

## The Political Ethnicity of the Dutch Colonialism towards the Islamic Sultanates in Indonesia: The Socio-Historical Perspectives

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### Abstract

The Dutch became the colonial rulers of the Dutch East Indies that had at least three centuries of power. At that time, in a pluralistic society of the Dutch East Indies, there were many Islamic empires and sultanates in the Archipelago, but the Dutch colonial government could survive. In this research, I tried to point out and to explain to what extent the role of political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies. I reviewed the literature related to the role of political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies. With the socio-historical approach, this paper focuses more on the analysis of the application of Dutch colonial's ethnic politics to Islamic sultanates in the archipelago. The results showed that the politics of the Dutch colonial ethnicity was a strategy related to the social stratification policy of the Dutch East Indies, where society had split into two: the colonizers or the rulers, and the colonized or the people. This separation had consequences for the obligations of different groups (Europe, the foreign East, and the Indigenous) in a discriminatory Dutch colonial government. Particularly, based on the review of existing documents and available literature related to political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies and the application of Dutch colonial's ethnic politics to Islamic sultanates in the archipelago, four salient themes of strategies emerged: the socio-political policies-related to the policy of ethnic segregation, the socio-economic policy, the socio-religious field, and the education policy. These four strategies have led the Dutch East Indies to be able to succeed in advancing and maintaining its power in Archipelago during at least 350 years.

**Keywords:** Archipelago; Dutch colonialism; Dutch east Indies; Islamic Sultanates; Political ethnicity.



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### 1. Introduction

The presence of the political ethnicity of the Dutch colonialism had significantly contributed to the long-standing Dutch colonial history in the archipelago, Indonesia, particularly the application of the Dutch colonial ethnic politics toward the Islamic sultanates which is estimated to be three and a half centuries. The term of ethnic refers to a particular group that has a racial similarity, religion, national origin, or a combination of these categories (Barth, 1969). Barth (1969) laid a foundation for a universal understanding of ethnicity rather than a private one. Because cultures and social groups only emerge through interaction with others, then ethnicity cannot be defined for minority groups only. Malesevic (2004) further distinguished between race and ethnicity,

*Race is a social construct where phenotypic attributes are popularly used to denote in- groups from out-groups.... Since ethnicity is a common name covering many diverse forms of political action which are defined in collective—cultural—terms, ethnicity is able to accommodate all of these specific label such as race, religious groups, or 'regional-continental demarcation'. This is not to say that ethnicity is a more clear-cut concept than the other three.*

Ritzer et al. (as cited in Sjaf (2014) formulate the four main principles related to ethnicity: First, ethnicity as a form of group status; second, ethnicity as a mechanism of social monopolistic exposure; third, the diversity of ethnic forms of social organization; and fourth, ethnicity and political mobilization. Of the four main elements can be drawn several assumptions: 1) any social action cannot escape from the action of the nuanced ethnicity; 2) conflict occurs when efforts are made by certain ethnic groups to gain symbolic advantage from other ethnic groups; and 3) ethnic political action in the political dynamics reflects the behavior of the ethnic group concerned.

The existence of this politics of ethnicity is seen as one of the significant and significant elements of continuity in the Dutch colonial history in the archipelago, Indonesia that is estimated to be three and a half centuries. In this article, I attempt to shed some light on the question of what we can learn from the political ethnicity of the Dutch colonialism towards the Islamic sultanates in archipelago. I attempt to point out and to explain to what extent the role of political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies. I reviewed the literature related to the role of political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies. With the socio-historical approach, this paper focuses more on the analysis of the application of Dutch colonial's ethnic politics to Islamic sultanates in the archipelago. After briefly reviewing related literature, I describe the results of my review of the political ethnicity of Dutch colonialism towards the Islamic sultanates in archipelago.

## 2. Review of Literature

In this paper, I focus on the four Islamic sultanates related to the application of the Dutch colonial ethnic politics in the Archipelago: the Sultanate of Aceh, the Palembang Sultanate, the Mataram Sultanate, and the Makassar Sultanate where the four sultanate patterns are considered to represent the archipelago (West, Middle, and East) of the Indies era. These four Islamic sultanates patterns will be analyzed as follows.

