

Sketching Nationalism in Indonesia Between teachers and Sasambo batik

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ABSTRACT: Batik has long been well-known in Java. Its reputation increased significantly during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's (SBY) administration who declared national batik day. This encouraged provinces with no batik tradition before to create batik with its unique local identity. This article aims to map the roles of different agencies from educational institutions in the emergence of the local identity symbol of Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) province represented by Sasambo batik.

This research shows that cultural policies in Indonesia must consider locality. Local cultural expressions in Indonesia, especially in Eastern Indonesia, are often 'forced' to follow what is suggested and brought by actor from different traditions. The situation became more complex when the cultural expression introduced was packaged through the ideology of nationalism, Batik, which was originally part of Javanese culture, has been elevated to become a National culture. Adopting batik as part of national identity is an important cultural strategy considering that the use of batik has spread throughout Indonesia whether we like it or not. The problem is, the presence of batik technology has had an effect on local cloth crafts that use a different concept from batik, such as NTB Ikat weaving.

Ikat woven crafts are made through a long process and are more expensive than making batik, where the preparation and materials are easier to obtain

and cheaper. In this case, the woven craftsmen cannot compete economically with those who make batik. Batik is faster and more can be produced. Batik was introduced systematically through the education system, while woven cloth was left as it was.

This research is part of an ethnographic research and the data were collected through observation and in-depth interviews. It was found that teachers play important roles in establishing a good reputation and even competing with the local woven cloth of NTB province. At the same time, there was a struggle over meanings between national and local batik. The ideology of nationalism used by the teachers in the end benefits not only individuals, but also groups, even government.

KEYWORDS: Sasambo batik, teacher agency, local and national identity, Nusa Tenggara Barat, woven craft

ABSTRAK: Batik telah lama dikenal oleh masyarakat Jawa. Pamornya semakin meluas ke sebagian besar wilayah Indonesia pada saat Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono menjabat sebagai presiden pada tahun 2009. SBY menetapkan Hari Batik Nasional. Hari besar itu berpengaruh pada pemunculan batik di beberapa wilayah yang bahkan belum pernah mengenal batik sebagai bagian dari identitas mereka sebelumnya. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk memetakan bagaimana peran agen yang berasal dari institusi pendidikan dalam memunculkan batik Sasambo sebagai simbol identitas provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat. Berkaitan dengan itu, artikel ini menjelaskan polemik persaingan antarkain melalui pemetaan peran guru sebagai *founding fathers* yang telah memunculkan batik Sasambo serta dengan melihat penyokong yang berada di belakang mereka.

Penelitian ini menunjukkan bahwa kebijakan budaya di Indonesia harus mempertimbangkan lokalitas. Ekspresi kebudayaan lokal di Indonesia, khususnya di Indonesia Timur sering ‘terpaksa’ mengikuti apa yang disarankan dan dibawa oleh tokoh-tokoh penggiat kebudayaan dari tradisi yang berbeda. Situasinya menjadi lebih kompleks ketika ekspresi kebudayaan yang diperkenalkan itu dikemas melalui ideologi nasionalisme, Batik yang semula bagian dari kebudayaan Jawa telah diangkat menjadi budaya Nasional. Mengangkat batik sebagai bagian dari identitas nasional adalah sebuah strategi kebudayaan yang penting mengingat penggunaan batik telah meluas di seluruh Indonesia suka atau tidak. Yang menjadi persoalan, kehadiran teknologi batik

berpengaruh pada kerajinan kain lokal yang menggunakan konsep yang berbeda dengan batik seperti tenun ikat NTB.

Kerajinan tenun ikat dibuat melalui proses yang lama dan lebih mahal biayanya ketimbang pembuatan batik yang persiapan dan bahan-bahannya lebih mudah di dapat dan lebih murah. Dalam hal ini, para pengrajin tenun ikat tidak dapat bersaing secara ekonomis dengan mereka yang membuat batik. Batik lebih cepat dan dapat lebih banyak diproduksi. Batik diperkenalkan secara sistematis melali sistem pendidikan sementara tenun ikat dibiarkan hidup seadanya.

