

Eating and Cultural Performance

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**Eating and Cultural Performance: Contemporary
Community Lifestyle**

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Abstract.Eating and all that is associated with it, is already larger than life. Trying to understand eating behavior means also trying to understand or learning the values behind the behaviour. On the contrary if we deeply think about eating and food it also triggering new values and knowledge about it. Inspired by Foucault, this paper shows that the meaning of eating and food is not only a fuel for the body, but also can have a relation with power and knowledge. Through power and knowledge, eating becomes a medium of constructions of the subject and a strategy in conducting relationship, in the sense that it regulates and shapes subject in its social life. Researchers focus on the existence of foreign culinary, in this case Japanese culinary culture. The results showed that eating Japanese food has formed a lifestyle, behavior patterns, a source of knowledge, beliefs, and values. Furthermore, the eating Japanese food becomes a media for cultural performances. Eating which has only been considered as consumptive behavior has changed into a creative energy that changes human civilization.

1.Introduction

Eating and drinking are activities that we almost do every day. We eat and drink when our body needs energy intake as indicated by the sense of hunger and thirst. The definition of eating as suggested by Christian Coff in his book *The Taste for Ethics: An Ethics of Food Consumption* is a process of taking material object from outside body into the body, which starts generally from seeing and smelling and then tasting, chewing and finally swallowing (2006: 60). He described, "In the act of eating, the outer world becomes a part of the person who is eating, and in this sense, eating makes the outer involved with the inner" (2006: 8). He referred to the unification as incarnation process, meaning that environmental material elements from outside of human body became flesh (body) (2006: 10).

However, not only human eat to satisfy their biological need, but in this world they also eat for many other reasons. Some of the reasons are to instill the sense of brotherhood, to express compassion, to demonstrate knowledge, to show social and economic status, to build a trust among business colleagues, and also to express moral and religious beliefs. Considering all of the aforementioned facts it may be stated that not only human eat to satisfy their need for the food, but they eat for many reasons.

Even Elizabet Tefler (1996: 2) suggested that not only human eat in their effort to survive, but also to satisfy their taste of enjoyment. Tefler insisted that eating was an act to achieve human freedom in choosing (a cultural event). Human were directed to make a decision that fitted their choice. He also suggested that food was not the only reason for human to eat, but there were many other aspects outside of the food that directed and drove the human to eat (1996: 38-39). It means that there are ideas and values behind the act of eating and the food. Understanding eating behavior means understanding the values behind the eating behavior. On the contrary, if we think about the eating behavior and the food, our act of thinking results in the emergence of new values of the act of eating and the food. In an anthropological study, we can see the food and the act of eating in multicultural context representing cultural symbolism discourse and self identification. Based on the opinion, ethnic

foods may be considered as 'a communication system' that expresses daily life practices and habits as people buy, book, and eat the ethnic foods. Kittler, Sucher and Nelms [9] found out the influence of eating behavior on someone's self identity. They said, "Eating is a daily reaffirmation of [one's] cultural identity."

Meanwhile, in a transnational context, ethnic foods are considered as a means to understand the practice of "cooking home-made foods". In this context, the ethnic foods represent a symbolic relation between culture and home land, which is a relation considered to be "a symbolic sign of an identity" in which ethnic boundaries and territory are often crossed in a new kind of sociality.

Still in the transnational context, the consumption of the ethnic foods in restaurants was described in anthropological and sociological literatures as the expression of a relation between the food and abstract things. It represents an effort to show exotic experience in satisfying appetite and the taste of enjoyment. The restaurants that serve ethnic foods are considered as "journey spaces" in which visitors of the restaurants enjoy strange culture of a territory from which the foods come. Ferrero (2002) considered ethnic restaurants as "arenas" in which various kind of ethnic foods meet the urge to explore "other" culinary world.