### 2.1. The Sultanate Aceh Darussalam

The founder of Aceh Darussalam Sultanate was Sultan Muzaffar Syah (1465-1497). He built Aceh Darussalam on the collapse of the Lamuri Kingdom. Geographically, the position of Aceh Darussalam is not strategic for the shipping trade, because Aceh Darussalam port was always hit by big waves, so it was not good as a trading port. The position of Aceh began to develop, after Malacca as the largest Islamic trading port in Southeast Asia fell to Portugal in 1511 (Darmawijaya, 2010). After Muzaffar Shah, the Sultanate of Aceh Darussalam was then ordered by Sultan Ali Mugyat Shah. At the time of the Mugyat Shah sultan, the Aceh Sultanate was able to control Pedir, Lamuri, Daya, Pasai, and free from Portuguese intervention. After reigning ten years, in 1530, Sultan Ali Mugayat Shah died, the position of Sultan Aceh Darussalam was replaced by his son, Salahuddin (1530-1537). Sultan Ali Mugayat Shah replaced his sister, Sultan Alaudin Riayat Shah Al-Qahhar (1537-1571) (Darmawijaya, 2010). Sultan Riayat Shah Al-Qahhar was then replaced by his son, Sultan Husin, with the title of Sultan Ali Riayat Syah (1571-1579). During his reign, there were two wars with the Portuguese (1573 and 1575). Sultan Ali Riayat Shah, subsequently was replaced by his son, Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah Sayid Al-Mukammal (1589-1604). At this time, Aceh Darussalam had established trade relations with the UK and the Netherlands. Sultan Alauddin Riayat Shah died in 1607 who was replaced by his son, Sultan Muda, who after appointed Sultan Ali Riayat Syah title (1604-1607), and due to lack of good command, Sultan Ali Riayat Syah was replaced by his nephew, Sultan Iskandar Muda (1607-1637). During the reign of Sultan Iskandar Muda, the Aceh Sultanate reached its heyday, and became the strongest Islamic state in the archipelago (Yatim, 2015).

After Sultan Iskandar Muda died, he was replaced by his son-in-law, Sultan Iskandar Tsani (1636-1641). On the will of Sultan Iskandar Muda, after Sultan Iskandar Tsani died, he was replaced by his wife, Sofiatuddin Tajul Alam (1641-1675), the daughter of Sultan Iskandar Muda, with the title of Sri Sultan Sofiatuddin Shah. It was during this time that Aceh's glory declined in politics, economics, and the military. Sri Sultan paid more attention to the field of education; many books were submitted by scholars of Aceh and Al-Qur'an to Ternate, Todore, and Bacan, and North Maluku along with religious teachers and preachers. After Sri Sultan's death, his successors were Inayat Shah (1678-1688) and Sulthonah Kamalat Shah (1688-1699). Since the discharge of the *fatwa* from Makkah in 1699, female leadership in the Aceh Sultanate was banned from leading a country. Following the release of the *fatwa*, the sultans who led Aceh Darussalam were sultans of Arab descent: Sultan Badul Alam Syarif Hasyim Jamaluddin (1699-1726), Sultan Perkasa Alam Syarif Lamtui (1702-1703), Sultan Jamalul Alam (1703-1726). After Sultan Jamalul Alam, who became a sultan in the Sultanate of Aceh originated from *Bugis* descent for several periods. In 1818, the descendants of Jawharul Alam (the Acehnese) returned to power over British aid. In 1873, the Dutch attacked the Sultanate of Aceh, and the palace of the Sultanate of Aceh was occupied by the Dutch. Sultan Mahmud Shah escaped from the Dutch attack, and died in a sickened state.

Furthermore, the people of Aceh appointed Sultan Muhammad Daud Shah, and was subsequently captured by the Dutch in 1903 and exiled to Ambon in 1907. He died in exile in 1939. Sultan Muhammad Daud Syah was the last sultan of the Aceh Sultanate. After Atjeh did not have the sultanate, the struggle against the Dutch colonialism was continued by the people of Aceh and led by ulama until 1942 (Darmawijaya, 2015).

### 2.2. The Palembang Sultanate

Palembang located in South Sumatera was the center of the Sriwijaya Buddhist Kingdom (Supriyanto, 2013). After the fall of Sriwijaya, Palembang became a protectorate area of the Javanese kingdoms, such as the Hindu Majapahit kingdom, the Sultanate of Demak, the Pajang Sultanate, and the Sultanate of Mataram. The Sultanate of Palembang, when protected by Majapahit, was led by a Muslim sultan, *Ario Damar* (1455-1486). Damar's wife was a Chinese Muslim, who was also a widow of *Brawijaya* King. Damar was known as Ario Dillah (Abdillah). Damar was replaced by Raden Suhun and Prince Surodirejo. After the collapse of Majapahit, the Sultanate of Palembang was led by the nobles of Demak and Pajang (Darmawijaya, 2015).

