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Passive Islamophobia and national cultural construction: a critical note on art curriculum

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Abstract

This study aims to explore the passive Islamophobia in the arts and culture subjects on the KTSP and K-13 curriculum of secondary schools. Employing the representation theory, this article explores the relationship between marginality

and Islamophobia integrated into the fine arts curriculum. Through content analysis of 2 textbooks for grades VII and VIII, some elements of marginalization in the Islamic cultural values were found. The conception of Indonesian nationality originates from various internal solidarity and contestation between Islamism, Hinduism and secularism in resistance to imperialism. The fallacy in the narrative of the mainstream of Indonesian nationalism seen as deeply rooted in the legacy of Majapahit/Hinduism, which unwittingly calls Indonesia the new Majapahit needs to be straightened out. The construction of cultural nationalism, meanwhile, overrides Islamic culture and identity. This article indicates that the teaching of the nationality of Indonesian culture does not consider the heritage of Islamic arts and culture. The marginality and exclusion of Islamic arts and culture in the construction of Indonesian nationality through the art curriculum and art education policy shows passive Islamophobia internalized therein, instead of the existence of accommodation and respect for Islamic culture.

Artikel ini bertujuan menjelaskan Islamophobia pasif yang terdapat dalam mata pelajaran seni budaya di sekolah menengah dalam kurikulum KTSP dan K-13. Melalui teori representasi artikel ini mengeksplorasi hubungan antara marginalitas dan islamophobia yang terinternalisasi dalam kurikulum seni rupa. Melalui metode analisis konten terhadap 2 buku mata pelajaran kelas VII dan VIII, ditemukan unsur marginalisasi nilai budaya Islam di dalamnya. Sejatinya Konsepsi kebangsaan Indonesia bersumber dari berbagai solidaritas internal dan kontestasi antara Islamisme, Hindu dan sekularisme, dalam perlawanan terhadap imperialis. Kekeliruan narasi arus utama nasionalisme Indonesia yang dipandang berakar kuat pada warisan Majapahit / Hindu, yang tanpa disadari menyebut Indonesia sebagai Majapahit baru perlu diluruskan. Sementara itu, konstruksi nasionalisme budaya mengesampingkan budaya dan identitas Islam. Temuan artikel ini menyimpulkan bahwa pengajaran kebangsaan budaya Indonesia tidak mempertimbangkan warisan seni dan budaya Islam. Marjinalitas dan eksklusi seni dan budaya Islam dalam konstruksi kebangsaan Indonesia melalui kurikulum seni dan kebijakan pendidikan seni menunjukkan Islamofobia pasif yang terinternalisasi didalamnya, alih-alih adanya akomodasi dan penghargaan terhadap budaya Islam

Keywords: *Marginality; Indonesian Nationalism; Islamic Culture; Islamophobia; Art curriculum*

1 Introduction

Many observers have already drawn attention to the paradox in retaining Islamic cultural nationalism through art education. In 1997, a seminal book was published entitled *Covering Islam: how the media and the experts determine how we see the rest of the world casts doubt on the survival of Islamic culture identity due to its under-representation by mainstream media*. Even more, the alienation of Islamic cultural identity has further occurred in designing curriculum and educational policy, in particular in the content of art and culture subject of secondary school. The marginalisation of Islamic art and culture can be found in the content of art and culture subject of KTSP and K-13 curriculum. It is indicated from the naming, labelling, art performing and art conceptualising, which is pertained in the subject. This scheme has undermined Islamic positioning upon the construction of Indonesian cultural nationalism.

Yet, Indonesia has become a rich field for the study of nationalism,¹ and is under a continuing process of development and has not already completed. Correspondingly, upon the conception of Indonesian nationality, it is an overplus that many founding fathers of Indonesian nationality are hooked in the impression that Indonesian nationality is totally monolithic and that way is in harmony with the nature of Indonesian plurality and diversity of religions and ethnic groups. Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, for instance, shows vividly in his idea of the formation of Indonesian nationality. He describes that the idea of Indonesian nationality is based on Majapahit

¹See William R. Roff, *The Origins of Malay Nationalism*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967; George McTurnan Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1952; Benedict R.O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983; Michael Laffan, *Islamic Nationhood and Colonial Indonesia: The Umma Below the Winds*, London: Routledge, 2002; Aris Badara, "Representation of Indonesian Women Workers: a Critical Discourse Analysis on the Newspapers of Nationalist-Secular and Islamic Ideological Perspectives," *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, vol. 10, no. 1 (2020), 79-101.

