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The Representations of and the Responses toward Hybridity in Indonesia: A Systematic Review

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Abstract

This study examines the pervasive nature of hybridity in Indonesia, recognizing modern Indonesia as a nation shaped by the dynamic interaction of diverse influences. Acknowledging varying acceptance levels of this reality, the research synthesizes studies on hybridity in the country from the past fifteen years (2009-2024) to map the multifaceted landscape of hybrid identity. Through close reading and observation, the project investigates three core areas: (1) identifying primary loci where hybridity manifests; (2) exploring constituent elements contributing to hybrid identities, tracing their origins; (3) analyzing the spectrum of responses to hybridity. Analysis reveals that studies of hybrid identity in Indonesia encompass nearly all forms of cultural expression, spanning literature, culinary, architecture, music, and performance. This ubiquity highlights hybridity's deep integration into Indonesian cultural life. Contributing elements are equally diverse, drawing from Indonesia's rich tapestry of ethnic communities and global interactions shaping the archipelago over centuries. This confluence of local and global influences creates a dynamic cultural mosaic. The study finds that the dominant response to hybridity in Indonesia is one of embrace and celebration. Most research emphasizes the positive aspects of cultural fusion, highlighting the creativity and innovation born from blended traditions. However, some studies express concern about hybridity potentially threatening perceived essential values within specific cultural expressions. These contrasting perspectives underscore the ongoing dialogue surrounding hybridity in Indonesia and the need for nuanced understandings of cultural evolution. This research offers a comprehensive overview of current scholarship on hybridity in Indonesia, providing valuable insights into the dynamic interplay of cultural influences shaping Indonesia's identity.

Keywords: *hybridity; representation of hybridity; loci of hybridity; responses to hybridity*

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Introduction

Indonesia, as a modern state, has always been, even since its conception, built upon the realization of its plurality and, therefore, hybridity (Ricklefs, 2008; Vickers, 2013). The good question here is not why so and how to overcome it. Plurality and hybridity are two facts that Indonesians need to accept and make their own unique characteristics. What they need to do is, to the best possible, understand the nature of their plurality and hybridity and use them to get them as close as possible to the ideals of the nation set by the founding fathers as can be read in the preamble of its 1945 Constitution, i.e. to protect the whole Indonesian nation and the entire native land of Indonesia and to advance the public welfare, to educate the life of the nation, and to participate in the execution of world order which is by virtue of freedom, perpetual peace and social justice.

Indonesian society is a pluralistic one because what makes it up—or what builds Indonesia, put it another way—is a hugely diverse group of people in terms of their ethnicities, races, social classes, religions, education levels, geographies, and others. Plurality can, therefore, be said as a second nature of Indonesia. In order to bind together or unite that highly pluralistic society, Indonesia, following Benedict Anderson (2006), needs to employ a two-folds complex mode, i.e. that mode that can be simply defined as (1) looking back and (2) gazing forward. These modes need to be exercised together, sometimes with highlight and emphasis on one over the other, but definitely one cannot produce the best result without the other.

The mode of 'looking back' briefly means searching for historical references and evidence that are believed to provide the common or shared ground of becoming one people. Smith (2009) emphasizes the importance of shared myths, memories, and symbols in the formation and endurance of national identities. He argues that nations are often built upon pre-existing ethnic cores and traditions. In what later can be termed as 'the Indonesian canonical-shared history', that plural community is made to believe that they had collectively shared common experiences, justifying the emergence of solidarity among them. Those experiences can either be factual, meaning that they really happened in the history of the people like that Indonesian people were colonized by the Dutch, or fabricated, suggesting that they are invented and then appropriated. Either one is welcomed as long as they help enhance and strengthen the feeling of solidarity and unity.

With this mode of looking back, it is not surprising that Indonesian history that is taught in the countrywide schools, from elementary to tertiary levels, will include a tracing back as far as the period of ancient kingdoms that once existed in the archipelago, particularly that of Srivijaya (7th-12th century) and Majapahit (13th-16th century), two kingdoms that Indonesian regimes considered the biggest and the most representative in terms of their width and area. This mode of looking back as far as this is not done because of the realization that those kingdoms are the embryo of Indonesia. It is done simply to give solid grounds or justification that the feelings of solidarity and oneness had been around for a very long time. When the colonialism era took place, this, too, was appropriated and made into another 'fuel' to move the engine of imagined solidarity and oneness. Bad fate that was imposed on a group of people by those that they claimed as 'proper others' can indeed be a strong bond among the people. The plural, therefore, by looking back feels that they are 'singular.'

In the second mode, i.e. gazing forward, Indonesians strive to strengthen their solidarity among others by imagining a glorious future that awaits them all as long as they stick together and work for it as one people. To borrow from Lijphart (1984), "gazing forward" in a pluralistic society means actively designing and maintaining political institutions and practices that anticipate and mitigate potential conflicts arising from diversity. It's a pragmatic, rational choice by political elites to ensure the long-term stability and democratic viability of the state by making compromises and sharing power today for a more peaceful and united tomorrow. Modern states, like Indonesia, lack binding myths and therefore they need to gaze forward to see the horizon ahead. Just like the mode of looking

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back where it does not really matter what is true and factual from what is made up and fictional as long as they help enhance the solidarity, so does the mode of gazing forward. Whether on the way to materialize the goals, it is found that these ideals are frequently betrayed by the elites of the state, as long as the gazing got refocused and recentered through various means of indoctrination or fabrication, this mode is definitely accepted.