After the Sultan Abdurrahman died, he was subsequently replaced by his son, Prince *Jayo Ing Lago*, who was given the title of Sultan Muhammad Mansyur Jayo Ing Lago. After Sultan Muhammad died, there was a conflict at the palace of the Sultanate of Palembang, and Raden Lumbu subsequently became the Sultan of Palembang, with the title of Sultan Muhammad Badaruddin Jayo Wikramo (1724-1758). Raden Lumbu was replaced by his son, Prince Adi Kesumo with the title of Ahmad Najamuddin Adi Kesumo (1758-1776), subsequently replaced by his eldest son, Muhammad Baha'uddin with the title of Sultan Muhammad Baha'uddin (1776-1803). During the reign of Mohammed Baha'uddin, in Palembang, there lived a prominent Sufi cleric: Shaykh Abdul Shamad Al-Palimbani. In Palembang, there were other scholars of Sufism: Shaykh Shihabuddin bin Abdallah Muhammad, Shaykh Fakhrudin Pak and Shaykh Muhammad bin Ahmad. They were very meritorious in studying and developing the Islamic religion in the Palembang Sultanate. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II, there was a war between the Palembang Sultanate and the British. After 1816, the British left the archipelago, the Palembang Sultanate returned to war against the Dutch. The war against the Dutch occurred in 1819-1821, and Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II and his family were arrested by the Dutch. The Sultan and his family died in exile in Ternate, North Maluku. After

Sultan Mahmud Badaruddin II was arrested by the Dutch, the war was continued by Sultan Ahmad Najamudin Prabu Anom and the people of Palembang. Finally, the Sultanate of Palembang was abolished by the Dutch in 1825 (Darmawijaya, 2015).

### 2.3. The Mataram Sultanate

The Sultanate of Mataram, in the beginning, was a region awarded by Sultan Adiwijaya (Sultan Pajang) to Ki Gede Pemanahan. Sultan Adiwijaya awarded him because Ki Gede Pemanahan had succeeded in helping Sultan Adiwijaya in killing Aryo Penangsang, while fighting for the throne of the Sultanate of Demak after the death of Sultan Trenggana. In the time of Ki Gede Pemanahan, Mataram began to show progress. In 1575, Ki Gede Pemanahan died and was replaced by his son, Sutawijaya who was given the title of Senopati Ing Alaga Sayidin Panatagama Addition. In 1633, Sultan Agung made a policy of empowering Islam in Java, by making the Islamic Javanese calendar - based on the journey of the moon (354 days). Sultan Agung also applied Islamic laws in the Sultanate of Mataram. The law of *qishas* was applied to those who committed a murder. Sultan Agung also applied Islamic laws related to state affairs, such as cases that endangered the safety of the Sultanate of Mataram. Sultan Agung highly appreciated the scholars because they had moral and high sciences (Darmawijaya, 2015). As disclosed by Ricklefs (2012)

*By the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, the ruling dynasty was that of Mataram (the area of present-day Yogyakarta). There the greatest king of post-Majapahit Java, Sultan Agung (r. 1613-46), acted to reconcile kraton and Islamic traditions. He continued his royal liaison with the most powerful of Central Java's indigenous (and definitely not Islamic) deities, the Goddess of the Southern Ocean (Ratu Kidul), but he also took decisive steps to make his court a more Islamic one. In 1633 he made a pilgrimage to Tembayat, where is found the holy grave of Sunan Bayat, regarded as the wali who introduced Islam to the Mataram area whose grave-site have the centre for resistance to Agung's rule, which he crushed. Agung is said to have communed with the saint's spirit, which taught him secret mystical sciences; thus were Bayat's powers attached to the monarchy. Agung also abandoned the Old Javanese Indian-style Saka calendar for a hybrid Javanese dating system using Islamic lunar months, an act which no doubt was also supernaturally potent....'*

Sultan Agung died in 1645, and replaced by his son, Amangkurat I (1645-1677). Amangkurat I made a controversial policy: 1) no longer respected the scholars and sought to get rid of it; 2) attempted to erase religious institutions in the Sultanate, such as abolishing the Shariah Court that had been established by his father, Sultan Agung; 3) attempted to limit the development of Islam and forbade religious life to interfere with the sultanate; and 4) sought to build good cooperation with the Dutch colonialists who became the enemy of his father's adulation. In 1646, Sultan Amangkurat I cooperated with the Netherlands. Sultan Amangkurat I was also willing to give up his rice on the north coast of Java to the Netherlands and the Netherlands also gave a gift favored Sultan Amangkurat I. The close relationship of Sultan Amangkurat I with the Dutch colonial caused the conflicts in the Sultanate of Mataram increasingly sharply, resulting in the decline of power Mataram Kingdom at the lowest level (Darmawijaya, 2015).

After Amangkurat I died, the power was continued by the Duke Anom as Sultan of Mataram, and was given the title of Sultan Amangkurat II who continued to cooperate with the Dutch. On October 20, 1677, Sultan Amangkurat II signed cooperation with the Netherlands. After the Jepara agreement was signed, Sultan Amangkurat II and the Dutch colonizers attacked Mataram against the alliance of Raden Kajaron and Trunojoyo. In 1679, both were captured by the Dutch and in 1680, Trunojoyo was killed. With the help of Dutch colonialism, Sultan Amangkurat II succeeded in re-capturing Mataram's throne from the Alliance of Raden Kajaron and Trunojoyo. The Sultan then reconciled with the scholars, so as not to happen again as did his father, Sultan Amangkurat I. The scholars functioned as advisors to the sultanate. But the problem of Mataram was not yet complete, especially the palace conflict and the increasingly strong Dutch colonial intervention. In 1755, through the agreement of Gianti, the Dutch colonial managed to divide the two Mataram Sultanates: the Sultanate of Surakarta and the Sultanate of Yogyakarta (Darmawijaya, 2015).

