

Research Article

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Capital Transformation in the Ethnic Restaurant Brand in Pekanbaru, Indonesia

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Abstract: This study aims to examine the capital form and transformation in ethnic restaurant brands in Pekanbaru, Indonesia. Bourdieu's concept of forms of capital was used to appraise cultural production in six ethnic restaurant brands, including *Kim Teng*, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*, *Bare Solok*, *Sultan Resto*, *Pondok Patin*, and *Koki Sunda*. Direct observations and in-depth ethnographic interviews with restaurant owners were conducted. The results revealed that the forms of capital in ethnic restaurant brands are closely related to ethnicity and the restaurant industry forms a culture of production. Moreover, the six restaurants produce four different aspects of cultural production, including community, identity, culture and history, and partnership. Their transformation forms economic capital as the restaurants were established for financial benefits. Hence, it can be inferred that economic capital needs to be supported by symbolic, social, and cultural capital for financial benefits.

Keywords: ethnic, brand, capital, transformation, restaurant, industry

Introduction

The food industry is characterized and shaped by different ethnicities. As specified by Kwon (1), ethnic food originates from an area where people outside the group are culturally and socially accepted. One important factor in food choice is ethnicity (Devine et al. 1). Restaurant capital owners in food industries deliberately use ethnic brands to attract cross-ethnic customers as they believe that urban people eat for pleasure rather than survival. Thus, ethnic brands are created to attract people to the restaurants since urban society eats for entertainment. Kwon (1) further argues that people in developing countries eat for pleasure. They eat both to fulfill biological needs and for cultural and social reasons (Anderson). This means that food is a simple object for consumption and an agent of social change (Karaosmanoğlu). It fulfills physiological needs and is also related to social interaction and psychological expression (Conner).

Traditional foods are those that have been maintained, preserved, and promoted across generations (Harmayani et al. 1). This also applies in all tribes throughout Indonesia, which is a multicultural country that consists of numerous tribes (Fatimah et al. 1). In Indonesia itself, food culture is shaped by natural, historical, and cultural factors. The cultural diversity in this country produces various foods and tastes (Wijaya 3). For instance, Indonesian cuisine uses fresh herbs such as shallots and garlic, scallions, ginger, turmeric, galangal, candlenut, basil, lemongrass, and chili (Von Holzen). In making ethnic food, the role of culture is also remarkably compelling (Haruminori et al. 126). The combination of the geographical and cultural diversity in Indonesia has resulted in the most distinctive cuisines (Harmayani et al. 2). For example, *rendang* from Minangkabau is one of the most popular foods in Indonesia and is well-known worldwide. Apart from being rich in spices and herbs, which is one of the unique aspects of traditional

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Indonesian food, *rendang* is cooked for about 6–7 h until the meat becomes soft and tender and turns dark or black to get a specific flavor and aroma (Rini et al. 336). Mardatillah et al. claim that the authenticity of Riau Malay food derives from the composition of its basic ingredients, which thrive in the Riau land, i.e., sago, tapioca, flour, durian, *patin* and *selais* fish are the main source of staple foods (5). Meanwhile, ethnic foods from Javanese, Chinese, Malaysian, Sundanese, and other cultures are no less attractive to people seeking to satisfy their curiosity in ethnic food preferences.

Food economics is developing in the era of globalization of religion, medicine, and ethnicity (Anderson). The taste of ethnic food could serve as cultural capital to increase restaurant profits. Local food in the global market differentiates one destination from another because a country's cuisine reflects the culture and national identity (Rand et al. 99; Tambunan et al. 175). Tambunan et al. add that as people migrate from their hometown to the capital city, they bring their culinary knowledge and preferences. The growing need for culinary lifestyles has boosted the emergence of various restaurants such as fast-food, specialty, ethnic restaurants, and many more (Soetanto et al. 14). The ethnic restaurant is one of many restaurants that are rapidly growing. This can be seen from many restaurants in Indonesia that use ethnic brands, such as *Padang Restaurant*, *Sate Padang*, *Madura Sate*, *Yogya Mie*, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*, *Restaurant Koki Sunda*, and *Coto Makassar*. In addition, there are global ethnic brands such as Kentucky Fried Chicken, Van Holland, McDonald's, Hoka Hoka Bento, and Shihlin Taiwan Street Snack.

Pekanbaru is a city in Indonesia with high economic growth supported by agricultural and plantation sectors that encourage the development of trade and services. Palm oil is the main product of agriculture and plantation, while the food industry dominates the trade and service sector. Therefore, the food industry plays a major role in Pekanbaru development. It is a prospective field because heterogeneous urban societies require various foods (Fatkhurahman and Siregar 170).