Based on the aforementioned description, the author tried in this writing to understand the phenomena of the presence of foreign foods in Indonesia. Why Indonesian liked Japanese foods? What new values were got when we studied the eating activity of foreign foods? Actually, foreign foods and beverages are now widely consumed by Indonesian. Impressions, images and ideas of various kinds of foods fill individual minds. They present through 'audible' and 'visual' channels in TV programs, internet, magazines, news papers, cooking books, long before they are served in local restaurants or food stores. One of the foreign foods consumed by Indonesian is Japanese food. Japanese foods are considered to be delicious and healthy because they are prepared from low fat ingredients, very aesthetic and artistic associated to style and fashion in addition to the simplicity and adaptability of the foods such as *sushi* [5,6]

The organization under the umbrella of Japanese government in the area of commerce and investment, JETRO (Japan External Trade Organization), wrote that among ASEAN countries, Indonesia was the second largest target after Thailand for the purpose of the development of Japanese culinary products [8]. Japanese culinary products have become one of the choices of Indonesian when they went out for eating [13,18]. Not only Japan and Japanese eating culture and its popularity in the world changed Western eating habit for almost two decades, but also how people see foods served on plates.

The author considered the process of choosing, consuming and giving meanings to the foods coming from different culture as an effort to understand the dynamics of human behavior in individual context in managing the power over him- or herself in the relation of the powers of global actors that was in this case Japanese culinary industry. Inspired by Foucault's [7] opinion of knowledge and power, the study was focused on studying how subjects gave meanings to foods through the process of eating and consuming Japanese foods as productive act in term of a strategy in establishing mutual relation among human beings. In this case, Japanese foods were considered as a means for human to regulate or to direct others in a social relation.

2. Materials and Methods

The study used qualitative study method. Data consisted of primary and secondary ones. The primary data were collected from interview, while the secondary data were collected from various kinds of information sources that supported the primary one such as literatures or other sources. The primary data were also collected using observation of environment and consumers' activities, while the secondary data were collected using the literatures relevant with the theme of the study.

The data were analyzed qualitatively that started from the collection of the data, but intensive and comprehensive analysis was made after the completion of the collection of all of the data. The data collection was conducted on the basis of the results of the interview. Once the data have been collected,

the author conducted data mapping and grouping based on patterns, categories, description units and themes that subsequently resulted in a formulation.

The Relation of Power and Knowledge According to Foucault

Along Foucault's intellectual career, power and knowledge became main theme of all of his studies, though he rarely described explicitly the relation between power and knowledge. Some interviews with and writings of Foucault as collected in a book entitled *Power/Knowledge* he tried to describe the presence of a relation between power and knowledge. It was the conclusion drawn by the editor of the book.

According to Foucault the concept of power had different meaning from that of other concept of power such as Marxian and Weberian concepts of power. According to him power should not be considered as a privilege-possessing relation between a group and a property. Also, a power should not be understood in a negatively working method, for example through repressive and coercive actions by powerful institution [12]. The difference was that Foucault's understanding of power significantly differed from Marx's understanding of the power in which the power served a dominating function of a class that was based on the control of economic aspects or ideological manipulation. Foucault's understanding of power also differed from Weber's understanding of the power in which Weberian assumed that power was obtained because of charisma. Foucault considered power as positive and productive and not as something negative. Power neither manifest itself in institution or structure, nor in the power that has been obtained. The power referred to the presence of a strategic and complex situation in a society.

Foucault suggested that power should not be understood in the context of possession by an institution or a group and used as a strategy to warrant the submission of citizen of a country. Also, the power was not a dominating working method used to control others, meaning that it was not a relation between the dominating and the dominated. It was not a legal institution or state sovereignty resulting from external domination or control over individuals in a group.

Foucault insisted that power did not deal with possession in the context of the ruler and those under the control of the ruler, the dominating and the dominated, or the powerful and the powerless (Mudhoffir, 2013: 80). Power was omnipresent, permeating and existed in each social relation. Foucault identified power circulation extant in a society using capillary system of a plant by underlining the importance of the power in giving birth to subjectivity. Furthermore, Foucault considered all knowledge as something that became prerequisite of power in mutual formation relation model in which those involved in the relation gave benefit to each other, while knowledge was inseparable of power regime and discipline (Barker, 2014: 231).

