



Production of Aesthetic Tastes and Creativity Education of Indonesian Glass Painting Artists

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Abstract

This study aims to find the repertoire of aesthetic taste as a creative act and its relation to symbolic power in the arena of Indonesian cultural production of glass painting. The study used a qualitative approach with a phenomenological design. Data collection used in-depth interviews, participant observation, individual life's history, and document examination. Data analysis used interpretive phenomenological analysis. The study finds five aesthetic taste repertoires that include: (1) the aesthetic taste of the palace which is characterized by the symbolic decorative visualization of calligraphy pictographs of *petarekatan* with *wadasan* and *mega mendung* ornaments; (2) the taste of strengthening cultural identity is marked by the symbolic decorative visualization of a traditional sourcebook for puppet shadow objects with *wadasan* and *mega mendung* ornaments; (3) the taste of traditional renewal is characterized by liberating expressive decorative visualizations; (4) the taste of cultural revitalization is characterized by decorative visualization of the superiority of tradition which is involute; and (5) the taste of marginalized community is characterized by the simplicity of traditional object visualizations. The five aesthetic tastes carry a decorative expression style with an interpretation of tradition based on the cultural capital of the artists. The production of aesthetic taste cannot fully be used to classify the social class structure of appreciators but is related to the identity of the cultural capital they have. The production of aesthetic taste is a creative education model that responds to the *doxa* of symbolic power in the form of *orthodox* or *heterodox*, resulting in defensive, subversive, defensive-subversive synthesis, and pseudo-subversive strategies, which are fought for legitimacy as symbolic power.

Keywords: Symbolic Power, Aesthetic Taste, Strategy, Creativity Education

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INTRODUCTION

Aesthetic taste is an important concern in human civilization. Taste is a substantive part of aesthetic theory, a phenomenon and practice that has historically had a wide variety of representations (Klimov & Klimova, 2017). Every cultural en-

tity has an aesthetic taste that is influenced by its appreciation of its culture as a fulfillment of aesthetic needs (Rohidi, 2015; Triyanto, 2017; Wiyoso & Putra, 2020). Ranciere (2004) asserts that aesthetics is a dialectic between social, political, and aesthetic itself (Cook, 2018) little work has assessed how certifications redefine the

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local aesthetic experience of the food. In order to fill this gap, I analyze the aesthetic politics, which redefine who can taste and how they can do it. I argue that incorporating aesthetic politics into analyses of quality and standards enables tracing how this standard becomes regarded as scientific and, return, effects a re-aestheticizing of what is considered a(n) and contributes to the realization of the characteristics of a community (Triyanto & Sugiarto, 2020; Klimov & Klimova, 2017). The discourse of aesthetic taste became a major concern of world scientists after Pierre Bourdieu (1984) stated that taste is a form of power used to reproduce class structures (Bourdieu, 1984a; Kane, 2003; Savaş, 2014; Holm, 2020). It is also highly dependent on cultural capital and economic capital received within the class fraction (Brisson & Bianchi, 2017; Paalgard Flemmen et al., 2019).

Bourdieu's thesis on taste in the arena of cultural production transcends the dichotomy of subjectivism and objectivism, symbolism and materialism (Turner & Edmunds, 2002). They are built from the concepts of Habitus, Capital, and Field, in addition to the concepts of Taste and Symbolic Power as the epicenter of the theory (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1993, 1998; Wacquant & Akçaoğlu, 2017). Habitus perceives the field based on the accumulation of capital as a way of being (Fauzi, 2016; Haryatmoko, 2003; Jenkins et al., 1993; Newman et al., 2013), as the basis of practice (Bourdieu, 1993; Edgerton & Roberts, 2014; Fauzi, 2016; Navarro, 2006); and regulate appetizing consumption practices (Bennett, 2007; Bourdieu, 1984a). The concept of Field is understood as a field of struggle to fight over and change or preserve positions (Jenkins et al., 1993; Karnanta, 2013; Newman et al., 2013) to preserve power (Bourdieu, 1984a; Murdock, 2010).