The significance of food industry in Pekanbaru is demonstrated by the emergence of many restaurants in the city. This industry controls nearly 35% of the total trade and service sector in Pekanbaru, making it economically dominant. This has given rise to the hypothesis that the growth and development of Pekanbaru depended on the food industry sector. Thus, it raises the question of what factors make the food industry dominate the trade and service sector.

One food industry trend is the increasing number of ethnic restaurants. Some restaurants in Pekanbaru use ethnic food brands to attract people to eat. This is due to demographic growth and increased interest in ethnic cuisines (Kwon et al. 413). According to Ryu and Zhong (853), ethnic restaurant consumers prefer different cultures and new dishes.

Capital owners understand that ethnic food brands have the power to attract people because they are closely related to certain ethnicities. However, the restaurant industry requires large economic capital and particular ethnic brands to generate profits. This industry requires economic, symbolic, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu).

In related research, Ting et al. (526) investigated tourists' intention to consume Dayak food. Their findings confirmed that Dayak cuisine is a viable avenue for tourism study and examined how it might contribute to tourism knowledge in the context of ethnic food. Matondang et al. (53) conducted a study on culinary tourism and ethnic food and revealed that the use of ethnic food labels such as Malay, Mandailing, Karo, and Toba had significant potential for future development. Next, using phenomenological approach, Mardatillah et al. (9) analyzed commodification, authenticity, and sustainability of Riau Malay food culture in a global business era and revealed that traditional Riau Malay food is currently well protected in terms of sustainable competitiveness in the global market era. In addition, their study also confirmed the necessity of maintaining the heritage value of traditional Riau Malay foods. They advocated for commodification without any loss of authentic elements.

Thus far however, no study has been carried out to explore the potential of the forms of capital in the restaurant industry in Indonesia. Previous research has only applied the capital economy approach quantitatively (Astuti). Mulyawati et al. (340) analyzed the factors affecting the capital structure of tourism companies, including restaurants. Similarly, Jati analyzed the capital structure of the hotel and restaurant industries. Additionally, Budisetyorini analyzed the effect of liquidity on the capital structure of tourism companies, including restaurants (1). Sari et al. (66) also scrutinized the effect of operating and financial

leverage and liquidity capital structure on stock investment risk in restaurant sub-sector companies. Moreover, Molthar and Indarti (121) studied the intellectual capital dimensions affecting innovation.

In conformity with the elaboration above, it is necessary to study this transformation of capital forms in ethnic restaurants in Indonesia, particularly because it is underexamined, especially from the perspective of Bourdieu's model concept. Hence, this research examines economic, symbolic, social, and cultural capitals and their transformation in ethnic restaurant brands in Pekanbaru. The restaurants examined include *Kim Teng*, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*, *Bare Solok*, *Sultan Resto*, *Pondok Patin*, and *Koki Sunda*. Moreover, Bourdieu's concept of thinking on forms of capital is used to assess cultural production in restaurants that use ethnic food brands. It is expected that this research will provide new insights in different contexts, while the framework of this research can be used as a tool for analysis and theoretical development in related disciplines.

Theoretical Basis

This research employs the forms of capital based on Bourdieu, which state that capital is not just an economic concept, but also represents power relations. It provides benefits according to the owner's opportunities to operate the placement. Moreover, Bourdieu describes the capital concept in three power relations. Capital is accumulated through investment, given through inheritance, and provides benefits according to its opportunities.

Bourdieu states that economic capital refers to economic resources while social capital refers to social relationships used to achieve its interests. Furthermore, Leonard argues that the presence of social capital encourages particular actions, which facilitate the accomplishment of mutually beneficial ends (928). Social capital occurs in the arena of social interactions and is made up of the social duties that go along with such relationship (Julien). In comparison, cultural capital has several dimensions, including objective knowledge, tastes and preferences, and formal qualifications, such as degrees. Also, it covers cultural skills, including writing, speaking, etiquette, normative behaviors, as well as practical skills, such as playing a musical instrument. A pivotal element of culture in both functional and constituent senses is its role as a group's expression or collective aspects of people's behavior, as exhibited in their activities and belief systems (Throsby). Symbolic capital refers to the owner's status, authority, and prestige. Economic and cultural capital are most evident in urban communities. In addition, economic capital can be easily transformed into other modes of capital which have a large role in society. For example, a person with valuable social networks, such as knowing prominent or powerful individuals, is said to have social capital, which may transfer to economic capital (Huang). Huang adds that the relationship between economic capital, social capital, and culture is transformational, but also non-replaceable. In comparison, symbolic capital has the most potential to transform other capitals. Basaran and Olsson (11) argue that each of these capitals provide specific powers, while conveying symbolic power, such as the surplus of power created when one is socially seen to be justified in what one does, says, or possesses. Also, the relationship between these capitals is perceived as recognized and acceptable to the public.