1 legacy and successively the path of its culture.² Tiro, however, notices that the idea of Indonesia as a new Majapahit does not fit the nature of Indonesian cultural diversity and ethnicities³. On the other hand, Burhani maintains that Islamic national identity of Indonesia might be identified into two grounds; traditionalist and modernist Islam,⁴ which base on NU and Muhammadiyah ideologies.⁵

As a common pitfall of the conceptualisation of nationality, both proponents and opponents of Indonesian idea are too fascinated by the phenomena of traditionalist and modernist idea of nationalism. As a result, they overlook shared-culture and common platforms of Indonesian Islam, which have been the threat to their Islamic cultural identity. This study seeks to obtain data, which will help to address these research gaps. In so doing, this work is an attempt to unearth the marginality of Islamic culture, which is internalised in art, and culture subject of KTSP and K-13. Furthermore, another objective of this study is to explain how Islamophobia within the content of art curriculum is schemed and implanted for secondary school students.

Although extensive literature has been carried out on nationalism⁶ and

²See Bernad Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia*, Jakarta: PT. Gramedia Press, 2008; Mahandis, "Faktanya, Nusantara Bukanlah Wilayah Majapahit", *Harian Kompas*, Sunday, 13 October 2013; M. Yahya Harun, *Kerajaan Islam Nusantara abad XVI & XVII*, Jakarta: Kurnia Kalam Sejahtera, 1995.

³Hasan Muhammad-Tiro, *Demokrasi Untuk Indonesia*, Jakarta: Teplok Press, 1999.

⁴Ahmad Najib Burhani, "Defining Indonesian Islam: An examination of the construction of the national Islamic identity of traditionalist and modernist Muslims", in *Islam in Indonesia: Contrasting Images and Interpretations*, ed. Jajat Burhanudin and Kees Van Dijk, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013.

⁵Muhammad-Tiro, *Demokrasi Untuk Indonesia...*

⁶See B. R. O. G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Nationalism and the imagination*, London: Seagull, 2010; Nikki R. Keddie, "Pan-Islam as Proto-Nationalism", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1969), 17-28; Brian A. Hoey, "Nationalism in Indonesia: Building Imagined and Intentional Communities through Transmigration", *Ethnology*, Vol. 42, No. 2, (2003), 109-26; Terry Eagleton et al., *Nationalism, Colonialism, and literature*,

Islamophobia,¹ no single study exists concerning passive Islamophobia internalised within the culture and art curriculum content. The practice of marginalisation of Islamic cultural identity eventually leads to internalised Islamophobia⁸ in the construction of cultural nationalism. A content analysis and semiotic approach were adopted to assess the position of Islamic art and to gain a detailed understanding of Islamophobia within art and culture curriculum of secondary schools.

Representation, education and identity

A considerable amount of literature has been published on the theory of representation⁹. The first serious discussions and analyses of representation was undertaken by Durkheim and emerged during the 1898 in his article “Représentations individuelles et représentations collectives”.¹⁰ Later, Moscovici, McLaren,¹¹ and Apple¹² have extended the representation

Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990; Siti Ruhaini Dzuhayatin, “Islamism and nationalism among niqabis women in Egypt and Indonesia”, *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2020), 49-77.

⁷Robin Finlay and Peter Hopkins, “Resistance and Marginalisation: Islamophobia and the Political Participation of Young Muslims in Scotland”, *Social and Cultural Geography*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (2020), 546-568; El Zahed Sahar Youssef, *Internalized Islamophobia: The Discursive Construction of Islam and Observant Muslims in the Egyptian Public Discourse*, California: University of California, 2019; Junaid Rana, “The Story of Islamophobia, Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics”, *Culture, and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2007).

⁸Robin Finlay and Peter Hopkins, “Resistance and Marginalisation...”

⁹See Mohamed Chaib, Berth Danermark, and Staffan Selander (eds.), *Education, Professionalization and Social Representations: On the Transformation of Social Knowledge*, New York: Routledge 2011; Jeanett Castellanos and Lee Jones (eds.), *The Majority in the Minority: Expanding the Representation of Latina/o Faculty, Administrators and Students in Higher Education*, Virginia: Stylus Publishing Lcc., 2003.

¹⁰See W.S.F. Pickering (ed.), *Durkheim and Representations*, New York: Routledge, 1995.

