

# Wedangan: An ethnomethodological perspective of the liberating food marriage

Widodo Aribowo<sup>1,\*</sup>, Prasetya Adi Wisnu Wibowo<sup>2</sup>, Wakit Abdullah Rais<sup>2</sup>, Suryo Ediyono<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Department of Cultural Studies, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Kentingan, Jebres 57126, Surakarta, Indonesia

<sup>2</sup> Department of Local Literature, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Kentingan, Jebres 57126, Surakarta, Indonesia

<sup>3</sup> Department of Arabian Literature, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Sebelas Maret University, Kentingan, Jebres 57126, Surakarta, Indonesia

\* **Corresponding author:** Widodo Aribowo, [aribowosolo@staff.uns.ac.id](mailto:aribowosolo@staff.uns.ac.id)

## CITATION

Aribowo W, Wibowo PAW, Rais WA, Ediyono S. (2024). Wedangan: An ethnomethodological perspective of the liberating food marriage. *Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development*. 8(11): 8275. <https://doi.org/10.24294/jipd.v8i11.8275>

## ARTICLE INFO

Received: 30 July 2024

Accepted: 21 August 2024

Available online: 22 October 2024

## COPYRIGHT



Copyright © 2024 by author(s).

*Journal of Infrastructure, Policy and Development* is published by EnPress Publisher, LLC. This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution (CC BY) license. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

**Abstract:** This research aims to solve the research problems regarding the most important value of an object in the form of the wedangan phenomenon. This research objectives to expose the superiority of the communities' food consumption tradition in the form of wedangan. This research belongs to a qualitative study and uses ethnomethodology as an initial approach. It is because the initial data findings are in the form of an indexical conversation that explicitly refers to the concept of wedangan. The concept refers to wedangan in real life, which is in the form of eating and drinking activities while chatting. The research findings are: 1) the most profound structure of wedangan's tradition is food provision and food eating; 2) wedangan accommodates three forms (food stall, street food, and restaurant); 3) wedangan also accommodates three food values (delightful, useful, and meritorious); and 4) there is an egalitarian consumption pattern in wedangan, people regardless their social class visiting the same place, eat the same food, being simple and be ordinary (or usually we call it as food marriage). Wedangan is a social activity with advantages from a social, economic, and political perspective. Therefore, this phenomenon requires more serious attention from the government.

**Keywords:** food marriage; useful food; meritorious food; sacred eating; wedangan

## 1. Introduction

Visiting street food stalls in the context of contemporary Java has been becoming a trend among Javanese people. It is understood as a socio-cultural ritual in a relational society. This activity called 'wedangan' or drinking tea. This activity can be found worldwide and becomes a socio-cultural context in a region. Wedangan isn't as simple as spending money to buy tea and food from the customer's perspective or providing food services from the seller's perspective. Still, the cultural values underlying these activities can be more complex than just economic matters. Wedangan first grew in the 1980s and has never changed until now, even though the socio-cultural landscape of Javanese society has changed. Since its first appearance, wedangan has gradually been able to penetrate the center of the socio-cultural and grows from year to year. People's lifestyles can change, and culinary culture can develop, but wedangan has three characteristics that can make its existence among Javanese people, namely large wooden carts to put food on, long wooden chairs for customers, and dim lighting to illuminate the surrounding environment.

The wedangan phenomenon includes three activities at once, namely street food, food stalls and restaurants. Street food and food stalls, seen from a food provision perspective, are a solution to urban problems such as long distances to obtain food, poverty, limited means of transportation, or access to food at affordable prices (Amani,

2021; Bouafou et al., 2021). Restaurants are more inclined toward sustainable practices related to food provisions such as food safety, food quality, environmental sensitivity (Chaturvedi et al., 2024), and cultural phenomena such as food aesthetics (Koponen and Mustonen, 2020). This article presents something new: the availability of access to cheap food and food eating related to cultural phenomena, namely food charity and food as a social instrument. Street food topic has become an interesting study by several researchers, who see it from various perspectives such as 1) street food neophobia (Khanna, 2022); 2) tourist attractions (Praesri, 2022); 3) protector and promoter of local traditions (SgROI, 2022); 4) nutritional content (Sousa, 2022); up to 5) nutritional failure and unhealthy ingredients (Murillo-Figueroa, 2023). There aren't many keywords with food stall objects found in journals. Include food stalls related to parasites in the food they sell (Oliveira, 2022) studies of microbes in the food they sell, and sanitation of drinking water (Yongyod, 2023). The situations and themes described in these articles remain a consideration in this research even though this article does not primarily highlight these themes or topics.

This research aims to determine the value of *wedangan* as a cultural phenomenon in Indonesia. The novelty of this research is that the *wedangan* phenomenon accommodates three forms: food stalls, street food and restaurants. *Wedangan* is a relational form of Javanese culinary ritual. The changing landscape of Javanese society from a relational society to an individual society has caused shocks and disasters in the cultural transition in various socio-cultural arenas. Modernization introduced by the Indonesian government since independence and the gradual disappearance of cultural patronage of Javanese traditional leadership slowly impacted the people's identity. Here, the importance of *wedangan* can be understood. It may emerge as the cultural mechanism people use to resist the abrupt socio-cultural change.

### **1.1. Literature review**

Culinary culture has always attracted the attention of researchers and scholars. Several articles related to this include: 1) Lane and Opazo (2023), which examines 50 world restaurants based on the Michelin guide; 2) Xie and Xin (2024), which highlights the culture and culinary knowledge in China; 3) Yazici et al. (2023), in contrast to Lane and Opazo, this article highlights middle-class culinary culture in Turkey; last but not least 4) Khan (2023), the article is a bit different because it tries to utilize ancient written sources that contain memories of culinary culture in India. These four articles are perfect examples of the fundamental view that cultural mechanisms have driven so many sectors, especially macroeconomics, related to food. Fine dining, as the central theme of restaurants that adhere to Michelin standards, represents the glory of food. This fact is a paradox for the case of post-industrial city shrinkage in the United States, where the shrinking city of Camden, New Jersey, has caused so many problems of social, environmental, and nutritional inequality (Tirri et al., 2023). Three other articles also seem to be a paradox for the same case (the shrinking city of Camden) and a solution that food inequality, such as inequality, food insecurity, and food insufficiency, will not occur in the towns with a strong food cultural foundation.