Penelitian ini merupakan bagian dari penelitian etnografi yang dilaksanakan melalui observasi dan wawancara mendalam. Temuan yang dihasilkan pada penelitian ini memperlihatkan bahwa peran guru mengakibatkan batik Sasambo mampu berdiri sejajar atau bahkan menyaingi keberadaan kain khas NTB sebelumnya, tenun. Hal ini mengakibatkan kehadiran batik di NTB menggoyang keberadaan kain lokal. Selain itu, identitas nasional dan identitas daerah berbenturan satu sama lain. Ideologi nasionalisme yang diterapkan para guru tersebut akhirnya menguntungkan individu maupun kelompok bahkan pemerintah.

KATA KUNCI: Batik Sasambo, agensi guru, indentitas lokal dan nasional, tradisi, Nusa Tenggara Barat, kerajinan tenun ikat

1. Introduction

Practicing nationalism in Indonesia is like weaving an unfinished cloth of the country's vision. The highest leader of the country may practice his/her own nationalism with colours so different from the expectations of the stakeholders. Nationalism on the one hand provides a tool to bind the nation together, yet it has not been able to provide national economic benefit for some people. Instead of binding the nation, nationalism in Indonesia has loosened the ties. Batik, which has been recognized as a representation of national ideology, was introduced to all provinces of Indonesia. Some Javanese feel proud and represented because batik, as part of their culture, has been recognized by the government. From another perspective, introducing batik to all Indonesians causes marginalization of local expression of traditional cloth as experienced by woven cloth in Nusa Tenggara Barat

Province. This phenomenon becomes more complicated when the agents who introduce and create batik come from educational institutions. The agents have even been successful in making Sasambo batik as one of the local identities recognized by the government.

The presence of batik as the articulation of national ideology among the people of NTB indicates that the agents have access and the ability to make a change. They have a significant impact on the local-national nexus in the context of batik vs woven cloth. This paper, therefore, will discuss the roles of agents in producing batik as part of local identities. To do that, we will use Giddens' structuration theory and our ethnographic findings during our research in the city of Mataram and Sade village in central Lombok. This article will start with the background of agents, supports that the agents get, ways the agents use the supports to create local identity, and the effects of their actions.

Giddens says that agency is based on the capacity one has to do something to realize a goal. This refers to his/her transformative capacity (Giddens, 1984) or power to intervene in social life (Shilling, 1992). This power "to solve something" is executed through resources. Resources according to Giddens have two types: authoritative and allocative. The first refers to non-material resources used to control or coordinate the actions of other agents while the second is related to the use of material resources like goods, technology, and environment (Giddens, 1984).

In the case of batik, the agents position batik as a form of nationalism and pride to be part of Indonesia. Sasambo batik in NTB is closely related to the concept of the nationalism of the Old Regime and the uniformity of the New Regime in daily life, including wearing of batik. Although Sasambo batik was declared during President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono's administration, its presence in NTB depicts nationalism ideology of Javanese wrapped in local batik production.

2. Teachers and Batik

2.1 Teachers and Agency

In 2009 batik enjoyed its greatest day. President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyon, the 6th president of Indonesia, declared 2 October as National Batik Day

(Iskandar & Kustiyah, 2016-2017). As a result, news about batik was written and celebrated in almost all mass media, print and electronic. Not only that, many public figures wore batik in formal as well as non- formal events. This euphoria for batik encouraged many provinces to create batik with their local uniqueness. NTB province is one of these provinces. It has Sasambo batik which is an acronym of three major ethnic groups in NTB (Sasak in Lombok, Samawa in Sumbawa and Mbojo in Bima). The problem appears when Sasambo batik is not a local government's initiative, but an initiative emanating from an educational institution, that is from a team of teachers at Vocational High School 5 (SMKN 5) Mataram and Junior High School 7 (SMP 7) Pujut, Central Lombok. The teacher at SMKN 5 was a teacher before he created batik Sasambo, while the teacher at SMP 7 already created batik Sasambo before being recruited as a teacher.

