

**Experiencing gamelan and exploring the correlation
between cultural identity and the conservation and
development of traditional music**

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Abstract

Javanese gamelan is not only music of the past that has a profound status in Javanese society, but also a music that witnessed and experienced domestic cultural change and western cultural permeation. As a traditional music, today's gamelan retains its significant status and successfully unfolds various cultural activities and cultural communications. The development of gamelan in the contemporary era is of great significance. It is the abundance of gamelan activities and surrounding musical ambiance that construct people's cultural awareness and cultural identity; conversely, the construction of cultural awareness and identity promotes the inheritance and development of gamelan in the contemporary era. This thesis analyses the reciprocity between gamelan and identity, and takes another traditional music, *Sayerho*, from China as a case study to explore how the absence of identity may hinder the development of traditional music.

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Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University.

All sources are acknowledged as References. I accept full responsibility for the authorship and standard of the submitted work.

Introduction

1.1 Aim of the research and its significance

With the rapid development of globalisation, people around the world are on the move. In terms of the ever increasing cultural communication among various people, it is essential to maintain a strong self-awareness and self-identity when confronting 'cultural others'. Traditional music acts as a representation of culture for people who are disrupted by both domestic social changes and the outside world. Traditional music witnesses not only the changing life of people but also the evolution of history, therefore, the high cultural and social value of traditional music should not be overlooked but be cherished by people. More specifically, some traditional musics have been politically protected since 1972, when the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) adopted the World Heritage Convention. Due to my passion for traditional music, I began researching traditional forms of music in Hubei province in China in my sophomore year. The current status of traditional music that I observed in Hubei province is under threat. Meanwhile, according to my participation and observation in Java in Indonesia, their traditional music, especially Javanese gamelan, still plays a significant role in their daily life that can be considered as the representation of the cultural identity of local residents. In terms of the conservation and development of traditional music, as well as the way music is the expression of cultural identity, the successful development of traditional gamelan would be worth noting. Hence, I intend to discuss the conservation and development of traditional music in China and in Indonesia separately, analysing the way gamelan constructs the identity of Indonesia and the absence of cultural awareness in Chinese in terms of traditional music.

My interest in the concepts of music and identity derives from both my previous fieldwork in Changyang in China (a town that is famous for its flourishing tourism resources in which music occupies a significant position) and my gamelan experience in China, the UK, and Indonesia. When I visited a local singing master in Changyang, I found it sad that such forms of traditional music were in imminent danger of disappearing or had already vanished (for instance, the Tujia wedding gong-and-drum music, and

Sayerho, which is the Tujia people's funeral music). I could see how upset the local artists felt from their eyes and their sighs. We discussed the factors that might hinder the development of local music: with the exception of the lack of funding, the most crucial reason seems to be the shortage of heirs. I noticed that it was the contrast between the local people and outsiders that filled the local artists with sadness. Compared to the negative attitude of the local people, outsiders to this culture—for example, ethnomusicologists, sociologists, historians, and even ordinary tourists—show a high interest in the music. After our conversation, the local singing master expressed his gratefulness for our interest, and said he wished more people like us (i.e. who showed an interest in their music) would come to their village to be positive role models for the local youth. This is because the participation of people is what they need the most at the moment. This contrast between the locals' and the outsiders' attitudes made me wonder why 'we' are losing interest in knowing 'ourselves' better through 'our' music. This is not only a problem for traditional Chinese music, but for traditional music or folk music around the world. External factors (for example, the dynamics of a changing society, lack of students to carry the culture forward, public ignorance, financial difficulties, and inadequate protection) and internal factors (for example, the changing function of music, the ignorance of people's thoughts towards music, unpopular musical languages, etc.) are all reasons.¹ Among the possible reasons, most people believe that it is pop music that has occupied traditional music's market space. Indeed, at least in China, pop music, even Western classical music, tends to be preferred to traditional music, especially among the young generations. According to Pereira et al.,² the reason pop music is so popular is because of its simplicity. The appreciation of pop or rock music does not require formal musical training, and they are consequently the most easily available and remarkable instances of aesthetic enjoyment. According to my interview with the local artist in Changyang, most of the young people, including the descendants of the musician, were

¹ Xiang-peng Huang, "Lun Zhongguo Chuantong Yinyue de Baocun yu Fazhan. *On the preservation and development of traditional Chinese music*," *Zhongguo Yinyuexue*: (1987): 4.

² Pereira et al., "Music and emotions in the brain: familiarity matters," *PloS one* 6, no. 11 (2011): e27241.

unwilling to listen to what their fathers or grandfathers had dedicated their whole lives to. These young people described local music as old-fashioned, distant, indigestible, and unmelodious. In addition, I used to be a music teacher in a common school in the Hubei province in China, teaching grade three and four (where the average age range of the children is approximately seven to nine). Through conversations and observations in class and outside, I found that most of the children are keen on the latest pop music, which they discover through advertisements, online games, singing contests, and often their parents. Moreover, a recent survey on musical preference has shown that 80 per cent of undergraduates in China prefer pop music as opposed to art music, classical music, and traditional Chinese music. The reason pop music tends to be a part of their daily lives and the way in which they express emotion is because it resonates more easily among their peers. In short, pop music, like the voice that conforms to youth, seems to be the primary source of cultural identity.³

However, the dominance of pop music cannot serve as an excuse for the decline of traditional music. It is hypothesised that traditional music is marginalised due to the lack of a diverse music environment, which is, in turn, due to a lack of awareness of the identities constructed by music. It is of great importance to know the identity formed through traditional music. When the majority of people have forgotten the historical voices of their hometown and their ancestors, when most of the songs in singing contests such as *The Voice of China* are pop music, or when a grandfather who loves Beijing opera wants to connect with his rocker grandson, the solution should not be to force the minority to accommodate the tastes and choices of the masses. Instead, people who share different musical tastes should form an inclusive and diversified music environment. My experience in China has made me realise the importance of cultural awareness in the construction of identity. It is the people who decide what they want to listen to, and

³ Andy Bennett, *Popular Music and Youth Culture-Music, Identity and Place* (Houndmills: Macmillan Press Ltd, 2000), 5-20.

construct their choice as labels of their identity.⁴ In an imbalanced and simplistic music environment, an ‘exception’ label might be fixed to people who go against the tide. Traditional music, as one of the richest cultural resources, can be used to reach more diversified versions of ‘ourselves’, and should not be ignored as an important aspect of constructing cultural identity. In return, the construction of identity through traditional music could be influential for the sustainable development of music itself. It is said that music develops as ‘flexible maps of modern life-worlds’.⁵ ‘Each sound carries traces of a history, a small narrative from a local scene. The idea of music functioning as a map, helping to organize the sense of identity [...] helping us to signal broader cultural formations and ideologies, personal character, values, and lifestyles. As a well-functioning soundtrack, it locates incidents geographically in time and space; it may add depth and dimensions of inner space to life events.’⁶ Traditional music, as cultural symbols of different nations, communities and individuals, should be cherished and preserved as a living history, not only as a topic of the past but also as one that is relevant to the future. Hence, it is essential to advocate a more diverse musical environment and a wider range of identity through traditional music. A diverse musical environment will boost the influence of traditional music, constructing a cultural identity that could help enhance cultural consciousness and confidence.

The question is: how does traditional music construct our identity? What identifiers or labels does it offer? According to critics, it is not only about the music per se, but also about how we understand the people who create that music, how we participate in music activities (either as a performer or an observer), and the influence of our cultural surroundings.⁷ In a contemporary cultural context, traditional music retains a peripheral position, and this will not be improved unless the willingness of participation of the

⁴ Tomas Chamorro-Premuzic and Adrian Furnham, "Personality and music: can traits explain how people use music in everyday life?," *British Journal of Psychology* 98, no. 2 (2007): 175-185.

⁵ Even Ruud, "Music and identity," *Nordic Journal of Music Therapy* 6, no. 1 (1997): 3-13.

⁶ Ibid, 12.

⁷ Keith Negus and Patria Román Velázquez, "Belonging and detachment: musical experience and the limits of identity," *Poetics* 30, no. 1 (2002): 133-145.

people increase. The preservation and development of traditional music depend on cultural preservers, participants, their attitudes and behaviours and the ambience they create, hence, it is important to know the cultural settings and the development of particular musical genres, as well as the people behind these fields.

Among the diverse forms of traditional music around the world, traditional Indonesian music has been seen as the most important field of study in ethnomusicology. My first gamelan experience was a gamelan performance during World Music Week in Beijing in 2012. After listening to two concerts, I was touched by the spiritual and excellent music, as well as the way in which gamelan is performed. You can easily be touched by the self-confidence of the artists while performing their traditional music for foreign audiences. It was all embodied in their facial expressions and gestures. Later, I looked for articles related to gamelan on the China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) database, and found that there are established studies on this ancient music form. After this, I participated in several gamelan activities: I observed how gamelan was taught at Ningbo University in 2014, attended a gamelan workshop in York, and participated in various gamelan classes and performances in Solo, Indonesia, in 2015. These experiences made me wonder what it is about gamelan that ensured its successful development not only in Indonesia, but also around the world. To an Indonesian, gamelan is not an inaccessible art, but part of the activities of their daily life. The high adaptability of gamelan, its inclusion in society, and its rich performing environment are the outcomes of an awareness of cultural identity, which enables this music to stay alive. Apart from the music environment and cultural policies established by the government, it is the people who contribute to the music. The people who are involved in gamelan should also be highly valued. Whether they are performers or appreciators, gamelan is a mark of their identity.

In order to gain a better understanding of the people in Java today, as well as to examine how gamelan keeps its vitality, I went to Solo (Surakarta), Indonesia, one of the most historical and cultural cities in the world, to do fieldwork. I intended to demonstrate the reciprocity between traditional music and the construction of identity,

as well as the significance of conserving ethnicity, hoping to summarise and shape a deeper understanding that might contribute to the development of traditional music (especially Chinese traditional music) as a form of reference. I found that it is not difficult to see how traditional Javanese gamelan has been preserved so well there. The term ‘preserved’ evokes sterilisation and isolation, like whitewashing a tree trunk with lime water to sterilise it and deter insects, or demarcating an explicit isolation area marked ‘authorised personnel only’. Conversely, Java has an open and comprehensive social environment that gives the music space to grow. Indonesian music students, as well as foreign music students in Institut Seni Indonesia (ISI) (a historical art institute in Surakarta), were the groups I most frequently had contact with. These students are the primary force that nourishes Javanese gamelan. The cultural awareness of these students regarding their traditional music forms might be valuable in explaining how gamelan flourishes in a contemporary context, and might be a model for other traditional forms of music in the world. Although the traditional music I experienced in Changyang has nothing to do with gamelan in Indonesia, it is common knowledge that folk music around the world is currently suffering in the modern world. Gamelan is one of the most successful examples of the preservation of cultural identity and of musical development. Lessons could be learnt from observing, experiencing and analysing this art form that might be revelatory to the development of other traditional forms of music.

Numerous research studies have been conducted on both gamelan and identity in music. However, there has been less research focus on a particular group of people, as well as less emphasis on the interaction between identity and gamelan. In this dissertation, I will explore the reciprocal interaction between gamelan in Java and cultural identity, using my related gamelan experiences in China, the UK, and Indonesia. The significance is as follows: firstly, by describing the historical background and the current situation of gamelan, I hope the reader may gain a comprehensive understanding of the social environment, the basic musical theory of gamelan, and the development of traditional music in the contemporary era. Secondly, I will discuss the reciprocity between gamelan and identity, specifically focusing on the ‘people’, cultural presenters

and inheritors. This will further verify the relationships among music, people, and society. Thirdly, the revelations of the gamelan experience may throw further light on the development of Chinese traditional music, and may also function as a reference for other forms of music.

Structure

The dissertation will be separated into four main chapters: the introduction, the construction of cultural identity in gamelan inheritance, cultural presenters, and retrospection. In this chapter, I will tease out the definition of identity and gamelan, examining the literature on music and identity, and gamelan and identity; I will also put forward a methodology for this dissertation. In the second chapter, to get an idea of how gamelan arouses the cultural consciousness of the nation, through what aspects, and how it permeates into the country's daily life to become one of the most significant cultural signifiers of Indonesia, I will discuss how gamelan contributes to the construction of cultural identity. The research subjects are residents in Java. These subjects possess different social or individual identities, such as government clerks, students, parents, teachers, etc., and are the people who directly participate in the construction of a more diverse, modern and multilayered gamelan form. However, the cultural identity constructed by gamelan is also a shared identity. I will first describe the historical background of Java and the musical background of gamelan in Java. This will be followed by a discussion on the relationship between cultural identity and cultural inheritance, in which identity is constructed implicitly and explicitly on a folk and scholastic basis. For this, I will draw upon my experiences in the UK (York), China (Ningbo) and Indonesia (Central Java), which include observing and participating in classes, interviewing teachers and local artists, and handing out questionnaires to the students in ISI. In the third chapter, I will explore the way in which cultural identity is constructed in terms of 'otherness', mainly focusing on the subjects in gamelan education, i.e. the students in ISI (including both Indonesian students and international students). With regard to the construction of identity through gamelan music, the impact of international students in Indonesia cannot be ignored. The unique status of gamelan in the world music stage is largely due to the theoretical contributions of Western scholars. The *Darmasiswa* scholarship project, established by the Ministry of Culture in Indonesia, appeals to thousands of foreign students and is an example of the attention that can be paid to cultural identity. The awareness of cultural identity has intensely

promoted the influence of gamelan, as well as the interaction between gamelan and other music genres on a global scale. In the fourth chapter, I will first summarise the embodiment of identity in gamelan. This will be followed by examining the inheritance of a particular form of Tujia music in China, to see to what extent a lack of identity may lead traditional music into a predicament, and whether other forms of traditional music can learn from the development of gamelan. Finally, a concluding summary will be given.

1.2 Basic concepts

Identity

Identity has several general characteristics: it is social, cultural, and changeable. Identity is a key term that has been widely applied in a broad range of research, including studies in psychology, social anthropology and philosophy. The definition of ‘identity’ is indeterminate, as it is an abstract concept. Identity is an inner subjective state created out of a reflection on a series of objective, existing social practices and social institutions. To fully understand identity, we must connect people with the objective world they belong to.⁸ Identity is a social and cultural phenomenon. Identity is social because it is based on social categories, and the subjects of identity (the people) are all members of society. It is also cultural because, individually, the interpretation of ‘self’ carries meaning in a particular context and, collectively, all social categories are built on cultural meaning that is shared on a collective level. Identity is also characterised by diversity, as people belong to a variety of collective groups. Various categories can be used to demonstrate identity. Wendt⁹ described four kinds of identity: ‘corporate, type, role and collective’. Both objective and subjective interests influence the shape of identity. It may also be shaped by social units, such as family, organisations, country, gender, language, occupation, religion, and so on. Hence, identity is never fixed and a

⁸ Ross Poole, *Nation and Identity* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 74.

⁹ Alexander Wendt, *Social theory of international politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 43; 198.

person may have multiple identities.¹⁰ Brubaker and Cooper¹¹ suggest that the concept of identity indicates a rich significance. However, Hall¹² suggests that we should note all definitions of identity, as it can enrich how we interpret dynamic and volatile human society. 'Identity is not only a story, a narrative we tell ourselves about ourselves; it is a set of stories that change with historical circumstances, and identity shifts with the way in which we think, hear and experience them.'¹³ As all individuals are social animals, one's identity may fluctuate when confronting diverse objects in various situations. Individuals or groups may possess different identities during social interaction, and identities are dynamic in the sense that they vary within a constantly changing society. From the 20th century onwards, researchers have placed more emphasis on postcolonial identity—for instance, there are studies that focus on: ethnic identity¹⁴ national identity¹⁵ and the identities of diasporas¹⁶

The formation of identity includes the concept of the categorisation of self.¹⁷ People construct a social and cultural self (rather than a psychological one) through awareness of their social groups or through interactions with other in-group members. Identity, therefore, is constructed during the interaction between individuals and society; it is about both similarity and difference, about how subjects regard themselves during representation, and how different subjects manifest differences in representation and draw distinctions between them and others. People confirm their identity by participating in communities and by absorbing group characteristics, which is

¹⁰ Monica Sassatelli, "Imagined Europe The Shaping of a European Cultural Identity through EU Cultural Policy," *European journal of social theory* 5, no. 4 (2002): 441-448

¹¹ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper. "Beyond "Identity"," *Theory and Society* 29, no. 1 (2000): 6-9.

¹² Stuart Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'," in *Questions of cultural identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London: Sage, 1996), 1-17

¹³ Stuart Hall, "Negotiating Caribbean Identities," In *New Caribbean thought: A Reader*, ed. Brian Meeks and Folke Lindahl (University of West Indies Press, 2001), 24-39.

¹⁴ Jean S. Phinney and Ong D. Anthony, "Conceptualization and Measurement of Ethnic Identity: Current Status and Future Directions." *Journal of Counseling Psychology* 54, no. 3 (2007): 271.

¹⁵ Anthony D. Smith, *National identity* (University of Nevada Press, 1991), 19.

¹⁶ Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," *Journal of Framework*, no.36 (1990): 37.

¹⁷ Sheldon Stryker and Richard T. Serpe, "Commitment, Identity Salience, and Role Behavior: Theory and Research Example," In *Personality, Roles, and Social Behavior*, (Springer New York, 1982), 199-218.

considered as in-group similarity. Alternately, they define their identity according to their differences from other groups. Similarity forms the foundation for collective willingness, emotion and responsibility, which lead to communication among people and the consolidation of society.¹⁸ Cultural markers, such as language, food, dress, behaviour, etc., can be seen as representations of identity that help articulate similarities and differences. By knowing both similarities and differences, one may discover answers to the serious questions of 'who we are, who others are, them knowing who we are, us knowing who they think we are, and so on'.¹⁹

Cultural identity

The discussion of identity must be based on identifiers and objects. In terms of cultural identity, by 'objects', we mean 'culture'. Culture is one of the most difficult concepts in humanities and the social sciences, and there are many different definitions of the term. Traditionally, culture is the sum of great ideas, as represented in the classic works of literature, painting, music and philosophy. As stated in the Cambridge English Dictionary, culture is 'the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs of a particular group of people in a particular time'. It is the historical layer that belongs to each in-group member. Culture can be considered the unique belongings we use to express 'who we are'. 'Cultural memory: preserves the store of knowledge from which a group derives an awareness of its unity and peculiarity' and 'varies from culture to culture, from epoch to epoch'.²⁰ A particular group of people distinguishes itself from others by its unique and shared cultural memory.

Cultural identity, as an agreement within a national community or a culture, is the embodiment of national memory, shared lives, values, customs, worldviews, and so on. The theory of cultural identity was first put forward by American psychoanalyst

¹⁸ Poole, *Nation and Identity*, 70.

¹⁹ Richard Jenkins, "The Ambiguity of Europe: 'Identity Crisis' or 'Situation Normal'?", *European Societies* 10, no. 2 (2008): 153-176.

²⁰ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," *New German Critique* 65 (1995): 125-133.

Eriksson in the 1950s. It has been widely used in sociology, history, politics and cultural studies. One's cultural identity can be identified according to ethnicity, race, social class, gender and so forth. People's social status and their awareness of their identity are determined by their environment and cultural settings. It is a consensus cultivated by relatively stable, long-term, sympatric and fundamental values, and similar lives. Hence, the construction of cultural identity can significantly enhance one's national awareness and a sense of belonging. Considered the most significant soft power of comprehensive national strength, cultural identity also has a great impact on the construction of a national image, which cannot be overlooked in this globalised world. Cultural difference also helps in shaping cultural identity. The notion of cultural identity becomes much stronger and firmer when we define our 'selves' around a cultural 'other'.²¹

As one of the most important components of everyday life, music has long been considered a crucial component of culture. Musical identity is the application of identity theory in the field of music. According to research, musical identity is an awareness of 'self' or 'we', a comprehension of 'similarity' and 'discrepancy' during musical activities. As music is a carrier of culture, it is believed that music can be seen as one of the means by which individuals and groups construct their identity.

Acculturation

The concept of acculturation has been widely used in cross-cultural psychology. It is the 'general processes' of 'intercultural contact'.²² There are four strategies within the process of acculturation: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalisation. The process indicates a cultural adjustment within a certain culture when more than one culture interacts. Most of the research focuses on the cross-cultural adjustments made

²¹ S. Clarke, "Culture and identity." in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Analysis*, ed. T. Bennett and J. Frow (Los Angeles London: Sage Publications, 2008), 510-529.

²² John W. Berry, "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation," *Applied psychology* 46, no. 1 (1997): 8.

by certain groups of people who move from familiar cultural backgrounds to a new environment—for example, immigrants, diasporas, and refugees.²³

Enculturation

Distinct from acculturation, enculturation is not the confrontation of two or more cultures but the adoption of behaviour patterns that belong to the surrounding culture. Enculturation 'references the agentic individual's process of identification with whatever cultural elements of influential others are available to the person'.²⁴ In the process of enculturation, the culture one encounters in everyday life may become the embodiment of one's overall identity. Thus, it can be considered as identification with another culture through one's cultural consciousness. In terms of the enculturation of music, it can be considered as 'the process by which individuals acquire culture-specific knowledge about the structure of the music they are exposed to through everyday experiences.'²⁵

1.3 Research methods

The methodology of this essay uses both qualitative (interviews, observation and discussions on certain concepts) and quantitative (questionnaires) research methods so that each may compensate for the weaknesses of the other. However, the main research method is participant-observation. I attended several lectures that introduced methods in the field- ethnography research, as well as reading the handouts on developing questionnaires, surveys, and interviews. Several researchers have discussed, in detail, the definitions of qualitative and quantitative research, and have also explained when to use which method.²⁶ Specifically, I undertook an extensive literature review, analysing

²³ Ibid, 7.

²⁴ Peter Weinreich, "'Enculturation', not 'Acculturation': Conceptualising and Assessing Identity Processes in Migrant Communities," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 33, no. 2 (2009): 127.

²⁵ Erin E. Hannon and Laurel J. Trainor, "Music Acquisition: Effects of Enculturation and Formal Training on Development, " *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 11, no. 11 (2007): 466-472.

