

Tauco Cianjur: The Symbols of Sundanese and Chinese Ethnic Harmony in Cianjur

Widyastuti and Rahmad Efendi

¹Tourism Destination Management, Bandung Institute of Tourism, Bandung Indonesia

²Social Researcher, AKATIGA Center of Social Analysis, Bandung, Indonesia

Keyword: Tauco, Culinary, Acculturation, Sundanese, Chinese, Cianjur

Abstract: Tauco Cianjur is well known as one of the traditional dishes typical of Cianjur Regency, West Java, which has become a culinary icon from Tatar Priangan's homeland. In addition to Cianjur, Tauco is also known as a spice in various other regions in Indonesia with different characteristic flavors. Tauco was first introduced as a supplementary spice of authentic Chinese food and extends to several regions and even other countries in Asia. Tauco is a seasoning or complementary dish made from raw soybean seeds (*Glycine max*) which is fermented with other ingredients. There is something interesting about the Tauco phenomenon in Cianjur. Tauco is the result of an acculturation of Chinese culinary culture with Sundanese Cianjur ethnic. However, for the Cianjur community, tauco has become part of their identity. This raises the question, how did the Tauco Cianjur process become part of the Sundanese Cianjur community? To answer these questions we use qualitative research methods, in the form of historical and ethnographic research. The research instrument in this study uses in-depth interviews with informants with snowball sampling techniques. This research records the inheritance of knowledge about the origin, changes in tastes and raw materials, and the process of receiving Tauco as part of the Sundanese Cianjur identity. That knowledge hints that Tauco is a bridge connecting two different communities. In this case, Tauco as a food product has a value that is more than just food, namely as a symbol of acceptance and strong trust. Tauco developed into a symbol of social loyalty and harmony in diversity in Cianjur society today. Of course, this wisdom should be preserved and extended its impact through various positive activities such as the development of creative industries, culinary tourism and others.

1 INTRODUCTION

Indonesia has been known to the world as a culinary paradise. Various special offerings were born from Indonesian earth. Call it Rendang, Sate, and Nasi goreng (fried rice) which is recognized as the most delicious food by world citizens. Various special offerings were born from nature which is rich in food raw materials, from the rich culinary traditions of the community, as well as the influence of interactions with various international communities.

Throughout history, Indonesia has been involved in trade contacts with foreign countries because of its very strategic location. This contact will inevitably give color to the culture of Indonesian people, and food is one of them. Some of the Indonesian foods are indeed noted to have been influenced by Indian, Middle Eastern, Chinese and European culinary arts.

Chinese culture is one that has contributed greatly to the culinary wealth of Indonesia. In the everyday life of Indonesian citizens today, there is a variety of culinary that seems to have become an inseparable part of Indonesian society and culture. Call it for example Tofu, Vermicelli, Meatballs, Noodles, Watermelon, Sekoteng, Bakpia, Capcay, Grass Jelly, and many others.

The culinary variety is a culinary influenced by Chinese culture. This can be simply proven by tracing the origin of the words used. In the *book Loan Words in Indonesian and Malay* written by Russell Jones (2007), the culinary names mentioned above are listed as vocabularies absorbed from Chinese. Because the historical process is quite long, so it does not feel anymore that this word comes from Chinese.

Likewise, the cuisine of Tauco. Although widely known as a typical dish from Bumi Tatar Priangan,

Cianjur, West Java, but who would have thought, Tauco is a culinary originating from China. From the origin of the word, Tauco comes from its pronunciation in the Hokkien dialect of Chinese. The Chinese Tauco character is written as "豆醬," which consists of *tau* "豆" which means beans, *co* "醬" which means thick soy sauce. Tauco is known as a seasoning made from soy fermentation preserved with salt.



Figure 1: Tauco Monument in Cianjur. Doc: Public Government Relation of Cianjur

The growth of Tauco in Cianjur based on historical records was first introduced in 1880. It was marked by the establishment of the Tauco business in the Cianjur which was founded by a Chinese resident named Tan Kei Hian. Over time, 100 years later, Tauco grew up as a souvenir from Cianjur. Then in 2017, the Cianjur government determined that Tauco was one of the three original authentic products of Cianjur, besides Beras Cianjur (Rice of Cianjur) and Manisan Cianjur (Fruits and Vegetables Candied of Cianjur), which was marked by the inauguration of Tugu Tauco on June 24, 2017 (Cianjur Regency Government, 2017).

The phenomenon of the development of Tauco from culinary brought by the Chinese people into Cianjur's unique identity is an interesting phenomenon to be studied. In this case, Tauco as a cultural product of Chinese society managed to blend in, was accepted and even recognized as an important part that represented Cianjur. It is interesting, to find out *why Tauco is accepted as Cianjur's unique identity and how this process occurs*.

In this paper, we read the Tauco Cianjur as a window to look over the food will be more than just as "something to eat".. The food as a media's diplomacy in cross-cultural interaction and can be a window to see the political dynamic, economic, social, and culture that occurs in society.

In this paper, we use the Anthropological perspective in looking at a food phenomenon.

