



The dynamic phenomena of *strékan* music from colonial to contemporary era in Situbondo

✉ Panakajaya Hidayatullah

Faculty of Cultural Science, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

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Abstract

This research is an anthropology of music which discusses the dynamics of *strékan* music from colonial to contemporary era in Situbondo. In Situbondo, *strékan* is a term which refers to music for welcoming guests. By ethnography method and postcolonial perspective, this research will discuss social problems and phenomena of *strékan* music. The result of this research shows that a change of *strékan* music signifies a change of social condition in Situbondo. In colonial era *strékan* is assumed by people like music for elite class. The field data show that there is unequal power relation between colonized and colonizer. In pasca-colonial era the hierarchy relation becomes ambivalent. It appears negotiation space between colonial signs and Madurese culture of Situbondo people, considered to be symbolic resistance. *Strékan* music is reinterpreted as music for low class. In the contemporary era, *strékan* music tends to market oriented. *Strékan* music includes *dangdut* music, following market taste as a consequence of commercialization of art.

Keywords: *strékan* music; colonial, Situbondo; Madurese; *dangdut*

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Introduction

Since the colonial era, Panarukan had been a strategic area and trading center in Eastern Java. It began with the Portugese people arrival in 1580 which then built bastion for hoarding spices of the trade from Moluccas, until the Dutch arrival in 1743 by VOC (Arifin, 2008, p. 147). Panarukan is an early name of Situbondo Regency in the colonial era. The name Panarukan then changes to be Situbondo after issuance of government regulation of republic of Indonesia number 28 the year 1972, date 28th September 1972 about Change of Name and Removal of the seat of Panarukan Regency Government (Arifin, 2008, p. 155).

Dutch colonial government made Panarukan as an industrial area, central government (Besuki Residency) and trade center in 1800's. The project of Anyer-Panarukan road, by Governor General Daaendels 1808-1811, was a way for facilitating transportation to this strategic area (Arifin, 2008 p. 148). As an industrial area, Panarukan had six sugar factories and one Arabica coffee factory which operated since the colonial era, which was sugar factory of Demas, Wringin Anom, Olean, Pandji, Mangaran, Asembagus and Arabika Kayumas coffe factory.

Panarukan city became the end of the Daendels road, because it became the most important port in eastern Java. The port of

✉ Corresponding author: Jalan Kalimantan No. 37, Sumbersari, Jember, Indonesia
E-mail: panakajaya.hidayatullah@gmail.com

Panarukan became a center for hoarding agricultural products in a coastwise of Bali strait, which then exported to abroad, such as coffee, sugar and tobacco *naoogst*, which were regularly exported and auctioned in Rotterdam Dutch and Bremen Germany (Arifin, 2008, p. 153).

As a central government which had important role in the colonial era, it indeed has given big effects and influences to social and cultural development in that area. One of the important things to discuss is an appearance of *strékan* music. *Strékan* music is known by people as colonial music functioned as music for welcoming guest or high officials in regency. Today, *strékan* music still exists and becomes popular, although it has changed, also in the meaning.

Like other hybrid music which is born from process of cultural encounter like keroncong, tanjidor, dangdut even some national songs (Ganap, 2011; Yampolsky, 2001; Weintraub 2012; Mintargo, 2008), *strékan* music also has the same phenomena which is appropriation result of cultural encounter between Western culture and local Madurese culture. Madura is a dominant culture in Situbondo Regency (based on statistic data of Madurese people in 1845) (Arifin, 2008, p. 164). Until now, based on filed observation, Madurese culture still becomes dominant in Situbondo. Based on history, Madurese people in Situbondo were migrants from Madura island. According to Husson, Madurese people migration to the north coast of eastern Java happened before the 19th century, and deforestation was a progressive and continual process since the 17th century as a result of big demography pressure. (Husson, 1997, p. 79).