¹¹McLaren, *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Foundations of Education* Fifth ed. USA: Allyn & Bacon, 2006.

¹²See Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power*, Boston, London, Melbourne and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982; Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, New York, London: Routledge, 1990; Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge: Democratic, Education in a Conservative Age*, London, New York: Routledge, 2000.

theory into the field of education. The study of representation has, thus, become popular in educational research in Latin America. Menin, Shimizu and Lima have reported that Jodeler identified 138 papers generated from theses and dissertations employing representation theory on education from 2000 to 2003 in Brazil.¹³ Their findings suggest that representation theory has a significant contribution to make to education. In particular, the use of the theory is greatly useful for understanding the relation between schooling practices, and dominant ideology, culture and identity.

A more comprehensive and systematic work by Stuart Hall defines representation by classifying the term into four elements—language, things, code, and concepts—and locates culture and identity as the practice of representation. Hall's theory of representation is central to understanding whether the conceptualising art curriculum is represented students' culture or misrepresented it. His theory also helps explain positioning Islamic culture and identity within processes of knowledge construction, which enables to identify how Islamic culture and identity are played out and represented through the conceptualising art curriculum. Linked to the Indonesian models of national construction, the above discussion raises some interesting questions on the content of art education in secondary schools: whether they represent or marginal Islamic cultural nationalism.

Hall uses the term representation to refer to the production of meaning through language, conceptual maps and cultural codes. He sees language in a broader sense that includes every sign, which has meaning for human beings (e.g. words, music, and traffic light)¹⁴. Like language, conceptual maps are very

¹³Maria Suzane de Stefano Menin, Alessandra de Morais Shimizu, and Claudia Maria de Lima, "The Theory of Social Representations as a Theoretical and Methodological Tool for Research on Teachers in Brazil: Analyses of Theses and Dissertation", in *Education, Professionalization and Social Representations: On the Transformation of Social Knowledge*, ed. Mohamed Chaib, Berth Danermark, and Staffan Selander, New York: Routledge, 2011.

¹⁴Stuart Hall, "The Work of Representation", in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1997.

1 important to the production of meaning. The conceptual maps are the concepts of the things; they are the signified of any sign. This includes abstract things like angels, souls, or concrete matters, such as trees, stones and tables. Language and conceptual maps are connected by cultural codes, which signpost meaning. Considering the significance of representation, according to Hall, its work encompasses all cultural production including an understanding of national identity, cultural identity and marginalisation within curriculum content¹⁵.

Although education and nationalism are inextricably linked,¹⁶ national education is possible within the practices of representation.¹⁷ Within representation, every different cultural identity must be negotiated actively. Hall emphasises that identity, including different aspects of national identity, is not only required for negotiating one's position, but it is also needed as the strategic point in the process of negotiation. This is the strategy for using a shared culture or communality to negotiate for a better position within representational practice. Although Hall denies the existence of the true self for a particular ethnic identity, he advocates that an identity must be constructed consciously. It is not engineered and manipulated by the dominant group, since a projected or false identity is the result of cultural hegemony, which has been in play by the regime of truth and the dominant regime of representation¹⁸. Cultural national identity is therefore inculcated by cultural education.

¹⁵Stuart Hall, "Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities," in *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*, ed. Anthony D King, London: 1991.

¹⁶Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

¹⁷Hans Siebers, "Are education and nationalism a happy marriage? Ethnonationalist disruptions of education in Dutch classrooms", *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (2019), 33-49.

¹⁸Hall, "The Work of Representation" ...; Hall, "Introduction: Who Needs Identity?", in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Paul Du Gay, London: 1996; Hall, "The White of Their Eyes: Racist Ideologies and Media", in *Gender, Race, and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*, ed. Gail Dines and Jean Humex, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1995.

1 **Islamophobia within signifying practices**

Much of the current literature on islamophobia pays particular attention to a threat to democratic society and multi-culturalism¹⁹. The academic literature on it has revealed the emergence of several contrasting themes, such as white supremacy²⁰, internalised Islamophobia²¹, Islamophobia from within and the rise of the alt-right²², which is inextricably linked with national construction. The concept of Islamophobia may materialises as prejudicial, hateful interaction and is represented in labelling, naming, stereotyping and marginalising in media, art, and in many other forms of signifying practices.

