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## **SOCIAL ENGINEERING THROUGH EDUCATION LAW: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL POLICIES BETWEEN THE DUTCH AND INDONESIAN CENTRAL GOVERNMENT**

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**Abstract:** Studies on art education and culture are a continuing concern within academicians and politicians. Although extensive research has been carried out on the fields, few studies exist, which concern about the use of art education for cultural hegemony. This study concerns about Acehese culture and identity. During the time of colonisation, imperialist scholar; Snouck Hurgronje had used cultural resources as the instrument to instil false cultural identity for the interest to take control over Aceh. Stepping on the Dutch's colonialising policies, the central government of Indonesia has, as argued, used art curriculum as a hegemonic media for similar interests. This article discusses the case of art education in Acehese by analysing the content of the text books recommended by the central government. This work is to demonstrate the representation of Acehese cultural identity in the "Art and Culture" curriculum of schools in Aceh. I employ Freire, Hall, Apple, and Giroux thoughts to formulate the framework of this article. The aim of this paper is to understand the mechanism of the art curriculum used to nationalise local people and to uncover the scheme of cultural hegemony in Acehese schools, Indonesia. This work significantly contributes toward understanding the relation between cultural hegemony and education.

**Keywords:** The law of education, Hegemony, Art Education, and Acehese Identity

**Abstrak:** Penelitian tentang pendidikan seni dan budaya menjadi perhatian dari kalangan akademisi dan politisi terus menerus. Meskipun penelitian terkait telah banyak dilakukan di lapangan, studi yang menyangkut penggunaan pendidikan seni untuk hegemoni budaya masih terbatas. Penelitian ini membahas tentang budaya dan identitas Aceh. Selama masa penjajahan, sarjana imperialis; Snouck Hurgronje menggunakan sumber daya budaya sebagai instrumen untuk menanamkan identitas budaya yang salah demi kepentingan untuk mengendalikan Aceh. Dalam kebijakan kolonisasi Belanda, pemerintah pusat Indonesia juga menggunakan kurikulum seni sebagai media hegemonik untuk kepentingan yang sama. Artikel ini membahas tentang pendidikan seni di Aceh dengan menganalisis isi buku teks yang direkomendasikan oleh pemerintah pusat. Penelitian ini adalah bertujuan untuk menunjukkan representasi identitas budaya Aceh dalam kurikulum "Seni dan Budaya" di sekolah-sekolah di Aceh. Saya menggunakan pemikiran Freire, Hall, Apple, dan Giroux untuk merumuskan kerangka artikel ini. Tujuan artikel ini adalah untuk memahami mekanisme kurikulum seni yang digunakan untuk menasionalisasi masyarakat lokal dan mengungkap skema hegemoni budaya pada sekolah-sekolah di Aceh, Indonesia. Tulisan ini memberikan kontribusi yang signifikan terhadap pemahaman hubungan antara hegemoni budaya dan pendidikan.

**Kata Kunci:** Hukum pendidikan, Hegemoni, Pendidikan Seni, dan Identitas Aceh

## Introduction

The Aceh institute<sup>1</sup> in its 2008 publication on “Cultural Problems in Aceh” (Problematika Kebudayaan di Aceh) identified the following markers of Acehese culture: Acehese and sub-Acehese languages, Islamic religion, Seuneujoh (Acehese cultural death ritual), Maulid (the ceremony of Prophet Muhammad’s birthday), Seudati dance, Saman dance, and Acehese cultural practices of welcoming guests. There is a dialectic development of Acehese cultural identity, which in some phases, traditions dominated over other traits, and at other times, Islamic values overshadow all the mentioned aspects. In short, the identity of the Acehese has developed progressively from time to time in their history.<sup>2</sup> Among many various identities, Islam and nationalism had become the most dominant in several stages of the Acehese cultural identity history.<sup>3</sup>

Most Acehese historians believe that Aceh Darussalam Sultanate, especially the time during which Sultan Iskandar Muda reigned over the Acehese Sultanate in the seventeenth century was the greatest era for Aceh. During that period, the all the ethnic sub-groups of the Acehese had been united consciously by consensus. In the Gramscian sense, this epoch is considered as the Acehese historical bloc.<sup>4</sup> The peak of the mentioned Acehese kingdom in history left a positive past memory in the Acehese community. Those historical memories of the Acehese peak phase of civilisation had motivated the Acehese people to preserve their cultural identity and heritages, which are considered as the pride of their cultures.<sup>5</sup>

In being part of Indonesia, there have always been political and cultural tensions between the local Acehese government and the central Indonesian government in modern times. Javanese are the dominant cultural majority in Indonesia, while Aceh is one of the smaller provinces. The Acehese have many times fought unsuccessfully for independence<sup>6</sup>, so now the political agenda of the central Indonesian government is to instil and inculcate dominant culture and identity into the education practices and policies in Aceh. It is now well established from a variety of studies that education is an effective instrument

