14
Indonesia

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14.1 Introduction

Indonesia is a developing nation with a massive population of over 200 million people distributed across a wide, east-west archipelago of many thousands of islands. Having been formed as a territorial unit only under Dutch colonial rule in fairly recent times, and being made up of hundreds of different ethnic groups speaking well over 200 distinct languages, Indonesia faced the enormous challenge of building a stable and coherent nation when it won its independence from the Dutch shortly after the conclusion of the Second World War. A significant component of twentieth-century attempts to create an over-arching Indonesian national identity has been the development and promotion of a unifying national language which would simultaneously bind the population together and serve as an effective tool for use in all official domains and education, though not necessarily displace the use of other mother tongues in more informal areas of communication. The results of many decades of effort to achieve these goals are commonly acknowledged as having been highly successful, and have led to the knowledge and acceptance of 'Indonesian' as the national language becoming progressively more widespread in the country, creating new generations of speakers who employ the language regularly in all formal domains of life and as a means of inter-ethnic communication, while making use of a second, regional or minority language for other, informal occurrences of speech. This chapter considers how the national language Indonesian/Bahasa Indonesia came into being and has been developed as a shared, modern, sophisticated vehicle of communication and potential symbol of emerging Indonesian identity, increasingly functioning as an important link among the population through the range of challenges and threats to the stability and unity of the state occurring since independence in 1949. In order to understand how the national language grew from an earlier pidgin-like lingua franca and mother tongue of a comparatively small ethnic group, and was accorded new, national importance and precedence over other prominent languages such as Javanese and Dutch, the chapter goes back to the origins of Indonesian in earlier periods and charts how a predecessor form of the language came to acquire

the attributes that would later single it out as the nationalists' unified choice for use as national and official language of Indonesia. Section 14.2 begins with an overview of the development of the largely divided territory of Indonesia in earlier times and the rise and fall of regional kingdoms prior to the arrival of the Dutch. Section 14.3 then describes the gradual unification of modern Indonesia as the Netherlands East Indies during colonial times, and how language use evolved under Dutch occupation. Section 14.4 focuses more closely on the early twentieth-century period of nationalist activity and the issue of selection of a national language for a future, independent Indonesia. How Indonesia subsequently achieved and managed independence and set about the process of nation-building is the topic of sections 14.5–7. Finally, section 14.8 considers Indonesia in the present and attempts to assess how effective language policy has been both in the establishment of Indonesian identity and the maintenance of the structure of the country as a unified, new, multi-ethnic nation.

14.2 Patterns of Development and Growth in Pre-colonial Times

The ethnic composition of the population of Indonesia was broadly determined by two early waves of migration bringing two rather different groups of people into the area of

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modern-day Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines. From the east, the first arrivals were Melanesian people. Later on, from around 2000 BC there were large-scale migrations of Austronesian people moving from southern China via Taiwan down through the Philippines and into the area of Indonesia and Malaysia, occupying all of this territory and displacing or absorbing the early Melanesian groups in many of the places originally settled by the latter. In the current era, it is only the large eastern island of Papua within Indonesia that still has a clear Melanesian population, and all Indonesia's major islands to the west of Papua have for a long time been principally inhabited and dominated by Austronesian people. The pattern of settlement across the many islands of the Indonesian archipelago has additionally been uneven, due to variation in the availability of resources and the suitability of land for agriculture. The central island of Java, for example, has particularly fertile soil partly due to the presence of volcanic activity on the island, and though it is smaller in size than certain other islands in Indonesia (e.g. Sumatra, Borneo), it currently accommodates over 60 per cent of the country's population, densely packed together. Other islands with less easily accessible resources and interiors, such as Borneo, have been occupied much less intensely and may exhibit a much higher degree of ethno-linguistic diversity due to the separation and sometimes isolation of different ethnic groups. Though Java houses more than half of the country's population, it only accounts for 3 per cent of Indonesia's languages, and the islands of Papua and Maluku with only 2 per cent of the national population hold 54 per cent of its total languages (Emmerson 2005: 23).

The languages spoken by the majority Austronesian peoples of Indonesia are members of the Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian which also includes languages such as Tagalog, Hawaiian, and Malagasy. The Austronesian settlers themselves in Indonesia and Malaysia are sometimes referred to with the broad ethnic term 'Malay', and the area they inhabit (including the Philippines) as the Malay archipelago. This use of the term Malay is potentially confusing, as 'Malay' also has a more restricted use picking out a particular ethnic group which for much of its history has occupied eastern parts of the island of Sumatra and the southern part of today's Malaysia, speaking the language commonly known as Malay. In order to avoid the occurrence of misunderstanding, this chapter will only make use of the word 'Malay' in its more restricted designation, referring to the specific ethnic group of Malays in eastern Sumatra and its environs and the language which arose from this group, which in modified form would eventually become the national language of both Indonesia and Malaysia.[1]

Having settled in coastal and inland areas of the Indonesian islands, by the seventh century AD various groups of Austronesians had organized themselves in larger social and economic structures and began to develop both maritime trading states and kingdoms based on the control of resources in the interiors of the more penetrable islands such as Java. The most significant of the former, coastal states

[1] For interesting discussion of the different reference values of the term 'Malay', see Asmah Haji Omar (2005).

was known as Srivijaya, situated in southern Sumatra in a strategically important position where it was able to control, service, and generally profit from the growing trade which passed through the Straits of Malacca (the stretch of water between Sumatra and present-day Malaysia), carrying goods between China and Japan to the east and South Asia and Europe to the west. From inscriptions created in the seventh century and onwards and found locally in Sumatra and further away in Java, it is known that the language of Srivijaya was an early form of Malay, referred to now as Old Malay, and that Srivijaya's influential position at the centre of both east–west trade and more localized trade within the Indonesian archipelago had the important result of initiating and then reinforcing the spread of Malay along the coastal areas of the archipelago as the principal lingua franca of commerce between different linguistic groups. Srivijaya flourished as a major force in the area, and also as an important centre of Buddhist learning (Robson 2001: 9) from the seventh century through until the thirteenth century when a new and more powerful kingdom arose further east on the island of Java.