This article will discuss some research problems related to social phenomena of *strékan* music which are; 1) How do social context and history influence a change of *strékan* music from colonial to contemporary era; 2) How do Situbondo people interpret the music in each era; 3) How does cultural encounter bear a 'new' space in a context of music. Some researches that are relevant and correlated with social

phenomena of music: article by Wadiyo (2011, p. 115) entitled *Campursari Manthous: Between New Music and Social Phenomena of Supporting Community* and Joko Wiyoso (2011, p.: 1-9) article entitled *Collaboration Between Jaran Kepang (Plated Horse Play) and Campursari: an Innovation of Traditional Art*. Wadiyo's work focused on social fact aspect people who lived in Gunung Kidul, Klaten, Boyolali, and Semarang through the Manthous Campursari phenomenon, meanwhile Wiyoso's work talks about plated horse art performing changing form in people context in Kendal Regency in the contemporary era. Both research relevancy is pinpointed on research topic about social phenomena of music, otherwise the differences are in those objects, perspectives, and used methodologies.

Method

This research talks about musical anthropology using multidiscipline approach. Specifically this research uses post-colonial perspective. The multidiscipline approach is required because the qualitative data is quite complex and multidimensional.

A method used in this research is ethnography which took steps in research including 1). Data collection; and 2). Data arrangement. Data collection step was technically done following the new ethnography method of James P. Spradley which added some supporting elements. The following steps were, 1) Participant observation; 2) Choosing informant; 3) Interviewing informant; 4) Listing ethnography notes; 5) Asking descriptive questions; 6) Analyzing interview; 7) Musical transcription; 8) Literature analysis.

Data which had been collected then classified according to groups and categories for further data arranging and analyzing. Classification is done according to its relevancy with applied theory in research. After being classified, then it's concluded as following the pattern and data correlation. Classified data is then analyzed descriptively using theory as a foundation.

Results and Discussion

Strékan in Colonial Era (1830's - 1940's)

Strékan is a term used by Situbondo people to call music functioned for 'ngambâ' tamoy' (welcoming guests) in *parlo* event (wedding party). *Parlo* is a term in the Madurese language which refers to a wedding party of Madurese people in Situbondo, *parlo* in the Madurese language means 'interest'. Based on history, this term (*strékan*) comes from the Dutch language. *Strékan* players and the people interpret it as a style which has a similar meaning to *stijl* (Kutunuk, personal communication, April 18, 2016). In vocabulary, the word is close to word *trek* which, in the Dutch language, means 'interesting'.

The term *strékan* had appeared since Dutch colonial era. The term early referred to brass band/marching band played by a native soldier (KNIL) for welcoming guests (officials) in Regency (Kutunuk, personal communication, April 18, 2016). Brass is a term for a group of wind metal music instruments, which generally consist of trumpet, trombone, horn and tuba (Banoë, 2003, p. 61). KNIL (*Koninklijke Nederlandsche Oost Indische Leger*) is a colonial soldier, taken from natives, and mercenary army from France, Belgium, Germany and Switzerland. It was formed in 1830 with an early name *Oost Indische Leger* then changed to KNIL on King Willem I advice in 1836. These soldiers were mostly taken from natives people in Nusantara. Its recruitment system was by taking a youngster from the village, in collaboration with village chief or local headman. If they passed and became soldiers, they got a cash advance. (Matanasi, 2007, p. 23). *Strékan* music was played by dozens of native soldiers, from playing music procession around town square to playing music in the center of the town square in seat format. The music played was mars song in the Dutch language (Kutunuk, personal communication, April 18, 2016). Its music instruments were trumpet, trombone, horn, tuba, bass drum, snare drum, and clarinet. *Strékan* music became identical

music played for welcoming guests/officials in certain celebration or formal ceremony in a regency.

At that time, Situbondo people began to know brass music, but this music was still odd and not really popular. Until in late 1940's, some families from native soldiers then formed their own *strékan* music group. One of them is *strékan* music group named "Chandra Keluarga". The group is family music group in which some players are ex-colonial soldiers who have ever played *strékan* music before.

A format of *strékan* music "Chandra Keluarga" is different to former *strékan* music. The *strékan* group of Chandra family plays music with a smaller format, which is 7-8 people. The music instruments are also quite different to conventional music instruments which are trumpet, trombone, horn, tuba, bass drum/*jidur* (in a big size with diameter 1 to 1,5 meter, using leather membrane and accessories of cymbal above), drum (snare drum using leather membrane), clarinet, tambourine and vocal. From these instruments, at a glance it looks similar to *tanjidor* music, but bass and snare drum used are different to *tanjidor* music. If it is seen from instruments remnants, some brass instruments are products from Germany. There is a brand, *Armin E voigt Markneukirchen Sa*, printed in the instrument. The use of instrument from Germany, at that time, was most likely because Situbondo was an area designed by the colonial government as a central port in east Java. The port became trade center and current of exchange, transaction, buying and selling goods inter-countries.