- 1 The Aceh institute is a non-government organization established 15-16 July 2004 in the University of Science Malaysia. The institute is directed by local academics who are interested in empowering indigenous intellectuals and culture. The organization is based in Banda Aceh, Acehese capital city, but its programs are held in every local region of the Acehese province.
- 2 John Bowen. ‘The New Anthropology of Ethnicity and Identity -and Why it Matters for Aceh and Indonesia’. Paper Presented at the First International Conference of Aceh and Indian Ocean Studies Banda Aceh, Indonesia. (2007)
- 3 Leonard Andaya, ‘Aceh’s Contribution to Standards of Malayness, (2001) 62 Archipel 29-88. See Also Anthony Reid. *An Indonesian Frontier: Acehese And Other Histories of Sumatra*, (Singapore: Singapore Press, 2004). See also Edward Aspinall. *Islam And Nation : Separatist Rebellion In Aceh, Indonesia*, (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2009). See also Denys Lombard. *Kerajaan Aceh Zaman Iskandar Muda (1607-1636) [The Acehese Kingdom during Iskandar Muda Epoch (1607-1636)]*, translated by W.Arifin, (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1986)
- 4 Antonio Gramsci & Lynne Lawner. *Letters From Prison*, (United Stated: Columbia University Press, 1994). See Also Stuart Hall, ‘Gramsci’s Relevance for the Study of Race and Ethnicity’ (1986) 10(2) *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 5-27. See also Stuart Hall, *Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*, (USA, Canada: the Taylor & Francis,1975))
- 5 AcehInstitute, F. B. ‘Problematika Kebudayaan Di Aceh’(from Aceh Institute.2008) [http://.acehinstitute.org/ringkasan\\_hasil\\_riset\\_fdt\\_budaya\\_pdf](http://.acehinstitute.org/ringkasan_hasil_riset_fdt_budaya_pdf). See Also Margaret. J. Kartomi, “If a Man Can Kill a Buffalo with One Blow He Can Play a Rapa’i Pasé”: How the Frame Drum Expresses Facets of Acehese Identity. (2004). 144 *Journal of Chinese Ritual, Theatre and Folklore*. See Also Anthony Reid. ed. *Verandah of Violence: The Background to the Aceh Problem*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006)
- 6 In the year 1953, for instance, the Islamic Dwellers (Darul Islam) led by Tgk Daud Beureueh proclaimed Acehese independence from the Indonesian central government. It took 10 years until they had sought an agreement to cease that conflict. The central government persuaded him to agree the offering of a special status to Aceh, in order to cease their resistance against the central government.

to develop a social change. As the instrument to nationalise local people, many states use cultural curriculum as the media to instil and inculcate national culture into minority people as the way to accomplish their submission to the state's interests. There is, however, little attention from the scholars on the agenda of majority ethnic group using national culture as the vehicle to cultural hegemony upon minority ethnic groups.

In this article, I critically question the use of education law as mandated through KTSP model<sup>7</sup> of national curriculum and its relation to the project of 'indonesianising' minority ethnic group culture. I, therefore, analyse the content of art curriculum in Indonesian secondary schools to understand the national agenda on constructing false Acehnese cultural identity. Here, I argue that the standardisation of art curriculum in the secondary schools has been used as the hegemonic instruments by imposed majority group ethnic culture into minority ethnic group culture in Indonesia. The mechanism had preceded by the Dutch colonial law which was used to maintain their political interests and natural resource exploitation.

### **The Dutch's law Against Acehnese Culture**

Aceh is an Indonesian western-most province situated in the northern tip of Sumatra Island. It has a long, complex history of struggle for independence. Recent history accounts for on-going political and cultural tensions between the local people and the central government.<sup>8</sup> There are approximately 4.2 million people living in Aceh. Since 2002, Aceh is having been divided into 23 districts, formerly there were eight, as a result of political decentralization. These 23 districts are West Aceh, Southwest Aceh, Aceh Besar, Aceh Jaya, South Aceh, Aceh Tamiang, Central Aceh, Southeast Aceh, East Aceh, North Aceh, City of Lhokseumawe, Bener Meriah, Gayo Lues, Pidie, Pidie Jaya, Simeulu, Bireuen, Nagan Raya, City of Banda Aceh, Sabang and Singkil as shown in figure 1.<sup>9</sup>

Ninety percent of the population has the Acehnese ethnic background.<sup>10</sup> There are also some other ethnic groups: Gayo, Alas, Aneuk Jamee, Batak, Chinese, Javanese and Minangkabau.<sup>11</sup> Indicating the accomplishment of the central government program of national transmigration, the Javanese has turned to become the biggest number minority in Aceh in the present time. Concerning this fact, states:<sup>12</sup>

The largest single minority in Aceh is not the Gayonese but the Javanese. In census 2000, there were about 275,000 Javanese, which is about 7 percent of the total population of Aceh in Aceh. Some of these are officials, military personnel, and petroleum industry employees, predominantly in the cities.

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7 Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan (KTSP); school-based curriculum was issued in 2006. Responding to the law of the local autonomy government, this curriculum introduces new policy for educational process in Indonesia, which recognises local based curriculum development. In practice, teachers are dependent on many other national education ministry regulations to develop their lesson plans and teaching methods, such as the regulation concerning textbooks, no 2 2008, standard textbooks recommended to be used for teaching materials, nos. 9, 49, 50 2009 and regulation pertaining to teachers and lecturers, no. 15 2005.