Founded in 1294 and widely dominant within the Indonesian archipelago until the sixteenth century, the kingdom of Majapahit was well positioned in the east of Java to take advantage of the growth in the trade of spices produced in Maluku in the east of the archipelago and increasingly sought after by Europeans as well as Chinese. In the extension of its control further westwards over the rest of Java and Sumatra, where pepper was being produced as a lucrative new trading commodity, Majapahit was instrumental in forcing the relocation of the Sumatran Malay kingdom of Tumasik to Malacca, on what is today the Malaysian peninsula (Abas 1987: 26). Here the latter Malay-speaking kingdom was able to embed itself and prosper well for a hundred years, maintaining control over the Straits of Malacca and the variety of trade that passed through this important shipping route. Significantly during this period, Islam emerged as an important new regional influence. As the majority of traders carrying spices and other goods through the archipelago were Muslims from India and Arabic areas further west, local Malay traders often adopted Islam as a means to facilitate their commercial links (Brown 2003). Furthermore, in the fifteenth century the ruler of Malacca converted to Islam causing many of the ports and coastal areas under the influence of Malacca as far as the spice islands in the east to follow suit and exchange Buddhism and Hinduism for the new religion. As Malacca functioned as the centre of the spread of Islam throughout the archipelago, this propagation of Islam also took the Malay language of Malacca with it and was important in entrenching Malay further as a lingua franca known widely in coastal areas of the Indonesian islands and present-day Malaysia, the language now being written down with a version of Arabic script known as Jawi, replacing the earlier representation of Malay via the Pallava script of southern India (Robson 2001: 8).

Although Malacca eventually fell to the Portuguese in 1511, the position of Malay at the centre of the diffusion of Islam continued, first from the Riau islands (between Sumatra and the Malaysian peninsula) and then later from Johor (north of the Straits

of Malacca on the Malaysian peninsula), and the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the thriving production of literature influenced by Islam in a high variety of Malay referred to as Classical Malay, the language of the court and regional correspondence and diplomacy (Moeliono 1986: 51).

Meanwhile, further east in the archipelago, incursions from Europeans seeking direct access to the spice trade became progressively more serious and would eventually lead to a transformation of life and adaptation of traditional power structures.

14.3 Colonization and the Establishment of the Netherlands East Indies

While the Portuguese were the first Europeans to occupy part of the Indonesian archipelago, seizing significant portions of territory in both the east and west in the early sixteenth century, a longer-lasting and more extensive presence was established by the Dutch, who arrived at the end of the sixteenth century, initially in the form of a number of independent trading companies. Banded together as a consortium with the name Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) (United East India Company) from 1602 onwards, the Dutch ousted the Portuguese from Malacca and proceeded to extend their control further over the 'Indies'. When the high profitability of the spice trade decreased as spices became available from a wider variety of sources, the focus of Dutch attention was drawn to the development of large-scale plantations and agriculture first of all in Java, and later on in Sumatra. Through a combination of military and naval force, the support of local rulers against their neighbours in return for territorial and other concessions, and the negotiation of treaties, the Dutch established control over most of Java, parts of Sumatra, and also Borneo by the end of the eighteenth century, and maintained this hold on the core of modern Indonesia with a mixture of direct and indirect rule, the latter making use of indigenous rulers to carry out much of the routine administration of the people, in as many as 280 individual states (Cribb and Brown 1995: 5). The system of indirect rule allowed the Dutch to extract an increasingly large profit from an extensive area while minimizing the need for direct contact with the majority of the population, and also satisfied the traditional elites' desire to maintain their authority and position. Those who suffered in a serious way from the imposition of Dutch indirect (and direct) rule were, inevitably, the peasants, who, during the nineteenth century, were both taxed and forced to work for a portion of their time on Dutch-owned crops under the 'Cultivation System' (1830–1870) (Drakely 2005: 39).

In their interactions with members of the aristocratic class who ruled for the Dutch on the island of Java, there were initial attempts by the Dutch to learn and use Javanese. However, the complexities of the language present in its system of honorific and deferential forms led to the abandonment of trying to master Javanese by the middle of the nineteenth century and a global switch to the use of a simplified form of

Malay which came to be know as *dienstmaleisch* 'service Malay' (Errington 1998). In their explorations of the Indonesian archipelago, the Dutch had found that Malay was widely understood by speakers of different languages and extended in its coverage as far as the southernmost border regions of Siam (Thailand). With Dutch expansion in the area now being conducted as a national endeavour establishing the colony of the Netherlands East Indies (following bankruptcy of the private VOC in 1799), the obvious usefulness of Malay as an easy-to-learn lingua franca with a broad potential for use was formally recognized in 1865, when Malay was adopted as the second official language of the colonial government's administration (alongside Dutch), and the language which was effectively used in the vast majority of dealings with the indigenous population (Abas 1987: 31).

During the course of the general nineteenth-century enlargement of the Netherlands East Indies, a significant limit on the occurrence of expansion in a northerly direction was imposed by competition with British military forces in the western part of the archipelago. Having occupied the Malay-speaking peninsula area on the mainland of Southeast Asia north of Sumatra and south of Siam, the British concluded the Treaty of London with the government of the Netherlands in 1824, establishing the Malay peninsula as part of British sovereign territory and an important division of ethnic Malay lands into two – British-governed in the area north of the Straits of Malacca, and Dutch-ruled south of the Straits on Sumatra. Prior to this externally-imposed division of the region, both sides of the Straits of Malacca and the hinterlands to the north and south had been regularly part of the same Malay homeland, ruled over by a common leadership at least since the times of Srivijaya. Now this major ethnic group was administratively separated into two distinct Malay populations and destined to be incorporated into two different post-colonial states, Indonesia for the southern half of the Malay group of people and Malaysia for those who lived across the Straits to the north.

While Dutch expansion northwards into mainland Southeast Asia was therefore halted by treaty with the British, the Netherlands Indies nevertheless grew in other directions, consolidating its comprehensive hold over Sumatra in the west by 1905, and in the east pushing its borders into the western half of the island of New Guinea, as well as seizing control over Sulawesi. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century the final shape of the Indies and what would later become Indonesia had been completed, bringing together under a single, over-arching administration a wide and diverse collection of ethno-linguistic groups which had never previously been united in such a way.