²⁶ Sarah J. Tracy, "Qualitative Quality: Eight "Big-tent" Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research," *Qualitative Inquiry* 16, no. 10 (2010): 837-851.

the methods chosen in various books and reading articles on gamelan and identity to further discussions between these concepts and build on previous research achievements. In addition, I followed the investigation method by interviewing several teachers, students, gamelan performers and residents, asking about their learning and performances or appreciating their experiences as well as their attitude towards gamelan. Meanwhile, I conducted two surveys on both domestic Indonesian students and foreign students, trying to understand their experiences, motivations, learning and performance patterns in order to understand participation in, and the inheritance of, gamelan in the contemporary era. Moreover, during my time in the UK (York), Indonesia (Surakarta) and in China (Ningbo), I observed and participated in gamelan rehearsals and performances. Finally, I adopted a comparative analysis method, where I compared the inheritance status of gamelan and of Yujia *Sayerho*.

1.4 Literature review

Cultural identity

Identity has been widely researched in various disciplines. It is a concept in psychology that has been introduced to the field of cultural studies. An 'identity crisis'²⁷ indicates that human beings experience a crisis of identity during the course of their interactions with the environment they belong to. Marcia²⁸ offers a thorough examination of the identity achievements of adolescents from a psychological perspective. An awareness of identity may begin from the willingness to be classified. In terms of identity in society, Turner et al.²⁹ explores the theory of self-categorisation. Just as human beings classify objects and experiences, the aim of self-categorisation is to enhance similarity within an in-group and to construct the otherness of an out-group. It can be said that an awareness

²⁷ Erik H. Erikson, "The Life cycle: Epigenesis of Identity." in *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: WW Norton. KO, & Hansson 1968), 205-216.

²⁸ James E. Marcia, "Development and Validation of Ego-identity Status," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 3, no. 5 (1966): 551.

²⁹ John C. Turner et al., *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-categorization Theory* (Oxford, UK ; New York, NY, USA: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

of identity is mainly constructed by otherness. According to Stets and Burke³⁰ ‘In contrast, having a particular role identity means acting to fulfill the expectations of the role, coordinating and negotiating interaction with role partners, and manipulating the environment to control the resources for which the role has responsibility [...] People behaved in concert within a group with which they identify.’ It is believed that ‘every individual belongs to numerous groups and, therefore, entertains numerous collective self-images and memories.’³¹ There are various units that can be considered a ‘group’ and a social group is not fixed; hence, identity can also be transformed.

Cultural identity can be considered as a form of ‘collective communicative memory’ and ‘[t]he concretion of identity’³² in which cultural memory is characterised by classifying similarities and otherness. Cultural identity has been a research interest in the fields of cultural studies and the social sciences for a long time. In the 1990s, a conference themed ‘Cultural Identity’ was held by Stuart Hall and other scholars at the Open University. As the pioneer of culture studies, Hall made great contributions to the study of cultural identity. Hall clearly points out that the concept of identity has become a research topic in many disciplines—for instance, in psychoanalysis. He argues that cultural identity should be a target for the future, rather than summary of the established past.³³ The concept is a metabolic process of constructing identity through culture. Cultural identity is not fixed. It is changing along with the society. Hence, we should consider the construction of identity as ‘a process never completed – always “in process”’. ‘Identities are never unified and, in late modern times, increasingly fragmented and fractured; never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices, and positions.’³⁴

In the age of globalisation, the frequency of interaction between people is higher. Hence, the requirement to know ourselves is becoming increasingly significant during

³⁰ Jan E. Stets and Peter J. Burke, "Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory," *Social Psychology Quarterly* (2000): 224-237.

³¹ Assmann and Czaplicka, "Collective Memory," 226.

³² Ibid, 226.

³³ Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'," 22.

³⁴ Ibid, 2-4.

our interactions with people. There are clashes between the construction of cultural identity and cosmopolitanism, in which the latter may give individuals a greater sense of shared citizenship, which is highly valued in contemporary society.³⁵ There are cultural labels that contribute to the construction of cultural identities, such as religion, ancestry, skin colour, language, class, education, profession, skill, family, and so on.³⁶

Identity in music

‘You are what you hear’: this phrase might be a one-sided argument, but it could be appropriate to illustrate how the musical preferences of people can reflect their identity. Music, as one of the most important markers of a person’s life, can be seen as the means of expressing themselves. Our musical preferences are not ‘fantasy’ or ‘daydreams’, but are a real experience of the ‘ideal’ on a cultural basis.³⁷ Frith³⁸ also states that making music is not a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them. Music is like language—it constructs our connections with other people, helping the owners of the culture locate themselves and construct self-awareness. It can be seen as our personal soundtracks. Music can also be seen as a cultural symbol. Musical activities are human activities that have a fundamental function in communication, as well as in the enhancement of common emotion. Music has been learnt and imparted from generation to generation as a survival component for groups. The study of music as a culture, especially in ethnomusicology—which examines topics such as ‘music within a culture, music as culture, and music as a reflection of culture’³⁹—is the study of people, cultural

³⁵ Chris Brown and Kirsten Ainley, *Understanding International Relations* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 54.

³⁶ Adrian Holliday, "Complexity in Cultural Identity," *Language and Intercultural Communication* 10, no. 2 (2010): 165-177.

³⁷ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music* (Harvard University Press, 1998), 67-85.

³⁸ Simon Frith, "Music and Identity," in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1996), 108-127.

³⁹ Alan P. Merriam, "Ethnomusicology Discussion and Definition of the Field," *Ethnomusicology* 4, no. 3 (1960): 107-114.

participants, and cultural phenomena. Bohlman⁴⁰ thoroughly analyses cultural identity in the historical development of ethnomusicology. He states that ‘traditional music and cultural identity lend historical impetus to ethnomusicology because of the ways they combine and interact theoretically with each other’. Peña⁴¹ first conducted research on the identity of the Chicanos in Texas. Ethnomusicologists began focusing on the interactions between music and identity. In order to understand various perspectives and various research conclusions on identity and music, Rajs⁴² demonstrates 17 identity-related articles published in the journal *Ethnomusicology* that analyse the concept, source, origins, classification, and standardisation of identity in research studies on music. As Frith puts it: ‘The issue is not how a particular piece of music or a performance reflects the people, but how it [a particular piece of music or a performance] produces them [people], how it creates and constructs an experience [of people]’.⁴³ If we want to know the musical culture of a group of people, it is not enough to see how a song or a performance reflects their lives, Emphasis, instead, should be put on how people create music and how that music construct their experiences. We cannot know who we are prior to cultural activities; it is only through such practices that we get to know ourselves as groups and individuals. ‘Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers the body, time and sociability, experiences that enable us to place ourselves in imaginary cultural narratives.’⁴⁴

A vast amount of research has been conducted to demonstrate that music plays an important role in the negotiation, construction, and maintenance of cultural identities. It is said that music is closely linked to the construction of identity and a sense of place.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Philip V. Bohlman, "Traditional Music and Cultural Identity: Persistent Paradigm in the History of Ethnomusicology," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 20 (1988): 27.

⁴¹ Manuel Peña, *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working-class Music* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).

⁴² Timoti Rajs, "Reflections on Music and Identity in Ethnomusicology," *Muzikologija* 7 (2007): 17-38.

⁴³ Firth, "Music and Identity," 106.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 124.

⁴⁵ Connell, John and Chris Gibson. "World music: Deterritorializing Place and Identity," *Progress in Human Geography* 28, no. 3 (2004): 342-361.

By performing the national anthem at sporting events, or by singing patriotic songs at concerts, national identity can be enhanced. According to Frith, 'Only music seems capable of creating this sort of spontaneous [...] identity, this kind of personally felt patriotism.' And he also points out that Irish people who live in England maintain their identity, their sense of

'Irishness', by performing Irish folk songs in local pubs.⁴⁶ The amateur Jiangnan sizhu music clubs in Shanghai state their identity by performing their traditional music.⁴⁷ The role of pop music is also considered influential in shaping a shared sense of national awareness,⁴⁸ as well as group or regional identity.⁴⁹ Music merges with everyday life; it functions as mental preparation for work or as an accompaniment to exercise routines. In the field of music therapy, music has also been considered a key factor in establishing and recalling the awareness and identity of patients, and in managing their emotions.^{50 51} The preference of music is not just a bias or a particular taste without reasons, it is a preference that roots in culture, a preference that embodies one's identity. As Frith⁵² indicates that people's musical preferences are never just a matter of feeling. Music appreciation is, by its very nature, a process of musical identification, and the aesthetic response is, implicitly, an ethical agreement. He also

Frith, "Music and Identity," 108-127.

Ray Hudson, "Regions and Place: Music, Identity and Place," *Progress in Human Geography*, 30(5), 626.

Raymond AR MacDonald, David J. Hargreaves, and Dorothy Miell, ed., *Musical Identities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford: Berg, 1994), 1-27.

⁴⁶ Simon Frith, "Towards an Aesthetic of Popular Music," in *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception*, ed. Richard Leppert and Susan McClary (Cambridge University Press, 1989), 133.

⁴⁷ J. Lawrence Witzleben, "Jiangnan Sizhu Music Clubs in Shanghai: Context, Concept and Identity," *Ethnomusicology* 31, no. 2 (1987): 253-255.

⁴⁸ Roy Shuker, "New Zealand Popular Music, Government Policy, and Cultural Identity," *Popular Music* 27, no. 02 (2008): 271-287.

⁴⁹ Tim Brace, "Popular Music in Contemporary Beijing: Modernism and Cultural Identity," *Asian Music* 22, no. 2 (1991): 52.

⁵⁰ Wendy L Magee and Jane W Davidson, "The Effect of Music Therapy on Mood States in Neurological Patients: A Pilot Study," *Journal of Music Therapy* 39, no1 (2002): 23.

⁵¹ Tia DeNora, *Music In Everyday Life* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 16.

⁵² Frith, "Performing Rites", 40-63.

mentions that different types of musical activities may produce different kinds of musical identities, but how the music works to form an identity is the same. Different culture constructs different identity, and the way in which music constructs identity helps one define 'self' as culturally distinct from the 'other'. Music constructs our sense of identity through the direct experiences it offers of the body, time and sociability, experiences that enable us to place ourselves in imaginative cultural narratives. Frith's arguments for music as constructing identity also confirm Hall's opinions. Firstly, it proves Hall's belief that identity is mobile: a process, not a thing; a 'becoming', not a 'being'. Secondly, it shows that our experience of music—of music-making and music listening—is best understood as an experience of a self-in-process. Music, like identity, is both performance and a story, and describes the social in the individual and the individual in the social, the mind in the body and the body in the mind.⁵³ Frith also considers identity as an experiential process that is similar to the grasp of music. He explores the significance of music in the construction of identity in which 'it(music) offers, so intensely, a sense of both self and others, of the subjective in the collective', quoting Slobin's argument on the significance of musical activity in constructing identity in which one can protruding and resolving the 'self' simultaneously.⁵⁴

Along with the construction of 'self', the process of musical identification helps one to find 'us'. In other words, people who share a common taste in music find congenial companionships and friendships within those groups. This demonstrates how music can be an important marker of identity, as people are more likely to make friends with people who share the same taste in music.⁵⁵

Music constructs identity by offering inherited culture. Frith⁵⁶ suggests that the origin of African tribal music was their social life and activities; thus, their music is

⁵³ Ibid, 75.

⁵⁴ Firth, "Music and Identity," 110

⁵⁵ Mark Tarrant, Adrian C North, and David J Hargreaves, Youth Identity and Music." In *Musical Identities*, edited by MacDonald, Raymond AR, David J. Hargreaves, and Dorothy Miell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 134-150.

⁵⁶ Firth, "Music and Identity," 108-127.

representative of ritualised indoor life or is an embodiment of reality. In the book *Negotiating Caribbean Identities*, Hall⁵⁷ mentions the significance of Reggae music in constructing the African identity of the Caribbean. He points out that it was not until the 1970s that the black identity of the Caribbean was recognised by Jamaicans. Reggae music, as the profound spiritual music of Africa, has retained connections to ancient traditions such as African drumming and other music genres. According to Hall, 'Raggae [sic] music and Rastafarianism not only provided a kind of black consciousness and identification for people in Jamaica but it saved the second generation of young black people in British society.'⁵⁸ Hall also indicates how identity lies in people's historical experiences, cultural traditions and even their long lost language. 'Identity is not in the past to be found but in the future to be constructed.'⁵⁹ People may obtain an awareness of themselves as well as their culture via collective cultural activities and the construction of identity through music indicates a profound cultural meaning. Ruud also demonstrates the cultural meaning of music: 'Music is a system of signs, a cultural organization of sounds we have to assimilate in order to catch the meaning, a meaning which is tied to the perception of a dual code: of the internal play of signs in music and to the references which link sounds to social and cultural entities, or to private life-worlds'.⁶⁰

Gamelan and identity

Since Indonesia has been colonized by several countries in history, the impact of 'cultural others' has largely influence the presentation of Indonesian culture. Sumarsam⁶¹ considers the development process of gamelan as the encounter of various culture. While western scholars and composers used to and are still making great contributions to gamelan music, it is easier for people around the world to experience

⁵⁷ Hall, *Caribbean Identities*, 13-14.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 6.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 14.

⁶⁰ Ruud, "Music and identity," 11.

⁶¹ Sumarsam, *Javanese Gamelan and the West*, Vol. 3 (University Rochester Press, 2013), 126.

the essence of this traditional Asian music. As one of the most historical and representative traditional forms of music in Indonesia, gamelan has long aroused the interest of Western scholars. Theoretical studies conducted by Western scholars on gamelan are considered more scientific than those of Indonesian scholars. Their study on gamelan can be classified into the following: first of all, basic musical analysis and theories of gamelan. Most studies introduce the evolution of gamelan instruments, the tuning system, notation, composition and social aspects of gamelan in Javanese society. Sutton⁶² analyzes the various performing styles of gamelan, exploring the flexibility and aesthetic significance of contents and sounds. By looking through the tolerance of Javanese towards variations of gamelan, he states that the flexibility in music can be considered as a reflection of Javanese cultural value and aesthetics, harmony and steadiness. Sorrell⁶³ details the fundamental musical language of gamelan, including the setting and the classification of instruments, the rudiments of *karawitan* and so on. Lindsay⁶⁴ compares the texture of gamelan with that of Western classical music, demonstrating that the main characteristic of gamelan's texture is that it is overlapping and interlocking—i.e. polyphonic rather than monophonic. Besides, she also indicates the uniqueness of gamelan music is that it is music not performed for a mass audience but for musicians themselves⁶⁵. Brinner⁶⁶ explores the question 'how do they do and what do they do?' by analysing the basic theories of gamelan, musical pieces, musical competence, and the interaction between the music and Javanese society. Spiller⁶⁷ describes the historical environment of gamelan in Indonesian society and gamelan traditions in Java and Bali, and analyses the identity and authenticity of Sundanese

⁶² R. Anderson Sutton, *Variation in Javanese Gamelan Music: Dynamics of a Steady State* (Northern Illinois University Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, 1993), 195.

⁶³ Neil Sorrell and Martin Fellows Hatch, *A Guide to the Gamelan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Society for Asian Music, 2000), 21.

⁶⁴ Jennifer Lindsay, *Javanese Gamelan: Traditional Orchestra of Indonesia*, 2nd ed, Images of Asia (Singapore, etc.: O.U.P., 1992), 32

⁶⁵ Lindsay, *Javanese Gamelan*, 40.

⁶⁶ Benjamin Brinner, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction* (Chicago, Ill. ; London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1.

⁶⁷ Henry Spiller, *Focus : Gamelan Music of Indonesia*, 2nd ed. Focus on World Music (New York ; London: Routledge, 2008), 44.

dance music. He also examines interactions between diverse music genres and the development of traditional music in a contemporary context. Most research studies include cultural introspection that goes above and beyond the basic introduction to the music form. This can also be considered an examination of Javanese identity as constructed by gamelan.

In addition, there are several perspectives regarding the aesthetic analysis of gamelan. Sutton⁶⁸ describes the emotional language in gamelan as ‘refined’, ‘smooth’ and ‘subtle’, which could be considered a reflection of the Javanese personality and social norms. Walton⁶⁹ explores the interaction between Javanese music and mystical traditions, analysing the aesthetic concept of ‘*rasa*’ within the Javanese spiritual context, in gamelan as well as in the performance of the *pesindhèn*. Weiss⁷⁰ traces the aesthetic and gender issues in Javanese music and Central Javanese society. She explores the role of women in music-making in the past and in the present, stating that female performers in the past were more emotional, and are more restrained in performance at present. There are also research studies on the cultural exportation of gamelan, and the interaction and communication between gamelan and the outside world.⁷¹ This is especially true in terms of cross-cultural music education in the United State⁷² and in

⁶⁸ R. Anderson Sutton, "Humor, Mischief, and Aesthetics in Javanese Gamelan Music," *Journal of Musicology-Michigan*- 15 (1997): 392.

⁶⁹ Susan Pratt Walton, "Aesthetic and Spiritual Correlations in Javanese Gamelan Music," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 65, no. 1 (2007): 31-41.

⁷⁰ Sarah Weiss, *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Volume 237 : Listening to an Earlier Java* (Leiden, NLD: Brill, 2010), accessed December 31, 2015. ProQuest ebrary.

⁷¹ Judith Becker, "One Perspective on Gamelan in America," *Asian Music* 15, no. 1 (1983): 82-89.

Lete E. Miller and Fredric Lieberman, "Lou Harrison and the American Gamelan," *American Music* (1999): 146-178.

R. Anderson Sutton, "Gamelan Encounters with Western Music in Indonesia: Hybridity/Hybridism," *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 22, no. 2 (2010): 180-197.

⁷² Elizabeth May and Mantle Hood, "Javanese Music for American Children," *Music Educators Journal* 48, no. 5 (1962): 38-41.

Hardja Susilo, *Enculturation and Cross-Cultural Experiences in Teaching Indonesian Gamelan* (Wellington: Asian Studies Institute, Victoria University of Wellington, 2005), 43-52.

Australia⁷³. There have also been studies on the impact of the West on the development of gamelan⁷⁴ and gamelan as mental therapy⁷⁵.

It is a common phenomenon that ethnomusicologists who study ‘others’ cultures’ will construct their understanding of specific music by exposing themselves to new living and cultural environments as observers, conducting observations and summarising the environment, music activities and objects (i.e. initiators, participators, and creators of the music). By analysing different gamelan styles in various regions, Sutton⁷⁶ demonstrates that it is cultural policy and mass communication that endows Javanese (especially Solonese) gamelan to take the lead in the construction of regional identity. The unique characteristics of gamelan attracts numerous western scholars to the archipelago. Being considered as one of the most representative oriental musics, the spread of gamelan can also demonstrate the significance of music as a means of reinforcing cultural status and constructing cultural identity. This is especially true in terms of the United States. As a multicultural country, the United States has made significant contributions to focusing on, and transmitting, gamelan worldwide. The first university gamelan performance programme was founded in 1958 at UCLA by Mantle Hood, who established the scholastic practice of ethnomusicology and invited Indonesians to teach classes. Hood wanted his students to be ‘bi-musical’⁷⁷, with the ability to understand foreign music by learning to perform it. This teaching system was powerful enough for many of his students to start gamelan ensembles of their own. Nowadays, there are more than 100 universities in the United States that have established gamelan communities or ensembles. Successful gamelan research studies in

⁷³ Gary Watson and Peter Dunbar-Hall, "Ethnicity, Identity and Gamelan Music: A Contrastive Study of Balinese Music Practice in Sydney," *Asia-Pacific Journal for Arts Education* 1, no. 1 (2002): 51-59.

Aline Scott-Maxwell, "Creating Indonesia in Australia: Bridges, Communities and Identities through Music," *Musicology Australia* 35, no. 1 (2013): 3-19.

⁷⁴ Judith Becker, "Western Influence in Gamelan Music," *Asian Music* 3, no. 1 (1972): 3-9.

⁷⁵ Maria Mendonça, "Gamelan in Prisons in England and Scotland: Narratives of Transformation and the “Good Vibrations” of Educational Rhetoric," *Ethnomusicology* 54, no. 3 (2010): 369-394.

⁷⁶ R. Anderson Sutton, *Traditions of Gamelan Music in Java: Musical Pluralism and Regional Identity* (CUP Archive, 1991), 208.

⁷⁷ Becker, "One Perspective," 83.

the United States have greatly contributed to the formation of Indonesia's cultural identity. There is now a better understanding of the music in terms of the culture. Brinner⁷⁸ indicates the significance of musical competence and interactions in music-making. The book has two main parts: in Part I, he highlights the significance of an individual's musical competence in the formation of a musical tradition; he also demonstrates the path to obtaining musical competence. In Part II, he demonstrates the interactions that occur during music-making. Brinner follows the concept of bi-musicality. With regard to research studies on the interaction between gamelan and identity, Sutton⁷⁹ focuses on identity formed by gender (female singers) and regional identity.

Numerous research studies have been conducted on gamelan worldwide. It seems that much more emphasis has been placed on gamelan music per se. There is rarely research that discusses the cultural presenters and inheritors of gamelan in order to explore the significance of Javanese gamelan in constructing their identities and the ways in which those constructed identities can promote musical development. However, at every point, it seems that most of the research can be closely connected to interpreting identity through gamelan. In what way has gamelan become an icon of Indonesia, now its most representative form of music? In what way does it promote the recognition of residents? These questions may be answered through deep observation and participation in gamelan activities in a contemporary context.

2 The construction of cultural identity in gamelan inheritance

2.1 Cultural inheritance

Although there is a question of whether music can be regarded as a form of language or not, gamelan in Java, like the ancient Javanese language, expresses emotions and helps create social connections among people; it has been considered the most representative

⁷⁸ Brinner, *Knowing Music*, 133.

⁷⁹ R. Anderson Sutton, "Identity and Individuality in an Ensemble Tradition: The Female Vocalist in Java," in *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, ed. Ellen Koskoff (University of Illinois Press, 1989), 30-111.

icon of Java or Indonesia. Java island is divided into three parts: West Java, Central Java and East Java. In Central Java, Surakarta and Yogyakarta are the political and cultural centres where most musical activities took places in. The city that I visited and I will discuss is Surakarta(Solo). Before making any further statements on the construction of cultural identity, it is necessary to know the history of gamelan, especially the correlation between gamelan practice and Javanese people that lives in Surakarta.

