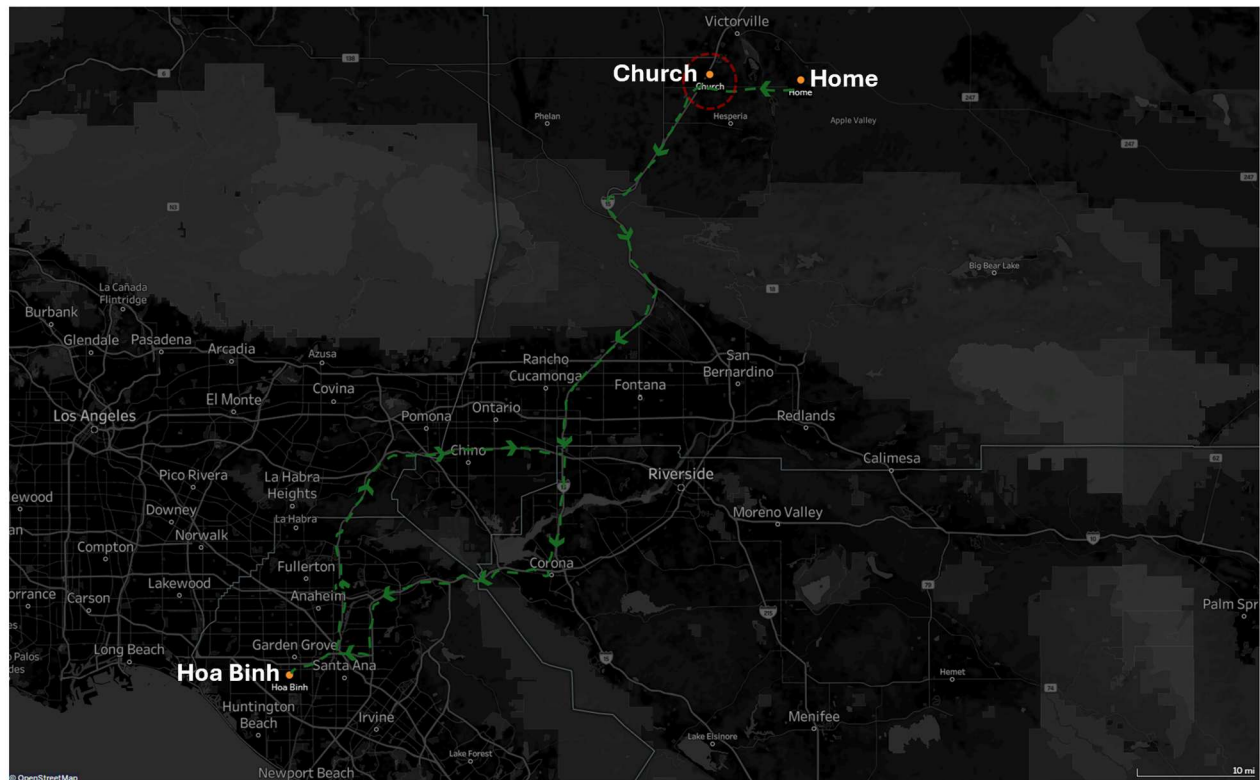


Figure 76. Padma's Shopping Trip

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

On the day that I observed her cooking Indonesian dishes for dinner, she first went to the fridge, freezer, and food pantry to get ingredients. Then, she prepared them using the small countertop area around the sink. She collected the food waste in the sink and then tossed it in the kitchen trash can. Afterward, Padma took her pan out from the bottom cabinet and placed it on the burner, followed by turning on the hood, the light, and the burner in the range. She put all the ingredients into the pan and stirred multiple times until she decided to let the dish simmer for a while. In the meantime, she cleaned up the countertop and hand-washed some of the dirty dishes. The dish was finally done cooking, and Padma placed it on a serving plate and transferred it to the dining table. We ate the delicious dish together

in the dining room and collected the dirty dishes in the sink. Padma only used the dishwasher when her adult children were home on the weekend. Padma placed the clean dishes in the drying rack and would put them away in the top cabinets later.

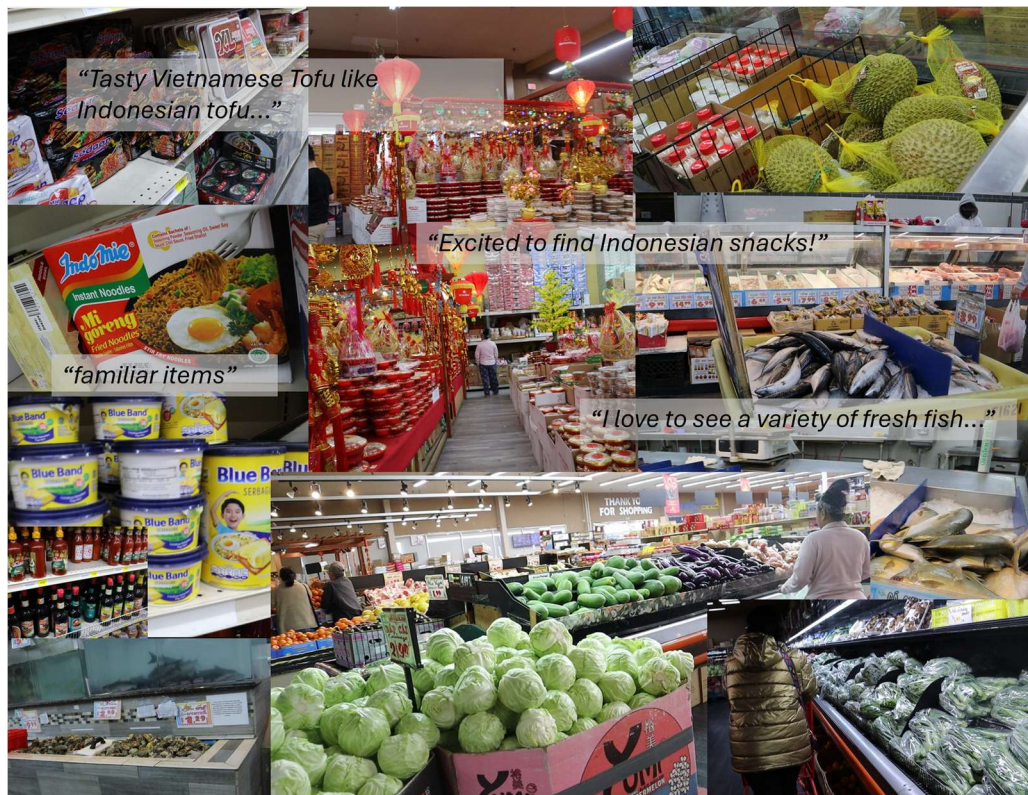


Figure 77. Montage of Padma's Shopping Trip Experience

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Regarding the use of countertops, cabinets, and food pantries, I conducted a relational study between the measurement of these kitchen elements, cooking frequency, eating frequency, number of consumers, and participants' opinions when using these kitchen elements. Table 1 shows the participants' opinions regarding the ergonomics of the countertop and top cabinet. On average, the highest shelves in the top cabinet measure about 74" from the ground. Participants' height ranges between 4'11" and 5'5". They claimed that it was hard to reach the highest shelves, thus they needed stepping stools. Chef B has the lower shelves that allow him to reach the top part easily. The potential preparation area designates the area on the countertop that can be used for activities such as chopping and marinating. This area does not include the part of the countertop that participants use for placing food items, cooking equipment, gadgets, and smaller kitchen appliances.

Whether the potential prep area is sufficient or not depends on how many items participants store on the countertop. If participants do not put too many things on the countertop, the prep area will get bigger. Moreover, the potential prep area is relative to the total eater of one household. The total number of consumers who eat Indonesian food in a household proportionally affects the size of the food storage and preparation area. The larger the consumer or eater, the larger the food storage should be, and the prep area might be shrinking due to some countertop area being used for storage. For example, Rosie complained about her countertop and food pantry, which she considered too small because she has many people who practice Indonesian food culture in her home. Thus, the most important factor that will affect the size of the prep area and storage area is the number of people in the household who consume Indonesian food.

Name & Height	Step Stool	Opinions on the Size of Cabinet, Size & Height of Countertop	Potential Prep Area	Cooking Freq. Per Week	Eating Freq. Per Week	Total Eater	Food Pantry Floor Area	Potential Volume of Cabinet
Julie (5'2")	Yes	The preparation area and storage are large; the height is ok	27.37 sq ft	3	6	4	8.02 sq ft	122.2 cubic feet
Chef B (5'5")	No	The preparation is small, and the storage area is ok; the height is ok	53.3 sq ft	5	7	2	209.7 sq ft	No cabinet
Rosie (5'3")	Yes	The preparation is small, and the storage area is small; the height is ok	7.1 sq ft	2	3	6	5.5 sq ft	58.8 cubic feet
Padma (5'5")	Yes	The preparation is ok, and the storage area is small; the height is ok	35.5 sq ft	7	7	3	71.1 sq ft	53 cubic feet
Edelweiss (5'1")	Yes	The preparation is ok, and the storage area is small; the height is ok	26.67 sq ft	4-5	4-5	3	5.3 sq ft	34 cubic feet
Piper (4'11")	Yes	The preparation area and the storage are ok; the height is tall	21.3 sq ft	3	7	1	26.67 sq ft	67.2 cubic feet

Table 1. Participants' Opinions on the Size and Height of Their Kitchen Countertops, on the Cabinet Size

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

Part 2. Discussions: Terroirs In-Between

Theoretical Implications

The findings of this study show that it is helpful to extend the food axis investigation outward from home to understand the way Indonesian immigrants make their places based on the practice of Indonesian food culture, especially to answer a substantial question about how Indonesian can maintain their food culture with their community without an ethnic enclave on the West Coast. The placemaking of Indonesian immigrants along their domestic food axis in relation to a more public one contributes to understanding phenomena of placemaking and place attachment in a private setting, without losing its larger context, such as a community as the actor of placemaking.

The study of food axis in and around Indonesian immigrants' U.S. West Coast homes demonstrates that the edges or the elements in the axis are not always constant or stable. Food axis elements, such as Indonesian community gatherings, food-sharing among Indonesian friends, and the informal catering businesses of Indonesian wives, do not have a regular schedule or designated places. It can happen anytime and anywhere, regardless of the location of the existing axis. Food axis differentiates itself from other concepts in the study of food culture (such as foodways) by emphasizing the spatiality of the food practice and the flow of activities involved in the process of food provision. Foodways focuses on the cultural practices surrounding food, encompassing both the symbolic and practical values of food production and consumption among practitioners over time. In other words, the study of foodways is more relevant to the study of one's cultural food practices. In contrast, the food axis describes the spatial network that is active during the sequence from obtaining one's food to discarding waste. Studying food practice is necessary to reveal one's food axis because it can foster understanding of how, why, where, when, and why an individual, as part of a community, maintains their food culture.

Unlike a fixed line between home and nearby food sources, the spatial network along the food axis consists of dormant nodes that become activated when food needs arise. These nodes function as edges in a network, rather than along an axis, forming a flexible system of sustenance and cultural continuity. This characteristic of Indonesian food will not be evident if the investigation only focuses on the domestic realm, just as the concept of weak architecture from Ignasi de Solà-Morales Rubio (1996) emphasizes the architecture's capacity to evoke memory through *monitu*, or the power of recollection, rather than just the omnipresence of physical buildings. Additionally, I propose that the concept of axis be reinterpreted as a network to capture the distributed, non-linear nature of food-related activities. Cooking in these contexts shapes the weak architecture, a functional and expressive performance of daily life that enacts cultural habitus. There were spatial elements that showed up only during the cooking process, such as a burner add-on in Julie's case and a folded step stool in Piper's case. In this networked

system, each participant becomes a node in the food axis of others. For instance, kitchen-sharing practices, food exchanges among friends, and community cooking events extend the domestic axis into other households, generating overlapping networks of kitchens and dining rooms.

My findings on adaptive and transformative practices show that Indonesian immigrants do not permanently modify the elements of their food axes. Padma, Rosie, Edelweiss, and Piper are homeowners, but they did not renovate their kitchens and food pantries in the way they wanted. They bridge the differences between Indonesian ways and American appliances by installing add-ons, such as Piper's stepping stool, Edelweiss' food shelf in the laundry room, and Padma's food drawer, food boxes, and food shelves in the garage. I suggest the main reason is financial restriction to renovate, but also because they want to maintain flexibility for unforeseen future needs that may change. As a foreigner, this is true for all aspects of our lives due to a lack of controls. We should always be ready to change to survive and thrive by retaining cultural plasticity. To me, this approach of modification obviously works well with the notion of weak architecture. Each observation of the cooking process was a performance of creativity and ingenuity through bodily actions, solving complex problems with simpler solutions that were affordable and doable.

Another contribution of this study is the extended definition and application of *terroir*. The food axes of Indonesian immigrants reflect the phenomenon of *terroirs in between*. Drawing on Castells' (1989) notion of the space of flows, this study finds a connection between this concept and the *terroirs in between*, suggesting that both frameworks capture how places acquire new meanings through mobility. As Abramson et al. (2006) argue, spatial complexity in underrepresented communities necessitates a renewed focus on the material and symbolic significance of place. This study discovered the notion of *terroirs in between*, as a phenomenon of immigrants' placemaking and place attachment, to describe the evolving tastes of places that Indonesian immigrants experienced and shaped on the U.S. West Coast.

Rather than anchoring the "taste of place" to a single stable geographic location, this term reflects the layered, hybrid nature of food practices of immigrant communities, in which the cultural palate is transformed but not entirely severed from its origins. These practices—embedded in domestic and communal settings—retain material and symbolic elements of Indonesian cuisine while adapting to the conditions and constraints of life in the U.S. *Terroirs in between* is how Indonesian immigrants suit their food culture in the shifting spatio-temporal contexts. *Terroirs in between* incorporate multiple sites of authenticity, an open-ended definition of cultural authenticity, and multiple place attachments. It does not have a fixed boundary because it works using reference points, like in between proximity and distance, in between what is familiar and unfamiliar, in between past and present, in between the feeling of loss and the joy of rediscovery, in between the constant and the occasional elements of food axis, in between

kitchens and dining rooms in the collective cooking practices, in between Indonesian tropical kitchen and American fitted kitchen.

Practical Implications in Relation to Research Questions

Comparative analysis between Indonesian and American food practices reveals several patterns. In high-density cities like Jakarta or Yogyakarta, food practices tend to move beyond the dwelling unit and are activated by commercial and informal vendors. In contrast, immigrant kitchens in the U.S. adapt to fitted kitchen layouts, engaging in practices such as weekly shopping, meal prepping, and leftover culture shifts that reflect American norms but are reinterpreted through Indonesian sensibilities. Over time, traditional practices like cooking fresh meals daily give way to hybrid strategies that combine home-cooked, prepackaged, and shared foods. Socio-economic class further differentiates food practices within both Indonesia and the United States. For example, Indonesians in Jakarta may rely on street vendors or informal networks for daily meals, while Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. often construct occasional food networks through community events, organized informal catering, or religious institutions. Financial resources and the size of Indonesian households strongly shape the food axis, influencing storage capacity, shopping routines, and access to specific food items.

Indonesian immigrants' kitchens become a site of adaptation, learning, and cultural reconnection and negotiation—a space where immigrants rediscover what Indonesian ingredients look, taste, and smell like, and where to find them in the American food landscape. Meanwhile, the ethnic food store has become an important node in the food axis as a social hub, where an immigrant can meet other immigrants from a similar country and recreate a community. Exposure to international food cultures in urbanized cities in Indonesia (e.g., Western fast foods) may prepare immigrants to adapt. However, they also prompt a desire to reconnect with Indonesian food culture as their roots. Practices such as collective cooking—as seen in kitchen collaborations like those in Julie's and Piper's cases—form a kind of kitchen rotation, expanding food axes across households and communities. These practices exemplify the idea of *terroirs in between*, operating in the interstices of tradition and adaptation, presence and absence, memory and reconstruction, and connecting multiple kitchens, dining rooms, and households.

To answer the first question about what and where the elements of Indonesian immigrants' food axes are, this study shows that the elements of the food axis varied for each participant. However, at home, they are centralized in the kitchen, food pantry, dining room, and living room. All participants agreed that the presence of a food pantry and a larger refrigerator with a freezer has helped to continue the Indonesian food culture. Particularly, the food pantry emerges as a significant node, not as a site of consumerist hoarding, but as a buffer against inconsistent access to Indonesian ingredients. Infrequent

availability of specific brands, flavors, or staples often makes shopping at Asian grocery stores a logistical challenge. Stocking pantries becomes a strategic means of preserving culinary continuity and minimizing the frequency of these trips. This need also informs a broader livelihood support network, which may include shared cultural identities beyond Indonesian communities, particularly within the Asian food axis, such as the Vietnamese store (Hoa Binh) in Garden Grove, California, and the Korean-owned Sunrise Asian Food Market in Eugene, Oregon. Due to these shared identities and tastes, Indonesian immigrants can often find food items in non-Indonesian Asian stores.



