



Consumption Behavior Based on Social Gaps in Urban Fiction and its Potential as Sociolinguistic Teaching Material

Lusy Novitasari^{1*}, Kundharu Saddono¹, and Raheni Suhita¹

¹Pendidikan Bahasa Indonesia, Universitas Sebelas Maret, Surakarta, Indonesia

*Corresponding author: lucydheny77@gmail.com

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Abstract. This study examines how social disparities are represented through food consumption behavior in two contemporary Jakarta urban novels: *Home Sweet Loan* [1] and *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi* [2]. Using a gastrocriticism approach based on the four dimensions of consumption (what is eaten, where, with whom, and in what way), this study analyzes how the eating choices of the characters in both novels reflect the class position, social identity, and power relations at work in Jakarta's urban life. The findings show that both novels present two different models of representation: *Home Sweet Loan* depicts inequality as a tiresome pressure from below, in which every decision to eat the protagonist Kaluna is a negotiation between financial limitations and social demands that cannot be resisted; while *Jakarta Before the Morning* Describe the gap as a real boundary but can be crossed through personal relationships across classes. In addition to the gastrocritical dimension, this study also identifies the richness of sociolinguistic data stored in both novels, including registers, diglossia, code switching, language variation, language ideology, and language identity, all of which are present simultaneously in one simple dining scene. Based on these findings, this study designed the potential of the two novels as authentic and integrative sociolinguistic teaching materials at the university level. This study confirms that urban fiction is not just a work of entertainment, but a medium that is able to record the workings of social inequality from within, through small details that are not accessible by statistical data: the price of coffee, the position of the pudding on the table, and the sound of the beans in the food court.

Keywords: gastrocriticism; social gaps; food consumption; urban fiction Jakarta; sociolinguistics; teaching materials



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1. Introduction

Food in the perspective of humanities and cultural studies has long been understood not as a biological substance, but as a system of signs that record the identity, power relations, and material conditions of a society. In the tradition of food studies, consumption behaviors that include what is eaten, where, with whom, and in what ways have been consistently identified as expressions of one's self-identity, class affiliation, and social position in the social hierarchy. Food consumption is thus not a neutral private act. It is a social action that is always culturally and politically meaningful, shaped by social inequality that acts as a structural pressure that simultaneously limits and forces choices.

This awareness gave birth to a gastrocritical approach in literary studies, which is a way of reading fictional texts through a culinary lens to uncover the layers of social, economic, and ideological meaning behind the representation of food, dining rooms, and consumption rituals. Food in fiction is thus not just a background detail, but rather a driving motor that causally shapes what a character can choose, where one can attend, and how one's eating is read by others. In

Indonesia, this approach began to develop through the study of culinary novels such as *Aruna* and *its Tongue* and the study of Nusantara culinary-based short stories.

However, the study of gastrocriticism in Indonesia is still very limited to culinary representations and cultural identities, and has not systematically touched on the dimensions of urban social class gap manifested through daily consumption behavior, as well as its potential as sociolinguistic data and university teaching materials. Contemporary Indonesian urban fiction is a rich social laboratory to examine consumption behavior based on social gaps in this context. The two novels that are the focus of this study are *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi* the sixth edition (2025) by Ziggy Zezsyazeoviennazabrizkie and the seventh edition of *Home Sweet Loan* (2024) by Almira Bastari. Although both are set in the same city and feature young female working female protagonists, both novels present socially, ideologically, and linguistically contrasting representations of the culinary landscape and consumption behaviors.

In the *Home Sweet Loan* (HSL), social inequality is represented as exhausting pressure from below (the Rp 40,000 coffee consumed without calculation by Danan is converted by Kaluna to Rp 2,400,000 per month) a figure equivalent to his living needs of more than two weeks. In *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi* (JSP), Silver Needles tea, which costs the equivalent of "a serving of tofu rice in a Padang restaurant", also triggers an identical calculative reflex, but without demanding the act of purchase. The calculation mechanism that works in the minds of the two protagonists is exactly the same, the difference is whether or not the calculation demands financial sacrifice. The disparity of representation between these two novels opens up opportunities for productive comparative studies, not only in a gastrocritical way, but also sociolinguistically and pedagogically.

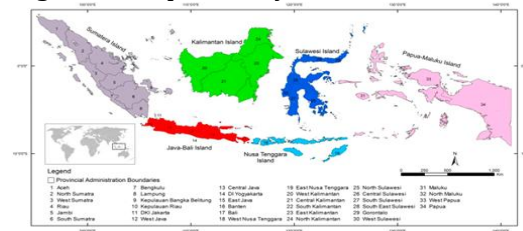
Studies on the relationship between food, identity, and social class have grown rapidly in the last two decades. From a sociological point of view, Warde lays down a theoretical framework based on practice theory that the practice of eating is a form of cultural capital that separates social classes. Johnston and Baumann show how 'omnivore' culinary consumption became a distinctive strategy of the upper middle class. Bourdieu referred to the taste and consumption of high-end food as a taste of refinement that served as a symbolic differentiator. An exclusive system that demands economic capital as well as cultural capital. Ehlert demonstrates the mechanism of culinary habitus in the context of urban Asia, while Smith Maguire asserts that social class acts as a structural factor that simultaneously shapes access to desired food and limits the degree of freedom of various groups in determining their eating practices.

In literary studies, Parasecoli and Scholliers established the cultural framework and semiotics of food in literary texts, while Lindenfeld and Parasecoli developed the study of cultural identity through the representation of food in media. In Indonesia, empirical studies of gastrocriticism include Ahmad Tohari's novel, the short story *Kompas*, and the culinary identity of the archipelago in poetry, but they have all focused on representational content, not touching on linguistic dimensions or pedagogical potential. On the sociolinguistic side, Bucholtz and Hall developed the theory of language identity as a process produced through everyday linguistic practice. Recent studies have shown that literary texts are an authentic source of sociolinguistic data in which language variations, registers, diglosses, code switching, and language ideologies can be identified from the interactions of fictional characters representing real society.

A dialogue between Kaluna and Danan about a Rp 40,000 coffee drunk twice a day versus recording an expenditure of Rp 5,000 was able to condense the entire class distance into two sentences, a wealth of sociolinguistic data that artificial artificial text cannot engineer. In the field of language pedagogy, recent research confirms that culturally relevant texts for students result in a deeper engagement with linguistic concepts. Recent research on Indonesian literary gastrocriticism shows encouraging developments but has three significant limitations. First, most studies focus on culinary literature with traditional cultural or ethnic nuances, while contemporary urban fiction that represents the life of the modern Jakarta middle class has not received adequate attention. Second, the existing gastrocritical analysis is almost entirely oriented towards cultural identity, not yet exploring in depth the dimensions of urban social class manifested through consumption behavior.

How the geography of eating shapes the geography of class, how the position of pudding on the table becomes a materialization of social hierarchy, or how three refrigerators in one kitchen become class boundaries that are present even among people who love each other. Third, there has been no study that explicitly links gastrocritical analysis to sociolinguistic pedagogical potential in higher education. From the perspective of Indonesia's spatial data, Syah Putra et al. explained that food expenditure has been proven to have a significant negative correlation with the poverty severity index, even surpassing the influence of economic growth, GDP (Gross Regional Domestic Product) per capita, and urbanization, so that the issue of poverty must be seen as the most critical factor in understanding food access inequality in urban spaces. The following is a map of study areas in Indonesia in the research of Syah Putra et al.

Figure 1. Map of study area: Indonesia



This data provides important material context: when Indonesian urban novels depict characters who can't reach a particular meal, they're not just making it up. They're narrating the realities of millions of urban dwellers who are spatially marginalized from access to decent food. The novelty of this research lies in three interconnected aspects: (1) a gastrocritical study of two contemporary Indonesian urban novels that have never been studied gastrocritically before; (2) the use of the four-dimensional consumption behavior analytical framework of what, where, with whom, and in what way as a bridge between the study of gastrocriticism and sociolinguistic data; and the exploration and design of the potential of urban gastrocriticism analysis as an authentic and culturally contextual sociolinguistic teaching material at the university level. The integration of these three aspects is an original contribution not found in the existing literature.