Bourdieu claims that economic and symbolic capital are interchangeable and only transformed continuously in a process involving the whole group. Additionally, these transformations should be followed because of the ongoing production process. According to Bourdieu, changes affecting the structure of the field include major re-orderings of genre hierarchy and a concordance between internal changes. Others are directly determined by modifying the access to the literary field and external changes supplying new producers.

Cultural production is divided into restricted and large-scale arenas (Bourdieu). Whereas the restricted arena production comprises high arts, such as classical music and literature, large-scale arena production is often referred to as mass or popular culture, which includes television, film, and popular literature.

The reproduction process by capital becomes important for the survival of its arena. For that reason, Bourdieu states that the dominant capital in an arena can be transformed through reproduction.

Furthermore, accumulated social (physical power capital, such as fighting), economic (land and livestock), and symbolic capital (associated in addition to other capitals) take different forms, but are subject to the law of equivalence. Therefore, it is interchangeable and produces specific results. Figure 1 depicts Bourdieu's capital forms.

The originally dominant arena with extensive production became restricted through these transformations. In line with this, Bourdieu states that changes in production at any point in these positions are defined by their difference and can induce a generalized change. This means that one should not look for a specific site of change. The distribution of capital is influential in the arena. Bourdieu states that the dominant capital is distributed according to the amount owned and its overall composition. Similarly, capital transformation significantly affects the arena.

Glover (489) summarized Bourdieu's forms of capital based on research on family farm business as follows:

1. Economic capital includes money, assets, cash, debt, costs, prices, investment, loans, mortgages, and goods.
2. Cultural capital includes skills, knowledge, know-how, values, norms, education, qualifications, understanding, artifacts, experiences, and awareness of the culture of a farm.
3. Social capital includes networks, meetings, friends, family, isolation, tension, community, market, changes, industry union, connections, and professional acquaintances.
4. Symbolic capital includes identity, family farm, tradition, status, ownership, pride, emotion, resources, land, and farm.

Capital owners are the most involved in shifting the field from dominance to transformation. An overview of the distribution of capital is provided in the following chart:

Chart 1 describes how cultural capital in field A can move to field B and be transformed to social capital. Similarly, social capital in field B can be moved to field C where it is transformed into symbolic capital. Finally, symbolic capital in field C can move to field D where it is transformed into economic capital.

Research Method

This research was conducted using a cultural study framework. Hall states that culture emphasizes production, representation, consumption, regulation, and identity. This helps in understanding cultural practices and in representing the processes of meaning construction. Qualitative and ethnographic methods were carried out to analyze the beliefs, social interactions, and behavior of people in small groups. Ethnography provides an analytical description of other cultures (Barbour 119). Also, it reveals specific phenomena without testing hypotheses (Atkinson and Hammersley). Therefore, this research used ethnography to decode informants' views on the forms of capital in their restaurants. As ethnography seeks a detailed

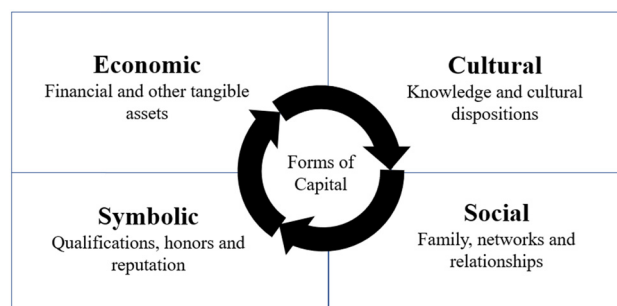


Figure 1: Bourdieu's capital forms (Harvey and MacLean 25).

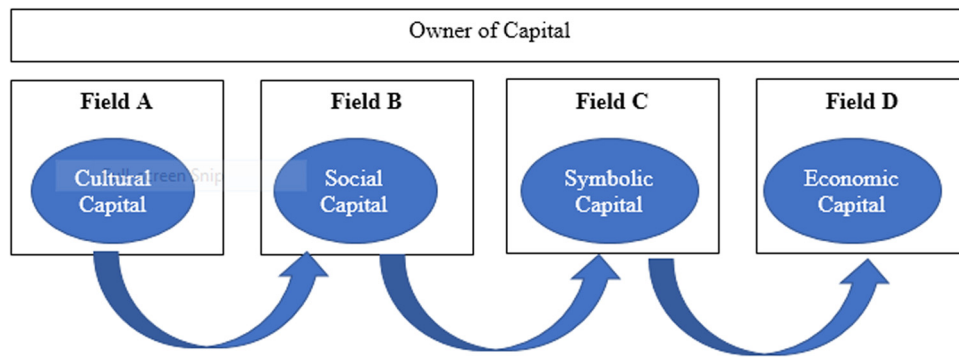


Chart 1: Transformation of dominant capital in certain fields (Wanda Listiani et al. 78).

and comprehensive description of people, it is typically conducted by a researcher who is able to spend an extended amount of time in the community being studied, which is known as fieldwork (Angrosino). Data have been interpreted by observing, describing, and explaining because it comprises unstructured explanations and analyses (Reeves et al.).