In his book *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1*, Foucault described that there were five propositions of power (1990: 94-95). First, power was not something obtained, reached, used or distributed as something tangible or perishable. It operated from various positions with ever moving relation. Second, power relation was not any hierarchical and structural relation that required the presence of the ruler and those under the control of the ruler. Third, power came from grass roots and required that there was not any binary opposition because the power included both. Fourth, power relation was intentional and non-subjective in nature. And fifth, where there was power, there would be resistance, while the resistance was not outside of the power relation. Therefore, each individual was inside of the power that there was not any single way out of the power.

Following Foucault's idea of the power relation, the act of eating was considered as a productive activity, which was the way to establish relation among human beings. Eating and food became a means for human to direct and even to control others in a social relation. For example, a banquet of two national leaders aimed at establishing a friendship between the two nations for both economic and political benefits of the two nations (symbolically or strategically) rather than an effort to satisfy physiological need of human body or to satisfy their appetite. The food and the act of eating in the formal banquet should follow certain rules or etiquette that controlled how people ate.

Thus, the act of eating and also the foods did not deal with the effort to satisfy physical need for nutrients, but with the instrument to product meanings. The foods and the act of eating gave birth to the idea of values, morality, rules and beliefs behind the foods. The foods were not only something to consume, but also served as inspiration source for human beings.

Foods as Performance

As one chose to eat Japanese food for celebration or birthday or graduation anniversary, he or she has done something regardless of whether the food was nutritious or not, fitted his or her appetite or not. Why did people consider Japanese food as health improving? Why were people pretty much willing to try to use chopsticks? It was because there was something behind Japanese food such as rules, values and other ideal things that made them behave "following" the rule of the game that they looked like "normal" people.

The act of eating might be used as an instrument of a media to construct subjects through values and rules. The power of knowledge was then distributed through performance activities. The term performance came from English. According to Richard Schechner [14] performance not only manifested itself in big performance, but also in various kinds of daily situation (2013: 28). Meanwhile, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1999) categorized food and the act of eating into three, which were to do, to behave and to show.

3. Results And Discussion

Eating, Foods, and the Effort to Be Knowledgeable

Based on Foucault's thought it was understood that the act of eating dealt not only with an activity to provide body with nutrients, to satisfy the sense of hunger, but also with the effort to make a survival choice. The act of eating was considered to be more political, symbolic, and strategic in nature, meaning that it served as a working method of socializing and establishing human relations. The act of eating became a strategic behavior to control others. It was a mode to raise ideas or values in producing "subjects" [15]

Japanese foods as an agent played an important role for individuals in their effort to be knowledgeable. The act of eating and foods were not only human biological behavior. It was through the act of eating that human could have, broaden, and enrich their knowledge. The effort to be knowledgeable was made on the basis of multi-interpretable experience [15] According to Setiawan, the act of eating might be used by human as an effort to be knowledgeable (also to experience something) in a special way. Why was it special? Because as we ate not only smelling sense and tasting sense worked, but also visual, touching and listening senses served their respective functions in coordination with each other.

Japanese foods were well-known because of their interesting and artistic serving. *Sushi* was served in rows of colorful and beautiful pieces that also satisfied the need of visual sense for visual arts. The *sushi* not only made our stomach full, but also satisfied the need of visual sense for visual arts for healthy eyes. For example, *Nigiri Sushi* was made of rice that was given oval form with the topping of fillet and Californian Roll (one of modern *sushi* types made of rolled rice with *nori*, crab meat, egg, fish and avocado inside) had soft texture and tasted very good. Chewing white tender tuna meat felt like eating young coconut flesh with sweet taste and fresh sensation. The relation between human and foods started from seeing (in certain distance), with increasing focus on a kind of food, and intensified into intimate relation and followed by smelling and tasting the food (the absence of distance). It was what Coff [3] referred to as understanding food in certain distance, while at the same time in no distance (2006: 16).

