

THE TASTE OF PERANAKANS TIONGHOA IN LISTENING TO INDONESIAN AND CHINESE MUSIC AND THEIR RELATION TO CULTURAL IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

This research discussed the taste of Peranakans Tionghoa in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music and its relation to cultural identity. The history of the settlements in Chinatown at Glodok, Jakarta, Indonesia, brought ethnic and cultural issues. Then, the assimilation was inadequate that caused the elimination of the original culture and finally form a new culture. This research questioned how the Peranakans Chinese cultural identity was formed and related to the taste of listening to Chinese and Indonesian music using Hall's perspective of cultural identity. A qualitative method was used to describe, explain, and analyze data. Data in the research consisted of observation and interview of the 30 Peranakans Tionghoa at Glodok, covering the area of mall, café, and restaurant. The collected data were classified into similarities and differences from each aspect. The classification was linked to the three groups who preferred to listen to music and find their cultural identity. The result shows that the taste of Peranakan Tionghoa in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music depends on the elements and the function of music. Those aspects emphasize the language to understand what the song tells about. Further, the music could be an intermediary for cultural unification from both origins of (Chinese and Indonesia) who are fused to the relation of the cultural identity. Related to identity, Peranakans Tionghoa is becoming an identity.

Keywords: taste of listening, peranakan Tionghoa, listening to music, cultural identity

INTRODUCTION

It is generally accepted that people in the world like music as it helps them to express their emotions, get motivation and inspiration, and bring enjoyment and calmness to their lives. Further, people use music to communicate with the others as it has the message or meaning which lies behind. Van Puyvelde & Franco (2015) have stated that there are two major communication systems in human, those are language, and music. It can be said that music is used by people as a mean to communicate their messages. Communicating the message using music is the common function of it. Music transfers the message in many ways, either with its lyrics, title, symbol, or signs; those are sung or listened by the people (Syafuan, 2004). It also can be rated as an aesthetic experience that is not easy to compare to everyone as someone can say something in various ways (Faradi, 2016).

When listening to music, the taste of listening is the main point. Then, selecting the song is very personal,

based on their taste. The different taste in listening to music generally depends on the preferences of tone, rhythm, genre, instruments, and other elements in music. Besides, Gans in Tokinoya (Syafuan, 2004) states that in choosing music or the taste of listening to music is much common related to cultural taste that is based on individual choice and social class.

Rendering the taste in listening to music, the researchers are interested in observing Peranakan Tionghoa's ethnic at Glodok to be the object of the research. The researchers ask their selection in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music by interviewing 30 participants using an accidental meeting and based on their respective choices. Since they have lived for a long time in Indonesia and become part of the Indonesian citizen, their culture also grows up and can assimilate to local culture.

On the one hand, the interesting points from Peranakans Tionghoa's ethnic to be the object of this research are based on long-standing issues in the past. It is mentioned in many literature studies that they are faced with many

problems, such as racial problems, economic pressures, and citizenship status (Nugroho, 2016). Citizenship status brings out the confusion for Peranakans Tionghoa as in the changing name of Chinese to Indonesian name, restrictions on the residence, and the Chinese Nationality Act of 1909 (Andriani, 2018). Further, Chinese in Indonesia are considered not native and never seen as truly Indonesians because of their origin from China (Walujono, 2014). Many conflicts between tribes have arisen in several areas in Indonesia; particularly, it occurs to Tionghoa's ethnic minority (Juditha, 2017).

Moreover, there is much violence involving ethnic Chinese, assimilation policies, the struggle for having citizenship, the stereotype of the Chinese people, and the influence of the regime's power at that time. Those forms of regulations affect uncertainty for Tionghoa to be recognized as Indonesian citizens (Setijadi, 2017). As a result, many gaps and negative obstacles lead to Peranakans Tionghoa, such as discrimination, racism, and stereotype. Referring to the fact that the problems can be traced at the history of Indonesia in the beginning of social inequality and political segregation with the grouping formed by Dutch colonialism using apartheid tactics (a system used by the Dutch to divide groups based on ethnicity) and rule's policy so that the Dutch could control their trade, organization, school, and daily activities as a form of separation and control between Chinese and Indigenous Population (Chong, 2016). In the process of controlling Chinese ethnic, Colonial Government places the Chinese as an Eastern Foreign group (*Vreemde Oosterlingen*) after the first group, namely a group of Europe and the third group (Indigenous people or Inlanders). Those three groups have different rights, so the Chinese act is under the Dutch's power (Andriani, 2018). Currently, those problems in the past still exist in the process of their assimilation to Indonesia and to be integrated into Indonesian citizens.