In entering the field, each agent will use strategy and capital accumulation (cultural, social, economic, and symbolic) as the logic that governs the agent's struggle in power relations (Bourdieu, 1993; Rawolle & Lingard, 2008). The accumulation of capital can give birth to symbolic domi-

nance through the use of *doxas* as a dogma that directs one's perspective in perceiving the world in which *doxas* exist (Bourdieu, 1984b). Some agents produce *orthodox* to maintain position, in addition to producing *heterodox* as a cognitive response that corrects *doxa* with subversive strategies to gain legitimacy, either specific legitimacy, 'bourgeois' taste legitimacy and popular legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1993; Karnanta, 2013; Swartz, 1997). In this context, Bourdieu views that taste as a form of *doxa* as cultural capital and economic capital controlled by habitus. Therefore it is related to class structure (Bourdieu, 1984; 1984a; Brisson & Bianchi, 2017; Sato et al., 2016).

Bourdieu's theory of taste and lifestyle concerning social structure has received a response from international research. Carol Sherrard's research refutes the relationship between social class and aesthetic sense (Sherrard, 1995). Interpretive studies of taste patterns in the United States have uncovered six varied taste repertoires from various cultural capital resources (Holt, 1997). Research on postwar Australian elites does not show a highbrow taste but prefers middle to low culture (Turner & Edmunds, 2002).

There are four types of a repertoire of female facial beauty tastes and male handsomeness in France, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, and England, including aesthetic repertoire, subjective versus objective, gender normative and racial repertoire (Kane, 2003; Kuipers, 2015). Research on the cultural repertoire of families of low social status in Canada in terms of food finds that their aesthetic preferences operate according to the four cultural repertoires and are distinctly different from those of omnivorous cultures of high social class (Baumann & Szabo, 2017). Research into the cultural consumption and tastes that characterize the social position of Britain's elite over a 120-year historical span finds that there has been a shift into three historical phases. The shift is the elite distinction, from aristocratic fashion, high fashion, and contemporary fashion that openly practices everyday culture while

continuing to maintain flavor (Friedman & Reeves, 2020). The use of Bourdieu's theory of taste, which uses taste analysis as a medium of social difference, studies taste expression and shifts towards the production of tastes. This taste production uses social media platforms, showing that subjects, objects, and media produce each other as a taste triangle (Paßmann & Schubert, 2020).

Research on aesthetic taste as a response to Bourdieu generally examines the expression of tastes, such as the relation of taste to cultural capital, the expression of the tastes of certain elite groups, the aesthetic taste of beauty and handsomeness, the food taste of low social status. Research on aesthetic taste generally examines the expression of taste and very rarely takes the point of view of the study of the production of aesthetic taste. In addition, research on aesthetic taste still takes cultural settings in Europe, America, and Australia. There has been no research on the production of aesthetic tastes from cultural settings in Asia, specifically in Indonesia. This study examines the production of aesthetic taste by Indonesian glass painting artists using a theoretical study in the field of Bourdieu cultural production, thus producing novelty on the repertoire of differences in aesthetic taste. This study also finds a model of creative discovery in the production of flavors. by a glass painting artist. The cultural production of Indonesian glass painting is different from the stained glass in Roman architecture (M. Corrêa Pinto et al., 2018). This type of art also developed in Senegal as *Suwers* (Pierce, 2005). Glass painting entered Indonesia from Europe via China at the end of the 19th century (Fischer, 1994; Samuel, 2005; Waluyo, 2006). At first, this art, with its glass which was still a luxury item, was closely related to the royal class of the palace (Cohen et al., 2000). Indonesian glass painting developed in Cirebon, Jogjakarta, Surakarta, Muntilan, Demak, Kudus, Nagasepaha-Buleleng-Bali, and several other areas with different characteristics of aesthetic tastes, strongly influenced by the

cultural system (Samuel, 2005, 2010, 2013; Waluyo, 2006; Wisetrotomo, 2012).

The cultural production of Indonesian glass painting has various characteristics. This study aims to examine the creative process of Indonesian glass painting artists in producing aesthetic tastes and their relationship to symbolic power in the field of cultural production. The findings of this study are the diversity of the repertoire of aesthetic tastes in Indonesian glass painting and the discovery of the production strategy of aesthetic taste concerning symbolic power. The scientific contribution of this research is the discovery of an artistic creativity education model that is sourced from local wisdom to strengthen Art Education in informal educational institutions.