The success of this initiative in NTB is closely related with the educational condition in Indonesia, particularly with the centralized school management at elementary school (SD), junior high school (SMP) and senior high school (SMA). This results in uniformity of teaching materials across the archipelago which does not take into account the social and cultural environment of the students. Abdur, a comedian from Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara criticizes this phenomenon in his humorous monologue.

Children in Eastern Indonesia will be confused when given examples of subject matter taken from Western Indonesia, for example naming people and objects. Such as, mentioning towers in eastern Indonesia where there are no towers, there are only ship masts. This means that learning process in one part of Indonesia is not contextual when used in another part of Indonesia.

This joke illustrates teaching material use in elementary school which is used continuously from time to time. It is not appropriate to use in the eastern part of Indonesia where people never see a tower. Similarly, pronouncing names in Javanese, which is a foreign language to the people in eastern Indonesia, must sound strange to their ears. In response to this, the government has tried to make the curriculum more culturally relevant by introducing a new curriculum in 2013. This curriculum brings about dramatic changes in teaching practices, moving from a traditional teacher-centred approach to student-centred approach (Asikin-Garmager, 2017).

The curriculum can only be implemented in schools with highly qualified teachers, appropriate infrastructure, and the necessary learning facilities in order to develop students' knowledge and skills. Schools in remote areas or schools without these qualities cannot implement this curriculum (Ahmad, 2014). In 2016 this curriculum was revised to be the national curriculum in order to enable schools in Indonesia to use it (Kurniawan, 2018). The creation of Sasambo batik was a form of teachers' compliance with the requirements from the central government.

At the same time, teachers have a space to improvise in selecting their teaching materials, but only for the practical lessons that require students to practice their skills. The example of this is batik painting as one of the lessons developed in SMKN 5 Mataram. In this school teachers are offered four choices as part of craft instruction: silk screening, sewing, batik painting and weaving. They then choose batik because they have skilled teachers in batik rather than weaving which the students have been familiar with. This is also justified by the fact that batik has become a national identity marker. Giddens (1979) calls this situation a duality of structure. Agents understand their conditions as part of a certain society, in this case as part of the school institution (Giddens, 1979). This duality of structure has provided an explanation of how teachers and structures (in this case educational institutions) integrate with each other and build new identities which are also supported by the knowledge they (teacher agents) have previously. Representation of Sasambo batik seems rational when 'resources' and 'structure' meet through the teacher agency.

Furthermore, teachers are aware of their positions as agents who reproduce knowledge of batik because they have experience and knowledge when they were raised and studied in Java Island. However, it is not enough to influence the school's decision if only one teacher chose this option. Teachers as agents need a team to strengthen their positions in the structure as a foundation to achieve their objectives in a created structure (Torrance & Pryor, 2001). For this reason, the crafts teachers of SMKN 5 Mataram belong to a solid team who support each other in their teaching. Teachers from Java in particular play more dominant than other teachers, because they became officials in the school. Four of them come from Java. They are Mr. Ahyar Suharno as Vice Principal for Industry and Community, Ms. Husnul from Yogyakarta, Ms. Wiwi Endang Sridwiyatami as Vice Principal for Curriculum from Solo, and Ms. Nursetiati from Surabaya. The other teachers come from

other islands. Ms. Salmah as Coordinator for Textile competence is from Makasar, and Mr. Maniq is from Lombok. All of them graduated from crafts departments in art institution in Java Island. The choice would be different if the teachers were from island outside Java such as Sulawesi or Sumatera.