Figure 1. A remnant instrument of brass *strékan* music orchestra from 'Chandra Family'.

'Chandra Family' group does not only play music with mars rhythm but also some rhythm like bossanova, belero, waltz, ballad and other Latin rhythms. A most played song is *bésame mucho* (Marsyiah, personal communication, July 24, 2016).

In the beginning, this *strékan* group was formed to entertain Dutchmen and their descendants (Indo people) who lived in a Dutch cluster area. They play music regularly every Sunday in that cluster area. By music, they accompany Dutchmen who sing, dance and eat supper (Marsyiah, personal communication, July 24, 2016). Soekiman explains Indies lifestyle and their entertaining music group as follows.

"Among their servants (man or woman), there are those who specifically have a duty to entertain as music players. From this group, it then forms what is called by F. De Haan as *slaven concerten* or *slavenorkest* (music players). Having *slavenorkest* shows a luxurious lifestyle with certain degree among *landheer* at that time" (Soekiman, 2011, p. 47).

The statement above matches to a player who says that they play music with unfair wages. At that time, *strékan* music was assumed as elite and modern music. Suratno explains hierarchy position between colonized and colonizer in the colonial era. Dutch is posited superior and arrogant in front of Indonesian people who are natives (colonized) (Suratno, 2013, p. 1). Domination and hegemony power of colonizer then force the natives to follow and accept every aspect of their culture (Koentjoroningrat, 2000, p. 180).

The natives express a 'pride' of Dutch culture assumed as modern and superior by means of *strékan* music. The existence of "Chandra Keluarga" music group and its intensity to entertain Dutch people then begin to be accepted by natives, and some of them ask them to play in *parlo* event. Until in early Independence period, people began to know *strékan* music as music for welcoming guests in *parlo* event in Situbondo. Music *strékan* in *parlo* event becomes a signifier of a host social

status. Those, who are able to have the *strékan* music in their event, are considered to be high class degree.

Strékan in Pasca Kolonial Era (1940's - 1970's) Strékan Jidur / To' Jher

The appearance of *strékan* brass music in the wedding party of Situbondo people becomes a trigger for the birth of other *strékan* brass music. In Situbondo city, there are *strékan* brass music groups, which are Chandra Keluarga, Chandra Kirana and Borobudur (Marsyiah, personal communication, July 24, 2016). Besides in the city area, there are also many *strékan* brass music groups in Asembagus (east Situbondo). Asembagus is an area where has the most *strékan* brass music groups. This music is also known as *strékan jidur* or *to' jher*. *Jidur* is a term in the Madurese language to call *bedug* (drum) usually used in the mosque. The term *jidur* is used to call *strékan* brass music genre because of its similar bass drum model. While *to' jher* is onomatopoeia of the brass music sound.

Asembagus becomes a place where bears many brass music. It was because in the colonial era, in Asembagus there was a theatre named 'Wijaya' which often showed *tonil* drama (*toneel*). *Tonil* drama is a drama/play which uses brass music. Besides, in early independence period, drum band music was very popular. Almost every community organization such as Anshar (youngster community organization affiliated to Nahdatul Ulama, established in 1934) and Lesbumi (*Lembaga Seniman Budayawan Muslimin Indonesia* - Institute of Indonesian Moslem Artist and Humanist is an independent organization of NU which houses some artist and humanist groups, established in 1962 (Chisaan, 2008, p. 117)) had drum band music group in each sub-district. Therefore in that era, Asembagus people became familiar with that brass music (Rajana, personal communication, July 23, 2016).

In pasca-colonial period (in the late 1950's), *strékan* music had changed its instruments. *Strékan to'jher* adds bamboo flute instrument and *kendhâng malang* (*ken-*

dang). The most played songs are mars, bossanova, belero, ballad, waltz and other Latin rhythms. Besides, songs with *melayu* rhythm like Mashabi, Ida Laila and some Madurese dangdut songs also become a must song in *parlo* event, even more dominant (Rajana, personal communication, July 23, 2016). Usually, *strékan* music plays in front of *labâng gelidik* (gate of a wedding party) by sitting from 8.00 a.m. to 10.00 p.m. *Labâng gelidik* is a local term used by Situbondo people to call gate of a wedding party. It usually uses accessories of a banana tree, yellow young coconut leaves and banyan leaves.