In practice, any group must be concerned with the regime of representation, i.e; education law, and textbooks, their positioning and the power in play by the regime. Stuart Hall furthers his argument that misrepresentation of a particular identity in any representation practice, e.g., Islamic cultural identity, is likely to lead into the production of fall identity of the particular group or marginalisation. The work of stereotyping and labelling illustrate the category of misrepresentation, which justifies marginalisation. The practices of misrepresentation thus resembles to

¹⁹Youssef, "Internalized Islamophobia..."; Rana, "The Story of Islamophobia"...; Leon Moosavi, "Orientalism at home: Islamophobia in the representations of Islam and Muslims by the New Labour Government", *Ethnicities*, Vol. 15, No. 5 (2015), 652-74; Finlay and Hopkins, "Resistance and Marginalisation..."; Jennifer E. Cheng, "Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or racism? Parliamentary discourses on Islam and Muslims in debates on the minaret ban in Switzerland", *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (2015), 262-586; Chris Allen, "Islamophobia and the Crises of Europe's Multiculturalism", in *New Multicultural Identities in Europe: Religion and Ethnicity in Secular Societies*, Erkan Toğuşlu, Johan Leman, and İsmail Mesut Sezgin (eds.), Leuvan: Leuven University Press, 2014.

²⁰Rana, "The Story of Islamophobia"...; Cheng, "Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or racism?..."

²¹Youssef, "Internalized Islamophobia..."

²²Ziauddin Sardar, Jordi Serra, and Scott Jordan, *Muslim Societies in Postnormal Times: Foresights for Trends, Emerging Issues and Scenarios*, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 2019.

the actions islamophobia. Therefore the practice of representation may product Islamophobia through way of marginalisation of Islamic identity and markers. Hall advances that positioning and negotiation are key concepts to measure whether a particular group identity is marginalised, i.e., subject to Islamophobia.

Hall further argues that the concepts of identity and culture should be understood within the practices of representation. To Hall, the work of representation does not only produce ‘true’ culture and identity, but it also changes the concept of culture and identity into a false one²³. According to Apple, educating is the act of representing culture and identity. In case of national identity and its conception, through education every element of Islamic, secular and Hindu identity is contested. In short, the role of education is pivotal in privileging or marginalising every ideology and engineering false phobia by using state power²⁴.

As regards to the term “cultural nationalism’, nationalism refers to ideological forces and political sentiment and solidarity²⁵, while cultural nationalism can be defined as shared cultural identity²⁶. It encompasses various elements of cultural markers which are communal and belong to an imagine community using Anderson term²⁷. Indonesian nationalism is constructed by three contested elements; Hinduism, Islamism²⁸ and

²³Hall, “Introduction”...; Hall, “The Work of Representation”...; Hall, “The Spectacle of The ‘Other’”...

²⁴Michael W. Apple, *The state and the politics of knowledge*, New York: The Taylor & Francis, 2003; Michael W. Apple, *Official Knowledge...*; Michael W. Apple, *Education and Power...*

²⁵Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism...*

²⁶Spivak, *Nationalism and the imagination...*

²⁷Anderson, *Imagined Communities...*

²⁸The idea of Islamic nationalism is odd and has no ground in early Islam, this idea may emerge during the collpase of Ottoman and the beginnig Pan-Islamism emergence, see Cemil Aydin, “Pan-Nationalism of Pan-Islamism, Pan-Asian, and Pan-African Thought “ in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, ed. John Breuilly, Oxford: Oxford Unversity Press, 2013; Cemil Aydin, “Globalizing the Intelektual History of the Idea of the “Muslim World”, in *Global Intellectual History*, Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (eds.), New York: Colombia

secularism²⁹. Thus, Indonesian cultural nationalism finds its root in three different streams; Hindu cultural elements, Islamic cultural elements and secular cultural elements³⁰. The broad use of the term, 'Hindu cultural elements' are sometimes equated with arts; visual art, music, dance and theatre, are dedicated for idolising God and Goddess in accordance with Hindu teachings. An important example of Hindu cultural elements are anthropomorphism—e.g. statues—and zoomorphism, which are deeply intended for devotion and inspired by Hindu teachings. The term 'Islamic cultural elements' are generally understood to mean any art against anthropomorphism and zoomorphism³¹ and are used for implemented Syari'ah and Tauhid,³² whereas secular cultural elements refer to the use of art objects for pure art and pleasure. In many time anthropomorphism and zoomorphism are also regarded as secular art if they are meant to be only for pleasure and absence of sacral aspects. Under so-called official knowledge, which has been neutralised and standardised, the content of art curriculum is ideologically motivated and becomes the media of representation for Islamic, Hindu and secular elements of nationalism. Privileging and marginalising particular cultural elements is indicated to internalised Islamophobia by way of education. The work of representation

University Press, 2003. Nurullah Ardic, *Islam and the Politics of Secularism: The Caliphate and Middle Eastern Modernization in the Early 20th Century*, New York: Routledge, 2012.