8 Edwar Aspinall, & Harold Crouch. *The Aceh Peace Process: Why it Failed Retrieved* (2003) from <http://www.eastwestcenterwashington.org>. See Also Amrijal J Prang. *Aceh dari Konflik ke Damai; "Aceh: from conflict to peace"*. (Banda Aceh: Bandar Publishing, 2008)

9 Acehnes Local Government . 23 districts or municipals (23 Kabupaten/Kota). (from Acehnese Local Government2009) <http://www.acehprov.go.id/10;23-KabupatenKota>

10 Leo Suryadinata, "Ethnic Groups And The Indonesian Nation-State: With Special Reference to Ethnic Chinese." In *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Indonesia*, (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2018) 43-53.

11 Holly Susan Smith, *Aceh: Art and Culture* (USA: Oxford University Press, 1997)

12 Anthony Reid. "Colonial Transformation: A Bitter Legacy." In *Verandah of Violence: The Background to the Aceh Problem*, (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2006) 96-108.

The majority, however, are transmigrants, introduced by the state as rice-growers in less-populated areas, in an attempt to relieve Java's population pressure and to help 'indonesianise' the peripheral parts of the archipelago. A smaller number came to work on pre-war plantations, many of whom have since moved on to other kinds of work.

The Acehese are known to embrace a strong belief in Islamic religion. They are very proud of their Islamic or Sharia heritage from the seventeenth century kingdom era in their history.<sup>13</sup> Most Acehese believe that the time when the King Iskandar Muda reigned over the Acehese Islamic sultanate in eighteenth century was the greatest and most glorious time for the Acehese. Since then, the idea of Acehese identity or Sharia<sup>14</sup> had started to mature and accepted by many different groups in the region. This peak of the Acehese sultanate in history has left a good past memory in all Acehese people. These historical memories of the Acehese great civilisation have continually triggered the Acehese people to preserve their heritages which are considered the valuable pride of their culture;

In the contrary to the early glorious time, during the Dutch's occupation, the Acehese faced the engineering scheme of their cultural identity. The imperialist tenaciously imposed upon new cultural identity by creating social and cultural fracture within Acehese society. Contrary to views the presence of Islam among the Acehese is the disruption of Acehese *adat*, which is the essential element of the Acehese identity.<sup>15</sup> Hurgronje at the beginning considers the *adat* is the basis of Acehese culture, which has fundamental role in resisting the Dutch colonisation<sup>16</sup>. During their occupation of Aceh land, the existing four groups of the Acehese society were working together to fight against the Dutch. The Dutch as suggested by Hurgronje, initially, misperceived the real structure of Acehese society. They presumed that the Acehese Sultans and their great families as the traditional rulers were the only sources of resistance of the society. Therefore, they believed that if they had already controlled and taken over the entire Acehese sultanate, they could then control the whole Acehese land. Later, the Dutch realised that they were not yet able to stop the resistance, even though the king and his royal families had succumbed. Having learnt from this situation, the Dutch, employing one of their best anthropologists, Hurgronje, attempted to identify the nature of the Acehese culture and society.

As advised by Hurgronje<sup>17</sup>, the Dutch were surprised by the fact that the Acehese Ulema

13 Saifuddin Duhri, 'Shari'a as Local Theology: Reflection on Acehese Culture and Identity (2015) 19(2) *Ulumuna* 437-462. See also Muhammad Siddiq Armia, 'Implementing Islamic Constitutionalism: How Islamic Is Indonesia Constitution?' (2018) 15(2) *Al 'Adalah Journal* 437-450. See also Muhammad Siddiq Armia, 'Ultra Petita and the Threat to Constitutional Justice: The Indonesian Experience' (2018) 26(2) *Intellectual Discourse* 903-930

14 'The terms Sharia and Cultural identity are interchangeably used in this research.'

15 James T Siegel. *The Rope of God*, (USA: Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, (1969). See also Peter Riddell. "Aceh in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: "Serambi Mekkah" and Identity. In Anthony. Reid (Ed.), *Verandah of Violence: The Historical Background of the Aceh Problem*, (Singapore, Seattle: Singapore University, 2006). See also Snauck Hurgronje. *The Acehese*. Translated by A. W. S. O'sullivan, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1906).

16 Daniel S. 'Lev for detail elaboration of colonial law upon local culture and religious practices'. University of Washington Press.

17 During the Dutch colonisation, 'Hurgronje was the advisor of the Dutch rulers in Indian Hindies, regarding the policy of governing colonial regions, in particular Aceh. In doing so, he meticulously researched the Acehese society and wrote his masterpiece ethnographic book entitles "Der Atjeher" or The Acehese. Based on that research, and his correspondence with local intellectuals, e.g: Ulema

along with *Ulee Balang* such as Tgk Chik Ditiro and Panglima Polem had replaced and taken over the role of the king and led the war against them. At the same time, the *dayah*, where the Ulema exercised their power, had changed its role to replace that of the sultanate and became the basis of the fighters to defend against the colonisers that were trying to conquer the Acehese sultanate. In so doing, the Ulema changed the *dayah's* curriculum and used it to spread war propaganda against the Dutch. For instance, Tgk Pante di Kulu, a leader of a *Dayah* in Aceh, composed a holy war epic called *Hikayat Prang Sabi*<sup>18</sup>, which was to be sung in the public sphere to evoke resistance against the imperialist.