With the development of the colony in the nineteenth century, both Dutch and indigenous language education was introduced, but in a very limited way, initially being restricted to the offspring of the local ruling elites who co-operated with the Dutch, as well as the children of the Dutch themselves. Towards the end of the century, however, there was a significant expansion in the availability of and access to basic education. The numbers of students attending primary schools rose

from 40,000 in 1882 to 150,000 in 1900 and then to 265,000 in 1907 (Cribb and Brown 1995: 103–8). Such an increase nevertheless still left the Indies much behind other Asian colonies in its provision of education for the masses, and only a very small proportion of indigenous families succeeded in securing places at schools for their children (Moeliono 1986: 37). In terms of medium of education, there were regular disagreements among the Dutch at the turn of the century as to whether Dutch, Malay, or other local languages should be used in the schooling of indigenous students. Some, including the director of the Department of Education from 1900 to 1905 J. H. Abendanon wanted to spread Western education in Dutch among the indigenous inhabitants of the Indies as a means to establish a larger educated elite that would be culturally more oriented towards Europe and more compliant and loyal to Dutch rule (it was hoped), taking over much of the routine work of the civil service and reducing the numbers of Dutch necessary for the administration of the colony (Ricklefs 2001). Others, including the governor general of the time, thought that local languages should be the vehicle of an increase in basic education. Ultimately neither approach was extensively developed due to a critical lack of funds and the presence of a huge indigenous population. However, in 1891 Abendanon was able to open up entrance to Dutch-medium lower schools to selected children of lower-income families, and thus expand the range of the indigenous youth that would receive its schooling in Dutch and the resulting possibility to continue on to secondary and tertiary education, where knowledge of Dutch was necessary. Previously only the children of the indigenous traditional aristocracy had been able to afford the high costs of such education, but now the higher-level Dutch-medium schools received a certain (still quite restricted) number of promising students from other socio-economic backgrounds (Ricklefs 2001: 200). In order to prevent any potential over-crowding of the European schools with their attraction of the teaching of instrumentally useful Dutch, Dutch was also introduced first as a subject and then, from 1914, as a medium of education in other non-European primary schools. University-level institutions of tertiary education were additionally established in the Indies allowing for an increased number of indigenous students to continue with their education, in Dutch, after the secondary level. For the great majority of the young population, however, there was no chance of education, and even well into the twentieth century in 1930 only 8 per cent of those of school-going age actually attended some form of schooling (Dardjowidjojo 1998: 46). For a significant proportion of those who did gain access to education, this was furthermore provided via either Malay or a local language, and knowledge of Dutch continued to remain considerably restricted among the population at large.

Outside the domain of education, the final decades of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of a new growth in popular Malay language literature (Oetomo 1984: 286). Much of this was written in a colloquial form of the language, 'Low Malay', rather than the High Malay that had previously been used for the creation of religious and other classical Malay literature, and was aimed at a broad new

readership spread throughout the archipelago. For the first time, Malay was also written with Roman characters, though in rather inconsistent ways, and used to produce contemporary stories as well as translations of classical Chinese texts, made available in affordable forms to all sections of society, with the result that literature and reading no longer remained the preserve of just an aristocratic elite (Robson 2001: 28).

As the Netherlands Indies reached the twentieth century, the ingredients for important future changes were beginning to be assembled. First of all, though the educational lot of the majority of the indigenous population had not been advanced to a significant degree, for a fortunate few from regular, non-aristocratic walks of life there was now a new opportunity to gain access to higher education through the learning of Dutch and to attend tertiary institutions of education conferring university-level qualifications either within the Indies itself or, for some, in Europe in the various cities of the Netherlands. This process formed a new, young, indigenous elite exposed to Western liberal ideas and ways of thinking, with high expectations of winning equality of treatment and suitable compensation for its high level of educational achievement. When such expectations were subsequently not satisfied and the new generation of graduates found that they were often held back in their careers and not allowed to accede to higher level positions, reserved as before by the Dutch for themselves, heavy frustration and resentment set in, leading to the organization of political resistance to the Dutch and the advent of a nationalist movement. Second, amongst the wide variety of languages and ethnic groups present in the archipelago and rather artificially assembled as a single administrative entity by the Dutch, a single language which had already functioned as a lingua franca along coastal areas for many centuries was becoming understood and regularly used by an increasing proportion of the population through its use as a common medium of education in small expansions of lower-level education and growth in the publishing of popular literature. This language, Malay, and the new nationalists-to-be would soon come together in an obvious partnership as opposition to Dutch rule became more confident and vocal in the twentieth century.

14.4 The Rise, Peak, and Demise of Pre-war Nationalism

In the expanding civil service administration of the Dutch East Indies, educated and able members of the indigenous population came to form as much as 90 per cent of the workforce, but regularly found that even a university degree and full proficiency in Dutch would not allow access to senior level positions, universally occupied by Dutch nationals (Cribb and Brown 1995: 8). Furthermore, wherever middle-level positions became available, preference was automatically given to Dutch applicants, so that educated Javanese, Sundanese, and Minangkabaus constantly had to work in positions lower than those they were actually qualified for (Lamoureux 2003: 9). Even such lower-level clerical positions were sometimes difficult to find.

Stimulated by discontent and annoyance at the discrimination they experienced in securing both equal employment opportunities and access to other domains of modern life enjoyed by the Dutch (for example, facilities such as swimming pools and social clubs, kept exclusively by the Dutch for themselves and other Europeans), the new indigenous Western-educated elite began to organize itself in a number of political and semi-political groups in order to campaign for the furtherance of its interests and those of associated sections of the local population. These groups initially often had a specific focus and aimed to mobilize a particular section of the indigenous population. For example, Budi Utomo ('Beautiful Endeavour'), formed in 1908, was heavily Javanese in orientation and principally aimed to improve the socio-economic status of the Javanese population, while Sarekat Islam was established in 1912 with the goal of strengthening the position of Islamic merchants on Java in the face of increased competition from Chinese traders. The Communist Party of Indonesia, formed in 1920, and the Indische Partij ('Indies Party') had a broader targeted membership, but the latter did not succeed in attracting a large following and the former, like Budi Utomo and Sarekat Islam, had a specific focus (socialism) which restricted its universal appeal. Amongst the various new groups, the Muslims and the communists clashed on ideological grounds, and the Muslims were themselves split into traditional and modernist camps, with Sarekat Islam and Muhammediyah ('the Way of Muhammad') representing these two different factions. Other Javanese-focused 'nationalists' took the pre-Islamic empire of Majapahit as an inspiration, and nationalistically emphasized the achievements of this period as the golden era and high point of Javanese civilization in the core of the Indies archipelago (Ricklefs 2001: 221–2). The early period of growth of nationalist and proto-nationalist groups up to 1925 was therefore characterized by a distinct lack of unity and the presence of clear factionalism, with no shared vision of a broad nationalism to supersede narrower ethnic, religious, political, and regional concerns. A further, divisive background tension also existed relating to the Chinese presence in the Indies. Following the 1911 toppling of the Manchu imperial dynasty in China and its replacement with a new republic, an increased reorientation of interest and perhaps loyalty towards China was perceived among the Chinese population in the Indies, which had grown up during the course of several centuries of settlement in the archipelago, and showed different degrees of integration with the indigenous (or rather earlier-arrived) Austronesian people. Added to the existence of a major economic gulf separating many successful Chinese from their poorer indigenous neighbours, the questionable nationalist identity of the Chinese now served to further increase feelings of envy and mistrust towards this ethnic group and heighten the complexity of general ethnic mobilization during the early part of the twentieth century.