Figure 78. Rosie's Kitchen Window

(Source: Indrawati, 2025)

A food pantry that works best for participants should be integrated into the kitchen space to minimize the number of steps. The size of the food pantry in each participant's house varies. Table 1 shows the floor area of 5.3 sq ft, 5.5 sq ft, 8.02 sq ft, 26.67 sq ft, and 71.1 sq ft. The average floor area comes from these sizes is 23.32 sq ft, which is closer to Piper's food pantry size. One can assume this is the size that might work for Indonesian immigrant families. However, because this size is highly relative to the total number of consumers of Indonesian food in a family, as explained in Findings, it is possible that a family with more consumers may find this size too small.

Inspired by Rosie's modification in her kitchen, a large or hanging windowsill can serve as an extra space for storage or to grow small food plants (see Figure 78). To accommodate an ample storage area, the windowsill in Rosie's kitchen is 20 inches wide. A wider bottom cabinet under the kitchen range (next to the oven) is preferable for storing large pans and pots. This placement is also more instinctive to the flow of movements when a cook wants to grab a pan and put it on the burner. Another important

consideration is the need for a step stool to reach the top-level cabinet. To maximize space for movement during the cooking process, I recommend allocating some storage space under the countertop that allows the stool to slide in and out quickly.

Regarding the second question about how spatial features along food axes enable the maintenance of Indonesian food culture, the study reveals that elements of the food axis exhibit both commemorative and transformative practices. However, any modifications are impermanent. The evidence of weak architecture in Indonesian immigrants' food axis can validate a suggestion that an ambiguous and open-ended spatial design may be the most suitable condition for immigrant communities (Dearborn, 2008). Participants came to the cooking arena with the necessary add-ons that would disappear at the end of the cleaning process. Indonesian immigrants transformed the American fitted kitchen as the cooking activities lasted. In this study, evidence of the concept of weak architecture was present in both obvious and subtle ways, as illustrated in the following example: Rosie's oven and dishwasher looked like regular ovens and dishwashers until she pulled out a pan or pot from the storage space inside; Edelweiss' dining table seemed like a place to eat until she needed more preparation space, so she brought the ingredients to the table. In Edelweiss's case, the food garden has become central to her continued consumption of Indonesian food and to reclaiming what Indonesia means to her, so that she can feel at home.

The adaptive and transformative practices along their food axes enabled Indonesian immigrants to a higher level of awareness about the significance and importance of Indonesian food culture. They expressed that they felt prouder of their identification as Indonesians who practice Indonesian food culture after they opened up to novel experiences in other food cultures, as Steiner (2016) suggests in her notion of moments of acute awareness. The spatial modifications along the food axes that Indonesian immigrants initiated not only allow them to enjoy familiar tastes but also provide opportunities to create a place of their own. This feeling of cultural pride and belonging explains the response to the third question about how adaptive and transformative socio-spatial practices in the U.S. affect the identifications of Indonesian immigrants.

Perspectives on Methodology

Although the interview with participants has become the spinal core to construct stories of my findings, I find the observation during the cooking process and grocery shopping very rewarding as a researcher because I was able to see participants in their activity arenas when they acted in their everyday space. It is almost like I saw artists on their performance stage. My reading of this performance of bodily actions might not be accurate if I only use the interview as a source of imagination. What really helped me

to deeply hear participants' voices on their loss and gain in using elements of the food axis in their West Coast homes throughout my interview and observation was my own position as a foreign person from Indonesia who has stayed for several years on the West Coast and still maintains Indonesian food practice. My intersectional identity as an Indonesian who shares and negotiates my kitchen and Indonesian food practice with my American family members made the story of dwelling in the liminality or the in-betweenness that participants shared with me significantly legitimate. As a reminder for future researcher, the methodological framework of this study is useful to investigate the food axis of immigrants from other cultural backgrounds. However, the findings and grounded theory of this study is specific to Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast and can't be generalized for immigrants from other cultural backgrounds.

The material culture approach came in handy to understand what participants intently expressed about their meaningful attachment to certain places. The material artifacts that participants showed me have also informed me how the commons experience an architectural space through the personal meaning of these material artifacts. Although Tan (2006) suggests that we might be able to find rhymes between the material cultures of immigrants' old homes and their new ones, I could not find many rhymes, such as similar material artifacts found in participants' kitchens in Indonesia and participants' kitchens in the U.S. An example of rhymes that observed was when participants demonstrated feelings of joy every time they found familiar brands of food products from Indonesia in stores in the U.S.

However, I notice some rhyme in terms of what the food axis means for each participant. One of the material artifacts I expected to see was written recipes. However, my participants cooked without a written recipe. They shared information about Indonesian dishes orally. Julie's recollection of the food axis in Indonesia was about a family party. In her current food axis in the U.S., she often cooks with her husband and daughters to enjoy the fun. Padma sees food making as a service to her family. In Indonesia, she worked hard to better the lives of her children, and in the U.S., she worked hard and relearned to cook in the service of her husband and children. In Indonesia, Piper loved experimenting with recipes and viewed food as a social connector. In the U.S., Piper has more opportunities to experiment because she has access to tools and ingredients from different food cultures. She cooks at Indonesian community gatherings and shares stories with other Indonesians. Edelweiss remembers Indonesia as a green place full of natural freshness, and in the U.S., she recreated that freshness in her backyard food garden. In Indonesia, Chef B was continuously searching for his self-identification, and now he found himself immersed in Indonesian food while still maintaining a mission to taste as many flavors in the world as he can in his lifetime. Indonesian food was a life perk for Rosie. In Indonesia, she would go to a restaurant to eat her favorite food. In the U.S., she opted to try cuisines from other countries, partially to find the resemblance of Indonesian dishes that she likes.

Limitation

The findings of this study may show a different result if the participants come from the second or younger generations of Indonesian immigrants because they have different exposure to more American cultural references that can affect how they cook and eat, thus the way they create the food axis elements. They also may have a different way of identifying themselves as Indonesian immigrants. The findings of this study are specific to the Indonesian immigrant cultural practices; thus, not all of them will be applicable to immigrants from other cultures. Due to funding and time constraints, this study could only use one participant per case study area; therefore, the sample size is considered small. A comparative study with more participants per area of study, incorporating the Los Angeles Metro Area, where the largest population of Indonesian immigrants resides, will make the findings more robust. The Palisade Fire in January 2025 prevented the researcher from meeting Indonesian immigrants who fell victim to the disaster.

Future Directions

To form a complete understanding of Indonesian immigrants' socio-cultural practices in the U.S., future research should extend the area of case study to other parts of the country, such as the East Coast states, where the second-largest Indonesian populations live. More research questions regarding public spaces that help foster food practices among Indonesian immigrants might be helpful in understanding the role of the community in maintaining traditional food practices. It seems like the presence of a solid community willing to organize more collective efforts to maintain Indonesian food culture may lift the difficulties some Indonesian immigrants experience regarding accessing Indonesian food. From the comparison that Julie shared with me between the Indonesian communities in multiple places where she has lived, it was clear that further study is necessary to find what obstacles create a more solid community to support the continuation of Indonesian food culture in an area. There is also a curiosity that I could not include in this study about the challenges in the initiative for the Indonesian ethnic enclave. This further study may reveal conflicts at the community level that can encourage more equitable socio-spatial practices among immigrants themselves. My methodology, which is based on the theory of Food Axis and the concept of terroir, can be helpful for future researchers who wish to study immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds.

Conclusion

This study makes a significant contribution to understanding placemaking and cultural continuity among Indonesian immigrants on the U.S. West Coast by examining the complexities of their food

practices. The evolving concept of the food axis reveals how these immigrants navigate their culinary identities amidst the challenges of adapting to a new environment. Through the lens of adaptive and transformative practices, we see that Indonesian immigrants maintain their food culture within their homes and beyond through informal networks, community gatherings, and shared cooking experiences. The findings highlight the significance of flexible spatial arrangements in facilitating cultural expression and continuity. Unlike a collection of static nodes in a stable axis anchoring in domestic nodes, as Cromley suggests (1996; 2010), the food axes of Indonesian immigrants elicit a shifting and adaptive network that may be invisible when not in use, expanding from the domestic to public settings. The notion of "terroirs in between" highlights the dynamic interplay between the shifting nodes in the food axis and between nostalgia for home and the realities of life in a new context, allowing for a hybridization of food practices that reflect both personal and collective identities.

As participants adapted their cooking spaces and practices, they illustrated a resilient cultural identity that acknowledges both their Indonesian heritage and the influences of American life. Future research should explore the perspectives of second-generation immigrants and investigate the factors that foster community solidarity in preserving Indonesian food culture, aiming to enhance understanding of the challenges and opportunities faced by immigrant communities. Overall, this study sheds light on the invaluable role of food in shaping community ties and sustaining cultural heritage, illustrating the intricate ways in which Indonesian immigrants create meaningful spaces of belonging in their new environment.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. According to Lynne M. Dearborn (2008), the Hart-Celler Act, which took effect in 1968, has resulted in the increasing diversity of immigrant population in many cities across the U.S. This act abolished national-origin quotas and prioritized family reunification. Therefore, the composition of the immigrant population, which was once primarily of European origin, has changed to be higher in Asian and Latin American origins.
2. In the original research proposal defended in February 2023, I planned to conduct fieldwork in three metropolitan areas: Eugene-Springfield, Oregon; San Francisco, Northern California; and Los Angeles, Southern California. Time and funding limitations prevented me from finalizing the research plan during my visit to San Francisco. I pivoted to conduct fieldwork in multiple cities in Oregon, with varying population sizes of Indonesian immigrants (Eugene, Springfield, Portland, and Ashland), as well as in the Los Angeles metropolitan area. However, during my fieldwork in Southern California from January 14th to 26th, 2025, I was unable to access the Indonesian community in the Los Angeles area due to two devastating wildfires (the Palisades and Eaton Fires). Thus, I decided to conduct fieldwork in the San Bernardino metropolitan area, where the Indonesian population is the third largest after those in the Los Angeles and New York metropolitan areas.
3. As mentioned by Brightwell (2015), Urban (2013), and Wijaya (2008).

CHAPTER 1. REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

1. Gilroy (1993, p. 102), in his book *The Black Atlantic: Double Consciousness and Modernity*, explains, "Tradition can be seen to be a process rather than an end, and is used here neither to identify a lost past nor to name a culture of compensation that would restore access to it."
2. My insight here comes from a cookbook by Helen Barolini (1988) titled *Festa: Recipes and Recollections of Italian Holidays*. Barolini narrates a story in which her American mother reconnected to her Italian heritage by remembering her own mother's (or Barolini's grandmother's) Italian kitchen. This revelation came up when Barolini's mother spent time in the kitchen.
3. Gabaccia (1998, p. 179) writes, "People turn to such comfort foods when they must cope with stress..... Change itself is stressful, generating a demand for comfort foods." She continues with a story of a Southeast Asian father from Cambodia who was asked about what he does when he feels

marginal, lost, and sad. This father answers, “I shout at my children to speak Cambodian, I tell my wife to cook much rice and snao (a Cambodian edible flower) Then, on the same day, I feel better.”

4. Gabaccia (1996) also writes about the Italian immigrants of New York in the late 19th century to the early 20th century. They kept chickens, goats, and an occasional pig in tenement kitchens and basements.
5. In the first chapter, Place Matters, Trubek (2008, p. 18) explains that in France, the fundamentalist group of terroir advocates always begins their scrutiny of the taste of food by defining the place where the plants and animals involved in the food come from. It is all about location, location, location.
6. On the presence of The Institute National des Appellations d’Origine (National Institute of Appellations of Origin), Trubek (2008, p. 28) suggests the primary goal of the institution is to protect terroir, as official literature says: “It has been known from ancient times that certain lands are made more suitable to the certain of products that retain, and in fact draw out, the specific flavors of that place.”
7. In her book *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*, Gabaccia (1998, p. 55) writes, “.....the 19th century (America) also saw the creation of food corporations of national dimensions, and their ability to ship food everywhere in large quantities increasingly linked a nation of many regions into a single national food marketplace.” The writing continues, “Students of American history are accustomed to thinking of an American industrial revolution built on railroads, steel, oil, and automobiles. Yet in many ways, food was the leading manufacturing sector of the nineteenth century, expanding fifteenfold from 1859 to 1899, while general manufacturing increased only sixfold. If industrialization did not automatically transform American eaters into a homogeneous people of nationally uniform tastes, it created the material conditions for a national marketplace in its geographic dimensions and corporate organization.” Additionally, “.....by 1920, the first conglomerate food companies (General Foods & Standard Brands) began to set new standards for corporate, centralized organization in food processing. Food retailing followed somewhat later – first chains of grocery stores, then supermarkets and chains of supermarkets, then restaurants, and finally chains of eateries. All substituted their goods and services for the work of millions of housewives in their kitchens.” Gabaccia also suggests that the creation of the food corporation and industrialization affected how Americans ate.
8. Trubek (2008, p. 51) cited a statement in a French Gourmet Magazine for the American audience that says, “Even the most *urbane boulevardier* can become near-maudlin about his terroir, acknowledging roots reaching back to a province, a village, a family vegetable patch....”

APPENDIX A

1. Recruitment Text

Hello (Prospective Participant Name),

I got your contact info when we met at an Indonesian gathering in the past. Currently, I am conducting a dissertation study to complete my Ph.D. in Architecture at the University of Oregon. I am inviting you to participate in my study, which aims to understand how Indonesian immigrants continue to cook and eat Indonesian foods in the U.S. Some equipment and kitchen design may need modifications, so Indonesians can cook their foods more conveniently and efficiently. Using Indonesians as our case study's subject, findings from this research will be useful to raise public awareness of the ethnically inclusive architectural design that could help immigrant communities achieve a full sense of belonging in the U.S. My data collection, which includes interviews, observations, and mapping will take place in your house when you shop, cook, and eat Indonesian foods. If you agree to participate, we will need to make an appointment in the time frame of Fall 2024 to Spring 2025. I will audiotape, photograph, and videotape the activities, but I will not include any identifiable information in any academic publications. I will send an informed consent form with details of my study and your participation.

Would you be able to participate in my study? Your participation is very instrumental in this project's success and is greatly appreciated.

Thank you,

Klara Puspa Indrawati
University of Oregon

2. Informed Consent Form



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Consent for Research Participation

Title: TERROIRS IN BETWEEN: A Closer Look at Food Axes in and Around Indonesian Immigrants' U.S. West Coast Homes

Researcher(s): Klara Indrawati, Doctoral Candidate, University of Oregon
Mark Gillem, Dissertation Advisor, University of Oregon

Researcher Contact Info: 541-221-2239 (text); klarai@uoregon.edu (email)

You are being asked to participate in a research study. The box below highlights key information about this research for you to consider when making a decision on whether or not to participate. Carefully consider this information and the more detailed information provided below the box. Please ask questions about any of the information you do not understand before you decide whether to participate.

Key Information for You to Consider

- **Voluntary Consent.** You are being asked to volunteer for a research study. It is up to you whether you choose to participate or not. There will be no penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled if you choose not to participate or discontinue participation at any point in this study.
- **Purpose.** This study aims to understand how Indonesian immigrants on the West Coast adapt to the kitchen designs and cooking equipment in their homes to continue cooking and consuming Indonesian foods. Using Indonesians as our case study's subject, findings from this research will be useful to raise public awareness of the ethnically inclusive architectural design that could help immigrant communities achieve a full sense of belonging in the U.S. through the practice of their food cultures.
- **Duration.** It is expected that your participation will last at least 3 hours and a maximum of 6 hours throughout our data collection. We will conduct this study throughout the Fall Term of 2024 and Winter Term of 2025.
- **Procedures and Activities.** Our research uses interviews, participant observations, and mapping that will be done in person with participants' engagements that will take place in the participant's house during the shopping, cooking, and eating activities.
- **Risks.** This research entails minimum risk. However, our study may carry a few risks, such as the informational risks due to unintentional loss of privacy or breach of confidentiality if PI's laptop or phone got lost or stolen and emotional risks from responding to interview questions related to immigration experience or a nostalgic feeling of Indonesia.
- **Benefits.** There is no direct benefit from participating in this research. However, participation is highly valuable in helping us to develop a deeper knowledge of what architectural elements are necessary for Indonesian immigrants to practice Indonesian food cultures in their U.S. homes.
- **Alternatives.** Your participation is voluntary, and the only alternative is to not participate.