Since the arrival of the Dutch to the archipelago in the early 17th century, the Dutch colonials had faced and gained rejections from local Muslims led by Indonesian leaders, by fanatic scholars, and by independent religious teachers. Islam, not only spread in large numbers in the archipelago but also in the 18th century had had a very intense contact with the center of Islamic orthodoxy of the Middle East, especially those going to Mecca to perform *Haji* (pilgrimage). Consequently, before the late 18th century, Muslims in Indonesia had demonstrated resistance to the Dutch colonial. Thus, in 1825, Prince Diponegoro took a fight and attacked the Dutch colonial government's infidel (Benda, 1958)

### 2.4. The Makassar Sultanate

The embryo of the Makassar Sultanate was the Kingdom of Gowa founded by Tumanurung. Before Tumanurung, Gowa consisted of nine autonomous regions: *Tombolo, Lakiung, Parang-Parang, Data, Agangjene, Saumata, Bissei, Sero and Kalli*, which were also called *Bate Salapang*. At the beginning of the 16th century, when Gowa was led by Karaeng Tumapa'risi 'Kallonna (1510-1546), the Kingdom of Goa and the Tallo Kingdom were united. After joining, the Kingdom of Gowa and Tallo known as the Kingdom of Makassar, in everyday government, the king of Gowa acted as the king of Makassar and the king of Tallo acted as his *mangkubumi* (Darmawijaya, 2015). In its development when Karaeng Matoaya as Mangkubumi of the Kingdom of Makassar, he conducted a further study on religious matters. Karaeng Matoaya asked the Sultanate of Aceh to send Islamic scholars to his country. He also asked the Portuguese to bring pastors from Malacca. The Sultanate of Aceh sent three Sufi scholars

from *Minangkabau: Datuk ri Bandang* (Abdul Makmur, Khatib Tunggal), *Datuk ri Tiro* (Abdul Jawad, Khatib Bungsu) and *Datuk Patimang* (Sulaiman, Khatib Sulung). After receiving the call of propagation from the scholars, Karaeng Matoaya from Tallo (1591-1639) converted to Islam on September 22, 1605. After converting to Islam, Karaeng Matoaya was given the title of Sultan Abdullah Awwalul Islam. Karaeng Matoaya was so determined to advance Islam; he was given the title of Tumenanga ri Agamanna. After Daeng Matoaya converted to Islam, the king of Makassar, I Manga'rangri Daeng Manrabia also converted to Islam, was given the title of Sultan Alauddin. On November 9, 1607, Sultan Alauddin issued a decree to make Islam a royal religion and a community religion (Darmawijaya, 2015). The spread of Islam took a place in accordance with the tradition that had long accepted the kings, the descendants of Manurung. The tradition required a king to tell good things to others (Yatim, 2015).

The skill and tactics played by sailors and Makassar traders in buying spices in Maluku had made the Dutch colonials unhappy with the Makassar Sultanate. The Dutch were hindered by the Sultan of Makassar's desire for a monopoly on the purchase of spices, hence the Dutch urged the Sultan of Makassar not to allow sailors and Makassar merchants to buy spices in Maluku. However, Sultan Alauddin did not obey the will of the Dutch and continued to allow and provide a sense of security for Makassar traders and sailors to buy spices in Maluku. After Sultan Alauddin died, his position as the Sultan of Makassar was replaced by Sultan Malikus Said (1639-1653). At this time the Makassar Sultanate was the greatest and greatest progress in Eastern Indonesia (Darmawijaya, 2015).

After Sultan Malikus Said died, he was replaced by Sultan Hasanuddin (1653-1669). Sultan Hasanuddin was not the main beneficiary of the throne of the Sultanate of Makassar, because he was not son of Pattola (pure descendants of Makassar nobility, because his mother was not from the nobility of Makassar). Sultan Hasanuddin often sent his navy to sail to the Moluccan islands with the aim of escorting the merchants of Makassar to Moluccas. The Dutch colonials became unhappy with the merchants of Makassar because of their trading activities beyond the Dutch supervision. The sultan of Makassar was considered a major obstacle to the spice monopoly in the Indonesian archipelago. Wars also occurred several times between the Sultanate of Makassar and the Dutch soldiers in 1653, 1655, and 1666. A peace treaty ever made between Sultan Hasanuddin and the Dutch in Batavia in 1660. After Batavia's agreement, Sultan Hasanuddin again built a defense by deploying thousands of troops from the tribes of Makassar, Bone, Soppeng, etc. In consolidating forces, Sultan Hasanuddin lost a Bugis figure, Arung Palakka. To free the Bugis from the power of Makassar, Arung Palakka joined the Dutch. In 1666, there was a massive war between the Sultanate of Makassar led by Sultan Hasanuddin with the Dutch led by Cornelis Speelman. Palakka and the Dutch managed to defeat Sultan Hasanuddin. After Makassar was controlled by the Dutch, sailors and Bugis-Makassar merchants migrated to various parts of the archipelago, for example to Sulu, Kutai, Banjarmasin, Riau, and Malacca Peninsula, they kept trading with the Moluccan and surrounding areas without being known by the Dutch (Darmawijaya, 2015).