METHOD

This study used a qualitative approach with interpretive phenomenology-oriented research that seeks to find psychological meanings contained in a phenomenon (Smith, 2014). The data sources focused on the dynamics of glass painting that developed in Cirebon, namely six glass painting artists with categories: (1) glass painting artists mastering symbolic power in the field of cultural production; (2) glass painting artists who still exist by having found an aesthetic distinction, and (3) a young glass painting artists who is struggling to find an aesthetic distinction and is in symbolic power. The data were collected using in-depth interviews, individual life's history, and visual documentation of glass painting. The data validity was carried out by testing the data credibility test through extended observations, discussions with colleagues, and triangulation (Creswell, 2013; Sugiyono, 2019).

Data analysis was carried out using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) with the following stages: 1) reading and re-reading; 2) initial notes; 3) developing emergent themes; 4) searching for connection across emergent themes; 5) moving the next case; and 6) looking for

patterns across the case (Hajaroh, 2010; Kahija, 2017). Data analysis also combines Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) with theoretical analysis of the combination of the organic unity of visual artworks according to Ocvirk et al. (2001) which includes the following aspects: 1) subject; 2) content, and 3) form (Ocvirk, 2001; Rohidi, 2011). These three aspects are used to explore and identify the embodiment of each research participant's aesthetic distinction of the visual structure of the glass painting.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The production of aesthetic taste in the Cirebon-Indonesian painting takes place dynamically and is influenced by the constellation of cultural capital guided by the habitus of the artists. The field of glass painting cultural production then becomes a field for the struggle for cultural capital and the struggle to gain legitimacy as symbolic capital. Therefore, various aesthetic taste repertoires emerge as a result of the choice of strategies for finding aesthetic tastes made by glass painting artists.

A repertoire of Aesthetic Tastes in Indonesian Glass Painting

The results show that each Cirebon-Indonesian traditional glass painting artists produce their aesthetic tastes. There are several repertoires of aesthetic tastes for Cirebon-Indonesian glass painting, including the aesthetic taste of the palace, the aesthetic taste of strengthening cultural identity, the aesthetic taste of traditional renewal, the aesthetic taste of traditional revitalization, and the aesthetic taste of marginal class.

The repertoire of the aesthetic taste of the palace (Cirebon-Indonesian) is unique because the actors are Syathariyah tariqa practitioners from the royal family, including Elang Aruna, Elang Medina, and Raden Saleh. The theme of the glass painting is a calligraphy pictograph. The subject matter of glass painting is taken from the teachings and symbols of Javanese Islamic

mysticism from *Syathariyah* tariqas, such as *Serabad Rikhul Ahmar*, *Banteng Windu*, *Insan Kamil*, *Sayidina Ali*, *Macan Ali*, and puppet figures. The repertoire of the aesthetic taste of the palace is characterized by the visualization of decorative, symbolic, orderly objects, always applying ornaments of *mega-mendung* and *wadasan*, and the balance of intra-aesthetics and extra-aesthetics. The aesthetic taste of the palace confirms the existence of traditional functional art for aesthetic satisfaction, *da'wah*, and solving social problems (Irianto et al., 2018)



Figure 1. "Serabad Rikhul Ahmar" glass painting, offering the Taste of the Palace (Photo: Casta, 2018)

The repertoire of aesthetic tastes in Indonesian glass painting that develops outside the palace is for strengthening cultural identity. The artists are the puppeteers, shadow puppet engravers, or editors who also act as glass painting artists. The most prominent glass painting artist is Rastika, with the following principles: using a typical Cirebon shadow puppet object, decorative, symbolic, not presenting perspective, plain/flat background coloring, using ornaments of *wadasan*, and *mega mendung* with traditional Cirebon coloring. Sources of creative ideas generally come from the stories of *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, and the *Carangan/Anggitan* plays which are presented in the form of *Wayang Ijen* and *Wayang Jejer*. This phenomenon strengthens the thesis that the *Ramayana* story became an important source in early civilization in Java (Bramantyo & Hung, 2017). This choice of aesthetic taste was guided by the cultural policy of the New Order Govern-

ment in the 1970s, which proclaimed the development of national culture with the thesis that national culture is the pinnacle of every regional culture. The aesthetic taste of this group supports the assumption that art as a cultural heritage forms cultural identity among the onslaught of global culture (Triyanto et al., 2019).