Later, the Dutch became aware that they could take over the Acehese if they could gain control over the four pillars<sup>19</sup> of the Acehese people. To do so, Hurgronje planned a new project to privilege Adat [custom] over Islam. By using his authority as the adviser of the Dutch colony, he suggested several policies to defeat the resistance from the Ulema and to alienate the Ulema from their community. The Dutch gave to Ulee Balang more power against Ulema. They created hostility between the four pillars. Hurgronje viewed that policy is a method to create internal fractures in the body of the Acehese society by financing some noble aristocrats and employing local culture as soft weapons. This is illustrated in the following piece of his advice that is published by Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS);

[For instance, if we can seduce them [Ulei Balang] by bribing them with company money or in regard to the legal leadership [Ulei Balang] within their territory, [they] consider the Dutch government as serious threat to them. The Dutch government can intimidate them to fight the Jihadists in their territories. If they deny to do so, we would war with the jihadists, but we would not guarantee that their position [as Ulei Balang] will be sustained by Adat law (Gobée & Adriaanse, 1995, p. 154).

Used by the Dutch as a political instrument, *Ulee Balang* engaged in activities to fight against the jihadists and Ulema community for colonisers' interests. The Dutch was convinced that by continually intimating and threatening the Ulee Balang as well as assuring them the Dutch is of utmost serious to occupy Acehese land, the Ulee Balang would eventually cooperate with them for colonial interests. Hurgronje believed that Ulee Balang did need the Dutch government protection of their positions, therefore they would cooperate with the Dutch to sustain their territory. Hurgronje believed that strategy was effective and the Ulee Balang would be deceived since their actions against Ulema would be considered for their interests to secure their territory and they would, however, not being aware in fact they favoured for the Dutch interests. In the page 164, volume 2, Hurgronje advised as below:

In short, the Ulee Balang should do everything for our interests. Even though those jobs were very difficult, they thought those actions as if for their interests. In fact, those fights are our jobs. With merely deceitful dialogs, we would maintain that there would be less obstacles from the Ulee Balang (Gobée & Adriaanse, 1995, p. 164).

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and Ulei Balang, he actively advised the Dutch government for Indian Hindies, in particular Aceh'. In the later time, his advice had been printed to 11 volumes and published by Indonesian-Netherlands Cooperation in Islamic Studies (INIS).

18 'The Hikayat Prang Sabi is a chronicle regarding the grand reward for jihadists'. It was apparently written by Tgk. Chik Pante Kulu that was grounded on the verse of the Qur'an.

19 Those four pillars of Acehese society are Sultans, ulema, Ulee Balang (chiefmen) and common people who fight for the sultanate.

In additions to the above policy, Hurgronje employed local customs and art to degrade Ulema and their communities. The Ulee Balang expended a large amount of money and energy to hold as many cultural events to compete with the Ulema and *Dayah* communities, who were at the same time preaching, mainly as a motivation booster for going to war against the Dutch. This was done by Ulee Balang groups to attract people against the Ulema and *dayah* by organising arts performances, such as *Seudati*, *Saman*, and *Rapai*<sup>20</sup>. In addition, *Ulee Balang* controlled trading, city centre (business centres), ports and other public domains. After some decades had passed, the Acehnese aristocrats had already recruited many followers, which caused the internal conflict between the Ulema and *Ulee Balang*. Finally, the Ulee Balang accomplished their objective to discredit Ulema and their people who were waging war against the Dutch.

The policy of engineering,<sup>21</sup> the Acehnese culture is not only designed in the public spheres as mentioned above, but also in the schooling process. According to Latif cited from Ar-Raniry's foundation the Dutch government in the Indian East issued a law; No. 550 year 1905, regarding the education policy for teaching and teacher education. The law restricted the Acehnese schools' curriculum and the teachers' pedagogies. This interference was aimed to control the educational process in order to maintain the status quo of the Dutch colonisation.<sup>22</sup> Analysing the advice from Hurgronje and the policy maintained by the Dutch government, Hurgronje slyly designed and imposed upon a false identity for the Acehnese. Although his strategy was to some reasons considered failed by yet, he had succeeded to inculcate a false cultural identity for the Acehnese.<sup>23</sup>

### **Indonesian Era; Instrumentalising Textbooks for Nationalisation**

Having undergone long colonial era as explained above, Indonesia finally sought its independence from the Dutch in August 7, 1945. With great number of fights against the Dutch, Aceh also came into Indonesia state and turned to a small province. During the time, Aceh is under the control of centre government of Indonesia, including education system. There are several number of curriculum models have been introduced, such as CBSA, KBK, KTSP and Kurikulum 2013. I, however, chose KTSP model of conceptualising art curriculum and Erlangga textbooks;<sup>24</sup> the second volume for the reason that the textbooks are widely used in the Acehnese schools and relevant to the practices of teaching in secondary schools in present Aceh and KTSP has mandated to some extent the authority to teachers to develop their teaching plans and syllabuses.