Why is this research being done?

This research is necessary for the completion of the primary investigator (PI)'s dissertation study. Our study examines how Indonesian Immigrants on the West Coast reconstruct a sense of home by continuing to cook and consume Indonesian foods. The West Coast area is chosen as a place where the majority (59%) of Indonesians across the U.S. live.

What happens if I agree to participate in this research?

If you agree to participate in this research and have signed the consent form, the PI will proceed with the first of the two sessions of data collection, which are the Interview/Participant Observation and the Participatory Mapping.

- **Interview and Participant Observation (including Photo Story & Material Culture Study)**
These procedures help us understand participants' perspectives, behaviors, experiences, and motivations about practicing the Indonesian food culture in the U.S. (such as type of preferred dishes, ingredients, cooking tools, challenges found in the American kitchen, adjustment to resolve issues found during cooking in the American kitchen). A semi-structured, 2-hour interview touching on these subjects will be conducted simultaneously with observation during cooking and mealtime using either Indonesian or English per participant preference. We will ask questions such as *Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome homesickness? Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia? Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?* The PI will audiotape the interview, videotape the observation, and take photos (photo story) during the preparation and consumption of Indonesian foods. Additionally, the PI will draw the floor plan of parts of the house where the cooking and eating activities take place. Afterward, the PI will make an activity map on the floor plan to record participants' movements and cooking/eating sequences. This activity map is necessary for our material culture study. We will not document other parts of the home that are not used in the research activities (such as bedrooms). The whole activity will last for 3 hours.
- **Participatory Mapping (including Photo Story & Material Culture Study)**
This procedure helps us to find out where participants acquire ingredients and/or equipment to cook and consume Indonesian foods in the U.S. It also helps in figuring out the reason behind the preferred store. The mapping process requires the PI to follow, observe, and interview participants when shopping for ingredients or equipment to cook Indonesian dishes. The PI will prepare a printed map that includes the participant's house and all stores to visit during the mapping session. The mapping process is participatory meaning the PI and the participant will hand-mark the locations of stores and any parts of the store (architectural elements e.g., store signage, arrangement of aisle, size of aisleway) that bring significance to participants as an Indonesian immigrant while discussing the reason behind the preference and the significance. Simultaneously, we will take photos (photo story) to document these architectural elements. We will not take photos/videos of other stores' visitors or staff during this mapping process. The duration will be determined by the length of each participant's shopping trip (we assumed it to be no longer than 3 hours).

What happens to the information collected for this research?

Audio-recording files will be transcribed and used in the qualitative coding process to be analyzed. Floor plan images, photos, and videos will be used as materials in the architectural analysis and mapping procedure.



Information collected and the result of analysis will be used to write the primary investigator's doctoral dissertation as a requirement to finish a Ph.D. in Architecture at the University of Oregon. Additionally, the PI may publish and present the findings from this study in scholarly publications and at conferences. Your name (or any identifying information in photos. Audio recording of the interview will be used for transcription purposes only and will be deleted once the primary investigator completed her dissertation writing.

How will my privacy and data confidentiality be protected?

We will take measures to protect your privacy. Despite taking steps to protect your privacy, we can never fully guarantee your privacy will be protected. During our consent process, we will ask for your written consent before audiotaping or videotaping the interview/observation and before taking photos. You will have the option to choose a pseudonym to be used in place of your actual name or have the investigator choose one for you. Interview recordings, transcripts, videos, photos, and digital maps will be stored in UO OneDrive. The interview recording is used for transcription purposes and the videotape is for the material culture study. They will be deleted once the primary investigator has completed her doctoral degree and will not be played in any publication or presentation. In any academic dissemination or publication, we will only mention the neighborhood or the area you live in as an important geographic reference in our architectural study without publishing your address. We will blur identifiable parts of the photos/videos, such as home numbers. Any faces captured in the photo will be blurred in the outcome of our research. The interviewee's pseudonym will be used in the investigator's dissertation writing and any other publications that result from this research. All other identifying data will be scrubbed from the interview transcript. We will not take photos/videos of other stores' visitors or staff during the participatory mapping process. The mapping outcome and photos will be stored in UO OneDrive. Identifiers might be removed from identifiable private information collected in this research. After the removal of identifiers, the information may be used for future research without obtaining additional consent.

What if I want to stop participating in this research?

Taking part in this research study is your decision. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You do not have to take part in this study, but if you do, you can stop at any time. You have the right to choose not to participate in any study activity or completely withdraw from continued participation at any point in this study without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your relationship with the researchers or the University of Oregon. If you decide to leave this research, please contact the research team so that the primary investigator can start destroying and excluding your data from our future work.

Who can answer my questions about this research?

If you have questions or concerns or have experienced a research-related injury, contact the research team at:

Klara Puspa Indrawati (Primary Investigator)
Phone: 541-221-2239
Email: klarai@uoregon.edu

An Institutional Review Board ("IRB") is overseeing this research. An IRB is a group of people who perform independent review of research studies to ensure the rights and welfare of participants are protected. UO Research Compliance Services is the office that supports the UO IRB. If you have questions about your rights or wish to speak with someone other than the research team, you may contact:

Informed Consent – TERROIRS IN BETWEEN
Version 09/2024

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UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

Research Compliance Services
5237 University of Oregon
Eugene, OR 97403-5237
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STATEMENT OF CONSENT

I have had the opportunity to read and consider the information in this form. I have asked any questions necessary to make a decision about my participation. I understand that I can ask additional questions throughout my participation.

I understand that by signing below, I volunteer to participate in this research. I understand that I am not waiving any legal rights. I have been provided with a copy of this consent form. I understand that if my ability to consent or assent for myself changes, either I or my legal representative may be asked to re-consent prior to my continued participation in this study.

I consent to participate in this study.

Name of Adult Participant

Signature of Adult Participant

Date

Researcher Signature (to be completed at the time of informed consent)

I have explained the research to the participant and answered all of his/her questions. I believe that he/she understands the information described in this consent form and freely consents to participate.

Name of Research Team Member

Signature of Research Team Member

Date

3. Semi-structured Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Thank you for agreeing to sit for an interview with me. I very much appreciate your time.

The following are questions about your immigration story:

- What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
- Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
- When did you come to the U.S.?
- What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
- Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
- Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.

The following are questions about your practice of Indonesian food culture before you came to the U.S.:

- Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, What dish/dishes did you commonly make? Why this dish/dishes (any particular reason)? Was there any relevance to a particular event you celebrate with this dish?
- Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?

The following are questions about your practice of Indonesian food culture in the U.S.:

- How have been your adaptation to American food culture (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?
- Do you miss Indonesian foods after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?
- Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example different equipment or ingredients)?
- Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they and how do you resolve them?
- How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?
- How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
- Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
- If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
- Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
- How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/place/period in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?

- Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
- Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
- Do you consume other types of food?

The following are questions about rooms/areas and equipment in your house that are used during the process of cooking and eating Indonesian foods:

- Can you please tell me typically the sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
- Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
- Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
- What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
- Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
- What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
- Where do you serve the food?
- What equipment do you use to serve the food?
- What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian foods? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?

The following are questions about your perception of your identity as an Indonesian immigrant relevant to your food preference in the U.S.:

- Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystalize your memory of Indonesia?
- How do you see your identity as Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?

APPENDIX B

PORTLAND, “Julie” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First-generation immigrant.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
The province is Nusa Tenggara Timur. I was born in Kupang on Timor Island. But originally, my ancestors (from both my mother's and father's side) came from a smaller island called Rote Island.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
The first time I stepped on U.S. land was in August 2014. I forgot the date. I think it's the 8th of August. I came to study, to do my Master's. I stayed for about 22 months, almost 24 months. Yeah, almost 2 years. I completed my Master's. The university is in Wisconsin. I stayed for a week in D.C. because I was part of a USAID scholarship for Indonesian people. Yeah, I stayed at the hotel for a week. And then after that, I flew to Wisconsin. Then I graduated. I went back home to Indonesia in June 2016. I worked for about 2 years in Indonesia. Then I applied for another scholarship to continue my PhD. I actually didn't start my program until 2019. I came back to the US in November 2018 with my husband. I got married in Indonesia. We got married in October 2018.

My husband already got a job. And his first starting date is around December. Early December. So we both flew here at the end of November 2018. So, I used an F2 visa because my husband was on OPT. I'm using a visa as a spouse. And then I went back to Indonesia for a holiday for a visit in 2019. Summer. And also, I have already been accepted into UoFO with a full scholarship from the university. So, I decided to just use the university funding. I went back to Indonesia in summer 2019 to also change my visa to F1 instead of F2. So, I used a F1 visa to enter the United States again at the beginning of Fall 2019, in August. We were still in Portland. But then in September or October, we started to look for an apartment, when school started, that's when I moved to Eugene, have my own apartment. My husband is still in Portland.

While COVID happened, I moved back to Portland. (From her birth) until my first daughter was almost one year old. The school closed in March 2020 and opened again in the Fall of 2021. The whole family moved back to Eugene in September 2021.

4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
In terms of immigration status, my husband. His office sponsored him for a green card application, and we changed our immigration status to permanent residence in February 2021. That's when I became a permanent resident.

My first visit to the US, mostly purely about study because it was only a short program. Relatively shorter, only about two years. I didn't have any family here, so it's just purely study. But then the second time, it was a little bit different because I got married already. The reason why we came back again to the US for the second time with my husband is that I also want to continue studying and doing my PhD. But that one is longer—about four or five years. Also, because I know that the PhD program is long, we got married first before we continue, because we know that it's a long journey, and it's a long time. He was also looking for a job in the US. Basically, the plan was until I graduated, so we know about four or five years, but then I also want to have some working experience here, so four or five years plus some additional years for me to work, and eventually we'll go back to Indonesia.

Yeah, after my first experience with US healthcare in terms of childcare the hospital the OBGYN I personally, as a woman, I decided if I ever gave birth, I want to do it in the US just because the treatment and like the care and I heard so many scary stories about hospital in Indonesia. The US is not perfect, I know. We decided to raise our family here, but we always have in the back of our mind that we will not stay here permanently.

Also, we miss our family, I guess. I grew up in Indonesia; I spent all my life in Indonesia as a child and as a young woman. I love my hometown, but I have to think about where my husband can work. Here in the U.S., I like, for example, the school, the church, the neighborhood, the clean air, but I also know the U.S. has a lot of problems, such as a lot of bullying. I guess for early childhood education, I still trust the U.S. education system, but I want my kids not to experience high school or middle school here.

5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?

Most culture shock happens during the first time coming to the US. I've been to some other countries before in Asia, but this is the furthest one. Mostly about food, I remember. I remember one of the first cultural shocks when I arrived in DC. I don't want to eat any fast food anymore because we've been eating like burgers. I also bought Indomie, and then there's a microwave in the hotel, so I use the microwave to cook Indomie, so that's the first Indonesian food that makes me feel at home in the first 2 -3 days. Also, we try to go out and, you know, eat, and experience culture shock, probably the prices. I got mostly fast food or just like easy food that I could get during this orientation in Washington, DC. There were some food trucks where the portion of the burger was big, so I always ate half of it and took it home. It was also a culture shock because we're not doing that in Indonesia. It's left over. You leave it there where you eat, you don't ask for a to-go container. In Indonesia, I don't have a microwave at home.

In Indonesia, food is sold mostly in small portions, right? Or take out food you eat together with other people, or share with your family. We take home bones for dogs from the restaurant where we eat out. For example, we eat out like grilled fish or fried chicken, and at the end we will ask for a plastic bag because I have dogs, so my mom says the dogs should also have a party at home. That's what you take home. You don't take home something that you'll eat again at home. You just take a whole portion and eat at home (bungkus). The ridiculous portion size was one of the first culture shocks about the food size. I flew to Wisconsin after DC and stayed in a hotel for 3 days. I was so sick of eating Indomie because I've been eating it for a week. I brought abon (fried meat floss), but they threw it away because I confessed. When I was at the hotel, one of my friends, my senior in Wisconsin, brought me a lunchbox and rice with ayam rica. She's from Ambon (eastern Indonesia). I cried while eating because that was my first real nasi and ayam rica. She cooked it. We became roommates later.

6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.

Yes. I grew up eating fish a lot, almost every day. I live on an island where we eat chicken too, but fish is the best and ubiquitous. The taste of fish in my hometown is also different. It's fresh. It's not white water. We mostly have grilled fish, fried fish, sour.... tamarind.... also small star fruit (belimbing wuluh) in ikan kuah asam. We also eat a lot of pork because beef is pretty expensive. I think until now. Beef is the most expensive. Occasionally, we eat chicken too, but my main food that's special for me is fish or pork. It's special because when I moved to Salatiga in Central Java for my undergrad, most people there ate chicken. They didn't eat fish, or they ate freshwater fish like lele.

That's when I feel the difference.... Oh, my experience eating fresh fish was special. And it is expensive now. It used to be like everyday consumption. When you cannot have access to it anymore, then that's when you realize, oh, this is actually something special. I love it now. Maybe chicken was more special before. I took it for granted.

What makes you have an emotional response when you eat?

When I finally eat food, for example, in the case of Ayam Rica in Wisconsin, it's more than something just to help me not feel hungry; it's not just physical, but also psychological. I was actually eating something. I was alive. I was not just surviving. My tongue started to feel more tastes again, other than just salt, pepper, and cheese. Oh, my goodness! My tongue started feeling spicy, and I felt alive again, and then my soul did too. I think when you grow up, your taste buds are being stimulated with so many tastes, so you can't have bland food. Rica is a specific cooking style in East Indonesia, Manado, Kupang, and Ambon. It's not just Indonesian food in general. When I was in Java, it was a different taste. It's sweeter, peanutty, saucy, but from my hometown, it's more spicy, sour, bitter, so the strong flavor is not just sweet. I remember I was sick during the first two days in Wisconsin. I think it was the tap water. I was coughing like crazy at night. I couldn't sleep. I started to miss my mom. Maybe just because I'm not used to drinking tap water. I don't know. The feeling of homesickness has already begun, and I have also separated from my friends. I was by myself in this hotel, coughing. When you're sick, you want to be cared for, yeah, nobody's taking care of me. So, when my friend came with the rica, it was just like bursting with emotion.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?

No, I only helped my mom. Growing up, I was familiar with home cooking a lot. When I lived alone in Salatiga, it was easier to buy food. At home, my mom usually cooks. I help my mom cook potatoes, so I'm like a sous chef. My mom usually cooks by herself, but occasionally, we all help when she is mad at us. Growing up, believe it or not, I also liked to cook, but not for family. For example, I wanted to eat crepes because nobody sells them in Kupang, right? So I looked at the recipe from the magazine, and then I made it. I cook mostly snacks. While in Salatiga, I started to learn to cook and showed some interest. In my apartment, there is no personal kitchen. The kitchen is communal. I think when I was working as a lecturer after graduating, I was back in my hometown, teaching at the university, and I cooked different things, but then the kitchen became so messy, my mom was complaining. When I was little, I liked to help my mom make beef bakso and soto. The most common foods I cook with my mom are soto ayam, nasi kuning, and condiments like tempe goreng.

Why this dish/dishes (any particular reason)?

This dish is commonly sold in Kupang. However, getting it from Warung Pinggir Jalan is unhealthy, especially in Kupang, because you don't know the ingredients. They use a lot of MSG, so my mom taught us to value home cooking. At home, you know the ingredients, use clean water to cook, and use clean oil. So, because we are aware of future health issues, the family liked the food, and my mom liked to cook this particular dish, too. Another reason to cook soto ayam was to celebrate the payday. We
When I came back to Kupang after my undergraduate years in Salatiga, I liked to cook Chinese dishes, like ayam goreng mentega and cap cay, because they are expensive to buy. I feel good when people say they like my dish, my food.

2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?

The kitchen is at the back and separated from the dining room. There is a door between the kitchen and the dining room. When I was a kid, it was a kerosene stove with one burner, and then it was changed to a gas stove when I was in high school or college. The stove is in a corner, with two burners. Also, there was a plastic cupboard on the countertop to store dishware at the same level as the countertop as the stove. The countertop that has the cupboard and the stove is short. There's a sink next to the stove, at a higher level than the stove. Attached to the wall is a shelf above the stove, where we keep the seasoning and

sauce. There are also cabinets above and below the countertop, making it look more modern. The drying rack is next to the sink. Then, perpendicular to the drying rack, we keep a rice cooker. For preparation activities, such as cutting or marinating, we usually use the empty area of the countertop, between the cupboard and the stove, or around the rice cooker. We also use the dining room if we want to do the prep while chatting or watching TV. We have to stand if we prepare in the kitchen, but sit down if the prep is in the dining room. The round table in the dining room seats six people. It is old; it has been there since I was very young. When my siblings and I were younger, the six family members used to eat together in the dining room. We have a TV in the dining room, so we can watch while eating.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?