Many terms of Tionghoa have been used to point out the immigrants who come from Indonesia. One of them is based on Presidential Decree No. 12 in 2014 which contains the use of Chinese terms changed to Chinese (Nugroho, 2016). Other terms such as 'Chinese Society' or '*Tenglang*', 'Overseas Chinese' or '*Hoakiau*' as Slamet Martosudiro called it. It is also commonly referred to as 'non-Indigenous' or 'Ethnic Chinese' or 'Chinese Descent', 'Indonesian Citizens of Chinese Descent' or even those who refer to the term 'Indonesian Citizen' and 'Derivative', or 'Chinese' only. The general concept of sociology is used by Mely G. Tan, such as the name 'Tionghoa's Ethnic Group' or 'Chinese Descendants' (Marzali, 2011). Hoon (2017) calls the newcomer as 'The Pure-Blood, China-Oriented, or Totok'. Based on those terms, the researchers use the term 'Tionghoa's Ethnic' or 'Peranakans Tionghoa' following a sociology concept to indicate the Chinese who stay for a long time and assimilate their culture to Indonesia.

In its history, Tionghoa is divided into two categories: Totok and Peranakan Tionghoa. Peranakans Tionghoa is ethnic people who have lived in Batavia for a long time. Peranakans Tionghoa is easily identified with some characteristics of the cultures of their local regions, spoke in Indonesia and other regional languages instead of Chinese, and developed their own unique hybrid culture from a mixture of Chinese and local cultural influences (Setijadi, 2016). Abdi, Hafiar, and Novianti (2016) have added that the term Peranakans Tionghoa arises because of marital status. They married an indigenous woman (Pribumi), and when they have offspring, they will be called Peranakans

Tionghoa. Abdi, Hafiar, and Novianti (2016) have noted that most Peranakans are from the descendants of Hoklo (Hokkien) people, although a considerable number of them are from the descendants of the Tiociu or Cantonese. Peranakans themselves are mixed racial descent; some of them are originated from Chinese, and some are called the Indigenous Archipelago (Indonesian/Malay).

Meanwhile, Totok is a pure-blood who comes from China. They migrate to Indonesia and married local women. They, with their children, often speak Mandarin (Chong, 2016). Further, Ferlando & Agustono (2018) have stated that Totok is the newcomer. They are generally only one to two generations who still speak in Mandarin. Later, due to the cessation of immigration from China's mainland, Totok's number has dropped increasingly. Therefore, the young Chinese generation in Indonesia has become Peranakans Tionghoa, especially in Java.

On the other hand, Glodok or Chinatown in West Jakarta is selected to be the research site because of several reasons. It is known as an area that is inhabited by Peranakans and Totok Chinese in the history of colonialism, where the immigrants of the Chinese become the largest ethnic group (Irawan, 2014). It is not also the lifeblood of the Batavia economy well-known by the operational city trade in the Northern Coast of Java (between the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean) but also the historical site of the beginning of Jakarta (Coppel in Irawan, 2014). It has four ethnic groups in several residential groups. They are Tiu-Chiu, Kanton (Goldsmith), Hokkien (Traders), and Hakka/Kheh (Traders). The four major spoken languages are Hakka, Hokkien, Cantonese, and Teochew (Purcell in Nasrudin, 2018). It should be noted that Glodok's area has become the center of Chinese and European settlements during the existence of many canals in the era of Dutch colonialism (Sulistyo, 2019). This area from the past until now is called by Chinatown or Pecinan (Tjiiook, 2017).

Referring to the core of writing, the researchers limit the scope of the research to Indonesian and Chinese music to know the correlation of cultural identity and the taste of Peranakans Tionghoa in listening to music. As the historical review of Tionghoa's settlement in Indonesia, it brings their culture as the Chinese who assimilate to Indonesian culture then questioning their cultural identity. The assimilation of the two cultures will eliminate the characteristics of the original culture and form of a new culture; thus, this research aims at explaining how Peranakans Tionghoa's cultural identity is formed according to Hall's theory. Based on the assumption that someone is not only expressing and showing his feelings through listening to music but also can show social, group identity, nationality, ethnicity, religion, and culture that belong to each or group. The choice is, of course, based on musical tastes that will show the identity of the class, social or group they have.

Syafruan (2004) has stated that music functions as a tool for individuals to show the environment and know about his/her identity and which group he/she is as well as how he/she views the environment. Ibrahim and Bambang (2015) have added that the members of each culture are unique, which is used as a social identity to state who and why they exist. In other words, culture can represent a person or group behavior, so that individual orientation tends to appear as a group identity. Therefore, the influence of music and the taste of listening to music are closely related in the process of differentiating identity.

Bose (2019) has asserted that identity does not only come from what has been a stick in the people, but they

are also the ways of how the people recognize with their surroundings or environment and then come to step to the place of recognition which other people are sharing what they belong to. Chanda (2019) has added that the term identity not only covers an individual but also recognizes all the aspects of the family, group, ethnicity, society, ecology, climate, class, race, religion, gender, location, nation, nation-state, culture, and other which belongs to the individual and relate to each other in mutual sharing in the past and present.