Based on KTSP model of national curriculum, textbooks should be developed from the

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- 20 This policy has still impacted on current ulema's view on the Acehnese art. Some ulema still consider those art, e.g: *Rapai*, *Saman*, *Seudati* as the illicit deeds.
- 21 Social engineering is a field of the political studies. As Ferdinand Tonnies describes, the traditional method [social management] has no longer effectively worked to influence popular behaviours and attitudes on the large level. Thus, the social engineering is introduced to overcome that traditional method drawback.
- 22 Hamdiyah A Latif. *Persatuan Ulama Seluruh Aceh (PUSA) : its contributions to educational reforms in Aceh*. from University Microfilms International (drukker) [http://www.acehbooks.org/pdf/ACEH\\_03332.pdf](http://www.acehbooks.org/pdf/ACEH_03332.pdf). See also Laporan Penelitian, 'Pengaruh PUSA Terhadap Reformasi di Aceh,' (1978) 70 Jurnal IAIN Ar-Raniry.
- 23 Paul Van't Veer. *Perang Aceh: Kisah Kegagalan Snouck Hurgronje*, Translated by Grafiti Pers, (Jakarta: PT Grafiti Pers, 1979)
- 24 In contrast to the other textbooks, Erlangga is the most popular, used by every participant in this study and the students. The textbook is published by Erlangga and printed at Jl. H. Baping Raya, no. 100, Ciracas Jakarta. Drs. Setyobudi, M. Pd, Musoiful Faqih Munsu, S. Pd., Dyah Purwani Setianingsih, S. Pd., M. Pd. and Sugiyanto, S. Pd., M.Pd are the authors of the textbooks. The team is called "Tim Abdi Guru" or the team for teachers' dedication. These textbooks are supplied as three volumes for first, second and third grades in secondary schools (Setyobudi, Munsu, Setianingsih, & Sugiyanto, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).



process standard, which is mandated by the central government. Every teacher must develop his or her own teaching resources, such as textbooks and lesson plans, as the requirement of the process standard 2006. To understand the policy used by the central government regarding art education, in this section I analyse the content of process standard and art textbooks. I chose second grade's art curriculum as a sample.

### **Content Analysis of Art Curriculum; Process Standard and Textbooks**

The second grade's process standard and textbook (see tables and figures), centre on *Nusantara*<sup>25</sup> art. Students are required to possess the following competencies: to appreciate and express themselves through visual arts, music, dance and theatre of *Nusantara*. It should be asked, however, what is meant by the term *Nusantara*.

The cover of the second volume of the Erlangga textbook has a yellow background, written by the same team with the same address. The image of a Batik painting and a female dancer are the main cover features plus a traditional drum (*gendang*) a traditional house, and a group of traditional Papua dancers (see, Figure 1. Second volume of Erlangga textbook). The second volume also has 166 pages, with 12 chapters. In line with the prescriptive standard content of law no. 41 2007, this textbook focuses on the contents of *Nusantara* arts. As can be seen from the cover and explanation for the meaning of *Nusantara* the textbook is misleading, privileging the Majapahit culture and in turn Balinese and Javanese art.<sup>26</sup> culture is shared meaning, constructed inter-subjectively from cultural texts and people give meaning to texts (i.e. objects, people, arts, and images under the influence of their worldview and ideology). In giving meaning, power relations become a central issue for constructing cultural meaning<sup>27</sup>.

The key problem with this term is that it has no consensus about its meaning, and implicitly signifies the interests of the majority ethnic group. The term has been problematised by many art teachers and cultural workers because *Nusantara* has no neutral meaning; but it has cultural bias and discriminates against the minority ethnic group in Indonesia.<sup>28</sup> The interpretation of *Nusantara* in school textbooks is based on the dominant ethnic group's interests to maintain their status quo.<sup>29</sup> *Nusantara* is generally understood within

25 There is heated debate about the meaning of Nusantara. The mainstream popular belief, which is proposed by founding fathers of Indonesian nationality, Soekarno, Ki Hajar Dewantara and Muhammad Amien, is that Nusantara was the epoch of Majapahit's peak time and now is included in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Cambodia, Brunei and the Philippines. See also Setyobudi, et.al., and Tim Abdi Guru. *Seni Budaya Untuk SMP Kelas VIII*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007). See also Robert K. Yin. *Applications Of Case Study Research*. (USA: Sage Publications, 2011) According to Hasan Djafar, against mainstream belief, Nusantara is derived from Nusa which means islands, and Antara which means others. Nusantara, therefore, means the 'other islands' which are not part of Mahapahit Kingdom. Based on Djafar's study, from an archaeological perspective, he argues that that mainstream belief is invalid. *Majapahit Kingdom only consisted of East Java and Middle Java* Hasan Djafar. *Girindrawarddhana: Beberapa Masalah Majapahit Akhir*, (Jakarta: Yayasan Dana Pendidikan Buddhis Nalanda, 1978).