Globalization that has happened since the past has certainly led to contact and linkages between various societies and cultures. This linkage can lead to conflict, or acculturation or assimilation. The arrival of the Chinese in Cianjur is an example of this situation. In this case, it will be seen how Tauco as a cultural product becomes operational. How tauco managed to become a tool to interact, become a medium and a symbol of mutual trust, solidarity and tranquility in the Cianjur community.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This research raises food as a symbol that is not only limited to food, but there is a meaning behind it. Over time, culture changes because of contact with other cultures. This will affect the condition of the culture. The literature we use in this study, as follows:

2.1 Cultural Diffusion

Cultural diffusion is the process of spreading cultural elements in a community that is mediated by one group to another. In the case of anthropology, there are seven cultural elements which include language, knowledge system, social system or social organization, system and technology of living equipment, religious system, and art.

The process of diffusion is not only seen from the point of movement of cultural elements from one place to another on the face of the earth, but mainly as a process in which cultural elements are carried by individuals from a culture, and must be accepted by individuals from other cultures.

One of cultural diffusion is the spreading of cultural elements that occurred because they are carried by groups of people who migrating from one place to another in the world. The spreading of cultural elements not only occurred when there is movement from a group by the people from one place to another but also occurred because certain individuals who carried these cultural elements to a wider place.

2.2 Acculturation

Acculturation (acculturation or cultural contact) is defined as a social process that occurs when a group of people with a certain culture are confronted with elements of a foreign culture in such a way that the elements of a foreign culture are gradually accepted and processed into their own culture without causing

loss of the cultural personality itself . In short, acculturation is a blend of two or more cultures that produces a new culture but does not eliminate the elements of the old culture. The acculturation process requires a period that is not short.

2.3 Assimilation

Assimilation is the mixing or mixing of two or more cultures so that the original cultural features are no longer visible. This assimilation process will occur when people have an open attitude. This open attitude is reflected in the ease of values and norms that are internalized into a society. For example, an ethnic group is easy to accept the effects of globalization, but there are also ethnic groups that do not want social change in their communities at all.

Prof. Koentjaraningrat (2009), assimilation is a process of social change in society that occurs because of the continuous and serious development and relationship of social interactions. These conditions ultimately encourage people to blend the existing culture in an effort to accommodate all parties in managing the existing forms of social order.

Referring to other literature related to assimilation, according to Bennett, that:

“...assimilation and melting-pot ideologies : we permit members of other cultures to immigrate, but require they adopt some (melting pot) or all (strict assimilation) features of our cultural template, in any event the central ones of individual autonomy and freedom” (Bennett, 2011).

2.4 Gastronomy as Part of Local Cultural Identity

The word gastronomy from the ancient Greek, namely *gastros* which means stomach and *nomos* which means law or rule. According to Gilleisole (2001), gastronomy or cullinary art is a senior science or science of good food. Another definition of gastronomy, about the relationship between culture and food, where gastronomy discusses various components of culture with food as its center. In other resolutions regarding the science of gastronomy, Rao Monin & Durand (2003), gastronomy considers differences in the environment (geography and climate) and culture (history and diversity) of the components of aroma, texture and taste in food and beverages. Gastronomic identity is in the interests of the region (the State) in determining cultural diversity and culinary rhetoric. Show list and appreciation of all food and drinks.

Gastronomy on detailed knowledge about food and drinks from all over the world.

Ketaren (2017), emphasizing on the basis of gastronomic studies basically emphasizes on 4 (four) elements, namely:

- a. History: about the origin of raw materials, how and where to be cultivated.
- b. Culture: namely about the factors that influence people to consume these foods.
- c. Geographical Landscape: about environmental factors that influence the community cooking food.
- d. Cooking Method: namely about the cooking process in general. Not about technical cooking because a gastronomy doesn't have to be able to cook. The four elements are called tangible (real, clear and realized) which is always used as a benchmark for western society when talking about gastronomy.

3 METHODS AND MATERIALS

This research uses qualitative research methods, in the form of historical and ethnographic research approaches. Sugiyono (2010) that the qualitative method is a research method based on the philosophy of positivism, used to examine natural conditions of objects, (as opposed to experiments) where the researcher is a key instrument. the sampling of data sources is done purposively and snowball, the collection technique with triangulation, analysis.

Relating to the historical approach used in this research, the understanding of the historical approach is the terminology used in the phenomenological and hermeneutic traditions to indicate an essential display of human existence, cultural events and products. Also related to the ethnography approach in this study, referring to Harris (in John W. Creswell; 2007) explains that ethnography is a qualitative design in which the researcher describes and interprets the shared and learned patterns of values, behaviors, beliefs, and language of a culture-sharing group. The combination of these two forms of approach looks at a phenomenon of cultural products (Tauco) from their origins, their distribution and the meaning behind them, which are examined through interviews with informants and other secondary data Data collection techniques used were literature study, interviews and documentation. The primary data source is direct interviews with key informants. The research instrument in this research used in-depth interviews with informants with snowball sampling techniques.