In cities or countries with developed food culture, not only in developed countries

like the United States, pundits' attention has gone further because they no longer place food as a primary need. Food may have become a secondary need and even a luxury item. At this level, food culture has the most profound structure, namely the provision of food (food provision) and the behavior of eating food (food eating). This article's ecosystem is research with the theme of providing various foods such as food stalls, street food, and restaurants. The articles found highlighted: 1) a lack of concern for the health of food served by both formal and informal food vendors (Gyebi, 2021); 2) the implementation of food provision that considers not only lifestyle but also practicality (Dirsehan, 2021); 3) purchasing halal food among Gen Z Muslims which is influenced by the buyer's intentions, facilitating conditions, and habits (Bawono, 2022). These three articles illustrate the levels of food provision, namely food safety, practical food provision as a lifestyle, and food religiosity expressed in the term halal food.

The second ecosystem is food eating or eating behavior, which is the highest level in food culture. The articles found highlight, among other things: 1) the potential shift in social-emotional relationships with food in cases of income equality at the household scale (Djurfeldt, 2022); 2) supermarket supply policies that disrupt access to healthy and cheap food (Chaudhary, 2023); 3) exposure of food (cheese) as a place identity in tourism issues (Fusté-Forné, 2020). These three articles also represent the level of eating culture since the social-emotional relationship between food, comfort (emotional) food in the form of access to cheap and healthy food, and food as the identity of a region. The latter goes even further because there has been a conceptual metaphor or at least commodification where food as a regional identity is linked to economic activities in the tourism sector.

## **1.2. Research position & contribution**

This article focuses on food culture, which includes three perspectives at once, namely: 1) politics, where certain foods become a means of class liberation; 2) economics, where certain foods have high economic value; and 3) social, where there are certain foods that are used to increase social order. Articles similar to this approach focus on changing the food culture paradigm, including food as a synergistic node of health and nutrition, inclusive livelihoods, environmental sustainability, and food system resilience (Ruben et al., 2021).

The focus on food provision is more and more common than food eating, which is more related to eating culture. Food provision is not sensitive to the central theme of this article, namely a morally based communal eating culture whose initial concept emerged at the beginning of the 20th century, as shown by the findings of this research. Therefore, it is hoped that this article will enliven and complement research on food culture. Similar to this point of view are articles that highlight the meaning of food and eating behavior (Kokkoris and Stavrova, 2021). Kokkoris, in his studies in Austria, discussed the motives for food eating, namely sacredness, morals, health, society, and aesthetics.

The common thread regarding food provisions is that they are all related to food as sufficient for the body or stomach, which tends to describe the relationship of food to the individual subject. Apart from that, food eating is a food behavior that tends to

be more in the eating culture; even in this article, it functions specifically to mitigate class differences. What methods are applied to acquire a view of the glory of food, that food not only liberates class, food even becomes a medium for doing charity. The similarity of intention between the giver and recipient of shared food unites any class. The giver and recipient of food are of the same rank. The giver of food will not complete his donation if no recipient or person eats the food shared.

Unlike the types of food provisions and the act of eating which become the identity of a particular community, society, or class, even cultural identity (Bouacida and Benhenda, 2024), this article mainly presents findings about the existence of food that liberates hierarchy. The expected contributions through this article are: 1) practical, being a celebration of the socio-cultural activities that drive the food industry; 2) pragmatically, to raise awareness for the Government to give serious attention to the food industry based on socio-cultural activities; 3) theoretically methodological, enriching ethnomethodological modes by society in organizing their social life.

## **2. Materials and methods**

### **2.1. Research method and materials**

This research is qualitative approach with case study aimed to learn about social reality, can be used across the disciplines to study a wide array of topics (Leavy, 2014). A case study is research developed based on observations of a single object ( $N = 1$ ), aiming to explain a more significant case. Eight characteristics of case studies have been fulfilled, namely qualitative, ethnographic, process tracing, holistic, naturalistic, diffusion or fluidity between cases and contexts, triangular, based on aspects contained in the main object, and centered on observed phenomena (Gerring, 2007).

This study, using the Ethnomethodology approach, also called conversational analysis, is the study of the order of social action related to the phenomenon of daily interactions, ranging from discourse practices, which contain words or actions of members of a society (Psathas, 1994). Sacks and Schegloff said that the problem doesn't lie in the conversation itself, but in how the conversation shows the structure of the solution chosen for specific issues in society that arise in a conversation (Psathas, 1979). The theory is in line with the outlines as discoursed by the initiators, which state that the primary recommendation of ethnomethodology studies is to describe how community members create and manage settings in an accountable manner, namely organized everyday affairs (Garfinkel, 1967).

In line with case studies, triangular data is needed to holistically validate the phenomenon of *wedangan*. The data includes three categories: First, data was extracted from direct observations of *wedangan* as a food trade that sells people's food. This data type was collected from August to October 2023 by sampling three *wedangan* (small, medium, and large). Materials such as photos are included in this article and are widely available on the internet by typing the keywords '*wedangan*' or '*angkringan*'.

Second, the information was obtained through interviews with several informants. The informants consist of *wedangan* business owners in Surakarta City in these three categories, namely: 1) Sunar, 52 years old, owner of a near-to-street food

wedangan called Wedangan Pak Sunar; 2) Darmadi, 57 years old, owner of a wedangan (random) located in Baluwarti Village (Surakarta Palace complex); 3) Yan Haryanto, 64 years old, owner of a near-to-restaurant wedangan. Random interviews with customers were conducted at the three locations. Other data was obtained from interviews with Surakarta City Trade Service officials. However, the Surakarta City Government does not have accurate data because it has never conducted a census of wedangan businesses. They only convey information based on estimates of the amount of money in circulation and the number of workers in the formal sector.

Third, library data, namely data in the form of written text contains information about the daily life of the Javanese people. Written data about wedangan to a high scientific degree were not obtained during this research; on the contrary, only information was obtained from digitized old newspapers.