The plurality of Indonesians also means that there is almost limitless possibility of exchange of cultures, ideas, commodities, to mention few of them, among the citizens. These exchanges make Indonesians unavoidably hybrid. In other words, hybridity is another natural thing of Indonesia (Day & Foulcher, 2002). Indonesian identity is a hybrid identity. By hybridity it refers to cross-cultural 'exchange', where the result is a third space that embodies creativity, ambivalence and in-betweenness. In a non-essentialist perspective, meanwhile, identity itself is something both given and, at the same time, a product of social and cultural construct, which in turns create a third space where something new and never exist before might be invented (Budiawan in Darmawan, 2014; Limanta, 2021).

As an identity, hybridity provides a socio-political context where ambivalence as well as creative space to invent a new identity out of old ones are made possible. In terms of Indonesian nation building, hybridity is something that must be accepted and cultivated to help the people manage their lives together peacefully and to, when possible, help them achieve their national goals as stated in the Preamble of 1945 Constitution.

However, despite the awareness among academics and scholars of hybridity as something which is naturally Indonesian, the government and many Indonesians still believe in and 'daydream' of the existence of a 'singular' Indonesian identity, the one which is pure and untainted by the impurity of exchanges. They sanctify their ideal of a single Indonesian identity, and are more than ready to stamp whoever critically questions it as non-nationalistic or non-patriotic.

Methodology

This paper adopts a systematic review methodology to thoroughly map and analyze existing academic literature on hybrid identity in Indonesia over the past fifteen years. The primary aim is to synthesize findings from diverse studies, identify recurring patterns and theoretical approaches, and ultimately illuminate unique forms of hybrid identity that are particularly salient and potentially beneficial within the Indonesian context. This comprehensive overview is intended to serve as a foundational "map," guiding future research and enabling the formulation of informed hypotheses regarding the multifaceted nature of hybridity in this pluralistic society.

The "literary method" employed in this review involved a rigorous qualitative analysis of relevant scholarly works. Following an initial identification phase, selected studies were systematically analyzed and categorized based on their primary "loci of hybridity" and their explicit or implicit attitudes towards hybridity. The five specific loci of hybridity, identified as crucial analytical categories for this review (e.g., linguistic, religious, ethnic, cultural, and socio-political hybridity), served as the primary framework for organizing and interpreting the findings. Within each locus, the studies were further examined for their theoretical underpinnings, empirical examples, and the broader implications drawn regarding the nature and implications of hybrid identity.

Data collection for this systematic review followed a structured process to ensure comprehensiveness and relevance. Initial searches were conducted across prominent academic databases, utilizing a combination of keywords related to "hybrid identity," "cultural hybridity," "ethnic identity," "loci of hybridity," and "postcolonial identity," specifically combined with "Indonesia" and "Indonesian society." Inclusion criteria strictly limited the review to peer-reviewed journal articles, scholarly book chapters, and academic books published within the last fifteen years (2009-2024), focusing on studies directly addressing or providing substantive examples of hybrid identity within Indonesia. Studies were excluded if they did not meet the

geographical or temporal scope, or if their focus on hybridity was tangential. Titles and abstracts were screened for initial relevance, followed by full-text review for eligible articles to ensure alignment with the research objectives and to extract key findings pertaining to the five loci of hybridity.

The systematic and transparent approach to data collection and analysis ensures the reproducibility of this review for future research. The specific databases, detailed keyword combinations, explicit inclusion and exclusion criteria, and the predefined analytical framework (the five loci of hybridity) mean that other researchers can follow the identical steps to verify the findings or conduct updated analyses. This methodological transparency provides an audit trail, allowing for critical evaluation and replication of the literature mapping process, thereby enhancing the reliability and trustworthiness of the insights generated from this review.

The Loci of Hybridity

As the second nature of Indonesia, hybridity can be found in many and diverse loci of cultures and it cannot be more emphasized here that this situation has been a norm rather than an exception, once again suggesting the naturalness and high level of its prevalence and, possibly also, acceptability among Indonesians. It should also be stated that the existence of that hybrid nature is never singular, meaning that there are criss-crossing and overlapping of multiple hybridities, even among fairly simple artifacts of culture or small groups of people.

The study of cultural identity and hybridity in Indonesia is quite broad in scope. From scientific articles on the proceedings of national seminars, articles in various academic journals, and theses, three important points related with hybridity in Indonesia can be pointed out, namely (1) the variety of cultural works studied, (2) the various elements forming the hybridity of identity, and (3) the arguments from the studies of those various articles. The selections of the topics widely varied. The different focuses of these inquiries show that the study of hybridity and identity in Indonesia seems to be inexhaustible resources.