Java is considered the birthplace of gamelan because gamelan has long been a music that conduct by the Javanese royal house. In Surakarta city, there are two noblemen's families, and their palaces (Kraton and Istana Mangkunegaran) have been preserved as civic, cultural and recreational centres. These noble families largely contribute to the development of Javanese gamelan, practically and financially.

However, gamelan is never a closed musical culture that only speak for the authentic Javanese culture. One can tell the inclusiveness of gamelan music by looking through its history since the development of gamelan music can be considered as the fusion of various religions, ethnicities, and culture. The most representative aspects are musical function and instruments. Gamelan was first created by Sang Hyang Guru, who was the ruler of the land of Java and resided on top of Mount *Lawu*. The music form was created in the year 167, and it is consisted of five instruments: *kemanak*, *kethuk*, *kenong*, *kendhang* and the *gong*. Gamelan was initially played during religious sacrifices and significant occasions, such as the emperor's public appearances, marches, horse racing and leaving for battle. The instrument was limited to percussion. As it flourished for more than 1,000 years, the music style of gamelan was consistently enriched, and the number and variety of instruments increased. Later, in the 15th century, Islam spread to the Indonesian islands. Before Islam, the culture in Java was profoundly influenced by Hindu and Buddhist philosophy. While Islam made a profound impact on Java, there was a cultural crisis between the old traditions and Islamic culture. Music, as an important part of Javanese culture, was also affected by Islamic music. Certain Islamic music genres and instruments were introduced to the

island. The most representative instrument is the string instrument, rebab. It was one of the most important rhythm instruments in the gamelan ensemble. The power of the Javanese noblemen's families was overwhelming. They attached great importance to the national arts. At that time, many artists in music, dance and drama gathered together to play for the noblemen during different occasions, such as festivals or the birth ceremony of a family member. In the 17th century, the Europeans gradually entered Southeast Asia, and Indonesia became a colony of the Netherlands. Central Java was divided into two cities: Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The two main noblemen's families, as well as families in other cities, developed their own unique style of gamelan. But overall, ancient gamelan in Central Java, as a form of court music, was solemn and magnificent. After years of accumulation and interaction, there are now many styles of gamelan. Gamelan instruments are mainly made of bronze (or iron), bamboo and wood. That is why gamelan enjoys a reputation as the symphony of bronze and bamboo. Most gamelan instruments are made from bronze. The hammers used to strike the instruments have different shapes and are made from different materials—for example, mallets, sharp hammers or round hammers, which differ in size and timber. As for the form's musical characteristics, *gendhing* (gamelan music) is polyphonus. Musical structures may vary according to different layers, which are based on the different functions of instruments—for example, the larger *gong* plays at a relatively slow pace, usually at the end of each musical sentence, to signal other instruments, while the higher pitched instruments play a much faster melody to create a more melodic and fluent musical texture. As for scale, all gamelan music has two basic intervallic structures, namely: the five-tone *slendro* and the seven-toned *pelog*. The Javanese people believe that the musical scale has sexual symbolism: *slendro* represents the male—solemn and noble, full of joyous atmosphere—while *pelog* represents the female, with soft colours. *Gendhing* can be classified by moods: *gendhing gecul* (funny and mischievous); *gendhing gobyog* (cheerful and humorous); and *gendhing tlutur* (sad and pitiful).⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Sorrell and Hatch, *A Guide*, 21.

There are also certain representative musical characters that are worth mentioning, details of which are given below.

Today's gamelan becomes the embodiment of culture fusion. Hence, playing gamelan together is not just as a simple activity but a way to reinforce collective memory and cultural consciousness among various people. Geertz considers culture as a symbol, a dynamic 'fabric of meaning'⁸¹ In knowing the symbolic cultural system of our own community, we can enhance mutual understanding and cultural awareness. 'Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun'.⁸² It is this 'web of culture' that people who live as a group share. A culture hence embodies symbolic meaning, in which all social members speak the same language, share the same customs and behave in a similar manner. The development of human culture is a historical process full of constant teaching and learning using various objects—for example, clothes, food, music, value, beliefs, architecture and so on—through which people construct their collective cultural identity. Culture per se is constantly developing, as is cultural identity. The inheritance of culture is not a final possession, but a practice that needs to be renewed and passed on. The continuation of culture hence depends on how well imitation and education is conducted from generation to generation. On the one hand, cultural identity is the premise of cultural inheritance. Culture will be put into practice through the choice and recognition of the social group, and only then inherited. On the other hand, cultural inheritance is the process of constructing cultural identity. Every nation has its unique culture, and each culture is preserved and inherited because it has been passed down by the former generation. Both cultural identity and cultural inheritance cannot make sense without the inheritors. In terms of gamelan, the music is a significant part of Javanese cultural 'meaning', and it is the people that play significant parts in the construction of such cultural 'meaning' and cultural identity.

⁸¹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected essays* (The Perseus Books Group, 1973), 145.

⁸² Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 5.

In order to know the inheritance of gamelan and its construction of cultural identity, the first question would be: in what way can successful cultural inheritance construct one's cultural identity? Tomlinson defines cultural identity as 'self and communal definitions based around specific, usually politically inflected, differentiations: gender, sexuality, class, religion, race and ethnicity, nationality'.⁸³ Cultural identity refers to the recognition, acceptance and conscious practice of that culture, and is based on individual identity and group identity. Cultural inheritance is constructed through an individual's identity.

First, cultural inheritance is the transmission of information from generation to generation. Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman⁸⁴ remark that cultural inheritance makes individuals in a cultural environment recognise themselves in history. In cultural inheritance, the individual finds similar people according to that culture, chooses their group similar to them, and integrates into that group, and they seek 'emotional and psychological convergence for the individual and others, groups or the imitated', looking for 'a familiar feeling for itself, a sense that knows the personal goals in the future, and an inner confidence of expected recognition obtained from the trusted people'; this then determines self characteristics and identity.⁸⁵ Second, cultural inheritance establishes the individual's social status. The recognition of an individual identity depends on a sense of intercommunity with others in the cultural environment. The recognition of an individual identity allows people to determine their group type, and their individual status within the group is also based on relations with other cultural insiders. Third, inheritance offers thoughts and ideas to the individual. Human thought is not born without any foundation, but is always formed through cognition, experiences and feelings, especially in terms of existing cultural thoughts. Cultural inheritance provides the social group with the same cultural symbols, the same cultural idea, the

⁸³ John Tomlinson, "Globalization and Cultural Identity," *The Global Transformations Reader 2* (2003): 272.

⁸⁴ Luca Cavalli-Sforza and Marcus W. Feldman, "Models for Cultural Inheritance I. Group Mean and within Group Variation," *Theoretical Population Biology* 4, no. 1 (1973): 42-55.

⁸⁵ Cui Xinjian 崔新建, "Wenhua rentong jiqi genyuan" 文化认同及其根源 [Cultural Identity and Its Origin], *Journal of Beijing Normal University 北京师范大学学报: 社会科学版* 4 (2004): 102-104.

same conventional thought processes, and behaviours. Individuals establish their ideas, value pursuits and ideal faith based on that culture, and thus confirm self-value. When one—immersed in a culture—determines self-identity and status and builds an ideological system according to that culture, they will trust their social group, recognise and accept the group culture, and then guide their lives according to the common cultural idea, thinking mode and behaviour standards of the group. In this sense, cultural inheritance is completed through constructing an individual identity and constructing a collective identity. It should be mentioned that there is no consensual definition of a ‘collective identity’. Discussions of the concept invariably suggest that its essence resides in a shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ anchored in real or imagined shared attributes and experiences among those who comprise the collective and in relation or contrast to one or more actual or imagined sets of ‘others’.

The second question is: how can the construction of cultural identity benefit from active cultural inheritance? The significance of cultural inheritance is to pass down the essence of a culture of a social group from generation to generation. This process inherits the predecessors’ culture and transfers this culture to the later generations, the ultimate goal of which is the latter function. Cultural inheritance relies on the subject of inheritance—the transmitter and the receiver. The construction of a subject in cultural identity plays a decisive role in cultural inheritance. First, cultural identity needs cultural ‘self-awareness’. Cultural identity is based on the premise that an individual recognises the culture of their social group, that they fully understand and are familiar with the origin, formation process and characteristics of the culture within this ethnic group. As the cultural individual grows up in a particular cultural atmosphere, they ‘inherit’ the existing culture through ‘cultural inheritance’, and form value orientations, outlooks and ways of thinking that correspond to the existing culture. Second, cultural identity produces cultural ‘confidence’. Cultural confidence is the individual or group’s affirmation of the value of their culture and firm belief in their cultural vitality. Cultural confidence is the positive attitude towards national culture. Third, cultural identity forms cultural ‘consciousness’. Cultural identity is manifested in the conscious practice

of self-culture. Cultural confidence forms through cultural cognition and confirmation, and the culture will infiltrate the group's life practices in various forms, determining outlook, values and aesthetic views, so that individuals inherit their culture through subconscious processes. Culture cannot be inherited without cultural self-knowledge or it is hard to inherit without cultural confidence. It will also lack vitality without cultural self-consciousness. Cultural identity determines cultural inheritance from three dimensions.

Based on the above theory, this dissertation will further explore the relationship between cultural identity and cultural inheritance, especially in terms of two aspects: first, how folk inheritance and the school and university education of gamelan may construct the cultural identities of both local and foreign people; and second, how the construction of cultural identity motivates the effective inheritance of gamelan. Gamelan inheritance is hard to classify and does not require any particular focus or attention (as gamelan activities are everywhere and a part of daily life). Musical education in schools or universities, on the other hand, is much more explicit and targeted. I have therefore divided the construction of gamelan cultural identity into implicit and explicit.

2.1.1 Implicit cultural identity constructed through folk inheritance

Aristotle⁸⁶ explores the 'goal of action' in which he considers all human activities are goal-directed, but due to different natures and priorities, their purpose is hard to perceive and is characterised by either implicit characteristics or explicit characteristics. Cultural inheritance is a process of education of culture, and its purpose is either explicit or implicit depending on different teaching patterns and educational environments. Since most of the teachings happen in the field, the original place of the culture, the learners who live in the cultural and natural environment absorb their culture unconsciously, and the construction of cultural identity might also be spontaneous. Hence, it is the unawareness that gives their inheritance a character of implicitness. The cultural identity of gamelan among local residents is constructed mostly through daily practice. Individual identity can be constructed through the traditional master-and-apprentice teaching mode, while collective identity in gamelan is constructed through various activities. People have a sense of identity through folk musical practices. With regard to school education, the construction of identity through gamelan seems to be more explicit, as they are the main inheritors of gamelan and have been well trained not only in musical practices but also in the accompanying doctrines. In Central Java, gamelan (as the main content in music education) constructs cultural identity through not only the content of the music but also through a comprehensive knowledge of culture and shared values.

2.1.1.1. Individuals' cultural identities constructed in the traditional master-and-apprentice pattern and within the family

Identity through various social roles—such as roles in a family, or as teachers, apprentices, musicians, government workers, retailers, and so on—indicates the positions one can occupy within the society of a specific culture. Social boundaries are set, differentiating 'us' from 'them' socially and culturally. Meanwhile, identity is achievable only due to subjects. People choose to be who they are. It is said that 'there

⁸⁶ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans C.C.W. Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), xi.

was a strong tendency for the music profession to run in families'.⁸⁷ The family, as an intimate group, is one of the basic categories within society and maintains the continuity of that society, as well as acting as the basic unit of organisation in terms of cultural inheritance. The family is the cultural school, as it embodies concentrated and sometimes widespread interpersonal relationships.⁸⁸ According to the survey I conducted for this study, in today's Indonesian society, family inheritance remains the main way in which to inherit gamelan. Members learn through edification, influenced by their grandfather, grandmother, parents and gamelan masters, living in an environment where gamelan is performed (such as during family celebrations of festivals, religious rites, weddings and funerals).

Family inheritance, as a kind of cultural inheritance pattern, is unique in that the elders mainly teach through personal example as well as through verbal instruction, while the younger member of the family or the pupil is influenced by what they see, hear and unconsciously accumulate over a long period of time. Due to the long-term influence of their family's and relatives' musical culture, gamelan learners' musical skills make great progress and development within a short period of time. The cultural spirit of their elders also becomes a kind of cultural self-consciousness, which is thus naturally converted into a national music inheritance.

Through preliminary investigations and interviews, I learnt that, due to the stable social structure of Indonesia and because of the variability of gamelan, gamelan inheritance still resides within the family and between master and apprentice even today. According to the 14 Indonesian students who answered the survey, the parents or relatives of eight students are musicians or can play gamelan instruments. The students have been influenced by these elders and taught to cherish their musical culture. With regard to folk inheritance of gamelan, the inheritance within the family or between master and apprentice is mainly through one-to-one and face-to-face teaching. This

⁸⁷ Richard Pickvance, *A Gamelan Manual: A Player's Guide to the Central Javanese Gamelan* (London: Jaman Mas Books, 2005), 16.

⁸⁸ Xu Liangguang and Xue Gang 许烺光, 薛刚, *Zhongzu, zhongxing, julebu* 宗族, 种姓, 俱乐部 [Clansman, Caste, Club] (Huaxia Publication, 1990), 75.

inheritance mode focuses on the inheritance of musical skills by individual members rather than by a group, contributing to individual musical characters. The master-and-apprentice model is a type of folk inheritance model with non-social institutional constraints. Subjective factors, such as the content of the inheritance, forms, means, methods, timing and location, are entirely autonomous. However, the master and apprentice relationship in the inheritance of gamelan follows formal rites, namely the ceremony for accepting students. Witnessed by the village chief, clan leader or reputable seniors in the ethnic group, the apprentice worships the master on bended knees. Once such a relationship is established, it could be a relationship similar to the blood relationship. The master has an obligation to teach the gamelan art, skill and culture to the apprentice in a systematic manner, while the apprentice must learn gamelan according to the master's arrangement and pass it down. The traditional relationship between master and apprentice is the most important way in which gamelan is inherited in folk culture.

As for the cultural impact on individuals, firstly, in terms of the imparter, the elderly members or the masters may have a deep and personal understanding of gamelan on top of their long-term experience. They have a strong will and a high sense of national music cultural, and are always responsible for the inherited national musical culture. For them, teaching gamelan skills has become a conscious activity. Their high degree of sensitivity to the musical form will potentially be transferred to their pupils. Secondly, in terms of the receivers, as cultural individuals, they grow in a specific cultural atmosphere. They inherit an existing culture from an elderly member or master as 'culture inheritors'. A spiritual bond is formed in the close relationship with the imparter, which produces a sense of identity and belonging to their ethnic groups. For example, Tajfel⁸⁹ indicates that individual identity may be constructed through the cognition of identity as a member of a social group. A connection between individuals and others inside the community may shape the individual's awareness of 'self' and

⁸⁹ Henri. Tajfel, *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic Press [for] European Association of Experimental Social Psychology, 1978), 16.

other forms of ideological awareness, such as value, morality, aesthetics and so on. In gamelan, due to the close relationship between trainee and imparter, the students will naturally have a sense of trust, worship and belonging towards the imparter, as well as absorb their master's sense of musical appreciation. In the questionnaire, it was found that more than 70 per cent of students initially learn gamelan from their family members. Almost all the students indicated that they would do gamelan-related work in the future, either as professionals or in a part-time job.

Thirdly, in terms of the inheritance process, the construction of one's cultural identity may be synonymous with the development of one's musical competence. Brinner⁹⁰ states that the basic process of learning to make gamelan music include several processes, 'repetition, feedback, imitation, inference, and interpretation'. Becker⁹¹ highlight musical competence in the gradual comprehension of the essence of gamelan. She⁹² divides musical training into stages: firstly, 'the slow process of absorption of the tradition that begins in earliest childhood'; secondly, the imitating and learning process in formulas and 'realizing pieces'; and thirdly, 'internali[sing] the underlying forms of [...]formulas and their proper places within a composition [...] to create new patterns while conforming to the restrictions of contour, pitch level, length, pattern placement, and style'. From knowing, practising, and imitating to controlling (or operating), an individual's self-awareness and comprehension of the music deepens in each stage. These stages, with the additional awareness and practice of collective corporation⁹³, are processes of a construction of one's cultural identity via music.

However, it seems that the above-mentioned different levels of competence focus more on expanding capability in musical practice and musical theories, rather than on the realisation of cultural meaning. Cultural identity is based on, and deepens with, an enhancement of gamelan competence and comprehension of its musical philosophy. It can also be divided into several stages. The first stage is 'entering'—i.e. learning the

⁹⁰ Brinner, *Knowing Music*, 117.

⁹¹ Judith Becker, *Traditional Music in Modern Java: Gamelan in a Changing Society* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1980), .

⁹² Becker, *Traditional Music*, 20-21.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 23.

basics of the gamelan musical language. It is a process of directly imitating the imparters, in which most gamelan teachers will demonstrate how to make the sounds. The second stage is ‘accumulating’. Through continuous practical exercises on the instruments and learning new pieces, inheritors begin to become aware of musical expressions. The third stage is ‘integrating’, where, through the process of sublimation, the pupil accepts music’s appeal and its national cultural identity. This is also a process of participation, change, and innovation. In these three processes, the imparter will not only teach music skills but also impart their personal experiences and cultural understandings; the responsibility of being cultural presenters can be realised by their apprentices. This more intimate and traditional teaching mode allows the receivers more time to learn from imparters, and they have more time to digest the practical skills and gain a deeper understanding of gamelan cultural meanings.

Besides the enhancement of an individual’s musical competence, cultural identity is also gradually confirmed through various activities in the villages. In villages in Solo, the inheritance of gamelan in folk culture is more a self-conscious action. There are gamelan activities held in the house of relatively rich villagers who possess gamelan instruments, as well as in community workshops. According to Pickvance,⁹⁴ certain villages and communities (*kampung*) will have gamelan instruments. *Kampung* is a region of a city in which people may form a particular community identity. Most of the instrument owners will keep the instruments inside their house; they will move them if there is a performance outside. My friend told me that almost all the villages have their own gamelan community, a specific administrator who manages the instruments (usually an influential local musician) and there will be a formal instrument room to preserve the instruments. The space of each room might vary. The one that I observed in Ngawi village was about 80 square metres and was filled with gamelan instruments. The primary function of the room is to conduct gamelan practices and rehearsals. Hence, such places are considered one of the main places to learn, and be social through, music. Besides, there are also gamelan workshops to fund musicians or amateurs. The

⁹⁴ Pickvance, *Gamelan manual*, 7.

workshops usually take place in a musician's house; apprentices are residents. By giving classes, the presenter may get payment from the apprentices. I participated in a gamelan workshop during my stay in Ngawi village, in order to experience it.



Fig. 1: Ge Wu, "*A Gamelan Class in Ngawi Village*", 2015, photo, Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 2: Ge Wu, "Writing the Notation", 2015, photo, Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

I was invited by one of my Indonesian friends to join a gamelan workshop in his village, Ngawi (one hour away from Solo by bus). The class took place at his teacher's (a local musician's) house. The workshop was organised by my friend. After realising the importance of teaching children and young people gamelan, he hoped to do something meaningful. Hence, he suggested to his teacher that a gamelan teaching class on every weekend be established, and he invited all his friends and neighbours to join the class. At the house, there is a large living room that holds the whole gamelan ensemble. On that evening, the total number of attendees was about 16⁹⁵. Except for two other foreign female students and me, most of the pupils were local young men. My friend's nephew, who is less than 10 years old, is talented and is already skilful at playing gamelan. After sitting down, the teacher brought out a blackboard, chalking the *balungan* (main melody) on one side ("in figure. 2")⁹⁶. I have been told that notation is widely used, no matter whether the class is in the city or in a rural area. As it was the first class for beginners, after teaching how to play the basic musical instruments such

⁹⁵ Wu, Ge. 2015. "A Gamelan Class in Ngawi Village". Photo. Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

⁹⁶ Wu, Ge. 2015. "Writing the Notation". Photo. Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

as the *salon* and *slentem*, the teacher also chalked out Indonesian pitch names, the pitch position of *bonang*, and the acronyms that correspond to each instrument. There was no compulsory fee for the first class; people paid two to three pounds voluntarily at the end, as part of the income would be used to buy food and drinks for everyone. The teacher was humble and kind, always smiling and welcoming us to study. After the class finished, my friend's father, a member of the village cadre, gathered us together and exhorted the local youths to cherish their traditional music. To my surprise, he offered us foreign visitors as a positive example, expressing his desire that the local youth pay more attention to their culture. After the talk, I asked several local students who had never learnt gamelan before how they felt about the class. They all said that they used to have no idea why so many foreigners were interested in gamelan, but now they know—because it is enjoyable to perform the music together. The class finished late at night, but no one was tired; we drove to a roadside stand to have a cup of ginger tea and eat some food. It was more like a social activity than a performance.

Generally speaking, imparters are performers who have abundant stage experience and interpersonal relationships. Frequently, gamelan masters will take their apprentices to all kinds of performances, supervising so that the apprentices can gain the skill and confidence to gradually do the performance by themselves. It is not only musical competence that the imparters teach their apprentices; they also impart their personal life experiences and their comprehension of culture.

2.1.1.2. Enculturation – The construction of collective identity in folk activity

Collectivity, rather than individuality is highlighted in gamelan. Gamelan not only enables social members to gather together but also constructs a musical identity, both individually and collectively, within the community. The traditional family and master-apprentice patterns cultivate one's individual identity in gamelan learning. In terms of creating a collective identity, it must be constructed through collective performance. Brinner⁹⁷ comments that students often reinforce their understanding

⁹⁷ Brinner, *Knowing Music*, 137.

towards the musical essence via practical experiences, because the process of performance acquires a 'rapid cognition processing'. He also suggests that,

The playing of a gamelan group must be smooth and harmonious. The situation must be avoided in which one person tries to show off his expertise to the disadvantage of others. It must be remembered that gamelan playing is a collective activity.⁹⁸

In order to know the students' perspectives on the above points, I conducted a survey by distributing a questionnaire to Indonesian music students in the art institute. When it comes to motivation (i.e. what stimulates students to learn gamelan), all of them indicated that it was the folk gamelan activities they used to participate in. As stated before, musical competence in collective musical activities like gamelan can only be tested and improved by participating in various folk activities. Rajs⁹⁹ indicates that musical performance enables the community to share their cultural commonness. Hence, folk enculturation of gamelan is necessary in musical cultural inheritance, as well as a method to collectively construct cultural identity.