The relationships among the Islamic empires were well-established because of the religious equality. Relationships initially took for *da'wah* activities, and then continued after the Islamic kingdom stood. In the field of politics, religion was originally used to strengthen itself in the face of non-Islamic parties or kingdoms, especially those threatening political and economic lives. However, if the political and economic interests of the Islamic empire were threatened, religious issues did not guarantee the absence of hostilities among them. Battles among Muslim empires could occur, for example between Pajang and Demak, between Tidore and Ternate. Often, an Islamic kingdom asked for help from other parties, especially from the Dutch colonial. Yatim (2015) argued that from the end of the 13th century, when the Pasai Ocean stood, until the seventeenth century, when the Gowa-Tallo palace officially embraced Islam, at least three patterns of 'cultural formation' emerged. The three patterns are: First, Samudera Pasai Pattern. The birth of Samudera Pasai Kingdom took place through the change from a segmented country to a centralized state. Second, the pattern of South Sulawesi, this pattern was a pattern of Islamization through the conversion of the palace or center of power. In the history of Islam in Southeast Asia, this pattern preceded the establishment of Malacca's Islamic empire. The process of Islamization took place within a state structure that had a basis of genealogical legitimacy. The conversion of religion showed the king's ability, where the ruler was protected from the humiliation of his people in state affairs. Third, Java Pattern, in Java, Islam gained a long established political system and power structure, centered on the central kingdom of Majapahit.

### 3. Methods

The methods used for this qualitative study was done to systematically search internet resources, abstracts and databases including ERIC, British Library Direct, Academic Search Elite, Libris, google scholar, research gate, Questia and High Beam and journal sources such as Emerald, Sage, Science Direct, and OpenDOAR related to the application of the Dutch colonial ethnic politics toward the Islamic sultanates during three and a half centuries.

Also, the documentary work was mainly based on the review of existing documents and available literature related to the Sultanate Aceh Darussalam (from 1465-1497 to 1939), the Palembang Sultanate (from 1455-1486 to 1825), the Makassar Sultanate (1510-1546 to 1653-1669), and the Mataram Sultanate (from 1575 to 1755). The data from documentary work were analyzed, coded, and categorized qualitatively to: (1) spread data so as to find and list data related to what extent the role of political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies and (2) to create clusters of data (Mukminin and McMahon, 2013) from documents or literature by organizing, grouping, or clustering the significant data (Mukminin et al., 2015; Mukminin et al., 2017) among documents or literature related to the application of Dutch colonial's ethnic politics to Islamic sultanates in the archipelago. Based on the review of existing documents and available literature related to political ethnicity of the Dutch East Indies government in the colonies and the application of Dutch colonial's ethnic politics to Islamic sultanates in the

archipelago, I described the findings into four categories: the socio-political policies-related to the policy of ethnic segregation, the socio-economic policy, the socio-religious field, and the education policy

## 4. Results and Discussion

Indonesia as a pluralistic society has a community structure at least two characteristics. First, it is horizontally marked by the reality of a social unity based on differences of ethnicity, religion, customs, and regionalism. Second, vertically, the structure of society is marked by the vertical difference of the upper and lower layers so sharply. Because of these differences, Indonesian people are called pluralistic societies, where the term of pluralistic society was first used by Furnivall (1980) to describe Indonesian society during the Dutch East Indies, which consisted of two or more elements of life separately from one another in one political life. Furnivall (1980) revealed that the Indonesian society during the Dutch East Indies as a plural society, as a type of tropical society where those who were in power and who were ruled had different races. The Dutch as a minority, though increasing in number, especially at the end of the nineteenth century, as well as foreign rulers (Chinese, Arabs, Indians) had a second-class position, among European and Native groups (Nasikun, 1995)