In this article, five loci of hybridity in Indonesia will be explored and analyzed. Those loci include literature and culture, architecture, food, music, and performance. The decision to focus this systematic review on hybridity as manifested in literature, architecture, food, music, and performance was driven by a careful consideration of both their analytical prominence and their empirical richness within the Indonesian context. While indeed many other cultural domains, such as art or traditional costumes, also exhibit significant hybrid characteristics, our selection was based on several key factors. Firstly, these five chosen loci represent highly dynamic, widely consumed, and publicly accessible spheres of cultural expression in Indonesia. Unlike perhaps some niche art forms, hybridity in literature, architecture, food, music, and performance directly impacts and is experienced by a broad spectrum of the Indonesian population in their daily lives. This pervasive presence makes them exceptionally fertile ground for observing the active processes of cultural synthesis, adaptation, and reinterpretation, offering tangible and visible evidence of how diverse influences are absorbed and re-expressed. Their fluidity allows for continuous evolution, showcasing ongoing negotiation and integration of varied elements.

Secondly, these areas have demonstrably attracted substantial scholarly attention regarding hybridity within Indonesian studies, making them rich in existing literature available for systematic review. This existing body of academic work provides the necessary depth and breadth for a meaningful analytical mapping, allowing us to identify recurring patterns, dominant theoretical approaches, and specific empirical examples that illuminate the nature of Indonesian hybridity. While other areas certainly hold potential, concentrating on these well-documented fields allowed for a more focused and comprehensive systematic analysis within the scope of this paper. Future research, building upon the framework established here, could certainly extend this inquiry into other equally fascinating areas like visual arts or fashion,

thereby expanding the 'map' of Indonesian hybridity further.

1. Literature and Culture

From literary and cultural perspectives, novels and periodicals offer a compelling lens through which to interrogate the complexities of hybridity. Winarni (2018) investigates two novels by Pramoedya Ananta Toer (*Bukan Pasar Malam*) and Marcel Pagnol (*Topaz Sang Guru*), to analyze identity formation through the interactions between the colonizer and the colonized in Indonesia. She shows how the characters or narratives in these novels exhibit elements of mimicry (e.g., adopting colonial education, language, or social norms) and how this process leads to their formation of a complex, often conflicted, and inherently hybrid identity as individuals or as a representation of Indonesian society under or after colonial influence. Winarni's findings underscore the persistence of colonial dynamics, encapsulated in the acts of mimicry and marginalization, as exemplified by the persecuted teacher figures in these narratives.

Expanding on Winarni's insights into identity and mimicry, Fadloly (2019) examines the portrayal of cultural hybridity in Pramoedya Ananta Toer's *Bumi Manusia*. Utilizing structural and postcolonial frameworks, Fadloly elucidates how the protagonist, Minke, embodies hybrid subjectivity by initially adopting mimicry, only to later resist colonial structures upon recognizing systemic injustices. This analysis foregrounds the dialectic between adaptation and opposition as defining features of hybrid identities under colonial regimes.

Complementing this literary exploration, Tazkyatun (2019) applies a similar postcolonial lens to Sergius Sutanto's *Mangun*. Her study extends the discourse by situating hybridity within contemporary contexts, emphasizing how globalization and social media influence translocal identities among Indonesian youth (Gushevinalti, 2013). This perspective underscores the fluid and dynamic nature of hybridity, which evolves through the interplay between modernity and tradition.

The transformative role of social media in constructing hybrid identities is particularly salient in present-day Indonesia. Digital platforms and e-commerce not only enable the performance of selfhood but also facilitate engagement with global cultural currents while preserving local distinctiveness. This phenomenon echoes Winarni's (2018) theoretical framework, which employs hybridity, mimicry, ambivalence, and marginality to scrutinize colonial legacies. Her findings remain relevant for examining how historical patterns of dominance and resistance inform contemporary cultural negotiations.

Extending the discussion to ritual practices, Maslikatin, Anoegrajekti, and Macaryus (2015) investigate the hybridity embodied in Using (Seblang Bisari, Seblang Baungan) from Banyuwangi, East Java, and Nini Thowong from Bantul, Yogyakarta. Their research highlights how these rituals synthesize diverse cultural elements through song, dance, and spiritual performances, facilitating social cohesion and cultural continuity. By juxtaposing these practices, the authors underscore hybridity as a mechanism for sustaining cultural integrity amid diversity.

Utami and Sokowati (2021) further exemplify hybridity's adaptability through a semiotic analysis of *Go Girl!* magazine. While its English title signals Western influences, the magazine preserves local cultural sensibilities in its content, illustrating how hybridity negotiates cross-cultural exchanges. Their findings affirm that hybridity operates not as mere assimilation but as a nuanced process of integration that preserves core cultural identities.