Enculturation refers to individual or group inheritance and the continuity of the traditions of a specific culture within that same culture. Enculturation is embodied in the social environment, and people gain the knowledge and ability to adapt to the society through various social activities in this living environment. People do not need to learn it deliberately, but obtain it naturally from the surrounding environment, a process that is also referred to as assimilation through inclusion. In some observation processes, individuals are required to observe and imitate certain behaviours. Therefore, enculturation and socialisation are closely linked. In music, Stevens¹⁰⁰ indicates that listeners are enculturated by particular musical regularities in particular musical environment, forming a particular musical cognition. Gamelan musical culture is derived from the folk society that lives within the civil society, and its inheritance is also transmitted through the various folk activities related to it.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 293.

⁹⁹ Rajs, "Music and Identity," 35.

¹⁰⁰ Catherine J. Stevens, "Music perception and cognition: A review of recent cross - cultural research," *Topics in cognitive science* 4, no. 4 (2012): 655.

Barth considers ethnic groups as ‘culture-bearing units’. He demonstrates that, The classification of persons and local groups as members of an ethnic group must depend on their exhibiting the particular traits of the culture [...] It must include cultures in the past which would clearly be excluded in the present because of differences in form—differences of precisely the kind that are diagnostic in synchronic differentiation of ethnic units.¹⁰¹

Hence, an ethnic group can be considered a community that has its own historical and cultural traditions, and is a stable social community with a common language, religion, customs and habits, values and mental states. What sustains the ethnic group is a common culture, including the language, religion, customs and practices, values and mental states. Therefore, culture is the bond that maintains the existence and development of ethnic groups, and customs include the language, beliefs and values, thought processes and other cultural elements that manifest in the collective memory of the ethnic group. Folk tradition, as a kind of cultural pattern, is formed by traditional cultural accumulation, and is preserved by social groups as a stable practice with a fixed value. Solidified cultural achievements help when people must adapt to nature; it means that people do not have to start from scratch each time, which is the basis of human progress. Customs need an environment, especially a collective living space to facilitate learning and inheritance. For groups, cultural identity and inheritance requires collective memory, and the folk custom ceremony itself plays an important role in forming collective memory and keeping the community identity. Connerton¹⁰² mentions in *How Societies Remember* that how much we gain from the experience at present is largely dependent on our understanding of the past. Retrospective knowledge about the past is more or less transferred and maintained during collective ceremonial practices. In the book, he stresses the significance of ceremony (and the people who participate in the ceremony) in creating collective memories. He also argues that ritual ceremonies have

¹⁰¹ Fredrik Barth, *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference* (Waveland Press, 1998), 11-12.

¹⁰² Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, trans. Naribirige (Shanghai People Press, 2000), 4.

strong transitivity and ethnic identity. The group can remember collective identity by participating in ritual ceremonies, and the physical practice of the ritual ceremony is a kind of bodily practice that combines habits and cognitions. The regular exercises can help form habit, so that the group's collective memory is persuasive and persistent. Inheritance of gamelan in folk culture mainly exists in birth ceremonies, important birthday celebrations, festival celebrations, wedding ceremonies and the funeral ceremony of the Javanese; thus, it exists in a ritualised form in everyday life. Gamelan has different significance in different ceremonies, with different music styles and different performance rules. Lindsay also states,

Gamelan playing is not a soloist's art [...] As with Javanese society, the mark of being a good musician is being able to fit in integrally, indispensably, and unobtrusively with one's neighbours.¹⁰³

In addition, the Western image of a 'concert tradition' is 'foreign to the Javanese' because gamelan is a music of participation rather than appreciation; foreigners might feel gamelan monotonous if they have no conception of the content¹⁰⁴. The 'immediate playability' and the interaction between gamelan and the audience enables local residents to participate easily. Gamelan goes beyond a musical activity, it becomes a social activity of a certain society that reinforce social relations among individuals.

The successful development of traditional music requires not only a mass base but also a stable social and cultural environment created by the people. In the countryside of Surakarta, close relationships can be found between neighbours, as many families have lived there for generations and most people get married within the village, the neighbouring village or the county. Therefore, in a relatively fixed living environment and society, traditional culture can be easily accumulated once it is formed, and produces a strong identity in the familiar ethnic group. Moreover, Indonesia's overall production levels are relatively low; hence, productive relations are relatively stable. This may be a negative for economic development, but it lowers the level of

¹⁰³ Lindsay, *Javanese Gamelan*, 38-39

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

modernisation, leaving more space for traditional music to reinforce its status. People make social contact through various folk activities. Among the various kinds of folk customs, the Indonesians use gamelan in various activities—for example, to express their appreciation of the gods, to pray for blessings, worship ancestors and celebrate birth or weddings and so on. I have witnessed various traditional folk activities in which gamelan plays not a leading, but definitely an indispensable role. During my one month in Surakarta, I was lucky enough to participate in various gamelan-related activities, such as a traditional Javanese wedding, a graduation ceremony, classes and other performances. In most situations, gamelan was neither considered ‘high culture’ nor was it seen as mysterious and detached. In today’s Javanese society, gamelan is more like main entertainment for the family and the individual in their daily lives. As one of my interviewees, Prof. Hartana states, ‘people are glad to talk about gamelan no matter they can play the instruments or not. They express themselves through the music.’¹⁰⁵ Human beings are keepers and creators of culture, and their interests and participation keeps fertilising music. In the next section, based on the activities I saw and the related survey, I will demonstrate the inheritance of gamelan in folk activities in modern Javanese society, exploring how people make their music sound.

2.1.1.3 Let the music speak – Gamelan in the field

Every city has its own temperament. Life in Solo is entirely different from that of Jakarta. In Solo, ‘time’ seems to be a meaningless word. One who walks on the street in a rush may get people’s attention and be easily identified as a non-native, as everyone here is easy-going (except when they ride motorcycles). As the musical and cultural centre of Indonesia, the gentle pace of life in Solo is not only what makes the city more attractive, but is also the roots of its flourishing musical culture. When we were strolling through lanes in the residential area, people were always seen leisurely sitting in their courtyards or sitting on the ground with the door open. A mother held a baby and the husband leant on the gate with a *kendhang* in his arms, playing the *kendhang* slowly

¹⁰⁵ Imam Santosa (professor of ethnomusicology, ISI), interview with the author, February 19 2015, Surakarta.

while they were talking, patting it faster in a lively manner when they stopped talking or felt cheerful. It was easy to feel their emotion conveyed through their music. Music in Solo, like water and food, is an essential element of people's daily lives.

Campursari in a Javanese wedding

I was invited to join a traditional Javanese wedding when my local friend's father received an invitation. This was an excellent chance for me to witness authentic traditions. Weddings, especially to the Javanese, are not only considered an establishment of a relationship or the witnessing of a marriage, but are seen as a ceremony that contains more social and ritual significance. Hence, there are rules and traditions that need to be abided by. The Javanese believe that certain activities should only be conducted on an auspicious day—for instance, the building of a house, so that the house will be safe when occupied and will bring luck and happiness for its occupants. In terms of the wedding date, it must be chosen carefully and fall on certain auspicious days in order for the couple to live a happy, healthy, safe and prosperous life. Once the time and date of the wedding are decided, the schedule for the other wedding rituals and ceremonies is matched to that date and time. The couple wears traditional clothes and the bride wears traditional make-up with a unique *gelungan* (hairdo). In the wedding I attended, the couple was treated like royalty on the day, being greeted by all the guests. As a traditional rule, the party took place in the house of the bride's parents, who were supposed to organise the marriage ceremony. Hellman remarks on the cultural meaning of a Javanese wedding, stating that it 'forms a sense of essential cultural nationhood' and acts 'as the controlling and ordering force of local cultures'.¹⁰⁶

On 8th March 2015, we four arrived at Ngawi village after a one-hour's bus ride from Solo. There was still more than an hour drive from the station to my friend's home. The bus station was small and crowded. We waited nearly two hours until it was dark, when his friends arrived with their motorbikes. The next day, we reached the wedding

¹⁰⁶ Jörgen Hellman, "The use of 'cultures' in official representations of Indonesia: The fiftieth anniversary of independence," *Indonesia and the Malay world* 26, no. 74 (1998): 10.

site in the afternoon. The whole ceremony lasted for about two hours. The wedding ceremony was busy with several aspects to it, but organised thanks to the experience of the master of ceremonies (MC), who knew both gamelan and the ceremony processes very well. The MC controls the progress of the whole ceremony in order to avoid any problems. The ensemble were situated beside the seats of guests, performing music from beginning to end. Four *pesindhèn* wore elegant black kebayas and sat beside the ensemble. The performers were from a local community; they make money by performing gamelan on various occasions. The music they played is *campursari*. In the Javanese language, it means ‘mixture of essences’.¹⁰⁷ It refers to a mixed musical genre that combines several musical instruments in gamelan with Western musical instruments such as the guitar and the keyboard. *Campursari* is the fusion of 'pop music, *keroncong* and *dangdut*. This music swiftly accelerated to become popular in Central Java, East Java and Special Region of Yogyakarta’.¹⁰⁸



Fig. 3: Ge Wu, "*Campursari players*", 2015, photo, Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹⁰⁷ Philip Yampolsky, et al. "Indonesia." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed December, 11 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/subscriber/article/grove/music/42890pg3>.

¹⁰⁸ Hari Jumanto and Heru Nugroho, "Komodifikasi dan popularisasi Musik *Campursari*:: Seni tradisi Jawa dalam bayang-bayang kapitalisme global" (PhD diss., Universitas Gadjah Mada, 2007).



Fig. 4: Ge Wu, " *Electronic Piano Players*", 2015, photo, Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

As I was interested in this mixed music performance, I asked my friend if this was a common phenomenon. He said that most of the gamelan performances at wedding ceremonies are *campursari*¹⁰⁹¹¹⁰, because it creates a more lively atmosphere. At the end of the wedding ceremony, when we stepped onto the stage, I asked one of the guitar players how he learnt to play the guitar and could he play the gamelan instruments? I had to invite my friend to translate my question. The guitarist answered in a complacent tone (even though I could not understand him, I could see the complacency on his countenance): ‘This is nothing unusual; I learnt by myself. Electric guitar is not that hard to study. Most of the wedding operators like *campursari*; only playing gamelan is not lively enough’. ‘Have you ever performed at any wedding only using Western instruments?’ I asked. ‘No, I haven’t. I think most of the local parents are traditional. On the one hand, it is a custom that gamelan will play on traditional Javanese weddings, and keyboard and guitar can make the atmosphere more vigorous. On the other hand, it

¹⁰⁹Wu, Ge. 2015. " *Campursari Players*". Photo. Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹¹⁰Wu, Ge. 2015. " *Electronic Piano Players*". Photo. Ngawi, Surakarta, Indonesia.

is quite hard to move a whole gamelan ensemble because the instruments are so heavy, and we do not have so many people to move them. I know there are some Javanese who use records instead of real performances.’

For an observer like me, it is hard to say whether this is a positive trend or a negative trend. From the point of view of musical inheritance, this music is preserved through the wedding ceremony. Performing at a wedding ceremony not only offers a stage for people to share happiness from this music, but it also allows the performers to get money from it (although the payment is not abundant; after all, money is not what they value the most). A wedding supplies people with a stage to perform on; more importantly, they have a relatively fixed time to practise gamelan and socialise with each other. From the point of view of the sponsor, a gamelan ensemble makes the wedding ceremony more authentic. And all attendees, especially the children, experience the musical ambience created by gamelan. This chain effect links all people in the village together through gamelan. They do not even have to realise it; the musical sound is there. Just like the Islamic prayer call that sounds five times a day, gamelan sends a message to people from all walks of life that gamelan retains its speaking rights.

Gamelan in religious sacrifices

As Pickvance¹¹¹ states that music genres in Java have a closer relationship with Javanese language and culture rather than with religion. However, the impact and influence of music in religious activities are significant. Being influenced by animism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam, Java is famous for its syncretism of various religions. At present, most of the residents are Muslim. Gamelan in religious activities is considered a means to express religious identity. For instance, musicians in gamelan and Wayang Kulit may eulogise the story of the holy men, Wali, who brought Islam to Java, and thus use the form as a way of promoting religious philosophy. Using

¹¹¹ Pickvance, Gamelan manual, 7.

this as an analogy, Poplawska¹¹² indicates that performing gamelan in the Catholic churches of Central Java is how Christian believers express their Christian identity. Although the audience at a gamelan performance will rarely behave quietly (as an audience does when listening to Western classical music), people worship their music in their own way, which is particularly emphasised in gamelan performed for ritual activities. As compared to gamelan performed in everyday life, these religious performances are much more solemn and stylised. In religious activities, there are set standards and taboos that should be followed. These include, for example, time, location, process, sacrificial offerings, and etiquette with sacred religious significance. For the Javanese, gamelan is indispensable to the worship of the God and their ancestors, as well as a part of the ceremony and religion. Gamelan in religious sacrifice has a transcendent form and structure rather than a secular one; it is the connection of spirituality and faith, and embodies the Javanese music philosophy. There are particular ceremonies in religious sacrifices that the Javanese must follow. For example, in terms of gamelan etiquette, there are rules players need to abide by: taking off their shoes before the performance, avoiding crossing the instrument and even touching it with one's feet (this is known as 'foot taboo': the foot is seen as the least sacred part of the body because it has contact with the ground, whereas the head is the most sacred as it cannot be easily touched). These behaviours reflect the original animism belief system, and it is believed that the notes exist within the musical instruments and players just release them. Therefore, in certain formal occasions, performers worship their instruments before playing them. For example, when I participated in a small concert in the gamelan classroom in York, it is necessary to present a bouquet to *gong ageng*. In terms of dressing, female performers wear batik with make-up, while male performers wear court dress (*pakaianjawa*). The ceremony allows people to experience a sacred and solemn feeling. These rituals form a system of symbolic meaning, and develop the

¹¹² Marzanna Poplawska, "Christianity and Inculturated Music in Indonesia," *Southeast Review of Asia Studies* 33 (2011): 195.

comprehensive practice memory of ethnic groups through the repeated physical exercises of the performers.

The above experiences are part of gamelan activities in daily Javanese life. There are also gamelan performances that go on during city celebrations and for commercial activities. For the construction of a collective memory, a public space is necessary for people to gather together. These activities provide a chance for people to observe, participate, and share a collective memory, shaping and creating collective identity.

2.1.1.4 Constructing identity in gamelan as an artistic performance

Due to the immense popularity of gamelan overseas, a large number of foreign scholars and visitors are attracted every year to Surakarta to investigate and observe local folk customs. Many local gamelan bands in Surakarta are also invited to participate in the exchange of musical activities that takes place in other areas or even abroad. Gamelan performance has become a critical stage through which Surakarta can spread its traditional culture to the world. As an art form, gamelan stage performance has also become an important channel through which to inherit gamelan musical culture. Through a series of gamelan stage performances, the Javanese showcase their unique national cultural treasures to the outside world, and gamelan has become the most important cultural symbol of Java. People understand the customs and spiritual style of the Javanese through gamelan. At the same time, the large number of foreigners has also helped tourism develop in Java, which has brought significant economic benefits to Surakarta. Gamelan has therefore become the principal cultural and economic product of Surakarta. Gamelan performances not only showcase local folk customs but also promote the development of the local tourist economy, which contributes to more gamelan stage performances and commercialisation. Therefore, it can be said that gamelan is an important carrier of Javanese culture, and has already become the symbol of that culture through mass media, official recommendations, and the local ethnic identity.

As a staged performing art, gamelan not only brings cultural affirmation and validation, but also heartfelt pride to the people in Surakarta. Although the cultural value offered is from outsiders, it is deeply internalised as part of the spiritual system that guides their conscious practice. For people in Surakarta, gamelan is a tool with which to express thoughts, feelings, beliefs and their happy lives within local ethnic groups. When there is contact, conflict and comparisons with different ethnic groups and cultures, gamelan functions as a marker to offer a clear understanding of the national and cultural differences, and allows them to feel a strong sense of belonging to their national culture. Gamelan is regarded as an Indonesian cultural symbol that enhances confidence in the nation and the national pride of residents. Thus, it has further evolved into the contemporary symbol of their collective cultural identity.

According to a local amateur I met during our visit in Ngawi: ‘Now we often perform in, or outside the village, and many foreign visitors come to see us. I feel very proud. Outsiders are interested in what we eat, wear and use, not to mention gamelan. Performance to so many people outside is prestigious. Now I will learn from the master and practise in the public house as long as I have time, and I hope to have more chance to perform on stage and also hope to improve my performance skills, so that I can promote our culture.’ From his words, it is obvious how proud they are as gamelan performers and Javanese people. When on the stage, seeing the admiring eyes and facial expressions of outsiders and hearing their heartfelt sighs and praises, these young Javanese strongly feel the charm and significance of their culture. Therefore, the national cultural identity is enhanced and gamelan’s traditional roots heighten their belief in their ethnic identity and their patriotic emotions.

Cultural identity formed through music has a definite aesthetic significance, and can awaken and inspire cultural consciousness and its reconstruction. Confidence and pride in gamelan exists not only for the performers but also for each listener. When listening to gamelan, the audience’s aesthetic sentiment has be activated in which it will evoke memories through familiar symbols, arousing a consciousness of their cultural awareness and even producing a sense of national pride. As a result, gamelan, which

expresses the aesthetic experience of the Javanese, is the basis and bond of their cultural identity. In other words, the artistic practices and expressions of gamelan, which showcase local aesthetic experiences, represent and arouse a collective identity.

For most of the Javanese, the economic benefits brought by gamelan allow them to fully realise the modern value of their traditional culture. I asked several people in Surakarta and most of them appreciated the increase in economic benefits that foreign visitors brought. Knowing that gamelan performance is one of the most important cultural experiences for tourists and foreign students, the Indonesian Government has increased their budget for cultural development. As for the Javanese, there are now more platforms for them to perform on various occasions, and performing gamelan financially enhances their living status. Hence, people are becoming increasingly motivated. When I spoke with one villager, he said: ‘Students and teachers in the art institution perform gamelan around the world. It is a positive trend that people from the outside world can hear what we are hearing’. These words show their pride in their music.

Cultural identity is regarded as an important symbol that can give a nation, a tribe and a group a collective soul, and express their common knowledge, opinions and tendencies. Gamelan, as one of the unique cultural symbols of Indonesia, has become the fundamental status symbol that differentiates it from other countries. Individuals living in such a cultural situation accept the status quo through implicit or explicit means—i.e. their cultural identity resides in both their emotions and their consciousness. In my questionnaire, in response to the question of whether one’s family supported them in learning gamelan, 14 respondents answered ‘yes’. It can be said that gamelan has already been internalised by the community and acts as a symbol of cultural identity.

Performance in the art high school – SMKI(School of Performing Arts, Surakarta)



Fig. 5: Ge Wu, "*Pendopo*", 2015, photo, SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 6: Ge Wu, "*Gamelan Teachers*", 2015, photo, SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 7: Ge Wu, "A Professional *Pesindhèn* Group ", 2015, photo, SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 8: Ge Wu, "A Young Dhalang ", 2015, photo, SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

On the night of 27th February 2015, another Chinese girl and I went to SMKI, the art high school in Surakarta. We heard that there was going to be a performance by the students. It was performed in the *pendopo*¹¹³. The performers were students from SMKI, teachers from ISI, and other professionals¹¹⁴¹¹⁵. The audience sat around the *pendopo*.

¹¹³Wu, Ge. 2015. " *Pendopo* ". 2015. Photo, SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹¹⁴Wu, Ge. 2015. " *Gamelan Teachers* ". Photo. SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹¹⁵Wu, Ge. 2015. " *A professional pesindhèn group* ". Photo. SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

Most of them were high school students and there were several children gathered together. The kids were curious about the other international students and us; they sat before us but kept turning back, asking us where we were from, and kept smiling. The duration of the whole performance was nearly three hours. The repertoire consisted of not only gamelan but also Wayang Kulit. It is worth noting that the gamelan they presented was of the Balinese style rather than the Javanese style. The musical status of a dhalang is always highly respected. During the performance, it was the students who played this important role¹¹⁶, while the teachers and other professional musicians accompanied them as part of the gamelan ensemble. It is easy to imagine how important such a performance must have been to a young dhalang. Take a look at the photograph of the *pesindhèn* group. The group of *pesindhèn* kneel to the side, looking at their handwritten lyrics now and then.

2.1.2 Explicit cultural identity constructed through the education system

Music is a significant part of our daily life since it 'articulates our knowledge of other peoples, places, times and things, and ourselves in relation to them'.¹¹⁷ It is not only a simple marker but a metaphor of cultural expression, a reflection that is already 'there'.¹¹⁸ Stokes¹¹⁹ also believes that 'a sense of identity can be put into play through music by performing it, dancing to it, listening to it or even thinking about it'. In terms of gamelan in contemporary Java, educational institutions play significant parts in reinforcing the musical landscape and a sense of identity. The financial support that provided by the government and the involvement and practice of teachers and students benefit to the conservation and development of gamelan. Foreign culture largely influences all Javanese music. The emphasis on gamelan in music education indicates a top-down willingness of guarding their traditional culture.

¹¹⁶ Wu, Ge. 2015. " *A Young Dhalang* ". Photo. SMKI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹¹⁷ Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music*, 3.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 4

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 24.

Certain forms of education must serve social or national development. The global outlook, values, outlook on life, and cultural outlook of certain societies or nations are established through educational activities. Each society or nation cultivates qualified individuals and talents for social or national development according to their needs. The essence of education is the cultivation of people. Among the familial and public educational institutions, the school is the most significant educational organisation in terms of cultivating people's talents in a planned and organised way. In terms of music education, the school 'has been a central mechanism for the establishment and maintenance of the classical canon'.¹²⁰ The presence or absence of traditional music in music education is often a reflection of a country's cultural awareness and reproduction. For instance, traditional Chinese music has been added to formal music education, but the education system of music has been deeply influenced by western church missions that brought western education system to Shanghai. Westernised methods such as notation and auditions are considered the main criteria in an exam, rather than traditional *Gongchi* score and so on.¹²¹ No one will deny that, in the education of traditional music, one of the most important subjects is the inheritors. According to Keith Swanwick,

Perhaps the oldest and best-established theory of music education is that which emphasizes that pupils are inheritors of a set of cultural values and practices, needing to master relevant skills and information to take part in musical affairs. Schools and colleges can be seen to be important agents in this process of transmission.¹²²

The greatest contribution of music institutions and conservatories is the cultivation of students' musical competence. Brinner¹²³ explores different types of general competence in music and in gamelan, including well-rounded global competence, core

¹²⁰ Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert, and Richard Middleton, *The cultural study of music: A critical introduction* (New York; London: Routledge, 2003), 263.