Hmmm.... I think American cultural food has different types. America has lots of immigrants, too, right? So, what is actually American food culture? It's something that we need to define first. I don't think it's more traditional. But now, it's more vibrant, with a lot of influence from other cultures as well. I have actually been exposed to different countries in the US. We tried Japanese food, Korean food, Vietnamese, and Thai, which I had not been exposed to or familiar with before, when I was still in Indonesia. In Indonesia, we eat Indonesian food, or maybe, if you say American food, it's McDonald's, KFC, and things like that. But once you are here, there are many other restaurants too. Yeah, from immigrants. I started to eat a lot of different countries' cuisines here in the US. I also cooked a lot in Wisconsin because I had an Indonesian roommate and another Indonesian student who lived in the same apartment complex, just in a different unit. So, it was the three of us, and we would go grocery shopping together and go to an Asian store together. But we made a schedule for when each of us would cook, and we took turns. Each of us has a specialty menu because we also came from different regions in Indonesia. We cooked a simple dish, basically the menu had rice and vegetables. So, when I was still in Wisconsin, I mainly ate Indonesian food. First, because of efficiency, we can collectively arrange to cook Indonesian food among the three of us. Second, it was also cheaper because we would bring the food for lunch to the campus. That's for weekdays. Occasionally, if we had a night out or a weekend getaway, we would buy food at a restaurant.

To clarify about American traditional food, prior to my arrival in the U.S., American food in Indonesia was fast food. But after coming here, I think it depends on where you live and the community around you. Is it a more international community, thus more international foods? But, if I need to characterize American foods, I would say it has lots of cheese and dairy products. Or something like a Thanksgiving meal, mashed potatoes, roasted chicken or turkey, or baked goods. We fry in Indonesia, but people bake a lot here. So, I adapt. I combine my cooking methods for Indonesian food using American kitchen appliances. For example, I roasted broccoli and baked chicken. I also cook non-Indonesian food occasionally. Now, in my own family, we limit fried food consumption. I use 50% oven and 50% gas stove. To cook meats, like fish and chicken, we use the oven more because it is more convenient and efficient. It's messier when I fry; the oil goes everywhere.

2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?

I missed Indonesian food in the first few years of my arrival in the U.S., but it wasn't too bad because I was lucky. I was embraced right away by the Indonesian community in the city where I lived—the Indonesian student and immigrant communities. So, during the day, I spent time with non-Indonesian people, but when I returned to my apartment, I hung out with my Indonesian friends. So, basically, I felt like going “home” every day.

The remedy was through the social connection with other Indonesians, and we could continue consuming Indonesian foods. We, the three Indonesian students, had a \$75 budget per week for the three of us. Each

person contributes \$25. It was a decade ago. We could get a lot of food for that much money per week. We also had an Asian store in the city where we lived, so we rode our bike 15-20 mins to the Asian store to get Asian ingredients. The store was not very big, but had quite a complete selection of ingredients we used. They got candlenut, cassava leaves, bay leaves, kangkong, and coconut milk.

As grad students, we often hung out with the older generation, so we also hung out with other Indonesian families. We were very close-knit there. The immigrant community, especially the aunties, is very supportive. If we held a cultural event, the aunties would provide food, like a potluck system. It was more vibrant than the Indonesian community in Portland and Eugene, more engaged, more supportive, and more close-knit.

I was once the president of the Indonesian student organization, and we reached out to the broader public to promote Indonesian culture. We created the Indonesian Night, and the aunties cooked the food. People in my city were already aware of Indonesian culture because the university where I studied had an Indonesian studies program. There were about 50-60 Indonesian immigrants in my town in Wisconsin, many Indonesian undergraduate students, and about ten Indonesian graduate students. The undergraduates were mainly Chinese Indonesians, but we were all close. Once a month, we had a gathering event. Currently, I also buy Indonesian food from an Indonesian caterer, food truck, or restaurant.

3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?
Yes, but I don't want to cook if the ingredients are incomplete. For example, if I want to cook soto ayam, the kefir lime leaves and the galangal have to be there. Otherwise, I prefer to eat non-Indonesian foods or cook another Indonesian dish for which I have already collected the complete ingredients. Making Indonesian dishes requires a lot of effort, so I won't compromise on the quality of the taste. That's why I need the ingredients to be complete. I always make a plan before cooking Indonesian food. Yes, there are differences in the format of the ingredients and the way I make the food. For example, I can accept some ingredients in a powder format, like turmeric powder. But no powder for ginger, lemongrass, or galangal. They should be fresh. I can also substitute the mortar and pestle with a food processor, but not for everything. To make fresh sambal, I only use the mortar and pestle.
4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?
It is sometimes tricky because the final taste might differ if I use powder seasoning or pre-prepared seasonings. My solution is to buy fresh ingredients and then keep the leftovers in the freezer. I also appreciate having a gas stove now. My current landlord is an Indian family. They installed a gas stove. I never had a gas stove in my dwelling unit in the U.S. before. Early on, when we moved here and started using the gas stove, it was also an issue. It got too hot that we smelled something.... like burned plastic.

I had an interesting experience making a popular Indonesian sweet dish, martabak manis. I tried multiple times with the electric stove when I still lived in Eugene, but I failed. An Indonesian there showed me how to control the heat. The heat under the pan needs to be even and shouldn't be too hot. The electric stove with a spiral-shaped burner didn't work to create even heat. I finally succeeded after using a portable gas stove.

I also had a bad experience with odor management in my apartment. Some Indonesian dishes have a strong smell. Usually, if I cook something like that, I turn on the kitchen fan and open the kitchen window. Once upon a time, I cooked with terasi (shrimp paste) when I lived in a studio apartment. I already turned on the fan and opened the window, but the smell lingered on my bed sheet and pillowcase. It was a disaster. I always need a separation between cooking space and sleeping space because I am susceptible to strong smells when I am sleeping. My technique here in this rental house now is to close all bedroom doors when I cook. The smells from cooking still travel around the house, so I close all bedroom doors.

Other than that, I would say I don't find it challenging to maintain Indonesian food culture here. I am even more encouraged to make a more complicated type of Indonesian dish here, like rendang. In Indonesia, we just buy complex dishes, and at home, we cook something simple, with just salt and pepper. So, there are things I like better in the American kitchen. The fridge is typically bigger, so you can keep more food. The number of burners here is also typically more than in Indonesia, which is only two.

I am pretty happy with the size of the countertop in my current rental house, but my former student family apartment in Eugene, where I was a Ph.D. student, had a limited countertop and storage area in the kitchen. So, when I needed a larger prep area, for example, I made chicken satay or baked, I occupied the dining table next to the kitchen. My daughter liked to join me in baking, so it was easier for her to do it at the dining table. But, most of the days, we cooked only for my family of 4, so the countertop was still okay, unless I needed to cook for guests or a gathering, it was too small. Once upon a time, I used the stovetop area to make enough prep space for daily use. I burned my cutting board because I placed it on the hot burner. Actually, we can buy the covers for the stove burners to make the area safer.

I also learned from my first stay in the U.S. that I needed to bring some cooking equipment that was hard to find. So, after I got married, I brought my own mortar and pestle from Indonesia. I also need to bring a particular sambal from my hometown to the U.S. The sambal is called sambal luat. I can't make this sambal. So, if I don't have it anymore, I will ask my family members who will visit us to bring several jars of this sambal from Indonesia. I also brought a mold to make rice cakes, a mold for kue putu, and a mold for pastel. Usually, I also like to ask my family members to bring gula lempeng (brown sugar) from my hometown. I can't find it here, and I need this sugar to make my sour-broth fish.

5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?
We eat Indonesian food three times a week, so each dish lasts for one lunch and one dinner.
6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
Four, two adults, two small kids.
7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
I buy them. The nearest one is Asian Family Market, a 15-20-minute drive from home. The store also has good selections, such as quality oxtail. We also like to buy fish from them, like pompano, tilapia, and Spanish mackerel. I have also been to the Fubonn Shopping Center. They have some village-vibe selections of household appliances, like a plastic mesh cover for food on the dining table.
8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
N/A
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
Yes. In the fridge.
10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
Excited, happy, yes. My mom's specialty is making Indonesian desserts. She usually makes nastar for Christmas, so nastar reminds me of Christmas. But in my family culture, in Kupang, we have many extended family members from both sides, my mom and dad. So, there were lots of parties, like an engagement and a birthday. Those were big parties, dozens to a thousand people. The food was all local dishes, like jagung bese, salad rumpurampe. In each party, the kitchen was led by what we called "the mama of the kitchen." This person is a member of the community whose cooking is excellent, and she is

appointed to lead the cooking team. This mama also has cooking equipment that most people don't have, like a giant wok. This mama usually does not get paid. The family that appoints the mama will give her money to buy ingredients. She will get the portion of the food she cooks for her own family at home. So, every time I eat Kupang food, I remember the party, my family, my community, and my hometown. Also, no one can find the food they serve at the party outside the party. They are not commercial foods. You need to go to a party if you want to eat them, like jagung bese, grilled fish, and braised pork with soy sauce. That's our food culture. The party is very important to sustain the local food culture in Kupang.

11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Yes. The most memorable smell is the shrimp paste. The scent of Indonesian sambal, which has garlic and shallots, immediately reminds me of Indonesia. Also, the taste of coconut milk. For looks, if I see rice, kangkong, and fried fish...that's very Indonesian!
12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
For now, mainly I have to cook to eat Indonesian food. But when I was in Wisconsin, I would go to an Indonesian community gathering. We usually had gatherings frequently there. So, the aunties cooked, and I just enjoyed the food. When I was in Eugene, I also bought from Indonesian friends who sell Indonesian food via a WhatsApp group. They are typically Indonesian wives who open an informal food catering business from home.
13. Do you consume other types of food?
Yes. I make Indian food because my husband's family lived in Nepal for many years. My family and I also like Korean, Japanese, Thai, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Italian food.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
So, basically, I will get home from grocery shopping, park in the garage, put all my things on the island, and then sort them out. I put the perishable ones in the fridge. Onions, potatoes, and garlic are kept in a box in the food pantry. In the case of Asian ingredients, the fresh ones go to the fridge, and the dried ones go to the food pantry. I label the food shelves in the food pantry. I don't do any food prep after shopping.

If I want to cook something with meat, I defrost it the night before. I usually put it in a bowl in the sink. I cut the vegetables and the rest of the ingredients closer to cooking. Preparation happens on the island; sometimes, I sit on the bar stool while prepping if it takes a bit longer. If the prep is simple, I will stand around the island. I usually multitask, so I finish cooking in 30-40 minutes. I store all prepared ingredients on the island and prepare my pans on the stove. Typically, I cook multiple foods at the same time, so I use multiple pans and burners. I will move back and forth between the island and the stove or oven. Sometimes, the countertop area near the stove becomes a transit point for the ingredients before I toss them into the pan. I also like to bake. My daughter used to join me. I will pick up the standing mixer from where I keep it on the countertop and move it to the island to have more space. So, the stove and oven area is the center of activities during cooking. After cooking, I put the food on a serving plate, but sometimes I bring the pan to the dining table. For example, if I cook some kind of soup, I will just bring the pans/pots to the dining table, and my family will get it from the pan to their plate at the dining table. Sometimes, we also bring the rice cooker to the dining table, so it will be easier to access the rice. If I cook, my husband will be the one who sets up the table. He will place the plate and utensils for the eaters. Our positions usually face the window. Unless we have guests, the area against the window is usually not used.

I usually clean while I am prepping the ingredients. Throughout prepping, I collect the waste in the trash can under the sink, which can be slid in and out from inside the cabinet. For the food drops on the floor while eating, I will sweep them later at night after my kids go to bed. The size of the kitchen trash can is medium, so we are more encouraged to bring it out often to the outdoor trash can. Usually, 1-2 days, we bring out the kitchen trash to the outdoor bigger can. The city's waste management will pick up the collected garbage once a week, every Monday morning.

Throughout the day, we just collected all dirty plates, bowls, utensils, drinkware, etc, in the sink. Later in the night, when it's time to clean up, we spray and wipe the dining table, island, countertop, and stove. By doing this, the crumbs and waste will drop to the floor. In the next step, we will sweep them and then mop the floor. My husband and I take turns running the dishwasher. The person responsible will rinse the dirty dishes and toss the waste into the kitchen trash can before arranging them in the dishwasher and running it. We handwash some cookware, such as cast iron, a big mixing bowl, or a big pot. They are too big.

2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
In the food pantry for dry ingredients, the seasoning drawer for the powder seasonings, the fridge for produce, and the freezer for meat or other frozen foods. I keep them there for efficiency and the flow of the cooking.
3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
Mainly on the island. Additionally, I also use the countertop around the stove.
4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
I have a chopping board, a chef knife, a colander, a big plastic bowl, and zip-lock bags. I also bought a big wok with a round bottom because we want to cook smoky Indonesian fried rice. However, we still need to get a burner extension that will be compatible with the round bottom. What we get here is a flat-style burner.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Stove burners and ovens. My oven also has a fire, so it will be nice to make Indonesian satay.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Boiling pot, frying pan, and baking trays.
7. Where do you serve the food?
In the dining table. The island could be an additional space if we host an event.
8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?
Serving plate or just the soup pot.
9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?
I feel more satisfied with my current kitchen. In comparison with the kitchen in the student family housing in Eugene, I think the prep area and the countertops are much smaller there. Compared to my last apartment in Eugene, the biggest issue that is also resolved here is that our garage is located right next to the kitchen. Moving our groceries from the car to the storage in the kitchen has become an extremely easy task. In Eugene, I needed to walk several meters away, climb the stairs to the front door, and then to the kitchen. It was a lot of work. My cooking experience is also elevated with the gas stove here. In Eugene, it was the electric stove. Here, I am happy to hear the sizzling sound when I put the ingredients in the pan. It

reminds me of when I cooked in Indonesia, the sizzling sound. Also, I have two ovens here, the smaller one at the top and the bigger one at the bottom, so it gives me more options and flexibility.

I love my current kitchen because it has lots of storage space. This condition changed my attitude toward clutter. In Indonesia and Eugene, the shared issue is cluttered space—too many things in a small space. Now, my principle is that everything has its own place to store, so I have no excuse to clutter. With small children, it is even harder in a limited kitchen space in Eugene because they have their own dinnerware, bottles, equipment, etc. Those things occupied the same space in the kitchen, creating a spatial competition.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?

Yes. In my house, the kitchen is the part that most reminds me of Indonesia and crystallizes the memory, especially the food pantry and the seasoning drawer. I didn't put any décor elements that remind me of Indonesia. Neither here nor in my last apartment in Eugene. Because we have two small children, the room decoration focuses on what they like and what stimulates them. I cover my couch in Eugene with a traditional Kupang fabric, but I don't have time to think about it yet here. But, for me, what makes me feel at home is when I have my family photos in the kitchen and living room. Maybe it is also because I don't live in my own house, so I tend not to decorate very much. But family photos are very important. Like in my wedding photos, we wore Kupang traditional attire.

K's note: The food pantry smells like Indonesian seasonings and herbs.

2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?

For me, Indonesian food is my comfort food and my main diet. However, if I don't eat Indonesian food every day here in the U.S., I'm not suffering; it's okay. Even, I feel like if I return to Indonesia in the future, I will miss some good foods that I like here, like sushi and Indian food because my hometown is not in a big city like Jakarta, so it's going to be hard to find those kind of foods and those foods become part of my food culture, my identity. I think I am very spoiled here in the U.S. because I can access multiple food cultures, tastes, and seasonings from different places worldwide. My husband is an Indonesian, but he spent most of his childhood, 15 years, in Nepal, and then went to college in the U.S., so his palate is mainly Indian. My first child's palate is very American, like mac and cheese. My younger child has a more Indonesian palate. But my first child loves sweet Indonesian tastes, such as things with kecap manis.

THIS BELOW IS THE CONVERSATION DURING THE COOKING PROCESS

J: I want to cook pecel lele with sambal terasi, but since the researcher came with tempe, I'll also make Tempe, fried Tempe, pecel style. All will be fried. Indonesia is very famous for its fried food, which is unhealthy but yummy. So, who cares?! I'm going to make pecel lele goreng, sambal terasi, ayam goreng and tempe goreng. We'll eat fresh vegetables, too. Growing up, I didn't eat lele because there was no lele there. In Salatiga, I was introduced to more Javanese food, such as pecel.