As the number of activist groups and their memberships grew, the Dutch authorities looked on carefully, stepping in to curb the activities of groups and the distribution of their propaganda when these seemed to pose a potential threat to the established colonial order. This happened in a significant way in 1925 when

the communist party first organized strikes and then open revolt on Java in 1926 and in Sumatra in 1927 (Cribb and Brown 1995: 122). The Dutch moved quickly to contain the disturbances and suppressed the communist party with the arrest of 13,000 of its members, signalling clearly that disruptive, anti-government incitement of the masses would not be tolerated by the Dutch.

As the beginnings of a much splintered and unco-ordinated nationalism experienced its ups and downs during the first quarter of the twentieth century, the presence of the Malay language in the Indies archipelago was becoming more robust, with further significant progress being made particularly in the domain of the written word. In 1901 a new well-designed Romanized spelling system for Malay was proposed by a Dutchman, Charles van Ophuijsen, as part of a broader grammatical description of the language. This was subsequently made use of in the production of new Malay literature sponsored by the colonial government through its Commissie voor de Inlandsche School- en Volkslectuur ('Commission for the Literature of Native Schools and Popular Literature'), established in 1908. The Commission was set up in order to direct the creation and publication of writings in Malay (and also certain other regional languages) to ideologically acceptable, non-subversive topics, as a means to provide alternative Malay reading material to the many new anti-colonial Malay publications circulating in the territory. In 1917 the Commission was renamed the Balai Pustaka ('Literature Office') and kept up a steady and important output of Malay translations of Western novels by authors such as Mark Twain, Jules Verne, and Rudyard Kipling (Abas 1987: 117), the publication of well-known stories and classical works of literature from the Indies archipelago itself, and, perhaps most significantly, new works in Malay focused on contemporary themes and problems of daily life in an evolving new society. It is widely recognized that the genesis and successful spread of the modern Indonesian novel was most probably due to the sponsorship of the Balai Pustaka and its establishment of libraries where the public could access new reading materials in Romanized Malay (Ricklefs 2001: 233). Malay language newspapers also experienced a major pattern of growth in the first quarter of the twentieth century, with a rise from the production of just over thirty different papers at the turn of the century to about 200 by 1925 (Cribb and Brown 1995). Finally, various of the new political organizations and pressure groups that came into being during this time (amongst which Budi Utomo and Sarekat Islam) adopted Malay as their working and official languages, increasing the status and occurrence of Malay in the domain of activist discourse.

Just as it may have seemed that these organizations were however pulling themselves rather disastrously in different directions and failing to generate a united nationalist movement that could win concessions from the Dutch and also make progress towards the conceptualization of a new post-colonial nation, a dynamic young new leader emerged on the scene, and within a fairly short period of time managed to unite the various nationalist groups in a pan-ethnic coalition focused directly on achieving independence. Later to become the first president of the

country in 1949, in 1925 Sukarno was a student of engineering in Bandung and organized first a political club, and then in 1927 a political party called the Indonesian National Association, later changing the name of the party to the Indonesian Nationalist Party. Arguing that the then divided set of nationalist parties should put aside their differences and shelve their orientations towards specific sub-national constituencies for the sake of achieving the broader shared goal of attaining independence, by the end of 1927 Sukarno succeeded in creating an umbrella group of nationalist organizations which became known as the Federation of Indonesian Nationalist Movements (Permufakatan Perhimpunan-Perhimpunan Politik Kebangsaan Indonesia) (Abas 1987: 37). For the first time since the beginning of nationalist activities in the Indies, the leaders of different nationalist factions saw the importance of embracing a truly broad notion of (targeted) national identity, one which did not exclude any indigenous groups on the grounds of ethnicity, language, or religion, and which could be used to build up a strong sense of loyalty and belonging to a single nation (Brown 2003: 126).

In 1928, the momentum of new unity and co-operation among the nationalist movement led on to a historic declaration of commitment to the development of an Indonesian nation. The word 'Indonesia' was in fact first coined in the nineteenth century by a British geographer named James Logan, literally meaning 'Indian/Indies islands' (from the Greek *nesos* 'island' – Brown 2003: 2). It was only in the twentieth century, however, that the word came to be known more widely outside academic circles, when nationalists in the Indies archipelago adopted the term as a way of referring, in a distinctive, new way, to the full territory of islands that the Dutch called the Netherlands Indies, and by important extension, also to the indigenous inhabitants of this territory – the 'Indonesians' (referred to as 'inlanders', i.e. 'natives', by the Dutch). Because of the strong potential unifying power of the words Indonesia and Indonesian(s), terms whose 'ownership' the nationalists felt lay with the indigenous anti-colonial movement which had brought them into common circulation, the Dutch consistently refused to recognize the use of the designation 'Indonesia' in any form right up until 1948, and suggested that it was a meaningless term (Brown 2003: 2). On 28 October 1928, however, thousands of young people gathered in Jakarta (then Batavia) at a Youth Congress and pledged an oath of allegiance to 'Indonesia', sang a new national anthem, and raised a new national flag. The Pledge of the Youth specified three important personal beliefs: (a) that those present and also all indigenous peoples in 'Indonesia' shared a common homeland, (b) that all indigenous peoples of Indonesia belonged to a single people, regardless of other ethnic group affiliations, and (c) that a language of unity existed among the Indonesian nation and should be further supported, this language then being identified in the pledge as 'Indonesian' (Bahasa Indonesia 'language of Indonesia') in a formal and highly significant renaming of Malay (Melayu) as Indonesian:

First: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge that we have one birthplace, the Land of Indonesia. (Tanah Air Indonesia)
Second: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge that we belong to one people, the People of Indonesia (Bangsa Indonesia)
Third: We the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold the language of unity, the Language of Indonesia (i.e. Indonesian) (Bahasa Indonesia)
(Pledge of the Youth, translated by Cumming 1991: 13)

The central assertion of the pledge 'One nation, one people, one language' was set to become widely invoked, 'almost like a mantra' (Emmerson 2005: 17), and established the Indonesian language as one of the signature properties of the nation and a language that all Indonesians should learn and give their support to as members of the nation. Importantly, the commitment to Indonesian as a unifying national language did not bring with it any suggestion that other indigenous languages be displaced from common use among their associated ethnic groups and somehow fully replaced by Indonesian. Rather, the nationalists saw the acquisition and use of Indonesian as a targeted expansion and enrichment of many individuals' existing linguistic repertoires added on to their knowledge of Javanese, Balinese, Buginese, etc., and that Indonesian would be a language that would allow the many ethnic groups in Indonesia to communicate more effectively with each other and grow together as a single people, sharing and evolving a new national identity.