This research applied in-depth interviews and observation techniques in data collection. Data were collected through in-depth interviews and direct observations for a period and interpreted (Denzin and Lincoln 94; Reeves et al.; Berry 168). This research was conducted for 3 months in January–March 2021 and involved several ethnic restaurants in Pekanbaru, Riau, Indonesia. Observations were collected in order to describe the conditions in the field in each of the ethnic restaurants, in relation to restaurant atmosphere, customers, foods served, and authenticity and quality of ingredients. The observation technique process began with on-site selection in order to represent current concerns. Six restaurants in Pekanbaru were selected as subjects because they use ethnic food brands as their names, namely *Kim Teng* representing Chinese descent, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang* for Javanese descent, *Bare Solok* for Minangkabau, *Sultan Resto* for Riau Coastal Malay, *Pondok Patin* for Mainland Riau Malay, and *Koki Sunda* for Sundanese decent. After site selection, the researcher must gain entry into the community, begin observation, make note of just about everything, and, as the research progresses, continue observations until a point of theoretical saturation is achieved (Angrosino).

An in-depth interview session was conducted to acquire a comprehensive illustration of how capital forms have transformed in each restaurant. The researcher assumed the role of an interviewer with expertise in the field. The researchers themselves were a pivotal part of the research process, either due to their presence as researchers or in terms of their experiences in the field and with the reflexivity they offer in their role (Angrosino). The interview protocol was reviewed by an experienced researcher to ensure that it was ethical and met the study goals (Long and Johnson).

Conversations were recorded to ensure credibility and accuracy of interpretations and to ensure the study's validity (Maxwell). For transferability, the conclusions of this study are relevant to matters beyond the study itself (Angrosino), therefore, a narrative with a detailed, clear, and reliable description is required so that others can comprehend the study's results and apply them to their own research. Confirmability comes from research results, which are correct from the data collection in the field: the degree to which conclusions arise from the facts or information obtained, and not from biases on the part of the researcher (Angrosino). In addition, to assure trustworthiness, Lincoln and Guba add that in qualitative research, trustworthiness or reliability of methods and research procedures is concerned with dependability. Following a well-planned interview protocol, the researchers held one-on-one semi-structured, in-depth interviews with informants (Lee). To highlight the process, for the interview procedure, the informants were contacted in-person via telephone. For ethical clearance, the informants in the interviews were given consent forms to sign (Chenail) to confirm their agreement for the interview and participation. Informant participation was entirely voluntary. Informants were provided complete confidence in every aspect of the study by giving them any previous knowledge about the study and interview contents. Protecting human

research subjects entails more than just keeping informants safe from bodily or psychological harm, it also refers to protecting their privacy and the secrecy of any research documents that may identify them (Angrosino). They were notified about the audio recording ahead of time to protect their right to privacy. Moreover, they were assured that the information they gave would be utilized solely for this study (Walker). The researcher determined that informants should comprise owners or senior employees who have worked for more than 5 years at the selected restaurants. Furthermore, the researcher determined interview questions, then contacted the potential informants to ensure their willingness to be interviewed, and prepared field notes to record their responses. To verify the data, the researcher re-confirmed answer correctness with the informants for the answers given. Data from interviews and observations were grouped based on forms of capital as the focus of this research. They were then described and analyzed to identify the dominant and transformed capitals and determine the field of transformation production. Conclusions were made based on the results.

Discussion

This research used a sample of six restaurants that use ethnic food brands in Pekanbaru. The six culinary industries represent the dominant ethnic groups in this city. The dominant ethnicity becomes the chief capital in running the restaurant business and is transformed with other capitals. The interview and observation results were presented in four fields of production, including community, identity, culture and history, as well as partnership.

The Field of Community

The community field is the background of capital ownership in restaurants. The capital owner deliberately selected the restaurant's name with a certain ethnic brand. Ethnicity refers to a group of individuals who claim a distinct society or identity distinguishing them from others (Hirschman). An ethnic brand is expected to attract certain groups to eat and meet with certain communities. This means that food represents an identity and becomes a cultural symbol (Jang et al. 1990). As a result, certain ethnic communities come to the restaurants they believe represent their ethnicity. In this research, the field of community is shown by the *Kim Teng*, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*, and *Koki Sunda*, as described in Table 1.