## **2.2. Research novelty**

The ethnomethodological approach in the case of food consumption behavior has not been found in previous studies, and this approach is important because the discourse of food marriage is used as an instrument by commoners (symbolized by Gareng and Petruk) to condition social life to remain comfortable despite differences in class and social status. There are several studies discussing the social function of food. In the production of food crops, according to Xiong and Brownlee (2018), there is a reflective cultural process that imitates what has been done by previous generations (in sharing and togetherness culture). Likewise, Rousta and Jamshidi (2020) stated that the consumption of certain foods has an enjoyment effect that causes emotive, epistemic, and social behavior. Even more extreme, Ma (2015) states that food can assert a segregative position. Guansheng Ma highlights the social function of Chinese food, which has a social function to emphasize class or status in society. He gave an example of rare and expensive foods such as swiftlet nests and shark fins, which are attributes for rich people or those with high social status.

In contrast to these perspectives, in Indonesia, especially in Central Java—taking the case of the wedangan phenomenon in Surakarta City—food has a liberating social function. Foods for ordinary people can be consumed by all groups regardless of class due to the awareness that it is not food that is the center of orientation. However, food is an instrument of class-free dialogue. Therefore, by believing in the general assumption that class is eternal, then class liberation through food is infinite too.

## **2.3. Theoretical framework**

Food marriage discourse is developed from the Lotman concepts of practical eating and sacred eating (Baer and Tamm, 2019). While practical eating means the culinary or eating activities a sich, sacred eating involves the daily ritual consciousness to complete the human life rituals as what has been explained by Arnold Van Gennep (Van Gennep et al., 2019) in his life rites of passage: birth, marriage, and death. In the Javanese context, such rites of passage can be more meaningful and can be sensed in more manifested performances, mainly categorized into three vital cultural ingredients (Koentjaraningrat, 1984): ameng-ameng (visiting relatives or neighbors); omong-omong (build a warm communication amongst people; and iming-iming (to get social

reciprocity as the outcome). Lotman differentiates practical eating and sacred eating based on practicality and sacredness. Anthropological sacredness, as coined by Lotman and van Gennep, gets a new meaning in the *wedangan* phenomenon, namely sacredness based on credentials.

The new thing offered through the study in this article is marriage equivocal, which does not always mean marriage between man and woman but engagement between food or drink with food or drink as well as food or drink with the eater or drinker. The marriage of food represents a fluid and equivocal structure of the existence of class in society. Instead of being a barrier to emancipation, social class becomes a tool for exhibiting the possession of knowledge by a member of society, regardless of class. In various cases in Indonesia, the existence of caste and social class makes it impossible to establish a relationship in a marriage. Theoretically and naturally, an intimate relationship through a marriage bond also means equalizing the status of people from different classes. This article attempts to illustrate that in Solo, marriage can occur in an imaginative and egalitarian way. The difference is that the subject of marriage is not the bride and groom but the food or drink that is included in a joint meal. More than that, emancipation can occur because of the similarity of reference and experience even though what is shared is also unequal, where members of the upper class contribute food or drink while members of the lower class provide themselves as consumers of food or drink. Food or drink will function as food or drink if someone consumes it. This phenomenon also applies to the same event from the past (in the 1940s) until now, although in a different form and function.

### **3. Results and discussion**

#### **3.1. Literary concepts of *wedangan***

*Wedangan* is an event that relates to conversation and social interaction. *Wedangan* etymologically comes from the word ‘*wedang*’ and the suffix ‘-an’. *Wedang* lexically means ‘boiled water’ and ‘hot water combined with other ingredients such as tea, coffee, and so on.’ After getting the suffix -an, *wedangan* means ‘*lelinggihan sinambi ngombe wedang*’ (sitting around drinking) (Poerwadarminta, 1939). The lexical definition does not contain the meaning of buying and selling activities. Still, in today’s reality, the word *wedangan* mainly refers to buying and selling activities in a stall or cafe.

The word *wedangan*, in a popular literal reference, was known in 1911, when *wedangan* was mentioned as a method of consuming leaves (Kloppenburger, 1911). Initially, *wedangan* activities were not related to buying and selling activities. *Kejawen Magazine*—a very popular magazine—presents a dialogue rubric between Petruk and Gareng related to the *wedangan* phenomenon (Editorial, 1937). Here’s the quote.

“Wong besan kuwi ora mēsthi mantokake uwong. Kang Garèng, sanadyan mēngkene iya kêna diunèkake besan. Kala samono aku têtanggan karo dhoktêr Radèn Ita upamane. Panjênêngane banjur besanan karo aku. Kana urun pangantèn lanang, aku urun pangantèn wadon. Pangantène lanang upamane bae awujud... buntil, pangantène wadon, awujud: cangkême makne Kamprèt, karo cangkêmku...”

(The brotherhood of the parents of the groom and the bride [*besan*] isn’t

necessarily caused by human marriage. Brother Gareng, this kind called besan. In the time, I was next door to doctor Raden Ita. She was in besan with me. She provided the groom while I provided the bride. The groom, for example, has the kind of ... buntil [a food made from taro leaves], and for the bride is my wife's mouth, and mine too ... "The ellipsis is the original from a magazine quote). (Petruk).

"Hus, kuwi jênêngane, kowe diuwuri buntil. Nèk kowe banjur ngaturi gudhêg upamane, hla kuwi kêna dijênêngi besan, yakuwi: besan panganan. Nanging nèk cara kowe mau jênêngane: kowe dicadhong buntil."

(Sst, that means you receive a food: buntil. If you then serve gudheg [a kind of food made from young jackfruit], now that can be called besan. As for the previous one, it was called: you were given a buntil food. (Gareng).

"Wèh, slib, omongku mau, Kang Garèng, mulane diapura bae. Saiki aku takmbanjurake manèh omonganaku mau. Kang Garèng, cêkakane aku ana ing kono sênêng êmbahning sênêng. Kayadene sing wis takkandhakake ing ngarêp, sêsrawunganku karo tângga têparo wis kaya sadulur bae. Jalaran saka iku sabên sore aku tansah bisa ganti programah anggonku... wedangan. sore iki aku wedangan nyang tângga A, sorene manèh A ngulêmi aku wedangan mrono, liya sore manèh wedangan nyang nggone B, sorene kang angka papat, wedangan nyang nggone C."