All craft teachers play important roles in making sure that the production of Sasambo batik will be sustainable; at least they can at least ensure that batik will be taught as one of the practical components of the curriculum. In addition, the three teachers with their positions at school use their accesses and resources to control regulation and the curriculum. For instance, they can instruct other teachers to manage internal and external issues like production, the Sasambo showroom, motif design, the salary for workers hired to paint batik, exhibition outside the school, sales of the product, and syllabus and learning proses plan designs. This is possible because of the relationship between teachers and structures. Giddens (1979) explain that the three structures are, signification (symbolic meaning), domination (power over people and materials) and legitimation (norms). In this case, teachers have made use of their official positions in school management to exercise influence through their symbolic status and dominant roles. Their success can be seen when Sasambo batik was declared as a local identity marker of NTB held in SMKN 5 Mataram by the vice governor of NTB, Mr. Badrul Munir, during the period 2008-2013.

When Sasambo batik was introduced as identity marker of NTB, people gave positive response. There was no resistance to this cultural product, including not from the weavers in NTB. This can be interpreted as the success of SMKN 5 teachers in Mataram in utilizing symbolic and dominant status simultaneously. The emergence of batik in this province generated a positive interpretation among the people of NTB because Indonesians in general trust educational institutions to be forces for progress in the country. This trust is mandated to teachers.

Zafi (2017) states that besides conducting education programs, education institutions are also trusted as places to transform cultures. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish the two roles as it is related with the transfer of norms for the future of the students in those education institutions. This transfer is done structurally, between teachers and students. Here, teachers are seen as important agents in transforming values and norms. This is in line with the case in Scotland that regards teachers as agents of change. The unique thing is that teachers have the ability to change the existing curriculum (Carse, 2015).

At the SMKN 5 Mataram school, for example, the status of the teachers gives them room to create a cultural product. No one questions this. Even if they create notorious products. Teachers are regarded as bringing positive changes to the people of NTB. This is particularly true for teachers at vocational high schools who are expected to have innovative ideas in their teaching and to prepare students skilled workers in their own respective fields.

With the facilities and accesses they have, these teachers enhanced the standing of their school and established its reputation as an entrepreneur. This idea came from the fact that their Sasambo batik showroom in SMKN 5 Mataram is independent, and not subject to school regulation. For this they have dealt with Education Legal Entity (BHP) which regulates whether public schools can do business. BHP itself is regulated under Government Act No. 9/2009 concerning Education Legal Entity. In this regulation, the government has established a special body to run formal educational institutions. BHP also stipulates that the management of BHP funding must be done independently based on the non-profit principle (article 4, para. 1). This means that all money collected as a result of the business must be re-invested into the BHP to improve the capacity and/or quality of education.

As a BHP, SMKN 5 Mataram must comply with the regulations and must not use the profits other than investing them again in educational activities of the school. From running the Sasambo batik showroom, SMKN 5 Mataram obtains a profit of 200 million Rupiah (1,299.54 USD) per year from batik sales. This implies that teachers there are able to negotiate and adapt BHP regulations for their school interests. This school business is done in the name of improving the quality of education through re-investing the profits to develop their Sasambo batik program, and the students can continue their practical training and produce batik. More specifically, all matters related to business and fund management for the Sasambo batik showroom are in the hands of teachers by teachers, especially school officials according to their respective fields. While students, on the other hand, are only trusted to work in the batik production section. This shows that the teachers are able to make the batik produced by SMKN 5 Mataram as a unique product that sells.

This success of teachers in SMKN 5 brings us to a question. How does Sasambo batik influence the weaving tradition which has been the identity symbol of NTB before Sasambo batik? In the interviews with the teachers, some teachers said that it would not affect weaving as the tradition of society. As one of the teachers said:

“All these years NTB has weaving cloths, our ancestors taught us from one generation to another, but we must realize that it takes quite long time to produce one. I am proud of the cloth. But for mass commercialization, it is very difficult. Therefore, our province needs a product which can be produced fast with a lot of employment which can support our local economies. We have considered many aspects before we welcome batik. We know batik is not only from Yogyakarta. Other countries also have batik. This batik belongs to Indonesia. We are part of Indonesia. We can introduce our NTB faster in batik because batik has diverse motifs and is easier to produce compared to weaving cloth.” (Handajani, personal communication, January 8, 2018)