Ethnic community is the social capital that strengthens the three restaurants by being transformed for economic capital. Ethnic restaurants represent a special culture and allow consumers to experience something new and exotic (Ebster and Guist). *Kim Teng* brand indicates that the coffee shop is owned by

Table 1: The field of community

No.	Capital structure	Kim Teng	Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang	Bare Solok	Sultan Resto	Pondok Patin	Koki Sunda
1.	Dominant capital						
	a. Economic capital	√	√	—	—	—	√
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	Capital transformation						
	a. Economic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	√	√	—	—	—	√
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—

Chinese people. The interview and observation results confirmed that the restaurant is often visited by the Chinese community who come to have breakfast and discuss with their community members. *Kim Teng* provides food menus from China, and customers often communicate in the Chinese language. As a result, this creates an atmosphere of a Chinese coffee shop at *Kim Teng*. This ethnic strength as social capital was successfully transformed into economic capital, positively impacting the growth of *Kim Teng*. This is supported by Wulandari et al. study, which confirms that customers consider interior ambiance important, even more so than the food and service, as it offers a spatial experience related to an ethnic experience or a sense of the past. Currently, *Kim Teng* has five branches in several malls in Pekanbaru.

The brand *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang* shows that it originates from Central Java. *Ayam penyet* [smashed fried chicken] is a typical dish of Semarang, the capital city of Central Java Province, meaning that this restaurant represents the Javanese. Moreover, the owner uses the Javanese brand to give their restaurant a distinctive character with the aim of attracting the Javanese community. Subsequently, they make the Javanese community their social capital, which is transformed into economic capital. This is considered successful because it provides economic profit for the owners. As highlighted by Rekarti et al. (n.d.), aside from the cuisine, the physical environment and service interaction of restaurants are also intended to portray ethnic identity in line with the food and cuisine offered. Furthermore, the restaurant serves various Javanese specialties, such as *ayam penyet*, *pecel lele* [fried catfish with chili sauce], *pecel ayam* [cooked vegetables in peanut sauce and fried chicken], roast, and fried duck. The restaurant is visited by people from other communities outside the Javanese. However, its brand attracts the Javanese community because of the atmosphere they feel while eating.

The brand used by *Koki Sunda* shows it represents the Sundanese, the majority ethnicity in West Java. The room design, atmosphere, and dining menu are Sundanese, which is the social capital of this restaurant. This brand is a major attraction of customers from various ethnicities to this restaurant, including guests from Riau Province. Therefore, the social capital is altered into economic capital, which guarantees future benefits for the owners. The owner of *Koki Sunda* stated that:

The Sundanese are the fewest ethnic immigrants in Pekanbaru compared to other ethnic groups, such as Javanese, Minang, and Batak, because they are not ethnic nomads. However, this does not mean that there are no Sundanese in this city because Koki Sunda Restaurant proves its existence. It is their social arena to gather and socialize Sundanese cuisines not widely known to the general public.

The ethnic background of the three restaurant owners is also unique. *Kim Teng* restaurant is a family business handed-down between generations of ethnic Chinese. Therefore, they use Chinese brand as the main attraction for running a coffee shop. In contrast, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*'s owner is not from Java. They use the Javanese brand, even though they come from Palembang, the capital city of South Sumatra. The owner admitted that at the beginning of the restaurant's establishment, the chef came from Semarang. Therefore, they perpetuated it as a brand to attract people. Similarly, the owner of *Koki Sunda* comes from Java, but assumes Sundanese ethnicity. This brand is more distinctive and acceptable to the community as a business. The owner was inspired by a Sundanese chef.

The three restaurants use economic capital, whose opportunities and motives dominate their establishments. Therefore, the ethnic brand used is a business strategy used to attract customers. The highly competitive nature of the restaurant industry requires that capital owners and managers develop a special strategy to attract customers. Moreover, they should understand customers' wants, needs, and perceptions (Josiam et al. 9; Tripp et al. 49). Therefore, ethnic food is used to attract customers. Restaurant owners believe that customers come to eat and to build social relationships within their communities.

The Field of Identity

The field of identity is the most important part of Indonesia's restaurant industry. Additionally, the symbolic meaning of cultural identity strengthens the brand in the restaurant. Lu et al. (36) explained that the

more exotic and unique experiences an ethnic restaurant offers, the more likely it is to build its own identity and pictures in the minds of its customers. Food represents ethnic, regional, and national identity (Wijaya 2). Also, it expresses identity and culture and is a popular aspect of cultural tourism (Bessiere). Three restaurants, including *Bare Solok*, *Sultan Resto*, and *Pondok Patin*, use symbolic capital transformed into economic capital. Therefore, the capital owners use a brand that culturally identifies a region (Table 2).