26 Setyobudi, et.al., and Tim Abdi Guru. *Seni Budaya Untuk SMP Kelas VIII*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007)

27 Stuart Hall. *Introduction to Media Studies at the Centre Culture, Media and Language*, (London: Routledge, 1972) 79. See also Stuart Hall. *Negotiating Caribbean Identities*. Walter Memorial Lecture, from <http://www.ram-wan.net/restrepo/hall/negotiatin%20caribbean%20identities.pdf>. (1993). Stuart Hall. "The White of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and Media." In G. Dines & J. Humex (Eds.), *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*. Thousand Oaks, (London: Sage Publications, 1995). Stuart Hall. *Introduction: Who Needs Identity?* . In S. Hall & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*. (London: Sage Publications, 1996). Stuart Hall. *The Spectacle of The 'Other'*. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London: Sage Publications, 1997). Stuart Hall. "Gramsci's relevance for the study of race and ethnicity. In D. Morley & K.-H. Chen (Eds.), *Stuart Hall: Critical Dialogues in Cultural Studies*. (USA, Canada: the Taylor & Francis 2005)

28 Muhar. [Seni Budaya Aceh Hendak Kemana] (2011). See Also Pasya. *Seni Budaya Aceh Hendak Kemana*. (2011) Also Umar. [Seni Aceh dalam Kurrikulum Sekolah Menengah Aceh]. (2011)

29 RM Yoyok. *Pendidikan Seni Budaya*, (Jakarta: PT Ghalia Indonesia Printing, 2008)

the context of historical greatness of the Javanese kingdom: Majapahit. For example, the curriculum content in the Erlangga textbook for grade two of secondary school largely focuses on *Nusantara*, which is historically associated with the land conquered by the Javanese armies, such as the present Indonesian lands and the other big part of Malaysian, Philippines and Thai lands.<sup>30</sup>

Perhaps the most serious disadvantage of the *Nusantara* notion is the contradiction in terms with the reality of Indonesian plurality: the local people were not a part of the Majapahit Kingdom in the past and it is assumed that they now have cultural independency and local autonomy within the Indonesian democratic system. Another major drawback of this term is that when *Nusantara* is combined with *daerah* (local) and *tradisi* (tradition). For example, the second volume of the textbook, *Daerah Nusantara* (Nusantara peripheries, pp. 105-113), and *Tradisi Nusantara* (Nusantara tradition) (as shown in standard content for the second grade: 11.1, 11.2, 12.1, 12.2, 12.3). Based on the second volume, *Daerah Nusantara* is defined as the extended area of the Majapahit Kingdom. These areas were conquered by the Majapahit and were later considered as the periphery of Majapahit territory.<sup>31</sup>

One of the power relation issues is cultural hegemony/ domination. Many postcolonial theorists argue that cultural texts play an important role in the maintenance of the majority group's domination. Analysing the content of the second volume, this argument would suggest that the text is produced for instilling the dominant group's worldview and ideology into minority groups, like the Acehnese. By instilling their culture into the Erlangga textbook's content, the interests of the powerful, namely the Javanese ethnic group, will therefore be maintained. In so doing, the authors of the textbook, representing the Javanese, give different meanings to the culture of minority ethnic groups in Indonesia. As the result of the given meaning is produced from the Javanese perspective, the textbooks alienate local students from their original culture and arts (see, Table 2 the extent to which Acehnese culture is represented in the second volume of the Erlangga textbook).<sup>32</sup>

The contents of the second volume of the Erlangga textbook for grade two through five categories of analysis: chapters, songs, pictures, artists and placement (see table 1). Those charts show that Acehnese art content is the least compared to the content of the majority ethnic group (i.e., Javanese arts). Acehnese art content is not represented in chapters, songs and artists.<sup>33</sup> in figure 5.5. Regarding the content of pictures, Acehnese art constitutes only 1.31 percent, whereas Javanese art constitutes 13.53 percent and other pictorial content constitutes 85.15 percent.<sup>34</sup> This indicates that Acehnese arts have the lowest percentage of all categories of textbook content.

#### Educational practices and pedagogies that focus on the dominant ethnic group in a

30 Setyobudi, et.al., and Tim Abdi Guru. *Seni Budaya Untuk SMP Kelas VIII*, (Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007)

31 Ibid

32 Lawrence Grossberg. *Identity and Cultural Studies: Is That All There is?* in Stuart Hall & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London: Sage Publications, 1996). See also Ranajit Guha Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Edward W. Said. *Selected Subaltern Studies*, (United Kingdom: Oxford University Press, 1988). Also Hall, S. (1993). *Negotiating Caribbean Identities*. Walter Memorial Lecture, from <http://www.ram-wan.net/restrepo/hall/negotiatin%20caribbean%20identities.pdf>, Hall, S. *The Spectacle of The 'Other'*. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publishions. (1997a). Hall, S. *The Work of Representation*. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publishions. (1997b).

33 All of the artists are Javanese: Affandi from Cirebon, p. 10, G. Sidarta from Yogyakarta, p. 39, Gesang from Solo, p. 89 and Sardono W. Kusumo from Java, p. 107.

34 I mean by the other pictorial content here is the pictures related to non-ethnic themes, such as birds, land and other general pictures.

multicultural context might result in the cognitive remapping of students from the ethnic minority groups. These students through their constant engagement with these educational practices that mainly focus on the dominant ethnic group might come to understand the dominant group as the norm. They will eventually become strangers to their culture and people. In shedding light on textbook content, in *The State and the Politics of Knowledge*, establishes that the politics of the textbooks in this study are to maintain status quo by marginalising Acehnese culture from school practice.<sup>35</sup> As a result, the younger generation will have less opportunity to learn their culture. In short, this political marginalisation of the Acehnese culture does not advance the Acehnese culture and identity (see, Figure 5 Percentage of Acehnese culture represented in the second volume of the Erlangga textbook).