Then based on Sugiono (2010), suggests that samples in qualitative research are not called respondents, but as sources of informants, or participants, informants, friends and teachers in research. Determination of the sample in qualitative research is carried out before the researcher observes the field and throughout the study. The key informants we interviewed consisted of the owner of Tauco Cap Meong, the owner of Tauco Cap Biruang, Cianjur cultural leaders, SMEs, and the general public. Interviews were conducted to explore historical aspects, knowledge of the production process, the process of acceptance in the community, community views, and the role of the government in the development of the Tauco cuisine.

This research is also supported by secondary data used to enrich and elaborate secondary data collected. The secondary data we collected came from studies, and previous records relating to the history of Tauco, especially in Cianjur, and in Indonesia in general. This secondary data also involves photo documentation that illustrates the history of Tauco in Cianjur. In qualitative research, data collection techniques can be done through settings from various sources, and various ways. The data collection techniques used in this study include interview techniques, observation techniques and documentation techniques, triangulation. Triangulation is a data grasping technique that utilizes something else in comparing the results of interviews with research objects (Moloeng, 2004). Triangulation techniques in this research are illustrated in the chart below:

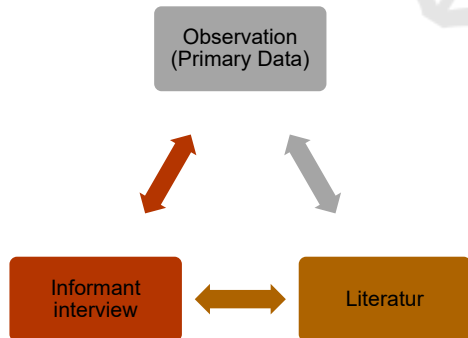


Figure 2: Triangulation Data

4 DATA AND RESULTS

4.1. The History of Tauco Cianjur Development

The bibliography compiled by William Shurtleff and Akiko Aoyagi in the *History of Miso and Soybean*

Chiang, notes that Tauco is still associated with *Jiang*, a Chinese spice. *Jiang* is thought to have originated before the Chou Dynasty (722-481 BC), so it can be claimed as the oldest seasoning known to humans (Shurtleff & Akiko, 2009). In line with the Chinese diaspora to other parts of the world, herbs like *Jiang* also developed and had their names in new places. Some other names from *Jiang* are *Tauco* (Indonesia): *Soybean paste* (Europe / America), *Miso* (Japan), *Doenjang*, *Dwenjang*, *Cheonggukjang* (Korea), and *Dajiang* (China) (Shurtleff & Akiko, 2009).

From Shurtleff & Akiko's bibliography, it is known that from historical records, Tauco was first recorded in the archipelago from the writings of a Dutch scientist, Prinsen Geerligs. Geerligs called it *tao tsioe* in a Dutch paper in 1895 and *tao tjiung* in a German paper in 1896. From that note, it was known that Tauco had existed in the archipelago since the 19th century. Exactly, there was a Tauco business in Cianjur founded by Tan Kei Hian, or commonly called Babah Tasma.

The emergence of Tauco in Cianjur was almost accompanied by the presence of the Chinese in Cianjur, which was marked by the establishment of the Chinese Village/*Pecinan* in Cianjur on June 9, 1810. But from the records, the Tauco Babah Tasma business was recorded as having begun in 1880. The Tauco effort which began to be pioneered by Tasma later became a pioneer who encouraged the development of Tauco in the Tatar Priangan.

Through of *Historia.id* (Ismayanto, *Historia.id*, 2016), on interviews with the descendants of the third generation of Babah Tasma, namely Harun Tasma, can be traced the history of the business of Tauco Babah Tasma. There is an interesting element of the note, namely the thick interaction of Chinese and Sundanese culture. Starting from the nickname of Tasma, which turned out to appear because he wore glasses, which in Sundanese is called Tasma. Until finally Tasma became their family name passed down to the next generation.

In developing his business, Babah Tasma was assisted by his wife, namely Mrs. Tasma. Initially the taste of Tauco Babah Tasma tended to be sweet, then, Mrs. Tasma made new tastes that tended to be salty. Until then they finally separated, the two tastes that they turn on each of them. Babah Tasma opened Tauco Cap Gedong, while Mrs. Tasma continued her business with the brand of Cap Meong. But in its development it turns out that the people are more fond of Tauco made by Mrs. Tasma. Due to lack of behavior, Tauco Cap Gedong finally closed down. The second interesting thing is, the use brand of Cap

“Meong” used by Mrs. Tasma is said to have originated from the discovery of Meong (Tiger) footprints in the kitchen, which is believed to be the pet of Eyang Suryakencana, the ancestor of the Sundanese Cianjur. The use of myths from Sundanese culture as an inspiration for their efforts is an interesting approach.

After being continued by the second generation, Tauco Cap Meong's business is increasingly flying. Standing on Jalan HOS Cokroaminoto No. 160, Cianjur, West Java, which is the trading center of the Capital City of Cianjur, a sizable signboard that reads "Tauco No. 1 made by Mrs. Tasma is quite easy to display, and is a symbol of the existence of the popular Tauco store in the Cianjur community. Tauco Cap Meong managed to become a pioneer and Tauco industry standard that proved successful, thus fostering the interests of other parties to start similar businesses.