Restaurant owners should understand and meet consumer needs, wants, and demands to succeed in this competitive industry (Tripp et al. 49; Josiam et al. 3; Ryu and Zhong 855).

Bare Solok restaurant owners utilize Minang cultural identity. *Bare* means rice, and *Solok* refers to the best rice-producing area in West Sumatra. Therefore, this brand identity represents the Minangkabau ethnicity from West Sumatra. Rice is a staple food and that is central in Indonesian culinary traditions. Solok is famous for producing the most expensive and tasty rice in West Sumatra. According to Gregoire et al. (42), restaurant operators must respond to the demands and needs of customers who are most likely to choose their establishment. Heeding this advice, the capital owner uses the *Bare Solok* identity to ensure people enjoy a delicious meal with the best rice from the Minangkabau ethnicity. In so doing, *Bare Solok* leverages the authenticity of ethnic cuisine to attract customers, which as George states is one of the main factors motivating ethnic consumer choice of restaurants.

The Minangkabau or Padang people have high-quality cuisine that is popular in Indonesia and other countries, such as Malaysia and Singapore (Klopfer 295). Rice is the most important part of this ethnic cuisine, and high-quality rice can determine the taste of the dish. Therefore, *Bare Solok* symbolizes the ethnic Minangkabau restaurants. *Rendang*, which is one of the most popular dishes (Lipoeto et al. 12), is always available in this restaurant. Regarding food quality, Ha and Jang (520) explain that customer's perception of restaurant ambience can affect their expectations for service and food quality. Therefore, to maintain customer satisfaction, the quality of ingredients and food must be considered.

The owner of *Sultan Resto* uses the word *Sultan* to indicate ethnic Malay identity in Riau Province. The Kingdom of Siak was founded in 1723 by King Kecik, also known as Sultan Abdul Jalil Rahmat Syah (Dahlan). *Sultan* is the designation for the king in the Islamic kingdom Syah (Lewis). By evoking this word in the restaurant's name, *Sultan Resto* symbolically suggests that the restaurant represents the identity of the Malay ethnic nobility. The selection of a brand name can be a crucial point in attracting consumers. As Lu et al. (36) argue, potential consumers must be able to clearly recognize and compare brands of more or less authentic restaurants to appropriately connect the names with the ethnic food. Therefore, the *Sultan* brand identity aims to attract people to enjoy fine Malay cuisine. This is seen from the photo of the *Sultan* and the Siak Palace pasted on the walls of the restaurant. Additionally, the variety of cuisines served strengthens the Malay identity. In this case, the symbolic capital of the *Sultan's* identity is transformed into economic capital. This provides financial benefits, helping the business stay afloat as it developed into a popular Malay restaurant in Pekanbaru.

Table 2: The field of identity

No.	Capital structure	Kim Teng	Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang	Bare Solok	Sultan Resto	Pondok Patin	Koki Sunda
1.	Dominant capital						
	a. Economic capital	—	—	√	√	√	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	Capital transformation						
	a. Economic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	√	√	√	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—

Pondok Patin uses the brand *patin* to demonstrate its ethnic Malay identity, while *pondok* means home. *Patin* is a silver catfish living in rivers in the Riau area (Hayandani et al. 138), which represents the Kampar Malay ethnicity. The capital owners use the *patin* brand to attract customers. Numerous traditional Malay ethnic Kampar cuisines are served to strengthen the restaurant's identity. These include sour, spicy *baung*, smoked fish, *pantau* fish, and giant prawns. As stated by Tsai and Wang (2), tourists and local customers who consume these traditional cuisines consider this consumption a means of gaining new experiences, rather than merely satisfying physiological needs. *Pondok Patin* transforms symbolic capital into economic capital, bringing huge financial benefits for the owners. The strength of its symbolism has made *Pondok Patin* a popular restaurant in Pekanbaru, as well as a destination for domestic and foreign tourists. In addition, the identity of Riau Province as a Malay country further strengthens the Malay brand imaged by *Pondok Patin*. This symbolic capital enhanced the establishment and development of the restaurant. This was supported by the dominant cultural capital that fortified the position of the *Pondok Patin* industry. Initially, it was only a small restaurant on the roadside, but it rapidly grew due to its symbolic and cultural capital. Matondang et al. (53) found that food from various ethnicities has contributed to culinary tourism's potential for future development. This infers that, with culinary labeling, ethnic food products represent a significant marketing strategy for food producers. Cuisines or food already labeled as ethnic are emotionally attractive for customers and it makes ethnic food as a label in current marketing corresponding to new food products which have been put into food business chains.