In addition, the textbook abounds with Javanese terms. For example, many body movements of the dancers are labelled by using Javanese terms/language: head movement; *Tolehan*, finger movement; *Lung Sekar*, hand movement; *Kebyok*, foot movement; and *Enjer* and *Trisig*<sup>36</sup>. Nearly half of the content of the textbook is composed of Javanese arts. This is indicated in chapter one: "Batik" (pp. 1-12), Gamelang and Dangdut, which constitute major sections in chapter four; and in chapter six: "Keroncong music" (pp. 83-94). By contrast, Acehnese arts have only one subsection sub-section of Jelajah and constitute a minor example for one topic<sup>37</sup> (see table 3 Numeric details of the representation of Acehnese culture).

By using Javanese language, it is driven the students to share their cultural code, which make them perceive cultural reality in the same way as their oppressors. for example, argues that the oppressor needs to maintain the status quo. In order to sustain the oppressor, the oppressed must be dehumanised through cultural action. In this way, the oppressed will, therefore, accept the oppressor's identity and consider their culture to be the other's culture. Together, these results would suggest that those cultural actions that distorting minority history and instil dominant culture in the minority go against the principles of democratic society.<sup>38</sup>

### **Hegemony Conditioning: Textbook and Standardisation**

According to my participants<sup>39</sup>, the central government and business groups provide textbooks for subjects taught in schools. Several subjects have been provided with formal textbooks from the government, whereas some other subjects are left to the teachers' authority; the Art and Culture subject is included in this category.<sup>40</sup> There are three different types of textbook used by both students and teachers in Acehnese schools. Firstly, those formally printed by the central government are known as Buku Sekolah Elektronik (BSE): the Electronic School Books.<sup>41</sup> These are formally recognised as the standard textbooks,

35 Michael W Apple. *The state and the politics of knowledge*. New York: The Taylor & Francis. (2003).

36 There are many other Javanese terms including *Debeg*, *Gejuk*, *Gerak Sindet*, *Gerak Ngigel*, *Kebyak*, *Ridhong*, *Seblak*, *Ulap-ulap*, *Tawing*, *Rimong* and *Kenser* (see pp. 109-111 in the second volume of the textbook). For details about the meaning of the movement, see: <http://staff.uny.ac.id/sites/default/files/Diktat> and <http://watymenari.blogspot.com.au/>

37 Tarian Zappin, p. 105, one paragraph, and Didong, p. 125, subsection subsection on Jelajah.

38 Paulo Freire. *Cultural action for freedom*. Harmondsworth,: Penguin. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (New rev. 20th-Anniversary ed.). New York: Continuum. (1993). "Education for critical consciousness". London, New York: Sheed and Ward Ltd. (2005).

39 This article is developed from my PhD chapter, whose data was collected from my field work in Acehnese secondary schools.

40 Reading the regulation of education, I found that the national education ministry regulations no. 20 year 2010, concerning "the norm, standard, procedure and criteria of schooling" confirms my participants' opinions.

41 For detailed information regarding the electronic standard book, see its official website: <http://bse>.

which are compulsory. Secondly, those printed by business groups, granted legalisation from *Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan* [BNSP;]: the National Standard Education Agency. And thirdly, those textbooks that do not have legalisation from the BNSP and are not printed by government. These textbooks are produced only for business purposes.

As mentioned above, the two categories of textbook printed by business groups have formal legalisation or recommendation and the other textbooks have no recommendation from the National Standard Education Agency. The single most striking observation to emerge from the data was that textbooks used for teaching Art and Culture had no BNSP recommendation and yet they are recommended by the ministry of national education regulations.<sup>42</sup> Based on KTSP curriculum, the business groups have no formal authority to take over the teachers' role in interpreting the process standard, and the majority of research participants are against their schools' policy to use the books. These art textbooks are widely used in Acehese schools and their interpretations, in practice, are greatly welcomed by school authorities and the ministry of education through the national policy of textbook production. This resonates with the technical instruction of *Bantuan Operasional Sekolah* (BOS): the school's operational funds 2011, PERMENDIKNAS (*Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional* [the regulation of National Education Ministry], No. 49, 50 2009 and No. 20 2010 on textbook usage and recommendation. In particular, regulations 49 and 50 list particular textbooks or publishers to be recommended by the Ministry of Education (e.g. Erlangga, Yudistira, Grafika and Ganeca content as official knowledge and recommended teaching resources for Art and Culture).

It is interesting to note that all participants of this study reported that they use the third category of textbooks as their primary material resources for teaching Art and Culture in secondary schools in Aceh. A strong relationship between knowledge reproduction and maintaining the dominant status quo has been reported in the literature. Confirming the above literature, the recommendation and acceptance by school authorities of textbooks produced by business groups have justified the position of the group to intervene in teachers' interpretations of the process standards. The business groups have come between the process standard and teachers. Since these groups have no formal authority to interpret, reproduce and distribute the textbooks/handbooks, I have called these companies third parties.<sup>43</sup>

Hijacking the teachers' role to interpret the process standard, these third parties have appropriated the teachers' right to develop their lesson plans in accordance with the Indonesian educational system represented by the KTSP curriculum, act no. 41 year 2007 concerning local autonomy and act no. 20, 2003 pertaining to the national educational system. The teachers' role in developing their teaching sources has been overtaken. These third parties instil the dominant ethnic group's ideology and culture through teaching materials, which is designed for dominant group interests in Indonesia. Another possible explanation for this is that the reproduction of knowledge undertaken by third parties and their interpretations clearly indicate the contravention of the principles of *Bhinika*

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kemdiknas.go.id/index.php/buku/bukusmp/kelas7

42 Even though many textbooks have no recommendation from BNSP, the textbooks are recommended through ministry regulation of national education, such as nos. 9, 49 and 50 2009.