The decision by the nationalist movement to select Malay rather than any other language for promotion and development as the (potential) future national language of Indonesia was motivated by a number of very sound reasons which have been well described and discussed in the literature. First of all, as has been noted in earlier sections, Malay was widely known in much of the archipelago, though in different ways and formats. It was the first language of a proportionately small but nevertheless still sizeable ethnic group living in Sumatra (and also north of Sumatra in British Malaya). It was more extensively distributed along coastal areas as a simplified lingua franca due to hundreds of years of trading activities and the dissemination of Islam. Finally, the language had been introduced in schools as the medium of education in many parts of the territory of Indonesia, used in government administration, and more recently reinforced in its global presence in Indonesia through a significant rise in publications in the language. Thanks to this widespread knowledge of Malay, however basic in certain instances, it had the clear potential to be used fairly immediately and effectively for the spread of nationalist propaganda and the building up of a united population. A second major advantage enjoyed by Malay as a potential national language of Indonesia was that the proportionately small size of the Malay ethnic group in Sumatra – when compared with the rest of the population of the Indies/Indonesia – meant that adoption of Malay as the national language would not appear to confer unfair native language advantages on any *major*, numerically dominant ethnic group in the archipelago. In this regard, Malay appeared to be a far better and fairer choice for promotion as a common language representative of all the

Indonesian people than another possible candidate that was also an indigenous language – Javanese. Javanese was the mother tongue of approximately 45 per cent of the total population and hence very well known by almost half of all Indonesians, located in the very central core of the territory. It also enjoyed much prestige from the existence of a long tradition of literature. However, the selection of Javanese as the 'language of Indonesia' would most probably have been disastrous for the future of the nation, according a hugely unfair linguistic advantage to a particular ethnic group (which was furthermore already dominant in certain other ways), and would have generated feelings among other groups of being encouraged to assimilate to a Javanese rather than a new, all-Indonesian identity. There were also practical linguistic reasons why the selection of Javanese as the language of Indonesia would have been unwise. Javanese is a language which makes use of a complex system of deference and honorific marking which is difficult for outsiders to master well (hence the Dutch abandoned their efforts to learn the language in the nineteenth century, as noted in section 14.3), thus decreasing its suitability for use as the second language of other groups. In strong contrast to this, a third pair of reasons why Malay appeared very suitable for development as the Indonesian nation's common language was that it was: (a) felt to be an easy language to learn, and (b) a language that does not encode social hierarchical relations in any marked or complex way, or emphasize other specialized aspects of culture that might not be compatible with a wide population composed of different ethnic groups. Because of the latter properties, Malay seemed particularly attractive to the nationalists, who were inspired by ideas of democracy, equality, and modernity (Brown 2003: 107). Due to the perceived neutrality of the language, it was also felt that people could make use of the language as they wished and even shape its future character (B. Anderson 1990: 140). Finally, it should be noted that although many of the educated nationalists knew and used Dutch in conversation with each other, Dutch was never considered a potential choice for development as the representative, common language of the Indonesian nation, for the simple reasons that it was not an indigenous language (hence would not be broadly symbolic of languages of the indigenous inhabitants of the archipelago, unlike Malay, an Austronesian language, which could perform this function), it was negatively associated with the colonial rulers of Indonesia, and was known by only a very small percentage of the total population. As an Indo-European language it was also not as easy to learn for speakers of Austronesian languages as another Austronesian language, such as Malay. Unlike various other countries in Asia such as India, Malaysia, and the Philippines, in Indonesia the colonial language therefore was never considered to be a serious contender for widespread post-independence use.

If one now asks which of the various incarnations of Malay in use within the archipelago was to become the national language and be officially credited as its source, the answer is in fact still not fully clear. The nationalists themselves are commonly described as speaking a form of Low Malay in the 1920s (Cumming 1991: 15), which was also the language of many new novels and other publications,

though not those of the influential Balai Pustaka, which were in High Malay, elsewhere the language of Islam. Other forms of Malay noted to exist were the service Malay used in government administration, school Malay spread in education, and 'working Malay', increasingly used as a lingua franca in towns and ports with mixed populations (Errington 1998). Often it is suggested that the roots of modern Indonesian lie in Riau Malay, the language of the Malay ethnic group in eastern Sumatra. However, (current) Riau Malay and modern standard Indonesian exhibit various clear differences, and there is no complete correspondence between the two forms of language. Most probably, Bahasa Indonesia evolved (and was sometimes deliberately moulded, more so in later years) from a variety of forms, developing into a hybrid, dynamic mixture of the range of different varieties of Malay present in Indonesia (Robson 2001: 32). This process of evolution was set to take many more decades, however, before any clearly identifiable standard would be arrived at, as the people of Indonesia experienced a challenging sequence of upheavals, foreign occupation, war, independence, and domestic insurrection threatening the integrity of the nation.

In the late 1920s, though, the Indonesian nationalist movement was at its height, with an energized leadership and an optimistic following all focused on the creation of a new national entity. The consensus of opinion had been reached that the new nation should be built as a composite of all the different ethno-linguistic groups present in the territory assembled by the Dutch as the Netherlands Indies, that Indonesian national identity should not be based on any notion of existing ethnicity but rather shared cohabitation of the land of Indonesia, and that it should have the Indonesian language at its core as an important link and symbol of unity among the population.