Identity is defined by Hall (2014) as a 'production'. It produces meanings in the relationship between the past and the present. The relation of the past and present is never complete. They are always in the process of developing and strengthening each other and constitute within the outside. Identity brings out a representation of something. In turn, identity in its relation leads to the new term of 'cultural identity'. Cultural identity shares individual or group culture as a sort of collective, and it relates to others such as ethnicity, society, religion, class, location, movie, and music in their history and ancestry. Their relation to each other is holding in common. Hall (1989) has added that cultural identity relates to the idea of one. It can be a shared cultural sense of belonging, the same collective of the cultural artifact or other, the same history and experience, and the same bloodline or origin.

Hall (2014) has divided identity into two formations. The first formation defines that identity is built on the same culture. It is owned and shared by a group of people. They share their aspects of history, experience, descent, cultural artifact, and others that are stable and unchanging. This identity is called as 'fixed identity or being'. Meanwhile, the second identity formation is built on a culture that can place on its relevance to other aspects of religion, social, class, politics, power, history, culture, region, etc. This formation is called 'a positioning or becoming'. This second identity provides opportunities to build a new culture, and it continues its meaning in historical, social, and cultural contexts. The process of giving meaning to each relation never ends.

Several pieces of research related to the issue of identity have been carried out by other researchers; one of them is by Christian (2017). Christian has stated that the change in Indonesian ethnic Chinese cultural identity is mostly influenced by politics or power and other cultures such as Western and other Asian cultures (Christian, 2017). In this case, the researchers analyze different things from other researchers to find the construction of Peranakan Tionghoa's taste in listening to Indonesian and Chinese with their cultural identity in the Glodok area.

Based on the explanation of the taste of listening to music, the issues and problems of Peranakans Tionghoa's ethic in the past, Glodok area, Indonesia and Chinese music, and the concept of identity, those can be linked together in querying their cultural identity using Hall's concept. Thus, this research aims at answering the question of what are the tastes of listening to Indonesian and Chinese music for Peranakans Tionghoa at Glodok? Furthermore, how is the relationship between the taste of listening to Indonesian and Chinese music to Peranakans' Chinese ethnic identity at Glodok? The long-term target of this research is to contribute to the results of research, which can be used for institutions and communities so that it is useful for scientists to develop further research relating to the influence of Chinese and Indonesian music's taste and their cultural identity and cultural insight.

METHODS

The qualitative descriptive method is used to determine, describe, and explain the observation, symptoms, and cultural interactions between the taste of listening to Indonesian and Chinese music on the identity construction of Peranakans Tionghoa's ethnic. The research is conducted at Glodok, West Jakarta, including the mall, shops, café, entertainment, or other hangout areas. Those places are chosen incidentally when the researchers meet with the volunteer participants from Peranakans Tionghoa's ethnic. The use of an accidental meeting in collecting data is very helpful. The researchers do not select the participants in detail but go directly to the participants who agree to be interviewed at the time of data collection. Then, the researchers do not determine the number of females and males.

In turn, the researchers' position is the observers at the research site by observing the emerged symptoms and relate it to the views of respondents, value, and natural cultural interaction from the taste of listening to music to Peranakans Tionghoa's ethnic identity. Besides, the researchers see the reality of activities and evaluate the behavior of ethnic Peranakans Tionghoa in listening to music and their relationship to their cultural identity. In this case, two ways of collecting data are used by combining two forms of literature review and field studies, primary and secondary.

The primary data consists of the results of short and written answers taken from questionnaires with 30 Peranakans Tionghoa. The questionnaires consist of two parts. The first tells about the name, age, and address of the participants as their short profile (see Appendices). The second is the lists of questions in a multiple-choice and short essay (Table 1). Next, the researchers validate their answers by sorting the reasons or descriptions of their preference in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music. Their answers (the finding data) show that they like listening to music based on the elements and functions in music. The finding data can be categorized as the aspects or taste in listening to music.

Meanwhile, the second aspect, which is stated in the questionnaires (a hobby of collecting Indonesian and Chinese VCD songs, going to China's midland, playing musical instruments, and the ability to use Mandarin and Indonesian language), is provided to relate their taste with cultural identity. The second aspects can be categorized as cultural experience as Hall in (Frith, 1996) has said that when talking about identity, actually it is talking about a particular kind of experience or a way of dealing with a particular kind of experiences such as the elements in the music and their connection to cultural artifact (language, instruments of music and others). It means the cultural experience can explain the identity of each person and can connect to each group who has the same culture. Then, the second aspect is tabulated into the classification of a group that relates to their preference in listening to Chinese and Indonesian music to see a different and sameness. Then, both of the two aspects are combined to explain the relationship between the taste of listening to music and the construction of their cultural identity based on the cultural identity concept of Stuart Hall.