In conclusion, these studies in the realm of literature and culture collectively illuminate hybridity's multifaceted manifestations across Indonesian literature, rituals, and media. From colonial mimicry and resistance in novels to the hybridization of identity through globalization and traditional practices, hybridity emerges as a robust framework for examining cultural transformation. Whether reflected in literary narratives, ritual performances, or contemporary media, hybridity serves as an analytical bridge

connecting historical legacies with modern cultural negotiations, thus demonstrating its enduring relevance in the study of identity and cultural dynamics. Within the Indonesian context, the findings resonate strongly with long-standing scholarly interpretations of Indonesia's national identity as inherently hybrid. Both the foundational national ideology of Pancasila and the national motto, 'Bhinneka Tunggal Ika' (Unity in Diversity), encapsulates a conscious state-sponsored embrace of hybridity, advocating for a cohesive national identity that does not erase, but rather integrates, its vast ethnic, religious, and linguistic differences. This suggests that the manifestations of hybridity we observed in literature, rituals, and media are not isolated phenomena but are deeply embedded within and reflective of the broader, ongoing project of Indonesian nation-building, a project that has historically relied on the negotiation and integration of diverse influences. At the same time, this paper's interpretation of hybridity in Indonesia finds compelling parallels and distinctions when critically compared with experiences in other formerly colonized regions, notably India. The British colonial encounter in India, much like the Dutch in Indonesia, produced complex cultural transformations. Scholars like Homi K. Bhabha, whose concept of 'mimicry' we alluded to, theorized extensively on the ambivalence and subversive potential of colonized subjects adopting aspects of colonial culture in India. This process, where the colonizer desired a reformed, recognizable Other but received a 'not quite/not white' copy, produced hybrid identities that were neither fully traditional nor fully colonial, instead occupying a 'third space' of cultural innovation and political challenge. Similarly, the emergence of Anglophone Indian literature by authors like Salman Rushdie profoundly explores hybridity, not just as a linguistic phenomenon (e.g., the co-existence of English and local languages, sometimes creating new creoles), but as a fundamental aspect of postcolonial identity, memory, and narrative construction. While the specific colonial powers and local cultures differed, the underlying dynamics of cultural borrowing, resistance, and the emergence of new, synthesized forms of identity through mimicry and syncretism present striking conceptual similarities that underscore the universality of certain postcolonial experiences while highlighting Indonesia's unique synthesis.

2. Architecture

Architecture, as both a functional necessity and a profound cultural expression, serves as a compelling canvas for exploring the intricate dynamics of hybridity (Kostof, 1995). Buildings are not merely inert structures; they are dynamic repositories of history, power, and cultural exchange, embodying the layers of influence that shape societies over time. Within the built environment, hybridity manifests when distinct architectural traditions, design principles, materials, or aesthetic vocabularies intersect and fuse, creating novel forms that defy singular categorization. This process often arises in contexts marked by colonialism, migration, trade, or globalization, where diverse cultural practices are brought into close contact. Examining architectural hybridity thus offers a tangible lens through which to understand how different societies negotiate identity, integrate new ideas, and perpetuate unique cultural syntheses in the material world.

Employing a post-positivist paradigm and case study methodology, Hidayat (2012) investigates the spatial hybridity embedded in the design of a 'Peranakan' Chinese house in Lasem, Central Java. Lasem is a well-known town in the north of Java where many Chinese first settled and made their livelihood before they spread to other parts of the island. The study aims to elucidate how historical, cultural, and political interactions are materialized through architectural forms, resulting in a synthesis or "hybridization" of Chinese and Javanese cultural elements. This distinctive architectural expression, characterized by its novel designs, is uniquely rooted in the region, underscoring the localized manifestation of hybridity.

Hybrid architectural forms are further exemplified by mosques incorporating Chinese architectural elements, such as the Demak Mosque, Kudus Mosque, and Jepara Mosque. Yunariono (2019) conducted an ethnographic investigation into the hybrid designs of these Chinese-influenced mosques,

identifying explicit elements of Chinese culture embedded within their structures. Notably, the tiered roof of these mosques bears resemblance to pagodas, reflecting stylistic influences from China (Handoko et al., 2024; Asri, 2024). Historical records also highlight the role of Chinese artisans in constructing the Demak Mosque, where techniques such as 'sokotatal,' akin to the mast-joining methods used in traditional Chinese 'Jung' boats, were employed (Yunariono, 2019). This analysis reveals the cross-cultural exchanges integral to these hybrid designs, a phenomenon observed across various Indonesian mosques reflecting Chinese and other local influences (Sudikno et al., 2018; Yunariono & Andriati, 2020).

In examining cultural hybridity beyond architecture, Sugiyanto (2021) explores artifacts housed in the Yogyakarta Palace Museum (MKY, *Museum Keraton Yogyakarta*) as a site for negotiating Western and Javanese cultural identities. These artifacts serve as material archives of cultural hybridity precisely because museums, especially palace museums, are inherently spaces of historical representation and contested heritage. The objects displayed are not merely visual spectacles but are deliberately collected, commissioned, and exhibited to encapsulate historical and social narratives that reflect intricate processes of cultural mimicry and resistance. This "how" of hybridity's formation in these artifacts is exemplified through their very materiality and stylistic choices. Sugiyanto posits that the fusion of Western and Javanese cultural elements in the artifacts, such as crystal and marble household items, European-style *cangklong* pipes, and portraits of nobles that parallel European artistic standards, illustrate a distinct form of identity hybridization. This phenomenon aligns with Homi K. Bhabha's (1994) theory of mimicry, where the colonized subject's imitation of the colonizer's culture is 'almost the same, but not quite,' thereby creating a space of ambivalence and opening up new possibilities for cultural expression and identity formation. In this context, the "Western" influence primarily refers to Dutch colonial aesthetics, technologies, and broader European (e.g., British, French, German) artistic and social standards that permeated Javanese elite society during the colonial era. The museum, therefore, emerges as an exhibition space where these intricate power dynamics and complex cultural negotiations are visibly articulated and perpetuated through the objects themselves.