Just a few years after this buoyant expression of confidence in an independent future, however, the nationalist movement unexpectedly suffered a major collapse and quickly went into a dramatic decline. The major initial trigger for this was the arrest and imprisonment of Sukarno in 1929, which robbed the movement of its most charismatic leader and major source of direction. Following this, in 1931–2 worldwide financial depression hit Indonesia creating widespread misery and despair, and was accompanied by a significant increase in Dutch authoritarian control over political activities to prevent the nationalists from making use of public discontent to mobilize the masses (Ricklefs 2001: 236–7). After release from his first, shorter period of detention, Sukarno was again arrested in 1933 and imprisoned until the 1940s, as were many other nationalist leaders, causing the nationalist movement to largely implode amid deep, general discouragement, heightened by the observation of a clear change in Dutch attitude towards the indigenous people – replacing the earlier liberalism of the turn of the century was a new racial determinism and a dismissal of the 'inlanders' as being so essentially different from Europeans that no amount of education and modernization would be able to bridge the gap between the native population and their colonial rulers (Ricklefs 2001: 230).

What remained of the nationalist movement after its crash in the early 1930s, tolerated by the Dutch, was a number of moderate 'co-operative' nationalists who were permitted to join the sessions of the Volksraad (People's Council), offer their input to discussions of governmental policies and public expenditure and occasionally present petitions requesting change (Drakely 2005: 66–8). Most of the latter, including a petition for the recognition and use of the term 'Indonesian' in place of 'inlander' to refer to indigenous people, were not granted (Brown 2003: 137), and even the most optimistic among the nationalists had doubts that they would be able to effect any significant change, let alone achieve independence. The Dutch seemed to be intent on remaining in the Indies, and in full control of their sizeable colony, for all of the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, Malay/Indonesian continued to spread throughout the territory. Newspaper production increased to the level of 400 different papers in the late 1930s (Ricklefs 2001: 231), and literature produced in the language carried on adding character and shape to an emerging, shared identity of those who jointly suffered the frustrations of Dutch colonial rule throughout the islands of the Indies. In 1933 a new and important literary journal came into production – the Pujangga Baru (New Poet) – and the Balai Pustaka maintained its important output of high quality new novels written in Malay/Indonesian (Abas 1987: 38–9).

What was needed for the budding idea of an Indonesian nation to really take a hold of the population, however, was independence and the chance to develop ties among the different indigenous peoples living in the archipelago without the constraints imposed by the presence of the Dutch. In the mid-1930s the possibility that the Dutch would somehow disappear from the Indies seemed to be highly unlikely and to many almost unimaginable. The invasion of the Indies and rapid removal of the Dutch by the Japanese army in 1942 therefore came as a considerable shock to both the Dutch and the indigenous population, and opened the way for major changes in the territory.

14.5 The Japanese Period, 1942–1945

Having successfully occupied the Netherlands Indies in 1942 and crushed all Dutch resistance within a fairly short period of time, the Japanese replaced all of the Dutch administration with educated indigenous workers at all levels of government, in many instances promoting Indonesians into senior positions they had previously not been able to access. At first, the displacement of the Dutch and the increase in opportunities for local people created favourable impressions of the Japanese on the indigenous population. However, after some time it became apparent that the Japanese were intent on exploiting the Indies and its population and introduced a harsher and more repressive rule than had been experienced under the Dutch, with Indonesians being forced to work for the Japanese in frequently very poor conditions both on plantations and mines in the Indies and overseas in military projects servicing

Japanese expansion in Southeast Asia. Initial positive attitudes to the arrival of the Japanese therefore quickly changed to feelings of oppression and abuse instigated by the Japanese push to extract the mineral and agricultural wealth of Indonesia for the support of its military and naval campaign in the Pacific and mainland Asia.

Concerning language policy, the Japanese made the significant move of completely banning the use of Dutch, both in public domains and also in private (Brown 2003: 141). The long-term aim of the Japanese was that Indonesians would learn and use Japanese, and they accordingly introduced the teaching of Japanese in schools and colleges of higher education (Moeliono 1986: 37), alongside a programme of 'cultural Japanization' to attempt to inculcate positive attitudes and loyalty towards Japanese rule (Cribb and Brown 1995: 15). However, it was also clear to the Japanese that adequate mastery of the Japanese language for use in administration and other formal domains would take several years to acquire, and having removed Dutch from its occurrence and use in the civil service (especially in written communications), in higher education and in many previously Dutch-medium schools, there was a pressing need for some other language to now substitute for Dutch in all these areas of Indies life. The natural and fully global choice made by the Japanese was Malay (which they continuously declined to call Indonesian until 1945 and the end of their occupation of the Indies).[2] Malay/Indonesian therefore came to be required overnight in a wide range of domains where it had not previously been used, causing an immediate and very significant need for new Malay words to express technical, administrative, and educational concepts where these did not already exist, and for the rapid writing (or translation) of new textbooks in Malay for use in higher education. Abas (1987: 42) comments that this sudden mandatory switch to Malay/Indonesian came as a considerable shock to those directly affected in education and the civil service, and had more of a revolutionary, immediate effect on people's language use than the later declaration of Indonesian as the national/official language of Indonesia in 1945. Abas (1987: 43) also notes that the resulting spread of Malay, used by the Japanese in interactions with local people throughout the archipelago and increasingly by Indonesians themselves in formal areas of life, caused a clear strengthening of shared Indonesian identity: 'As the war continued, and the number of Indonesians speaking Indonesian rose, a feeling of mutual solidarity took deeper and stronger roots. Indonesian became a symbol of Indonesian unity in the real sense of the word.'

The four years of Japanese control of the Indies was therefore linguistically a frenetic period in which government and educational organizations scrabbled to cope with the need to carry out all of their tasks and communication in Malay, and the language underwent a rapid but not uniformly guided expansion of its

[2] Kuipers (1998: 136) notes that textbooks designed by missionaries for the teaching of local languages in schools were destroyed by the Japanese, who told people that the use of local languages in education was part of a deliberate divide-and-rule strategy of the Dutch. Malay was then enforced everywhere as the medium of education.

vocabulary, coined wherever necessary on a daily basis with some attempt at co-ordination from a central commission on language, but ultimately involving much independent linguistic invention which would have to be brought into line in later years, when the expansion of Indonesian continued. The shared experience of hardships under the Japanese from 1942 to 1945 also gave those in the Indies an increasing feeling of being connected to each other and belonging to a single repressed people, reinforcing inter-ethnic connections that had been initiated by Dutch formation of the Indies as a single entity. Coupled with the confidence gained from having seen how quickly the Dutch had been defeated by the Japanese military, and four years of successful indigenous management of all levels of the administration of the Indies, this would give the Indonesians the boldness of spirit to declare independence in 1945 as the Japanese surrendered to the Allies, and to fight for this independence further when the Dutch returned to claim back ownership of their pre-war colony.