Based on the above research background and gaps, this study aims to: (1) analyze the representation of the culinary landscape and consumption behavior in Jakarta Sebelum Pagi and Home Sweet Loan through a gastrocriticism approach based on four dimensions of consumption behavior as an expression of identity, class affiliation, and social position; (2) identify sociolinguistic data stored in the culinary representation, including registers, dictionaries, code transfer, language variations, language ideologies, and language identity; and (3) designing the potential of the two novel gastrocritical analysis as authentic and integrative sociolinguistic teaching materials at the university level. This research is expected to contribute to three complementary domains.

Theoretically, this study enriches the study of Indonesian literary gastrocriticism by presenting a four-dimensional framework for the analysis of consumption behavior oriented to social class and urban hierarchical positions, while bridging the tradition of gastrocriticism with a sociolinguistic framework—an original interdisciplinary integration. Methodologically, this study offers a comparative analysis model of two literary texts as a sociolinguistic corpus that can be replicated for the study of other urban literary texts. Practically-pedagogically, this study produced a potential map and concrete recommendations for the use of urban fiction gastrocriticism analysis as sociolinguistic teaching material in higher education, including examples of authentic data, learning activity proposals, and text-based syllabus designs that allow students to read language as well as read society.

2. Methodology

This research is a literature research with a qualitative, descriptive-interpretive approach that aims to explore the potential of gastrocritical analysis of Indonesian urban literary texts as

sociolinguistic teaching materials in higher education. Comparative design is applied because the comparison of two texts with the same but ideologically different backgrounds allows for more analytically rich pattern and contrast identification. Primary data are sourced from two novels, namely *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi* (2016) by Ziggy Zezsyazeoviennazabrizkie and *Home Sweet Loan* (2021) by Almira Bastari which were selected through purposive sampling based on the suitability of Jakarta's urban background, similarity of protagonist profiles, and richness of culinary representation as authentic sociolinguistic data.

Data collection was carried out through systematic close reading with analysis units in the form of scenes, dialogues, and descriptions related to food, dining rooms, and consumption practices. The data were codified using a four-dimensional framework of consumption behavior, namely who consumed, where, with whom, and how adapted from Johnston and Baumann and Warde. The analysis was carried out through four stages: layered hermeneutical reading, codification of textual data, comparative cross-text interpretation, and pedagogical synthesis to formulate the implications of the teaching material.

Gastrocritical analysis is operationalized through the food semiotics of Parasecoli and Scholliers, while sociolinguistic analysis refers to the framework of Bucholtz and Hall covering registers, code switching, dicology, and language ideology. Validity is guaranteed through source triangulation, confirmation of secondary literature, and audit of analytical decision trails.

3. Results and Discussions

Food is not just a biological need. In the perspective of cultural sociology, food is a social practice that simultaneously shapes and is shaped by class, identity, and societal hierarchies. What to eat, where, with whom, and in what way. These four dimensions work together as a social marking system that reveals a person's position in the social order. Johnston & Baumann assert that culinary taste is a product of a class position that is socialized through habitus or tendencies that are embedded in the body and are not always aware of by the perpetrator. Parasecoli & Lindenfeld look at how culinary narratives in popular culture texts reproduce and challenge social hierarchies. Beagan et al. (2021) specifically examined how daily eating decisions are an arena in which class, gender, and ethnic identities are negotiated.

This analysis applies these three theoretical frameworks to two contemporary Indonesian novels: *Home Sweet Loan* and *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi*. Both are set in Jakarta as an urban landscape full of inequality, and both consistently use food as a social marker. Jakarta's urban novels have access to everyday social details that survey data or statistical reports can't reach. Statistical data can measure the Gini coefficient, but it can't record what Kaluna feels when her pudding is pushed to the edge of the table, a moment where inequality is not just a number, but an experience experienced in the body. Urban fiction is a medium in which social disparities manifest themselves in the most concrete material details: the price of coffee, the position of the refrigerator, the name of the restaurant, and the sound of the dawn in the food court. This is why the analysis of Jakarta's urban fiction is an analysis of the gap itself.

3.1 Home Sweet Loan

Each food object in the novel is thoroughly analyzed: what is eaten, where, with whom, and in what way, as well as its relation to the class position, habitus, and social dynamics of the protagonist, Kaluna.

3.1.1 Coffee Rp 40,000/glass: Habit Twice a Day (Danan)

On what dimensions, it was answered that premium coffee from a branded coffee shop, priced at Rp 40,000 per glass, was consumed twice a day by Danan. The total expenditure reaches IDR 2,400,000 per month just for coffee. an amount that for Kaluna is equivalent to the need to live for more than two weeks. This coffee is Purchased outside the office or in a premium office area. Not from canteens or employee cooperatives, even though coffee is available for free in the office. The choice to buy outside is an active choice that reflects the habitus of the class. In the dimension with whom, seen in the novel is generally consumed

alone or brought to the work desk. This is not an explicit social ritual, but an embodied individual habit.

Kaluna is aware of this habit and responds with a comment that reveals the class distance between them. Entering the realm in what way, it can be explained that "without price calculation". Danan never considered the cost, this habit was not a conscious choice, but a reflex of class habitus. This is what distinguishes it from Kaluna which records every expenditure of IDR 5,000.

"Two million four hundred thousand! Why do you drink at the office? It is intended for employees." (HSL)

It is understandable that, Danan's premium coffee is the most naked example of an embodied high-end habitus [23] he is unaware of the cost because it is never meaningful as a barrier.

3.1.2 Healthy Catering Rp 75,000/portion (Tanish & Danan)

In what dimensions, it looks like a lunch from premium healthy catering that is coded not just as nutrition, but as the capital of the upper middle class who are conscious of lifestyle (clean eating). The price of IDR 75,000 per portion is a threshold that automatically excludes certain classes. On the dimensions where, show ordered directly to the table or delivered to the office does not need to go down to the canteen. This practice reproduces the spatial hierarchy of the office, namely those who order catering vs. those who go down to the driver's canteen. Dimension with whom, shows Tanish and Danan eating together. Those who have the economic capital to order catering every day. Kaluna, who brought provisions from home, was outside this consumption circle despite sitting at the same table.

Entering the dimension in what way, it looks ordered through an app or a routine order without consideration of price. In this context, it shows that the consumption system is routinely driven by financial ability. Bringing provisions in an office filled with healthy catering is a class statement that Kaluna cannot hide. Johnston & Baumann explain that "health" as a reason for consumption is a class discourse that links financial ability with moral and physical capital. Those who cannot afford healthy catering are also symbolically less "healthy."

3.1.3 Provisions from Home: Financial Strategies that Become Class Markers (Kaluna)

To what dimensions, showing home-cooked meals prepared by yourself every day is not as an expression of nostalgia or taste preferences, but rather as an active strategy of maintaining financial control in an office environment that culturally normalizes premium catering. The dimension where, explained is brought to an office filled with healthy catering and branded coffee. This spatial contrast can never be hidden, that provision is the most visible marker of class in an environment where the economic class is homogeneous upwards.

The dimension with whom, is answered by eating at the desk with colleagues who mostly order catering or eating at restaurants. Provisions create subtle but consistent social differentiation. In reality, Kaluna knew she looked different, and she knew everyone else knew. In what way, that is, carried every day with discipline. Record every Rp 5,000 expense in real-time. For Danan, this behavior seems excessive and ridiculous, but for Kaluna, it is a survival strategy that has become a reflex.

"Today's expenditure statement. Afraid of forgetting. — Five thousand do you record? (Danan, flabbergasted). (HSL)

Beagan et al. (2021) explain that food practices shaped by material conditions. Bringing lunch is not about taste, but about the monthly math that Kaluna calculates every night.

3.1.4 Nasi Padang Perigiran Rp 20,000: Old Date as a Temporary Equalizer (Tanish & Miya)

The first dimension, which is what, shows Nasi Padang from a roadside stall, the price of Rp 20,000 is complete with chicken. A food that Tanish and Miya wouldn't normally choose, but became a mandatory choice on old dates when everyone's wallets were thin. In the

dimensions were, you can see a suburban stall outside the office building. Including the category of "fringe foods that will be on holiday if raided by the PP security guard". Vulnerability to raids marks its unofficialness, and choosing it means entering a dining room that doesn't belong to their class. Dimension with whom, it looks like Tanish and Miya are together, and it's a rare moment where financial choices temporarily level their positions. This moment can only happen because both are in the same class condition "for this one time". In what way is the dimension seen in the following data fragment.