²⁹Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia...*; Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia...*; Benny Ridwan et. al., "Islam Nusantara, ulemas, and social media: understanding the pros and cons of Islam Nusantara among ulemas of West Sumatera", *Indonesian Journal of Islam and Muslim Societies*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2019), 163-88.

³⁰Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia...*; R.E. Elson, *The Idea of Indonesia: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gagasan*, Banda Aceh: Serambi Press, 2008.

³¹See for further reading Saifuddin Duhri, "Islamic Arts and the Expression of Theology: Acehese Traditional House, its Ornamentation and Figurative Motifs", *Wacana Seni Journal of Arts Discourse*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (2018), 1-39; Saifuddin Duhri, "Art as A Cultural Instrument: The Role of Acehese Art in Resolving Horizontal Conflict," *Jurnal Ilmiah Peuradeun*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2016), 89-102.

³²Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, "Islam and Art", *Studia Islamica*, vol. 37 (1973), 81-109; Ismail Raji Al-Faruqi, *Cultural Atlas of Islam*, New York: MacMillan, 1986.

1 in education, therefore, justifies Islamophobia through curriculum.

Giroux believes that there is no neutrality in schooling practices and curriculum content. The practices, however, embody the dominant power, which has control over schools. For instance, a teacher's pedagogy does not only inextricably link with his ideological beliefs and political conviction, but also his cultural background influences, Islamic cultural background, and his view towards other culture. Marginalisation of certain culture is, in his perspective, likely to justify a cultural hegemony upon other culture, for instance privileging Hindu culture over Islamic culture is an act to justify Islamophobia. The teaching, therefore, should question the link between knowledge and power, the mechanism of controlling society, and the connection of such control to serve the dominant culture e.g.; Islamic culture and regime's interests.³³ In understanding the position of specific cultural elements of Indonesian cultural nationalism, the above discussion raises some interesting questions about the position of Islamic culture and identity within the conceptualising art curriculum with regard to the construction cultural nationalism within representation practices.

Under-representation of Islamic culture and art

The first set of questions aim to assess Islamic, Hindu and secular elements in art curriculum content of secondary schools by looking at the content of Erlangga textbooks, and K-13 curricula both for the seventh and eighth grade of secondary school.

The implementation of art and culture curricula should be based on following process standard of teaching. The standard is classified into standard competency and basic competency. Based on the first grade's

³³Henry A. Giroux, *Pedagogy and the Politic of Hope: Theory, Culture and Schooling (A Critical reader)*, Colorado, Oxford: Westview Press, 1997; Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education: Culture, Power and Liberation*, London: Macmillan, 1985; H Giroux *Theory and Resistance in Education: A Pedagogy for the Opposition*, South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1983.

1 process standard, there are several concepts and labels used in the art curriculum which under-represent Islamic culture and privilege Hindu and secular arts, like the terms: Daerah, Nusantara, single dance, pair dance and art classification. As can be seen from the table, there are several key concept to prescribe teachers in teaching the subject.

Table 1. The process standard of the first grade of secondary school, semester one

Standard Competency	Basic competency
Visual art	Basic competency
2 1. Appreciating the work of visual arts.	1 1.1 To identify various work of visual art in a local place.
	1.2 To express a positive view upon the uniqueness of local visual work.
1 2. Expressing themselves through the work of visual art	1 2.1 To draw a picture using a three dimension object from a local place.
	2.2 To design an artwork by using local technique and feature.
	2.3 To create an artwork by using local technique and feature.
Music	
2 3. Appreciating the work of music	1 3.1 To identify various local songs.
	3.2 To express the appreciative attitude upon the uniqueness of local music.
1 4. Expressing themselves through the work of music	1 4.1 To simply map the work of local music
	4.2 To display the work of local music
Dance	
5. Appreciating dances	5.1 To identify various local work of single dance
	5.2 To express the appreciative behaviour for the uniqueness of local single dance.