¹²¹ Ho Wai - Chung, "A comparative study of music education in Shanghai and Taipei: westernization and nationalization," *Compare* 34, no. 2 (2004): 232.

¹²² Keith Swanwick, *Music, mind and education* (London; New York: Routledge, 2003), 11.

¹²³ Brinner, *Knowing Music*, 74-78.

competence and discrete competence, etc.. Brinner¹²⁴ states that it is 'experience' that shape the competence of most gamelan performers while different experience may construct different practice and perception, and he believes that family, gender, sociocultural environment are all factors that affect individuals' experience, and further, their musical competence. When discussing gamelan competence, it is important to realise the regional diversity of Indonesia. Hence, a 'localised competence' is significant in understanding regional identity that construct by gamelan and competence is just 'a matter of perspective'.¹²⁵ The cultivation of musicians and ensembles by courts at an early stage can be considered as the early education of gamelan. Different courts cultivate musicians for different purposes that have profound individual or regional styles.¹²⁶ This variety of musical practice has largely contributed to the abundance of gamelan genres and contributes to the construction of a profound regional identity in cities like Surakarta and Yogyakarta. In contemporary Javanese music education, the competence of gamelan has been widely standardised. The comprehension of most of the Javanese musicians towards musical 'knowledge' and competence is more related to 'depth' of understanding rather than the number of musical pieces that an individual can play.¹²⁷ Javanese musicians also highly value individual variability¹²⁸ while academic education is replacing the traditional teaching methods and mechanical imitation is prevailing which result in the enhancing of technical competence, and the absence of in-depth comprehension that identity is based on. The inheritance of gamelan through education, when compared with folk learning, has typical dominant characteristics when it comes to the construction of cultural identity.

First, the construction of cultural identity through gamelan in education has certain characteristic stages. The relationship between the construction stage of one's cultural identity and the developmental stage of one's musical competence can also be found in school education. When I was in Solo, I interviewed a teacher, Mr Santosa, who taught

¹²⁴ Ibid, 87.

¹²⁵ Ibid, 90.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 94.

¹²⁷ Ibid, 97-98.

¹²⁸ Ibid, 136.

music theory and gamelan performance in Surakarta. At that time, I observed that different teachers may ask students to use different teaching materials; some materials were books written by themselves and that were not yet published. I wondered whether different teachers and different teaching materials influenced students' learning of musical instruments and their judgement criteria in terms of their musical competence. Speaking about the interaction between teachers and students in learning gamelan, Mr Santosa remarked that gamelan learning and understanding was a gradual process and only deepens slowly.

The following reproduces our conversation:

Q: In China, one feature of traditional music is the mentoring system. The close relationship between apprentice and mentor is highly praised, just like son and father. And they teach orally, which gives music a distinctive personal feature. Hence, there will be a variety of genres because no standardised criteria are established. While I have been taking gamelan classes here, I've noticed that there seems to be no unified teaching textbooks for all practice classes. Does the style the students obtain depend more on personal characteristic or on the style of the teacher? Is this intentional?

A: Like in China, the traditional way of gamelan teaching is orally, because the comprehension of music is much more important than technical practice. As long as the students can learn the core idea of gamelan, it is never a bad thing to be unique. However, playing gamelan is not like playing other Western instruments; personal style is not that important because it is more important that the whole ensemble can work well together.

Q: If the students follow different teachers and there is no standard, how can we distinguish their competence?

A: Well, there are common rules for us to make judgements on the student's competence. Of course, the first level in gamelan performance starts with technical methods. This level can be easily achieved if they practise hard. And the second level is the understanding of the essence inside the

music. It is not that easy to understand the construction of gamelan; we can hear whether they practise by heart, whether they are listening to others or not, and we always talk about ‘*rasa*’ in gamelan; it is a sophisticated aesthetical concept that is hard to achieve.

Q: Are there any competitions?

A: Yes, there are gamelan competitions for not only the students, but all people who love gamelan. These are usually run by the community, institute, or [an] NGO organiser of music festivals. Usually, they need to perform one required piece and one optional piece.

When discussing the different levels of musical competence in understanding *pathet* between musicians in urban (mostly educated) and rural (untrained) areas, Weiss¹²⁹ indicates that there are three levels of musical capability. The first level is the ability to express reasons for why certain passages in performance should be interpreted in certain patterns. (It is said that the younger musicians who have been trained in school have more knowledge regarding this ability.) The second level involves ‘an intuitive understanding of *pathet* learnt through hours and hours of lived experience, listening and performing’. The third level is the ability to ‘imitate other performers, without actually hearing modes’, creating musical phases according to the *balungan* melody. Weiss indicates that the criteria for musical competence is the comprehensive understanding of the music both practically and theoretically, and it is the musicians who have been educated in art high school or at higher educational levels that possess a more comprehensive competence. This makes them more persuasive cultural presenters.

Similar to the process of ‘deepening’ apprentices’ knowledge in gamelan, the construction of cultural identity in music education is also a gradual process that reflects the degree of cultural understanding and acceptance. The range of such identity in music learning can be roughly divided into three levels. First, there is a presentation stage, namely the identification of the cultural form. Second, it is the protective stage, namely

¹²⁹ Weiss, *Verhandelingen*, 26.

the identification of cultural norms. Cultural norms are different from political and legal systems, and form spontaneously according to folk tradition, habits and experience. They are the unwritten informal rules often acted out through cultural activities and can be understood by social members. The third stage is the core stage, the identification of cultural value. It includes value orientation, aesthetic ideas, ideals and the faith of the culture. It reflects the unique image, values and pursuits of the group. People's identification with the cultural core is a process by which people naturally integrate into the cultural system, actively participate in various cultural activities, and showcase the special temperament of the culture. The cultural value of that identity is based on the conscious unification of the people and their culture, and the fundamental practices of that culture. Art high schools—such as SMKI and ISI Surakarta—gradually cultivate students' consciousness of their cultural identity through the curriculum, goals and teaching methods. This allows students to move from a shallower understanding to a deeper one—from the surface to the centre.

In Surakarta (the cultural and educational centre of Central Java), various gamelan concerts in primary and secondary schools and in universities are the most effective way to create a traditional cultural atmosphere. Students are highly enthusiastic about these performances. I stayed at a well-known art institute—ISI Surakarta—experiencing the explicit development of gamelan and its unique musical ambience. Located in one of the most historical cities, Solo, ISI Surakarta is meant to be one of the most advanced and suitable places (there are only two institutes with ethnomusicology programmes; the other one is ISI Yogyakarta) for people interested in learning Indonesian musical culture. There are three faculties (the faculty of Fine Arts, the faculty of Performing Arts and the faculty of Media Arts and Recording). Under the faculty of Performing Arts, there are five departments related to the traditional performing arts of Indonesia: the *etnomusikologi* (ethnomusicology), *karawitan* (music), *rari* (dance), *teater* (theatre) and *pedalangan* (puppetry). Although the institute is located in Java, students' horizons are not confined to only Javanese gamelan. As far as I know (I have attended several classes with *karawitan* students), students have a variety of gamelan classes, from the study of

different gamelan genres—for instance, Sundanese gamelan, Banyumas bamboo gamelan, and Balinese gamelan—to up-to-date classes such as computer music-making and recording methods. Regional identity is reinforced when performing gamelan from other regions in different style. They also take English language courses. Besides, there are approximately 100 teachers in the faculty of Performing Arts. Most of these teachers are experts in their fields or have had experience studying overseas. By attending various classes and experiencing teaching patterns and interactions between teachers and students, I saw that the students get the essence of gamelan gradually—namely, the identification of cultural forms, cultural norms and cultural values. The following extracts are part of my notes when I attended these classes:

On 10th February (2015). The first class I attended is a Balinese gamelan class that was held in a *pendopo* (pavilion). Two gamelan ensembles are settled there: one is to perform traditional Balinese gamelan and another ensemble is with carved patterns in puce, which are particularly used for funerals. The class ought to start at 11 o'clock, but the students and the teacher may not be on time. It is nothing new; classes often start at half-past 11 or even later. Since the foreign students will have classes with local undergraduates, most of the courses will be held in Indonesian. However, the language barrier can be overcome because most of the teachers in the performance class will practise by themselves first. And, unlike offering pre-written coursework as done in classes in England, the teachers have their own way of managing the class and the students in ISI also have their own ways of absorbing information. There will be at least three teachers in each class. One controls the progress of a lesson and is in charge of the demonstration of new pieces, sentence by sentence. Another teacher is responsible for notations (some write only *balungan* (the basic melodic contour) while some write the whole piece). Other teachers will either act as conductors or walk around and help students who encounter problems when playing the melody. (This indicates that these teachers must be familiar with all rhythms of all the instruments.) It is worth noting that every student has their own notebook, even though photocopying in Solo is quite cheap and students usually copy a whole book. I've viewed several notebooks; they really cherish their notes and these notebooks are filled with notations and words of encouragement like "keep working hard". Maybe

the more primitive nature and the authenticity of handwriting makes the students more dedicated to their music and more motivated. While performing, they rarely look at the notes.

The *karawitan* department also invites folk artists and experienced gamelan professional musicians to hold gamelan performances. The institute will hold lots of gamelan activities, in which a fantastic musical ambience is formed. It is not only students who are allowed to observe, as most of the music activities are free and open to the public; thus, all residents can experience gamelan. As for cultural norms, the reverent attitude of the students towards their teachers can be witnessed both inside and outside classes. During the frequent music activities held by the institute, the norm of cultural consciousness practised in gamelan will gradually deepened, and a musical identity will also be further developed.

ISI provides abundant educational resources for students. There are various opportunities for students to do fieldwork and there are also lots of gamelan-related competitions in which students can get involved, earning both practical experience and material rewards. Some students may have the opportunity to perform in foreign countries. School education regarding gamelan constructs the cultural awareness of the pupils on campus through music lessons, various music activities and ambience. It can be seen that school offers a platform to present gamelan to the students, enables them to be aware of their responsibilities, and constructs their cultural identity in a planned and organised way. In addition to guiding students to identify gamelan's practical and cultural value, gamelan in education also cultivates language and national characteristics, as well as a multicultural experience.

Firstly, the Javanese language can be strengthened through gamelan. All nations around the world have formed a unique language culture in their particular living environment. National languages have become symbol systems that condense and reflect the philosophy and creativity of different nations. There are hundreds of different nations and languages in Indonesia due to the dispersed islands. To keep national unity, maintain integration and to avoid conflict caused by regional differences, the government, after declaring independence and recognising this disrupted common

identity, sought to achieve national unity by using the official language (Bahasa Indonesia) in educational and cultural communication. Although the government tries to prompt integration, the unique characteristics and the individual consciousness of each ethnic group is still significant and cannot be easily replaced. As the most important political and cultural centre in Indonesia in the past, Central Java emphasises the characteristics of the Javanese in its social reform and development, and also showcases the character of the Javanese as tolerant, which has a profound impact on Indonesian society. The primary influence is reflected in the use of the Javanese language. In the past, only the noblemen in the palace (namely Yogyakarta and Surakarta) spoke Javanese. As the Indonesian language developed, a lot of words in Javanese fed into the language, which also indirectly affected people's worldviews and value judgements. Indonesia's national motto 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (tolerance for difference and pursuit of concord) is in ancient Javanese, which illustrates Indonesia's inclusive attitude towards language, religion, and cultural diversity. Java is Indonesia's largest ethnic group. Even now, in addition to the official Indonesian language, the local Javanese people master the Javanese language. When I was in ISI, students from different regions of Central Java said that they were more used to talking in Javanese when speaking with the locals. Most of the vocal melodies in Javanese gamelan performance are sung in Javanese. Therefore, lyrics in gamelan also become a necessary means by which to inherit culture and history and to learn the national language. Today, gamelan on campus carries forward an excellent national culture and encourages students to learn their mother tongue—the mother tongue. It is the crystallisation of national wisdom, as well as the most convincing and persistent national symbol. On the one hand, it carries with it a profound historical culture and the national quality of Java, and directly manifests this culture and traditional experience. On the other hand, it sets up a bridge (through emotional communication) between different members of the nation and acts as a powerful foundation from which to coordinate and form a strong national identity and national cohesion. With frequent communication between countries and nations, the effect of language in interaction is becoming more and more significant. Due to

globalisation, the English language has had a great impact on Indonesia. It can be said, without doubt, that gamelan in education provides a window for children in Surakarta to learn and memorise their traditional national culture, allowing them to feel the historical and aesthetic connotations of the form while learning the national language through Javanese lyrics.

Secondly, cultural identity can be constructed by showcasing national characteristics through gamelan. Different cultures have different national characteristics. National character refers to the group personality of a nation, which is the practical, stable, common and accustomed behaviour pattern formed under a common cultural background and specific social and historical conditions. In other words, a nation forms similar ways of thinking, behaviour patterns and value orientations in the process of formation, prosperity and development, as well as through the process of recognising and understanding the national culture. Gamelan in education not only effectively transfers and develops this traditional Javanese culture, but it also passes down national beliefs, ways of thinking and values to the next generation, and subtly shapes the unique national character of this generation. During my short communication with Indonesian friends, what impressed me the most was their peaceful, quiet and detached character, which often reminded me of gamelan playing. Gamelan is a type of collective behaviour and a cooperative art. It requires everyone to have a tacit and cooperative ability. To cooperate with people, it is necessary to control yourself, and one cannot show off their individual skills beyond the collective emotion. Inattention will affect the whole group. Therefore, for every musician, gamelan playing is a form of self-discipline. The concept of gamelan encourages people to transcend the material world and return to nature. Gamelan musicianship cultivates the unique spiritual temperament and mood of the Javanese: modest and calm, keep on the rails, get along well with others through harmonious coexistence. Gamelan reminds and warns people to work hard to reach such an ideal state. National character is a core element and symbol that extends beyond time, regions and ways of life and it can be retained for a long time. It is also shaped through the inheritance of national culture.

The education system, as the main means of gamelan inheritance, constructs students' conscious identities from an institutional perspective, but the cultural identity can only be built when students are confident and proud of gamelan based on their cultural cognition of it and choose to consciously explore it. Gamelan itself is a typical symbol of Javanese cultural identity, and helps the Javanese form a mild, calm and inclusive national character.

Gamelan in cultivating Javanese morality – Peace building

One of the traits of music is that it can transform the aesthetic feelings of humans into moral sentiments. Music, as a kind of intermediary, constructs a bridge between emotional expression and the moral system. It is one of the important criteria to cultivate morals and wisdom. Music education can impart political thought and moral connotations to the human mind. When naturally produced aesthetic emotion transforms into moral emotion, it becomes the driving force of moral cognition, behaviour, ideals and beliefs.

During a discussion with a *pesindhèn* (female singer) who performs weekly in town with a spontaneous gamelan community, the singer demonstrated her attitude towards the changing status of gamelan in today's Javanese society. She said: 'Compared to the old days, young people today have more choices in the music they listen to; most of them like Western pop music. It is not a negative trend, and we must be open-minded. But, anyhow, I do not think we have to worry that gamelan will be replaced by Western music because the inner spirit of Java lies in the music and we were born to feel it. The biggest enemy is in ourselves'. It can be shown that the ancient Javanese create according to, and strictly follow, their life philosophy. One of the most representative life philosophies of the Javanese is perhaps contained in an idiom I

chanced upon in a notebook of a *pesindhèn*.



Fig. 9: Ge Wu. A notebook of a *pesindhèn*, 2015, Ngawi village, Indonesia.

The *pesindhèn* shows me her gamelan notebook¹³⁰. This hoary, yellowed notebook is filled with gamelan notations and lyrics. On the first page, there is an adage in ancient Javanese culture, ‘Suro diru jayaningrat, lebur dening pangastuti’, it means that all the negative attitudes of hatred, indifference and intolerance can be defeated by a great wisdom of empathy and patience. This is my first Javanese philosophy lesson which is deeply related to gamelan. In the Javanese philosophy of life, peace and balance is a condition of universe, people always behave humbly, faithfully and peacefully in social interaction. This condition embodies in not only the way they walk, eat, but their inner state of pursuing social harmony.¹³¹ They believe that one could easily become impatient and arrogant or move away from religious moral values when they achieve

¹³⁰ Wu, Ge. 2015. "A Notebook of A *Pesindhèn*". Manuscript. Ngawi village, Indonesia.

¹³¹ Sutton, Variation in Javanese, 11.

success. But evil spirits and anger can be healed by compassion, kindness, and worshipping God. It is worth noting that how gamelan plays a significant role in building Javanese philosophy of harmony.

Cultural diversity – Constructing collective identity through gamelan on campuses

It is also worth noting that gamelan in education has contributed to the students' awareness of regional diversity.¹³² In ISI, students not only need to learn Javanese gamelan but also Balinese and Sundanese styles, as well as Western music and so on. The interaction between local students and international students also enhances the cultural identity of Indonesia. The perspective of students in ISI will be analysed further in the next chapter.

ISI graduation ceremony



Fig. 10: Ge Wu, " *Graduation Ceremony of Students in ISI*", 2015, photo, ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹³² Sutton, *Traditions of Gamelan*, 99.



Fig. 11: Ge Wu, "*Gamelan Performers*", 2015, photo, ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 12: Ge Wu, "*A Choir*", 2015, photo, ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.



Fig. 13: Ge Wu, "An Electronic Piano Player Accompanying the Choir", 2015, photo, ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

On 13th February 2015, I experienced a fusion of the traditional and modern at the graduation ceremony of ISI postgraduates and PhD students¹³³. I observed both the rehearsal and the formal graduation ceremony. On the left side of the *pendopo*, a big gamelan performing group stood by to accompany the significant celebration from beginning to end¹³⁴. Instead of playing gamelan all the time, the music was interspersed with the ceremony; the band would wait for the host's cue. In the interval, on the right side of the *pendopo*, the University choir¹³⁵ sang their musical pieces (the school anthem and the city anthem, both in the classical Western style), and then sang a song in the local style of pop music, accompanied by an electronic keyboard¹³⁶.

¹³³Wu, Ge. 2015. " Graduation Ceremony of Students in ISI". Photo. Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹³⁴Wu, Ge. 2015. "Gamelan Performers". Photo. ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹³⁵Wu, Ge. 2015. "A Choir". Photo. ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

¹³⁶Wu, Ge. 2015. "An Electronic Piano Player that Accompanying the Choir". Photo. ISI, Surakarta, Indonesia.

Cultural identity is constructed through the various gamelan activities in this well-developed musical atmosphere. Conversely, the construction of cultural identity generates cultural awareness of individuals' gamelan inheritance.

3 Cultural presenters – Identity through otherness

3.1 Identity as enhancing cultural consciousness

It can be seen that cultural identity establishes cultural consciousness. Despite its diverse culture, one of the main reasons gamelan can be so completely inherited by the Javanese is because their constructed identity has developed a high cultural consciousness. A gamelan player at Kraton Surakarta said: 'Now more and more visitors travel here. They came here to see the culture and hear the music. That's why we must learn it to make a living.' Due to the development of tourism, there are more visitors in Solo compared to the old days. It can be said that the need of outsiders to experience this culture has made residents aware of their culture. Some of them may have taken their culture for granted once, but the visitors helped them realise its value and significance in today's social environment. This cultural consciousness will eventually become a conscious practice, and promote the inheritance of gamelan. This cultural consciousness or national self-esteem is especially strong among the younger generation in ISI, especially when facing cultural 'others' (the foreign students).

Identity always includes a compared relationship, an encounter between 'we' or 'I' and 'them'. According to Hall, both similarity and otherness construct identity. Clarke also indicates that 'the notion of identity becomes much stronger and firmer when we define our "selves" about a cultural Other'¹³⁷. For instance, in the study of British tourists who travel to Spanish tourism resorts, Parmanova and Magaluf, Andrews explores how Britons construct a sense of national identity via international tourism and the reinforcement of constructing and searching for 'Britishness' in other places. She said: 'Britons defined themselves not just through an internal and domestic dialogue but in conscious opposition to the Other beyond their shores'¹³⁸. In the construction of cultural identity via gamelan, foreign students in ISI, as 'cultural outsiders', are the group that reinforces the local awareness of themselves.

¹³⁷ Clarke, "Culture and Identity", 511.

¹³⁸ Hazel Andrews, *The British on holiday: Charter tourism, identity and consumption* (Bristol ; Buffalo, NY: Channel View Publications, 2011), 316.

The students in ISI can be considered the most important group of people in terms of constructing cultural identity. In one respect, ISI gives them a space where they can find a sense of community in gamelan playing. In another respect, there is also a cultural policy that attracts foreign students and financially supports them to come and study in ISI. Contact with international students as cultural others may construct domestic students' cultural identity, while the international students may suffer acculturation and gain a sense of this identity as well. In order to know how identity is created through otherness and to explore both types of students' experiences in gamelan, I made questionnaires for both pupils, targeting an awareness of gender in gamelan playing (performance in class), the concept of 'indigenous' and 'Western' (notation), conservation and innovation (oral teaching and technology), and separation and integration (acculturation and cross-cultural communication for foreign students).