"On the old date, Tanish and Miya agreed to buy a suburban rice for twenty thousand complete with chicken." (HSL)

The word "agree" reveals that this is a negotiating decision and not a preference. This is the only moment in HSL where an old date forces a class equalizer temporarily. There is a critical paradox that employees of luxury corporate buildings are supported by stalls that can be raided at any time. The distance between the image of the office and the reality of the salary is most evident here, and Kaluna, ironically, is the least surprising.

3.1.5 Sushi Hei: One Rp 500,000 Trash Bought to Receive

What dimensions can be seen in Sushi from Sushi Hei, one of the branded premium sushi restaurants in Jakarta malls that explains that one garbage costs around Rp 500,000. Kaluna bought it not because she wanted to eat sushi, but because she needed to bring something "decent" to Mas Hansa's family table. Entering the dimension where, seen bought at the mall, it was taken to Mas Hansa's family home for a family meal. Malls as purchasing spaces have coded certain classes which means that they are not traditional markets, not stalls.

Dimensions with whom, shown at Mas Hansa's family table. The table is most explicit as a space for social evaluation in the novel. Kak Hana's response is the point of the whole purchase. Dimensions in what way, it is explained, are purchased by "dismantling the tertiary needs budget". Kaluna is aware that this will ruin the budget, but the choice of not bringing anything or bringing your own food has been shown to produce a worse response.

"Bring it on, I've bought sushi at the mall. Rather than making another mistake, it is better to dismantle the budget for tertiary needs."

"It's really nice to have sushi from Sushi Hei restaurant. My husband loves it. Very thoughtful." (HSL)

"Very thoughtful" is only pronounced for branded food purchased and this is the most systematic exclusion through consumption [5], where the cuisine itself is not read as "thoughtful", and only the name of the restaurant is considered to be a certificate of goodwill.

3.1.6 Homemade Milk Chocolate Pudding: Unacknowledged Love

In what dimensions, Kaluna's own handmade milk chocolate pudding (not bought, not branded, no restaurant name). Made with time and energy, not with huge amounts of money. This was the most honest language of affection that Kaluna could express. Dimensions in which, indicate Two different contexts: (1) in the office, welcomed warmly and happily; (2) on Mas Hansa's family dining table, placed "on the edge, at the end". Literally and symbolically, it is shifted to the edge of the hierarchy. On the dimension with whom, it was explained when in the office he was welcomed by friends who appreciated him. At the table, Mas Hansa is treated as a complementary that is not worth it, placed separately from the bakery cake ordered by Hana. The dimensions in what way are reinforced in the following quote.

"Mom, the pudding will be on the side, at the end. The one in the middle is the one from the bakery ordered by Hana." (HSL)

The act of putting the pudding "on the side" is a spatial order that physically embodies the social order. Kaluna didn't need to be told verbally but the pudding's position already conveyed everything. The most painful irony in HSL, where self-cooking is the most time- and energy-intensive form of affection, yet at the wrong table, it reads as inability to buy. Two colliding value systems.

3.1.7 Dinner at Hotel Mulia: The Peak of Mas Hansa's Family Status Marker

What dimensions and where are they seen in a family dinner at Hotel Mulia. It's not just about food; it's about place as a statement of identity. Hotel Mulia is the highest tier in the hierarchy of Jakarta's dining rooms that appear in the novel. Hotel Mulia, Jakarta as the most explicit status marker because the price per head exceeds the average Kaluna meal expenditure in a month, a name widely known as a symbol of luxury. In the dimension with whom, it can be seen with Mas Hansa's family. Families who use the choice of place to eat as a performance of class identity.

Kaluna's presence here has always made her in a position as a valued guest, not an equal member of the family. Further, in what dimensions is it explained by a formal dinner, with unwritten social protocols that must be understood (what to wear, how to behave, what to talk about). Instagram as an extension of this arena, namely photos from Hotel Mulia is a consumption behavior that is exhibited to a wider social network.

"The photo looks like the same event, right? ... Isn't it embarrassing if you post a photo on Instagram and then comment on your aunt's sisters, why is it that the future man-in-law is wearing that-that-that." (HSL)

Not only does Kaluna have to eat in the right place, but she has to look right in that place. Exclusion through consumption extends to visuals where his presence must be a presence worthy of displaying on Mas Hansa's family's Instagram.

3.1.8 Weekend in Senopati & Kemang: Geography as Identity (Danan)

In this context, what dimension is explained through eating at restaurants in the Senopati and Kemang areas which cost around Rp 200,000 per meal. This is a Danan weekend ritual, not as a privilege but as a custom that is already part of his social identity. Through the dimension where, Senopati and Kemang explained. Two names of the South Jakarta area in the context of urban sociology have functioned as markers of class identity.

Calling "Senopati" is enough to place someone in the hierarchy of Jakarta society. In the dimension with whom, it is answered through the social circle of Danan or the people who make this area a natural social space, not a specially planned purpose. Kaluna is not here, except occasionally when invited. Dimensions in what way, reinforced through the following quotes,

"Danan's weekend is not complete without Senopati. Every day or night a meal in a restaurant might cost two hundred thousand." (HSL)

The word "incomplete" is the key that explains that it is not about hunger or taste, but rather about the completeness of the ritual of class identity. Johnston & Baumann [5] assert that physical presence at Senopati is already a statement of class identity, even before ordering. The geography of eating in HSL is a rigid classroom geography. Who is in Senopati and who eats Rp 20,000 Padang rice in a stall that can be raided are two worlds operating in parallel in the same city.

3.1.9 Restoran Korea Kelas Menengah: Jebakan Kelas yang Tidak Bisa Ditolak (Miya & Kaluna)

Dimension What, shows dining in a middle-class Korean restaurant (not the most expensive tier, but above the comfortable limits of Kaluna's budget). It was initiated by Miya, not Kaluna's choice. In the dimension where, it is explained in Korean restaurants in areas that are affordable in terms of mobility but not financially affordable for Kaluna or the type of space that normally does not fit into their daily choices.

"We ended up ordering a set of lunches for 88,000 at a Korean grilled meat restaurant. Not including VAT... This means that today, including the fare, my expenses are beyond the limit." -Home Sweet Loan-

Dimension with whom, seen together with Miya and Kaluna. Both are office friends, but with different financial capacities. Miya invites with good intentions and Kaluna can't refuse without damaging social relations. Enter the dimension in any way, this is the classic

class trap where you can't refuse without social consequences and you can't participate without financial consequences. Kaluna participates, pays, and records it as expenses that exceed the budget. The violation of financial protocols in HSL is always unintentional by Kaluna or he never consciously chooses to go beyond the budget limit, he is forced by social dynamics that do not leave room for refusal.

3.1.10 Kaluna's Fried Rice for Danan: Cooking as a Statement of Feelings

What dimensions, can be seen in the homemade fried rice that Kaluna cooked for Danan. Simple, unbranded, inexpensive food. The significance is not in the food material, but in the act of cooking. The kitchen is the answer to the dimension where. The kitchen is the most intimate space in Kaluna's daily life. Cooking for a person is an act that requires time, attention, and knowledge of that person's tastes.

"I cooked fried rice for our afternoon because I was late for lunch."

"I was thinking about it during the cooking." I hugged my knees." (HSL)

In the dimension with whom, it is explained that Kaluna cooks for Danan. It is the direction of giving that reveals feelings that cannot be expressed in any other way. In Kaluna's class, cooking is the most natural language of affection. Furthermore, the dimensions in what way are answered by being made themselves, prepared with attention, not as a competition with restaurants or caterers, but as an authentic relational expression. This is the only language of affection that Kaluna fully masters, without financial barriers. There is a layered irony in this context. In the office cooking alone doesn't get the recognition comparable to buying from a restaurant, while in more personal intimate spaces, cooking is the only way Kaluna can be fully herself.

3.1.11 Three Refrigerators, One House: The Materiality of Class Boundaries in the Family (Kaluna Family)

In what dimensions, refers to not a single food, but a fragmented household consumption system. Three different refrigerators in one house, shopping money that cannot be mixed because it always runs out first, and Kaluna who takes care of the kitchen the most but gets the least recognition. The kitchen and dining table of the Kaluna family house answer the dimension where. A space that should be the most egalitarian, but instead becomes the most intimate arena of authority and class conflict. Even within one's own home, consumption is a negotiating field.