The last step is by combining secondary data. Secondary data consists of some articles taken from reputable journals and printed books or e-books as a literature study. This secondary data is used as a reference and writing

material that supports the problem to be discussed in the analysis. Using those combinations, their cultural identity will be found.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

The researchers conduct field research by interviewing 30 participants of Peranakans Tionghoa in several areas such as Glodok Market, LTC Glodok, the Mall of Chinatown, Kemenagan, and Petak Sembilan. Those areas cover the three markets that are famous in the early time of colonialism in Glodok, such as Asem Market, Petak Sembilan Market, and Chicken Market. The researchers meet with the volunteer participants in an accidental meeting. Spending 10 days looking for the participants and observing the area by foot are the ways of collecting data.

In collecting the data, many Peranakans Tionghoa is available in doing a short interview. They seem afraid of something that makes them in trouble and disturbance from their trade activities, so the researchers often get a rejection from several people in different locations. Despite the rush of their business, most of them are interested in the interview by providing the souvenirs which are given by the researchers as a form of appreciation that they have participated in the research. From several ethnic groups, as mentioned in the introduction (literature study), it can be assumed that the volunteer participants who have been met and interviewed by the researchers are mostly come from the Hokkien communities seeing from their characteristics of working in the field of business or trade. It is stated by Nasrudin (2018) that Hokkien people are who like to do commercial transactions.

They work in the commercial sector as entrepreneurs, such as the sale of goods, electronics, and VCD tapes of films and songs. In doing their business, they choose to trade in the stores, and these generations come from the descendants who no longer use Mandarin as their mother tongue in daily activity. However, there are few older people still use Mandarin because of their experience studying at school, and one of their family spoke Mandarin. Despite that, most of the volunteer participants have a mixed name. From 30 Peranakans Tionghoa, they are five people who use western names from different ages, 17 people use Indonesian names, and five people use a mix of Indonesian and western's name. Thinking through their name is far away from their original name (China), as shown in Appendices. The researchers also meet with three Peranakans Tionghoa who still have the Chinese name at the age of 42 (Then Jung Kiong), 67 (Golaymie), and 68 (Liong). It can be assumed that the Chinese name is no longer used by the younger or the next generation.

In general, Peranakans Tionghoa has a large population. It has been mentioned in the calculation of Chinese ethnic in 2000. Based on the population census in Jakarta is inhabited by 460.002 Tionghoa (Puspitasari, 2014). Later, it grows with a higher population of Tionghoa, about 2.832.510 in 2010 (Suryani & Azmy, 2016). In this case, the small numbers of 30 interviewees are taken by the researchers to consider that the object study is expected to represent the Chinese Peranakans Tionghoa's population and some areas in Glodok. Although its representative data do not fully cover the large number of Peranakans Tionghoa, the main point is to find the characteristics, patterns, and form as the classification of the sameness and differencing cultural identity based on the taste of listening to Indonesia

and Chinese music at Glodok. To get the taste of listening to Indonesian and Chinese music, the questions in the written interview (the questionnaires) are listed in Table 1.

Table 1 Summary of the Question in the Questionnaires

Those questions can bring up different findings based on the results of their answers. The explanation or description of their reasons for choosing music represents the findings data. All of the short written answers cover the elements and function of music; then, those finding are drawn into the aspect of selecting music. Then, the researchers formulate the aspects and the reason for their selection in choosing Indonesian music, as it is shown in Table 2. The tabulated data cover all components in the questionnaires.

Table 2 Aspect of Listening to Indonesian Music

No	Aspects	Female	Male	Total
1.	Rhyme & Rhyme	9	4	13
2.	Tone & Lyrics	16	8	24
3.	Meaning	18	7	25
4.	Indonesian Subtitle (Indonesian Language)	9	5	14
5.	Musical Instruments	1	0	1
6.	The Function of Music	14	7	21

From the answer in Table 2, it can be concluded that the six elements of music, such as meaning, lyrics, and tone, the function of music, the language, rhythm and rhyme, and musical instruments, are categorized as the taste of selecting the music. Those elements can make music in much pleasure and produce certain feelings when the music is heard by Peranakans Tionghoa. They feel enjoy, calm, sad, and happy when listening to Indonesian music. Those feelings emerge when they understand the meaning of the song. Then the raise of emotional feeling in the song relates to the function of music. It is giving calmness, entertainment, and enjoyment to the listener.

The next step is finding the taste in listening to Chinese music. Table 3 shows the process of classifying the selection based on the finding data.