In Asembagus, the first group which initiates *strékan to' jher* is *strékan* Al Fajar orchestra. Al Fajar was established by Suhamo around 1950's. According to some players, in the pasca-colonial era, not all *strékan* players are pure artists. Some of them mostly work as officials, unskilled workers, sugar factory workers, wardens, farmers etc (Rajana, Suhannat and Saha-mo, personal communication, July 23-24, 2016). It can be said that *strékan to' jher* music are working class music. A change of model and interpretation in society signify a change of social condition at that time. People do not call *strékan* music as elite Dutch music anymore. They then reinterpret *strékan* music as popular music. Merriam (1964) explains the relation between music and social condition in his book *Antropology of Music* as follows.

"Music is a uniquely human phenomenon which exists only in the understanding of social interaction; music is created by people and to other people, music is learned behavior. Music does not and does not exist only, by, from and for itself.; there must be a human who does something to produce it. Simply, music cannot be defined only as sound phenomena, because there is individual behavior inside which wants a social consensus of society who decides what can and cannot be done" (Merriam, 1964, p. 44).

The emergence of *strékan to' jher* music phenomenon is a result of the cultural encounter, especially Western culture

from colonialism which is then processed and appropriated by a local sense of Situbondo (Madurese culture). Bhabha said that cultural encounter between colonizer and colonized often occurs conflictual and antagonistic, rather than dialogical and consensual (Bhabha, 1994, p. 2). Bhabha then explains the concept of cultural difference. Cultural difference understands culture as signifying practices (Bhabha, 1994, p. 34). Cultural difference space enables the emergence of hybrid space, third space, in-between space or beyond space. Its consequence causes a process of crossing signifier and involving various cultural expression, communicating each other for the sake of cultural recognition and freedom of dynamic various human expression. By means of cultural difference, dominant discourse can be disrupted, which, in Bhabha perspective, can be done by mimicry.

Mimicry is a mode of representation. It tends to repeat or imitate rather than re-represent, its similarity is partial, which make it remain difference (camouflage) (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Its presence is incomplete and has multiple articulatory signs. Mimicry is produced in liminal space, borderline or around ambivalent discourse, therefore it has the disruptive effect of dominant discourse. Its logical consequence makes the discourse split, ambiguous and fractured (Bhabha, 1994, p. 86).

Model of *strékan to' jher* music imitates the model of *strékan* from a colonial soldier. They imitate its colonial music style for welcoming guest but in a local sense. Therefore it emerges something difference as a kind of cultural translation. Instead of following elite and modern music style of the colonial with a sense of European music, *strékan to' jher* even gives a unique style of brass music with a dominant sense of Malay music and Madurese *dangdut*. Process of imitating, which is not completely the same, then creates hybrid identity in negotiation space (subversive - disruptive)

This next concrete example is a use of musical theme when welcoming guest.

Strékan to' jher has a typical music (melody) theme as signifier when guests are coming. The musical theme becomes basic theme generally played in every *parlo* by all groups of the *strékan* orchestra in Situ-bondo. Here is a part of theme transcription.



Figure 2. Notation transcription based on Rajana speech

The part of musical theme above is a melody played when welcoming guests. The melody is played with march rhythm. Rajana explains the musical theme as follows.

"The melody is a must played by every *strékan to'jher* orchestra when guests are coming, the melody becomes sign or code which has 'magnetic' power. When the melody is played, all people will know that guest are coming" (Rajana, personal communication, April 18, 2016).

Musical theme with march rhythm is a musical theme played by soldier players of *strékan* music in colonial era for welcoming official guest in the district. Use of the melody signifies that a change of *strékan* music from colonial to pasca-colonial era does not automatically erase or change the format at all. *Strékan to' jher* players use/play the sign assumed as 'elite' music in order to be used in different cultural space. They imitate Western elite music tradition to present it in cultural space of low/working class tradition. They play colonial signs with cultural local signs, which make colonial signs slippage.