3.2 Constructing identity in education

3.2.1 The formation of the questionnaire

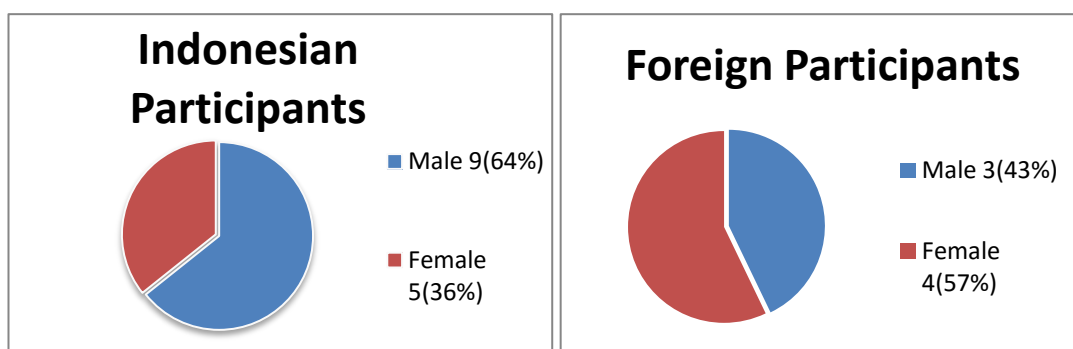
Throughout my reading on both gamelan and identity, as well as during my fieldwork in Indonesia, the UK and China, I was impressed by the enthusiasm and creativity of the gamelan students. This made me wonder: what is the role of gamelan in their growth and what is the motivation of foreign students who came to ISI to study gamelan? It is of great importance to comprehend the role of ISI in constructing positive interactions between students and in creating cultural identity. Since most of the research on gamelan is focused on music rather than on the musical presenters or the inheritors, it is important to know more about the people. Therefore, I made two versions of a questionnaire, targeting both Indonesian and foreign students in ISI.

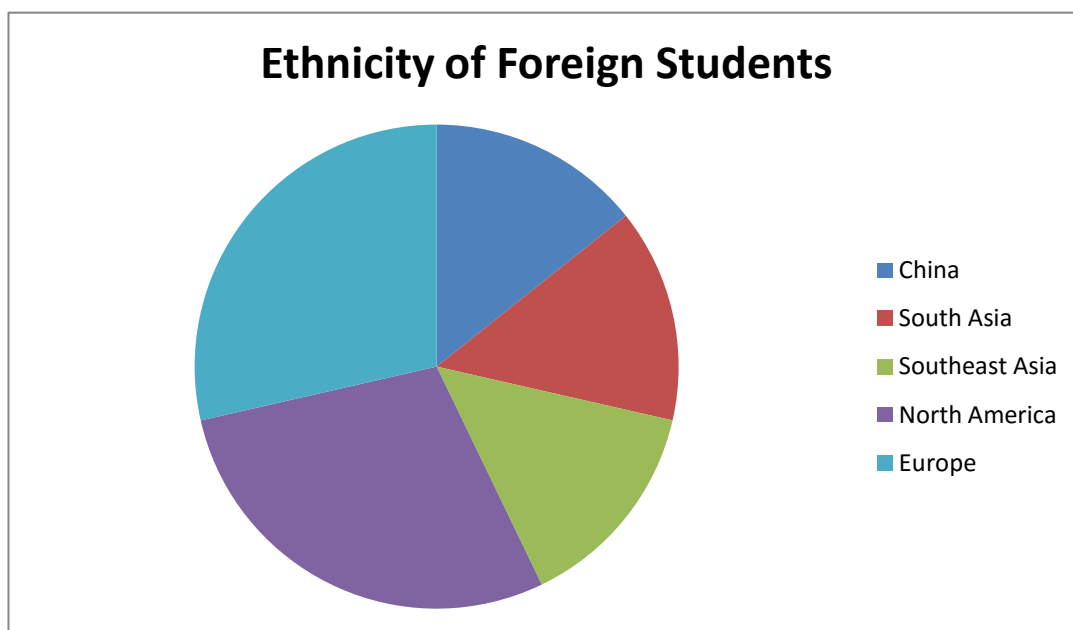
There were two different questionnaires for Indonesian students and for international students in the music department. The former questionnaire contained 33 questions, of which 18 were open questions and 15 closed. The latter contained 40 questions. There are questions, with 30 open questions and 10 closed questions. I sent the questionnaires and collected answers from students through email. This is because it

could be inefficient and less appropriate to interview students one by one, due to the language barrier (most of the students cannot speak English). It would also have taken more time if I had distributed the questionnaires by paper, and most of the students can use a computer quite well. Since most of the local music students cannot read English, I invited one of my English-speaking Indonesian friends, who is studying ethnomusicology in ISI, to translate the questions into Bahasa Indonesia. There may be certain misinterpretations during translation, and this may slightly affect the accuracy of the results. However, I frequently confirmed with the translator, trying my best to explain my questions and reduce any misunderstandings that may occur due to the language barrier. As for the questionnaire for foreign students, I asked the questions in English.

Participants

The participants were music students of ISI, including 18 males and 12 females aged between 18 and 28. The total number of Indonesian respondents was supposed to be 20 (12 male and 8 female), but the final number of actual respondents was 14 (9 male and 5 female). The total number of foreign student respondents was supposed to be 10, and the final number was 7 (3 male and 4 female).





The questionnaire for Indonesian students hoped to verify the above-mentioned statements on inheritance patterns, education, identity and interaction.

3.2.1.1 Local students in ISI

Inheritance pattern

According to the results of the survey, the majority of students started learning gamelan between the ages of 10 to 18. There are 10 out of 14 respondents who indicated that their parents or relatives influenced them the most with regard to their gamelan learning. As for the motivation to learn gamelan, seven students chose to learn due to their personal interests, while four students indicated it was the expectations of their parents. Nine students intended to make a career out of gamelan when they graduate, indicating that they would like to be performers, composers, teachers and/or conductors of a gamelan ensemble. The main reason students do not want to work in gamelan is because of the lack of money. All students said that they were fully supported by their families. Nine of them indicated that their parents are gamelan artists themselves, while 11 indicated that their parents could play gamelan instruments.

Results:

1. The traditional family inheritance pattern and the mentoring system are still the primary inheritance patterns.
2. The decision to learn gamelan is autonomous, mainly due to personal interest.
3. Students will be the main professional promoters of gamelan in the future.

Personal musical developments in education

This section reveals the respondents' musical experience and feedback on their studies in ISI. Almost all of the students consider ISI or Surakarta city as a great place to learn gamelan. Students will spend one to six hours a day practising gamelan. As for the motivation to study gamelan in ISI, the majority (11 out of 14 respondents) indicated that they wanted to enhance their musical competence, 10 students indicated they would like to strengthen their comprehension of music theory, 5 students wanted to gain life experience, and 4 of them wanted to learn composition. On a typical day, most of the students will spend time on gamelan and other music-related activities; there are rarely students who spend time on reading.

Results:

1. Most of the students highly value their musical experience in ISI.
2. Practical experience is more important than theoretical knowledge.

Gender in gamelan

Gender inequality in Java has been explored by several researchers. Weiss,¹³⁹ for example, mainly focuses on gender issues in Wayang, where females may behave differently with male performers and there is also an imbalance in musical competence. In terms of gamelan, scholars¹⁴⁰ also aware of gender issues of the allocation of instruments and positions. While observing and attending classes in ISI, I noticed that

¹³⁹ Weiss, *Verhandelingen*, 69–120.

¹⁴⁰ Brinner, *Knowing Music*, 87.

Lindsay, *Javanese Gamelan*, 44-45.

the number of male students compared to female students was relatively balanced (e.g. a Balinese gamelan class had 18 students, of which there were 8 female students and 10 male students). However, the female students were generally quieter than the males. Besides, it is an indisputable truth that gender in gamelan performance is imbalanced, with the males generally playing leading roles. To find out whether there is any difference between their educational levels and if that would influence their competence and comprehension of gamelan in the future, I asked students this question directly. The answers revealed that girls are shyer than boys. Among the male students, six of them answered yes. They indicated that girls are more silent than boys because girls are too shy to express themselves boldly (four students), or because sometimes the teacher will pay more attention to the main instrument players (e.g. gendhang, bonang, etc.) and, most of the time, these instruments are played by boys (two students). The others said no. Three of the female students answered yes. They indicated that they felt boys are more energetic and showy in class. The other two students felt that there was no difference. In terms of whether there was any gender difference in learning ability, most of the male students (seven) were unaware of the difference. Two male students answered yes, as they thought girls are less talkative. All female students were unaware of the difference in learning ability: some of them said the difference is not obvious, and sometimes girls would even learn faster and play better than the boys. As for the difference in the allocation of instruments, in general, both male and female students indicated that most of the gendhang players are more likely to be male, while the female performers are more likely to be singers. However, there are no limitations on gender; everyone can play all gamelan instruments. With regard to the advantages and disadvantages of performing gamelan, female students indicated that a class with male students would be more vigorous, with the implicit suggestion that they considered this energy an advantage, while six male students stated that they have never thought about this before. The other three students said that girls could be more concentrated than boys. As for cultural awareness among gamelan presenters, all 14 students indicated that everyone has the obligation to promote gamelan and there is no gender difference.

Result:

1. In the class in ISI, gender awareness or gender difference is not obvious in terms of gamelan learning.

Communication through gamelan

To understand the formation of awareness in gamelan, it is of great importance to know if there is interaction between the performers and the audience, or if there is communication between domestic and foreign students. According to the questions, the size of the audience may influence performers' emotions when they perform. As for communication between Indonesian and foreign music students, five students said they never spoke to the latter, while nine of them communicated with them for language learning and music. With regard to the motivation of international students to come to Solo to study gamelan, 10 students believed that this was because Javanese gamelan is representative of the philosophy of ancient Java and they consider Solo to be the cultural centre of Java. Four students said that it is the cultural otherness that attracts foreign students.

Results:

1. Performers are emotionally connected with the audience.
2. An awareness of cultural otherness is positively constructed through contact with foreign students.

Artistry and music preferences

Most of the students (11 respondents) indicated that they consider a sense of cooperation more important than individual artistry. The context of gamelan performance is varied; the attitude of students may embody the attitude of the younger generations on the occasions that gamelan is performed. When judging artistry, all students considered both individual musical ability and a sense of cooperation

significant, while creation, originality and the expression of emotion were considered relatively less important. This also confirms what Becker and Becker¹⁴¹ state which is that gamelan musicians are more likely to be preservers rather than creators. According to the answers in the survey, all students considered the wedding ceremony the most appropriate occasion to perform gamelan, followed by parties of friends and family.

Results:

1. It has been confirmed that cooperation is the primary rule and goal of gamelan.
2. Students care less about the emotional expression.
3. Gamelan is preferable in traditional activities and private occasions.

Acceptance and creation

The Javanese have always been considered open and tolerant to diverse cultures. Students in ISI have also been trained to accept various cultures on campus. However, it has been argued that gamelan is more traditional and less creative. According to the survey answers, 10 out of 14 students never composed any musical pieces, while four of them did, but in popular music, not gamelan. Most of the students (eight respondents) usually listened to other music genres everyday, especially Western pop music (eight respondents), followed by Chinese music (four respondents), Japanese music (three respondents), death metal (two respondents), rock and roll (two respondents) and Western classical music (one respondent). In domestic music, the preferred music genres were Sundanese gamelan (six respondents), followed by keroncong (five respondents), Javanese gamelan (four respondents), dangdut (two respondents) and Balinese gamelan (one respondent). As for musical ability in terms of instruments, students can play the guitar (eight respondents), the piano (four respondents), the drums (three respondents) and the violin (one respondent). Most of them learnt the instruments by themselves. The majority's attitude towards musical fusion is active (11 respondents).

¹⁴¹ Becker and Becker, Traditional Music, 29.

Results:

1. A high level of inclusivity can be found in the attitude towards ‘cultural otherness’.
2. The fondness for Western music has not influenced the passion for traditional music.
3. There is an awareness of cultural identity, as all the students identify Javanese gamelan as one of the most important cultural symbols/icons of Indonesia. Meanwhile, the majority have realised their responsibility as cultural presenters.

Personal plans after graduation

Regarding their potential occupations after they graduate, five respondents were determined to become gamelan teachers; four students intended to continue their studies on gamelan; three students said they would like to perform in a broad musical sense; and two of them planned to organise gamelan workshop in their villages.

Results:

1. It is the embodiment of the identity awareness that students all have a high level of self-realisation and self-confidence regarding their future careers. This means that their gamelan education has been successful in constructing their identities.

3.2.1.2 Achieving identity from the other side – Cultural policy, the *Darmasiswa* project and foreign students in ISI

In the book, *Nationalism and Sexualities*, Parker et al.¹⁴² demonstrate that nationalism is one of the most powerful discourses that construct identity. Andrews¹⁴³ also said: ‘the sustainability and legitimisation of nationalism is due to the creation, or use, of tradition’. To promote Indonesian culture, the Embassy of Indonesia has a cultural policy of offering a grant to international students to study the Indonesian language, arts

¹⁴² Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, and Patricia Yaeger, ed., *Nationalisms and Sexualities* (New York ; London: Routledge, 1992), 1-18.

¹⁴³ Andrews, *British on Holiday*, 32.

and other forms of culture. There are two options: a one-year *Darmasiswa* programme and a three-year masters programme. The most influential programme is the *Darmasiswa* programme. This program is the outcome of nationalism.¹⁴⁴

Darmasiswa is a non-degree scholarship programme organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). It is a one-year programme, aiming at facilitating mutual cultural understanding and promoting Indonesian culture worldwide. This program was originally founded by Soewardi, a significant promoter of Javanese performing arts. He dedicated in the education of traditional Javanese culture, combining Javanese cultural forms with western educational system. This program is well-developed. Nowadays, numerous universities in Indonesia recruit foreign students to study their domestic culture forms. Applicants have about two months to complete the application a year before commencement, and are selected by the programme secretariat, MoEC and MoFa. All selected students will be allocated to universities around the country with a full scholarship. This illustrates how supportive the government is in disseminating Indonesia's traditional culture. The number of applicants increases each year. In 2015, more than 30 students from all over the world (the UK, Slovakia, Hungary, Italy, America, Japan, China, etc.) successfully studied in the music department at ISI Surakarta. In ISI, the students in the *Darmasiswa* programme get their curriculum at the beginning of the first term. They then take classes with both Indonesian undergraduates and postgraduates. Due to the language barrier, most of the students will choose practical classes rather than those on gamelan theory.

Cultural identity is a relative concept that is constructed by acquired production and learning. While domestic Indonesian students strengthen their cultural identity through gamelan, foreign students come to their 'home' and try to achieve what these students have experienced by learning their traditional music. Both sets of students can be considered presenters of gamelan. Foreign students study gamelan for various

¹⁴⁴ Sumarsam, *Historical contexts and theories of Javanese music* (University Microfilms, 1994), 206.

reasons, but all of them indicate that they love gamelan. This may indicate that, as cultural ‘others’, the perspective and experience of foreign students demonstrates their cultural identity is constructed by gamelan. Intersubjectively, there may be interactions between the two groups of students. To know how gamelan shapes the process of identification, a survey that focused on foreign students’ personal experiences, motivations and acculturation in gamelan was analysed. Strictly speaking, this survey (handed out to foreign students) was not a qualified questionnaire, as most of the questions were open questions and I interviewed several students instead of sending them the form. Hence, the data may not be accurate in terms of figures, but there is enough to throw light on the construction of identity as well as acculturation.

Previous personal gamelan experience

Almost all the *Darmasiswa* students have previous musical experience: they have either been trained in the Western musical system (four students), learnt the traditional music of their own countries (two students) or informally participated in performance communities (one student). But before they came to Indonesia, only three of them had either learnt or observed gamelan. Gamelan in China and Sri Lanka is less popular than in Japan, Europe, and North America. The interviewed/surveyed students had been in Surakarta for eight months. When asked how they discovered the *Darmasiswa* programme, four students indicated that they learnt about it from official documents in universities in their countries, and three of them indicated that it was recommended by friends who had applied for this programme before. The motivation to apply for the programme was mostly personal (five students).

Result:

1. All the students have high self-awareness and autonomy.

Process of enculturation

When asked about their unforgettable experience of learning gamelan, most of them (three students) indicated that it was, at first, hard to adapt to people's behaviour during the gamelan performance. In Java, people are free to talk and eat rather than only listen, whereas in other countries, the audience is completely silent and attentive. One respondent indicated that she had been told there could be snobbery among gamelan musicians and different groups may criticise another's interpretation of the music. Misunderstandings due to language were also mentioned. As for the achievements they prize when learning gamelan in ISI, all students indicated it was the friendships they cherished the most. Two indicated that the respect from local people is a great achievement.

'Our greatest achievement, in my opinion, is when we were performing in ISI. It would be our second performance since Blora (which both traumatised and taught me plenty) and we practised in the middle of the vacation and more. I learnt more in that month than I did since the beginning of our year. After it, we gained a bit of respect from others and for ourselves. It's awesome. My favourite and most fulfilling performance was when we played in Wonogiri as guests at a students' musical competition last March. The people sang and laughed with us! I am very grateful for our friends Kumi and Noriko's efforts to teach and prepare us for a performance.' (Ingrid, Philippine)

'We did a performance for a Javanese wedding, and the residents were really happy to see foreigners presenting their music.' (Xinchen, China)

Almost all the students believed ISI Surakarta to have the best musical ambience; they also stated that they would like to enhance their personal level of musical artistry (seven students) and comprehension of musical theories (seven students), as well as enrich their lives (five students), learn visual arts (one student) and composition (one student). In terms of music-related activities, there are rarely students who do the reading, compared to those who practise. In order to make themselves more adaptable to the local culture, all the students learn the Indonesian language and attend performances,

learning the history and culture of Indonesia as well as making local friends. They were aware of the different cultural context, and all the students realised it was important to be part of the Indonesian culture. However, the identity of the foreigner never disappears.

‘I am trying to learn the language; perhaps if I stay another year, I will try to learn Javanese. But I haven’t completely immersed myself in the culture as I spend most of my time with English speaking friends. I have made friends with some locals too; I would like to spend more time with the non-English speaking ones.’ (Kate, England)

For all the students, the language barrier was the biggest hurdle in gamelan classes. It is not only Bahasa Indonesian; sometimes, the teacher will teach in Javanese. Generally, foreign students do not understand what is being said, but some of them who have a good background in playing gamelan indicated that they could usually get past the language barrier by understanding the music. Besides this, the different learning speeds among students, especially when foreigners take classes with local students, could be a problem.

Interaction with locals

With regard to interactions with locals, all students indicated that local students are friendly and helpful in classes. Most of the female students (six respondents) have socialised with locals; the two male students stated that they have never been invited. Talking about gamelan makes it easier for them to socialise with locals.

‘It helps with my credibility in being here and I feel like almost all Javanese are excited that I am learning gamelan even if they don’t know anything about it.’ (Alex, America)

When asked whether the size of the audience influenced their passion or emotion during a performance, all students indicated that they had somehow been influenced by

the size (four respondents). Other influences that may have an impact on their performance are personal interest or preferences (five respondents), the reaction of the audience (two respondents), the location of performance (one respondent) and the identity of the audience members (one respondent).

While practising gamelan, most students (five respondents) rarely used their personal judgement, a sense of cultural bias or personal aesthetic habits in gamelan. Two of them who had been trained in Western classical music indicated that:

In Western orchestral music, you are supposed to play exactly on the 'beat' but in gamelan, it is good practice on some instruments, and for some occasions, to delay a bit. (Alex, America)

When you first listen to gamelan music, it can sound strange to a Western [trained] ear, because of the use of different scale systems and the piece structure, but with time and exposure, it makes more and more sense and sounds more and more beautiful. (Kate, England)

Cooperation was considered the essence of gamelan by most of the students, followed by the expression of emotion and emotional connection (five respondents), and creation and originality (two respondents). Individual musical competence was considered the most unimportant. 'Feeling' was considered the main criterion when judging a gamelan piece. As for composition, none of the students have composed any gamelan pieces. The students in ISI study various music genres apart from gamelan (dangdut, *campursari*, minang and riau music). All students have a positive attitude towards music fusions, as long as a comprehensive understanding of both forms has been obtained. All of them have a positive attitude regarding the high status of gamelan, and consider it to be one of the most important cultural icons of Indonesia. All students believe that personality can be formed by musical activities, as music can construct identity. In terms of current practices in gamelan, six students indicated that they promote gamelan by inviting friends to join gamelan performances, and three of them shared stories about Indonesia.

Gender difference

With regard to gender differences, the results indicate that it has nothing to do with gamelan classes; at the very least, the students rarely see any obvious gender differences.

Conclusion

When comparing the answers of domestic students with that of foreign students, it can be seen that gamelan contributes to constructing the cultural identities of both Indonesian and foreign students. In terms of similarity, all students consider gamelan as one of the most representative cultural icons of Indonesia, and also consider Surakarta as offering the best musical ambience. A collective identity is constructed through collective goals and performance. With regard to inclusivity in music, local students show a high tolerance towards various music genres, while foreign students who have previous cross-cultural experience show a higher cultural adaptability than other students. In terms of comprehending gamelan, the only difference between local and foreign students is that local students care more about musical competence, while foreign students seem to count emotional expression as more significant. They often use emotional words such as ‘sense’, ‘feeling’ or ‘touched’ when judging a gamelan piece.

Music in daily life is an important part of the establishment of interpersonal communication. During cross-cultural communication, it is important for foreign students (who are studying gamelan in another culture) to communicate through music. It can be assumed that a sense of identity through culture, or through music, was constructed for all foreign students when they decided to apply for the *Darmasiswa* scholarship programme. This identity may derive from previous personal experiences, or from being influenced by other people. Some of them indicated that they only came to enhance their competence in playing instruments. However, the study of music is never an isolated process. They have been exposed to a new cultural atmosphere, connecting with a variety of people who hold different views on life, values, and beliefs.

The process of enculturation for foreign students can also be considered a process of constructing their cultural identity. As cultural ‘others’, gamelan helps in constructing their group identity by creating a community where they share the same goal and can search for the same musical and cultural experience. After spending one year learning music and performing in either the pendopo or in any place, if these foreign students were to compare themselves to the first day they arrived on this land, a subtle feeling may occur where they realise that an adjustment, a process of adaptation caused by gamelan, has happened. Undoubtedly, foreign students are the most important cultural presenters of Indonesia on an international scale. As for domestic Indonesian students, in one respect, their role as cultural inheritors, preservers and presenters is more rich; they shoulder more responsibility as well as have a more fixed cultural identity constructed through gamelan. In another respect, the fondness of foreign students for gamelan also makes a great impact on domestic students’ formation of cultural awareness.