“It does not matter if batik is not originally from NTB because batik is Indonesian cultural heritage.” (Ahmad Suharno, personal communication, January 11, 2018)

Ms. Handajani’s explicit statement clarifies the competitive advantage of batik which is more efficient and effective compared to weaving cloth. Woven cloth has not been able to meet the market demand in large quantity in allocated time due to its long production process. That statement can be interpreted as a legitimation for SMKN 5 Mataram teachers to create Sasambo batik. It implies that weaving cloth is not a good product to develop. In the end, this explicit and implicit statement summarizes the two teachers’ intention that the choice to teach batik should not be questioned as batik belongs to Indonesia, and not only Java.

However, the two teachers’ explanation evokes a problem of being Indonesian and not being Indonesian. In other words, anyone who would like to be called Indonesian must have batik; you are not Indonesian if you do not have batik. At the same time the explanations are justified by the fact that SMKN 5 Mataram has decided to develop batik. It shows that national ideology has invaded local consciousness in the form of uniformity of batik use in Indonesia, but by narrowing the local identity, this time in NTB. This phenomenon becomes more problematic if the students’ knowledge about their own culture is replaced by national culture. This change will result in the decline of diverse Indonesian local identities.

2.2 Between Needs and Experience: Stories of SMP 7 Pujut Teacher

Different from the agents from SMKN 5 Mataram, Mr. Samsir, an agent who has also developed Sasambo batik, is different from that of the agents at SMKN 5 Mataram. Mr. Samsir went to NTB in 1991 without a university diploma, except senior high school diploma. He participated in the transmigration program of the late President Soeharto. His motivation was not to work in the professional sector. As a settled foreigner with no academic skills, he had to survive to make a living. He chose batik.

This choice was also his way to assimilate himself to the local people. Mr. Samsir then opened a free batik course and invited local youngsters around his house in Sade village, Central Lombok. He provided all equipment and materials from Java. Besides teaching them how to print batik, he also provided free meals and some stipends for his participants. He managed to get 25-30 participants who lived around his house. However, his choice to develop batik was different from what people in his area were doing, which was weaving. He also got attention from youngsters, especially young women who had been weaving but who were open to try making batik. Sade village for many years until 2018 still had required females to weave cloth. They could only get married if they had woven two cloths: one for herself and the other for her husband. Failure to do so would result in severe social sanction. She would be isolated, recognized as person who disrespects cultural heritage and norms passed from one generation to another and disobeys the society. This sanction is worse than any other sanctions. In a wedding ceremony the man is expected to bring some woven cloths as a dowry for the family of the prospective bride as a symbol of respect for the woman. Because of this importance, women in the village learn weaving as early as elementary school. The same thing applies to women who will marry the men from this village and decide to live in the village. They will have to learn to weave cloth just like other women in the village.

Mr. Samsir's success in getting participants implies that batik is welcomed in Lombok, NTB, even in the weaving villages. This can later be seen as he employed 10 workers from the local community. This also means that they must work to make ends meet. Doing batik becomes an option for them to fulfill their economic needs. Mr. Samsir's success is what Giddens calls a success to be accepted by society through communication access and his skills in batik. In gaining his power he gives facilities and uses them to

dominate. People respond to his action as a new opportunity. The climax is when he developed a reputation among the people and was offered a job as a teacher at SMP 7 Pujut. When asked about this, Mr. Samsir said: "I was offered as a teacher to teach local content, to teach batik. I took it because the school is near from my house."

His answer implies a signification or a symbolic power he has already had, so the job is offered to him. At this stage skill becomes important, especially when the actions need legitimation so Mr. Samsir as an agent obtains access to develop himself. The offer is a blessing that brings new opportunity for his batik production because of the increasing demand for the product. Before being recruited as a teacher, he could only sell his product at souvenir shops, but now he can sell his products to government institutions, especially to the teachers.