Unlike the Pasai Ocean pattern, Islam encourages the formation of a supra-village state, as well as unlike Gowa-Tallo, where the court was Islamized. In Java, Islam emerged as a challenger, to subsequently take over the existing power. Thus, what constitutes a cultural dilemma of a new person in the old political building. Abdullah (1989) argued that the first and second patterns, the Pasai Ocean pattern and the South Sulawesi pattern showed different ways, a tendency toward integrative pattern—a tradition in which Islam underwent a conceptual and structural indigenization process. Islam became an intrinsic part of the cultural system as a whole. Islam was seen as the cornerstone of cultural society and private life. In this integration strategy, Islam is the dominant element in the new cognitive community and in the political paradigm, which is used as a measurement of what is deemed fair and not (Yatim, 2015). The politics of the Dutch colonial ethnicity towards the Islamic sultanates in the archipelago was another important part of the process of continuity of the Dutch East Indies power management. The Dutch colonial policy towards the Islamic sultanate in the archipelago was as a Dutch colonial strategy of supervising, controlling, and maintaining the Dutch-Indies rules. In this case, several strategies related to the ethnic politics of the Dutch colonial government consisted of the socio-political policies-related to the policy of ethnic segregation, the socio-economic policy, the socio-religious field, and the education policy are discussed as follows.

### 4.1. Socio-Political Policies-Related to the Policy of Ethnic Segregation

First, socio-political policies-related to the policy of ethnic segregation, the Dutch colonial government carried out an ethnic segregation strategy, grouping the people of the Dutch East Indies into: European, Foreign and Indigenous (*Inlander*). The Dutch made ethnic distinctions so striking by determining different offices, clothing, and administrative structures, and arranging religion for each group. Hoadley (1988) revealed, in Cirebon at the end of the 17th century, Dutch policy had encouraged the separation of Javanese *peranakans* and elites with a policy that classified the Chinese descendants, making it difficult for relations among the Chinese descendants, the elites, and the Javanese community.

Dutch colonial government policy related to politics, as expressed by Hoadley (1988), the Netherlands applied the political policy of separation. In the laws of the Indies codified in 1848-1854, with *the Regerings Reglement (Article 109)*, the Netherlands Indies government distinguished citizens into two: European and *Bumiputera* (natives, inlanders) or Natives. Other migrants (Chinese, Arabs, Indians, etc.) were called foreign oriental, and Christians (e.g., Chinese Christians) could be incorporated into, or equated with, the European class. Non-Christians, such as Konghuchu, Hindu, Buddha, or Islam-were equated with the Natives. The adoption of a policy of ethnicity based on discriminative racial differences in the Netherlands East Indies had a negative impact on the inter-ethnic relations of migrants (Chinese, Arabs, Indians, etc.) with the Natives. This policy aimed to divide, *divide et impera* between the Natives and the Foreign East in order to remain inharmonious, so that the Dutch colonial government can strengthen its power and the interests of the Netherlands Indies are not threatened (Idi, 2011).

### 4.2. The Socio-Economic Policy

Second, the socio-economic policy, (Furnivall, 1980) says that the economic life of a society that does not have a common will is seen from the absence of social demand for society in total. In the Indies era, social demand was not organized, but rather sectional, and not a social demand shared by all elements of society. The condition raised the plural economic characters of a plural society, and not a unitary economy in a homogeneous society. The economic process in the homogeneous society was controlled by a common will, whereas in plural society it was the opposite. That is, social relations among the elements of society are solely controlled by economic processes with the production of material goods as the primary purpose of people's lives. Because of groupings based on racial differences, patterns of production are created on the basis of race differences, in which the type of race has its own production function. For example, Dutch people were in plantations, indigenous people were in agriculture, and Chinese were in marketing or as mediators or inter-mediary among them (Furnivall, 1980). Some of them acted as business advisers for native kings and provincial governors of the Indies. Others acted as recruitment agents from China, agricultural tax pullers, or as leaders (*capiten*) for the Chinese community. The strategic Chinese position outstrips the position of foreign eastern migrants (Indians and Arabs). They also had a larger local community than India and Arabia. The Dutch colonials were greatly helped by their presence to support an efficient and organized government.

However, Kham (2003) said, a false view of the success of Chinese in Indonesia because they were hard working and thrifty and because many farmers worked hard and were more efficient but generally unsuccessful. The Chinese's success was more due to the 'VOC partnership'. The position of the Chinese, since the Dutch (VOC) in Indonesia had been a group developed as a class of traders. These two foreign nations, the Netherlands and China, came to work in Indonesia, and the partnership between them was formed from the beginning. The VOC, for example, demanded a jurisdiction over the Chinese in Java, even though they lived in the Javanese kingdom. This means that the Dutch ruler gave supports to the development of capitalist institutions among the Chinese in Indonesia-this institution which was closely related to capital and the creation of trade trust.