In addition to satisfying biological need, the act of eating was an initial act to be knowledgeable. In fact, though eating involved all of human senses, human were not knowledgeable of what they were eating. For example, how to slaughter animals, where the plants were grown, who gave the plants fertilizer, what was the feeling of those growing the plants. The dish on the table of a restaurant had its story or history that was multi-interpretable in nature. As people ate, they interacted with the cooks in

the kitchen, the farmers in rice field, the fishermen in the sea, the sellers in markets and many more. The act of eating, for example, Japanese food, meant that those who ate the food melted into Japanese culture, dissolved into while at the same time was dissolved by all of the matters appertaining to Japan.

The eating activity might also be used as reflective activity. The eating activity as a reflective activity was described by Michael Shaffer (in Setiawan, 2015) as having two forms, which were direct taste experience and reflective taste experience. According to Shaffer, the direct taste experience was the tasting experience at initial and simple level, such as tasting the sweetness of sugar, the salty taste of salt and the biting taste of chili. Meanwhile, the reflective taste experience was the tasting experience at higher level because it involved cognitive process, which was the process of interpreting the direct taste experience (Setiawan, 2015: 314).

The reflective experience of foods was indirect taste experience that could not be literally and textually understood, but symbolically. The reflectivity of the foods was non-conventional and imaginative reflectivity. The knowledge of "tastes" was very individual and could not be described using words or physical formulation.

The enjoyment of *sushi* could not be understood through contemplation of the *sushi* or scientific discussion of it, but through directly eating it, tasting the soft and rubbery texture of the flesh on the seasoned rice in a chewable size, blending the sweet tastes of the flesh, the rice and the salty taste of *shoyu*. The combination of the tastes would be more complete if the *sushi* was given a pinch of wasabi on it before the *sushi* was submerged into the *shoyu* in order to give it warm and biting sensation. The biting concept of the *washabi* differed from the biting concept of chili or pepper. The enjoyment of the biting sensation could only be reached by direct taste experience of the *washabi*.

Eating activity represented a hermeneutic activity (Setiawan, 2015L 315). Subsequently, the hermeneutic activity resulted in a new interpretation of human experience. Foods were not value-free. Behind the foods were always embedded values, message and even ideology. Not only eating took food into mouth, but also as people ate they adopted the way how to eat it. For example, as people ate *sushi*, they not only took the *sushi* into their mouth, but also they took all of the cultural dimensions of it into their body, including the way to eat it. They did not use spoon, but chopsticks, meaning that the *sushi* became a cultural media of certain eating culture. Understanding a food meant understanding how to eat the food and even how to cook and serve it. Eating had the same meaning as knowing, understanding and internalizing values behind it.

As people ate *gyudon* (rice/beef bowl), which was similar to donburi or a bowl of rice with the topping of thin beef slices sauteed along with onion, salty catsup and sugar, the foods would remind them of Japan. I remembered the first time I arrived in Japan, I wondered how to find foods that fitted my belief and my taste. I chose *gyudon* because it was made of beef and halal (allowed in Islam) in addition to the fact that it was affordable for foreigners like me. The big portion of the dish and the affordable price became the perfect choice for me. It was not really important if it tasted good or not, nutritious or not. *Gyudon* has revealed its distinct truth for me and it was beyond the matters of nutrients and taste. Therefore, eating it became a kind of revelation. It brought me—using Heidegger's term—to the experience of 'revelation'. It was meaningful for me because symbolically not only it satisfied my taste of hunger and made my body healthier or satisfied my appetite, but also it brought me to the experience of living in foreign country.

Based on the aforementioned description, the reflection on the food ended in metaphoric level, which was a dimension based on human physical and cultural experience. The metaphoric dimension represented a linguistic expression in which a thing was regarded as representative or symbolic of something else, especially something abstract (Lakoff and Johnson [10] in *Metaphors We Live By*, 1980). There were many aspects of human social and cultural life that could be expressed using foods. In this case, the act of eating was not considered as the act of eating itself, but the way knowledge revealed itself. Again, it confirmed Levi Strauss' statement that foods are good to think with.

Eating, Performance and Subject Construction

Eating, foods and the accompanying process represented a part of daily life that might serve as self-performing mode. Not only the self-performance took place in a big performing event, but also in daily life situation (Schechner, 2013: 28). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1999) categorized foods and the act of performing into three behaviors, which were to do, to behave and to show.