Figure 3: Tauco Cap Meong Employee, Doc. Tauco Cap Meong's Documentation

Referring to the Mutiara's research et al (2018), entering the 1960s, Tauco Cap Biruang's effort was established to follow the success achieved by Tauco Cap Meong. Tauco Cap Biruang industry is a Tauco Industry which was founded in Sentiong (Cikaret area, Cianjur) in 1960 by Mr. H. Moch. Soleh. In the beginning, H. Moch Soleh worked in someone else's industry, the Tauco Cap Meong Industry. Armed with ten years of work experience in the industry, finally H. Moch Soleh established his own Tauco industry, which was named the Tauco Cap Biruang Industry. After that, other Tauco industries emerged such as the Tauco Cap Harimau, Cap Badak, Cap Macan Tutul and Tauco Djajuli Putra industries.

Interesting things from the growth of Tauco's new business include: generally the founders came from the learning/working process in Tauco Cap Meong, mostly from Sundanese people, making Cap

Meong a role model, including production techniques to packaging. This last part is the reason why Tauco Cianjur's packaging looks almost the same. Namely with the formula, the name of the animal, with the animal in the middle as a logo, and only on black and white paper. It will be difficult to distinguish between Tauco Cap Meong, Cap Biruang, or Cap Harimau. But on the other hand, it was also what later made Tauco from Cianjur very distinctive, well-known and easily recognized by the wider community.



Figure 4: Tauco Cap Meong Packaging, Doc. Researcher Documentation

In addition to appearance, a distinctive marker of Tauco Cianjur is its flavor. At present, Tauco in Indonesia is developing in various regions. Chinese people who migrated to the archipelago developed Tauco where they settled. Even in Indonesia, the development of Tauco in the regions can variatives. That makes the difference between soybean types and also the fermentation bacteria that are unique in each place. According to the article from detik.com (2012), there are at least five known types of Tauco in Indonesia, which are as follows:

- a. Tauco Cianjur. Smoother texture because cooked soybean seeds are more crushed. The color is reddish brown. There is a delicious and tasty taste.
- b. Tauco Kalimantan. The soybean seeds are whole and light brown. The liquid is clear and makes the soybean seeds visible. Usually used to season fish or chicken.
- c. Tauco Medan. The Tauco liquid is murky brown, the soybean grains are intact and yellow. The taste of the Tauconya is savory and is often used to cook seafood and various vegetables.

- d. Tauco Pekalongan. Soto seasoning is often made. The soybean grains are also intact, brownish in color and soft in texture. It's not too salty.
- e. Typical Bangka Tauco uses fermented yellow soybeans which have a brownish-green color. The soybean grains are also finer and tend to be similar to soybean porridge.

4.2. The Typical Tauco Cianjur production process: Tauco Cap Meong and Cap Biruang

Tauco Cap Meong and Tauco Cap Biruang, after going through various business hurdles for tens to hundreds of years, have now expanded considerably and become the two main players of Tauco Cianjur. Tauco Cap Meong has been held by the fourth generation, namely Stefany Tasma (27 years). Meanwhile, Tauco Cap Biruang is held by the third generation, namely Tini Supartini. These two heirs later became key informants in our in-depth interviews.

The production process, according to Tauco Cap Meong, Stefany, who is fondly called Fany, they still maintain the production process used by the first generation. Where it can be maintained by the knowledge stored in the employees. Even for tools, most still use old equipment, especially *Patiman*. *Patiman* is a jar for the salting process. It can be said to be the same age as the Tauco Cap Meong business age which reaches hundreds of years.

As for the changes, according to Fany not so much. What stands out is the source of raw materials. In the past, of course we used local soybeans, while now we have used soybeans from the USA. The purchase from outside was due to domestic soybeans being unable to meet production needs. The need for soybeans for one production is one quintal and within 1-3 months one can buy soybeans in the amount of several tons.



Figure 5: The Process of Soybeans Boiling, Doc. Researcher Documentation

The types of Tauco produced by Cap Meong are in the form of dry Tauco and wet Tauco. In the Tauco Cap Meong production cycle, for one-time Tauco production, starting from the beginning until the Taucos are finished, that is, the old Tauco, it takes approximately three months. According to Fany, the production process starts from selecting soybean seeds, then boiling soybeans, then drying with sun-dried. After drying and grinding soybeans to simply make the seeds break, then boil again, then dried again until dry.

The next process is to rip the soybean called as '*dipeuyem*' for three days and three nights, then dry again to dry. Then the most important step is storing in *Patiman* and salting. The purpose of this process is for the preservation process. If the weather is hot, two weeks in *Patiman* will suffice, but if the weather isn't hot enough, storage can be up to two months. Then it can be taken for dried Tauco stock. The last stage, if you want Tauco wet, the cooking process needs to be added again about 2-3 hours to mix it.