14.6 Independence and the Sukarno Years

Following the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on 6 and 9 August 1945, full Japanese surrender to the Allies occurred on 15 August. On 17 August the independence of Indonesia was subsequently declared by a small group of nationalists led by Sukarno, who had been released from his imprisonment by the Japanese at the beginning of the period of occupation and had been considerably active from 1942 to 1945 raising national consciousness throughout the Indies. Not long after the declaration of independence, however, the Dutch arrived back in force in the Indies to re-establish their control over the territory. The failure of any negotiations to satisfy both nationalist and Dutch sides led to four years of armed conflict, ending only when US pressure on the Netherlands encouraged the Dutch to terminate their reoccupation of the Indies and end the perpetual drain on national resources needed to sustain their military and bureaucratic presence in the Indies for what increasingly seemed like comparatively little progress and return.

Having achieved its formal independence in 1949, Indonesia experienced a period of eight initial chaotic years in which a number of regional separatist movements incited rebellions against the government and the economy failed to provide sufficient resources to fuel the building up of infrastructure that was now widely expected by the country's liberated population. To outside observers in the West, it seemed quite possible that Indonesia might rapidly fragment and break apart due to its great inherent ethnic diversity and the occurrence of multiple active secessionist movements (Leifer 2000: 51). In 1957, Sukarno, who had been made president in 1945 but not given any extensive powers, declared martial law in the country and instituted an authoritarian mode of government which he named 'Guided Democracy' (1957–65).

By the early 1960s, there was a return to greater stability in Indonesia, and the various rebellions had been ended. Nationalism was once again promoted by Sukarno

as a means to strengthen unity among the people of Indonesia, and the concept of 'revolution' was now added in as an important aspect of nationalist propaganda – revolution here referring to the co-operation that had resulted in Indonesia being 'the first Asian nation to proclaim its independence, and the first to successfully defend that independence in the face of armed resistance by the former colonial power' (Brown 2003: 169). Indonesians became intensely proud of the fact that they had achieved their independence through armed struggle against a Western power, and emphasis on the need for sustained revolution and all-Indonesian co-operation against both external and internal forces opposed to the continued unity of the country was regularly invoked by Sukarno as a way to stimulate the integrity of the nation, and also distract attention from the poor state of the economy. As part of Sukarno's vigorous new defiance of forces perceived to be hostile to Indonesia, Western New Guinea (renamed Irian Jaya in 1962) was retrieved from the control of the Dutch, who had managed to retain the territory in 1949, and 'confrontation' was initiated against Malaysia, disputing the automatic inclusion of the territories of Sarawak and Sabah on Borneo in the formation of the independent new state in 1962, and leading to low-level military action in Borneo.

Concerning the development of language in the immediate post-independence years, in 1945 Indonesian had been declared the language of the new state and came to be used extensively in formal public activities and all political and administrative communications addressed to the nation as a whole. Dutch did not reappear in these or other formal domains after its dismissal by the Japanese in 1942, and Indonesia consequently had a different experience of post-independence linguistic development from other countries in Asia where former colonial languages were retained after independence for potential use in government and administration, this absence of an official European language in Indonesia arguably simplifying the development of the national language in various respects (Abas 1987: 141).

In this there was indeed still much work to be done by language committees set up by the government, with a continued need for both the development of technical vocabulary in Indonesian, and agreement on which of many competing terms, often from different regions of the country, should be used for items of more everyday life in the standard language. In 1949 a long-prepared grammatical description of Indonesian was finally published by the linguist S. T. Alisjahbana, modelled on the contemporary speech of twenty prominent, respected speakers, and remained the most influential grammar of the language for a further twenty years (Abas 1987: 112).

In the area of education, Indonesian was widely used at both primary and secondary levels, though use of a regional language as medium of instruction was also permitted for the first three years in primary schools in areas with uniform ethnic populations. This practical concession to early schooling through the mother tongue was fully in line with general policy towards the continued use and support of regional languages established in the constitution of 1945, which records that all the

indigenous languages of Indonesia have a right to existence and development and are considered assets of the nation (Dardjowidjojo 1998: 44).

No similar guarantees of protection and positive valuation were given to the non-indigenous minority language Chinese, however, spoken by a sizeable population distributed throughout the archipelago. In 1957, as worries about regional rebellions triggered the nationwide introduction of martial law, the loyalty of Indonesia's Chinese population also came under question and resulted in sharper controls on Chinese schools including a new requirement that teaching staff be proficient in Indonesian and that Indonesian and Indonesian geography and history be taught in all Chinese-medium schools (Oetomo 1984: 388). As a consequence of the new regulations, the nationwide enrolment of 425,000 students in Chinese schools in 1957 quickly dropped to 150,000 and further still in 1958 as more regional unrest occurred (Suryadinata 2005: 137). In 1958 it was furthermore announced that newspapers could only publish in either Roman or Arabic script, causing the closure of all Chinese newspapers until 1963, when the restriction was lifted by the government. Before long, heavy government control over Chinese language activities would again be imposed as a reaction to political events in Indonesia. However, this time it would come as part of a major upheaval affecting all of the nation's population and leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Indonesians throughout the country.

14.7 The Suharto Years: Development, Corruption, and Crash

On 30 September 1965 a coup was attempted in which several army generals were kidnapped and subsequently killed. Although it is still not known for sure who was responsible for the coup attempt, the army immediately blamed the communists, and after order had been quickly restored by troops under General Suharto, commander of the strategic reserve, engaged in a bloody six-month-long pursuit of communists throughout the country resulting in the deaths of up to half a million Indonesians. In the aftermath of the failed coup, General Suharto also took the step of removing Sukarno from power and in 1968 became president himself. While Sukarno had been preoccupied with espousing revolution, non-alignment, rejection of the West, and confrontation with Malaysia, the economy had been failing terribly, with an annual inflation rate of 1,000 per cent reached by mid-1965 (Brown 2003: 218). Determined to rebuild the country, Suharto adopted a quite opposite approach to Sukarno and deliberately solicited foreign investment, aid, and financial guidance, and rapidly managed to improve the country's economy, assisted by the benefits of a sharp rise in the price of oil. This allowed for many of the roads, hospitals, and schools that the country so badly needed to finally be built, and the quality of simple, everyday life improved for much of the Indonesian population. Politically, in place of Sukarno's combative nationalism, Suharto's 'New Order' government prioritized stability at home and peaceful relations with its neighbours and the West for the dual

purposes of development and modernization, key concepts held throughout the New Order's thirty years of power.