To Perform Is to Do

A performing process was an initial stage in terms of doing, implementing, or accomplishing a task. In other words, the activity included production, presentation, outcome and staging. The effort to perform at the stage involved cooking and serving foods. It related to ingredients, cooking utensils, techniques, procedures and actions. At this stage we dealt with what were happening in kitchen, how to process the ingredients into foods or final dishes. Technology played an important role in creating human cultural construct. It was through the technology that human relation has experienced unprecedented development. Montanari [11] suggested that technology played an important role in the development of eating culture, since the hunting era to the agricultural era, husbandry, preservation, to the distribution (the manipulation of nature in the effort to keep food stock from depletion because of climate change), and the invention and the development of seasonings (the manipulation of nature in the effort to explore food quality).

Seasonings were human cultural construct through technology to create certain flavor sensation. Seasonings resulting from technological blending worked through tasting and smelling senses. They strongly stimulated human senses using foods. The influence of Japan in the area of seasonings represented a part of the performance in the form of "to perform is to do" and it might be clearly observed in the use of cooking spice *aji no moto*, the sauce teriyaki, food serving of instant foods/canned foods.

The seasonings identical to Japan such as *aji no moto* (MSG, mono sodium glutamate) and the sauce teriyaki were essentially not created to give health impact on human body, but to satisfy human appetite through special sensation resulting from the two kinds of seasonings as they were in contact with human tasting and smelling senses (tongue and nose). *Aji no moto* was a brand name of cooking spices and flavoring agents coming from Japan that gave the taste of *umami* in foods. Meanwhile, the sauce teriyaki was used as the flavoring agent of meat-based foods. Seasonings were created to modify the quality of foods such as the case of flavor enhancers and food colors. Maynard A. Amerine [1] suggested that seasonings represented values contained in foods that could also be the indicator of the quality of the civilization of a society (1996: 105-106). Amerine [1] stated that the quality of the civilization of a society could be observed in the combination of the seasonings used in foods. The life of primitive people was indicated by the absence of seasonings, the act of eating based only on biological need for foods (in term of quantity) because there was only limited kinds of food flavor and taste (because of cooking and baking food processing). However, once the seasonings have been invented, the way to cook foods varied and even considered aesthetic aspects of foods (in term of quality).

How could seasonings tell the story of a civilization? We could understand it when the use of the seasonings resulted in delicious foods in addition to the fact that there were various rules, norms, behavior patterns and life style of a society behind the foods. The cooking spice gave birth to self-disciplining models in the area of cooking through various kinds of cooking courses or schools, recipe books, cooking competition, and also restaurants. Japanese foods presented as the opposition against artificiality of foods because of the domination of artificial seasonings. It presented as a creative effort to serve natural and healthy foods. Japanese healthy and natural foods presented the concept of simplicity in food ingredients, food processing and minimal use of seasonings.

Meanwhile, in the area of food serving Japanese eating culture introduced different *rendang* (meat simmered in spices and coconut milk). Since a long time ago Japanese people have put the emphasis on food management as serious thing and even as artistic works. For Japanese foods should be enjoyed visually and artistically. They have long developed their own food aesthetics into harmonious and beautiful design of texture, colors, and forms in their concept of food management. It

was believed that such visual enjoyment was the first gate into culinary enjoyment as the foods were taken into mouth.

In addition to the introduction of seasoning technology and the change in the opinion of food visual appearance, Japanese eating culture also introduced food preservation technology in fast foods, especially instant noodles. Based on the results of a survey by Fuji Research Institute Corp (the present Mizuho Information and Research Institute Inc.) instant noodle was the best Japanese food invention in 20th century surpassing karaoke, stereo headphone, video games, Pokemon and *sushi*. The combination of the seasonings and the food preservation technology enabled more practical, efficient and easy food serving. Consequently, not only it shortened the cooking process, but also to simplify human relation with foods and other cultural aspects behind the foods.

To Perform Is to Behave.