(Wow, it was slipped my tongue, Brother Gareng, I'm sorry. Now I'll continue what I said earlier. Brother Gareng, in short, I feel very delighted there. As I said earlier, my relationship with my next-door neighbour is like a family. Therefore, every afternoon I'll always change my program in terms of ... wedangan. This afternoon I'll go to the A's house for wedangan, another afternoon I'll have wedangan at B's house, the following afternoon, wedangan at C's house). (Petruk).

"Nèk kaya ngono kuwi kowe sing bathi, wedangan mrana-mrana, nanging ora tau nyuguh wedang."

(It means that the lucky is on your side, you have wedangan here and there, but you have never served any wedang."). (Gareng).

"Iki adat tata carane wong kang andhap asor, Kang Garèng, ora tau gèlêm ngomongake gagahe awake dhewe, apa manèh driyahe nyang wongliya. Ananging tansah ngèlingi nyang piwulang sing mangkene kae: yèn awèh kabêcikan, tulisên nyang wêdhi, yèn olèh kabêcikan, tulisên nyang watu itêm."

(This is the manner of a humble person, Brother Gareng, never to boast, especially charity for others. Instead, always remember this advice: when doing well, write it on the sand, if you get kindness [from others], write it down on a black stone."). (Petruk).

"Wayah, ambok aja doyan ngomong, padune langka le nyuguh bae, kathik nganggo: mampir, mas, mampir, yêm. Wis, banjurna bae caritamu."

(Aha, do not be bragging, it is because you rarely entertain or invite guests: let's stop by. Never mind, please continue your story). (Gareng).

"Saora-orane tângga têparo kuwi nèk bangsane dhewe, kathik padha ngrumasani ana ing mănca, mulane padha guyub lan rukun bangêt. Yèn ana salah siji sing duwe kaprêluwan, iya: grudug, tanpa ditari, tângga têparo padha rewang kabèh.

Yèn ana sing lara, sing padha tilik gènt igèntos bae, malaha na sing ngirimi: nyamikan, sêgêr-sêgêran, lan sêdhêp-sêdhêpan, mulane ora kêna dipaido, yèn kala sêmono aku lara pitung dina, awakku... malah minthêl-minthêl.

(At least according to our custom, our closest neighbours are based on assumptions such as when they are abroad, they can live in harmony. If someone has celebration, then: help out, without being asked, the closest neighbours are all helping. If someone is sick, they take turns to look; some even send food, fruit, and other delicious food, then do not be blamed; when I was sick for seven days, my body ... became fat.). (Petruk).

“Hla, kuwi nèk kowe arêp wêruh, bangsane dhewe, anggone: sêmanak, sêmadulur, sumrèsèh, sêmrèsèt...”

(Well, you know, our nation has a character: friendly, have a sense of brotherhood and like to talk to...) (Gareng).

Text above consists of 8 units of conversation, 4 of which are statements by Petruk and 4 other conversations are statements of Gareng. The four conversations of Petruk are, the first statement: the status of besan relationship between the bride's as well as groom's parents is usually due to the marital bond between the groom and the bride, but the bride is not always in the naive sense of human being, but between the food given by someone (illustrated by Dr. Raden Rita) and the recipient who receives the gift (illustrated by Petruk and his wife). This sentence is considered a food marriage discourse. The second statement, with the food marriage, Petruk feels happy because that way every day he can schedule similar activities with other neighbors because of the good relationship between Petruk and the neighbors. Petruk continues to eat the food given by the neighbors. The third statement is Petruk's humble attitude because he still acts as a recipient of alms giving as a religious service which is a good attitude. The metaphor for this event is like writing down in the sand the kindness we give to others; on the other hand, writing on the black stone for the kindness received from others. Notes on sand are easily lost and forgotten, while notes on black stone are timeless and not easily forgotten. The fourth statement is that the habit of visiting each other's neighbors and giving food is a customary way of living in mutual cooperation, so that when he is sick, his body is actually fat.

The four Gareng statements are as follows: First, food marriage should mean that the giver and receiver are of the same degree, that is, both share food or drink. In the second statement, Gareng emphasized that the giver and recipient should be on the same level because they both share food or drink. In the third statement, Gareng reiterated that a person is not always the party who is invited the recipient of a gift on the contrary, can also act as the donor or the invitee. In the fourth statement, Gareng affirmed Petruk's statement about the attitude of the Brotherhood as a nation that has Eastern customs.

### **3.2. Practical and sacred eating**

The dialogue between Petruk and Gareng, cited above, gives advice that there is a custom of visiting each other. There is social interaction between a member of the community and the closest neighbour. Food has the potential to be an instrument for visiting neighbors. Those who visit provide themselves with wedang (drinks) and a



willingness to accept kindness. Food becomes a means of giving kindness to others, while food becomes a means of obtaining calories. The discourse of food marriage as a religious discourse then enters the realm of daily activities. According to Lotman (Baer and Tamm, 2019), the physiological experience of food forms an inseparable part, namely the ritualization of eating. Consuming food whether in the mode of receiving a gift or buying it must be accompanied by pleasure, namely the satisfaction of hunger. Lotman further states that receiving delicious food with a higher fat content and in larger quantities is associated with the magical function of physiologically satisfying hunger.

The ritual of eating and drinking together is clearly a rite of union, of physical union, and is called the sacrament of communion. In the unification rite, there is a reciprocal meal sharing or an exchange of food or drink which can be interpreted as confirmation of a bond. The exchange of food in the type of non-ordinary food, then the act is included in the broad category of gift-giving (Van Gennepe et al., 2019). Van Gennepe's theory aligns with 3 propositions that underlie *wedangan* activities. The first proposition is that there is equality by Van Gennepe's theory of exchanging gifts, but there is ethnic creativity because what is exchanged does not have the same category, namely food, but food and willingness to eat gifts. It has been stated previously that the context of the exchange is a mundane (profane) daily event, but the belief that forms the basis for this action is religious (sacred). This event according to the understanding of popular Javanese tradition is called food marriage, food that unites, or as a tool to justify the existence of social bonds. This phenomenon strengthens the findings of the secularization of religion and the sacralization of secular things (Belk et al., 1989).