In addition, Mr. Samsir directly faces dualism when he enters the educational system or what Giddens calls structure. It restricts and enables at the same time. Conventionally, the Indonesian government regulates teaching legalization in Government Act No.14 Year 2005 which says that a teacher must have a diploma or at minimum a teaching certificate at the level of Diploma 4 or undergraduate (S1). This regulation seems to restrict Indonesians who want to be a teacher, but not for Mr. Samsir. He was offered the job because he was the only person with the skill in Central Lombok. In this case, he overcame the structural constraints. He then continued his study to get a bachelor degree at Universitas Nusa Tenggara Barat (UNTB) in 2008, two years after he became a teacher. As a teacher, Mr. Samsir get more access to produce new batik which symbolically describe the tribes of Sasak, Samawa, and Mbojo in one piece of batik.

This effort looks like a historical coincidence. The school intention meets with Mr. Samsir's skill although he had not obtained university diploma. As time goes by, Mr. Samsir can see an opportunity to develop batik which is hybrid. The hybridity of batik in NTB can be seen in the mixture of several traditional elements of NTB which under certain conditions are not to be mixed. This is because the ethnic groups of Sasak, Samawa and Mbojo have different social and cultural norms (Kartiwa, 2007). The effort to combine a number of cultural markers of different ethnic groups requires a specific strategy and skill. In the case of Mr. Samsir, he tried to convince and get approval from different stake holders for his hybrid design by combining the three ethnic groups with Javanese elements. In Giddens analysis, Mr. Samsir's

action is based on consciousness. His action has a motive (Giddens, 1984). He has full consciousness to create a new creation which never existed before in NTB. This is possible because of his cultural capital as someone who is from batik culture in Java.

From the perspective of the principal of SMP 7 Pujut, Mr Baku Susikiyatno, we can see that this offer cannot be separated from the ideology he recognizes, especially in understanding batik as cultural heritage which has a special position in Java. In addition, the principal who recruited Mr. Samsir was also the person who was sent by the educational agency during the late President Soeharto's administration to become a teacher in Lombok. In President Soeharto's administration, uniformity of batik was a form to control civil servants (Ramadhan, 1992). Although, Mr. Samsir was offered the position as a teacher of local content long before President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono declared national batik day, the principal subconsciously implements the government's ideology which has been internalized. His choice seemed to ignore the existence of the local woven cloth tradition especially when the centres are in the Sade village which is about 700 metres from SMP 7 Pujut.

In response to the interpretation that batik is from Java, Mr. Samsir emphasizes that batik belongs to Indonesia, not a certain area anymore, which is the same argument heard from teachers at SMKN 5 Mataram. Certainly, the response would be different if the speakers were from other islands outside Java.

“Because this is national, so it no longer belongs to Javanese. UNESCO recognizes batik as Indonesian heritage, right? Indonesia is not only Java, so Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (SBY) instructed his staff. So, all Indonesian territories must have particular batik. That's what he meant. That's why we have National Batik Day, meaning for all Indonesian. Before UNESCO, it's only in Java, but after that it belongs to all Indonesian, and not only Javanese. Indonesia has many provinces, so I intend to develop batik with local uniqueness.” (Mr. Samsir)

Mr. Samsir's statement can be read as his firm understanding that batik can no longer be said to belong to Javanese only. By saying this, he can get legitimation that since batik has been recognized globally, thus legitimizing his effort to develop Sasambo batik should be supported. This statement

appears after batik is recognized globally. It would be different if batik did not have special image among Indonesians. Even if there had not been a National Batik Day, Mr. Samsir would continue to develop batik because of his experience.

The action of the SMP 7 Pujut principal and Mr. Samsir's effort represent their conscious effort to raise the reputation of batik in NTB. However, it cannot be denied that background knowledge and uniformity during the New Order era and ethnic background have influenced their sub consciousness in developing batik. It is no surprise that the principal prefers batik to woven cloth in the lessons taught at his school. These decisions have an impact on the existence of woven cloth because it does not have the same opportunity as batik, either at the local or national level.