"There are three refrigerators in the kitchen. I have my mother-father, Kak Kanendra's family, and Kak Kamala's family. Initially, there were only two refrigerators, but because of the mixed shopping money so that Mom's money was often minus at the end of the month, finally every family had their own refrigerator." (HSL)

The dimension with whom, can be seen in the family members who have unequal financial dynamics. The three refrigerators are the materialization of boundaries that are never spoken openly but are always felt. Furthermore, the dimensions in what way, can be seen in Kaluna washing the dishes after everyone is gone, preparing meals for family events, and taking care of kitchen logistics. A contribution that is the most numerous but the least visible. It is gender and class inequality at the same time, which Beagan et al. (2021) identify as the most everyday arena of identity negotiation. Three refrigerators is HSL's strongest metaphor, which is that class boundaries can be present even under one roof, between people who know and love each other and this is precisely what makes it the most painful.

3.2 Jakarta Sebelum Pagi

Each food object in the novel is thoroughly analyzed: what is eaten, where, with whom, and in what way is at the same time related to class transfers, cultural capital, and personal relationships that transcend social hierarchies.

3.2.1 Silver Needles Tea: The Price That Measures Class Distance (Suki)

What dimensions, explained by the appearance of Silver Needles (silver needles). The most premium type of white tea from China. Per 10gram, the price is equivalent to a serving of tofu rice in a Padang restaurant (Emina's most democratic benchmark) which is used explicitly as a measuring tool to convert the price of tea into something that can be understood viscerally. Suki's florist answers the dimension where.

An exclusive little stall with only two tables, which is not advertised and not easy to find without hints from insiders. This space is not a place that can be accessed by just anyone and price is the first filter. In the dimension with whom, it is explained that Suki presented it to Emina. Emina's access to tea is not through the market or the ability to pay, but through a personal relationship with Suki. This is an example of social capital that goes beyond economic capital. The dimensions in what way are reinforced through the following quotes,

"PER 10 GRAMS?! ONE GRAM IS THE PRICE OF TOFU RICE AT PADANG RESTAURANT?!" (JSP)

The capital letters in the narrative are stylistic choices that represent Emina's calculative surprise. The exact same way as the way Kaluna at HSL converts the price of Danan coffee into rent. Two Emina, one class reflex. Silver Needles is the JSP equivalent of Rp 40,000 Danan coffee at HSL. Both are premium products whose prices are measured differently by those inside and outside the class in question. The key difference lies in the fact that Danan never calculates; Suki didn't know Emina was calculating.

3.2.2 Afternoon Tea: Blue Velvet, Jasmine Tea Macaron, Scone (Suki)

What dimensions can be seen in the complete afternoon tea offering, namely blue velvet, jasmine tea macaron, scones with rose jam and clotted cream, served in the order of official protocol (sandwich → scones → sweet). Each element has an accumulated cosmopolitan origin (British (scone), French (macaron)) multi-layered cultural capital that is natural to Suki. In the flower shop, Suki answered the dimension where. A space that Suki designed herself as an expression of her world. Further, afternoon: two tables for selected guests, Sunday: "a bunch of socialite aunts" for "Weekend Exclusive Gossip." The same space is used for two types of consumption whose ideologies are opposites. Dimension with whom refers to Emina, Abel, Suki. Three people from three different classroom backgrounds, sat at the same table.

For Suki and Abel, afternoon tea is a natural repertoire, for Emina, it's an area that must be studied in real-time. Dimension in what way, can be seen in Suki naming each element precisely. This knowledge doesn't require effort because it's the air that Suki has breathed since childhood. Abel knows the etiquette of the order of eating because he is socialized into the same habitus. Emina learns while eating.

"Ethically, sandwiches are eaten first, then scones, and finally sweet foods. But sometimes, the scones are eaten first." (JSP)

Afternoon tea is the center of cultural gravity of JSP, it is the space where cultural capital is most clearly coded, as well as the space where Suki chooses to loosen her code for Emina. Not the elimination of hierarchy, but active negotiation from above.

3.2.3 Japanese Tea Ceremony (Chanoyu): The Most Coded Room (Abel, Emina, Suki)

What dimensions, in the form of chanoyu ceremonies in the chashitsu room, namely matcha, ceramic bowls, rigid and historical procedures. This is not just drinking tea. It is a system of cultural knowledge that can only be accessed by those who have been socialized into it. The dimension where, it is explained that Chashitsu is inside Suki's shop. The most culturally stratified spaces in the novel: the entry protocol (removing the footwear, crawling in through a small door), the sit-down protocol, the consumption protocol.

A physical space that architecturally encodes a hierarchy. The dimension with whom, as seen from Abel and Emina's presence; Suki as the host. Abel, who grew up in Suki's environment, knows how to do it but deliberately violates it. Emina didn't know how and

didn't pretend to know. Two types of "not following protocol" have different meanings. The dimensions in what way are reinforced by the following data citations,

"Abel took off his footwear, then shifted one of the partitions... He instantly knelt down and crept in, but then stood up again. "Wrong, sorry." (JSP)

Furthermore, there were two deliberate violations of protocol: (1) Emina added milk and honey to matcha and Suki had prepared it beforehand; (2) Abel ate mochi before the ceremony was over. Both are permissible offenses, even designed by Suki.

"I've prepared milk and honey for you, if you can't enjoy matcha. Usually it is not done. But, it's okay." (JSP)

Suki prepares milk and honey before Emina arrives and this is not a spontaneous tolerance, but a design that states: at this table, personal relationships are more important than cultural protocols. Parasecoli & Lindenfeld explain that culinary rituals are used to renegotiate hierarchies from top to bottom.

3.2.4 Kaiseki Dish: A Little but Beautiful Aesthetic That Emina Doesn't Know

What dimensions are seen in food in the style of Japanese kaiseki, namely sashimi (rice balls with black soybeans, miso soup with flower-shaped carrots), mochi in which each element is prepared with aesthetic precision (little but beautiful). This aesthetic is not known to Emina as "kaiseki", Emina only sees beautiful and little food. The dimensions where are in the Suki store. The same space as afternoon tea, but in a different context. Kaiseki is a deeper cultural layer than afternoon tea (more hidden, less easily recognizable to outsiders).

"Despite the many ethics, the purpose of the tea ceremony is to bring the presenter and the guests closer. And, what the presenter must pay attention to is not order, but the comfort of the guests." (JSP)

The dimension with whom, namely presented by Suki to Emina and one-on-one, in a more intimate context than the afternoon tea witnessed by Abel. The dimension in what way, can be seen when Emina receives this dish without knowing her name. Her ignorance is not ignored or explicitly corrected by Suki. This means that Suki presents without demanding proper appreciation. This is a different cultural generosity from Kak Hana at HSL, who only feels "thoughtful" if the restaurant's name is right. Emina's unknown kaiseki vs. Hana's "eliminated" pudding, both are moments where cultural knowledge determines the value of a dish. The crucial difference lies when Suki does not demand that knowledge, while Kak Hana demands the name of the restaurant in exchange for knowledge.

3.2.5 Hanabiramochi: A Seasonal Japanese Cake That Crosses Three Layers of Class (Abel)

What dimensions are Hanabiramochi, a seasonal Japanese mochi cake that is only available at certain times, from Suki's store. Expensive, limited, packaged in neat white boxes. It's not an ordinary cake, it's a cultural object that has a specific season, origin, and context. Meanwhile, the dimension in which it shows the journey of this cake crosses three layers of classes, namely the Suki shop (cosmopolitan world) → given to Emina → Emina brought to the Nursing Home. On this journey, cosmopolitan food crosses class boundaries without losing its meaning.

"If you want, Keiko just got a lot of hanabiramochi shipments. After this I can take it."

"There is a deposit from Suki. "Hanabiramochi this morning." Abel pointed to the white box next to his laptop."