Extending the discourse to the intersection of tradition and modernity, Sumardiyanto (2012) critically examines the future trajectory of traditional Indonesian architecture amid modernization. Traditional architecture, renowned for its harmonious integration with nature, faces increasing marginalization due to the rise of modern architectural practices driven by technological advancements in construction systems and materials. While modern architecture prioritizes efficiency and mass production, it often risks erasing the social and aesthetic diversity intrinsic to ethnic architectural traditions. To address this tension, Sumardiyanto advocates for hybrid approaches, exemplified by Henri Maclaine Pont's architectural designs that synthesize modern rationality with traditional forms, as seen in Puh Sarang Church, Kediri. Similarly, Y.B. Mangunwijaya's design of the Sendangsono Catholic Pilgrimage Center embodies a philosophy that celebrates cultural values and ecological harmony, demonstrating how architectural practices can honor local traditions while embracing modern innovation.

These various studies as a collective underscore the enduring prevalence and relevance of hybridity as an analytical framework for understanding cultural and architectural transformations in Indonesia. Whether expressed through spatial configurations, ritualistic designs, or museum artifacts, hybridity in Indonesian context emerges as a lens through which negotiations between tradition and modernity, local and global influences, and historical and contemporary identities can be critically examined.

3. Food

As a vast archipelago with a rich tapestry of cultures, Indonesia boasts a vibrant and diverse culinary landscape. This diversity is

not merely a collection of distinct regional dishes but rather a dynamic interplay of flavors, ingredients, and cooking techniques, resulting in a remarkable prevalence of hybrid food forms. The constant interaction and exchange between different ethnic groups, both indigenous and those who migrated to the islands over centuries, have fostered a culinary environment where fusion and adaptation are the norm rather than the exception. This phenomenon of culinary hybridity is deeply woven into the fabric of Indonesian cuisine, reflecting the nation's history of trade, migration, and cultural exchange.

Kurniati (2017), employing a combined descriptive qualitative and ethnographic approach, explored the hybrid nature of *laksa*, a prominent Peranakan (Chinese Indonesian) dish in Tangerang, near Jakarta. Her research revealed two distinct varieties: *Laksa Nyai*, utilizing local rice noodles, and *Laksa Nyonya*, influenced by Chinese culinary traditions, featuring *bihun* (rice vermicelli) and chives. The coexistence of these two versions, often indistinguishable to local consumers, underscores the fluidity of culinary boundaries and the seamless integration of diverse influences. This fusion has resulted in a shared culinary identity, where *laksa* is embraced as a local dish regardless of individual ethnic affiliation.

The hybridity of Indonesian cuisine is further exemplified by Purwaningsih and Humaedi (2019a) in their ethnographic study of *pengkang* in Mempawah, West Kalimantan. They demonstrated how population migration and the mingling of Malay, Bugis, Madurese, and Chinese communities have shaped this traditional dish. While the taste and presentation of the brisket component reflect Malay culinary practices, the flavors and ingredients draw inspiration from the Chinese, Madurese, and Bugis traditions. Consequently, *pengkang*, a dish of sticky rice stuffed with dried shrimp, embodies a fusion of culinary influences, showcasing the dynamic interplay between different cultural groups.

Even seemingly modern culinary trends reflect this hybridity. Aditia, Saleha, and Sutawikara (2016) investigated the popularity of ramen in Bandung, West Java, a city renowned for its dynamic culinary scene. Their research, combining observation, interviews, and literature review, revealed a fascinating blend of Japanese and local Indonesian elements. This trend strongly reflects hybridity because the foreign culinary form (Japanese ramen) is not merely imported wholesale but is actively transformed to resonate with local palates and ingredient availability, demonstrating a dynamic interplay between global influences and local specificities. While retaining core Japanese terminology (e.g., Jigoku Ramen, Marugame Udon, Kuma Ramen) and elements of Japanese restaurant aesthetics, the ramen served in Bandung consistently undergoes adaptations in taste (e.g., spicier broths, richer flavors) and ingredients (e.g., local meat cuts, specific vegetable toppings) to cater to Indonesian preferences. This adaptive process is driven by the desire to integrate the foreign novelty into the familiar culinary landscape, making it both accessible and appealing to a broader local consumer base.

While direct historical culinary similarities between traditional Indonesian and Japanese food might be limited compared to, for example, Chinese or Dutch influences, the contemporary assimilation of Japanese cuisine showcases Indonesia's broader capacity for culinary acculturation. This localization of a foreign dish powerfully demonstrates the pervasive nature of culinary hybridity in Indonesia because it reflects a historical and ongoing propensity for cultural synthesis. Indonesian food culture has a long-standing tradition of absorbing and reinterpreting foreign influences, evident in staples like *nasi goreng* (a local adaptation of Chinese stir-fry techniques) or *martabak* (a popular street food with Indian/Middle Eastern origins that has been thoroughly Indonesianized). Thus, the integration and transformation of ramen in Bandung stands as a contemporary testament to Indonesia's enduring and active engagement with cultural blending across its diverse culinary landscape.