Figure 6: Salting and Storing in Patiman Process. Doc. Tauco-Cap Meong's Documentation

Based on the composition of raw materials, according to Fany is still the same as before. The main ingredients are soybeans, salt, and water. Then in the process of wet Tauco processing, added brown sugar so that the taste becomes more savory. Salty and savory taste is a quality standard that is constantly maintained because it is directly related to the loyalty of consumers. Besides, Tauco Cap Meong does not use other preservatives besides salt. Therefore, endurance is not long enough. The quality without artificial preservatives is what then makes Tauco Cap Meong remains a choice for loyal customers.

Meanwhile, according to Tiny, as the owner of the third generation, the Cap Biruang Tauco production process, in general, is not much different from that done by Cap Meong, because it is a way that is currently quite commonly run by the large Tauco industry. But unlike the case with the small

Tauco industry which relatively chose to make Tauco in a short time. The consequence of this short production time is that the quality is getting worse.

The main difference between Tauco Cap Biruang compared to other Tauco products is the sweet taste. While most of Tauco products are salty, Tauco Cap Biruang is unique in having two variants, sweet and salty. This is done to reach consumers who don't like the taste of salty and or sweet. In this way, the Tauco Cap Biruang industry can become one of the local Tauco industries that can match the Tauco Cap Meong industry.



Figure 7: Wet and Dry Tauco ready sale. Doc. Researcher Documentation

4.3. The Factors That Influence the Strong Existence of Tauco in Cianjur

The development of Tauco until it succeeded in becoming a commodity that was recognized as a genuine product of Cianjur was a very interesting phenomenon. The question of why and how Tauco originating from the Chinese community can be an iconic identity for the Cianjur community, which is predominantly Sundanese, encouraging us to analyze various aspects that influence the situation. Based on interviews with informants, who provided us with insights from a variety of perspectives, here are some key factors that we found. Among these are as follows.

- a. Tauco is a unique product
Many of Chinese culinary that developed in Indonesia, Tauco managed to become a part of cultural identity for the Cianjur region. Described previously, the success of the Tauco is inseparable from the important role of the Babah and Mrs. Tasma's family. Tasma as a pioneer. One of interesting thing is, they chose to sell Tauco instead of the other Chinese culinary products that are something that should be appreciated. Reflecting on this, Stefany Tasma, who is a graduate in business management, expressed her admiration for the intelligent choices of her ancestors. According to Stefany:

"...usually about Tauco Cap Meong, which is often questioned by people, and also my first question, why do they have to make Tauco? Why not know, tempeh or soy sauce? I also don't know the exact answer. But maybe this time, my great-grandmother used to know how to make Tauco, maybe they were out of the box too, right? So I think they are creative, the idea is brilliant too."

Stefany's explanation provided important information about how Babah and Mrs. Tasma saw potential business opportunities from Tauco production. They have succeeded in utilizing the momentum of the absence of other Chinese citizens who produce Tauco in Chinatown Cianjur. That smart choice made them the pioneers who introduced Tauco to the Cianjur community at large.

For the native Chinese, their products are the only option to be able to treat their longing for tauco which has become a part of culture. As for the Sundanese Cianjur community, Tauco is unique, totally different from other Chinese culinary products. That is what makes them curious to try it. This formula is what made tauco a success as part of public consumption in Cianjur.

- b. The taste is unique and maintained its originality
Tauco Cap Meong and Cap Biruang have succeeded in developing a distinctive taste that keeps them remembered by consumers. Tauco Cap Meong preserves salty flavors, while Cap Biruang preserves sweet Tauco flavors. Although it has been through several generations, the originality of the taste has been maintained until now.

Stefany is the fourth generation to inherit the Tauco Cap Meong business. So fani is the great-grandson of Mrs. Tasma, but the interesting thing is, Stefany was born and

raised in Tangerang, so it's not so familiar with Tauco's efforts. So that, to maintain the originality and quality of Tauco Cap Meong, Stefany learned a lot from employees who have mastered the process of producing inheritance from Mrs. Tasma. The learning process is passed by observing and trying directly to make the Tauco. At present, even though he has never done production as a whole because of mass production, Stefany is quite sure he has understood the flow as a whole.

Cap Meong believes that preserving the taste and quality is to appreciate what has been passed down from the ancestors. The most important, maintaining the taste and quality standards is their main strength to continue to survive. Stefany admitted, his best-selling tauco made many competitors appear. There are so many Tauco products that are imitating them, even in some cases fabricating Tauco Cap Meong products.

During about the situation, consumers ultimately choose to shop at the Cap Meong store. This happened mention to the taste and quality standards that became the identity traces of the legendary of Tauco. That is the reason for loyal customers who subscribe from generation to generation. *"If I am the fourth generation of Cap Meong owners, then there will also be the fourth generation of loyal consumers of Tauco out there,"* Stefany said.

c. Strategic locations and attractive marketing techniques

The development of Tauco received by the people in Cianjur is inseparable from the influence of strategic store locations. Tauco Sales are centered on the main street of the capital city of Cianjur, which is a busy road for pedestrians. Such understanding was expressed by Fikri (30 years), who is an activist in preserving arts and culture in Cianjur.