Model of march music with the musical theme of a colonial soldier is a model of working class speech by means of imitating (mimicry) music style in welcoming colonial elite guest in cultural space of low class people. Bhabha explains that "mimicry does not (completely) follow, because in mimicry, it tends to contain a mockery."

(Budiawan, 2010: xii). Mimicry could mean attitude of admiring as well as resisting, which means that subjects (*strékan* players) have an agency of interpreting colonial *strékan* music. The autonomy or agency of subject could mean disobedience of colonial values.

Mockery explicitly can also be seen in *slenge'an* act during the break of the play. Here is an example of fun dialog in *strékan* music group Al Fajar in a *parlo* event.

"One of the players provokes topic of jokes by saying *Ta' éberri' nasé' niko kang!!*, *ma' tadâ' ka' angka'na* (there is no food for us, no one brings the food). Then another player answer, *nyaré sé raddhin ka' angka' pas* (let's find a beautiful girl, and bring the food together). Then they all laugh, even sometimes the jokes become a talk by *tokang siaran* (MC)" (Sahamo, personal communication, July 24, 2016).

The joke during the break of the play is a kind of negotiation space of *strékan* Al Fajar to *strékan* music style of a colonial soldier which seems serious and very discipline. Instead of imitating very discipline performance style, they even show disobedience attitude by *slenge'an* act. *Slenge'an* refers to act of disobedience, ignorant and careless. They mock colonial style of *strékan* music by the jokes.

In this case, the subject has shaken system of the sign in colonial discourse, it exists outside the sign and continuously shakes established the structure of meaning. Its position leads to movement of ambivalent signifier, undecidable and tense movement which opens hybrid space. They, who are workers, implicitly counter and 'mock' its former elite tradition in a 'new' space by ambiguous mimicry act.

Strékan Tétét/Saronén

In the same era, the *strékan* term is not only interpreted as brass music, but also refers to every music group played for welcoming guests (*ngambâ' tamoy*) in *parlo* event. There are some music groups often called as *strékan* music which is *to' jher*, *strékan tétét* dan *strékan tabbhuwân / klénengan*. *Klénengan* and *tabbhuwân* refer

to Madurese gamelan music group usually in a wedding event, in Situbondo. The group usually plays Madurese song with *kéjhungan* vocal.

Before *strékan to'jher*/brass orchestra exists, Situbondo people have art music tradition called *tétét* music or in Madura known as *saronén*. The term *tétét* is coming from the onomatopoeia sound of that music instrument. In Situbondo, this instrument is popular as *tétét* rather than *saronén*. *Saronén/tétét* has been assumed by Madurese or non-Madurese people as Madurese instrument (Bouvier, 2002:55). *Tétét* music has been popular music in Situbondo, because most Situbondo people are Madurese who migrate to Situbondo since a long time (Husson, 1997, p. 86). Bouvier explains *tétét* instrument based on its organology,

"Saronen is a cone-shaped music instrument made of the teak tree with six holes in front and one on the back. A small annulet made of brass (*konéngan*) ties the back part to stainless steel part (*pessé poté*). Its tip, made of palm wood, clamps its doubled tongue (*pépet*) made of *sepat* or palm leaves (*tarébung: Borassus flabellifer* L). In its tip, it adds a wing from coconut shell (*pétok*) which looks like player's moustache when blowing it." (Bouvier, 2002, p. 56).

In Madura, the *saronén* orchestra is related to cow (for cow race competition/*karabhân sapé*) and beautiful cow competition *sapé sono'*), and horse (for the ritual ceremony in shrine tomb or wedding party) (Bouvier, 2002, p. 56). In Situbondo, *tétét* is often used to accompany bride entourage line. One entourage (*rombongan*- local term to call traditional art group in Situbondo) *tétét* usually consists of *tétét*, *kennong tello'* (three *kenong*), *ghung* (gong) and *cak kocak/kencér* (Kutunuk, personal communication, April 18, 2016).

In *parlo* event, *tétét* entourage line begins the show by playing music instrument by walking, accompanying bride entourage procession. Until today (2016), this tradition still continues, even the show sometimes adds *jârân kéncha'* (rocking horse)

attraction. Cultural encounter, which happens antagonistically, also influences model of *tétét* music show, the change can be seen from costume and its show formation. Here is a costume used in the *tétét* show in Situbondo.