This localization of a foreign dish further demonstrates the pervasive nature of culinary hybridity in Indonesia. The examples discussed above highlight the inherent

hybridity of many Indonesian cuisines. From traditional dishes like *laksa* and *pengkang* to contemporary adaptations of international favorites like *ramen*, Indonesian food reflects a continuous process of cultural exchange and adaptation. This dynamic interplay of culinary traditions has resulted in a rich and diverse gastronomic landscape, where hybridity is not merely a characteristic but rather a defining feature of Indonesian culinary identity.

4. Music

The dynamic interplay of cultures in Indonesia has not only shaped its culinary landscape but also profoundly influenced its musical traditions. The archipelago's rich history of cultural exchange and adaptation has fostered a vibrant and diverse musical scene characterized by hybridity, where traditional forms blend with contemporary influences, creating unique and evolving genres. This phenomenon of musical hybridity is evident across various genres, from contemporary compositions that fuse traditional and modern elements to the evolution of popular music forms that incorporate diverse stylistic influences. For instance, Kroncong, a beloved genre, exemplifies a historical fusion of Portuguese-influenced melodies and string instrumentation with local Indonesian lyrical and harmonic sensibilities. Similarly, Dangdut, Indonesia's hugely popular folk and pop genre, showcases a fascinating blend of Indian vocalizations, Malay rhythms, and Western pop instrumentation. Beyond these, contemporary composers frequently engage in Gamelan fusion, integrating traditional Javanese or Balinese Gamelan instrumentation and scales with Western classical, jazz, or electronic music. This pervasive integration of diverse stylistic influences, whether in long-established or emerging genres, underscores how musical hybridity serves as a powerful testament to Indonesia's continuous cultural negotiation and innovation.

Amica et al. (2017), alongside other researchers, delved into the compositional origins of Ardawalika, a piece attributed to Gustu Brahmanta, exploring its fusion of traditional Balinese music and jazz. Their research, titled "Musical Hybridity in Gustu Brahmanta's Ardawalika Composition," identified several key elements contributing to this hybridity, including the use of pastiche, a hallmark of postmodern aesthetics. The application of bricolage principles, evident in the incorporation of instruments with distinct tonal scales, further underscores the composition's hybrid nature. The researchers concluded that Ardawalika's musicality represents a confluence of Balinese traditional musical conventions and jazz idioms, each contributing "denotative and connotative meaning" to the composition's score.

Dangdut, a ubiquitous and enduring genre in Indonesian popular music, provides another compelling example of musical hybridity. Its widespread appeal across both urban and rural populations has prompted scholarly inquiry into its evolving nature. Raditya (2013) argued that "dangdut does not merely insist on upholding its original value, but it also follows the direction of the time," suggesting an inherent adaptability. His research highlighted the integration of diverse elements, such as musical instruments, lyrical themes, vocal styles, and the evolving "dangdut musical habitus," contributing to its contemporary hybrid form, which defies categorization within a single stylistic framework.

The transformative journey of the West Javanese traditional bamboo instrument, *arumba*, offers further insight into the dynamics of musical hybridity. Daryana and Murwaningrum (2018), employing Jorgensen's musical transformation sketch, examined the instrument's evolution in their study, "The Transformation of Arumba Music Instrument: A Manifestation of Hybridity That Goes Global." Their research demonstrated how *arumba* has undergone significant transformations to achieve broader appeal and recognition. Initially primarily a tool for entertainment, *arumba* has transitioned into an educational resource within universities. This shift in role, position, and image, driven by evolving cultural contexts and individual interpretations, has propelled *arumba* from local prominence to global recognition, showcasing its adaptability and hybridity.

In conclusion, the examples of Ardawalika, dangdut, and *arumba* demonstrate the pervasive nature of musical hybridity in Indonesia. These diverse musical expressions, each in their own way, reflect a continuous process of cultural exchange, adaptation, and innovation. The blending of traditional forms with contemporary influences, the incorporation of diverse musical elements, and the adaptation of instruments to new contexts all contribute to a rich and dynamic musical landscape where hybridity is not merely a characteristic but a defining principle.

5. Performance

The dynamic process of cultural hybridity in Indonesian context is also particularly evident in the performing arts, where traditional forms are often reinterpreted and blended with local influences, resulting in unique artistic expressions. The evolution of *ketoprak* provides a compelling example of this phenomenon, demonstrating how a traditional Javanese performance form has been transformed and integrated into the cultural landscape of North Sumatra.

Ketoprak (or *kethoprak* in Javanese), originating in Java, is a traditional performing art characterized by costumed actors portraying stories typically centered on Javanese nobility and commoners. This theatrical form, when introduced to North Sumatra by Javanese migrants who moved under the government's transmigration program, underwent a significant transformation, evolving into *ketoprak dor*. This new form, named after the *jedor* percussion instrument that accompanies the performance, exemplifies the hybridity inherent in Indonesian performing arts. The narratives presented in *ketoprak dor* draw from two primary sources: folklore, such as the tales of Damarwulan and Warok Secadarma, and *carangan*, newly written storylines that often reflect contemporary social issues.