So the process is we boil the chicken and the tempeh and then fry them. While waiting for them to cook, we'll make sambal terasi. First, we fry the sambal ingredients: candlenut, shallot, garlic, tomato, and hot chili pepper.

Afterward, we will smash and grind them using a mortar and pestle. I bought the mortar at the Sunrise Asian Store in Eugene, and the pestle I brought from Indonesia. I was taught to make this sambal by a Javanese maid of my husband's family. I add salt and pepper when I grind the ingredients.

Now, everything is boiled, and we will fry it. We will also cook rice. We cook rice almost every day, or at least we have leftover rice in the fridge.

K's note: Julie was so happy that I brought her tempe because she couldn't find where to buy it since she moved to Portland. We used to buy tempe in the Tempe factory in Surata, Eugene, together. It was sold in a bulk sheet (3.25 lb), so to make it freezer-friendly, we cut it and shared it between our two households.

EUGENE, “Piper” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First generation immigrant.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
Surakarta, Central Java Province.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
The first time I came was in October 2008.
4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
I got married to an American, so I followed him to the U.S. I immigrated alone.
5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
Yes. The first time I came, I felt isolated at home because I wanted to get involved in the community. So, I started volunteering at Food for Lane County. I enjoyed it so much that I stopped until March 2010, when my son was born. Also, about the language gap, I thought people here spoke English very fast. I don't get it, although my English was good when I was still in Indonesia. So, I volunteered as a customer service representative for an adoption agency. I was also still speaking regularly via phone with my mother and siblings in Indonesia, so it was helpful. After I had a baby, I was busy caring for him, so I got distracted by the culture shock. However, the road system in Eugene feels like that in Surakarta. It is fascinating for me. I joined a free course for immigrants at the local college here that taught us about American culture and local culture in Oregon/the Pacific Northwest.

Another culture shock happened in my American kitchen. I was not getting used to many electric appliances, including the stove here. I thought, "What if we have a power outage?" because in Indonesia, we have power outages often. I was confused. I was a bit scared initially because I was scared of a short circuit, like my stove would burn out. Moreover, some electricity outlets are around the sink, so they are at risk of getting wet. But then I learned that they have advanced technology to prevent short circuits here. The electricity outlet has a reset button. I was also a bit anxious about the garbage disposal in the sink. I feel it is disgusting to toss food waste in the sinkhole. But, I learned the sink has a garbage disposal. However, I was anxious about accidentally getting my hand in the disposal; it sounded dangerous to me.

The other problem is that if I wanted a dish in Indonesia, I could just buy one portion for that time. But it only makes sense here if I make a bigger portion of one Indonesian dish. It's such a lot of work and needs lots of space to store it, too. The ingredients that are available in the Asian store here are also in a bigger package.
6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.
Yes. The food here in the U.S. does not satisfy my soul. For example, when I gave birth, I felt much better after eating an Indonesian dish made of chicken feet that I had cooked and already stored in the fridge. However, it is not only about the food, but also the interaction with other Indonesians. I enjoy meeting Indonesians, cooking with them, and eating with them because I can share stories with them.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?

Yes, I used to cook for my college friends. We liked to hang out at my parents' house in Surakarta. I used to make a dish called setup makaroni (macaroni soup). For my family, I liked to cook cassava leaves curry. My stepfather liked it very much. I was happy if people liked my food. My friends bought the ingredients, and I would cook for them. I preferred that particular dish because people like it. The dishes that I mentioned remind me of those loved ones. I helped my mom make beef meatballs every Eid al-Fitr. Our relatives would come and eat with us. At the time, I lived with my grandparents in their house.

2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?

This kitchen was in my parents' house in Surakarta. We use the gas stove with two burners; the mobile one is connected to the gas tank. So part of the countertop where we placed the stove was lower (about 33") than the rest of the countertop. We had another kitchen at the back. We used them when we hosted a community event. In the back kitchen, we used two mobile kerosene stoves. We had a rice cooker and some shelves to store food items and equipment. Our dining room is next to the back kitchen without a separation. The dining room has a table and chairs. My mother often hosted many social events. We usually ate in the dining room or the living room. We had an oblong space under the countertop to keep our pots and pans. We also had a cupboard to store dishes.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?

It was difficult in the first year because if I wanted to eat Indonesian dishes, I would need to make them myself. But then, Indonesian ingredients are always more expensive, and sometimes, I can't find the right spices. I like Indonesian food better because I am familiar with it, and the Indonesian tastes have shaped my taste buds. My breakfast should be heavy, like in Indonesia. So, I need to eat rice or noodles for breakfast to prevent my low blood pressure symptoms. I prefer the Indonesian diet, especially for breakfast.

2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?

Absolutely. If I miss Indonesian food, I cook Indonesian food myself, or I will go to the Indonesian community's gathering to cook and eat Indonesian food.

3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?

Yes. I do it differently due to the availability of the ingredients. I use powdered seasonings and frozen ingredients here, but I still use a mortar and pestle. If I need to use them to grind herbs, I do it on the floor. I cook the same way I did when I was in Indonesia, but the stove here is different. I use an electric stove with a flat burner here, so I can only use pots and pans with a flat bottom. So, I adapt. Another example is I use the stove pan to make the skin crispy, then put the chicken in the oven to cook. This way, I don't always need to watch the chicken in the pan. While waiting, I can multitask. I simplify my cooking process because I have a kid to take care of. Here in the U.S., I bake something simple like banana bread. I didn't bake in Indonesia. However, Americans have too many things in the kitchen. One tool or appliance is used only for one purpose, and I dislike having too many things in my kitchen.

4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?

Some food items, like young coconut water here, taste very different. Papaya here tastes very different and expensive. Even black tea doesn't taste as good as it does in Indonesia. Another difference is the size of goods in the U.S. The store always sells them in a huge package, so you need to have a bigger fridge and storage. I think that's how capitalism works here. The culture encourages people to buy again and again. So, I don't buy the consumerism culture. One time, I purchased an electric wok, but then it was tough to keep it because it was too big, so I got rid of it. Now, I live simply. I use smaller-sized pans and pots. I also adapt by changing the ingredients/finding an alternative, for example, I can't find the cassava leaves here, so I use kale and cook it in a curry. I think the type of flavor is not exactly similar between the two, but quite alike. I also try not to be very attached to Indonesian food items that I can't find in the U.S.

5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?
I cook rice multiple times a week, and every time I no longer have rice in the fridge because I eat rice almost every day. I also cook the dishes that accompany it once every two weeks or once a week. My rice cooker is small because only I in my family practices Indonesian food culture.
6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
I eat Indonesian dishes mainly alone. But my husband and my son eat them sometimes, too. My son likes Indonesian snacks like fried tempeh and tofu.
7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
I buy them. I usually go to Sunrise Asian Food Market and King's to buy Indonesian ingredients. I can go as far as Portland, and if I have something to do there, I will stop by the Fubonn Shopping Center. But I also get some ingredients from regular grocery stores like Trader Joe's, Fred Meyer, Bimart, Kiva, and Grocery Outlet. My husband is a former employee at Bimart, so we get a discount. Fred Meyer is close to home. I like cucumbers in Trader Joe's because the size is similar to that of Indonesian cucumbers. The packaging in Trader Joe's is also not very big. I like to shop at Kiva because the products are organic, and I can buy as little produce as I need. So, if I want to try new ingredients, I can buy a small amount. The product variety in Kiva is also wider. In the Asian store, I can meet other Indonesians and chat with them. It has become a social space too. I buy Indonesian ingredients once or twice a month.
8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
Sometimes, my Indonesian friends share food items when they return from Indonesia. But I never asked my friend to bring me anything from Indonesia. Once, I asked my friend who lives in Denmark to send me Indonesian food items that she had bought in Indonesia. In the past, I had a few Indonesian wives in Eugene who agreed to take turns cooking, and we would share the food among us, but now they are all working and busy with their own things.
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
Usually multiple times. I will keep them in a food container in the fridge or freezer.
10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
I felt excited initially, but I have normalized my emotions. Particular foods remind me of my family. When I eat beef meatball soup, I remember my friends from college.
11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Yes, for example, the smell of shrimp paste. Kale's taste reminds me of cassava leaves, and plantain's taste reminds me of Indonesian bananas to make fried bananas. The look of the Solo dish called Bakmi Toprak also reminds me of Indonesia.

12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
I mainly come from the Indonesian community gatherings. I also bring Indonesian food back here if I visit my family in Indonesia. I return to Indonesia once every couple of years.
13. Do you consume other types of food?
Yes. I ate Western, Italian, Mexican, Dominican, Thai, Japanese, and Vietnamese foods.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
In my kitchen, I have two rows of countertops on opposite ends of the kitchen. I have a fridge, a microwave, a rice cooker, an electric stove with four burners, a sink, and a food pantry. Below the countertop, there are cabinets and drawers. Above the countertop, there are cabinets. The window above the sink faces toward my backyard. I keep bottled sauces and powdered seasonings in the top cabinet.

So, when I want to cook, I will take out the ingredients from the fridge and my food pantry. I clean them in the sink and prep them in the countertop area next to the sink. I get my pans or pots from the bottom cabinet and put them on the stove. And then, I will start cooking. If I need to marinate the meat, I will do it one day before I cook the dish. Sometimes, if I have time and already have a plan to make something, I can start the prep process a couple of days before. I chop the vegetables and keep them in the fridge, so when cooking comes, all ingredients are ready.

After the food is done, I serve it in the dining room, but we usually eat in the living room because other random things occupy my dining table.
2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
The food pantry, kitchen cabinets, fridge, and freezer are arranged this way because it is convenient for my working flow. I think a food pantry is crucial here because food items are sold in large quantities, and people tend to have many appliances and equipment in the kitchen. They need space to store them. We also do not go grocery shopping every day here, not like in Indonesia. We don't have a food pantry in Indonesia. We want to save gas and time.
3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
On the countertop and stove, if it's off, for preparation and marinating. Cleaning is in the sink.
4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
I use a knife and sometimes a food processor. I marinate in food containers or Ziploc bags.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
I use stove burners and ovens, so the center cooking area is a range. I also use an electric grill/griddle or an outdoor grill, a crock pot, and a rice cooker.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Boiling pot, frying pan, and baking trays. My pots and pans are small in size.
7. Where do you serve the food?
I serve the food sometimes directly on the stove, sometimes on the countertop next to the stove, and sometimes at the dining table. However, we have the food in the living room, so we can watch while eating.

If we have a family event, the dining table will be cleaned and extended so that we can eat together at the table.

8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?

It depends on the event. You can use a serving plate, plastic container, fancy bowl, or just the soup pot.

9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?

I think my kitchen is sufficient. But I hope my countertop is a bit lower. I need to use a stepping stool to reach the upper cabinets and shelves. When I was pregnant, I preferred to sit down while prepping my ingredients. Now, I peel ingredients in the sink so that I can collect the waste right away. In the American kitchen, I notice that we do everything in the standing position. In Indonesia, we can sit on the floor, sit on a stool, or even squat. I will open the window for air circulation if I cook a dish with a pungent smell. I want to be able to reach the deeper side of my cabinet, so I installed a rolling rack inside my cabinet. That way, I can use all areas of my cabinet and reach the things easily. That's my modification. Another model I would like is a rotating rack in the cabinet.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?

My living room has a gamelan set because my husband and his gamelan group practice regularly there. My son is also joining the group now. My husband studied music, so he still plays gamelan. But we place the gamelan in the living room, not to make our home feel more like Indonesia. In the past, we put the Javanese shadow puppet on the wall, but the skin became bubbly, so we stored it away. I also once put batik as a table runner, but I didn't like it that much, so I got rid of it. The gamelan can be seen from the dining room.

2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?

In terms of food culture, I identify myself as a practitioner of Indonesian food culture. But in terms of my identity, I feel I am already mixed. If I visit Indonesia, I can see that some parts of the Indonesian kitchen can use some design elements of the American kitchen. I would like it if I could introduce Indonesian food to American people, and I'd be happier if they liked it. Sometimes, I can talk about how to make the food with the people who eat my food, and we can even find similarities in our different food cultures.

K's note: My interview was full of laughter and funny immigrant stories—trial and error in using the kitchen.

Notes during shopping:

When grocery shopping here, Piper feels like she's in Indonesia when she visits a farmers' market. All Indonesian traditional (and most common type) food markets are what we call a pasar, and they look like an American farmers' market.

SPRINGFIELD, “Edelweiss” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First generation Immigrant.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
I was born and raised in Malang, East Java Province. When I was 22, I moved to Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Province, but I consider Malang my place of origin.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
The first time I came to the U.S. was in mid-December 2020.
4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
It was because I got married to an American man. So, here's a little story about us: We met online when I was still in Lombok, and then we found a connection. After four months, we decided to get married. He came to Lombok to meet for the first time, but we also had our wedding ceremony at that time. It was in the middle of the COVID-19 pandemic. After we got married, my husband returned to the U.S., and I stayed in Lombok to take care of my spouse visa, so we were long-distance. After I got the visa and came to the U.S., I started my green card process. Now I am already a permanent resident.
5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
Yes. All aspects of life were very shocking. I thought people here would be more friendly to foreigners. I came here in the wintertime, so the weather was shocking. Even worse, I lived in an RV with my husband, so the space was limited and very cold. I was easily irritated during cold weather in the first year because I felt isolated in the RV. I couldn't go anywhere by myself because I couldn't drive yet. I was bored. I was working, so I didn't feel too bored. Some cultural differences were pretty new for me. For example, some people bring their dogs when shopping. I found people here using drugs. In Indonesia, we rarely see people using drugs, especially in public, because it is a serious crime there. Also, language barriers made me stressed. I can speak English, but when I interacted with people here for the first time, they spoke English very fast. I didn't get what they were saying.

The RV had a kitchen, so initially, I cooked Indonesian food all the time. I told my husband that I needed to have rice in every meal. In Indonesia, I didn't cook. Here, whether I like it or not, I have to cook. It was hard to find the ingredients and cooking equipment that were familiar to me. My husband's favorite food is Mexican. The first time he bought me Mexican food, I felt the taste was strange. Salsa tasted very weird to me. I ate them, though. After that, I would go to a Chinese restaurant if I wanted to take out food. I tried Hawaiian food, but I didn't like it either. I like the Mongolian buffet better. So, that's also shocking. I endured the culture shock for about two years before I felt more at ease. I also started learning how to cook, but it was also hard. I needed to think carefully about what I would cook because the ingredients here in the U.S. are not very cheap.
6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.
What helped me the most was my husband's help, especially in navigating the way of life and communication barriers. The Indonesian immigrant community in Eugene-Springfield has also been helpful. I can ask them if I don't know something. I started feeling at ease once I figured out where to get the equipment and ingredients to cook Indonesian food. Familiar food is very important to me because it

is part of me; I am getting used to having it. So, when I started cooking Indonesian food for myself regularly after those four months living in the RV and finally moved into our house, I felt relieved from the hardship.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?
No, I didn't. I worked multiple jobs in Indonesia, so I didn't have much time left to cook. I also worked on the weekend. My mom usually cooks for us. I have a favorite Indonesian dish: rujak ulek with sambal petis, which I can find sold in my area. I didn't make this dish, but I love it. It was a tomato-based soup with sausage that I had at the church. Also, the meat dish is called rawon. I didn't cook it, but I used to find them at a wedding party.
2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?
Yes, this is my house in Lombok. The kitchen is at the back of the house and opens to the outdoor space. The outdoor space is surrounded by a wall but unroofed and used for showering, washing clothes, and sun-drying wet clothes. The kitchen has a fridge, a gas stove with two burners, a sink, a bench, and a drying rack. There's no designated eating place. We used to eat in multiple locations throughout the house, depending on the person who was eating. So, sometimes we use the living room or the family room. We don't have a dining table. Cooked food is served on the countertop next to the stove. I can see through the living room from the kitchen because the wall between these two rooms is half open. My house in Lombok is close to the beach. I want the space to be open to accommodate my family members. I have six siblings.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?
It has been difficult for me because I didn't try non-Indonesian foods or Western food when I was in Indonesia. Western food, such as salad, spaghetti, and pizza, is not my favorite. I can eat them, but if you asked me, they would not be my preference. I started getting used to Western food in the second year here. My favorite food is still Indonesian because the spices are strong and the seasonings are aromatic, such as lemongrass, lime leaves, and basil leaves. I like them.
2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?
Yes, always. Since I came, I haven't revisited Indonesia. To heal my longing for Indonesian food, I attend Indonesian gathering events. I cook my own dish, but what other Indonesians cook is sometimes better than mine. I also buy food from my local friends here who sell Indonesian food.
3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?
Yes, I still make Indonesian dishes here. The difference is that it's hard to find fresh Indonesian ingredients here. I need to adapt by using dried or frozen seasonings. I usually buy them in larger quantities from Amazon, like candlenuts and kefir lime leaves. But then I tried to grow them in the backyard. I bought frozen lemongrass from an Asian store and planted it. It took a long time to grow, but only in the second year can I see the result. I found the kefir lime tree in the Wilco Farm Store here in Springfield and started growing them in my backyard this spring. I want to find ingredients that taste like what I had in Indonesia, so I decided to grow my own seasoning plants. There are also differences in the type of mortar and pestle that are available here. The shape of the pestle, like what I had in Indonesia, I can't find it here. I bought it from Amazon once to try it out and see if it works, but unfortunately, it is not comfortable to use.