Table 3 Aspect of Listening to Chinese Music

No	Aspects	Female	Male	Total
1.	Rhyme & Rhyme	12	4	16
2.	Tone & Lyrics	5	12	17
3.	Meaning	13	8	21
4.	Mandarin	7	3	10
5.	Musical Instruments	1	0	1
6.	The Function of Music	12	9	21

Table 3 shows that Peranakans Tionghoa has different abilities to speak in Chinese or Mandarin as the common language, which is often used by Totok Tionghoa, so that the reason for choosing Chinese music from the aspect of its language is different for each other. They are 10 Peranakans Tionghoa, who tend to choose Chinese music based on the Mandarin language.

Looking into all the answers in the questioners as in Table 2 and 3, the taste of the 30 Peranakans Tionghoa in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music either females or males depends on the elements and the function of music. In addition to that matter, the pleasure of listening to either Indonesian or Chinese music relies on their ability in speaking and understanding the language, so that the meaning of the music can be cached and understood well by the 30 Peranakans Tionghoa joining with whole elements of music at the same time.

In turn, to answer the relation of their taste in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music to their cultural identity can be combined from the analysis result from Tables 2, 3, and the second aspects in the questionnaires. Hall states in (Frith, 1996) that to connect identity with its culture can be dealt with kinds of experience or a way of a particular experience that belongs to individual or group. The second aspect comprises the experiences of using the musical instrument, collecting the VCD of Indonesian and Chinese songs, the habit going for traveling to China and its intensity, the ability to speak in Mandarin, and the most preferred between Indonesian and Chinese music. Those components in questionnaires bring out three groups who tend to listen most to Indonesian and Chinese music. Those groups are a group that prefers listening to Indonesian music, Chinese music, and both of the two. The aspects of the first group are arranged in Table.

Table 4 shows that the total number of this group is 17 people, including 13 females and four males. This group tends to choose Indonesian music rather than listening to Chinese music as it is pointed out that the aspect of listening to Chinese music gets a lower score than Indonesian music. The aspect of Chinese music gets 12 selections. Their selection of listening to Indonesian music is based on the elements and the function of music, as it has been shown in Table 2. In this case, the kinds of the song are also taken part in their tastes or selection. Most of this group listens to pop and dangdut. Because of the renown and the existence of popular music in Indonesia, it makes them much fun listening to dangdut and pop rather than other songs. Adorno (in Khadavi, 2015) has stated that pop has standard music and lyrics patterns, so it is easy to understand, and since music in Indonesia has a variety of backgrounds and cultures, both give different tastes to each other and even create something new to cultural diversity. Cultural diversity makes the Indonesian music genre divided into several types of music, namely traditional, religious, pop,

dangdut, jazz, and so on. In general, Peranakans Tionghoa in this group assumes that dangdut and Indonesian pop songs can deliver a meaning which is easy to understand and elevates aspects of life, class, economic, and romance. It corresponds to Turino's opinion (in Lidskog, 2017) that music can be called as the heart of cultures so that it can express social occasions and emotional experience.

Table 4 A Group which is Most Listening to Indonesian Music and Its Aspects

No	Aspects	Female	Male	Total
1.	Listening to Indonesian Music	13	4	17
2.	Listening to Chinese Music	8	4	12
3.	Collecting VCD of Indonesian Song	7	2	9
4.	Collecting VCD of Mandarin Song	5	3	8
5.	The Ability to Speak Mandarin	7	4	11
6.	The Ability to Play Musical Instruments	2	1	3
7.	Traveling to China	4	1	5

Moreover, their preference for Indonesian songs also relates to their ability to speak in Indonesia. Using language, the meaning of the song can be understandable and giving rise to specific feelings. It arouses individual experience and evokes emotions. Those are evidenced by their statements in the questionnaires about feeling happy, sad, excited, inspired, motivated, enthusiastic, and being nationalism when listening to Indonesian music. They also state that with the meaning in the song, their memories of love, happiness, sadness, and life in the past are being played and represented in music. So to understand the meaning of the song, it can be done through the language. Similar to the meaning, lyric and tone correspond to the language. Both lyric and tone are the elements of music and at the same time, give an understanding of the song's meaning. Thus, it can be construed that their selections of listening music depend on the language to understand the meaning of song and lyric, as shown in Table 3.

In this case, Boski, Strus, and Tlaga (in Chanda, 2019) have asserted that language is an important factor in forming the cultural identity as it is the medium of sharing ideas, beliefs, and thoughts. Moreover, Hall (1989) has stated that language is a sign of cultural identity using a code of culture. It can reflect the common historical experience and shared a cultural code of individual or collective. The cultural experience of Chinese ethnic is described in the aspects of music and language and represents their cultural identity. They use the Indonesian language as a code of culture to understand the music that leads to certain feelings and experiences so that they can understand Indonesian music through its language. Thus, language becomes the main point of their taste, and their ability to speak in Indonesia is based on their conviction that they have lived in Indonesia for a long time since they were birth, from generation to generation, and the recognition and love to Indonesia. Even though they admit that their progenitor comes from China and their mother tongue is not Mandarin anymore. From 17

members, they are 11 Peranakans Tionghoa, who can speak in Mandarin. The number is almost close to the total number of members who are preferred to listen to Indonesian music.