Figure 2. "Karna Tandling" glass painting, (100 X 150 Cm), by Rastika, 1985, offering the taste of strengthening cultural identity (source: photo by Kusdono)

In the late 1980s, the Indonesian glass painting public was surprised by the emergence of a new aesthetic repertoire that offered several innovations and creativity, in terms of technique, visual language, and expressive style, promoted by Toto Sunu, a glass painting artist who was previously a canvas painter. The choice of finding Toto Sunu's aesthetic taste is in line with the idea that creativity and innovation of traditional arts are necessary for the preservation of traditional art (Ridwan et al., 2020). This glass painting artist's creativity questions the aesthetic taste of Rastika's choice by offering a new aesthetic taste rule marked by innovations in techniques, media, themes, sizes, and even prices, as well as other forms of 'resistance.' Toto Sunu reduced the traditional canons from the shadow puppet objects, the color scheme, the ornament styles of *mega mendung* and *Wadasan* which have become icons of Cirebon culture, and then offered the airbrush technique using mix-media so that the background of the painting is no longer flat, but textured and expressive, in addition, he also presented a plastic impression of the subject matter of his paintings, something that is

not found in the aesthetic taste of Rastika's tradition. In terms of the puppet scenes or lines he paints, Toto Sunu presents a very dynamic scene, even surpassing the usual scenes in the sense of strengthening cultural identity.



Figure 3. "Babad Alas Amer" glass painting, by Toto Sunu, offering the taste of traditional renewal (Photo: Toto Sunu, 2009)

The aesthetic taste of tradition renewal offered by Toto Sunu was rejected by the glass painting artist community of Sanggar Noerdjati under the leadership of Rafan Hasyim who advocated the revitalization of tradition. This new aesthetic taste is characterized by re-examining the superiority of traditions that reject airbrushes, mix-media, graffiti, and ornaments of *mega mendung* and *wadasan* that are not following the standard. Therefore, the rules of aesthetic taste are characterized using shadow puppet objects that are truly typical of Cirebon, ornaments of *mega mendung* and *wadasan* according to the standard, flat coloring (not using an airbrush), decorative, not presenting optical illusions and displaying visualizations that are afraid of emptiness (*horror paque*).

The repertoire of tastes that is also found in Cirebon's treasury of glass painting is the aesthetic taste of the marginal class offered by fringe glass painting artists in roadside stalls. This group offers an aesthetic taste with the painting object taken from Cirebon cultural treasures (shadow puppets and palace symbols), but they are done simply at a low price, and there are efforts to follow the growing trend. The artist with this aesthetic repertoire is Ki Da-

lang Pata.



Figure 4. "Hanoman Obong" glass painting, 100Cm X130Cm, by Raffan Hasyim, offering the taste of cultural revitalization (Photo: Opan, 2010)



Figure 5. "Semar" glass painting, 40 Cm X 50 Cm, by Ki Dalang Pata, offering the taste of marginal class (Photo: Casta, 2020)

The findings of the five repertoires of aesthetic tastes in figure 5 show that the aesthetic taste produced by the Cirebon-Indonesian glass painting artists is largely determined by the cultural capital of the painter, guided by his habitus. This finding corroborates Pierre Bourdieu's thesis that tastes are determined by cultural capital and aesthetic dispositions acquired typically by transmission in family and education (Bourdieu, 1984a; Sato et al., 2016) which contribute greatly to success (Börjesson et al., 2016). The results of the research also reinforce that cultural capital contributes significantly to success as a form of return on cultural capital (Andersen & Jæger, 2015). Therefore, cultural capital can be positioned as a resource that is

equivalent to economic resources (Jæger & Møllegaard, 2017).

The repertoires of aesthetic tastes of Cirebon-Indonesian glass painting artists which were built from the construction of cultural capital and controlled by their habitus, have made them successful glass painting artists both economically and legitimately. Aesthetic tastes built from certain cultural capital can be accepted by people who enjoy aesthetic goods with identical cultural capital, cultural and economic capital prevailing in the class fraction (Brisson & Bianchi, 2017). This confirms that capital exchange occurs. The most powerful exchange of capital is when the exchange of cultural capital becomes symbolic capital, including legitimacy, which takes a long time and great energy for publicity and prestige (Fauzi, 2016; Fuchs, 2003).