43 Micheal W Apple. *Cultural Politics and Education*. (New York: Columbia University, 1996). See also Dennis Carlson and Micheal W Apple. (Eds.). *Power, Knowledge, Pedagogy : The Meaning of Democratic Education in Unsettling Times*, (USA: Westview Press, 1998). See also Paulo Freire. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, (New York: The Continuum Publishing, 1970). See also McLaren. *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education*. (USA: Allyn & Bacon, 1945). See also Culture Wars. *School and Society in the Conservative Restoration 1969-1984*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006)

*tunggal Ika*,<sup>44</sup> that is, the principle of Indonesian plurality and equality of all ethnic groups in Indonesia.

This resonates with concerning the Central Midwestern Regional Education Laboratory or CEMREL's policy of Aesthetic curriculum development in the USA. Beyer critically reviews the development of Aesthetical curriculum supervised by CEMREL, which unequally represents local communities' aesthetic. He argues that this development is against the USA policy of plurality and multicultural population.<sup>45</sup> This view is accordingly supported and advanced, who question the politics of knowledge. Apple is of the view that cultural knowledge is not neutral or objective. It, however, reflects one's worldview and ideology. Through Sagoyewatha's narrative, Apple presents an example of young Indians who lose their cultural identity because of the imposition of Christian knowledge. By that knowledge, they become "neither white men, nor Indians" advocates that the younger generation, whose knowledge and culture are of 'the other', turn to the other, regardless of their physical appearance or ethnical backgrounds.<sup>46</sup>

This finding also corroborates the ideas of Hall, who suggest that the reproduction of knowledge should be understood within discursive practices. Within such practices, power is shared through agents or subjects of the regime. Those agents are determined by the ideology of those who have power. There are similarities between the reproduction of knowledge expressed by Foucault and Hall within discursive practice, and those found in the practice of art teaching in Aceh. It is, therefore, likely that the subjects are determined by the cultural identity of the dominant ethnic group who have power in the central government. The agents of power are similar to subjects within discursive practices. This resembles the position of art teachers and textbook publishers within the practices of schooling. It may therefore be suggested that textbook reproduction and publishers express the interests of those in power to maintain their status quo through the art curriculum and teaching practice.<sup>47</sup>

In sum, Erlangga, Yudistira, Ganeca and Grafindo are the publishers of the third parties, whose textbooks have no recommendation from BNSP. Yet, the publishers have taken over the teachers' role in interpreting the process standard. This intervention was supported by the Ministry of National Education (nos. 9, 49 and 50 2009) concerning textbooks recommended for teaching the Art and Culture subject in the secondary schools. Drawing on postcolonial literature, within discursive practices, the intervention suggests the act of cultural hegemony for maintaining status quo of the majority ethnic group, who currently hold power in government.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the policy of the Dutch government upon Acehnese culture and identity is engineered to meet the agenda of colonial interest as shown in the first part of this

44 It means; *Bercerai Berai Kita Bersatu*; By Diversities, We are United. This motto is one of Indonesian nationality foundations.

45 Landon E. Beyer. *Aesthetic Curriculum and Cultural Reproduction*. In M. W. Apple & L. Weis (Eds.), *Ideology and Practice in Schooling*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983)

46 Kristen L Buras and Micheal W Apple. *Introduction: The Subaltern Speak; Curriculum, Power, and Educational Struggles*, (London: Routledge, 2006). See also Frant Fanon. *Black Skin, White Masks*, translated by C. L. Markmann, (London: Pluto Press, 1986)

47 Stuart Hall. *The Spectacle of The 'Other'*. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publishions. (1997a). Hall, S. *The Work of Representation*. In Stuart Hall (Ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London. Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publishions. (1997b). See also Michel Foucault. "The Subject and Power." In H. R. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michael Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutic*, (USA: The University of Chicago Press, 1982).

article. In the same way, Acehnese arts are underrepresented in the process standard and textbooks used by art teachers, which is likely to related to the schema to inculcate dominant culture for cultural hegemony. By scrutinising the standard competency and the basic competency of secondary schools, it is clearly evident that Acehnese art and culture are underrepresented in both process standard and textbooks used by the majority of art teachers. In additions, the role of interpretation taken by Erlangga, Yudistira, Grafika, and Ganeca publishers emerged as reliable evidence of this underrepresentation of minority culture in the art curriculum. For instance, Erlangga textbooks misinterpret the term 'local'. Instead of signifying student culture and arts, the local is steered to signify Javanese arts, rooted in Majapahit ideology. Similarly, *Nusantara* has also been interpreted in a misleading way. Evenmore, the content of Acehnese arts have the least content compared to the dominant ethnic group of Indonesia.

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