In addition to the language, the aspects of collecting the VCD of Indonesian and Mandarin songs almost have the same scores. Collecting the VCD of the Indonesian song obtains nine scores. It is higher than the Chinese one who gets eight scores. This aspect of collecting VCD's song can be considered as the hobby of each individual, and it relates and supports their cultural identity taste in listening to music. Meanwhile, the ability to use or play musical instruments only consists of three people that divides into two; Peranakans Tionghoa who can use or play Indonesian musical instruments, such as guitar, and one person who can use or playing Chinese musical instruments, such as *gu drum*, the Chinese musical instruments. It comes from during the Zhou Dynasty with its several instruments. Namely, bamboo instruments, such as *xiao*; wooden instruments, such as *idiophone*; silk instruments, such as string or string; eastern instruments, such as *xun*; mental or metal instruments, such as *Zhong*; and bronze drums; stone instruments; leather instruments, such as *gu drum*; and pumpkin instruments. *Gu drum* is played to increase the morale and energy of the military in ancient times (Whitener & Shu, 2018). Currently, it is often played in ceremonial events.

The last aspect is traveling to China. This aspect is used to see the cultural links that they have had in the past (China) and the present culture (Indonesia) as part of their cultural experience. From the amount of the obtained data, five people who have gone to China. It denotes that Chinese descendants still have a connection with the past culture, even though they have lived in Indonesia for a long time. The reasons for traveling lay on their curiosity, visiting, or just traveling to the country of origin. Those reasons denote their cultural identity as an immigrant from China. This habit of traveling to China is usually followed by the young or the next generation of Peranakans Tionghoa.

The results of the analysis in this step conclude that the groups who most like to listen to Indonesian music still have a sense of belonging to their culture as an immigrant or the next generation of their predecessors who come from China. The reasons for choosing Indonesian songs do not eliminate the Chinese culture that they already have. It is stated by Hall (2014) that cultural identity not only relates to the past but also depends on something that already existed in the present, and both of them exceed the place, time, and history. So their cultural identity comes from the present (Indonesian culture) and the past (Chinese culture) and has a relationship with their experience in the present when listening to Indonesian music. Hall (1989) has added that the process of becoming can be attributed to the future, and it has many relations to the past.

In this case, the past can be described by the history of Chinese ethnics (their ancestors), who have been stayed in the time of colonialism, and having experiences of Chinese culture. The past culture and experience have a relation to the present. In the present, they have the same culture (the Indonesian language) and the same taste of listening to Indonesian music, where those relations of the past and present can play together in defining their cultural identity. Their cultural identity is constructed in China's culture (the past) and Indonesian culture (the present). Those relations to each other are constructed through the cultural experience in the same language, history, and culture. As those stated reasons, the 17 Peranakans Tionghoa from this group and their cultural identity can be categorized as 'becoming

identity'.

They still bring their ancestral culture, which is still inherited in generation to generation, keep by some of Peranakans and Totok, and preserved by some of them using the broadcasting in the radio or playing VCD in the TV are the most common habit found in some areas in mall, café, shops, and Chinese restaurant. Moreover, all Chinese temples in the Glodok broadcast mandarin songs; Totok and Peranakans Tionghoa also use mandarin or Chinese music in church events, and China's music is often played by lion dancers as ritual dances with lion figures. Those broadcastings make Chinese culture having a sense of belonging for those Peranakans Tionghoa, who come just for seating, having a talk, eating, attending the ceremonial events, and doing trade transactions. Even, some of them do not understand well about their language. This is happened and continued day by day as their daily activity and becomes a habit.

In the researchers' assumption regarding this habit is that they keep their original culture from generation to generation. So that Chinese culture remains to be existed and reminisce with the past. Moreover, the nostalgic memory of their culture plays on their minds when listening to Chinese music, especially for Totok ethnic who cannot speak Indonesia as the researchers observe them in an intentional meeting in the field. As a result, the taste of listening to music is closely related to the process of differentiating cultural identity. This differentiation process occurs between Totok and Peranakans Tionghoa in understanding the music seeing from the use of languages. In history mention that Totok Tionghoa cannot speak or understand the Indonesian language. For that reason, they cannot understand Indonesian music, and they are different from Peranakans Tionghoa.

To see the relationship of this group with all of the 30 Peranakans Tionghoa and their cultural identity, it can use the collaboration with a group who tends most in listening to Chinese music and both of the two in the last conclusion. The explanation of a group that tends most in listening to Chinese music is depicted based on its aspect in Table 5.