"There is a deposit from Suki. "Hanabiramochi this morning." Abel pointed to the white box next to his laptop." (JSP)

Abel gave Emina an answer with whom. Emina took it to the Nursing Home to be enjoyed with the residents. The elderly in the Nursing Home most likely don't know the name of this cake, where it came from, or how much it costs, and that doesn't change the fact that they enjoy it. Dimensions in what way, explained by being given without long explanation,

received with gratitude, brought without ceremony. This cake journey is JSP's tacit argument that cosmopolitan food can transcend class boundaries precisely when it is not brought with it the demands of cultural knowledge. Hanabiramochi is the antithesis of Sushi Hei sushi in HSL. Both are premium foods that cross class lines, but in opposite ways. Sushi Hei was bought by Kaluna to get recognition, while hanabiramochi was brought by Emina without any recognition calculation at all.

3.2.6 Pecel Catfish & Noisy Iced Tea: A Celebrated Working Class Habitus (Nissa & Emina)

What dimensions, catfish pecel and iced tea appeared from the food court. A working-class food that doesn't pretend to be something else. The significance is not in the food, but in the way Nissa eats it, which is lustful, noisy, and without any social performativity at all. The dimension where, as seen in the word Food court, is an anonymous, open, non-protocol space. The antipode of chashitsu, where everyone is allowed to enter, there is nothing to prove, no spatial order that encodes the hierarchy. Emina sat here in the rain, alone, before Nissa came. The dimension with whom, seen through Emina and Nissa, who are two people who don't need to prove anything to each other. This is the most horizontal class relationship in the novel, i.e. there is no higher or lower on this table. Dimensions in what way, reinforced through the following quotes,

"Nissa sucked on iced tea with a straw lustfully, causing a commotion on table number 9." -Jakarta Sebelum Pagi-

"After cramming all the leftovers on my plate into his mouth... He burps hard and starts scraping his mouth with a toothpick. Sometimes, he can look like a bandrek connoisseur." (JSP)

Nissa's way of eating (serdawa, noisy sounds, toothpicks) is a habitus that is formed in a context where the dining table has never been a space of social appearance. It is not ignorance of ethics, but freedom from the need to perform. Nissa di food court vs. Kaluna with provisions in the office, both are expressions of working-class habitus, but with strikingly different tones. At HSL, Kaluna's lunch feels like a limitation that must be maintained with difficulty, while at JSP, Nissa's way of eating is celebrated as authentic freedom.

3.2.7 Grandma's Chicken Opor: Festive Food as a Language of Everyday Love

What dimensions, in the form of chicken opor. Food that in the context of Indonesian culture is usually only made for big celebrations (Eid, celebrations). At the Rumah Para Jompo, grandmother made it as an expression of daily affection because "people can guess, it's Eid". A luxury that is measured not by price but by intention. The Elderly Home Environment answers the Dimension where. The environment of the Rumah Para Hampo is described as a terrace and an alley as a communal dining room.

There are no restaurants or cafes. consumption occurs at home, delivered from house to house, or on a shared patio. The most egalitarian space in the novel. Dimension with whom, namely the residents of the Elderly House. Communities are formed not through class or cultural capital, but through geographical proximity and solidarity between people. There is no status calculation on this table. The dimensions in what way are amplified through the following data citations,

"People can think, this is Eid" (JSP)

Grandma's chicken opor does not have a measurable market price, restaurant name, or cosmopolitan cultural capital. It operates in a completely different value system from Suki's afternoon tea. It is not lower, only fundamentally different. Grandma's chicken opor is the JSP equivalent of pudding made by Kaluna in HSL. Both are foods made with affection without large financial capital. The stark difference in fate of the two is that Kaluna pudding is "removed" to the edge of Mas Hansa's family's table, while grandma's opor is accepted as an unconditional celebration.

3.2.8 Grandma's Food Delivery to Mr. Meneer: Solidarity without Class Calculation

In what dimensions, there is food that grandmother sent to Mr. Meneer (it can be anything in the grandmother's kitchen that day). No specific food names are mentioned; What matters is the act of sending it, not what is sent. The dimensions where, answered by going from my grandmother's kitchen to Mr. Meneer's house. A simple but meaningful physical mobility in the context of the supportive Nursing Home community. The dimension with whom, is reinforced by the following quote,

"Grandma's food delivery, congregational tobacco smoking event with Datuk, and my visit are always awaited by her." (JSP)

The relationship between grandmother and Mr. Meneer is the only dining relationship in the novel that is completely free from class considerations. There is no judgment, no hierarchy, no demands on cultural knowledge, only kindness sent to an elderly neighbor. Dimensions in what way, that is, it is sent regularly, without ceremonies, without Instagram, without restaurant names. This is the most uncodifiable form of "feeding" in the language of cultural capital or economic capital and that is precisely its strength. Grandma's food delivery to Pak Meneer was the moment where JSP was furthest from the class logic that dominated HSL. At HSL, feeding is always measured by external standards (restaurant name, price, aesthetics); Here, the act of giving is the act itself.

3.2.9 Food Court, Half-Empty Juice, and Unbought Street Crepes: Emina's Class Ambivalence

What dimensions, shown by the half-empty juice that Emina stirred while waiting for the rain to subside, street crepes that were considered to be bought but were not sold. It's not about the food, it's about the moment of ambivalence: do you want to buy it or not? Do you want to stay in the food court or move? The dimension where, seen in the food court between the two important moments of Emina with Suki or Abel. The food court is a transitional space between one world and another, between one layer of class and another. The dimension with whom, namely alone. this is the only moment in JSP where Emina sits and eats without any friends or relations. This solitude exposes Emina's true class position: between the food court and the chashitsu, with no permanent affiliation anywhere.

"I sat in front of the juice bar, stirring a glass that was half empty. Next to me is a crepes shop... Considering whether or not to buy it, then remembered Suki's free food which tasted very good. Undoing my intentions and hoping that I would get free food again." (JSP)

The dimensions in what way, it can be seen at the moment of weighing buying street crepes but it is not allowed. A small calculation that Suki never did, but Emina always did. Between the food court and the chashitsu, Emina lives: gaining access to the second world not through economic improvement, but through personal relationships across classes. The food court is the most honest space about the position of Emina JSP's class. Just like Kaluna's lunch in the office, the food court is where Emina becomes herself without the need to perform, but unlike Kaluna, Emina JSP doesn't feel that boundary as something that needs to be violated.

3.3 The Potential of Sociolinguistic Teaching Materials

3.3.1 Register: Language as a Marker of Social Space

The register is a variation of language determined by the situation: who speaks to whom, about what, and in what medium. Both novels record at least four layers of registers that are contrasting and mutually exclusive. *The most productive register clash* for the class, namely a dialogue between Kaluna and Danan about Rp 40,000 coffee drunk twice a day vs. recording Rp 5,000 condensing the entire class distance in two sentences.

"Five thousand you recorded? (Danan, flabbergasted)." (HSL)

In pedagogical tasks, students can identify registers from anonymized texts (character names removed) only based on vocabulary and how to evaluate prices.

Table 1. Register: Language as a Marker of Social Space

Register	Special Markers	Characters / Spaces
Corporate-Professional	'Healthy catering', 'clean eating', 'Senopati', 'meal prep' (price never mentioned)	Danan, Tanish / office & mall
Domestic-calculative	'Actual expenditure', 'dismantle the tertiary budget', 'minus spending money' (prices are always explicit)	Kaluna/home, workbench
Cosmopolitan-cultural	'Silver Needles', 'chanoyu', 'kaiseki', 'jasmine tea macaron' (requires cultural capital, not just financial)	Suki, Abel / chashitsu & toko bunga
Komunal-egaliter	'Pecel catfish', 'chicken opor', anonymous food delivery (no calculation, no performivity)	Nissa, nenek / food court & teras

3.3.2 Diglossia: Hierarchy of Language and the Dining Room

Ferguson-Fishman dylosia is extended here to socioocular dylosia: the varieties H and R are not just interlinguistic, but between consumption codes that are considered 'high' vs. 'low'. This means that H and R are not just differences between languages, but between consumption codes that are considered high vs. low. For example: branded restaurant = H, self-catering = R; *afternoon tea* = H, *pecel catfish* (*pecel lele*) = R. Both novels offer two ideologically opposite models of diglossia.