4. Thoughts on the development of traditional music in China

4.1 From gamelan to *Sayerho*

Traditional music is the historical accumulation and reflection of lived experience within a musical culture (which constantly develops and changes). Its development depends on the specific realities of each age. Cultural inheritance must be both historical and realistic, and it is only when it is based on history, and actively adapts to a real ecological environment, that it has unlimited vitality. Throughout the process of researching and investigating gamelan, what impressed me the most was that I experienced traditional gamelan beauty while also seeing how gamelan has changed in order to adapt to contemporary society. Today, in addition to its inherent tradition, gamelan shows a high level of adaptability towards the rich and diversified cultural environment it exists in. Firstly, modern gamelan absorbs many foreign musical elements and diversified performance modes. Secondly, gamelan inheritance focuses on combining traditional and modern elements, and makes full use of modern media

resources and an international vision to expand itself through promotional channels. This makes the inheritance of gamelan more diversified. The combination of traditional and modern elements makes gamelan more vital on an international music stage, and also provides a good example of active inheritance for other forms of national music.

Gamelan, as Indonesia's most representative form of music, has become the symbol of Indonesian national culture and has penetrated into every corner of the Indonesian people's lives. People obtain a shared aesthetic feeling through the performances and by listening to gamelan, thus forming a strong identity connected to the national culture and enhancing national cohesion and self-confidence. Once such a deep, cultural identity forms, it will motivate people right from the government to the local people, from the collective to the individual, to see the gamelan inheritance as conscious behaviour and encourage them to accept and approve gamelan (which provides a broader space for the continuation and development of the form). Undoubtedly, the success of gamelan has brought considerable enlightenment to the development of other national music forms around the world. The reciprocity between the inheritance of traditional music and the construction of identity that I observed in Indonesia makes me wonder about the embarrassing position of ethnic music in my hometown. Why do we rarely question 'who we are' and why can we not make our music heard? Here, this section tries to discuss how the preservation of gamelan can act as a reference for the development of traditional music, specifically the form of Chinese Tujia music known as Sayerho(撒叶儿嗬). There is less comparability between gamelan and Sayerho regarding music ontology. My intention here is to address how national music, as the embodiment of ethnic or regional culture, has the function to make 'places' and shared value, as well as facilitate cultural identity. The construction of cultural identity via gamelan can be a lesson to not only Sayerho but also traditional music around the world.

4.1.1 The continuity of one's national music inheritance is the guarantee of a national cultural identity

A nation can be considered a community that shares the same cluster of norms and culture, including language, religion, customs and habits, values and mental states. National music, as the embodiment of national culture, represents a shared historical memory and values. Its continuity represents the continuation of identity. For hundreds of years, Indonesia was invaded by foreigners, but not only did the local culture survive but it also absorbed and developed through cultural integration. A collective practice constructed by gamelan (created through musical interaction and ambience) has brought Indonesians self-confidence and satisfaction. As Mr Santosa states,

Gamelan is passed down from our ancestors, and everybody loves it. Even though many young people who [are] born in the city cannot play it, they all know how important gamelan is for Indonesia and the people.

Gamelan enriches the cultural landscape of Java, facilitating a shared experience. The construction of a strong sense of cultural 'self' via gamelan that I observed during my stay in Indonesia enables me to rethink my culture and recalls my experience in exploring ethnicity. As a Tujia girl, I used to live in a Tujia village that located in southwest China in which all residents observe the changing soundscape year after year. Some of the traditional music of Han and most of the ethnic music of minorities have experienced a fracture with history. The external cause is the strong impact of Western music in the late Qing Dynasty. During this time, China's music education was completely Westernised, leading to the marginalisation of national music. The internal cause of the decline is more complicated. Under Mao Zedong, evolutionary development was promoted through education and technical advancements, and 'backward customs' (such as superstition and religion) were banned. Through these measures, music that had a profound relationship with religion and belief systems was abolished as an outmoded custom. All music-related activities were abandoned as feudal customs. Moreover, considering the function of music in giving people a sense of identity, minorities' identities were

In the Tujia minority, the ritual music Sayerho on sacrificial ceremony used to be one of the most representative cultures in constructing Tujia identity. Sayerho is a

traditional ritual singing and dancing music, distributed along the Qing River basin in southwest Hubei province. As a ritual music that performs on the funeral, it is the embodiment of Tujia people's view of life and death in which they believe it is worth celebrating when eldership pass away because the departed saint finished experiencing the world and will go to heaven no matter gender, age or reputation. On the funeral ceremony, all fellow villagers will attend the ceremony and watch Sayerho performance all night. Some of them will also join the ensemble and play the important instrument, 'funeral drum'. The whole Sayerho ceremony begins from beating the drum that conduct by a master, follows by the dancing group¹⁴⁵. There are about twenty four dancing patterns. The content includes the worship of ancestors, history of Tujia ethnicity, gratitude for parents, folk tales and so on. Since minority's identity was once abolished, musical practice has also largely diminished. In the mid- and late 1980s, the Tujia people regained their minority identity with the gradual expansion of national policy. Nowadays, national culture attaches great importance to a country; for the locals then, *Sayerho* also has great importance. However, it is difficult to recover not only because of its lapse, but also due to the controversy over its conservation and inheritance. In 2012, according to my field trip to the Ziqiu village in Changyang, 23 people aged over 70 could participate in a *Sayerho* performance, but only 9 out of 38 people aged 50 to 69 could do it. In addition, most of the young men work in other cities, and the young residents left behind are mainly women (it is a traditional taboo for women to participate in *Sayerho*). In the interview, we found that the older generation (aged over 70) could dance authentically when they heard the music of *Sayerho*. Villagers aged 50 to 69 still had cultural memories of the dance from when they were young, and those under the age of 49 lacked cultural consciousness of *Sayerho*.

4.1.2 Cultural consciousness as the ultimate power of musical inheritance

¹⁴⁵ Youkuuser752565689, "Authentic Sayerho," Youku video, 21:22, posted by "youkuuser752565689," Apr 10, 2015, accessed July 22, 2016, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XOTI3NDg5MDY4.html?from=s1.8-1-1.2.

Fei¹⁴⁶ indicates that cultural consciousness forms self-knowledge, autonomy and self-determination; it constantly strengthens one's motivation in which people make decisions and take action on the basis of it. It can be seen that cultural consciousness is established on the basis of cultural identity, through the active pursuit of national culture. National music inheritance, as a kind of typical cultural practice, can only come alive when wide cultural consciousness is established in ethnic groups. During my fieldwork in Surakarta for more than a month, I deeply felt the locals' passion for gamelan, as well as the pride and self-confidence gamelan gave them. Everyone thought gamelan culture was irreplaceable.

In comparison to this high cultural awareness of gamelan, some Tujia people rarely know or care about what they have culturally, especially the younger generation. It is the older generations that know *sayerho* better, as fewer activities can be seen nowadays. The lack of cultural awareness could be caused by several factors. On the one hand, most Tujia villagers do not consider themselves cultural presenters and inheritors, and lack cultural interpretation. During my fieldwork, I interviewed several villagers in the village and they said:

'When I was a kid, I used to listen to my grandfather [when he said] that they needed to dance and sing *Sayerho* when people died, but I did not see it personally. Later, the government said Tujia music needed protecting and we needed to study, so I did it. But many people went to work outside, so they did not learn.' (Cai, 55 years old, male, Tujia villager)

'Dancing *sayerho* was conducted by the County Culture Bureau. They wanted to develop Tujia culture and tourism, and wanted everyone to learn. We danced for fun. If people died, we didn't dance, but the master did.' (Qin, 52 years old, male, Tujia villager)¹⁴⁷

It can be said that the government's policies and measures for *sayerho* inheritance and protection are short-sighted. The emphasis on protection by transforming a ritual

¹⁴⁶ Fei Xiaotong 费孝通, "*Fei Xiaotong Lun Wenhua yu wenhua zijue*" 文化与文化自觉 [Discussion on Culture and Cultural Consciousness] (People's Publishing House: 2007), 57.

¹⁴⁷ Both of Cai and Qin are Tujia villagers who live in Changyang county. I visited the place several times, conducting several unofficial research on cultural heritages. As the perspective of the hosts, I considered their response typical and significant for the understanding of the conservation and development of traditions.

ceremony into a staged performance leaves the cultural owners with doubts and a lack of awareness of their cultural responsibility. Such promotion of the national musical culture (i.e. with a political and economic purpose) only leads to the inheritance of a misinterpreted musical culture. The national musical culture is the common spiritual wealth of a nation, created through a long process of historical development. This development largely depends on original, appropriate and autonomic educational activities created by various ethnic groups (such as traditional customs, religious rites, traditional festivals, etc.), and it is a kind of folk voluntary behaviour. Its standardisation and systemisation by the government will only make its cultural inheritance groundless and powerless.

In 2006, *sayerho* was included in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Project, and the related departments and the government took various measures to restore and reconstruct *sayerho*. In 2006, the Cultural Bureau of Changyang County established the protection ordinance to support Tujia folk artists, and issued honorary certificates to related folk artists. An ecological preservation zone was established for inheritors to communicate and develop *sayerho*. *Sayerho* was once a significant traditional ritual ceremony that connected Tujia people's life and death. It used to play a significant role in people's life. However, nowadays *sayerho* is more likely to be a dance performance. Some of the inheritors of *sayerho* argue that it is a cultural heritage that all Tujia people should shoulder the responsibility to protect and learn it. Another argument is that there are women who interested in *sayerho* and they consider it a kind of square dance. However, traditionally, women are forbidden from *sayerho* performances. Therefore, there is also criticism from older people who believe that the participation of women is inauspicious. As for including *sayerho* in educational activities, there are parents who are against the presentation of *sayerho* in class. They argue that they do not want their children learning music and dance connected to funerals, sacrifice and death.

This is not only a misunderstanding of the essence of *sayerho*, but, more importantly, reflects an absence of cultural identity. The first misunderstanding is the

incorrect propaganda regarding the value of *sayerho*. The Tujia have always had a positive attitude towards death. *sayerho* is a ritual ceremony for funerals, and includes singing, dancing and playing instruments. When a person dies, relatives and neighbours express their condolences in front of the coffin. At night, singing masters sing and play drums, and the rest dance the funeral dance. Everyone spends the last night with the dead. The lyrics of *sayerho* narrate the life of the departed. The ceremony can be considered as a rite of passage that is positive and hopeful, rather than scared or desperate. Hence, the *sayerho* ceremony is a liminal zone where people can experience life and death as a continuous process, and consider death as the hope of life. This should be the cultural spirit passed down from generation to generation of the Tujia people. However, while people's changing attitudes towards death might be a sign of Chinesization, they also show a lack of awareness regarding the cultural presenters.

Another misunderstanding is the inheritance pattern and performance. Like gamelan, the traditional way of inheriting *sayerho* is through mentoring and oral teaching. Oral teaching that inspires 'a deep understanding within' is conducted through the five senses. Fan¹⁴⁸ indicates that traditional oral teaching emphasises intuitive mastering as well as in-depth communication between both parties, and strengthens receivers' understandings of music through direct singing, playing, and verbal and nonverbal means of communication. Not being able to access this cultural activity means that the music's profound meaning cannot be reached. However, the traditional oral or one-to-one inheritance pattern is considered inefficient. In order to improve upon traditional inheritance patterns and to cultivate more artists who can shoulder the responsibility of inheriting Tujia music, the Changyang Culture Bureau built the first Tujia '*sayerho*' Practice Base in Ziqiu Town in 2007. It employed four senior *Sayerho* folk masters as tutors to provide free training all year round. Students passed an examination and got the '*sayerho* inheritance artist' certificate from the Ziqiu National Cultural Centre. In the first phase, this Practice Base trained 150 artists. But these

¹⁴⁸ Fan Zuyin 樊祖荫, "Chuantong yinyue yu xuexiao yinyue jiaoyu" 传统音乐与学校音乐教育 [Traditional music and school music education], *Music research* 音乐研究 4 (1996): 20-25.

trained artists only perform a formalised version of *sayerho*. They possess basic *sayerho* skills, but are unable to understand the deep cultural connotations and conduct the ceremony independently. After they received the certificate, most of them went on to work in the tourism industry as performers.

‘I took two apprentices; their skills are, of course, no problem. They perform for tourists. But when we need to dance *sayerho* in a funeral, I still need to go alone. Because *sayerho* has a lot of rules, sometimes they don’t understand.’ (Tian, 78 years old, Tujia singing master)

In recent years, traditional music has been significantly affected and supported by domestic tourism. Particularly with the development of ethnic tourism, a lot of traditional cultures in tourism areas or in minority regions of China have emerged as renewed trends. In the Hubei province where the Tujia people live, there are abundant ethnic cultures that have been developed as tourism resources. However, most developers see death as taboo; they are more interested in culture that has commercial and ornamental value—for example, Changyang Nanqu (a traditional Tujia opera) and shadow play.

There is also an imbalance between the undeveloped or authentic *sayerho* in remote areas and the overstaged or commodified performances¹⁴⁹ that offered to tourists.¹⁵⁰ It is not only about ethnic culture per se, but also about the ambience, the awareness of identity, and the relationship between human beings and nature. Ethnic music, as a significant wealth of a nation, relies on the conscious activities of its members for its inheritance and development, no matter what action is taken by governments or other institutes. An ignorance of cultural interpretation will create a distorted musical culture, and influence cultural inheritance. Hence, people will be

¹⁴⁹ Liangchen2007, "Tujia Sayerho," Youku video, 07:39, posted by "liangchen2007," Aug 18, 2013, accessed July 22, 2016, http://v.youku.com/v_show/id_XNTk3NjE0MTI0.html?from=s1.8-1-1.2.

¹⁵⁰ Tan Zhiguo 谭志国, "Tujia zu feiwuzhi wenhua yichan baohu yu kaifa yanjiu" 土家族非物质文化遗产保护与开发研究 [The Conservation and Development of Intangible Cultural Heritages of Tujia minority] *PhD diss.* (Wuhan: South-Central University for Nationalities. 武汉: 中南民族大学, 2011), 103.

unable to obtain their cultural identity. There is a forgotten (or forbidden) awareness that *sayerho* represents the valuable connection between life and death, where people celebrate death as a release of pain, a rebirth. In the reconstruction of *sayerho*, the sovereign rights are in the hands of the government rather than in the hands of the ordinary Tujia people. The official identity replaces the common identity, and the real cultural inheritors do not establish any deep, national, musical or cultural identity, nor do they take any initiative to put this musical culture into practice.

4.2 To change or not to change? How does one change? – Thoughts on the inheritance and development of traditional music

Traditional music not only looks towards the past but is also rooted in the present. What makes gamelan a well-developed traditional form of music is that it not only inherits the past but is also devoted to making its voice heard by people around the world in the contemporary era. It is the thorough attention and action based on cultural identity that enables gamelan to act out a significant role in cross-cultural communication activities. The Indonesian Government is likely to hold gamelan performances during various ceremonies, recreational activities or international occasions. Representing the developed art of Indonesia, people establish friendly interactions during gamelan performances. The people's identification with gamelan is because it reflects Indonesian culture and values, as the musical essence of gamelan is cooperation.

Any culture is a process of gradual accumulation over a long history. Some cultures often develop and are enriched through certain transformations in different eras. Once formed, certain cultures will stay steady in their characteristics for thousands of years, such as the Confucian culture in China. In the present context of globalisation, multicultural coexistence has become a modern-day reality; the protection of ethnic cultures has become a conscious act for people of all nationalities. People in the academic world hold different opinions on how to inherit culture and on the different forms of cultural inheritance. The fundamental question is whether culture should change when inherited or if it should remain the same.

During my stay of more than a month in Surakarta, this question bothered me, and I kept coming back to whether national music should ‘change or not’. National musical culture is obviously different from other cultures, because it exists within a specific time and space. It is this characteristic that makes music’s inheritance and its protection more difficult than that of other forms of culture. A building, or a piece of handmade historical art, is the product of an era. Once found, we can preserve it, unchanged. In terms of music, instruments are easy to save and copy, and the content of the music can also be saved by modern means today. However, the taste and culture behind the music cannot be presented in texts or through the media, especially with regard to national folk music.

It seems that local people in Indonesia are not critical of the changes in gamelan. They consider the so-called transformation a natural trend. New forms of musical fusion do not hinder the development of original traditional gamelan, but bring out the best in each style of music. When I asked the performers on the Javanese wedding how they viewed *campursari* (when combined with Indian music), they said it is the cultural outsiders who often ‘make a fuss’. I compared this to the traditional music of *sayerho* in Changyang in China. One leading master sings with a drum and others react to the master by answering his call. A prestigious master plays the drum and also acts as a good dancer and singer. Although the lyrics of traditional *Sayerho* are mainly about mourning, they advocate an optimistic attitude towards death. Nowadays, *sayerho* performers use lots of electric instruments, as well as recreational content that has nothing to do with the Tujia’s traditional attitude towards life and death.¹⁵¹ *Sayerho* has become a form absent of any actual meaning; participants do not show respect to the ancestral spirits and to life. It is more noise than seriousness.

It is not only gamelan and *Sayerho*, but any form of traditional music in contemporary society that faces the question of transformation or conservation. In

¹⁵¹ Lin Jifu 林继富, "Sayerho yu xiangcun shehui guanxi jianshe" 撒叶儿嘴与乡村社会关系建设 [Sayerho and the Construction of Rural Society Relation], *Journal of Hubei Institute of Nationalities* 湖北民族学院学报: 哲学社会科学版 5 (2011): 105-109.

tourism studies, staged performances—which are closely related to the development of traditional music—have been critiqued as a hindrance to the sustainable development of traditional music, as emphasis is placed on tourists' tastes. The originality and essence of culture have been forgotten; cultural presenters hence lose their self-awareness and cultural identity. Keeping the authenticity of music and traditional music ambience has a significant impact on the construction of cultural identity. Gamelan in history and in the contemporary era constructs cultural identity by showing tolerance towards, and capacity in absorbing, various musical cultures, while retaining (to a large extent) a severe awareness of its originality and source. It is a lesson for other traditional music forms in the world: no matter how traditional music may transform, a precondition of its sustainable development should always be an emphasis on, and a comprehensive understanding of, its primitive and traditional culture. Besides this, it is the education and cultivation of people—the inheritors, preservers and the presenters—that should be given attention.

Conclusion

This paper considers gamelan and cultural identity as research objects. With the exception of a theoretical literature review, analysis is mainly based on investigations conducted in Surakarta, China and the UK. The paper explores the present situation of gamelan inheritance from the perspective of cultural inheritance, the relationship between gamelan inheritance and cultural identity based on the interaction between the two concepts. Finally, through a comparison of gamelan inheritance and traditional Tujia *sayerho* inheritance, it demonstrates that gamelan inheritance should function as a reference for other traditional forms of music.

In this paper, according to the literature review and the data collected, it is understood that despite mixed cultures, gamelan still maintains strong vitality as a representative of Indonesia's traditional culture. Its success may have a significant impact on the development of other forms of national music. By examining the related literature, this paper briefly combs through the social background of gamelan inheritance, and divides it into folk inheritance and school educational inheritance. It describes the basic condition of folk inheritance and school educational inheritance in terms of the subject, inheriting type and inheritance mode, so that people may gain a more comprehensive understanding of the situation of gamelan inheritance.

In the process of studying gamelan inheritance, I realised that the fundamental power of gamelan's effective inheritance system is based on the Javanese cultural identity. The process of cultural inheritance is the process of constructing cultural identity. By analysing culture and identity, the paper demonstrates two types of gamelan folk inheritance and constructs the potential process of individual cultural identity and ethnic cultural identity. It also shows how school education explicitly builds cultural identity through its methods and content. The paper also discusses the dynamic role of cultural identity in gamelan inheritance from the perspective of the formation and enhancement of cultural consciousness.

Finally, the paper compares and analyses gamelan inheritance with Tujia *Sayerho* inheritance, and discusses the significance of gamelan as a reference model from several

aspects. For example, music inheritance needs continuity, and the ultimate medium of music inheritance is cultural consciousness. Such an inheritance must showcase a unity between history and reality; this raises questions about conservation and innovation in traditional music inheritance.

Keeping traditional music alive is not only significant to the promotion of cultural diversity but more importantly, the conservation of collective memory and identity. We used to ask: 'In what way can we make people know our music better?' Now, I believe the question might be: 'In what way can we make people know themselves better through their own music?'

Appendices

I Proofreading Statement

In line with the University Guidance on Proofreading and Editing for students on postgraduate research programmes, I paid for acceptable proofreading support from Ms. Tashan Mehta who work at Proofreadinglondon(<http://www.proofreadinglondon.com>). The identification and correlation of errors related to word usage (excluding specific terminology), spelling, punctuation, capitalization, headings, quotations, citations, referencing, illustrations, footnotes, grammar and syntax. I confirm that I made final decisions about all issues following her feedback.

II Consent form

Consent form

Information about the project

Title of the study:

Description:

Researcher:

Methods:

Confidentiality and anonymity:

A report on salient points from the interviews will form one part of the written report. Interviewees may opt to be anonymous, to be identified generically by their job, or to be mentioned by name. They may withdraw from the interview and withdraw their consent at any stage.

Nothing will be used in the report without the consent of the interviews. The interview section of the report will never be made public or quoted without permission of the interviewees.

1. Consent signatures

Researcher:

Name: _____ signature _____

Name: _____ signature _____

Informant:

Name: _____ signature _____

2. I wish to: (please circle one and cross out the others)

Be anonymous

Be identified by the followed description: _____

Be identified by the following name and title: _____

3. Please circle any that apply and cross out others:

I request that the recording of the interview be destroyed.

I give permission for the recording of the interview to be stored on a CD.

I give permission for my comments to be quoted or alluded to in /a grant application/, /lecture/ or /publication/ anonymously

Confidentiality and anonymity: A report on salient points from the interviews will form one part of the written report. Interviewees may grant permission for the recording of their interview to be saved. Interviewees may opt to be anonymous, to be indentified generically by their job, or to be mentioned by name. They may withdraw from the interview and withdraw their consent at any stage.

Nothing will be used in the report without the consent of the interviews. The interview section of the report will never be made public or quoted without permission of the interviewees.