Figure 3. Procession of *tétét* music in *parlo* event, in Kalbut (Situbondo). Source: Misyono documentation in 24th July 2016

Figure 3 is an example of *tétét* entourage show model when parading bride in Situbondo. Kutunuk explains costume used in the *tétét* show as follows.

"In the past, *tétét* show in Situbondo only used *kalambhi pésa'*, but now it has changed along with the times, philosophically now its costume is pointless" (Kutunuk, personal communication, August 24, 2016).

Kalambhi pésa' is typical clothes of Madurese people which consist of a white t-shirt with red striped, covered with black shirt unbuttoned and using black trousers (Prasisko, 2015, p. 77). The statement explains a change of *tétét* show costume. From the costume, the entourage uses a uniform with striking red dominant color, which is pink. The striking color use in Madurese culture has its own meaning. Konstantinos Retsikas has explained in his research, that there is a relation between the rough and hard characteristic of Madurese people with their favorite color preference which is light and striking.

"Thermal and colour dispositions are interrelated for the hotness of blood which is directly associated with the colour red, the colour par excellence of 'Madurese' sifat.

Reddish colours and gleaming combinations are commonly interpreted as manifesting the turbulent tentions imagined to inhabit the 'Madurese' person, its uncontrollability of emotions and extrovert disposition"(Retsikas, K., 2007, p. 192).

Color, especially, of clothes is assumed as a kind of articulation or manifestation of human characteristics. This means that rough and hard characteristic of Madurese people are represented by means of striking color. Madurese people articulate their characteristic of openness and bluntly through clothes color signifier (Prasisko, 2015, p. 60). Hub De Jonge also explains the same thing about the color preference of Madurese color clothes, "either Madurese man or woman likes striking and rousing color, such as scarlet, yellow, green, orange, light blue" (De Jonge, Huub, 2011, p. 66).

Costume used by *tétét* entourage at glance is like soldier uniform with accessories on head and bracelet in hand, but it is still incomplete because there are other accessories also used such as wristwatch (used by *saronén/tétét* blower), sport shoes, soccer socks, sunglasses and black skull cap (used by *saronén/tétét* blower). Nordholt said that "clothes is social skin and our culture" (Nordholt, 2005, p. 1). Laurie also said that clothes are an expression and identity of the person, because the clothes we wear will describe and define ourselves (Nordholt, 2005, p. 1).

The use of costume by the *tétét* group is a way of how they articulate their identity. By means of the costume, they express hybrid identity which is a symbol of modernity, presented through wristwatch, sports shoes, soccer socks, sunglasses, and symbol of tradition seen from soldier uniform. Hybrid identity then emerges as something new and ambivalent, it is not something modern, but also not fully traditional. Besides costume, the hybrid form is also seen from how they do procession. The procession is done by a *tétét* group almost the same like what drum band group usually does. They line up ti-

dily while playing instruments. There is something which makes it look different from just only drum band parade, they do not just line up tidily, but also combine it with simple choreography/dance motion (looks like dancing). This hybrid costume and motion often become parody and entertainment for people. The 'unique' show spontaneously makes the audience laugh and fun. The phenomena show how mimicry is again used in a 'new' space. As Bhabha called mimicry as an act of 'imitating as well as resisting', which often contains mockery. Mockery is seen from their eccentric gesture and show.

Besides procession, *strékan tétét* is also appropriated to *strékan to' jher* model. *Strékan* is identical to a music performance for welcoming guest with seat format. After *strékan tétét* finish to parade the bride, they then present music with seat format. In *parlo* event, the *strékan tétét* group usually sits beside *strékan to' jher*. *Strékan tétét* is placed on left side of the gate and *strékan to' jher* on the right side of wedding gate. The two *strékan* groups are alternately playing the music. Here is a photo of the *strékan tétét* orchestra playing by seat format in a *parlo* event.



Figure 4. *Strékan tétét* when playing in seat format. Source: Misyono documentation in 24th 2016

When these two groups are playing side by side, it actually signifies a contestation. There are two groups directly interact each other. Rajana explains it as follows.