Table 2. Diglossia: Hierarchy of Language and the Dining Room

Models	Novels	Mechanism	The Most Concrete Examples
Forced diglyca	HSL	Code R was tacitly rejected: the cuisine itself did not receive a positive evaluation, only the name of the restaurant was recognized as 'goodwill'	Kaluna's milk chocolate pudding is slid to the end of the table; Hana's bakery cake in the middle
Diglossia negotiated	JSP	The owner of the H code modifies his protocol to accommodate the user of the R code — the hierarchy is recognized but not enforced	Suki prepares milk and honey for matcha before Emina arrives; Abel eats mochi before the ceremony is over

"Mom, the pudding will be on the side, at the end. The one in the middle is the one from the bakery ordered by Hana. (HSL)

Not a single word is explicitly demeaning, but the spatial position of the object reproduces the hierarchy perfectly. This is a diglossary teaching material that cannot be made up.

"I have prepared milk and honey for you... Usually it is not done. But, that's okay. (JSP)

'Usually not done' is an explicit acknowledgment of the H norm; 'It's okay' is permission to violate it from above. Two diglossary strategies that are fundamentally different, can be compared directly in one lecture session.

3.3.3 Code Switching: Linguistic Mobility and Agency

The code switching [26] in both novels is not just a language switch but a social act that reveals the extent to which a person masters, is forced to, or chooses to reject a particular class code.

Table 3. Code Switching: Linguistic Mobility and Agency

Characters	Move the Code from → to	Motivation	Agency
Kaluna (HSL)	Domestic-calculative → branded consumption (Sushi Hei)	The social pressure of the Mas Hansa family table; Not a free choice	Low - context-forced
Emina (JSP)	Food court / working class → cosmopolitan-cultural (chashitsu)	Personal relationship with Suki & Abel; without perfect H-code demands	High - voluntary, incomplexity allowed
Nissa (JSP)	No code switching at all	Food courts do not demand an H code; R code is celebrated, not hidden	Autonomous - reject code transfer as an identity statement
Suki (JSP)	Cosmopolitan-cultural → modified version for Emina	Relational friendliness; revise the H-code so that it doesn't exclude	Very high – powerful enough to redefine the code

A critical point for learning is that Kaluna and Emina's code switching both crosses over to a higher domain, but with opposite agencies. Kaluna does it out of fear of being wrong; Emina did it because she was warmly invited. This difference teaches that code transfer cannot be analyzed without the context of power relations. In addition, in JSP, there are a lot of code switches to English carried out by Emina and her friends. This goes into the language code switch.

3.3.4 Language Variety: Class, Gender, and Urban Geography

The linguistic variations in both novels manifest in three mutually reinforcing axes.

3.3.4.1 Class Variations

The most diagnostic marker: how to calculate the price. The upper class never quotes; The lower middle class always calls it precise. 'Rp 88,000 does not include VAT... my expenses exceeded the limit' (Kaluna) vs. the absence of any calculation from Danan who spent Rp 2,400,000/month on coffee alone.

3.3.4.2 Variasi Gender

Kaluna bears the burden of gender that does not get positive evaluative markers: cooking, washing dishes, taking care of kitchen logistics, all linguistically invisible contributions. ' *Very thoughtful*' verbal evaluations only appear for branded consumption, not for domestic work. This inequality can be seen from the absence of words, not from their presence.

Table 4. Variations of Urban Geography (Urban Geolinguistics)

Place Name	Class Code	Linguistic Functions
Senopati & Kemang	Top	Calling it has placed someone in Jakarta's social hierarchy - before ordering
Hotel Mulia	Top (top)	Places as an extended identity statement to Instagram
Mal (Sushi Hei)	Upper middle	A purchasing room that codes classes; The Antithesis of the Traditional Market
Suburban stalls ('can be raided')	Workers/old dates	Accessible to the middle class only in emergencies; Legal vulnerability is a marker of status
Food court (JSP)	Lower middle / worker	The most honest space about Emina's class position; Antipode Chashitsu
Chashitsu Suki (JSP)	Cosmopolitan-cultural	The architecture of the space (small doors, crawling in) physically encodes the hierarchy

3.3.5 Language Ideology: Hidden Assumptions in Culinary Words

Language ideology [29,30] is the belief system that underlies the way people evaluate language, that is, it is connected to broader power relations. Both novels record the three most powerful ideologies working in secret.

Table 5. Language Ideology: Hidden Assumptions in Culinary Words

Ideologi	How to Work in Text	Novels	Ideological Challengers
Restaurant name = certificate of goodwill	'Very thoughtful' only for Sushi Hei; Handmade pudding does not get an equal evaluation. No one states it - a sound (or non-sound) evaluation system that delivers it	HSL	Kaluna's office colleagues who receive the pudding warmly - an alternative value system in a different space
'Healthy' as the moral capital of the class	'Healthy' catering for Rp 75,000 is not just a nutritional choice; He framed financial inability as moral incapacity. The most shrewd euphemism of the class	HSL	Kaluna with its provisions - which are nutritionally not inferior, but not included in the code 'healthy'
Content as authentic freedom	Nissa's way of eating (serdawa, noisy sound, toothpicking) is not presented as an ethical deficiency, but rather as freedom from the demands of social performativity	JSP	No one is challenging it - JSP itself took the position of celebrating this R code

The main pedagogical value: the ideology of language is most effectively taught not from the text that declares it, but from the text that conceals it. HSL and JSP are perfect examples of both.

3.3.6 Language Identity: The Dining Table as an Arena of Self-Performativity

Language identity is the way in which a person constructs and negotiates his social identity through language. In both novels, this performativity is most visible in the eating situation, since that is where the linguistic choices are most open and most consequential.

Table 6. Language Identity: The Dining Table as an Arena of Self-Performativity

Characters	Language of Identity	Major Tension	Resolution
Kaluna (HSL)	Calculative-domestic; Affection through self-cooking	His authentic identity language is not recognized at the table he wants to enter	Unresolved - that's the tragedy of HSL
Danan (HSL)	Cosmopolitan take-for-granted; consumption without calculation	No tension — always in a domain that supports his identity	No resolution needed
Emina (JSP)	Liminal; Moves between Food Court and Chashitsu without a permanent affiliation	Not required to choose a single identity	Liminality accepted - no need to settle
Suki (JSP)	Cosmopolitan-inclusive; self-modifying H code not to exclude	None — the power to redefine the code	He himself sets the limits
Nissa (JSP)	An autonomous working class; R as a choice, not a compulsion	No tension is felt	Fully autonomous

The strongest metaphor of language identity in HSL is not dialogue, but rather objects: *"There are three refrigerators in the kitchen. I have my mother-father, Kak Kanendra's family, and Kak Kamala's family. At first there were only two refrigerators, but because of the mixed shopping money... (HSL)"*

Three refrigerators are the materialization of financial identity that cannot be mixed. Class boundaries exist even among people who love each other, under the same roof. That's precisely what makes it most painful.

3.3.7 Integrative Learning Plans

The six concepts do not work separately in the two novels. A short quote such as 'Five thousand gitu lo notet?' can be dissected as the phenomenon of registers, dictionaries, code switching, class variations, language ideologies, and language identities all at once. This is the value of integration that artificial text cannot provide.

Table 7. Integrative Learning Plans

Meetings	Concept	Key Text	Activities
1-2	Register & Class Variations	HSL: catering vs. food dialogue; About Senopati	Register identification of anonymized text
3-4	Diglossia	HSL: puding vs. bakery; JSP: chashitsu vs. food court	Map H (High variety)/R (Low variety) + comparison of two diglycosia models between novels
5-6	Code Transfer & Agency	HSL: Sushi Hei; JSP: Emina di chashitsu	Code transfer travel map + linguistic agency debate
7-8	Language Ideology	HSL: 'very thoughtful'; healthy catering; JSP: how to eat Nissa	Critical discourse analysis: deconstruction of class euphemisms
9-10	Language Identity	Both novels: profiles of all characters + three refrigerators	Persona analysis + creative identity narrative
11-12	Integratif Synthesis	One selected scene from one of the novels	Presentation: analysis of six concepts in one text

There are four key activities, the first is the identification of anonymous registers: the text of the novel with the name of the character is removed; the student determines the social class of the speaker only from the vocabulary and the method of calculating the price. Second, perspective reconstruction: rewrite a culinary scene from the perspectives of three different characters; changes in registers and identity codes must be linguistically realized. Third, 'What is not said?' Enter on critical discourse analysis: discover hidden ideologies from evaluative vocabulary choices that are never explicit. Fourth, the sociolinguistic debate: Has Suki succeeded in removing the hierarchy or just reproducing it in a more subtle form? Each argument must be supported by linguistic data from the text.