### **3.3. *Wedangan* commodified**

The commodification of *wedangan* happened after the publication of the discourse on food marriage in the *Kejawen* magazine. Unfortunately, there is no valid data about when there was a sale and purchase of food in the form of *angkringan* or *wedangan* in the form of a cart like many of us encounter today. There are sources that say that the 1930s was the beginning of the emergence of the phenomenon of *wedangan* in the kind of *angkringan* which was pioneered by Karso Djukut. Karso Djukut or Karso Dikromo is a resident of Ngerangan Village, Bayat District, Klaten Regency who migrates to Solo and sells food using a yoke which is then called *angkringan* Prakoso (2021). It should be noted that the story of the emergence of the *wedangan* version of the *Solopos* newspaper is the only version, so this study does not criticize sources.

According to the source, Karso Djukut was originally a job seeker who was found by a seller of *terikan* (sort of food soaked in seasoned thick coconut milk) named Mbah Wono. Mbah Wono gave him a job as a buffalo herder (livestock) to Karso Djukut. Later, Karso Djukut was given the opportunity to sell *terikan*, the same food that his employer sold. His creative idea emerged not only to sell *terikan*, because he also sells drinks in kettles as a complement. The idea of marrying food and drink has begun to be reified. The next creative idea is to add the types of food sold and the types of drinks. Compared to other types of food, the most distinctive of *wedangan* is the

wedang itself, namely wedang jahe (ginger) and oplosan tea, which still exist today. Wedang jahe is available in a variety of presentations, including fresh ginger poured with hot water, roasted ginger then poured with hot water, or boiled with water. Wedang jahe uses sugar, bricked sugar, or palm sugar. The oplosan tea is a tea drink which is a mixture of 3 types of tea brands. Tea is served in hot and at this time also in iced tea. Both ginger drink and mixed tea are definitely available in any wedangan in the world.

Research conducted by several residents of Ngerangan Village through the Tourism Awareness Group stated that currently the wedangan generation of Karso Djukut is the fifth generation. The first generation expanded in Solo since 1942, the second generation extended to Yogyakarta in 1950–1960, the third generation began to spread throughout Central Java in the 1970s, the fourth generation spread to all of Java in the 1990s, and the fifth generation has spread evenly throughout Java. throughout Indonesia in the 2000s. And it should be noted that the commodification of wedangan does not even eliminate the social function of food.

Albeit it is named wedangan, the stall's primary product is not just wedang. At first, other products may be intended as a "friend" while drinking tea or coffee. Usually, wedangan stalls serve various kinds of food, both snacks and "heavy" foods such as rice. Even now, wedangan is almost identical to the food of small people namely Segu Kucing or rice for cats (rice and salted fish wrapped in banana leaves). The drinks also have various forms, such as tea, coffee, ginger, milk, and chocolate, which are served in wedang (hot) or after being mixed with ice, such as iced tea and iced milk. In its development, all drinks are available in hot and cold, and coffee can even be ordered as iced coffee. On the other hand, this culinary variety reflects the principle of freedom from citizens to determine themselves, free from the influence of luxury or special food (Rahman, 2018).

### **3.4. Wedangan yokes and carts come to consumer**

This research began to highlight the phenomenon of wedangan in the 1980s. Contrary to Solopos's statement that the first generation of wedangan by 1950 had already spread in Solo, in the 1980s in Solo there were only one or two wedangan. In that time, wedangan was traded in angkringan (or a yoke) that is carried by the seller, door to door to the consumers. In 1980, several wedangan traders operated in Kampong Baluwarti (the Keraton Surakarta complex). After going door-to-door, they paused at a specific place until the food and drink ran out. Their stops are in the parking area to the east of the Keraton Surakarta Museum, North Keraton Square, and Loji Wetan Village. Meanwhile, the angkringan are located near the Purwosari train station in the western part of Solo. There is no other "hangout" place other than those four. Especially for wedangan angkringan traders in the east of the Museum, they often move to the east, even inside the Sitinggil Keraton Surakarta if there is a crowd in that place (Darmadi, interview 1 October 2023).

The only drinks sold were tea, coffee, and ginger. The food served was initially light snacks such as fried and boiled tofu and tempeh, bakwan, jaduh ready to be baked, wajik cakes, fried bananas, fried cassava (blanggreng) and fried sweet potatoes (limpung), and sticky rice. In 1981 customers began to recognize a drink called Kopi

Jos. This drink is called coffee joss because of the sound of joss that arises as a result of hot charcoal being put into hot coffee. Of course, it feels a bit singed, but it is a new experience. This coffee was first ordered by Emha Ainun Najib (one famous figure) when he and his theatre group called Teater Dinasti performed at the Sitihinggil Keraton Surakarta in 1981 (Darmadi, interview 1 October 2023).

In 1985, some wedangan traders used two-wheeled carts and carried them around. The first cart wedangan trader (named Sutarmo, came from Gemolong, Sragen) operates around the ISI (Indonesian Art Institute) and Sebelas Maret University campuses. The product is still the same as the previous wedangan, but only with rice, which is very popular with students. In 1985, wrapped rice, as we know it today as Segi Kucing (Rice wrapped in banana leaves), fulfilled students' need for cheap food. Wedangan carts usually arrive near boarding houses around 1 pm and run out less than 9 pm. The wedangan wagon stops for a while in the boarding house, which usually becomes a gathering place for students. In 1989, this wedangan trader's cart "disappeared," and later, it was discovered that Sutarmo had moved to Yogya and traded in the city of Yogyakarta (Sunar, interview 8 October 2023).

### **3.5. Consumers come to settling wedangan**

In settling or permanent wedangan, foods and drinks are placed on an angkringan or a cart, owned or rented. Wedangan sellers of medium (**Figure 1**) and large (**Figure 2**) scale almost a hundred have their own carts or angkringan. Meanwhile, small-scale wedangan traders thousands usually rent from carts rental (Suharji, interview 3 September 2023). Tables and chairs for customers to sit usually in long benches are the property of the merchant himself in the case of medium and large scale wedangan. Small-scale wedangan usually do not provide a table but only a long bench (**Figure 3**). Some wedangan provide chairs with backrests although the number is not significant. A long bench without a backrest should not allow customers to sit for hours, but in reality, customers spend more than 1 h sitting and eating at a wedangan (Haryanto, interview 24 September 2023).