"Taucu can become an icon because of the strategic location factor. The Cianjur region is a trading center and resting place for travelers from Jakarta to Bandung or vice versa. That caused Taucu to be easily recognized by the wider community and remembered as food from Cianjur. It was from this process that knowledge developed in the community that there was a Taucu product which was a typical product sold in Cianjur...", Fikri said.

As the first, the Tauco shop owned by Babah and Mrs. Tasma opened in a region of Chinatown close to the square and the highway. The location was indeed developed

as a business center and became a major crossing place. Tauco's initial market in Cianjur was indeed aimed at the Chinese community. Then in the process, the Sundanese people in the neighborhood buy-in, and then walkers who are stopping by. The next stage, from the success of Mrs. Tasma, was born another tauco business around the region.

According to Stefany, another important thing from the strategic aspects of the Tauco Cap Meong store is the beginning of Babah and Mrs. Tasma uses an open kitchen strategy to attract the customers. Their strategic location is easily found by pedestrians. They optimize the condition by making production activities in the shop, so that they can be seen by people who visit. The uniqueness of the production process and the strong aroma of Tauco when cooked, become an attraction that makes people want to visit the store

"....Open kitchen practices, run at the Cap Meong store. People can immediately see [business] everything, from the place of cooking to the packaging, one can see. Well, when I cook, I smell the aroma, so people can feel the sensation of that aroma. They can also get Taucu when it's hot, different from others [who sell Taucu which is already cold]. Interestingly, the open kitchen selling strategy has been in mind for a long time, even though it is a contemporary culinary business strategy, it's cool..."

That is the expression of Stefany's admiration for the choice of strategy. In this case, it can be seen that Babah and Mrs. Tasma, managed to optimize its strategic location by selling which was also interesting.

d. Adjusting the native Cianjur tongue is the key of the culinary innovations.

At first, the Tauco Cianjur had already introduced to the customers the variety of salty and sweet tastes of Tauco. According to Mrs. Tini, Tauco Biruang developed a sweet taste because it did follow the tastes of the native people. According to him, the original Chinese people like the salty ones, but the Sundanese people of Cianjur more like sweet. Even so, it still returns to each other's tastes, because there are also Chinese customers who like Tauco sweet, and there are also Sundanese customers who are like with salty ones.

According to Mrs. Tini, because Tauco does exist in many regions, and each region may have different tastes, so there is no need to worry about the authenticity of taste. If you say Tauco came from the Chinese recipe, that's

true. But when it comes to Indonesia, in each region, as in Cianjur, there are adjustments to native tastes. Mrs. Tini believes that :

"What I know is, Tauco's originals in Chinese are more like soy sauce, their soybeans are destroyed. Meanwhile, if we are here, the soybean is not destroyed. So even though the name is the same as Tauco, but the shape is different, that's what distinguishes that Tauco Cianjur is a typical Cianjur that we need to be proud of."

In addition to adjusting the taste, tauco was also successfully accepted because it could give birth to innovations in local cuisine. In the context of the use of tauco in daily consumption according to Fany, in the Chinese community Tauco does not have special meaning for example for certain ceremonies. Usually, Tauco is just for everyday food. Fany's mother family which is Chinese Benteng Tangerang usually uses Tauco as a spice for *ceng cuan* fish dishes. For this dish, the milkfish is fried dry, then doused with spices Tauco, so it tastes fresh. While based on Fany's father family, who incidentally is the Tauco Cap Meong family, they also do not have a special dish for Tauco, usually Tauco is used for spicy vegetable spinach.

Interestingly, the use of Tauco is even more varied in non-Chinese Indonesian society. At least in Indonesia, tauco is widely known in the culinary variety such as Pakis Tumis (typical of Borneo), Gulai Tauco (typical of Minang), Tauge Goreng Tauco (typical of Bogor), Vegetable Tauco and Shrimp Seasoning Tauco (typical of Medan), Soto Tauco (typical of Tegal -Pekalongan), Tauge Tauco (typical of Cianjur-Bogor), and many more.

Ayas (68 years old) is a resident of Cipanas Cianjur who has known Tauco since childhood. His parents are Tauco Cap Meong Mrs. Tasma Until now Mrs. Ayas is still a customer of the Tauco brand because she thinks it is the most delicious.

There used to be another brand he liked, his name was Tauco Cap Djajuli. Tauco Djajuli is a business owned by Sundanese people, and according to Bu Ayas, it also tastes good. But now Djajuli is closed.

Regarding Tauco is Chinese cuisine, Mrs. Ayas only learned about it when she grew up. According to him, it doesn't matter if Tauco is originally from the Chinese community. However, because it has become a Cianjur identity, according to him, Cianjur people should also be more involved in the Tauco business.

Figure 8: Tauco Bu Aya's Favorite Spice

From the viewpoint of the Chinese people, now Sundanese or other Indonesian people use Tauco in a variety of different dishes, according to Fany it is their creativity, which is not a problem in Chinese people's views. For Fany, they as the people who spearheaded Tauco are happy, because all of that is proof that Tauco is received on the tongue and heart of the Indonesian people.