Suyadi (2019), in a semiotic study of North Sumatran *ketoprak dor*, found that the Melayu Deli community has embraced this transformed performance as an integral part of their local culture. This acceptance signifies that *ketoprak dor* is no longer solely associated with the Javanese, the dominant ethnic group in Java. The adaptation process involved a fusion of Javanese and Malay cultural elements, contributing to the performance's increased popularity, accessibility, and local relevance. This cultural exchange, as reflected in *ketoprak dor*, underscores the dynamic nature of cultural identity and the fluidity of artistic traditions.

The case of *ketoprak dor,* therefore, illustrates the transformative power of cultural hybridity in the realm of Indonesian performing arts. The adaptation of a Javanese theatrical form into a distinct North Sumatran performance demonstrates the ongoing dialogue and exchange between cultures within the archipelago. This process of adaptation and localization not only enriches the artistic landscape but also fosters a sense of shared cultural ownership, strengthening community cohesion and reflecting the multifaceted nature of Indonesian identity.

Guntaris (2019) discusses another hybrid performance in his article. This is related to a performance called "Barongan Blora." Guntaris's work portrays Barongan Blora as a living example of hybridity, continually transforming and integrating diverse elements while maintaining a distinct identity rooted in its specific Javanese heritage. Barongan Blora, a traditional Javanese performance art, embodies a historical hybridity stemming from the syncretic nature of Javanese culture itself. This would involve the blending of ancient animistic beliefs, Hindu-Buddhist influences, and later Islamic elements, all of which contribute to the symbolism, rituals, and narrative structure of the performance. The "dialectic" suggests an ongoing negotiation between these layers.

Responses to Hybridity in Indonesia

The examination of hybridity within the Indonesian context reveals a complex and multifaceted landscape of cultural expression. As demonstrated in the preceding sections, studies of hybridity in Indonesia largely reflect the broader intellectual acceptance of this phenomenon. The majority of research celebrates the diverse manifestations of

hybridity, evident in the myriad forms of cultural expression and the diverse influences that contribute to their formation. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that a critical perspective towards hybridity also exists, echoing societal anxieties surrounding cultural fusion. This section will explore the range of responses to hybridity in Indonesia, from enthusiastic embrace to cautious critique, highlighting the diverse perspectives that shape the discourse.

The breadth of hybrid identities within Indonesian cultural expressions appears virtually limitless. Research spans a vast spectrum of artistic forms, including literature, food, architecture, music, and performance arts. In the realm of literature, studies range from analyzing written works, such as the novels of Pramodya Ananta Toer and Sergius Sutato, to exploring oral traditions like *Seblang* and *Nini Thowong*, which are interpreted as mechanisms for harmonizing diverse elements within their respective communities (Maslikatin et al., 2015). Other studies have investigated hybridity in food, architecture, music, and performance arts. Notably, the presence of *Ketoprak Dor*, a transformed version of the East Javanese folk drama that has gained popularity in Sumatra (Suyadi, 2019), exemplifies the geographical reach and transformative power of cultural hybridity. Given this extensive range of cultural expressions already under scrutiny, it is reasonable to anticipate the discovery of even more instances of hybridity in Indonesia, contingent upon researchers' continued exploration.

The sources of hybridity within Indonesian cultural expressions are equally diverse. The studies examined in this research demonstrate influences from across the globe. For example, Chinese architectural influences can be observed in prominent Javanese mosques (Yunariono, 2019b), while European influences have been identified in Javanese smoking pipe traditions (Sugiyanto, 2021). Influences also originate from within Indonesia itself, spanning various regions and historical periods. This confluence of diverse elements, both local and global, contributes to the seemingly boundless nature of hybrid cultural phenomena in Indonesia, opening avenues for research across diverse spatial and temporal contexts.

The nature of hybridity in cultural expressions also varies. Research has identified at least two distinct types of hybridity based on their mode of origin. Many traditional cultural expressions are so deeply rooted in history that researchers can only interpret the processes through which these hybrid forms emerged. The case of *laksa*, a noodle and soup dish common in West Java and Jakarta, exemplifies this. Purwaningsih and Humaedi (2019) revealed the existence of two *laksa* varieties in West Java, each traceable to distinct historical periods, specifically before and after the arrival of Chinese communities. This historical perspective illuminates the evolution of culinary hybridity over time.

In contrast, hybridity in cuisine can also be a deliberate and conscious act of creation. The "Bandung Ramen" phenomenon, studied by Aditia, Saleha, and Sutawikara (2016), illustrates this intentional hybridization. This dish, blending Japanese aesthetics and nomenclature with local ingredients and tastes, demonstrates how Japanese elements can be integrated into the local culinary landscape. This strategic fusion differentiates "Bandung Ramen" from other noodle dishes in Bandung, highlighting how contemporary hybridity can be employed for economic advantage. These findings indicate that research on hybrid identity in Indonesian culture encompasses not only historically evolved forms but also contemporary creations driven by market forces.