Both in settling and moving wedangan, there are trading activities in this cart which continues to be popular until the following years, and there are the same traders in several places. On the other hand, the students in Kentingan village felt lost by Sutarmo's leaving. Several months later there were residents of Kentingan (Sarwoko who was left around the boarding house in Kentingan) who took the opportunity to build a similar stall. Several places have since set up similar stalls serving wrapped rice dishes, but inside the house, it is integrated into the house. So popular are some traders to set up stalls with the same product and are permanent in various places. Even in 1988, wedangan stalls started selling boiled and fried instant noodles. The orientation remains the same, namely serving the needs of students (Darmadi, interview 1 October 2023).

Traders sell products like meal and snacks. Some of the food they cook themselves, and some are consignment. The products that are served independently are mainly drinks such as tea, iced tea, coffee, iced coffee, ginger, milk, and others. Some of the foods for the main meal and snacks are cooked by themselves (Wedangan Pak Di Mangkunegaran, Wedangan Pak Jembuk in the west of PKU Solo Hospital).

Even Pak Jembuk's wedangan cook meals and snacks. Whereas in Wedangan Pak Di (east entrance of Mangkunegaran Palace) there are one or two snacks that do not cook by themselves but only heat up. An example, fried meatball satay. Bu Warti (Pak Di's successor) bought meatballs at the supermarket then stabbed the meatball balls with a skewer then fried them until they became fried meatball satay (Sunar, interview 8 October 2023).



Figure 1. Wedangan pendapa, near-to-food-stall wedangan.



Figure 2. Wedangan mantap, near-to-restaurant wedangan.



Figure 3. Wedangan Pak Sunar, near-to-street-food wedangan.

### **3.6. Useful and meritorious of food marriage**

Social class as a pathological phenomenon (Foucault, 2004) but not in sense of revolutionary is represented through the “spokesperson” Petruk and Gareng. The third character (Dr. Raden Ita) is only a frame. Petruk and Gareng are very famous names in Javanese wayang kulit or wayang kulit dramas. They both are two of the four clowns who serve a knight or novice usually Arjuna or Abhimanyu and are commonly called Punakawan. According to Rassers (1959) the position of Punakawan is very peculiar. They are servants, because of their superior knowledge, they also become mentors. Javanese ethnic popular tradition recognizes him as both a representative of the common people and an incarnation of the gods in human form. In traditional beliefs, God figures often appear as humans with abnormal physical appearances, such as being very tall, very thin, or very fat (Anizoba et al., 2021). Petruk in Javanese wayang is depicted as a very tall and thin figure. Meanwhile, Gareng is characterized by crossed eyes, crooked hands and feet on tiptoe due to defects in the soles of his feet. The third figure (Dr. Raden Ita) represents the Javanese nobility, because in front of his name there are two titles, namely doctor (a profession that symbolizes the elite class in society) and Raden (a noble title in the Javanese palace).

The discourse of food marriage represents three propositions: 1) food marriage is a symbol of equality between the giver and recipient of food in the perspective of religious events; 2) food marriage is an instrument to strengthen social cohesion; and 3) food marriage serves to fulfill caloric needs (in Petruk’s case he’s fat because he receives food from neighbors). The first proposition relates transcendence, the second and third propositions relate immanence and instrumentation. The first and second propositions are both based on the value of sacredness because both are doctrines in religious scriptures.

The meaning of the concept of class in indexical dialogue is the marriage between the noble, superior class and the common people—the nature of the recipient and the inferior. According to Petruk, givers and recipients are equal even though they are from different classes (vertical). Gareng believes that givers and recipients are on horizontal equality because their status are the same. When viewed from an ethnomethodological point of view, Petruk’s version is superior because it’s the basis of equality. It can be concluded that religion is a reason for lower-class people to legitimize relations with neighbors. Petruk proposes a platform for religious worship to open up opportunities for class emancipation: members of the upper class are “on duty” to provide food while members of the lower class are “tasked” to eat the charity.

### **3.7. Delightful and emancipating food**

Chat content in *wedangan* is unlimited and unplanned. Anything can be a topic of conversation, such as the weather around the location, the weather around the customer’s place of origin, trending television broadcasts, the corruption of school principals, or even the choice of president in America (Suharji, art lecturer studying in Solo, interview October 2023). Customers’ speaking dominance can be seen from the number of times they meet at that place, so that sometimes it’s difficult to differentiate between who’s talking and who’s just listening. It needs to be emphasized that this phenomenon is related to interactions between citizens because there are no

restrictions on topics, characters, or chat themes. This interaction model based on shared interests and will strengthen social cohesion. When talking about other people's suffering, there is a flow of sympathy even though it does not lead to action to help the suffering (Dwi Oktaviani, private employee, interview October 2023).

The arrival of *angkringan's* traders to a busy place adds to the excitement of people chatting; Besides that, customers who come only at night are also looking for friends to chat with. However, it should be emphasized that a *wedangan* stall has been open since early morning (*wedangan Anonin* in *Norowangsan*, west of Solo Square Mall). This Javanese social activity called *ameng-ameng* which means 'visiting a place'. In the campus environment, *wedangan* aims to get affordable food. Not all *angkringan* provide places to dine in, but some can provide seating for customers. Customers who eat at a place usually trigger intensive small talk or *ameng-ameng*, *omong-omong*, and *iming-iming*. This activity very special because of the foods and drinks sold. Some *wedangan* are famous for their delicious tea, different from those made at home. The specialties of *wedangan* traders can be seen from the delightful food they sell. These foods include grilled *jadah* (sticky rice bread) or *Apolo* (roasted *jadah*, baked with sugar and cocoa powder), *Pisang Owol* (roasted banana with sweetened condensed milk), and *Sega Kucing*. The traders have their own recipes for making *sega kucing*, Some added milkfish and tomato sauce, or anchovies' chilli sauce, stir-fried *tempeh*, even ground beef, for example in *wedangan Ibu Kumbo* in *Kestalan Village*.

In addition to Javanese aphorisms, there are also three classifications in the Western understanding: pleasure, leisure, and necessity. Pleasure, according to Warde, is the main activity in outside consumption events, as quoted below.