Tauco Cianjur is widely known as the most massive scale of industrial souvenirs

Today, according to Fany and Mrs. Tini, Tauco customers they are bought Tauco for two main reasons. First is the person who bought Tauco because of souvenirs. This category rarely consumes tauco. There have never tried eating Tauco, but bought Tauco because it understood that it was a mandatory souvenir from Cianjur. The second is that people who buy Tauco are for their consumption.

The description of Tauco Cap Meong and Cap Biruang customers, in composition, Tauco Cianjur customers today, 70% are general customers for souvenirs, 30% are customers for their consumption. From the age side, generally adults and above. Young customers are very rare, even if there are only buying for souvenirs. Then from the gender aspect, the customers are mostly old women.

The large percentage of customers categories for souvenirs is an interesting condition. At the beginning of its development, the main customers of Tauco were the Chinese community, while at present their numbers are far less than the Sundanese

Cianjur community. According to Fani and Mrs. Tini, currently customers from the Chinese-Cianjur people, only around 30% of the total customers. Much bigger than the non-Chinese people. This change in composition also indicates a change in purchasing choices, from consumption to souvenirs.

Therefore, Fany believes that the survival of Tauco in Cianjur is due to natural business processes. Namely because of a change from the need for consumption which was originally only produced at home scale into a souvenir product that must be met on an industrial scale.

"In fact, before me, my auntie was just selling, Tauco just wrote. And Cap Meong can survive, there are only interested ones. Although it was also hit by a toll road, which drastically reduced customers, it still survived. Tauco is still selling well and is one of the souvenir items that is always sought after. So that's how it is, its sustainability is more because it's already known as a souvenir.", Fanny said.

The same thing was also conveyed by Mrs. Tini. Although after the construction of the Cipularang toll road, there was a decrease in purchases, however, in Cianjur the market was still good. According to Mrs. Tini, currently in a month, Tauco Cap Biruang can sell 10,000 thousand bottles. Sales are usually high on weekends and holidays. The customers are more than among the tourists, or residents who want to visit their relatives.

Support from the Cianjur Regency Government

According to Mrs. Tini, the Regency Government of Cianjur wants Tauco to become a typical food of Cianjur. For that, the government provides some support for Tauco entrepreneurs. The government helps with support to facilitate the licensing aspects. Then the government also involved entrepreneurs in training, workshop, fairs and exhibitions, and was involved in the UMKM Group coordinated by The Cooperatives and Trade office (Dinas Koperasi dan Perdagangan). According to him, unfortunately this can only be felt by large-scale Tauco entrepreneurs such as Cap Biruang and Cap Meong.

Mrs. Tini said that indeed for the development of Tauco, the important thing was to answer the problems in marketing aspects as well as easy and inexpensive access to raw materials. Currently, the majority of Tauco producers use imported soybeans from America. Therefore, if the dollar rises, the price of raw materials also rises. Indeed, the government encourages Tauco producers to use local soybeans, unfortunately, local soybeans do not meet the quality and quantity requirements. Even if there is quality, but not enough to meet our demands.

While the obstacles in marketing, according to Mrs. Tini is more because Tauco is a product whose market is very specific. Tauco is not the main food, rather a supplementary food, so people buy, especially when the economy is unstable, tend to buy the main one first. For this marketing problem, according to Mrs. Tini, the government is quite helpful through bazaar activities.

As for Cap Meong, Fany saw other marketing support from the government. The Cianjur government built a tourism package that included Tauco Cap Meong shops and production houses as one of the must-visit tourist destinations in Cianjur. Besides, the government has also built the Tauco monument and is preparing tourist buses such as Bandros in the city of Bandung, which is named Tauco. For the support of the government, Fany sufficiently appreciated it.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 The Process of Acculturation, Acceptance, and Adjustment in Cianjur Culinary

The acculturation process in the Tauco Cianjur phenomenon is an example of the form of acceptance and adjustment of two different cultures, to produce one mixing product, it called Tauco. This can be seen from the Tauco taste that is typical of Chinese and then there is a mixing of cultures with the native Cianjur people. This taste adjustment has an impact on the acceptance of Tauco as one of the culinary offerings which is the local wisdom of the Cianjur community.

Acculturation as one of the cultural phenomena indicates that a form of the gradual acceptance of the migrant culture into the native local culture. Tauco as a product is the result of blending distinctive flavors of Chinese which are adapted to Cianjur culture.

5.2 Strengthening the Identity of Tauco Cianjur Due to Various Factors

In line with the changing conditions of tauco into industrial products, Tauco developed into an iconic identity of Cianjur. Stefany mentioned that basically, Tauco exists in various places where there are creations. Tauco is not only in Cianjur, but also in Padang, Medan, Tangerang, and other places. However, because the factor is known as the oldest,

it still runs until now, and then because of the massive sales, Tauco from Cianjur finally became famous, and finally accepted by the public as one of Cianjur's identities. This identity is not born that much but is an output of several factors that exist and over time, some of these factors become a cultural reinforcement and develop rapidly to become an identity for an area or culture.

5.3 Tauco as Cultural Diplomacy

Anthropologists see that eating habits as a complex of cooking, people's wisdom, beliefs, restrictions, and superstitions related to the production, preparation, and consumption of food. In short, as an important cultural category, anthropologists see food as influencing and relating to many other cultural categories.