III Confirmation of University Ethics approval

Email

From: AHEC <hrc-ethics@york.ac.uk>

To: Ge Wu <633139@soas.ac.uk>

Cc: Neil Sorrell <neil.sorrell@york.ac.uk>

Date: 13 July 2016 at 12:55

Dear Ge,

Thank you for your application to AHEC for ethical approval of your project 'Experiencing gamelan and exploring the correlation between cultural identity and the conservation and development of traditional music'. I am pleased to inform you that your application has been approved by the committee.

Regards,

Helen Jacobs

Administrator, Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee
Humanities Research Centre
Berrick Saul Building
University of York
YO10 5DD
www.york.ac.uk/hrc/ahec

IV Contents of interview

Interview with Prof. Imam Santosa in his office at ISI, Surakarta. 02,19,2015

Prof. Dr. Santosa, M.Mus, MA, Ph.D.

Guru Besar Jurusan Etnomusikologi ISI Surakarta.

e-mail: santosa@isi-ska.ac.id

Q: Would you please tell me something about your personal experience with gamelan?

A: Ok, I graduated from ISI in 1974 and finished in 1980. I taught theory and gamelan practice later on the campus. Eight years later, after I finished my master degree. I went to UC Berkeley to study Ethnomusicology in 1994. When I was there, I also taught gamelan on campus. After I finished, I went back to ISI to teach music theory.

Q: Last time I heard that you've written a book about gamelan in America. Can you tell me more about the content and gamelan in America according to your viewpoint and your experience?

A: Well, this is a long condition which is supposed to have started in the 1950s: UCLA is the first university that introduced gamelan teaching; [Mantle] Hood came to Indonesia and he introduced gamelan from Yogyakarta. Since then a lot of Indonesian students went to America to either study or teach gamelan.

Q: You've mentioned it is the western scholars and the Indonesian students who teach abroad that make gamelan famous around the world. It seems more like a monodirectional output, but as far as I know, more and more international students travel thousand miles to Solo just for studying authentic Indonesian culture, like language, music, fine arts or batik. In terms of music, do you have any idea on the cultural policy and why gamelan attracts foreigners?

A: I think the *Darmasiswa* program really helps a lot in promoting Indonesian culture. It is a non-degree scholarship program extended by the government of Indonesia. Participants can choose their place to study from over 38 participating universities and colleges. The main purpose of the program is to arouse and foster interest in the Indonesian language and culture among citizens of friendly countries and to forge closer cultural links with these nations. Every year, students come here to study for a one year program or less. After they finished, they went back to their country with their unique experience and knowledge they learned from here. You can see it is a favourable interaction; Indonesian culture becomes the bridge to foster an understanding and a communication between different nations.

The reason why they are interested in Indonesian culture might be different. I'm not sure; one of the reasons might be because people say that gamelan, especially Javanese gamelan, is a high culture. Some scholars say that the system, the context, and the way music is performed have a high standard and have its complete system which might be able to compare with western classical music.

Q: Are there any other policies for the development of gamelan?

A: Yes, especially in education. There are high schools in Solo especially for students to learn music, named SMK8. There are two different types of schools; senior secondary school generally. Known as the abbreviation of "SMA" (Sekolah Menengah Atas), and vocational senior secondary school known as "SMK" (Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan). SMA differs from SMK in the purposes and contents of study. The students at SMA are prepared to advance to higher education, while students at SMK are prepared to be ready to work after finishing their schooling without going to university/college. Most of the students in ISI graduate there. In SMK, they can learn dance, music, Wayang Kulit. They are all skillful.

Q: It is said that music as a cultural symbol, just like language, on one hand is describing the world and on the other hand is constructing the world. What content do you think gamelan can describe to the people nowadays and how is it constructing Indonesia's world?

A: There is an inner philosophy root in Javanese gamelan which cannot be found in popular music. That's why gamelan is still vigorous in Javanese society nowadays. The music expresses an attitude of mutual respect. By coordinating in the practice, people communicate and listen to each other.

Q: In China, one feature of the traditional music is the mentoring system. The close relationship between apprentice and mentor is highly praised, just like son and father. And they teach orally which gives music a distinctive personal feature. Hence there will be a variety of genres because no standardised criteria are established. While I have been taking gamelan classes here, I've noticed that there seem to be no unified teaching textbooks for all practice classes. What style the students can obtain depends more on the personal characteristic or style of the teacher. Is this intentional?

A: Like in China, the traditional way of gamelan teaching is orally, because the comprehension of music is much more important than technical practice. As long as the students can learn the core idea of gamelan, it is never a bad thing to be unique. However, playing gamelan is not like playing other western instruments; personal style is not that important because it is more important that the whole ensemble can work well together.

Q: If the students follow different teachers and there is no standard, how can we distinguish their competence?

A: The first level on gamelan performance starts from technical methods. And the second level is the understanding of the essence inside the music. It is easy to reach the first level: all we need is time and practice. But it's so hard to understand the construction of gamelan; we can hear whether they practice by heart, whether they are listening to others or not.

Q: Are there any competitions?

A: Yes, there are gamelan competitions for not only the students, but all people who love gamelan. Usually run by community, institute, or NGO organizer of music festivals. Usually they need to perform one required piece and one optional piece.

Q: Does ISI invite folk artists to teach in the students in ISI?

A: Yes. The boundary has been blurred nowadays. There are a lot of musicians in the village, they are also skillful.

Q :How can gamelan build Indonesian identity?

A: Identity is something about the expression of self. Since more and more foreign students come to Indonesia to study gamelan, as well as a lot of Indonesian people go abroad, either teaching or performing, the music becomes the bond which links non-related people all together. When I was in America, I came across some American music groups performing gamelan where there were Indonesian audiences. They consider it as their music, but when I asked whether they have learnt gamelan or not, they said no. That's quite tricky: if you don't have any idea and never try to get into the music, how can you say that you possess it? Gamelan becomes the reference for those people to express themselves as a group. They may think that gamelan can express the emotion of themselves. I think the school motto can explain: we always talk about

'Tradisi kanggo masa depan,' which means tradition for the future. I wish that the students can understand gamelan music, can explain to their friends and foreign people what the music is and how it is made. Identity is important especially when performing in other countries.

Q: Javanese gamelan used to be performed in the court as a high culture. Who contributes most for the music to come the ground, from 'high culture' to common culture among all Indonesian?

A: I think we should thank ISI—the staff of the institute, and all the teachers, students and local performing groups. We perform a lot and Javanese people like to be together and they always enjoy the music.

Q: I also noticed that the teachers will use a lot of notation in the class. What is your attitude to this?

A: The students have to learn a lot, so the use of notation will give the students more time to practise because they need to write it down. I don't think it's a negative trend because notation does not prevent them from hearing what the others are playing. And we should notice that they don't study western notation or compositions. We keep our own tradition.

Q: Does that mean that gamelan has rarely been influenced by western music?

A: It is impossible to avoid being influenced. There are some influences like triple time which is quite unusual in gamelan pieces. But gamelan has its own irreplaceable status. Because it is the culture of the society, there will always be those who are interested in their traditional culture and will keep the music alive. Especially in Java, gamelan here is a culture so steeped in tradition.

V Questionnaires for Indonesian and international students

Influence of family	
At what age did you begin to learn gamelan?	From 18 to 22
Where did you start to touch upon gamelan music?	Younger than 10 4 students Between 10 and 18 9 students Between 19 and 22 1 students
Who influenced you most in gamelan learning?	1. Parents or relatives 10 students 2. Teacher in school 3 students 3. Local artists in the village 1 student
What made you decide to study gamelan?	The expectation of parents 4 students Personal interests 7 students Realization of responsibility 3 students
Do you want to make a career of gamelan when you graduate? Why or why not?	Yes(9) They explain that they would like to perform gamelan(3), be a composer(2), teach gamelan in school(3) or construct gamelan community(1). No(5) The reasons are as followed, it's hard to find a full-time job by playing gamelan(2), they want to teach other music type(1), playing gamelan is only for interest.(1)
Do your family support you to study Gamelan?	Yes(14) No(0)
Can they play gamelan instruments?	Yes(11) No(3)

Gamelan education in campus	
To what extent do you agree that ISI Surakarta/or Solo is a great place to learn music?	A. Absolutely agree (8 students) B. More or less agree (6 students) C. Somewhat disagree (0) D. Completely disagree (0)
In a typical day, how long will you spend on music practicing/or participating music activities?	A. more than 10 hours (0) B. 7-10Hours (0) C. 4-6 Hours (7) D. 1-3 Hours (7) E. Less than 1 hour (0)
What do you want to learn most during the time in ISI?(Multiple)	1. Enhancement of personal musical artistry (11) 2. Comprehension on music theory and art (10)

	3. Composition (4) 4. Life experience (5) 5. Other (0)	
What percentage will you distribute of your music related activities in a typical day?(totally 100%)	1. Gamelan Practice and activities (30% - 40%) 2. Other music practice and activities (10% - 40%) 3. Reading (10% - 20%) 4. other (10% - 20%)	
Gender identity in school		
	Male students(9)	Female students(5)
When you attend gamelan classes, do you think girls are more silent than boys?	Six students answered Yes. They indicate that girls are more silent than boys because girls are too shy to express themselves boldly(4). Or it is because sometimes the teacher will put more attention on the main instrument players, for instance, kendhang, bonang etc. and most of the time these instruments are played by boys (2). The other three students answered they never notice this.	Three of the female students answered Yes. They indicate that they feel boys are more energetic and showy on the class. Other two students feel there is no difference.
Do you think boys can play better or learn faster than girls?	Two students answered Yes in which girls are less talkative. The other student said the difference in learning new pieces is not obvious, sometimes girls can even learn faster and play better than boys.	All female students answered No. They believe there is no difference.
Do you think some instruments in gamelan are only for boys to play?	In general, most of the kendhang players are more likely to be male players while female are more likely to be singers. however, there is no limitations on gender,	No difference.(5)

	everyone can play all gamelan instrument.	
When performing gamelan, what are the advantages and disadvantages compared to your male classmates?		Sometimes it is better to play with boys, because the class atmosphere will be more vigorous with them.
When performing gamelan, what are the advantages and disadvantages compared to your female classmates?	Most of the students answered they never noticed this before(6). The other three students said girls could be more concentrated than boys.	
Do you think boys have more obligations to promote gamelan to the world?	All students indicate everybody has the obligation to promote gamelan	

Gamelan outside the School	
Which following factors may influence your emotion when doing gamelan performance?(multiple choice)	a. The number of audience(7) b. The reaction of the audience (5) c. The occasion/location of performance (2) d. Your personal interest on the music you play (10) e. others: (for example_____)
Communication through gamelan	
How often will the number of audience influence your passion or emotion in performance?	A. Never(0) B. occasionally (5) C. often (4) D. almost every time (6)
Have you ever talked with <i>Darmasiswa</i> students about music? If you have, what do you think you can learn from them?	Never (5)
	Yes (9) . Practice English (3) . Broaden horizon on music (3) . Talk about gamelan (3)
Have you ever thought about why gamelan so influential that more and more non-Indonesian people are interested in it and come to Solo to study it?	1. because gamelan, especially Javanese gamelan, is the representation of the thoughts and perceptions of ancient Javanese which is historical and influential. As for why they study in Solo, I think it's because Solo is the cultural centre of Java. Solo has a great cultural atmosphere.(10) 2. Because it is so different from the western musical instruments.(4)
Music Taste, Preference	

According to your practice or experience associated with gamelan, which one do you think is more important: a sense of cooperation or the enhancement of individual artistry, and why?	A. A sense of cooperation (11) B. The enhancement of individual artistry (3)
If you are going to hold/attend a _____, /On what occasion you think it's appropriate to play gamelan music/or to take it as music background?	1. wedding ceremony/dating (14) 2. party(friends) (10) 3. Party(family) (7) 4. Business lunch . (0) 5. other_____
When judging a performance or a performer's artistry, which aspects do you consider most important, and why?(Multiple choice)	1. individual musical ability (14) 2. expression of emotion (7) 3. a sense of cooperation (14) 4 . creation and originality (9) 5.other_____
Acceptance and Creation	
Have you ever composed gamelan pieces? If yes, what is the form and content, and what gives you inspiration? What is the most difficult thing when composing gamelan music?	Yes (4) No (10)
Have you ever heard other types of music? If you have, how often do you listen to other types?	A. everyday (8) B. often (2) C. occasionally (4) D. never
Which Indonesian music styles do you love most? (Multiple. For example, Javanese gamelan, Balinese gamelan, Sundanese gamelan, dangdut, keroncong, etc..)	1. Javanese gamelan (4) 2. Balinese gamelan (1) 3. Sundanese gamelan (6) 4. Dangdut music (2) 5. Keroncong (5) 6. Other
Have you ever heard any non-Indonesian music? If you have, which types you have listened to (for example, Chinese music, Japanese music, Indian music, western classical music, pop music etc.)	Western pop music (8) Western classical music (1) Death metal (2) Rock n roll (2) Chinese music (4) Japanese music (3)
Can you play any western instrument? If you can, what is it and how did you learn it?	Guitar (8) Violin. (1) Piano (4) Drum set (3)
What is your attitude towards musical fusion? (a	A. Highly appreciate this positive trend (11)

mix of different music type, for example, like playing pop-music on gamelan instruments, adding western or Chinese instruments to a traditional music piece etc.)	B. Do not like it. It is better to keep the authentic forms (3) C. No idea (0)	
Awareness of Cultural Identity		
To what extent do you agree gamelan is one of the most important cultural symbols/icons of Indonesia?	A. Absolutely agree (8) B. More or less agree (6) C. Somewhat disagree(0) D. Completely disagree(0)	
Do you think that you have the responsibility to make people aware of gamelan and, if so, how have you acted on it?	Yes (12)	Inviting friends to join gamelan rehearsals (10) Constructing gamelan workshops (1) Teaching the kids in my village (1)
	No (2)	
Personal Plan after Graduation		
What are your plan after graduation?	Continuing study gamelan (4) Working in schools or organizations, teaching gamelan (5) Performing gamelan in the community (2) Do other performances (3)	

2. Questionnaire for Foreign Students

Previous experience with gamelan	
Have you studied music in your country? If you have, what kind of music and for how long?	Almost all the <i>Darmasiswa</i> students have previous music experience, either formal contact like being trained in the western music system (4), learning traditional music of their own countries (2) or informal music-making (joining performances in their communities) (1).
When did you start to play gamelan? Can you tell me something about your personal experience associated with gamelan.	In university (5) In Indonesia (2)
Is gamelan well-known in your country?	Yes (4) No (1) Not sure (2)

	Gamelan in China and Sri Lanka is less popular than in Japan, Europe and North America.
How long have you been in Solo?	Most of the students have been in Solo less than one year.
How did you find the <i>Darmasiswa</i> program?	Official documents from the University in their countries (4) Recommendation from friends who have applied to this programme before.(3)
Who influenced you most to study gamelan music?	Myself (5) Teacher (2)
In a typical day in Solo, how long will you spend on music practice or participating in musical activities?	A. more than 10 hours (0) B. 7-10Hours (2) C. 4-6 Hours (4) D. 1-3 Hours (1) E. Less than 1 hour (0)

Process of Acculturation	
Can you share some interesting or unforgettable experiences during gamelan learning? (for example, cultural shock, language obstacles etc.)	Behaviour during performance. (In Java, people are talking and not listening whereas in the U.S. the audience mostly perform on a stage and the audience is completely silent and attentive.) Competition. (Being told there can be snobbery among gamelan musicians and different groups on the interpretation of music.) Teaching method (instead of explaining specifically, the teachers in ISI give students more freedom to listen to each other and feel the regularity and coherence inside the music) Language (misunderstanding of the of the teacher's requirement)
What is the greatest achievement of being a <i>Darmasiswa</i> student and playing gamelan?	All students mentioned that it is the sense of camaraderie. 'In struggling through learning and teaching each other new things we found a family' Besides, there are also personal achievements in learning new instruments (2) and the internal strength of coming to a new country alone.(2)
To what extent do you agree that ISI Surakarta/or Solo is a great place to learn music and it gives you what you're looking for?	A. Absolutely agree (5) B. More or less agree (2) C. Neither agree or disagree(0) D. Somewhat disagree(0) E. Completely disagree(0)
What do you want to learn most during the time in ISI? (multiple)	1. enhancement of personal musical artistry (7) 2. comprehension on music theory and art (7) 3.composition(0) 4.experience of life (5) 5.other: visual arts (1)

What percentage will you devote to your music related activities in a typical day in Solo?(total 100%)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gamelan Practice and activities 10% - 90% 2. Other music practice and activities 0 - 30% 3. Reading 10%-40% 4. other: 0 - 5%
In daily life, have you ever done something to make yourself more Indonesian? (for example, learning the language, befriending locals, reading books about the culture and history)	<p>Learn the language (7)</p> <p>Going to performances (7)</p> <p>Making local friends (4)</p> <p>Learn history or other culture (5)</p>
Being a foreigner or being part of the Javanese community, which one do you enjoy more during your time in Solo?	All students said it is important to try to be part of Indonesia because they are living in their culture. However, the identity of foreigners never disappears.
As foreign students, have you met any trouble on the gamelan classes?	<p>Language Barrier. (7)' Sometimes the teacher will teach in Javanese, not only Indonesian. Generally not understanding what is being said, but having a good background in playing gamelan means that I can usually get through the language barrier by understanding musically rather than through language.'</p> <p>Unbalanced learning speed caused by different levels of basic training.(1)</p>
When you attend classes with Indonesian students, do you think gender has anything to do in students' musical practice? (Please specify)	Yes. Girls are meek and boys tend to be a little bit rowdier.(2) Boys tend to dominate the class.(1)
	No.(4)
Do you think boys can play better/or learn faster than girls?	<p>Gender has anything to do with it.(6)</p> <p>Boys are more active, not shy to ask questions which may help them to understand the music.(1)</p>
When learning gamelan, what advantages and disadvantages do you think you have compared with	Disadvantage is also advantage, being seen as a visitor, not much is expected from <i>Darmasiswa</i> students therefore teachers focus on the local students more (5). Advantage is less pressure to memorise new pieces.

local students? (Please specify)	Foreign students, especially students who have 'western tuning system ears' need more time to remember the melody.(2) Another advantage is that foreign students have more money to take private classes.(1)
Will the local students be glad to help you when you face any difficulty?	Yes(7)
How often do you join parties with local students?	Quite often (4) Occasionally (2) Never been invited(1)
Have you made local friends in other universities or other majors? If you have, do they have any different character compared with local music students ? Are they interested in gamelan music?	Six students have made friends in other departments in ISI, for instance, tari (dance), pedhalangan (puppetry). They are all interested in gamelan. Some of the students in the other universities are also interested in gamelan music.
Do you think an interpersonal relationship with the Javanese can be built more easily by talking about gamelan music?	Definitely helps.(7) ' It helps with my credibility to be here and I feel like most Javanese are excited that I am learning gamelan even if they don't know anything about it. '
Have you ever tried to recommend any music of your country to the local students? Do you think they are open minded?	Yes (2) No (5)
Can you enumerate local places where you have performed?	Blora, Wonorejo, Isi pendapa, gramedia & wisma seni.
Can you illustrate one of the most unforgettable gamelan performances you have taken part in and what was it for?	Performing for about four hours in a traditional Javanese wedding ceremony in Boyolali.(5) Performance in my own country.(2)
How often will the audience number influence your passion or emotion in performance?	A. Never B. occasionally(2) C. often (3) D. almost every time(2)
Which of the following factors will influence you emotionally when performing gamelan?(multiple choice)	a. The audience number (4) b. The reaction of the audience (2) c. The occasion/location of performance (1) d. Your personal interest in the music you play (5) e. others: (please specify:)

When comprehending or playing gamelan music, have you ever met the problems of putting personal judgments or a sense of cultural bias that base previous auditory training and aesthetic habits?	Often Occasionally (2) 'In Western orchestral music you are supposed to play exactly on the "beat" but in gamelan it is good practice on some instruments and for some occasions to delay a bit. ' 'when you first listen to gamelan music it can sound strange to a western ear, because of the use of different scale systems and piece structure, but with time and exposure it makes more and more sense and sounds more and more beautiful.' Never (5)
When judging a performance or a performer's artistry, which aspects will you consider most? (Multiple choice)	1. Individual musical ability (1) 2. Expression of emotion and how it affects me (audience) (5) 3. A sense of cooperation (7) 4 . Creation and originality (2) 5.Other_____
What criteria will you use when judging if a piece of music is beautiful or not?	According to <u>feeling</u> (7). It could be a delightful fragment, acoustics, emotional resonance etc.
Have you ever composed gamelan pieces? If yes, what is the form and content, and what gives you inspiration? What is the most difficult thing when composing or playing gamelan music?	Never (6), but would like to write a piece in the future.
How often do you listen to other non-Indonesian music types after you came to Indonesia?	A. Everyday (5) B. Often (2) C. Occasionally D. Never
Have you ever learnt any Indonesian music except gamelan? (for example, dangdut, keroncong, etc..)	Dangdut, <i>campursari</i> , Minang music, Riau Music
What is your attitude towards musical fusion?	It could be a positive trend if a comprehensive understanding on both individual music has been obtained(5) or the piece is beautiful. Negative()
Do you think someday gamelan will be replaced by other music types?	No.(7)
To what extent do you agree	A. Absolutely agree (4)

<p>gamelan is one of the most important cultural symbols/icons of Indonesia?</p>	<p>B. More or less agree (3) C. Neither agree or disagree D. Somewhat disagree E. Completely disagree</p>
<p>According to your previous experience, do you think personality can be affected by musical activities? For example, music makes you more communicative, tolerant, peaceful etc.?</p>	<p>Yes(7). It cannot be ignored that gamelan has its healing function which could probably bring out the more positive sides of our personality (2)</p>
<p>To what extent do you agree that musical taste can be used to build self-identity and group identity?</p>	<p>A. Absolutely agree (7) B. More or less agree(0) C. Neither agree or disagree(0) D. Somewhat disagree(0) E. Completely disagree(0)</p>
<p>Have you ever taken any action to make your friends know more about gamelan?</p>	<p>Sharing story in Indonesia.(3) Inviting friends to join gamelan performance.(6)</p>
<p>What's your plan after you graduate?</p>	<p>Travel and meet musicians(1) Study (4) Teaching (2)</p>

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