I like the electric stove better because it's easier to clean. However, sometimes I feel like not really cooking because we used a gas stove/fire in Indonesia. I have to use stainless steel cookware with an electric stove, but in Indonesia, aluminum cooking ware is good enough. Also, I noticed that typical pans in Indonesia have a round bottom, while here, everything is flat. I prefer my current pans and cookware because the quality is better. I have a helpful technology in my induction stove. I don't need to worry about forgetting to turn off the heat because the burner will automatically be turned off if there is no pan on it.

I like more modern appliances, like a blender and a food processor. I also like the oven here. For example, I reduce my consumption of fried food by baking my tofu and tempeh. I experiment with the oven heat and time settings to make them crispy, just like when I fry them. It is simpler to use the oven, and it is more efficient too. I can save on oil usage and save time. After putting my tray inside the oven, I can do other tasks and come back later when the food is cooked. If I use a stove, I must constantly watch my cooking, and it is exhausting because I have to stand. I also have a dishwasher, so I just need to clean one tray from the oven. It's very convenient.

4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?
Yes. As I mentioned before. One, the ingredients are different. My solution is to grow them in my backyard. The mortar and pestle are different. Eventually, I decided just to use a food processor to ground ingredients. I think I can take advantage of using the food processor to cook Indonesian food. Because the seasoning paste is a complicated part of Indonesian cooking, I typically ground it in a larger batch using the food processor. I will keep them in jars in the fridge for next time's use. It has made my cooking process much simpler. In a year, I take time and effort to make the paste twice or three times only. I preserved them for the whole year's use. I store only a few raw Indonesian ingredients that I do not make into paste, like hot chili pepper.
5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?
Four to five times a week. I don't eat rice every day anymore.
6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
Total for three. My husband, I, and my toddler. My youngest child is still an infant, so she has a different diet.
7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
In the past, I mainly bought Indonesian spices. Now, I just pick them from my backyard garden. If I need to buy them, I will get them online (Amazon) and from an Asian store called King's in Eugene. I have bought from Sunrise Asian Food Market in Eugene, too. I chose the store because of the location and the availability of the items I am looking for.
8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
I pick them from my backyard garden. I don't buy the seasoning paste sold in packages because it is more expensive than making it myself. When my mom came from Indonesia earlier this year to help me after giving birth, I asked her to bring some Indonesian food items in a larger quantity, like petis and crackers. I also bought once in the past from a Facebook online store called Indo Groceries. I didn't continue buying from them because I dislike paying delivery fees.
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
Yes, but it depends. If I make snacks, like fritters, it's for immediate consumption. But for meals, usually, one dish can last for a week because I rotate the menus with more Western or Mexican food, so my family won't be bored. I keep the leftovers in the fridge.

10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
Yes, excited. Because that's part of me.
11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Yes. There are foods that bring back my memories. For example, chicken satay reminds me of my childhood. My late dad liked to buy me chicken satay. Bakso (beef meatball soup) in Malang reminds me of the mobile cart that goes around my neighborhood. I also miss Balinese food in Lombok. When I was little, my dad would slaughter our own chicken, and my mom would make it into fried chicken for my birthday. Tastewise, kencur and spicy tastes remind me of Indonesia. Yeah, Indonesian sambal. The look of Indonesian food, in my opinion, is more traditional. We still use banana leaves to wrap our food, for instance.
12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
I have ordered a few times from other Indonesians who sell food in an Indonesian WhatsApp group chat. I also go to the community events of Indonesian immigrants. There, I can find Indonesian food from the potluck. If my Indonesian best friends come, they will also bring some ingredients for me to cook. I also like to share the harvest from my garden with them.
13. Do you consume other types of food?
Yes. I eat pizza, spaghetti, burgers, burrito, Thai food, salad, Korean food, and Japanese food.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
After purchasing the ingredients from the grocery store, I keep them in the fridge and freezer. I store canned items, like coconut milk, in the food pantry. If I want to cook, I take the ingredients from the fridge or freezer, the food pantry, and from my garden (for fresh herbs and seasonings). I also gather ingredients from storage for my harvest, like tomatoes, located in the food pantry. The next step is getting my cookware and appliances from the kitchen cabinet. All ingredients are placed on the dining table and countertop. Afterwards, I will wash them in the sink and then chop them. Chopping is on the dining table and the countertop. I will use a pan on the stove or an Instant Pot to cook, or use both. While the food is cooking, I will clean up in the sink area or care for my children. I usually cook rice in the Instant Pot using the steaming technique, so I only need to wash the bowl that contains the rice. It's easier than cleaning the pan of the Instant Pot. After the food is cooked, I serve it at the dining table and eat it with my husband. My toddler has his own eating station. I mainly use the dishwasher for dishwashing, except for big cookware, which I handwash in the sink. After eating the leftovers, I keep them in the fridge. I collect the food waste in the kitchen trash can.
2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
Food pantry, fridge/freezer, storage under the dining table, and garden/windowsill (fresh).
3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
On the countertop and dining table. If I need to use an appliance that produces a loud sound, such as a food processor or blender, I will go to the laundry room (where the food pantry is located). I don't want to wake up my family if they are sleeping.

4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
Chopping is usually done using a food processor, a knife, and a cutting board. I smash garlic with a pestle or clean ingredients in the sink.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Induction stove burners, oven, and Instant Pot.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
I have a boiling pot, frying pan, baking trays, and an Instant Pot. I also have an outdoor griller, but I grill more often in the oven. I use a food processor, stand mixer, and oven for baking.
7. Where do you serve the food?
I serve the food on the dining table. Sometimes, we get food right away from the induction stove, such as soup. In the summer, if my husband's family comes, we usually bring the food to the backyard and eat outside.
8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?
Serving dishes or a big bowl.
9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?
I think my kitchen could be better. It could be bigger and more integrated, so I don't need to move to another room (the food pantry) to get ingredients. If I can modify my kitchen, I would love to have a kitchen island to do the prep, and maybe under the island table, I can have more storage. I want to have a mobile island. The ventilation here is also not very suitable for Indonesian cooking, as it has a strong smell. I prefer an open kitchen, but it is impossible here because of the weather. I am okay if the smell stays in the kitchen, but it becomes problematic when it travels to the living room (openly connected to the kitchen) and bedrooms.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?
My garden is what reminds me of Indonesia the most, but the kitchen is not really. If I go out to my garden, I can see fresh ingredients. I also have access to my garden from the sink area, so if I use my sink or cook around the stove area, I can see the fresh and natural ambience outside, like in Indonesia. I love the smell of lemongrass from my garden. I also grow food in a little garden at the front of my Lombok house. I don't have Indonesian decorations in my kitchen or home. The nature that reminds me a lot of Indonesia.
2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?
I am exposed to multiple cultures through food consumption here, but I am still very proud of Indonesian food culture. If I can share my food culture with the American people, I am happy to do so. For example, I am excited to introduce Indonesian foods to my American husband's family. In the past, when we still had Indonesian food trucks in Eugene, I felt good about it, but I think the food was not very authentic. The menus were very simple and more catered to the Western audience. One time, I tried Korean food in Eugene, a beef satay, and the taste was exactly like Indonesian goat satay. I was amazed and plan to return to get the same food.

ASHLAND, “Chef B” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First-generation immigrant.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
My father and mother were both from North Sumatra Province, and I was born in Pontianak, West Kalimantan Province. Because of my father's occupation, our family moved a lot when I was growing up. I spent a few years in Muntok, Bangka Belitung Province, and a few years in Rengat, Riau Province. My longest and last stay in Indonesia was 14 years in Jakarta. So, my home in Indonesia is Jakarta.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
It was 1985. I was 25, and I was planning to go to college here. I arrived in Maryland for the first time, but I didn't like it there. So, I had an old friend who had lived in Ashland. I got in touch with him and figured out the socio-cultural and educational environment here. It seemed to work for my purpose to get involved in community life, not only the academic community. I moved to Ashland in 1986 to enroll in the university here.
4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
The first arrival was to join college. During my college years, I was exposed to new cultures, new knowledge, and new socio-political movements from my social circles at the time. Those years were very enlightening for me. I changed my way of thinking, my spirituality, and my life philosophy. I started to travel internationally to learn more about my new spirituality and life philosophy. My life when I was in Indonesia was so troubling and purposeless. I wanted to immigrate to the U.S. because I wanted to find myself and see the world. Obtaining American citizenship would give me the opportunity to travel everywhere more easily.
5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
No. I felt very excited and thrilled. I enjoyed exploring the world by myself, and I did not feel homesick at all. Sometimes, I miss home, but it is not very intense. I feel at home in Ashland because it's a small town. Just a couple of recent decades, the Ashland community has changed. In the past, living costs were cheap here. Ashland was a hippie town, and now it is a retirement place. In my opinion, it is no longer very affordable to live here. I like Ashland because my mobility here is very efficient. In Jakarta, a very crowded city, it is the opposite, and traffic jams are everywhere.
6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.
Yes, the only culture shock for me was food. I missed Indonesian food right away because food is our paramount basic necessity. I missed rendang so much. The palate is developed through long-term food practice, so it's tough to change. Indonesian food is very significant in its spices, not very much in its technique.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?
No. Never cooked at all before coming here to the U.S.

2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?

The kitchen in my parents' home was always hot when my mom cooked there because there was no hood or fan in the Indonesian kitchen. The kitchen was always at the very back of the house, close to the dining room. It had a sink and a gas stove with two burners connected to a gas tank. But when I was younger, we used a kerosene stove. There was a window in the kitchen, so we opened it while cooking. We usually ate together in the dining room.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?

Hmmm.... I think I can adapt very easily to new food cultures. Since I came the first time, I haven't had to eat rice every day. I eat what is available. I traveled to Singapore for a year before, so I was exposed to different kind of food. When I was in Indonesia, I ate a variety of food from multiple regions in Indonesia, so my palate is more flexible.

2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?

If I miss Indonesian food before I could cook it, I would go to San Francisco because there are a few Indonesian restaurants there. I think some of the Thai dishes taste pretty close to Indonesian food. I know a nice Thai restaurant in Medford and got to know the owner after a while. So, sometimes I just ask the cook to make fried tofu (off the menu). In the past, between 1985 and 1990, we had potluck, and the menu was always the same: rendang-ish, fried noodles, and chicken satay. It was about fifteen of us, and many returned to Indonesia for good. Sometimes, if any of my friends visited Indonesia, I asked them to bring some food items. The most common thing I asked my friends was for beef rendang or the pre-made seasoning for beef rendang. Since I opened my own Indonesian restaurant, I need to return to Indonesia to buy the ingredients. So, typically, I go back there every two years.

3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?

Yes, I cook Indonesian food almost daily in a restaurant open Tuesday through Saturday. However, in the past, I usually made rendang-ish and chicken satay. I made the sauce from peanut butter and Indonesian sweet soy sauce. The way I cooked Indonesian food was different in terms of the completeness of the ingredients because many of the ingredients are unavailable here. After I run my restaurant, I use a food processor to grind all ingredients. Traditionally, in Indonesia, we use a mortar and pestle. To be more efficient in my restaurant and anticipate busy hours, especially during the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, I have already half-cooked some of the ingredients and stored them. When the order comes, I will mix them in the pan quickly. In terms of ingredients, in the way I cook Indonesian food in my restaurant, I think the ingredients are complete, just like in Indonesia, but just in a different format, like dried, canned (coconut milk), and frozen.

4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?

The difficulty is just because of the type of kitchen appliances. For example, the grill I use in the kitchen is not a direct-fire grill like in Indonesia. It needs an outdoor fire pit for barbeque. It's a different way, but the food is still good, like in Indonesia.

5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?

Before having a restaurant, I rarely ate Indonesian food—maybe a few times a year. Now, I eat Indonesian food almost every dinner and rendang nearly every night. I bring the rendang that I cook in the restaurant because it's our regular menu. I don't use my kitchen at home on a daily basis. I bring home the food from the restaurant for my wife and me.

6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
Two adults.
7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
I buy them. I get them from distributors who provide me with Indonesian ingredients. I also get them from a regular grocery store (Costco) and a Chef's store. In the Chef's store, they offer a discount to restaurant operators. The Indian population in Ashland is a decent percentage, maybe 40 people (out of the 20,000 total Ashland population), so typically, grocery stores have ingredients for Indian dishes, some of them similar to Indonesian ingredients. Because of that, I can easily find ingredients like adas manis in the grocery store/Chef's store. I know the manager of these stores that I usually go to, so I like to work with them. Also, the product selection is complete there. For the distributor, my wife found that they have the ingredients from Indonesia, so we work with them.
8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
When my restaurant was smaller, I would go to Indonesia twice within three years and buy Indonesian ingredients myself to use them in the restaurant until my next trip to Indonesia. In the past, I asked my brother to send me ingredients from Indonesia, but recently, the customs policy has been getting stricter, so I decided to work with a distributor.
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
After moving my restaurant to downtown Ashland, we closed a bit later, at 9 p.m. So, I will have my dinner at 4 p.m. I eat at my prepping table while watching something on my tablet. On the weekend, I will bring more food because the kitchen is off on Sunday and Monday, so I will bring more food to eat during my days off at home. Usually, what I get home is rendang. I keep the food in the fridge.
10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
I am very passionate about cooking Indonesian food; I am proud of my culture and happy to introduce it to people in Ashland. My customers mostly do not really care about the cultural background of Indonesian food; they more often pursue the flavor that is good for them. I feel nostalgic about Christmas time and the end of the year. My mother used to bake cookies and cook beef rendang. That was our favorite. Beef rendang is not from my hometown in North Sumatra but from West Sumatra Province. But, when I was little, I remember we passed a restaurant that sold West Sumatran/Padang food every time we went back to my hometown. My favorite dishes from that restaurant were rendang and Padang fried chicken. I remember when I lived in Rengat, there were two events related to food festivities, which were Eid al-Fitr and Christmas. My friends and I usually went around the neighborhood and ate in the neighbors' homes. It was a fun experience. From my ethnic group (Batak), I remember we ate food with animal blood because they didn't want to waste any parts of the animals.
11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Maybe more into the taste, not really the look.
12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
In the past, there were gatherings of Indonesian students and Indonesian immigrants. We usually had potlucks.

13. Do you consume other types of food?
Yes. If I travel, I have to taste the food from the country. I have tried Afghan, Nepalese, Indian, Laotian, Japanese, Ethiopian, Thai, Burmese, Western, and Cambodian food.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
I get the ingredients from the store and keep them in the walk-in cooler, a bigger freezer in the dishwashing room, the kitchen refrigerator, the kitchen food shelves, and the food pantry in the back room. I keep my wok, pots, and pans in the bottom storage (under the stove area). So, when I want to start cooking, I will grab the wok/pot/pan and then put it on the burner. I use different pans/woks/pots for each dish. I get a sauce (depending on the dish) from the veggie cooler. After the sauce in the pan starts getting hot, I put in the other ingredients from the veggie cooler. I keep pre-cooked chicken and blanched vegetables there to make cooking more efficient. Next, I cook the dish. My assistant will get the plate ready on top of the vegetable cooler, so it also works as a serving area. After the dish is done, I place it on the plate. My assistant will bring the food to the counter and notify the waiter by ringing a bell.

For the cleaning, my assistant will clean (sweep and mop) the kitchen and all equipment every night before he leaves after the restaurant closes. The dining room is mopped every week.