Food in the socio-cultural view has a broader meaning than just a source of nutrition. Associated with trust, status, prestige, solidarity, and peace. Food has many roles in the daily life of the human community. This meaning is in harmony with the value of life, the value of work, the value of space or time, the value of relations with the surrounding nature; and the value of relations with others

Culinary, is one important aspect of life. Every country in the world has its characteristics. Like China, a country with a large culture has had an influence on culinary in Indonesia. Not all cultures carried by the Chinese people can be well received by the people of Indonesia. Culinary is one aspect of culture that can be accepted and diffuses well in Indonesia.

Multiculturalism grow in an open society. Multiculturalism is believed to be a view of the reality of the variety of human life that involves values, systems, culture, and even politics that is embraced in a society. Multiculturalism also develops along with changes in society. According to the anthropologist, Prof. Dr. Koentjoroningrat, culture is the whole system of ideas, actions, and the results of human work in the life of society that belongs to the human self by learning.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusions

Based on the results of our research above, several conclusions can be made, among others:

- a. The function of food not only just food, but also have many things aspect behind it. Food also has its features and meanings that can describe social, economic, political and the image of a culture. Food is also a form of product acculturation and assimilation of a place to be the place of origin of an area. Besides, food can also be used as a meaning of cultural diplomacy, and intercultural relations, for migrants or local cultures.
- b. Tauco is one form of evidence from the two forms of acculturation. As a mirror, Tauco is a form of interaction between two different cultures into a product of cultural diplomacy and a symbol of harmony between ethnic groups.
- c. Local identity does not only arise from native culture or local wisdom. However, the identity of an area can also be from the uptake of migrants who have been adopted and the results of native culture. This also became one part of the wealth of the archipelago.

6.2 Recommendation

- a. Preservation and development of Tauco Cianjur as a product can be a regional asset in terms of economic, political, cultural wealth and tourism aspects. This preservation is also one of the archipelago's rich heritage which is priceless.
- b. The development of products from the Tauco Cianjur culinary is also a result of the regional gastronomic peculiarities which should be a unifying tool for a nation in the work of harmony and diversity among ethnic groups in Indonesia.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

King regards to Mrs. Tasma family and Mrs. Tini as key informants in this paper, and several other parties that we cannot mention one by one.

REFERENCES

- Detik.com. "Unik dan enak, Tauco Bangka dan Tauco Pekalongan," 2012. (accessed : <https://food.detik.com/info-kuliner/d-2091648/unik-dan-enak-Tauco-bangka-dan-Tauco-pekalongan/6/#news>. Wednesday, October 15th2019).

- Ismayanto, Darma. "Tauco Cap Meong, "mengeong" sejak abad 19," 2016. (accessed : <https://historia.id/kultur/papers/Tauco-cap-Meong-mengeong-sejak-abad-19-vZ5KV> / Wednesday, October 15th2019).
- Mutiara, Julfa, Ana Nurhasanah & Nashar. "Perkembangan industri tauco cap biruang di kabupaten Cianjur tahun 1960-1980," Vol 4 No.2, Jurnal Candrasangkala, 2018.
- Manugeran, M.et.al. "Local Wisdom in Hindu Tamil Ethnic Wedding Tradition in Medan". RET Academy for International Journals of Multidisciplinary Research. Vol 5, Issue 7, 2017.
- Mutiara, Julfa, Ana Nurhasanah & Nashar. "Perkembangan industri tauco cap Biruang di kabupaten Cianjur tahun 1960-1980," Vol 4 No.2, Jurnal Candrasangkala, 2018.
- Pemkab Cianjur, "Dibalik makna tugu di kota cianjur", Press Release No: 34/Pemkab-Diskominfosantik/VII/2017: 2017". (accessed: <https://Cianjurkab.go.id/dibalik-makna-tugu-di-kota-Cianjur/> Wednesday, October 15th2019).
- Anggraeni, "Multikulturalisme makanan Indonesia". Unsyiah. Jakarta : Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Badan Pengembangan dan Pengayaan Bahasa, 2018.
- Bennett, J. "Assimilation & The Persistence of Culture". The New Criterio, 29(5), 2011.
- Creswell John.W. "Penelitian Kualitatif & Desain Riset". Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2014.
- Jones, Russell (editor). "Loan-words in Indonesian and Malay". Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007.
- Koentjaraningrat. "Pengantar Ilmu Antropologi". Jakarta : Rineka Cipta, 2009.
- Louis Gottchlack. "Understanding History: A Primer Of Historical Method" (translator : Nugroho Notosusanto: Mengerti Sejarah). Jakarta : UI Press, 1986.
- Miles, MB. & Huberman, AM. "Qualitative Data Analysis (2nd edition)". Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1994.
- Shurtleff, William & Akiko Aoyagi. "History of miso, soybean jiang (China), jang (Korea) and Tauco / taotjo (Indonesia) (200 b.c.-2009)", extensively annotated bibliography and sourcebook. USA: Soyinfo Center, 2009.
- Sugiyono. "Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif dan R&D". Bandung: Alfabeta, 2009.