The aesthetic taste offered by the artist Rastika received appreciation from the upper, middle, and lower classes of society. This shows that there is a trend of omnivorous tastes that combine taste classes due to openness and high tolerance (van den Haak & Wilterdink, 2019). This finding is in line with the results of Carol Sherrard's research which found that most respondents denied the existence of a relationship between social class and aesthetic sense. Only the repertoire of aesthetic tastes of marginal classes pioneered by Ki Dalang Pata supports Bourdieu's theory which states that taste can explain the class structure in society by classifying tastes of the upper class, middle class, and popular lower class (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1993; Kane, 2003; Savaş, 2014). Thus, the findings of this study are that the production of aesthetic taste in Indonesian glass painting cannot fully be used to explain the class structure in society.

The Strategy of Aesthetic Taste Discovery

The results show that each glass painting artist strives for aesthetic taste with different strategies through a symbolic power mechanism known as *doxa*, a set of fundamental beliefs that resemble dogma (Buchanan et al., 1993). It has directed

a person's perspective in perceiving the world or the field in which the *doxa* is located (Karnanta, 2013). The data in this study show that glass painting artists from the royal family found their aesthetic taste by rejecting the Western aesthetic principles offered by Chinese artisans. The aesthetic taste that carries the issue of the peaks of regional culture as national culture is the "ideology of aesthetic taste" of the New Order government. It is a *doxa* that Rastika unanimously accepted to gain control of various capitals and finally gain legitimacy as a maestro of glass painting, a symbolic capital. A different strategy was adopted by the artist Toto Sunu, who offered a new taste that was very different from the Rastika style supported by Kusdono. He does not want to be in the shadow of Rastika's symbolic power by choosing a path to oppose and correct Rastika's aesthetic taste that radiates symbolic power. On the other hand, the artist Raffan Hasyim corrected Toto Sunu's aesthetic taste and accepted the *doxa* spread by Rastika and the New Order government.

The results of the study indicate that aesthetic taste can be realized through the artists' perception of *doxa*. Acceptance of *doxa* produced the *Orthodox* strategy and rejection of *doxa* produced the *Heterodox* strategy (Bourdieu, 1993; Buchanan et al., 1993; Karnanta, 2013). The production of *heterodox* will perceive and correct *doxa* as another form of thought or discourse (Swartz, 1997). Rastika used the *orthodox* (defensive) strategy as a conservative strategy to support the aesthetic *doxa* of the New Order government to gain legitimacy. The acceptance of the Rastika's aesthetic taste *doxa* by Kusdono (Rastika's son) puts him in an unconscious communication (Uhlmann et al., 2002) or Rastika's symbolic power through the communication of imposing symbols and meanings as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1993; Karnanta, 2013) with gentle, unconscious, and agreed-upon oppression by the oppressed party (Bourdieu, 1977; Jenkins et al., 1993).

Toto Sunu chose a strategy to find different aesthetic tastes. This artist chose

to use the *orthodox* (subversive) strategy which re-perceived Rastika's *doxa*, to be able to produce specific legitimacy from fellow glass painting artists, legitimacy from gallery managers, and popular legitimacy (Bourdieu, Pierre; Passeron, 1990; Bourdieu, 1993; Jenkins et al., 1993). On the other hand, the discovery of creativity with different aesthetic tastes was carried out by Raffan Hasyim with a synthesis strategy of *orthodox* and *heterodox* carried out by involution (involute). Raffan Hasyim's involute approach does produce quality works, has its aesthetic distinction, but in terms of market success, it has not matched Rastika or Toto Sunu. This is in line with Bourdieu's principle of heteronomous hierarchy, which measures the legitimacy success from the sales figure index and the principle of autonomous hierarchy, which is measured by specific legitimacy as an art item outside of economic principles (Bourdieu, 1993; Karnanta, 2013). The most interesting part is the strategy used by Ki Dalang Pata. He made a strategy of *Pseudo-Heterodox* (Pseudo-Subversive) that seemed to reject *doxas* to gain and cultivate economic capital. This emphasizes that capital is the logic that regulates the struggle of actors in power relations in the field (Rawolle & Lingard, 2008). The discussion written in the previous section shows that the strategy of finding aesthetic taste in the Cirebon-Indonesian glass painting includes defensive, subversive, defensive-subversive synthesis, and pseudo-subversive strategies that are used to cultivate capital and gain legitimacy.