"In the past, *strékan to' jher* and *strékan*

tétét were performing side by side when welcoming guest. Implicitly, it depicts competition between tradition and modernity. Visually, *strékan to' jher* tends to call more modern and classy compared to *strékan tétét*. It is also seen from seat position, we, *strékan to' jher* players, usually sit on a chair, while *strékan tétét* sit crossed-leg on the floor with a mat. The contestation is actually shown from the outside, we are, in fact, mingling each other, we are joking and we, at a certain moment, even play shaking a hand, we call it *gudung*" (Rajana, personal communication, April 18, 2016).

Agus' statement explains that there is power relation in *strékan* music in *parlo* event. The two *strékan* group meet in a performance space, which then depicts a contestation between tradition and modern. *Strékan to' jher* with the Western element is assumed as modernity symbol, visually seen from its seat position on the chair, while *strékan tétét* is assumed as tradition symbol from its seat position, sitting crossed-leg on the floor with a mat. If it is seen visually, it actually shows unequal power relation between modernity (elite) and traditional (subordinate), clearly seen from that space.

Power relation is not always stagnant, as Bhabha said, in some condition phenomena can be bias and ambivalent. It is seen concretely when doing "*gudung*". *Gudung* is a term which refers to a musical expression when the two *strékan* groups together play music emotionally. Here is Rajana explanation about *gudung*.

"When all music groups sound together, it calls *gudung*. In Asembagus, there were three music groups which are *strékan to' jher*, *strékan tétét* and *strékan tabbhuwân*. *Gudung* sounds all music groups there, *gudung* is accompanied by sowing yellow rice. When *gudung*, the players are very emotional, playing music out loud (*nyéng-ranyéngan*), the groups compete for each other to play louder" (Rajana, personal communication, April 18, 2016).

Gudung is played when a wedding couple comes to wedding area and there

come important guests. When doing "*gudung*", the atmosphere becomes emotional, music sound becomes 'chaotic' (disorder), western music idiom from *strékan to' jher* is mingled with sléndro pentatonic sound, a typical characteristic of *strékan tétét* music. Musically, the sound is actually 'chaotic' and disorder, but in the tradition of Madorese culture, the sound signifies fun expression. From this phenomenon, it shows how the system of the sign in the position of hierarchy power relation becomes 'chaotic' when doing '*gudung*'. *Gudung* shows the phenomenon of hybrid sound which potentially tends to disrupt the system of the sign in established power relation.

Strékan in Contemporary Era (1970's - Now)

The anti-imperial politic of Soekarno in 1960's which declaimed influence of America and Europe commercial culture, opened a gate for popular music from India and the middle east. (Weintraub, 2012, p. 64). Vigorous film industry from India, Malay and Arab give their own atmosphere for *strékan* music. In 1960's, in Situbondo city there were two movie theaters named Nirwana and Dahlia. This place became the only entertainment for people, while television was still rare, and only owned by rich people (Kutunuk, personal communication, April 18, 2016). The movies became sources of inspiration for *strékan* music. Gradually, its instruments have changed, firstly it added accordion, bamboo flute, instrument, *kendang*, contrabass and tambourine. The additional instruments also change its musical characteristic, from using mars, bossanova, belero and other latin music to dominant Malay rhythm.

Until early 1970's, when *dangdut* music begins popular, then *strékan* music change, following a trend of the times. From its instruments, they continually change to instruments usually used in Malay orchestra, which are electric guitar, electric bass, *ketipung*, tambourine, flute and keyboard. Its instrumental change goes in line with a development period of *dangdut* national music which begins to

use the electric instrument in 1970's (Sasongko, 2006, p. 20).

Today (2016) *strékan to'jher* music in *parlo* event has transformed to use all instruments of Malay orchestra and the songs played are *dangdut*. The players realize the change because of demands of the times, market and demand from audience taste. They, whether want it or not, must change the outdated music format to modern music and more popular in society (Rajana, Suhannat and Sahamo, personal communication, July 23-24, 2016). According to Hauser, something underlies the birth of popular art is boredom. Boredom then causes (*restlessness*) (Hauser, 1982, p. 580). The change of performance in *strékan to' jher* to *strékan dangdut* is a logical consequence of commercialization of art.

Although, it changes musically and instrumentally the name is still the same, by still using the name, *strékan* music. Musically, *strékan dangdut* does not have a certain musical characteristic, *strékan dangdut* music usually plays *dangdut piur* song (*dangdut piur* is a term used by Weintraub to differ rhythm of pure *dangdut* with ethnic and *koplo*), with a slow rhythm. Especially, the songs played are 1970's songs, such as songs from Rhoma Irama, Rita Sugiarto, Ida Laila etc.