1 8. Expressing themselves through dancing	6.1 To perform a ground pattern of a local single dance movement.
	6.2 To exhibit a single dance of a local place.
Theatre	
7. Appreciating the work of theatre	7.1 To identify various local work of theatre.
	7.2 To express the appreciative attitude upon the uniqueness and the moral messages from local theatre.
8. Expressing themselves through the work of theatre.	8.1 To explore the technique of body movement, thinking the strategy and the technique of sounding
	8.2 To do a performance of local theatre.
	8.3 To apply the principle of cooperation in a theatre performance.

As indicated by the table, the standard competency prescribes teachers and students to teach and learn to appreciate and express themselves through the local visual arts, music, dances and theatres. Whereas the basic competency of those standards is that students must be able to identify, have a positive view and explore the four branches of fine arts. In additions, students are also required to have the basic competencies on performing the given arts. It can be seen that the students required also the same standard competency; to appreciate and express local fine arts in both semesters. However, the basic competency for semester two requires students to go further than in semester one. Here, students must be able to practice, to design, to develop and to perform the fine arts in an open space in their schools.

There are three different keys terms that are the standard of teaching art for secondary students. The teachers and students should be taught arts which is based on “local” (*daerah*), and of genre “single dance” (see: 5.2, 6.1, 6.2, table 1) and “pair dance” . Those standards are problematic

1 due to the daerah has been signified by Javanese arts, which are mainly based on Hindu grounds. Similarly, single dance and pair dance neither have its root in Islamic art, nor are of the origin for every local culture.

The Erlangga **textbook** has 166 pages with a greenish cover. The cover features a Pendet female Balinese dancer, a handmade clay bowl, a traditional pan, Lontioik traditional house and Javanese music ensemble, which make the book look charming and well-designed. The textbook has 14 chapters consisting of definitions of art concepts, an historical background of art and assesment. The volume is meant for two semesters usage for the first grade of secondary schools (see, Figure 1 First volume of Erlangga textbook).

Figure 1. Erlangga textbook



While the second one is the K-13 art and culture textbook for the same semester and grade. In the cover, a *ronggeng* dancer is posed along with

Ramayana theatre and Bugis music performance.³⁴

Returning to the standard curriculum of art education, in accordance with the process standard, the first grade of secondary school curriculum requires focus on local arts (i.e. local visual arts, local music, local dance and local theatre). In order to understand the way the textbook responds to the process standard and represents Islamic culture, five aspects were selected on the basis of those texts that represent the main features: songs, language, pictures, artists and placement of particular content.

Table 2. The comparison of the number of Islamic, Hindu and secular culture in the first volume of Erlangga textbook

Vol.	Sub-Chapters: 6 Jelajah	26 Songs	Language	279 Pictures	1 Artist	Placement
	Islamic Art	Hinduism	Secular art	Islamic art	Hindu art	Secular art
	0	5	1	0	5	21
			Daerah, Daerah Nusantara	1	50	228
				1	0	0
						An example of a formation
						Subtitle, Title
Total	6	26	Misrepresented	279	1	

As can be seen from the table above, there is a significant difference between the amount of Islamic, Hindu art and secular art in the

³⁴Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, *Seni Budaya/ Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*, Jakarta: Pusat Kurikulum dan Perbukuan, Balitbang, Kemdikbud, 2017.

1 curriculum. The amount of Islamic art is the lowest, while secular art is the most dominant as shown by the number of songs, labels, pictures and placement. Based on the six sections of *Jelajah* in volume one, it is found that Hindu arts have five topics, whereas Acehnese art has none. The Hindu art have five songs from a total of 26 songs, 50 pictures from a total of 279 pictures, whereas Islamic art has only a cartoon about *Seudati* dance on page 127. Regarding description of local artists, Islamic art has little content compared to Hindu and secular art. Islamic art is represented only by the example of dance movement formation on page 127³⁵. As for the artistic category, there is no Islamic artist in the first volume. In short, the textbook content fails to represent Islamic art, while Hindu and secular art are dominant.

Figure 2. The representation of the Islamic art in the textbook presented by the bar chart.