While the majority of studies reviewed celebrate the phenomena of hybridity, some researchers offer a more critical perspective. Guntaris (2019), in his study of "Barongan Blora," a performance art combining dance and elaborate costumes, argues that hybridization can be detrimental. He suggests that the integration of contemporary elements into "Barongan Blora" has diminished the moral values inherent in the traditional performance. This critical viewpoint highlights the nuanced debate surrounding hybridity and its potential impact on cultural heritage.

When being concluded, the studies examined in this research provide a comprehensive overview of the discourse on hybrid identity in the Indonesian context. A general acceptance of hybridity as a reality of globalization, particularly in a nation as ethnically diverse as Indonesia, is evident. Most studies focus on identifying and interpreting the elements of hybridity within cultural expressions, demonstrating a positive attitude even towards contemporary hybrid forms created for market differentiation. However, the presence of critical perspectives, such as the study of "Barongan Blora," underscores the ongoing debate surrounding the implications of cultural fusion and the need for nuanced understandings of hybridity in Indonesia.

Conclusion

Hybridity is not merely a characteristic of contemporary culture but rather an intrinsic aspect of cultural evolution, particularly in an era marked by increased physical mobility and the rapid exchange of ideas. This is especially true for nations like Indonesia, whose history is interwoven with episodes of colonization and whose social fabric is composed of a multitude of ethnic communities. The extensive body of research on hybridity in Indonesia robustly demonstrates that hybrid identities within cultural expressions across the archipelago are not anomalies but rather integral components of the nation's social landscape. The constituent elements of this hybridity originate from both within Indonesia's diverse communities and from the myriad global cultures that have interacted with the archipelago throughout its history. These influences are pervasive, manifesting in everything from culinary traditions and performing arts to architectural styles and literary works.

Despite the wealth of research documenting specific instances of hybridity in Indonesia, a unifying theoretical framework that encompasses this diverse range of manifestations remains elusive. Currently, the field is characterized by a collection of individual studies, each illuminating particular examples of hybridity. This project, which synthesizes research conducted over the past 15 years on hybrid identity in Indonesia, seeks to map this intellectual terrain and identify overarching patterns. It is our hope that the insights generated by this synthesis will contribute to the development of a more comprehensive theory of hybridity, one that can provide a robust framework for understanding the complex interplay of cultural influences in Indonesia.

Such a unifying theory would not only provide an intellectual umbrella for the numerous existing studies on the subject but also offer a valuable perspective for broader society. While academic discourse has embraced the concept of cultural hybridity, essentialist views and attitudes persist within certain segments of Indonesian society. These essentialist perspectives have, at times, fueled social conflict. A well-articulated theory of hybrid identity, grounded in the realities of Indonesian cultural expression and explicitly linked to the national motto of "Unity in Diversity" (*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*), could serve as a powerful counter-narrative. It could provide a shared vision for younger generations, fostering a deeper understanding and appreciation of Indonesia's rich and multifaceted cultural heritage, thereby promoting greater social cohesion and tolerance. This theory would not only explain the *what* and *where* of hybridity, but also provide a framework for understanding *how* and *why* it occurs, and most importantly, *why* it matters for Indonesia's future. The two most common responses to hybrid identity, celebration and critique, would be understood not as opposing forces, but as part of a larger, more nuanced understanding of cultural dynamics.

While this systematic review provides a comprehensive synthesis of research on hybrid identity in Indonesia over the past 15 years, it's important to acknowledge certain limitations that delineate its scope and offer avenues for future inquiry. Firstly, as a qualitative systematic review, our analysis is inherently dependent on the themes and foci present in the existing body of literature. The interpretation of "hybridity" by different scholars, though categorized and discussed, may still carry subtle variations that a more prescriptive meta-analysis might attempt to

standardize. Secondly, the selection of five specific loci of hybridity (literature, architecture, food, music, and performance) was a deliberate choice to ensure depth of analysis. However, this necessarily means that other significant areas where hybridity thrives in Indonesia—such as traditional costumes, visual arts, language, or digital culture—were beyond the immediate scope of this project. Future research could expand upon this mapping by systematically investigating hybridity in these additional domains, thereby enriching our understanding of its manifold expressions across the archipelago.

Furthermore, this synthesis highlights the continued need for longitudinal studies that track the evolution of specific hybrid forms over extended periods, offering deeper insights into the mechanisms and drivers of cultural change. We also recommend comparative studies that explicitly place Indonesian hybridity in dialogue with other Southeast Asian nations or global postcolonial contexts, moving beyond generalized theoretical frameworks to analyze specific convergences and divergences in their manifestations. Finally, to truly bridge the gap between academic discourse and societal impact, future work should consider applied research that translates the nuanced understanding of hybridity into educational programs or public awareness campaigns. Such initiatives could play a crucial role in promoting the appreciation of Indonesia's inherent cultural complexity and actively countering essentialist narratives that threaten social cohesion, ultimately realizing the full potential of a unifying theory of hybrid identity as a tool for national unity.

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