The choice of strategy for finding aesthetic tastes as described in the previous paragraphs is a form of creativity that can be constructed into a model of creativity education in Art Education in schools. Creativity in creating aesthetic tastes can be started when an artist or prospective artist is faced with a *doxa* that will be perceived to produce a choice of strategy, either *orthodox* or *heterodox*. The intervention of *doxa* which is legally accepted as a form of symbolic violence can be perceived to produce an *orthodox* strategy that will produce cre-

ativity in aesthetic tastes that support *doxa*. Thus, every form of creativity shows the motivation behind the creative products produced (Puspita et al., 2020), by accepting or re-perceiving *doxa*. Schematically, the two strategies for finding creativity in the production of aesthetic taste in the world of Indonesian glass painting can be seen in Figure 6 below.

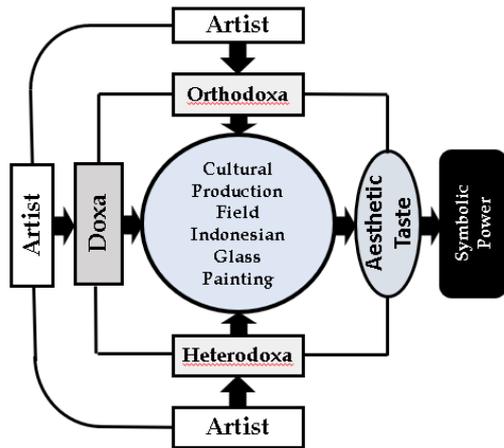


Figure 6. Schematic of Creativity Education Model the Indonesian Glass Painting Artists

The first creativity education model that can be accommodated from the above scheme is the *orthodox* strategy model (defensive strategy), namely the discovery of creativity built with the spirit of cultural awareness that comes from ownership and cultivation of capital culture to be used as a field of exploration in the work, to produce forms of creativity that are in line with *doxa*. This model requires prospective artists/students to strengthen cultural capital, starting with the mimesis stage by absorbing symbolic dominance and then making discoveries through an involute approach, i.e., doing inward complications to find a personal style.

The second creativity education model is the discovery of creativity that uses the *heterodox* strategy (subversive strategy) that re-perceives and even rejects the taste of *doxa*. Prospective artists/students must explore the discovery of different aesthetic tastes from *doxa*, which already have symbolic power. Technical innovations,

themes, visual language are the paths that must be taken with this strategy to produce creativity in aesthetic tastes. The third creativity education model is a model that combines the *orthodox* with *heterodox* strategies that find creativity by reinterpreting aesthetic tastes of *doxas* by accepting innovation through an involute approach, namely doing inward complications. The strategy of finding aesthetic taste by the Cirebon-Indonesian glass painting artist is a form of finding creative work that can be implemented in Art Education in formal schools.

CONCLUSION

The production of aesthetic taste is a representation of habitus control over the cultural capital owned by glass painting artists to cultivate various capitals, both economic capital, social capital, and especially symbolic capital. There are several repertoires of aesthetic tastes in the repertoire of Indonesian glass painting, namely the aesthetic tastes of the palace, the aesthetic tastes of strengthening cultural identity, the aesthetic tastes of traditional renewal, the aesthetic tastes of cultural revitalization, and the aesthetic tastes of the marginal class. The production of aesthetic taste in Indonesian glass painting cannot fully be used to explain the class structure in society. The discovery of aesthetic taste is related to the mechanism of symbolic power through relations *doxa*, *orthodox*, and *heterodox*. There are several strategies for finding aesthetic tastes in the Cirebon-Indonesian architectural treasures, including defensive, subversive, defensive, and subversive synthesis, and pseudo subversive strategies. Every strategy for finding aesthetic taste is a model for finding creative works that can be applied as a model for creativity education in Art Education in informal educational institutions. The diversity of aesthetic repertoire shows that traditional art still provides creative space for each artist, largely determined by the mastery of cultural capital and the choice of strategy in dealing with symbolic do-

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