The Field of Culture and History

This research's field of culture and history includes artifacts, literary competition, and ancestors' history. These are aspects of the cultural capital which is transformed into economic capital by *Kim Teng* and *Sultan Resto*. This strengthens the position of these restaurants, attracting many customers. Moreover, it proves that cultural capital has great power to generate economic benefits. Both capital owners believe the restaurant industry depends on strong economic capital. However, they also need to raise cultural capital to develop their distinctive character and attract customers (Table 3). This implies that there is an economic power in culturally based food (Bourdieu).

Kim Teng has a strong historical background because it has been around for three generations. The brand was named after its founder, Tan Kim Teng. However, it was originally called the Yu Hun Coffee Shop (established in 1950), which belonged to Tan Kim Teng's brother. The brothers worked together at the place until 1955, when it was handed over to *Kim Teng* because his brother moved from Pekanbaru. Kim Teng then changed its name to *Kedai Kopi Nirmala*, but the business was closed in 1959. Between 1960 and 1961, Kim

Table 3: The field of culture and history

No.	Capital structure	Kim Teng	Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang	Bare Solok	Sultan Resto	Pondok Patin	Koki Sunda
1.	Dominant capital						
	a. Economic capital	√	—	—	√	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	Modal transformation						
	a. Economic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	√	—	—	√	—	—

Teng opened a coffee shop called *Kedai Kopi Segar*, though the name is not attached to people's hearts. Therefore, the shop was named after the owner, *Kim Teng Coffee Shop*. The name was finally changed to *Kim Teng* and is currently owned by Mulyadi Tenggana, who is better known as Awai.

The tradition and culture of drinking coffee continued and became the dominant capital in developing the *Kim Teng Coffee Shop* in Pekanbaru city (Ayulestari). *Kim Teng's* successors acknowledge that business is not solely an economic affair. In line with this, Mulyadi Tenggana stated that, besides managing coffee shops, they are also active in several social organizations, such as the Social Association of Chinese Indonesian Clans (PSMTI) in Pekanbaru. Furthermore, Mulyadi Tenggana supports various activities within this organization, such as preserving Chinese culture and arts. This demonstrates that they have transformed economic and cultural into symbolic and social capitals. In line with this, Ayulestari stated that *Kim Teng* has carried out social functions.

Sultan Resto was established in 2017 and resembles the Siak Sultanate palace. According to the owner, Siak and Malay cultural history is the dominant capital in developing the business. Also, the atmosphere attribute in the restaurant industry is essential in generating customer satisfaction (Ebster and Guist; Liu and Jang 344). Other consumer attractions in an authentic restaurant setting include decor, music, and uniforms (George). Photos of the Siak and the Malay Palace Sultans show that this restaurant aims to elevate the Siak's culture and history. Furthermore, *Sultan Resto's* waiters recite *pantun* (rhyme) as a unique custom before inviting customers. The *pantun* is as follows:

<i>Pekanbaru kota madani</i>	Pekanbaru is civil city
<i>Terkenal dengan budayanya</i>	Famous for its culture
<i>Karena makanan sudah tersaji</i>	Because the food is already served
<i>Kami silakan Cik dan Puan menikmatinya</i>	We hope sir and madam enjoy it
<i>Nyanyian Melayu diiringi gendang</i>	Malay singing accompanied by drums
<i>Gendang dipukul mari berdedang</i>	The drum is hit, let's sing
<i>Kami sajikan masakan Melayu bagi Abang</i>	We serve Malay cuisine for you
<i>Dengan harapan Sulton Resto selau terkenang</i>	With the hope that Sulton Resto will always be remembered

Pantun (rhyme) is traditional poetry used by modern society in Indonesia (Natsir et al. 166). It is delivered by *Sultan Resto's* wait staff to invite customers to eat. According to the owner, this preserves the Malay tradition, by introducing it to others. Moreover, *Sultan Resto* collaborates with the Riau Arts Council to sponsor and provide a venue for poetry competitions and art performances. The artists are elated with the facilities provided. The atmosphere in ethnic restaurants utilizes ethnic art, decorations, music, and various signs to create an authentic dining experience for customers (Liu and Jang 341). These factors contribute to the customers perception of authenticity, which may play a pivotal role in building an ethnic restaurant's brand equity (Lu et al. 37).