Discussion

The social gap in the two novels studied is not just the background that adorns the consumption stories of the characters. It is the driving motor that causally shapes what can be chosen, where one can be present, and how one's eating is read by others. In other words, social gap-based consumption behavior means that the gap acts as a structural pressure that

simultaneously limits and forces choices. It is from this premise that the following five analytical patterns are developed.

Pattern 1: Premium Food as a Class Distance Measurement Tool

Both novels place premium foods as a technical tool for measuring class distance, but the function of measurement is fundamentally different. In *Home Sweet Loan* (HSL), Kaluna buys sushi at Sushi Hei not because she's hungry or hungry, but because she needs to convert money into social recognition. He converted Danan's Rp 40,000 coffee into "Rp 2.4 million a month", a real and painful figure. Premium food is an exclusive ticket that Kaluna must buy in order to enter a social space that does not belong to her naturally. In *Jakarta Sebelum Pagi* (JSP), Emina converted *Silver Needles* into "the price of tofu rice". Identical calculative reflexes. However, Emina doesn't need to buy Silver Needles for Suki to accept, she is given access to the world without having to pay for it. The calculation mechanism that works in the heads of the two characters is exactly the same, that is, the difference is whether the calculation demands real action.

In HSL, calculations demand payment. In JSP, calculations are just internal records that don't change access. These findings correspond directly to Bourdieu's argument [14] that the taste and consumption of high-end food reflects a *taste of refinement* that serves as a symbolic differentiator. An exclusive system that demands economic capital as well as cultural capital from anyone who wants to enter it. Kamphuis et al. [33], in a systematic study in the Netherlands, confirmed that cultural capital moderates food consumption choices beyond economic factors alone, meaning that individuals from the lower class face not only financial barriers, but also symbolic barriers in the form of habit mismatches. Smith Maguire asserts that social class acts as a structural factor that shapes access to desirable food while limiting the degree of freedom of various groups in determining their eating practices. The exact condition experienced by Kaluna in HSL.

Pattern 2: Cooking Yourself versus Buying – Two Colliding Value Systems

In both novels, there is a contrast between homemade food and food purchased from branded restaurants. This contrast is an arena where two value systems collide with each other. In HSL, Kaluna's pudding is "pushed to the edge" of Mas Hansa's family table (the cuisine itself is read as a marker of inability to buy). Kaluna's fried rice for Danan is a language of genuine affection, but it is not measured in the same value system as a branded restaurant. In JSP, chicken opor from grandmother is accepted as an unconditional celebration and food delivery for Mr. Meneer does not need a name or price. At the Rumah Para Jompo, there is no value system that discounts self-cooking. The fundamental difference lies in the standards that define "acceptable food". HSL measures by market standards (restaurant name, price), while JSP measures by relational standards (affection, closeness, intention).

The paradox of HSL lies here, namely that the market value system has even managed to permeate the family's own dinner table. A cross-class comparative study by Ehlert [8] on food consumption in urban Vietnam was carried out within the framework of Bourdieu's habitus found that self-cooking operates in a different value logic than branded restaurant food. The first is tied to relational capital, the second is to economic and cultural capital. When these two value systems meet at the same dinner table, the weaker side of the class bears an invisible symbolic burden. This is what Kaluna experienced when her pudding was not just lost in taste, but was eliminated by a completely different value system.

These findings are reinforced by Farida and Andalas [34], who identify that the representation of socio-economic disparities in Indonesian novels works through concrete depictions of differences in access and value standards between facing social classes. The exact mechanism used by HSL to show how market standards enter the Mas Hansa family dining table.

Pattern 3: Protocol Violations - The Direction That Determines Everything

Both novels have moments of violation of eating protocols, but the direction of the violation is opposite and it is precisely there that the ideology of each of the most naked novels is revealed.

Table 8. Protocol Violation Comparison

Aspects	<i>Home Sweet Loan</i>	<i>Jakarta Sebelum Pagi</i>
Who violates	Kaluna (from bottom to top)	Suki plots a violation (from top to bottom)
How to violate	Accidentally - Kaluna doesn't know Mas Hansa's family table protocol	Intentional - Suki prepares milk and honey before Emina arrives
Social consequences	Pudding is removed; self-cuisine is implicitly degraded	Emina was given space to be herself in the ceremony
Ideological message	A class is a prison: not knowing the rules means not being worthy at that table	Classes are boundaries that can be relaxed by those at the top

The direction of protocol violations is an ideological mirror. HSL talks about the inability to move up from the bottom, while JSP talks about the possibility of crossing the class through kindness from above. Both are realistic, but only one is optimistic. Bourdieu [14] calls ignorance of class rules part of an internalized habitus, i.e. a person from the lower class is not merely "unknowing" upper-class dining table etiquette, but his body has not yet formed the proper disposition (this is what Bourdieu calls *the bodily hexis*/physical manifestation of habitus, i.e. how one's values, beliefs, and social class structure are unconsciously expressed through posture, gestures, how to walk, speak, and how to dress).

Karyanto identifies how modern Indonesian literary texts reveal social inequality precisely through moments that expose class boundaries that are usually invisible. Haryanto et al. [36] confirm that the representation of social inequality in Indonesian literary texts and cultural media consistently works through social class-based language variations, all three of which are present simultaneously in moments of protocol violation in HSL and JSP.

Pattern 4: The Dining Room as a Class Geography

Both novels build a consistent geography/classroom through the choice of dining rooms, from the most exclusive to the most egalitarian, and the protagonists both operate between the two ends of the hierarchy. In HSL, the hierarchy of the dining room is very rigid, for example located at Hotel Mulia, Senopati, and Kemang are located at one end, while the driver's canteen and Padang rice stalls that can be raided at any time are at the other end. Kaluna moved between the two because of social demands, not choices, and every move felt like a struggle. In JSP, the dining room hierarchy remains (*chashitsu* versus *food court*) but the boundaries are porous. Emina moves between the two through personal relationships, not through money, and every move feels like an entrusted adventure.

This difference in access mechanism is the key. In HSL, access is determined by economics (who can pay), while in JSP, access is determined by personal relationships and cultural capital (who Suki is allowed to enter, regardless of ability to pay). These two mobility models reflect two different visions of social possibilities. A cross-disciplinary study published in *PLOS ONE* shows that the urban *foodscape* has a strong social dimension, namely access to a particular dining space is not solely determined by money, but also by social networks and cultural capital. Ehlert finds this particularly in the context of urban Asia, where class distinctions depend not only on economic capital, but also on physical and cultural capital. This is exactly what happened to Emina JSP who got access to *chashitsu* not because of money, but because of her relational capital with Suki.

Shostak confirms that the insecurity of dining room access is a *lived experience* shaped by class identity structurally seen in the experience that Kaluna feels whenever she moves between two different class geographies.

Pattern 5: Shared Table - Tension versus Celebration

Both novels put the protagonist at a table with characters from different classes, and the way the table is managed reveals the deepest differences between the two. In HSL, cross-class tables are always stressful for Kaluna. This can be seen at Mas Hansa's desk he is always in a position to be assessed, at the office desk with Danan he is always aware of financial distance. Only at the table of her classmates (an old date with Tanish and Miya) can she eat without performance, but the moment feels like a temporary escape. In JSP, the cross-class table is a negotiation room that Suki actively manages from a higher position. With Nissa at the *food court*, Emina eats in the freest and most honest way (not as an escape, but as a return).

This difference *in tone* is the most pronounced ideological difference. HSL uses the dining table as a mirror of exhausting inequality, while JSP uses the dining table as a space of possibility, both upwards (with Suki) and sideways (with Nissa). Research on commentativity in the Asian urban context including a qualitative study in *Frontiers in Nutrition* by Yan et al. confirms that a shared dining table is not just a physical activity of sharing food, but rather a space for the formation and negotiation of social relationships.

It can serve as an arena of inclusion or exclusion depending on who is in control of the ritual. Smith Maguire emphasized the need to see inequality not only from *what* is eaten, but from *degrees of freedom* or how freely one chooses how one eats. HSL and JSP represent the two ends of that spectrum of freedom, respectively.