2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
It depends. I store the dry ones in the food pantry, and the wet/perishable ones in the bigger freezer, the walk-in cooler, and the kitchen refrigerator. The kitchen refrigerator is for ingredients that we need for the day, and also to store garnishes.
3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
Mainly, I use my prep table (a stainless-steel table next to a sink) in the dishwashing room. I didn't clean my vegetables and rice because they are organic.
4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
I use a chef's knife, a chopping board, a scale, and a deep sink.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
I don't have a boiling process in my cooking. I use a deep fryer for fritters and chicken. I use a grill for chicken satay and grilled chicken. I have an oven, but I don't use it. It's just a standard range.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Boiling pot, deep fryer, rice cooker, and griller.
7. Where do you serve the food?
If I eat in the restaurant, I will eat standing up in the prep area while watching something on my tablet. At home, my wife and I don't have a particular schedule for eating together; we have individual schedules. Sometimes, I eat in my bedroom while watching TV.
8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?
Plate or bowl.
9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?

Because the kitchen I use for my everyday meals and my business is this commercial kitchen, I can't discuss my home kitchen. But I think my restaurant kitchen is still insufficient to cater to the needs of the customers. It works for now, but could be better. I can't add more cooking space (stove or griller) because I only have one hood. The regulation here is that I need to install a hood above my stove burners. Indonesian dishes need lots of burners because of the multiple processes demanded for one dish. I have six burners now. Ideally, I have twelve burners. I also need a bigger prep table, at least twice as large as the current prep table. If I can redesign my restaurant kitchen, I want to have a roaster to make roasted pig like in Bali. For now, I make my restaurant kitchen work with all the limitations by applying good scheduling to manage when to prep which dish and which equipment to use. So, I need to have a quick-thinking process and be flexible. I don't have cabinets at the top, so everything is reachable within the range of my body height.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?

No, because my main kitchen is a commercial kitchen. But in the back room, I have some decorations from Indonesia. The room is used for my assistant to pray, rest, and eat. He is Indonesian. Another staff member, my American waiter, had lived in Indonesia for several years, so he also shared his memories of the culture of Indonesia. In every part of the restaurant, my wife and I put lots of Indonesian cultural artefacts from different regions, so that's where we can feel the Indonesian vibes. We got all the artefacts from our collection or donated by friends and relatives because my American wife stayed for a while in Indonesia, and her son is half-Balinese. At home, we don't put Indonesian cultural artefacts as decoration. I want this restaurant to be a representation of Indonesian culture here in Ashland and in the U.S.

2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?

I am already an American citizen, but my culture is still very Indonesian. But I also feel like I am a hybrid person. I am significantly influenced by American culture.

K's note:

I interviewed Chef B during his prep and cooking process, so I always smelled Indonesian seasonings. My interview's background sound was the pans and the cooking utensils tossing each other. Chef B's favorite food when he was growing up was rendang, which his mother cooked.

His food pantry in Blue Toba looks more like a museum of Indonesian ingredients, mainly from Indonesia. He walked me to the back room, which was full of shelves storing dried Indonesian ingredients and food items, such as dried big red chili, lime leaves, kapulaga, bay leaves, pala flower, mesoji wood, turmeric leaves, and Indonesian tea. I didn't even know all of these ingredients were available in Indonesia and were used in our regional cooking. One of Blue Toba's most proud menu items is rendang. Cooking rendang for one batch in the restaurant takes up to two hours, which is laborious. Chef B's beef rendang has 20 different seasonings. He learned to make rendang from a Padang woman in Jakarta.

Chef B's wife shared that the food served in Blue Toba is meant to be an offering. That's why they use a Hanuman bell to inform the waiter if the food is ready. It is intended to be a ceremonial food place, not just a commercial one. However, the Western audience often doesn't get that and acts disrespectfully. Chef B and his wife want the crews to work in solidarity and the culture at Blue Toba to be like a collective, just like the culture in Indonesia. We want to be thoughtful and attentive to our customers so that we can be a good representation of Indonesian culture.

VICTORVILLE, “Rosie” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First-generation immigrant. I have aunts, uncles, and a mother who were already in the U.S. before I came, but I got my permanent resident status from marrying an American citizen.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
I was born and grew up in Surabaya, East Java Province.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
The first time I stepped on the U.S. was in 2021.
4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
I immigrated mainly because I was married to my husband. He was an Indonesian citizen, but now he is an American citizen. I immigrated with my two children, so we immigrated collectively.
5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
I have been traveling by myself a lot since I was 18 years old, so in terms of general culture shock, I didn't feel that much. But in terms of food, yes, I experienced culture shock, mainly because our home is far away from any Indonesian restaurants. However, I have multiple Asian restaurants and a Filipino store nearby if I want to buy Indonesian ingredients.
6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.
Actually, the foods I like the most are not from my hometown (Surabaya). My favorites are tempeh, chicken noodle, and Javanese-style stir-fried noodles. If I can find these foods, my culture shock will be easier because I am very familiar with them.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?
I didn't cook Indonesian dishes a lot because I had a maid who helped me cook at home. I usually just made snacks, sourdough bread, or other baking goods. I liked to cook them because my kids liked them. Occasionally, I would cook Western dishes like pasta because my maid cooked Indonesian dishes every day for us. I took Indonesian dishes for granted in Indonesia. I have some cookies that I made only for Christmas, like nastar and kastengel. Now, I cook Indonesian food instead of other cultural foods.
2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?
The last house I lived in was in Bali, Indonesia. The kitchen had a large window facing the greenery outside. I have a gas stove with four burners and an oven. The storage area was all under the countertop.



PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?
It's neutral, but what is most shocking is the huge portion size. We always have leftovers when we eat out, so it's not like the way we ate in Indonesia. We won't buy each person one portion of food; we will purchase multiple foods to be shared. I still love Indonesian food the most because it is a part of me, and I am familiar with it.
2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?
Not really. There were no Indonesian restaurants near my house, but my church community is Indonesian. I joined a church called Victorville First Assembly of God/ House of Glory. We have a luncheon after our weekly service. My church has no particular ethnicity; we are all mixed from various regions in Indonesia. There are lots of events throughout the year in my church community, and they always serve Indonesian dishes in a potluck format. That's my remedy. I still can't find a remedy for one type of food: Balinese food. After moving here, I also started cooking Indonesian dishes, so that's also a way out. If not, I will drive to the area downhill (Rancho Cucamonga/Inland Empire) to buy Indonesian food in Indonesian restaurants.
3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?
Yes. I use different equipment. For example, I no longer use a mortar and pestle; I use a food processor now. I also adapt to the availability/rarity of the ingredients. It's okay if I miss a few of them. I don't have fresh ingredients for seasonings. I freeze them like hot chili peppers, garlic, and kefir lime leaves. I don't use powdered ingredients a lot because I don't get the oomph, and they taste different. So, I will go to an Asian store to get fresh ingredients and freeze them.

4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?
Yes, the taste of the Indonesian food I make here is not the same as that of the food I had in Indonesia because of the different types of ingredients. This makes it difficult and sometimes discourages me from cooking. The solution is just accepting the differences and living with what is. Another solution is to eat simpler Indonesian food, like Indomie.
5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?
I cook Indonesian dishes on average twice a week, and I eat them about three times a week because we have a weekly luncheon at my church.
6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?
There is one elderly person (my husband's father), two adults, two bigger kids, and one toddler, for a total of six people.
7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?
I mostly buy them. If I can find the ingredients in any Asian store, I will go to the Filipino store, which is five minutes away. If I need a more complete selection of Indonesian ingredients, I'll have to drive an hour to the downhill area.
8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
Sometimes, a friend or relative who has just returned from visiting Indonesia will give me Indonesian food items, but I never ask anyone to bring me something because I don't like to bother them. In the past, my friend had a business to buy stuff from Indonesia based on what people here ordered them to buy. So, I used my friend's service.
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
It depends on the food. If I cook a vegetable dish, it's usually for immediate consumption, but if I cook beef rendang, I make it in a bigger batch so that we will have leftovers. I portion them into plastic boxes and put them in the fridge or freezer. I collected these plastic boxes from my to-go food that I cleaned and reused. I like to use them because they are food-grade and BPA-free so that I can microwave the leftovers in them.
10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
I feel excited and burdened at the same time because the cooking process is typically complicated and requires a lot of work. One food I try to re-cook to make it taste as much like the original as possible is a fusilli/ pasta dish with tuna. It's easier to make the dish here because of the availability of Western ingredients. So, the consumption of certain foods reminds me of places in Indonesia where I could find my favorite dishes.
11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Yes. The most memorable scent is the keffir lime leaves and lemongrass. For tastes, the soupy food reminds me of Indonesian vegetable dishes like sayur asam (sour soup) and sayur bayam (clear spinach soup). Not very much about the look.
12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
Yes, from the church's after-service weekly luncheon and other Indonesian community events. I also go to Indonesian restaurants (Java Bistro, Indo Bistro, Tempe House, Singkawang, Bakmi Yanti, and Medan

Kitchen) or use a middleman service to buy from Indonesia. I also hunt for similar tastes in other food cultures. For example, I just found a Thai restaurant with very similar fried rice to Indonesia.

13. Do you consume other types of food?

Yes. Thai, Vietnamese, Filipino, Western, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Mexican, Mediterranean, and Italian foods.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?

After I get home from grocery shopping, I come in through the front door and store the ingredients and food items in the fridge, food pantry, drawer, cabinet, dining room table, and countertop. Now, I want to cook a dish called soto daging (meat stew). We will do all the prep and cooking in the kitchen. My kitchen consists of a food pantry, a fridge with a freezer, countertops, a sink with two separate areas, a gas stove with four burners, and an oven. The refrigerator has two doors; thus, each door is not too wide, which saves space in my kitchen. I have a microwave, an Instant Pot, an air fryer, a deep fryer, and a food processor for the kitchen appliances.

I remove the meat from the fridge and other ingredients, such as keffir lime leaves, shallots, and garlic. I get the pre-packaged seasoning from the drawer and place everything on the countertop. I use my chopping board to chop the meat next to the sink. I have a small waste bin on the countertop next to my sink to make it easier to collect food waste during the cooking and cleaning process. I bought the meat from a Mexican store because the meat there is always fresh. Next, I boil the meat in a pot to kill the bacteria. I use filtered water first, and I don't use tap water. While we wait for the meat to boil, I chop the fresh garlic and shallots. I also multitask with the dishwashing. Now I move the boiled meat into another pan to cook with the pre-packaged seasoning and other fresh ingredients. I stir-fry them first and then add water until boiling. I cook rice in the Instant Pot and boil eggs to eat with the dish. We usually don't eat together in the dining room. My children have to eat at the dining table, but adults typically eat in the family room while watching.

The way I organize my ingredients is not based on whether they are Indonesian or not, but on the type of ingredients. I keep bottled sauces, flours, powdered seasonings, and dinnerware in the top cabinet. On top of my stove head, I place some powdered seasonings that I frequently use. Cooking utensils and chopping boards are on the countertop. I store eating utensils, zip-lock bags, and cling wraps in the drawers. I keep the pots and pans in the bottom cabinet, and some are in the oven. All reusable containers for leftovers are also in the bottom cabinet. I use a stepping stool to access the top cabinet. My countertop is full of my baby's equipment.

For the cleaning process, all the dirty dishes and cookware are placed in the sink immediately after use. My eldest son washes the dishes as part of his daily housework. If there are only a few dirty dishes, he will hand-wash them, but if there are many, he will run the dishwasher. We use the hanging window area above the sink to place our drying rack. It's a good place to dry the wet dishes quickly because it receives direct sunlight. There is a large kitchen trash can next to the end of the countertop to collect all garbage from the kitchen, dining room, living room, and family room. I also use one part of the sink to dry the clean pans/pots, while another part is left to clean dirty dishes.

2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?

For long-term storage, I store them in the garage's fridge and freezer. I store them in the kitchen, the top cabinet, drawers, food pantry, countertop, and dining room table for daily storage.

3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
I store some things in scattered spots throughout the countertop. If I make something more laborious that takes longer, I will do the prep in the dining room. That way, my children can help me.
4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
I use a chopping board, knife, pans, and a zip lock bag.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Mainly stove burners, air fryer, deep fryer, rice cooker/instant pot, and sometimes oven.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Pots, pans, an outdoor grill, and baking sheets.
7. Where do you serve the food?
Right away from the pans/pots on the stove.
8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?
Serving plate or just the pots/pans.
9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?
I think my kitchen is decent enough to cook Indonesian food. However, I hope I have an island in the middle, so more than one cook can work together in the kitchen. I would be more motivated to cook if I had a kitchen I liked. I would like to have the stove burners on the island, which is surrounded by a row of countertops, so I can store my appliances/equipment/tools and food items/ingredients on the countertop and centralize the cooking in the kitchen. I imagine cooking together and eating on the island next to the stove could be fun.

What I like about my kitchen in the U.S. is the window/opening above it, so we can look outside when we cook and wash dishes—in other words, we don't feel isolated like in Indonesia. Houses in Indonesia are typically built back-to-back, so we don't have empty space between buildings next to us. It's harder to put windows in the kitchen there, and even worse because the kitchen is often placed at the very back of the house. I like the smell of Indonesian food in my house because it makes me hungry. But my husband does not, so he demands that the fan be turned on while I cook.

I am already moving on to new technology and have multiple electric kitchen appliances. The manual work is no longer feasible here. I also like the fact that the American kitchen has more storage than the Indonesian kitchen. I also feel the height of the countertop is already convenient.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?
Yes. All the Indonesian ingredients and food items remind me of Indonesia. We are still very attached to Indonesian food.
2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?
Indonesian food is still my favorite food, but I feel that I have already been exposed to other food cultures. My identity is still Indonesian.

K's note:

Rosie's son mostly observed washing dishes by hand and then drying them in the dishwasher. The children are not big fans of the microwave; they almost always reheat their food from the fridge/freezer in the air fryer. The microwave was used to make popcorn.

The adaptation is mainly to create more storage, such as using the oven and the dishwasher to keep pots, pans, and dishes clean. The drying racks are on the windowsill.

APPLE VALLEY, “Padma” INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT

IMMIGRATION STORY

1. What generation of Indonesian immigrants are you?
First generation.
2. Where in Indonesia is your (or your family's) place of origin?
Jakarta.
3. When did you come to the U.S.?
I came in 2003.
4. What was the reason for your immigration? Do you immigrate alone or collectively?
I came to the U.S. mainly for my children's education. We came to the U.S. collectively as a family of five: my husband, me, and our three children.
5. Did you feel any feelings of culture shock/cultural disorientation/homesickness when you came to the U.S. for the first time?
Yes. My first culture shock was about working conditions. In my first job in the U.S., as a cashier in an Asian store, I had to stand a lot. When I was in Indonesia, my job position was very good; it was not as hard as in the U.S. Secondly, it was about American culture that was very hard for me, which requires you to be able to do everything by yourself, such as childcare, schooling routines, homemaking, laundry tasks, go shopping, healthcare, administration tasks, I need to get them all done. Mainly because my husband had a double job, so I handled everything else. It was tough when the flu season came because I was usually the last man standing. Above all regular tasks, I had to care for four sick family members.

When I arrived here, Indonesian food was very rare. Now, we can easily find Indomie (the most popular instant ramen), but back then, none. At the time, we lived near Los Angeles (LA). We have a consulate office in LA, and they were selling Indonesian food items, including Indomie and pre-packaged seasoning pastes. We have to go to the office to get Indomie. Also, there were not many Indonesians, so every time we met an Indonesian, we immediately felt happy and considered them family. In Indonesia, I have a helper at home to help with cooking. I didn't even know how to cook rice with a rice cooker. My husband's relative, whom we stayed with when we first came here, was upset with me because I couldn't cook rice. That's my breakthrough moment. Buying Indonesian food was expensive, if not rare, so I started learning how to cook Indonesian food. I would call my family in Indonesia who knew how to cook. It was expensive, \$20 for 6 minutes. I talked fast. On the other hand, the U.S. economy in the early 2000s was still good. With our income, which was not considered very big at the time, I could buy my kids new clothes weekly. So, if I didn't cook, we would go to the restaurant. After the economic crisis, prices have been soaring, affecting our food consumption, so I needed to cook more at home.

Language matters. I miss speaking Indonesian outside my house. One time, when I worked in the Asian market, a customer at the corner looked at the vegetables. I overheard they spoke in my ethnic language (Batak), which is my mother's and husband's ethnic group (The Batak of North Sumatra). I approached them and started a conversation. I was thrilled.
6. Does the food from your place of origin help you overcome difficult feelings? If yes, please explain why you think so.
Yes, Indonesian food is the cure for my culture shock and hardship, especially in the initial year of my arrival. I ate Indonesian food every day in Indonesia. That's the food I am familiar with. I couldn't cook, so

at that time, my saving grace was going to the Indonesian church. Typically, Indonesian food is served after our worship service. I was so happy to see tempeh and crackers. When any relatives of Indonesians in my church community came to visit, it would be very joyful. We would eat a variety of Indonesian foods because they brought them from Indonesia.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE BEFORE COMING TO THE U.S.