Erving Goffmann referred to the stage as self-performing stage in daily life. Regardless of the relation with habits, rules, or laws, ethics and etiquette, the performance was an inseparable part of human selves and daily life. Pierre Bourdieu [2] called *habitus*. "To perform" in this case was proper behavior in production and consumption processes, and also cleaning and disposal processes with their respective rules to observe. As Taufik has done in the following:

"As the ordered food comes, I feel I have to behave like Japanese, meaning that I have to eat it the way Japanese do. I have ordered ramen and I know that the way to eat ramen must be different from the way to eat Pak Kumis chicken noodle. I behave the way Japanese do when I am eating ramen. First I see the bowl of the ramen before me and I observe what are in the bowl. Once I have been satisfied seeing and observing it, I try to take the thin dressing of the ramen without stirring it. And then I sip the broth slowly and enjoy it on my tongue. Once I have been satisfied with the broth, I try the noodle by sip it intact and shove it into my mouth using chopsticks. Once my mouth has been full, I chew it." (Taufik, 35 years old)

Ramen was eaten quickly as it was hot alternately with its topping and then sipped the broth again. Even when the noodle has been finished, we had to sip the broth directly from the bowl till the bowl was completely empty. The beverage should be green tea though there were other kinds of beverages available. It was not normal to look for chili sauce (*sambal*) for hotter flavor or chips as enjoyment enhancers. Taufik said that ramen eating attitude or behavior differed from the eating attitude or behavior for eating Pak Kumis chicken noodle he regularly bought.

What Taufik did as he ate ramen was a behavioral adaptation to Japanese culture. He accommodated his imagination of Japan, especially the foods he saw in a show or comics in his childhood such as Doraemon, Dragon Ball and ninja Hatori. Since he has been adult and married, Taufik loved to watch special Japanese show *waku-waku Japan* on prepaid TV. When he lived in Japan he felt he had to behave the way Japanese did, to enjoy foods the way Japanese did just as they have watched on TV.

"Yes, of course I try to enjoy it the way Japanese do in all out way," he said. Therefore, he decided to follow Japanese eating etiquette though it was messy at first because he depended on his memory of shiki ori-ori show (the title of the show of Japanese culinary culture and the festival in TV Waku-waku Japan. In short, he did not think too much about different tastes or feelings, he felt resistances. It was also the case when he ate sushi. He also applied the stages when he ate sushi. He used chopsticks (though people could also eat sushi in Japan using hands). And then he added wasabi on the sushi, submerged it into shoyu, and took it into his mouth. Also, he tried ginger pickle (gari) made of shaved young ginger that was usually eaten along with the sushi or after eating it. The main function was to recover the taste or to neutralize the taste on tongue before eating other kinds of sushi. Taufik carefully tried to follow the way Japanese enjoy their foods and subsequently he adapted his behavior to Japanese table manner". (Interview, January 2017).

The preference of foods and the way to eat them could describe and identify certain social group that subsequently formed the identity of the group that was different from other society. Pierre

Bourdieu conducted a study of the relationship between foods and social class in a society and suggested that foods played an important role in establishing categorizing system or individual difference and it could be observed in the big idea working behind the eating tastes of a society. He said that different groups such as bourgeois and proletariats, workers and unemployed, men and women, and so on could be observed in their eating taste.

What Taufik said above showed that the presence of Japanese foods as foreign foods represented a phenomena that was not only indicative of people preference of foods, but also described certain social category in a society. Japanese foods became the choice of middle class or bourgeois with more knowledge, insight, experience and capital that they got the opportunity to satisfy their desire for culinary adventure in "other foods". The presence of Japanese foods gave birth to various new categories in a society: new eating manner, new knowledge, new habit, new group, and so on.

To Perform Os to Show

When the aspects of doing and behaving were shown, audience presented and it was expected that they also expressed their criticism and recommendation. In other words, there were evaluation and appreciation processes. The stage described that the act of eating moved to higher level of a performance. Concerning with physical problem, the act of eating aimed not only at improving body health, but also to show perfect and interesting appearance. The eating behavior could not be created without any rules. Appetite control was one of the requirements to obtain normal body. The concept of the normal body faced people expectation of ideal physical image. Normal body was not only healthy, but also should be interesting for many people.