Conclusion: Answering Research Questions

The central question of this research is: how is consumption behavior based on social disparities represented in urban fiction of Jakarta? The analysis of each food object from the two novels yields an answer consisting of three layers that corroborate each other. *The first layer* concerns the mechanism. In this case, the social gap is not only visible from what is consumed, but from how class positions causally force consumption choices. Kaluna is not free to choose not to buy sushi because Mas Hansa's family's evaluation system makes the purchase a condition for accepting his presence. Emina was not free not to calculate the price of *Silver Needles*, and it appeared that the calculating reflex was the product of the material conditions that had already shaped her body and mind.

Shostak asserts that food consumption is a *lived experience* that is thoroughly shaped by class identity, local environment, and the social meaning inherent in food. Bourdieu calls this condition the internalization of unfreedom, that is, the position of class permeates the body and mind as a habit that is no longer perceived as coercion, but as a "natural taste". *The second layer* concerns the medium of representation. In this context, urban fiction does not record gaps through statistics or abstract arguments, but rather through material details. It can be seen in the price of coffee converted into rent, pudding that is shifted to the edge of the table, and dawkins in the *food court* that do not need to be hidden.

HSL represents the gap as a tiresome pressure from below, that is, every moment of the meal is a negotiation between financial capacity and social demands that never stops. JSP represents a gap as an existing but porous boundary, that is, a boundary that can be crossed through personal relationships, even though it is never removed. Karyanto [35] confirms that modern Indonesian literary texts use concrete details of daily life as the main medium for the representation of inequality. This is what makes the material analysis of food in urban literature academically relevant because it is able to record what statistical data cannot record, namely how social disparities are felt from within.

The third layer concerns ideology. HSL is a realist-critical model, in which gaps are depicted without softening and the reader is invited to feel the fatigue of living at the bottom of the consumption hierarchy. JSP is a critical-utopian model, in which gaps are acknowledged but offered the possibility of transgression/transgression through human relations that transcend class boundaries. Both are legitimate representations of the reality of Jakarta and differ only in the questions they ask.

HSL asks: *why does this gap exist and who is paying the price?* JSP asks: *how can we remain human in a gap that we cannot close?* This dichotomy is in line with Smith Maguire's finding that the study of class and food tends to be divided into two poles, namely those that privilege the tastes of the middle class and those that focus on the needs of the working class. This comparative analysis responds by showing that the two urban novels of Jakarta have represented the two poles side by side, in a concrete and lively narrative language.

Table 9. Comparative Dimension Matrix

Dimensions	<i>Home Sweet Loan</i>	<i>Jakarta Sebelum Pagi</i>
What is consumed	Premium food vs. folk as a vertical conflict arena; bankrupt for sushi to be accepted	Two value systems side by side; No conversion pressure
Where to consume	Rigid class geography; Access is determined by money	Porous geography; Access is determined by personal relationships
With whom	Cross-class table = tension; systematic exclusion from Mas Hansa's table	Cross-class table = active negotiation from above; Suki loosens the hierarchy
In what way	Low-class eating = painful limitations; Violations from the bottom up	Working-class eating = freedom is celebrated; Violations are designed from top to bottom
Gap mechanism	Gaps force choices: bottom-up pressure of conformity that cannot be resisted without consequences	Gaps limit access: real boundaries that can be crossed through personal relationships
The function of urban fiction	Record the material details of inequality that cannot be measured statistically: price, position, restaurant name	Record possible class transgressions through relational details
Core ideology	Class as prison: upward mobility is a grueling demand	Classes as boundaries that can be crossed through authentic relationships — not removed, but softened

Thus, this analysis confirms that the consumption behavior in both novels is not just a mirror of social inequality it is a mechanism by which the gap is reproduced, perceived and occasionally fought against in the daily lives of its characters. Through material details as small as the price of coffee and the position of pudding on the table, Jakarta's urban fiction is able to capture what statistical data cannot: how social inequality is perceived from within.

Potential as a Sociolinguistic Teaching Material

The above analytical findings open up six interconnected pedagogical pathways. **First, register as a marker of social class.** The register analysis in this study was based on the concepts of Halliday and Biber & Conrad. Zulfadhli et al. confirm that registers are not only determined by formal-informal situations, but are strongly influenced by the cultural and ideological aspects that work behind the choice of language in the text. The distinction between

the Kaluna and Danan cosmopolitan calculative-domestic registers is consistent with Biber's finding that the variation of registers reflects social stratification and power relations, not just differences in linguistic style. **Second, sociocycline dyglosia.** The expansion of the Ferguson–Fishman concept of dylosia into "socioocycline dylosia" has a strong precedent in the literature.

Kroskity shows that language hierarchies apply not only between languages, but also between consumption codes and cultural expressions that are considered "high" versus "low", exactly the mechanism at work in the HSL and JSP comparisons. Milroy confirms that literary texts are a productive arena for analyzing linguistic hierarchies that work discreetly through spatial positioning and verbal evaluation. **Third, code and agency transfer.** The distinction between forced Kaluna and voluntary Emina code switching was validated by Mustafayeva et al., who confirmed that code switching serves as a social practice that is closely tied to identity and power relations.

Asmi et al. show that language choice in Jakarta's elite schools reflects the reproduction of a symbolic hierarchy, in which "high" language is not a free choice but a response to class ideological pressures parallel to the condition of Kaluna when "forced" to enter the realm of branded consumption. **Fourth, the ideology of language: food as a marker of class.** Jurafsky et al. prove using Bourdieu's framework that bringing aesthetic standards to the practice of everyday consumption (including food) is a class-differentiating marker that works "naturally" and invisibly. Paddock reinforces these findings by showing that the consumption of alternative foods is a class-distinctive practice that reflects the hidden ideology behind culinary choices.

This is the mechanism at work behind the label "healthy catering" in HSL, as well as behind the Kaluna pudding being shifted to the end of the table: not just a physical gesture, but a reproduction of class hierarchy through the language of space. **Fifth, language identity and performativity.** Language variations in registers, styles, and codes reflect social stratification and power relations. Language not only serves as a means of communication, but as a mirror of social and cultural identity. Emina's liminal identity moving between *the food court* and *the chashitsu* without the demands of a single affiliation is consistent with the findings of Woolard and Schieffelin that language ideology mediates between the social practices of language and socioeconomic structures so that the incompleteness of code switching can be a valid identity strategy, not a failure.

Sixth, integrative pedagogical potential. Zulfadhli et al. affirm that contextual understanding of registers and language variations supports the development of a more inclusive pedagogy. Fairclough further shows that critical discourse analysis is an effective instrument for making learners aware of the ideologies at work behind everyday linguistic choices. These two findings support the integrative value of the proposed twelve meeting learning design: urban literary texts are not only objects of study, but pedagogical mediums that allow learners to read language as well as read society

4. Conclusions

An analysis of Home Sweet Loan and Jakarta Sebelum Pagi proves that Jakarta's urban fiction is not just a medium of entertainment, but a social archive that records the mechanism of class gap through material details that cannot be reached by statistical data. Through the four dimensions of consumption, namely what is eaten, where, with whom, and in what way, both novels consistently show that food functions as a social marking system that reproduces, negotiates, and occasionally challenges class hierarchies. HSL represents inequality as a structural pressure that forces choices from below, an example in every Kaluna dining decision is the laborious negotiation between financial capacity and the demands of social conformity that leave no room for resistance.

The JSP represents the gap as a real but porous boundary, that is, a boundary that can be crossed through cross-class personal relationships, even though it has never been removed. These two models of representation, one realist-critical and one critical-utopian, are both valid

as a mirror of Jakarta's reality full of contradictions. The relevance of these findings goes beyond mere literary studies. Sociologically, this analysis confirms that the habitus of the class, in Bourdieu's sense, works most secretly precisely in the seemingly trivial practices of daily consumption: the price of coffee that is never calculated, the pudding that is shifted to the edge of the table, the dawn in the food court that needs no need to hide.

Pedagogically, both novels are proven to offer integrative and contextual sociolinguistic teaching materials, where the concepts of register, diglossia, code switching, language variation, language ideology, and language identity do not need to be taught separately because they are all present simultaneously in one short excerpt. Urban fiction, thus, is a medium that allows readers and learners to not only read language, but to read society simultaneously, a critical capacity that is increasingly urgent in the context of urban Indonesia whose social disparities continue to widen.

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