The Indonesian government's intention to establish uniformity in the use of batik as national symbol marker is important. The program has created a sense of pride in using batik. Indonesian batik has gained a strong reputation abroad (Indonesian Ministry of Trade, 2012). Nevertheless, this pride ignores local identity. The big question is whether Indonesians prefer to choose grand national identity marker as in batik or local identity markers as in woven cloth like ulos, grinsing or others? The first identity marker is important for the symbol of the country, while the second is important to signify our multicultural heritage. For this reason, local identities need to have access to the national discourse. If woven cloth as the local identity marker/symbol of identity is taken away from NTB society, the integrity among the people in NTB will be lost. The degree to which woven cloth is integral to the local identity can be seen in its inclusion in the wedding ceremony as described above (Temco.co, 2018).

2.3 The Legality of Batik in Nusa Tenggara Barat

Through the actions of the agents Sasambo batik has gained strong reputation as indicated by a major event at SMKN 5 Mataram to declare Sasambo batik as the batik of NTB. The event was attended by the deputy governor of NTB 2008-2013, Mr. Badrul Munir. In this event local government of NTB welcomed Sasambo batik as a representation of the NTB people's culture.

Since then, the two agents have been listed in the list of master craftsmen who need moral and financial support. Morally, they have been invited to different governments' events, exhibitions and entrepreneur trainings.

Financially speaking, they have been provided with direct grants from the local government. The city government of Mataram, for instance, has given a grant to SMKN 5 Mataram, and the Regent of Central Lombok has also given cash money to Mr. Samsir. The provincial government meanwhile gives moral support by registering Sasambo batik to the Directorate General of Intellectual Property Rights (HAKI) to get brand rights in 2010. This registration is a concrete effort to inform the public that Sasambo batik is a cultural product of NTB. It will then automatically be included in the list of top programs of Industrial and Trade Agency (Disperindag) to improve small and medium enterprise (IKM) in NTB.

The influence of agents in Disperindag can be seen in their success to partner with government in getting their brand rights for their batik product. In doing so, people will accept Sasambo batik without hesitation. People will not question the authenticity of Sasambo batik if Disperindag holds the rights. While it has received wide acceptance for this success, there are some people who think that the government forgets and ignores the woven cloth as an older form of cultural tradition of NTB. They think it should receive the same legal recognition that has been granted to Sasambo batik.

This condition is understandable as the two agents are securing their positions and jobs by partnering with the government. What the two agents are doing cannot be done by the woven cloth craftsmen as they have no influence due to their cultural capital. They have a lower level of education, mostly elementary school to senior high school graduates. Nevertheless, the quality of their products has long been the identity of NTB and has the potential because they have gone international.

Specifically speaking, the agents' action in creating Sasambo batik in NTB are motivated by nationalism ideology. There is nothing wrong with it. As far as the government is concerned, this ideology affects the target market of the product. There are two choices. If batik is recognized as a national cultural product, the credit will go to the government as well as to those who finance the production. But, if woven cloth is developed, the credits will go to the people as well as the profits.

3. Conclusion

What agency has done in creating Sasambo batik has been successful in changing the ideology of traditional clothes, educational institutions, and government institutions. The agents realize that there are legitimacy, norms and sanctions. They have been able to overcome these by using nationalism ideology which seems to be urgently needed by NTB province. In practice the agents offer an option for NTB people to have cultural identity through Sasambo batik. In 2009 it met the criteria of creative industries. Having said that, in the hands of the agents, batik is like double-edged sword. On the one hand, it is a cultural identity marker of the people. On the other hand, it refers to a government project as represented by Industrial agency which are eager to see an increase in the creative industries in their area as a way to please the government.

The action of legitimizations of Sasambo batik shows the success of the program initiated in the schools, which resulted in an increasing the number of small and medium enterprises in the area. However, this action clearly shows that Sasambo batik as part of NTB culture competes and disrupts local uniqueness since the woven cloth craftsmen who have long produced the cultural identity marker of NTB feel ignored and betrayed. As a result of this situation, souvenir shops at the airport and towns, and galleries of woven clothes now sell Sasambo batik as gifts from NTB.

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