### 4.3. The Socio-Religious Field

Third, the socio-religious field, the policies of the Netherlands Indies government, among other things: the prohibition of marital assimilation between foreigners with the natives. The Dutch government, through Christian Snouck Hurgronje, disagreed with the fact of assimilation between foreign (especially Chinese and Arab) migrants with indigenous communities. For example, the case of assimilation of the Raden Saleh family and the Regent of Magelang (Danuningrat), as well as a number of other cases, was not Hurgronje's will, and he expected no more marital assimilation cases. If there was intentionally to assimilate, declared a violation of criminal law of the Dutch East Indies government (Alqadri, 1976). In the socio-religious field, Hurgronje, a Dutch ethnologist and political adviser at the end of the nineteenth century, often harassed Islam, for example, by saying that Malay scholars could only translate with very bad results. The Dutch East Indies government then created a religious bureaucracy to serve and control the life of Islam. Hurgronje also pretended to convert to Islam aiming to supervise and spy on Islamic scholars and to get to Mecca for the mission (Idi, 2011)

The Dutch control over the archipelago was certainly not easy. For about three and a half centuries of its existence, the Netherlands faced so much revolts, social conflicts, and wars. Resistance to the Dutch colonialization was variously ethnic and religious. However, the most feared opposition was resistance in the name of Islam because of the religious solidarity they woke up, so it was hard to be dammed. One of the bonds of religious solidarity that tapped every Muslim to fight against the Dutch colonial government was jihad (Vlekke, 2016). In Mataram, the seeds of jihad had begun in the eighteenth century, when the Dutch control of the palace grew stronger, but jihad in its true meaning only took place for five years when a devout Javanese Prince Diponegoro called for this concept and called for war against Netherlands (1825-1830). The war ended in 1830, and Prince Diponegoro was arrested and later exiled to Minahasa (Vlekke, 2016). Vlekke (2016) also explained that the Java war had created trauma that was so great for the Dutch and jihad was a very scary thing. The Javanese seemed to be syncretic and tolerant suddenly became a ferocious and easy killer. This prompted the Dutch colonial government to learn more about Islam by summoning a professor of Islamic studies at Leiden University, Christian Snouck Hurgronje. Snouck was assigned to research thoroughly about the archipelago, especially Islam, while pretending to be a Muslim and going to Mecca and to Aceh to write his work on the Islamic empire in Aceh. In Snouck's report to the Dutch East Indies government, it was said that one of the crucial factors caused the diversity of Indonesians to change because of the Jawi pilgrims and students returning from Mecca. They carried a rigid, radical, and intolerant ideology and understanding of Islam. Due to the unjust Dutch colonial policy, Jawi's pilgrims and students found a mixture of disappointment and desire to be more pious. Jihad against the Dutch kafir was in response.

Furthermore, Lapindus (2000) commented that the policy of the Dutch colonial government related to the implementation of the Hajj, had prompted the Dutch colonial government to issue a political policy on Hajj. This, for the Dutch colonials, could support the movements of radicalism, fanaticism, and uprising among the Indigenous who could ultimately disrupt the Dutch rule. Between 1869-1930, from the VOC to the Dutch East Indies government, the Netherlands had issued various linkages of the Hajj ordinance. Governor Daendels issued the use of passageways for Indonesian Muslims if they wanted to leave Java. In 1825, the government issued a resolution to limit the hajj quota and set the cost of hajj (ONH). This policy was subsequently amended in 1827 and 1823. In 1859, the hajj Ordinance was officially published in the Gazette of the Dutch East Indies (*Staatblad van Nederlansch-Indie*) which also inspired rebellion concerns, as occurred in India in 1857, known as the Mutiny or Sepoy rebellion (Suminto, 1985) which is associated with the hajj and its role. Hurgronje (1994) noted that in 1872 the Dutch colonial government also opened a consulate office in Jeddah, to obtain data on the activities of Indonesian pilgrims. The colonial government hoped that with the decline of the pilgrims from Indonesia to Mecca, the influence of van-Islam did not affect Indonesia, as seen in the sides of Raad van Indie (Council of the Indies), whereas the former Dutch colonial government would be neutral against religion. The rule or ordinance No. 161 which was issued in 1875 discussed the passage of the next pilgrimage. This ordinance continued to be refined annually including No.318 in 1902, No. 396 in 1909, No. 641 in 1915, and No. 587 in 1923. Although the actual use of road fitting was recommended by Sluejak Deandels (1801-1811), the reason for issuing this road pass ordinance was because every year the number of pilgrims who asked for '*pas haji*' on the ruler continued to grow.