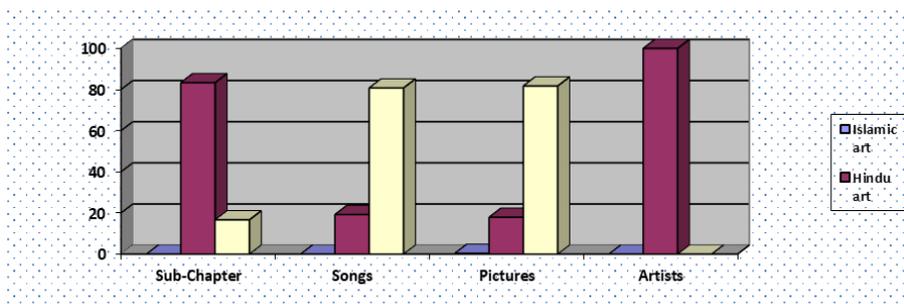


Figure 1, the representation of the Islamic art in the textbook presented by the bar chart.

The content of art and culture subject based on K-13 policy is similar to KTSP curriculum, as illustrated in the table below:

³⁵Setyobudi et al., *Seni Budaya Untuk SMP Kelas VII: Art and Culture for Secondary School Grade VII*, Jakarta: Erlangga, 2007.

Table 3. The textbook contains

V O L U M E	16 Chapters			20 Songs			Language			299 Pictures			Artists			P L E C E M E N T
	Islamic Art			Islamic Art			Islamic Art			Islamic Art			Islamic Art			
	Hinduisme			Hinduisme			Hinduisme			Hinduisme			Hinduisme			
	Secular Art			Secular Art			Secular Art			Secular Art			Secular Art			
	0			0			0			0			0			
	16			0			20			18			7			
	0			0			112			1			0			
	0			0			6			0			0			
	16			20			Misrepresented			299			7			
	0			0			Daerah Daerah Nusantara			6			an Example Of Information Subtitle, Title			

These tables show that the textbook contains less Islamic art. What is more interesting in this data is that the textbook has a much bigger proportion of secular art compared to the other two categories. The results

1 obtained from content analysis of the first volume of Erlangga textbook and K-13 for the first grade of secondary school does not represent the majority of Muslim culture of Indonesia.

In sum, art teaching for the first grade of secondary school must be centred on local arts. However, some concepts are problematic to be implemented by art teachers, with the absence of interpretation. Thus, the words and terms become ambiguous and mystified that lead misrepresentation.

Internalised Islamophobia through art curriculum

As explained earlier, the results of this study show that the under-representation of Islamic culture in the textbook and in the process standard of art curriculum. The findings show the marginalising of Islamic culture through; conceptualising, naming, and labelling by way of under-representation, mystification and misrepresentation. As mentioned above, a strong relationship between marginalisation and Islamophobia has been reported in the literature³⁶. Here we argue that the process standard, book cover and the content of the art text book has justified passively Islamophobia and internalised it through art curriculum for the reasons as below:

Mystifying curriculum terms, marginalising Islamic culture

The term *daerah*, which is one of the requirements of the process standard), is intentionally to develop and advance every element of local culture; Islamic, Hindu and secular elements, which are of their identity and conviction. However, in the interpretation of the term, as it is demonstrated

³⁶Youssef, "Internalized Islamophobia..."; Rana, "The Story of Islamophobia" ...; Moosavi, "Orientalism at home..."; Gi Yeon Koo, "Islamophobia and the Politics of Representation of Islam in Korea", *Journal of Korean Religions*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2018), 159-92; Finlay and Hopkins, "Resistance and Marginalisation..."; Cheng, "Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or racism?..."; Allen, "Islamophobia and the Crises of Europe's Multiculturalism" ...

1 by the content of the textbooks, it misrepresents Islamic culture and mystifies its meaning to support cultural agenda of privileging non-Islamic art; secular and Hindu art. There is no vivid explanation about the way the term should be used to represent all cultural elements and arts. In other words, the term is obscure and ambiguous and art teachers have not been provided with a formal procedure to interpret the term. A possible explanation for this might be that mystifying of the term will help to internalised non-Islamic elements of national culture. By doing so, it normalises Hindu and Secular art and culture, while Islamic culture will be regarded as exotic and strange elements.

In regard to 'single dance' (see: 5.2, 6.1, 6.2) in the tables 1, the terms overlook the fact that not all ethnic groups in Indonesia have single dance. Islam does not allow single female dance for the reasons that the single dance performances contradict Shari'a as it means for lust sake or for worshiping certain deity. In additions, Sharia discourages single group dance for the reason that both express femininity and eroticism.

As a result of this standard, art teachers are obliged to teach single and pair dance, which is simple to adopt from Hindu or secular cultural markers. Another disadvantage with these terms is that the process standard fails to take the plurality of Indonesian culture into account. This therefore legitimises the underrepresentation of Islamic culture and identity. In the context of cultural national construction, this illustrates the internalisation of Islamophobia passively by privileging Hindu and secular culture and marginalising Islamic element of cultural national construction..