Strékan dangdut still continues instrumental characteristic of former *strékan* music. Typical instrumental characteristic of *strékan to' jher* style when welcoming guest do not lose at all. *Strékan dangdut* music changes instrumental music with mars rhythm in the style of *strékan to' jher* to instrumental *dangdut* music (the song which deletes its lyric and melody, then changes to instrumental music play). A song usually played instrumentally by *strékan dangdut* music is entitled '*Pertemuan*' (A meeting) by Rita Sugiarto. Its vocal melody song is played by flute instrument. Here is a photo of *strékan dangdut* orchestra in a *parlo* event.

The Figur 5 explains that *strékan* music has changed many things, also changed interpretation of its performance model. Now this *strékan* music has used a stage

usually placed in wedding area, beside *kuade* (bride seat). The change of performance model also changes its musical function. It formerly places in front of wedding gate and functions as '*ngambâ' tamoy*' (welcoming guests), now it changes to entertainment music to accompany guest while enjoying the food.



Figure 5. *Strékan dangdut* Melodi Ria
Source: Rasyid Melodi Ria collection

Today *strékan dangdut* and *tétét* music still exist in Situbondo society (Based on field observation, in Kalbut (North Situbondo) in *parlo* even (wedding party) of Yuliyanti and Vijri Nur Rohmatillah in 24th July 2016, there are two *strékan* groups which are *strékan dangdut* and *strékan tétét*). It is different to *strékan to' jher* music which has transformed to be *strékan dangdut*, *strékan tétét* still maintain its performance model and formation like before. That two *strékan* music still perform in a performance space in *parlo* space, but its contestation space has been different to the era before.

Conclusion

The dynamic change of *strékan* music model from colonial to contemporary era becomes a sign of social condition change in Situbondo. In the colonial era, by means of colonial domination and hegemony, *strékan* music emerges as modernity sign and is interpreted by people as 'elite' music. *Strékan* music in colonial style is a brass music group functioned as music for welcoming important guests/officials in the district. There is unequal power relation

between colonizer (dominant) and colonized (subordinate) seen from *strékan* music. The birth of *strékan* group 'Chandra Keluarga' as *slavenorkest* is an example which can be interpreted as a kind of colonizer' power to colonized

Cultural encounter, which occurs conflictual and antagonistic, then opens a negotiation space. Established hierarchy position then becomes ambivalent. *Strékanin* pasca-colonial era plays colonial system of the sign by means of imitating a part of the colonial *strékan* style, which is then appropriated and processed by a local sense of Madurese culture in Situbondo. This creates a hybrid identity in negotiation space. In a pasca-colonial era, *strékan* music is reinterpreted as popular/working class music functioned as music for welcoming guests (*ngambâ' tamoy*) in *parlo* event.

Government politic of anti-imperialism in 1950's and popularity of *dangdut* music in national music industry arena also influence *strékan* model and function in Situbondo, in the contemporary era. Model of *strékan* music has transformed to be Malay orchestra (*dangdut*). The change is a logical consequence of commercialization of art. In the contemporary era, *strékan* music is then interpreted as entertaining music for commercial people.

Music and society have a dynamic relation. The adaptation process is a kind of society creativity, which must be appreciated in order to maintain the dynamic process and translate it in the changing social condition of society.

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- and *strékan* dangdut Sandes in Asembagus
Age: about 50 years old
Name: Imam Kutunuk
As: A cultural observer of Situbondo
Age: about 70 years old
Name: Suhannat
As: A music player of *strékan jidur/to' jher* Al Fajar Muda in Asembagus
Age: about 60 years old
Name: Sahamo
As: A music player of *strékan jidur/to' jher* Al Fajar in Asembagus
Age: about 80 years old
Name: Marsyiah
As: A music player of *strékan* Chandra Keluarga and Chandra Kirana in Situbondo city
Age: about 60 years old
Name: Rasyid
As: A music player of *strékan* Melodi Ria in Asembagus
Age: about 60 years old
Name: Misyono
As: A wedding party host in Kalbut, Situbondo
Age: about 50 years old

Informants List

Name: Agus Rajana
As: A music player of *strékan jidur/to' jher*