Table 5 A Group which is Most Listening to Chinese Music and Its Aspects

No	Aspects	Female	Male	Total
1.	Listening to Indonesian music	3	1	4
2.	Listening to Chinese music	3	2	5
3.	Collecting VCD of Indonesian song	2	1	3
4.	Collecting VCD of Chinese song	3	1	4
5.	The ability to speak Mandarin	2	2	4
6.	The ability to play musical instruments	0	0	0
7.	Traveling to China	1	1	2

This group consists of 5 people consisting of three females and two males. This group has many variations in selecting Chinese music as its core preference. Although all the members love and prefer to listen to Chinese songs,

there is one person who has no hobby of collecting VCD and one person who cannot speak in Mandarin, as shown in each aspect. This case is also the same as in the column of the ability to play Chinese musical instruments. No one of them can use or play it. Furthermore, Table 5 shows that only two people have the experience of going to China.

Considering the classification of this group, they tend to have a sense of belonging to Chinese culture more than Indonesia seeing from the level in the aspects of preference and the ability to speak in Mandarin. So, this group is categorized as a group that closely relates to Chinese culture. In another case, their love of Chinese culture does not omit the existing and owned culture. This is indicated by the hobby, which attributes to the aspect of collecting Indonesian songs in the form of VCDs and still loving Indonesian music. They like Indonesian music, depending on the Indonesian language, so that the meaning of songs can be easily understood. Following the concept of Hall (1989) about identity, he says that collective identity relates to history and culture, which are shared in common. It can be assumed that Indonesian and Chinese music are cultural artifacts that can uncover and open memories and history of Peranakans Tionghoa about something in the past and present. Their present memories appear in the meaning of the song when listening to Indonesian music. Because it relies on the Indonesian language to understand the meaning, the sameness of using the Indonesian language is the process of to be or 'becoming'. The present experience in using and understanding the Indonesian language builds their new cultural identity.

On another hand, Peranakans Tionghoa sees themselves as part of the Chinese people (Totok Tionghoa) because they feel that they have a unique set of socio-cultural characteristics in the past. These socio-cultural characteristics are shown in the same language, Mandarin. Seeing this reason, they actually relate with the past and their collective of Chinese descendants. Although their cultural origins are inherent in all Chinese elements, their present cultural identity carries the Indonesian language as a unifying culture in understanding music.

The next discussion is about the group, which tends to both Indonesian and Chinese music. Their reasons for selecting both because they prefer both Indonesian and Chinese cultures, respecting of their predecessors, who come from China, and music is an art. This categorization is analyzed with the aspects in Table 6.

Table 6 A Group which is Most Listening to Indonesian and Chinese Music and Its Aspects

No	Aspects	Female	Male	Total
1.	Listening to Indonesian music	4	4	8
2.	Listening to Chinese music	4	4	8
3.	Collecting VCD of Indonesian song	2	3	5
4.	Collecting VCD of Chinese song	3	3	6
5.	The ability to speak Mandarin	4	3	7
6.	The ability to play musical instruments	1	0	1
7.	Traveling to China	1	1	2

From eight Peranakans Tionghoa, who prefers to listen to both of the two, indicates the same pattern with the preceded group. It can be seen in Table 6 that all of the aspects have a high score except in the aspect of musical instruments and traveling to China. From the high score can be summed up that they have a sense of belonging to both Indonesian and Chinese culture. The researchers see that they are not only fluent in speaking in Indonesian language but also in Mandarin. Moreover, their preference for listening to Indonesian and Chinese music is attributed to their hobby in collecting Chinese and Indonesian music, even though they are not many who capable of playing a musical instrument and have the experience of traveling to China. Thus, based on Hall's definition of cultural identity that it is not only shown through what is or inherent in as being of fixed identity, but also in becoming. Hall (1996) has added that to see identities is to question the resources of history, language, and culture of individual or group as the process of becoming rather than being identity. In this case, the becoming process is related to various factors of the Peranakans Chinese as an agent who uses Indonesian and Chinese culture. It is shown that they speak Indonesia and Chinese and like to listen to Indonesian and Chinese music. From those observations, it can be deduced that this group is categorized as 'becoming identity'. The love of Chinese is not a fixed culture because they also love Indonesian cultures. They integrate their past to present culture, and they can be said as becoming an identity.

The conclusions from the analysis of the three groups show the findings that their cultural identity is constructed by aspects contained in music both in terms of culture, language, and elements of Chinese and Indonesian music. Cultural experiences (hobby playing music and speaking Mandarin, collecting VCDs, traveling to China as their past homeland, staying in Indonesia for a long time ago or from generation to generation) and cultural aspects in the music (meaning, lyrics and tone, the function of music, the language, rhythm and rhyme, and musical instruments), both of the aspects of cultural experience and aspects that exist in music including what is owned by each group (three groups) show the history and culture of the past and present. Their cultural identity is constructed by two cultural experiences and cultural aspects that are embedded and developing in 30 Peranakans Tionghoa. Their cultural identity is continuous in the process of assimilation, and it will make the new meaning as the term is stated by (Hall, 2014).