General reasons for eating out included doing or experiencing something different every day, getting a break from cooking and serving, relaxing, having a treat, socializing, celebrating, liking food, and preventing hunger. Many closely resemble shared understandings of eating out (Warde and Martens, 2000).

According to Warde, eating and drinking at home differ from daily eating and drinking activities. Eating at *wedangan* is the same as taking a break from cooking and serving it in everyday life. This situation is pleasure or enjoyment. The second one aims to relax, socialize, and like a particular food or drink offerings that are leisure or spare time. The third thing is a necessity, which is to prevent hunger.

Customer comfort is the main thing for traders, several *wedangan* changed their stalls more comfortable. This is not only in physical terms but also makes it easier to communicate and socialize by providing a free internet connection (Darmadi, interview September 2023). Despite innovations, *wedangan* maintains its main essence as a comfortable and cheap place to have fun. Some merchants have special considerations as providers of products and services; for this reason, they innovate payment methods. In the past, payment was made after eating, but some apply a prepayment system. This is to prevent *DARMOJI* means *dhahar lima omong siji* (eating five says one), some kind of food theft.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Food instrumentation has been known for a long time, in 1937, with the

emergence of food marriage emerged as an effort to emancipate social class's emancipation as communities' participation in creating social order. This social phenomenon refers to eating and drinking activities as a means of obtaining calories (practical eating); however, wedangan has a broader spectrum. From an economic perspective, wedangan is an activity of buying and selling food and beverages in the form of more or less food stalls, street foods, and restaurants. Then, from the political perspective (with 'p' in lowercase), typical foods in wedangan such as nasi kucing are powerful in terms of liberating their class. This food is different from certain foods that symbolize their class in society. Everyone who comes to wedangan or is visited by a wedangan cart eats the same foods.

Chronologically, the activity of wedangan is in line with the food marriage discourse, which indexically refers to the existence of social classes and emancipation efforts. From the ethnomethodological perspective, this effort is the creation of order towards the human relations order in everyday life. The purpose of ethnomethodological research is to find the foundation that supports the realization of a comfortable social interaction (basic rules) even though, in the status quo, there are differences in social classes. In addition, the wedangan stall still has its instrumental function as a place that provides affordable food prices and also has a social function as a mediation of social interaction. There are similarities between Javanese proverbs (such as ameng-ameng, omong-omong, and iming-iming) with Western philosophical views (such as necessity, free time, and pleasure). The sacredness and profaneness are interrelated in the wedangan's activities, which are universally occurring in remote parts of the world in terms of eating out. Eating and drinking together is a celebration of equality. The broad spectrum inherent in the wedangan phenomenon is an urgency for the government to be more serious in paying attention to this sector. It's time for government policies and regulations to be implemented so that this phenomenon becomes more powerful in strengthening the idea of a circular city as a characteristic of a modern city and society.

**Author contributions:** Conceptualization, WA and WAR; methodology, WA; software, PAWW; validation, PAWW, WAR, WA and SE; formal analysis, WA; investigation, WA; resources, PAWW; data curation, WAR; writing—original draft preparation, WA and SE; writing—review and editing, PAWW; visualization, PAWW; supervision, WAR and SE; project administration, WAR and SE. All authors have read and agreed to the published version of the manuscript.

**Acknowledgments:** We would like to thank the informants who have provided the data needed during this research. They are: 1) Yan Haryanto (62 years old, a large-scale wedangan trader located east of the Kusuma Sahid Hotel, Solo City); 2) Darmadi (58 years old, a medium scale wedangan trader located in the Solo Palace complex); 3) Sunar (529 years old, small scale wedangan trader located in Sraten Kampong, Solo City); 4) Herman Jambojay (55 years old, content creator, lives in Surakarta); 5) Dwi Oktaviani (40 years old, private employee, lives in Salatiga); 6) Suharji (62 years old, lecturer at the art college in Surakarta, lives in Surakarta).