1. Did you cook in Indonesia before moving to the U.S.? If you did, what dish/dishes did you commonly make? Was there any relevance to a specific event you celebrate with this dish?

No, I never cooked when I was in Indonesia. At home, I had a maid who cooked for my family. I also lived with an extended family, so my relatives cooked and helped care for my house and children. I worked all day. Our most common everyday dish consisted of rice, vegetables, and an entrée, more like a home-cooked style. But I ate one dish every day, and I missed it very much. It's a kind of salad called urap made by my sister-in-law. I loved that dish and couldn't make it like she did. I remember we used to have leman, a savory glutinous rice cake cooked with coconut milk. We ate them with beef rendang and mini potatoes or beans. This dish is Batak-style. Traditionally, leman is cooked in a bamboo. We usually had it every Christmas and New Year. The culture of my father's family is Chinese Indonesian. So, my grandmother from my father's side used to cook braised fatty pork in sweet soy sauce with pickled mustard greens. The taste was excellent, sweet, savory, and sour.

2. Could you please describe what your kitchen and dining room in your prior house in Indonesia looked like?

This is my house in Surabaya, East Java. It was the last house I stayed in Indonesia before I came here. The kitchen was connected to an outdoor space. I had a mobile gas stove with two burners and a gas tank. There was a countertop and sink with a row of cabinets above and below, where my maid usually did the prep. I also have a fridge. Next to the kitchen was the dining room (toward the deeper side of the house) with a dining table. There was no wall to separate the dining room and kitchen. Side by side with the dining room, without any wall as a separation, there was an open family room with a TV. Going deeper into the house, we had a backyard next to the dining room.

There was a cluster of rooms for service purposes. It consisted of my maid's bedroom, laundry room, and my maid's bathroom. This cluster was attached to the dining room and kitchen. I also had a living room next to the front terrace and side to side with the kitchen, separated by a wall. We had a hot chili pepper tree on the terrace next to the kitchen. I had many outdoor spaces around the house. We stored ingredients in the cabinet and fridge. The cooking wares were kept in the top cabinets. Hot chilli peppers, turmeric, and green onions were from the terrace next to the kitchen. The cooked food was served in the dining room. We ate together only for dinner time when I was already home. We ate in the dining room. After dinner, the kids moved to the family room to watch TV. My maid bought produce to cook daily in Indonesia. She bought from the market or from a mobile vendor who went around neighborhoods.

PRACTICE OF INDONESIAN FOOD CULTURE IN THE U.S.

1. How has your adaptation to American food culture been (easy/difficult/neutral)? Do you like Indonesian food culture better? Why?

It was difficult. When my kids were younger, we used to get burgers. They liked them, but my husband and I didn't want them as much as Indonesian food. In our early years, it was hard to find rice like what we had in Indonesia. Only Thai rice, not jasmine, was available, which is not as good as it is nowadays. In the restaurant, usually, they didn't have rice; Only Chinese restaurants had rice. After decades of living here, I feel that my preference has been transformed. I think Indonesian food is very complicated; it's not simple. The preparation is long and tedious. I like Western-style food now, such as salad. I am also aware of my health now. Many Indonesian foods, in my opinion, are not healthy. Tofu, tempeh, and egg are my favorite

proteins, but I am no longer frying them. I boiled them. My son bought a smoker for meat so that he can make smoked meat for us. I am no longer attached to Indonesian foods. It's not that I don't like them. I want them so much, but they are expensive, and the cooking process is exhausting. Indonesian meals are also too heavy for me now.

2. Do you miss Indonesian food after moving to the U.S.? If yes, what do you do to find a remedy to the longing?

I miss Indonesian food. If I want to eat it, I can find it at the weekly church after-service luncheon or at an Indonesian wedding party in my community. Sometimes, I cook Indonesian food. In the past, I had Indonesian friends who were good at cooking. So, I would ask her to cook something. I would buy the ingredients. Her family and mine would get together to eat after she cooked. While living closer to LA, my church's majority were Chinese Indonesians. So, the after-service food was mostly Chinese-style. I also cook Indonesian dishes at home and buy from Indonesian restaurants.

3. Do you still make the dish/dishes in the U.S.? Why (yes/no)? If you still do, are there any differences in the way you cook (for example, different equipment or ingredients)?

I couldn't make the Indonesian food that I liked the most, like lemang and urap, here. So, I decided to ignore my longing and numb it, especially because I couldn't return to Indonesia yet due to my work permit. The difference is more in the way I prepare the ingredients. For example, I don't use fresh coconut milk here, but canned milk. We used a mortar and pestle to grind the seasoning in Indonesia, but I use a blender here. The taste of the cooking is different if I use powder seasoning or pre-packaged ones. Fresh ingredients here are expensive. I bought fresh galangal for \$8, and then I didn't use it all, so I kept it in the freezer. But, over time, the quality of the galangal decreased in the freezer. It became a waste. So, I accept and adapt by using the powdered and pre-packaged seasonings. I lowered my standard of Indonesian food. It doesn't need to be perfect. I appreciate it as is, no matter what. On top of that, I am not a very good cook, so I would be very grateful if I could find Indonesian food here.

4. Do you find difficulties with the differences? If you do, what are they, and how do you resolve them?

Yes, it was difficult. As I said, the Indonesian food here didn't taste like what I had in Indonesia because the ingredients were different (powdered or pre-packaged). But accepting and grateful for what I have here is my solution. My cooking ingredients, such as bottled sauces and noodles, are no longer only Indonesian; they are already mixed from Chinese, Thai, and Vietnamese because they are interchangeable. I prefer them because they are cheaper.

5. How many times a week do you cook and eat Indonesian dishes?

Almost every day, because my husband does not like to eat leftovers. He likes fresh-from-the-pans meals.

6. How many people in your household consume Indonesian foods?

Five in the past, two adults, three children. Now, typically for three adults.

7. Do you buy the ingredients to cook your Indonesian dishes? If yes, where do you buy them from? Why do you prefer this store(s)?

I mostly buy them. When my children were still living with us, I usually only bought produce and meat if I wanted to cook. So, I would buy meat once every two days. In the past, when I lived in Northridge, I went to my church, Maranatha. They have a co-op shop that sells Indonesian ingredients, so sometimes I still go there. I also go to a Vietnamese store in Little Saigon at Garden Grove called Hoa Binh every Thursday because I need to pick up my sister-in-law, who works near the area, every week. I prefer to go here instead of the Indonesian store because of the pricing, which is cheaper in the Vietnamese store. I think we share lots of similarities in terms of ingredients. I can even find Indonesian products like BlueBand (Indonesian margarine), Kecap Bango (Indonesian sweet soy sauce), and candlenuts in this store. Hoa Binh offers these Indonesian products at a cheaper price. I like to go to the Maranatha Co-op because they do not

make much profit from selling Indonesian items. They just want to help the Indonesian community maintain their food practice. The Co-op is only open on weekends.

8. If you do not buy them, where do you get them from?
If someone I know visits Indonesia, I ask them to bring me some food items, such as Medan anchovies, andaliman (North Sumatra Szechuan pepper), rice cakes with meat fillings, and some baking ingredients. In the old days, when it was harder to find Indonesian ingredients here, I asked people to bring me lots of stuff, like candlenuts.
9. Do you cook Indonesian foods for multiple mealtimes? If yes, how do you keep the leftover portions?
Not so often, primarily just for a one-time meal. If there's leftover, I'll keep it in the fridge. I will be the one who finishes it.
10. How do you feel when you are cooking Indonesian food? Are you feeling particularly happy/excited? Does the consumption remind you of certain people who are close to you/places/periods in Indonesia? Who are they? What place and period?
Yes, I'm Excited. But because I cook Indonesian food every day, I feel excited only about certain foods. For example, when I cook yellow rice, coconut milk rice, and chicken noodle with wonton, I like to cook them because they are not greasy, and the process is simple. I remember my late brother every time I eat Medan-style stir-fried rice noodles. My brother cooked it the best, so I remember him.
11. Are there any elements from Indonesian foods (certain smells, tastes, looks) that bring back a nostalgic memory about Indonesia?
Yes. The smell of Medan-style fried rice. The aroma of special soy sauce from Medan.
12. Do you find other sources to eat Indonesian foods (for example, from a multi-household family gathering, local Indonesian community gathering, delivery from Indonesia, or else)?
After moving to San Bernardino, I eat Indonesian food weekly at the Indonesian church in Victorville. Indonesian churches in SoCal usually have this "eat together Indonesian foods" event, and the reverend asks for volunteers each week. There is no general Indonesian community gathering here; there are too many Indonesians already compared to other places in the U.S., so they tend to gather with their own group based on their preferred identity.

This is a side story about the Chinese Indonesian community in my old church. They came to the U.S. when they were in their 40s because they were attracted to the retirement benefits. Chinese Indonesians came because of Indonesia's political and economic turmoil in the early 2000s. I never met or knew who was a victim of the tragedy in my church community, but I knew from the grapevine that many Chinese Indonesians came here because they feared being victimized in Indonesia.
13. Do you consume other types of food?
Yes. Japanese, Thai, Western, Chinese, and Brazilian foods.

ROOMS/AREAS AND EQUIPMENT IN YOUR HOUSE THAT ARE USED DURING THE PROCESS OF COOKING AND EATING INDONESIAN FOODS – DURING COOKING OBSERVATION

1. Can you please tell me the typical sequence of movement and the rooms/areas you visit from getting the ingredients, preparing them, cooking them, serving them, eating them, and cleaning them?
I will use today's cooking process as an example. The entire process is done in the kitchen. I have a sink with two parts and a drying rack next to it. I have a gas stove with four burners and an oven. I have a refrigerator with a freezer attached to the countertop and cabinet. Next to the fridge, I place a large kitchen trash can. There is a microwave to reheat leftovers. I also have an espresso machine. I have a dishwasher

under the sink. I also have a few kitchen appliances, such as an Instant Pot, a food processor, and a standing mixer. I have cabinets above and below the countertop. I store bottled sauces, powdered seasonings, and dinnerware in the top cabinet. I also have drawers under the countertop to store things like utensils and zip lock bags. I keep the pans that I mostly use, margarine, chopping boards, flour, sugar, and the cooking oil in the bottom cabinet. I use my oven as often as my stove, for example, to bake Indonesian cookies or chicken.

We are cooking a chicken dish that I made up myself and a napa cabbage dish. I got chicken and napa cabbage from the fridge. In the garage, I have a food pantry where I keep pre-packaged seasonings, garlics, shallots, lemons, and onions. I only stock my produce during the cold season. They will easily perish in the hot weather. During summer, I keep the produce on the kitchen countertop. So, I get the onion from there. Next, I chop and trim the chicken on the countertop around the sink. I place a small waste bin in the sink, so I collect the waste from the chopping and trimming process there. The sink has two parts, one of which is to collect waste. I put the trimmed and chopped chicken in another part, inside a container. I use a chef's knife and a chopping board. There is a window above the sink that looks toward the backyard. Now, I chop the onion and wash the vegetables in the sink. After all ingredients are ready, I take my pan out, turn on the burner, turn on the fan and the range light, and start putting all the ingredients in for the chicken dish. So, basically, all prep is done around the sink. I tried to centralize the prep area to be just around the sink and not extended to my island/bar area, so I don't need to clean too much area. If we cook something complicated, like chicken satay, we will prepare it in the backyard and grill the chicken on the grill. We have a mobile heater to keep us warm outside.

Now, back to the cooking. We are done with the chicken. I will cook the napa cabbage dish in the same sequence. I already have rice; I cooked it in the Instant Pot.

I usually place the cooked food in the dining room, and we eat together in the dining room. My cleaning process starts when the prep happens, so I multitask. The purpose is that when I finish cooking, most of the area and the cookware I use are clean. So, for example, now that we are waiting for the chicken to cook, I start hand-washing dishes. The dishwasher is only on when many people are at home, especially during the weekend, when my kids visit us. On average, we use the dishwasher once a week. We toss all food waste and kitchen garbage into the kitchen trash can and bring it out every 2-3 days. But if the waste is kind of pungent, I will put it in a smaller bag and toss it right away in the outdoor bin. The city/waste management takes the trash every week on Wednesday. To reduce my burden, if many people are home, we will eat with disposable paper plates.

2. Where do you keep/store the ingredients of Indonesian foods? Why there?
In the fridge, in the cabinet, and in the food pantry at the garage.
3. Where do you prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
Mainly around the sink. I use the countertop as little as I can.
4. What equipment do you use to prepare the ingredients (cleaning, chopping, marinating)?
Chopping board, zip lock bags, knife, blender, and small waste bin in the sink.
5. Where do you cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
There are stove burners, an oven, an outdoor griller, and an outdoor smoker.
6. What equipment do you use to cook the ingredients (boiling, frying, grilling, baking)?
Pans, pots, and just general cooking/baking ware.
7. Where do you serve the food?

If I am too tired at the dining table, I ask people to get away from the stove immediately.

8. What equipment do you use to serve the food?
Serving plate or just directly from the pot/pans.

9. What do you think about the room design and equipment in the areas that we just talked about to support you in cooking Indonesian food? Are they sufficient? Is there any modification that you need to make?

I can't compare my current kitchen to my Indonesian kitchen in Surabaya because I didn't spend time in my Indonesian kitchen; I am not a big fan of cooking. The kitchen design in the Surabaya house won't be worth it in the U.S. because the cabinet space is big, and I won't cook with that big cookware in the U.S. I work long hours in the U.S., I won't have time to clean up my cooking ware and my kitchen if it is as big as in my kitchen in Indonesia. I had multiple personnel working in the kitchen there; in the U.S., it's only me.

A more compact kitchen would be ideal for working-class Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. It would make the use and cleaning process more efficient. The American kitchen is also more organized. Although it is a common practice in Indonesia, it's impossible to sweep and mop the kitchen floor every day here. In the house I'm living in now, if we fry something greasy or have an intense smell like fish, I will bring my pan outside and use the griddle. When my children were still of school age, we lived in an apartment, and it was impossible to fry fish. So, I would buy a pre-prepared fried fish. Also, my kids didn't really like Indonesian food that much. So, the pungent smell of shallot or shrimp paste could be bothersome.

I am more satisfied with the height of my countertop here, which is very convenient. I just hope we have more storage space for the food pantry in the kitchen. My current food pantry is in the garage, but I want a large food pantry attached to the kitchen. I want to keep all of my food stock there. If the kitchen and food pantry are more integrated, I will be more excited to cook if I don't need to move here and there to get ingredients. I also keep my kitchen appliances, such as a food processor, air fryer, juicer, and table griller, on the food pantry shelves in the garage. I keep them at the top of the shelves and only bring them to the kitchen when I need to use them; that's why I think it's too much work, not efficient. I have many plastic boxes/containers in the garage to keep my baking equipment.

IDENTITY AS AN INDONESIAN IMMIGRANT RELEVANT TO YOUR FOOD PREFERENCE IN THE U.S.

1. Are there any elements in your kitchen or dining room (or other food-related places at home) that crystallize your memory of Indonesia?

Yes, I have magnets on my fridge door. Someone brought them to me from Indonesia. They are miniatures of popular Indonesian food products, like Indomie instant ramen and Bango sweet soy sauce, but I didn't put my traditional fabric from North Sumatra as decoration in my house.

2. How do you see your identity as an Indonesian in the U.S. regarding your food consumption in the U.S. (either mixed-food consumption or only Indonesian foods)? Any feeling of pride?

I feel even more proud of my Indonesian identity and our food culture. Our food, other than the fried one, is actually healthy. We use lots of herbs like ginger and turmeric in our seasoning. Due to our regional differences, we have so many varieties of Indonesian food. Compared to other food cultures, I think Indonesian taste is no.1 for me. I think Indonesian immigrants in the U.S. need to be more united to promote Indonesian food culture. So, the challenge, in my opinion, is the intention to get united. I also think that Indonesians who sell Indonesian food in the U.S. do not cater to the Western tongue. They didn't tone down the strong Indonesian taste for the Western audience. I think that's why our food is not as popular as other Southeast Asian foods, like Thai food.

K's Notes:

Padma speaks both languages with her kids, but they always reply in English. Padma is a very devoted Christian. A music player in the kitchen plays Christian gospel music nonstop.

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