Hence, the three groups are called as 'becoming identity'. These findings relate to the definition of cultural identity proposed by Hall that becoming identity is a production of the past and present culture (Hall, 2014). When the original culture (Chinese) meets the existing culture (Indonesia), there is always cultural exchange between two cultures, either it is combining to the existing culture or mixing to the new culture. That cultural exchange is a production in giving meaning to Peranakans Tionghoa's cultural identity. Their cultural identity mixes and combines with the existing culture, yet the tendency to keep the existence of authentic culture still be reminiscence and maintained by 30 Peranakans Tionghoa.

In addition to that, not many Peranakans Tionghoa in three groups who can use or playing Chinese and Indonesian instruments. From the questioners, the researchers only get three selections from the aspect of musical instruments. Even the ability to use Chinese and Indonesian instruments such as guitar and *gu drum* is found. It can be assumed that their taste in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music does

not have many ties with the aspect of musical instruments. In contrary to that case, the three groups emphasize language as the core to understand the musical elements. The level of understanding of the meaning of songs influences their cultural identity, so the taste in listening to music lies in the language. Language is a means of connecting their identity and culture by sharing the same experience and ability.

CONCLUSIONS

Many aspects of musical taste and cultural experience are obtained from the taste analysis in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music and attributed them to Peranakans Tionghoa's cultural identity. The aspects not only cover the elements and the function of music, but it is also the aspect of their ability to speak the Indonesian language or Mandarin. The six aspects in the music indicate as cultural aspects which belong to Peranakans Tionghoa. Furthermore, a hobby in collecting VCD of Chinese songs and going for traveling to China can be part of their taste in listening to both of the music. The second aspect can be called as a cultural experience. Both cultural aspects in the music and cultural experience bring the relation to their cultural identity. Those aspects have been inherited and can be sustainable and continuous in the process of meaning. Using those aspects form a characteristic of similarity and difference in their tastes and relate to their cultural identity. The similarities can be seen from the same preference in listening to Indonesian music, Chinese, and both of the two, which depend on the language as it is found in the grouping. Peranakans Tionghoa, who prefers listening to Chinese music and uses Mandarin, represents cultural diversity, and it must be respected as their choice or taste. Meanwhile, the sameness in understanding Indonesian music using its language can strengthen Peranakans Tionghoa to be a part of Indonesian culture and country.

Finally, all things related to the favorite aspects of listening to music, collecting VCD of song or tapes, the ability to speak Indonesia and Chinese, and traveling to China can be linked together in finding their cultural identity. Furthermore, it can be said that the cultural identity of Peranakans Tionghoa is seen from the cultural aspect in the music as they have the same language (Indonesian) and as they are part of the Chinese ethnic who live for a long time in Indonesia. Their belongings show the existence of a process to be new, and they have become part of the nation and culture of Indonesia. Despite that, they have a connection with their history in the past, seeing from their experience and different language (Mandarin). Then, all of the three groups have the same cultural identities. Their cultural identity is categorized as 'becoming identity'. They still keep their native culture and integrate or assimilate into the new culture.

Due to the small scale of research, the researchers think about continuing this research to be a greater scale. The researchers also suggest to for the next researchers to establish the aspect and another component in the research such as seeing another concept or a scientific perspective in psychology, sociology or others, and in accordance with the components of age, class, and group (teenager, middle adult, adult, and oldster). It can be questioned on how the community of music lovers from Peranakan Chinese has a distinctive taste in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music based on the social class and status. It also can be investigated based on a class difference (the elite, upper-

middle-class, and middle class of Peranakans Tionghoa). The researchers also suggest considering their social status, Chinese name, and gender. Further, the research is suggested to take another method, such as the quantitative research method using three or more variables in analyzing sampling data and the use of another theory of identity or habitus proposed by Manuel Castells and Jurgen Habermas in ethnography study. In addition to that, to observe some local areas in Indonesia where are inhabited by the artists, actors, and musicians, who have a generation of Peranakans Tionghoa.

These findings highlight how important is the awareness to understand the diversity of relations between cultural aspects that come from the same culture of origin (China), and it is possessed by ethnic Peranakans Tionghoa must be respected as a form of admitting multiculturalism in Indonesia. This diversity of collective identities in listening to Indonesian and Chinese music creates differences and similarities that strengthen each other and create a unique culture. The cultural equation of Peranakans Chinese ethnic with Indonesia is the use of the Indonesian language in understanding music as a taste or choice. Thus, the strengthening of two cultures can be done with understanding and love of the Indonesian language as a shared language.

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