Concerning with the act of eating, the desire to physically show self through the act of eating caused anxiety. The anxiety for obesity was one of the kinds of the anxiety that ended in the anxiety of modern people related to foods. Obesity was considered as horrible thing because it would be identical to many diseases and more importantly was that obesity did not fulfill people's expectation that identified beauty with interestingly slim body.

The slim body was considered as an ideal body shape that contemporar⁷ individual dreamed. Mass media such as magazine, news papers, books, television and internet played an important role in internalizing the idea of the ideal body shape into public consciousness. The slim body became normality standard. On the contrary, fat body was considered as abnormal. Therefore, it was not surprising that many people were obsessed by the image of the slim body. One of the methods to obtain the slim body was to adopt Japanese eating style. American has done it. Around 1970s American was recommended to adopt Japanese eating style considered as containing balanced nutrients in which Japanese ate not-too-big portion, not-too-strong seasoning or flavor, and not-too-fatty food and eating more carbohydrate [17]. Japanese dietary pattern became the reference for longevity and slim and healthy body.

Considering the requirement of showing healthy and interesting physical appearance, the act of eating of an individual was not completely free and followed his or her willingness. People were not free in choosing foods. What were good to eat and how to eat it were constructed by "a normalization process". The relation of power controlled human eating behavior. Adopting Foucault' genealogical study, John Coveney studied the working method of the relation of the power in controlling human eating behavior. Coveney said that the most effective and optimal control of the eating behavior was through nutrient science, meaning that the knowledge of an individual determined what he or she ate, how he or she ate it that were disseminated through both printed and electronic mass media such as news papers, books, magazines, advertisements, television shows, internet, container labels and so on (2000: 9).

4. Conclusion

Behind eating behavior and foods were ideas and values. Understanding the eating behavior meant understanding or studying values behind the behavior. On the contrary, if we thought about the eating behavior and the foods, it could trigger the emergence of new values in the act of eating and the foods.

The presence of foreign foods in this case Japanese foods instilled new values that were different from the values of the existing traditional foods.

Japanese foods as an agent of change played an important role in the effort to obtain knowledge. Eating activity such as eating Japanese foods meant that those who ate the foods melted into Japanese culture dissolved into and at the same time were dissolved by all of the matters appertaining to Japan. The biting concept of the *washabi* differed from the biting concept of chili or pepper. The enjoyment of the biting sensation could only be reached by direct taste experience of the *washabi*.

Eating activity represented a hermeneutic activity (Setiawan, 2015L 315). Subsequently, the hermeneutic activity resulted in a new interpretation of human experience. Eating had the same meaning as knowing, understanding and internalizing values behind it. Also, it meant the revealing activity of the experience and the knowledge.

Eating Japanese foods might be considered as a performing media that served the function of constructing subjects. The performance took place in three categories, which were to do, to behave and to perform. At the stage "to perform is to do", it dealt with the performance in kitchen, which were the activities of cooking and serving foods, including the ingredients, the cooking utensils, and cooking procedure and action. The presence of Japanese foods at the stage was found in the area of seasonings, food or dish serving and instant foods/canned foods.

At the stage "to perform is to behave", Japanese foods became the choice of middle class or bourgeois that had more knowledge, insights, experiences and capital that they got the opportunity to satisfy their desire for culinary adventure in "other foods". The presence of Japanese foods gave birth to various new categories in a society: new eating manner, new knowledge, new habit, new group, and so on.

Meanwhile, at the stage "to perform is to show" it dealt with the desire to show interesting and healthy body. Concerning with the act of eating, the desire to physically show selves manifested through the act of eating that caused anxiety. The anxiety for obesity was one of the kinds of the anxiety that ended in the anxiety of modern people related to foods. Japanese dietary pattern became the reference for longevity and slim and healthy body.

Japanese foods helped a society construct the subjects with knowledge of what and how to eat. The knowledge was applied in choosing the life style, the behavioral pattern and the chosen self-performance pattern. Japanese foods were not only consumed, but also inspired human beings.

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