This restaurant also plays a pivotal role in preserving Riau Malay culture. *Sultan Resto* focuses on developing the restaurant industry business, while supporting cultural preservation. This shows that the capital owner has transformed economic and cultural capitals into symbolic and social capital. They stated that 60% of restaurant's activity leads to the industry while 40% results in idealism to preserve Malay culture. This is evidenced by the exhibition activities, performances, and competitions, confirming that *Sultan Resto* represents Riau Malay culture. Ting et al. (526) investigated tourists' intention to consume Dayak food, revealing that Dayak cuisine is a genuine avenue of tourism study. The findings may contribute to tourism knowledge in the context of ethnic food, which is in agreement with the results of the current study. In this case, culture plays a significant role in highlighting the characteristics of ethnic restaurants and makes symbolic capital a driving force for other capital.

The Field of Partnership

The partnership field comprises cooperative activities carried out by restaurants with vendors of local food, which symbolizes social unity. *Kim Teng* and *Sultan Resto* both mobilize the field of partnership. In *Kim Teng*, local food vendors are intentionally allowed to sell directly in the restaurant area. The food sold by the vendors differs from the that on offer on restaurant's menu, and they give 10% of their profits to *Kim Teng*'s owner as rent. In contrast, *Sultan Resto* places local food vendors on the terrace, while customers order their wares and eat from the restaurant's main hall. The local food vendors then gave part of their profits to the owner. The cooperation between these two restaurants with local food vendors reciprocally benefits both parties. Local food vendors are provided a place to trade using the restaurant brand. Similarly, the restaurant benefits from the fees paid by the vendors (Tian 128). In line with Cho et al. (21), their findings reported that diversity of partnerships has a greater impact on product innovation than strength of partnerships. It is more crucial for restaurants to accomplish product innovation and, ultimately, long-term survival under competitive market conditions. Consequently, a variety of food is served to attract more people (Table 4).

Social capital dominates the field of partnership, which is transformed into economic capital, benefiting restaurant owners and local food vendors. Socially, the capital owner has helped local food vendors, making economic profit. Social interactions like this can increase trust between restaurants and local food vendors, as stated by Roy et al. (7) who argues that the function of trust is a fundamental coordinating mechanism that reduces uncertainty and aids greater performance and competitive advantages. In addition, Roy et al. mention that ensuring sustainable market access for local food vendors will assist in the establishment of trust-based relationships. Therefore, the cooperative relationship between restaurant owners and local food traders shows that partnerships benefit both parties socially and economically.

Conclusion

The present study was designed to appraise the capital form and transformation in ethnic restaurant brands in Pekanbaru, Indonesia. The following conclusions can be drawn from this study. The findings revealed four production fields, including community, identity, culture and history, and partnership. The six restaurants transformed the dominant and other capitals in different forms. In the field of community, social capital is transformed into economic capital. The social capitals of *Kim Teng*, *Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang*, and *Koki Sunda* refer to the Chinese, Javanese, and Sundanese ethnicities, respectively. In addition, certain ethnic brands are social forces for restaurant capital owners for financial benefits. In the field of identity, symbolic capital is transformed into economic capital. *Bare Solok* elevates the identity

Table 4: The field of partnership

No.	Capital structure	Kim Teng	Ayam Penyet Pemuda Semarang	Bare Solok	Sultan Resto	Pondok Patin	Koki Sunda
1.	Dominant capital						
	a. Economic capital	√	—	—	√	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
2.	Transformation capital						
	a. Economic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	b. Symbolic capital	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c. Social capital	√	—	—	√	—	—
	d. Cultural capital	—	—	—	—	—	—

of Minangkabau cuisine, *Sultan Resto* uses the culture and majesty of the Malay nobility, while *Pondok Patin* uses the identity of typical Kampar Malay food.

In the field of culture and history, cultural capital is transformed into economic capital. *Kim Teng* portrays Chinese culture, while family history supports the coffee shop industry. Similarly, *Sultan Resto* evokes the culture and history of the Malay sultanate to promote the restaurant. However, *Kim Teng* and *Sultan Resto* aim to preserve Chinese culture and Malay cultures, respectively. In the field of partnership, social capital is transformed into economic capital. *Kim Teng* and *Sultan Resto* allow local food vendors to sell in their restaurants. This economic cooperation benefits the two restaurants as well as local food vendors.

There are contextual implications of this research for restaurants, the owners, and society at large. The use of ethnic brands can attract people to choose certain restaurants because people believe that ethnic food provides a distinctive taste. The current findings add substantially to our understanding of all transformations in this research leading to economic capital as the restaurants were established for financial gain. The owners understand that economic capital should be supported through the management of symbolic, social, and cultural capital for financial benefits.

This research was limited using a small number of informants comprising only capital owners or senior employees of six restaurants in Pekanbaru. However, customers were not consulted. A number of future studies using the same framework are possible. It would be interesting to involve more informants, including customers, to broadly examine the forms of capital in the restaurant industry.

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