**Conflict of interest:** The authors declare no conflict of interest.



## References

- Anizoba, E. C., & Onyeume, A. O. (2021). Critical Examination of Traditional Worship Systems Among Igbo People of Nigeria: Study of Akpo Community. *Trames: Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences*, 25(1), 83. <https://doi.org/10.3176/tr.2021.1.06>
- Anton, B., Yudi, S., Fauzi, A. B., et al. (2022). Analysis of Gen Z Muslims' Interpersonal Behavior in Halal Food Purchasing in Indonesia. *Journal of King Abdulaziz University Islamic Economics*, 35(1), 99–115. <https://doi.org/10.4197/islec.35-1.6>
- Baer, B. J., & Tamm, M. (2019). *Juri Lotman–Culture, Memory and History: Essays in Cultural Semiotics*. Springer.
- Bawono, A. (2022). Analysis of Gen Z Muslims' Interpersonal Behavior in Halal Food Purchasing in Indonesia. *Journal of King Abdulaziz University, Islamic Economics*, 35(1), 99–115. <https://doi.org/10.4197/Islec.35-1.6>
- Belk, R. W., Wallendorf, M., & Sherry, Jr., et al. (1989). The Sacred and the Profane in Consumer Behavior: Theodicy on the Odyssey. *Journal of Consumer Research*, 16(1), 1. <https://doi.org/10.1086/209191>
- Bouacida, S., & Benhenda, Z. (2024). Tell me what you eat, and I will tell who you are: a gastronomical reading of cultural identity in Toni Morrison's *God Help the Child*. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 28(1), 116–128. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14797585.2024.2303643>
- Bouafou, K. G. M., Beugré, G. F. C., & Amani, Y. C. (2021). Street Food around the World: A Review of the Literature. *Journal of Service Science and Management*, 14(06), 557–575. <https://doi.org/10.4236/jssm.2021.146035>
- Chaudhary, K. P. (2023). Exploring ethnic foodscape in food desert: the case of Kolasib, Northeast India. *Indian Journal of Traditional Knowledge*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.56042/ijtk.v22i1.47762>
- Dirsehan, T., & Cankat, E. (2021). Role of mobile food-ordering applications in developing restaurants' brand satisfaction and loyalty in the pandemic period. *Journal of Retailing and Consumer Services*, 62, 102608. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jretconser.2021.102608>
- Djurfeldt, A. A. (2022). Food transfers and translocal livelihoods in rural Africa—Longitudinal perspectives from six countries. *Journal of Rural Studies*, 93, 18–27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jrurstud.2022.04.009>
- Editorial (1937). *Rembagipun Petruk lan Gareng* (Indonesian). Kejawen.
- Foucault, M. (2004). *The Archeology of Knowledge*. Routledge.
- Fusté-Forné, F. (2020). Savouring place: cheese as a food tourism destination landmark. *Journal of Place Management and Development*, 13(2), 177–194. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jpmd-07-2019-0065>
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Prentice-Hall.
- Gerring, J. (2006). *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511803123>
- Gyebi, B. E. A., Annan, R. A., Apprey, C., et al. (2020). Knowledge, attitude, and practices (KAP) of foodservice providers, and microbial quality on food served in Kumasi. *Journal of Foodservice Business Research*, 24(4), 397–413. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15378020.2020.1859972>
- Khan, T. H. (2023). Narrating Rampur's Cuisine: Cookbooks, Forgotten Foods, and Culinary Memories. *Global Food History*, 9(2), 149–174. <https://doi.org/10.1080/20549547.2023.2196925>
- Khanna, S., Nagar, K., Chauhan, V., et al. (2021). Application of the extended theory of planned behavior to street-food consumption: testing the effect of food neophobia among Indian consumers. *British Food Journal*, 124(2), 550–572. <https://doi.org/10.1108/bfj-04-2021-0403>
- Kloppenborg, J. (1911). Chapter Tetuwuhan ing Yanah Hindiya (Indonesian). *Javanese Literature*.
- Koentjaraningrat. (1984). *Javanese Culture* (Indonesian). Balai Pustaka.
- Kokkoris, M. D., & Stavrova, O. (2021). Meaning of food and consumer eating behaviors. *Food Quality and Preference*, 94, 104343. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foodqual.2021.104343>
- Koponen, S., & Mustonen, P. (2020). Eating alone, or commensality redefined? Solo dining and the aestheticization of eating (out). *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 22(2), 359–377. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1469540520955219>
- Lane, C., & Opazo, M. P. (2023). Constructing Global Tastes: A Comparison of Two Cultural Intermediaries in the Field of High-End Cuisine. *Food, Culture & Society*, 27(2), 479–505. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15528014.2023.2222902>
- Leavy, P. (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Ma, G. (2015). Food, eating behavior, and culture in Chinese society. *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, 2(4), 195–199.
- Murillo-Figueroa, A. C., Ramírez-Morales, A., López-López, F. X., et al. (2023). Comparative Study of Food Quality, Variety

- and Price Between Vending Machines, Street Vendors, and Cafeterias in Hospitals Located in Central Mexico. *Journal of Hunger & Environmental Nutrition*, 19(3), 444–463. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19320248.2023.2166801>
- Oliveira, J. R., Pedroso, R. C. da C., Castro, V. S., et al. (2022). Evaluation of two analytical methods of detection for intestinal parasites in curly lettuce sold in food stalls. *Brazilian Journal of Food Technology*, 25. <https://doi.org/10.1590/1981-6723.00221>
- Poerwadarminta, W. J. S. (1939). *Javanese Literature (Indonesian)*. J.B. Wolters Publishing.
- Prakoso, T. S. (2021). *Ngerangan and the History of Warung Hik or Angkringan (Indonesian)*. Solopos.
- Praesri, S., Meekun, K., Lee, T. J., et al. (2022). Marketing mix factors and a business development model for street food tourism. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 52, 123–127. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhtm.2022.06.007>
- Psathas, G. (1979). *Everyday Language Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Irvington Publishers, Inc.
- Psathas, G. (1994). *Conversation analysis: The study of talk-in-interaction*. Sage publications.
- Rahman, F. (2018). Culinary as an Indonesian identity (Indonesian). *Jurnal Sejarah*, 2(1).
- Rassers, W. H. (1959). *Pañji, the Culture Hero*. Springer Netherlands.
- Rousta, A., & Jamshidi, D. (2020). Food tourism value: Investigating the factors that influence tourists to revisit. *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, 26(1), 73-95. DOI: 10.1177/1356766719858649.
- Ruben, R., Cavatassi, R., Lipper, L., et al. (2021). Towards food systems transformation-five paradigm shifts for healthy, inclusive and sustainable food systems. *Food Security*, 13(6), 1423-1430. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12571-021-01221-4>
- Sgroi, F. (2022). Street food in Palermo: Traditions and market perspectives. *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2022.100482>
- Sousa, S. (2022). Nutritional content of the street food purchased in Chişinău, Moldova: Opportunity for policy action. *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 27. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2021.100456>
- Tirri, C., Nealer, D., McCarthy, K., et al. (2023). Public perceptions of local food environments in shrinking cities: Weighing solutions to community food insecurity in Camden, New Jersey. *Social Sciences & Humanities Open*, 8(1), 100703. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ssaho.2023.100703>
- Van Gennep, A., Kertzer, D. I., Vizedom, M. B., et al. (2019). *The Rites of Passage*, Second Edition. University of Chicago Press.
- Warde, A., & Martens, L. (2000). *Eating out: Social differentiation, consumption and pleasure*. Cambridge University Press.
- Xie, P., & Xin, X. (2024). Intercultural Mediation in the Translation of the Self in Travel Writing: A Case Study of Shark's Fin and Sichuan Pepper. *Life Writing*, 21(2), 277-293. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14484528.2023.2226363>
- Xiong, D. X., & Brownlee, I.A. (2018). Memories of traditional food culture in the kampong setting in Singapore. *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, 5(2018), 133-139. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2018.02.007>.
- Yazici, A., Tureyengil, B., & Kaya, C. (2023). A study into the use of video probes in the kitchen: Everyday kitchen practices transforming the middle-class interiors in Turkey. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1080/23311983.2023.2247655>
- Yongyod, R., Phusomya, P., & Chopjitt, P. (2023). Microbiological Quality and Sanitation of Food Stalls and Drinking Water Vending Machines. *Environment and Natural Resources Journal*, 21(4), 1–10. <https://doi.org/10.32526/enrj/21/20230014>