Another issue regarding the ideal art curriculum is the classification of art into four categories: music, visual arts, dance and theatre . This classification is greatly western oriented and favour for secular position, which contradicts to the nature of Islamic arts. reciting al-Quran on

1 *Musabaqah Tilawatil Quran* event (MTQ) illustrates one example of Islamic art that is exclusive of those categories. It can thus be suggested that this categorisation has overlooked the nature of Islamic art and this oversight leads to underrepresenting misrepresent Islamic art within the context of teaching and learning in secondary schools.

Privileging Hindu culture and posing the *subalternity* of Islamic culture

Analysing the cover of the textbook, those images are the cultural objects, which have cultural meaning. It has been established that picture and its features are the instrument of representation to use Roland Barthes's work³⁷. The image on the cover, thus, signifies denotative and connotative meanings. Reading at the first level of representation both covers above, there are several possible explanations for this result. The images might signify the plurality of Indonesian culture, for which consist of different dances, crafts and various musical instruments. It also shows that several ethnic cultures are represented on the cover; Javanese, Balinese, Bugis ethnic groups.

As mentioned in the literature review, the connotation level is inextricably linked with ideological and power relation between the different elements of cultural identity. Placing and more emphasising on Majapahit's cultures; Balinese and *Ronggeng* dances and Ramayana's theatre on the textbook' covers might indicate that Hindu culture is privilege, whereas Islamic culture is a lower class culture. It also indicates that Majapahit's art are the standard for Indonesian culture, which is deliberately schemed for the basis of Indonesian cultural nationalism .

³⁷Roland Barthes, *The Empire of Signs*, trans. Richard Howard, New York: The noonday Press, 1982; Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers, New York: Hill and Wang, 1972.

1 Positioning Islamic culture as the other

On the question of internalised Islamophobia within curriculum, this study found that there is a great disadvantage of Islamic culture within the curriculum. This indicates from the comparative amount of chapters, songs, pictures, placements, artists, and terms/language usage for representing every category of national culture; Islamic, Hindu and secular elements. As shown by the lowest number of Islamic culture in the curriculum, it indicates that the curriculum demotes Islamic culture as the other culture compared to Hindu and secular elements of cultural nationalism.

A notable example of this misrepresentation is the signification of the term Nusantara. The concept of Nusantara privileges Hindu culture, in which is vividly narrated that the term is meant by Majapahit culture. As discussed earlier, Nusantara has been standardised as old Indonesia and every its cultural heritage is regarded as new Indonesian standard culture. Such as regarding Gajah Mada's epoch was the birth of Indonesian idea as argued by Sopomo, and Ki Hajar Dewantara³⁸. This finding suggests that Islamic art and culture are the other culture. This marginalisation may cause further implications in that Islamic culture will continue to be disadvantaged on many levels within this educational system in the future. As such, Robin Finlay et al., and Cheng³⁹ similarly argue that marginalisation will lead to Islam phobia. Here we establish that marginalisation will maintain passively the hatred against Islamic culture, which eventually lead to the absence of Islamic culture in the construction of Indonesian cultural nationalism.

³⁸Vlekke, *Nusantara: Sejarah Indonesia...*; Elson, *The Idea of Indonesia...*; Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia...*; Andrew R. Kahin, "Repression and Regroupment: Religious and Nationalist Organizations In West Sumatra In The 1930s", *Indonesia*, no. 38 (1984).

³⁹Youssef, "Internalized Islamophobia..."; Finlay and Hopkins, "Resistance and Marginalisation..."; Cheng, "Islamophobia, Muslimophobia or racism?..."

1 Conclusion

In conclusion, the misrepresentation of Islamic culture in school process standard and textbooks leads to marginalisation as it is argued by Hall and Apple's theories. Based on the analysis of the process standard of the Art and Culture subject, the Islamic elements of culture and art have been underrepresented in the curriculum. This indicates from the signification from the terms *Daerah*, *Nusantara*, single dance, semiotic analysis of books' covers and the number of Islamic culture in the curriculum. Based on the most obvious findings to emerge from the content analysis of art curriculum, it shows that passive Islamophobia has been internalised through the curriculum both by mystifying the meaning of cultural concepts, underrepresenting Islamic elements and privileging Hindu and secular art.

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