### 4.4. The Education Policy

Fourth, in the field of education, the Dutch colonial government developed Western liberal education and was said to be 'neutral' religion-in fact 'not neutral' and neither siding with Muslims nor on Islamic education such as *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school) and *madrasah*. The colonial government discriminated against Muslims and Islamic education. *Pesantren* was considered very dangerous to the Dutch colonial power. Ziemek (1994) revealed that the greatest number and resistance movement in history to colonial rule came from *kiai* (Islamic leaders) with *pesantren* as their cause. Nevertheless, *Boedi Oetomo* (an Indonesian hero), the result of a Western-educated school,

had in fact persistently raised the *pesantren* and appreciated it equally with a modern public school, which could not only play a role in the past, now, and for the future. De Graaf (1994) said that in the 18th century, *pesantren* suffered a setback, which could be due to internal conflicts of the *Bumiputera* or native rulers themselves; and the concerns of the Dutch colonial rulers against the *pesantren kiai* (Islamic leaders) on the other. For internal indigenous elites such as the killing of 5,000 to 6,000 *kiai* (Islamic leaders) and their families in Plered Mataram Square by Amangkurat I (1646-1677). Tjandrasamita (2009) says that in 1886, the Dutch colonial formed a special body called *Priesterraden* which oversaw the religious life and education of Islam, especially *pesantren*. It also encouraged the Dutch colonials to issue the Teacher Ordinance 1905 and the 1925 Ordinance. Although the Dutch colonial government declared 'neutral' to religion, the fact was not so with the rise of Master's Ordinance (*Stadblaad 1905 No. 550*) which contained the obligation for the development of Islamic education obtained by a written permission from regents or equivalent officials. Each teacher was also required to make a list of complete students and other information that must be sent periodically to the relevant officials.

In 1899, Deventer, as pointed out by Baudet and Brugmans (1987) that a jurist who had lived in Indonesia during 1880-1897, published an article entitled *Een eereschuld* (a debt of honor) in the Dutch periodic magazine *de Gids*. Deventer said that the Netherlands was indebted to Indonesia against all the wealth that had been blackmailed from the land of Indonesia. This debt should be repaid by giving priority to the interests of the Indonesian people. In 1901 Queen Wilhelmina (1890-1948) declared a moment of investigation of the welfare of the people residing in Java, and so the ethical policy was officially adopted. The contents of the speech of the Dutch King, as said by (Baudet and Brugmans, 1987) as follows:

*As a Christian country, the Netherlands is obliged in the Dutch East Indies archipelago to better regulate the legal position of the indigenous occupation, to give a firm basis to Christian mission, and to pervade the whole governmental act with the realization that the Netherlands has a moral obligation to fulfill it to the people of that region. Consequently, the welfare of Javanese people was declining.*

In this context, Nasution (1983) revealed that the Dutch colonial government built schools. Education was aimed at obtaining skilled and inexpensive administrative personnel. Education opened to all the people, the fact was only for children of civil servants and people who could afford. There was an educational discrimination which was the teaching in the first grade school for the children of the civil servants and the treasurers, and in the second grade schools to the indigenous children and in general. The politics of colonial education was closely linked to their politics in general; political things were dominated by ruling classes and not driven by ethnic values with a view to fostering political maturity and colonial independence. However, in practice there were many irregularities committed by the Dutch officials.

## 5. Conclusion

The Dutch colonialism in Indonesia had been about more than 3.5 centuries and the role of ethnic politics towards the native people seems more dominant. Although the Dutch colonials for so long survived in Indonesia, there were, in fact, so many oppositions that even hundreds of indigenous resistance, i.e. Muslims (*ulama, sultan, haji, kiai*), often involving the kingdoms or sultanates of the archipelago. The abundance of indigenous peoples, especially Muslims, was itself done primarily since the Dutch colonial government implemented a monopoly trading system that contradicted the trading system of the local people. The political ethnicity of Dutch colonial had been in various spheres of life (politics, economy, culture, education, and religion) of discriminatory natives. It had an impact on the strong resistance and resistance to the Dutch colonial government, visible or invisible. This politics of ethnicity was done as an identical *devide*, '*divide at impera*', as well as violence or oppression. It was also an attempt and mastering strategy by weakening the nationalism of indigenous peoples possessing a wealth of spices and natural resources - which at the same time became 'the main motive of Europeans / Dutchmen coming to Indonesia as economic capitalists.

Through its economic-capitalist policies, the Dutch colonial nation in the process had formed a multicultural, multicultural society of the Indies, where in addition to the various local ethnicities-natives there were also foreign nations, that was said to be Foreign East (China, Arabia, India, Pakistan, etc.). However, from the review of various socio-historical literatures, the policy of the Dutch East Indies government had established a highly discriminatory, multicultural, pluralistic society far from justice, perceived by the native people. The Dutch came to the archipelago as merchants and 'temporary migrants' and did not feel 'possess'. Indonesia was only a goal to gain economic wealth but they did not see Indonesia as its 'future'. The political structures of the Dutch East Indies were highly discriminatory, exploitative, and dominative towards indigenous and exploitative nations of abundant natural resources. The structure of society that placed the Dutch colonial minority as superordinate; while, the indigenous ethnic majority as subordinate had led to a harmonious relationship and frequent resistance from local indigenous ethnic/Islamic sultans in the archipelago - throughout the history of the Dutch presence in Indonesia.

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