As the economy improved and more infrastructure was created in all parts of the country, further development occurred in the area of language, and knowledge of Indonesian spread considerably, as more and more young people gained access to education and instruction in the national language. By 1990 it is estimated that there was 91 per cent attendance of primary school, up from approximately 60 per cent in 1970 (Lamoureux 2003: 123). Over the same period there was an even more dramatic rise in the numbers of people able to speak Indonesian – from 40.5 per cent in 1971, rising to 60.8 per cent in 1980, and reaching 82.8 per cent in 1990 (Emmerson 2005: 25). Furthermore, even though only 40.5 per cent had a proficiency in Indonesian in 1970, a study carried out in 1971 indicated that a much higher proportion of the population thought that people throughout the country should know Indonesian, signalling a widespread acceptance of the positive values of the language (Abas 1987: 152). People also became more critical of others' command of Indonesian and keen to see adherence to the rules of a standard form of the language, in a way that is typical of societies with an advanced awareness of a shared standard language. Through the 1980s there were regular publications complaining about the correctness of Indonesian heard in daily life, and campaigns responding to these criticisms which promoted better teaching of Indonesian in the country's schools (Heryanto 1995: 49). In 1990, a further achievement of Indonesia's educational system during the Suharto era was that the literacy rate reached 85 per cent, a huge improvement on earlier times. Language development also continued in the form of expanding and standardizing the vocabulary of Indonesian, with work being co-ordinated by the government Centre for Language Development and Cultivation. Not all of the many thousands of newly coined words came to be accepted and used by the general public or the media, but with the increase in its available lexical materials, Indonesian reached the stage where it was able to function well in all domains of life including university-level education and science and technology.

Co-operation with Malaysia on the planned development of the two countries' national languages was finally implemented from 1972 onwards through the establishment of a Language Council of Indonesia–Malaysia, work on the agreement on a shared system of spelling for Indonesian/Malay having been planned since 1959 but held up by the occurrence of hostilities between the two countries. Malay had been declared the official national language of Malaysia in 1957 and differed from Indonesian mainly just in matters of vocabulary and spelling convention, hence there were obvious advantages to be had in keeping the two national languages mutually intelligible. In 1972 agreement was reached on a standard system of spelling and since the 1970s there has continued to be co-operation on other matters of language.

A more negative aspect of official language 'planning' in the early Suharto years was again the control of Chinese in Indonesia. In 1965, mainland China was accused by the military of having supported the failed coup attributed to the communists in

Indonesia, and ethnic Chinese within the country were encouraged to assimilate and declare their loyalty to the Indonesian nation. Chinese-medium schools were universally shut down by the government along with all Chinese-language newspapers, with the exception of the government-controlled Yindunixiya Ribao (Indonesian Daily News) (Suryadinata 2005: 36). New regulations additionally outlawed the use of Chinese in both written and spoken form in the economy, book-keeping, and telecommunications, Chinese language being linked to communist threats to national security (Oetomo 1984: 392–5). Finally, restrictions on the occurrence of written Chinese during New Order Indonesia were further increased in 1978 with the wholesale banning of the import of publications in Chinese.

Three decades of authoritarian rule under Suharto ultimately came to an abrupt end in the late 1990s, occasioned by the Asian financial crisis which hit Indonesia particularly hard in 1997. As the currency plummeted from 2,000 rupiah to the dollar to 10,000 to the dollar and prices of everyday commodities rocketed, severe austerity measures had to be agreed with the IMF in order to attempt to restore order to the economy. Increasingly a major part of the blame for the widely experienced hardships was placed on Suharto and his regime, which had long been known to be highly corrupt. While the enrichment of those close to Suharto had been overlooked by most during the country's sustained economic growth, the middle and lower classes were now suffering badly and learned that the corruption of the Suharto regime was a principal reason why foreign investment came to be so quickly withdrawn from the country, causing the collapse of the economy. Following widespread public demonstrations and the outbreak of civil unrest, Suharto resigned as president in 1998, bringing the New Order to a close and opening the way for a new era of democracy and public discussion for the first time free from censorship and heavy government control.

14.8 Indonesia Today: Language and National Identity

In attempting to assess the success of language policy in the process of nation-building both in the present and since independence, it is essential to bear in mind that Indonesia is a country which has arisen in its present form as the result of earlier colonial expansion grouping together a very large number of diverse peoples rather arbitrarily and artificially within a single administrative territory. Due to the ensuing highly heterogeneous nature of the population, the challenges of nation-building have been maximized in Indonesia and the achievement of some form or level of over-arching common, national identity has been seen to be essential for the continued unity of the state. Not surprisingly, Indonesia has experienced certain occurrences of ethnic unrest and conflict, both in the immediate post-independence period, when the break-up of the country was predicted by outside observers, and in more recent years, in Aceh in the north of Sumatra, on Borneo, where Dayaks have clashed with Madurese resettled there by the government, and in Maluku and Sulawesi where Muslims and Christians have come into extended conflict. However, Indonesia

has successfully hung together throughout its nearly sixty years of independent existence and is perhaps more striking as a multi-ethnic country for the comparative absence of more significant and disastrous ethnic disturbances within its borders.[3]

Much credit for the instrumental nurturing and reinforcement of feelings of belonging to an Indonesian nation must go to the binding presence of the national language in many important domains of everyday life in Indonesia. Bahasa Indonesia is now the language of business, government administration, education at all levels, political debate, most of Indonesia's television, cinema, and newspapers, and is also widely used for inter-ethnic communication. Notwithstanding its widespread knowledge and use in modern Indonesia, for the vast majority of the population Indonesian is nevertheless still acquired as a second language in school, and some other regional language is commonly learned before Indonesian and regularly used in the home, with family, friends, and members of the local community. Only in eastern Sumatra and in certain large cities does Indonesian occur as the mother tongue and household language of speakers, the combined numbers of these native speakers making up approximately just 10 per cent of the population (*Ethnologue* 2006).[4] Indonesian has consequently not displaced the regional languages of different ethnic groups from their use in informal domains, and there has never been any attempt to impose the national language on speakers in their private life and everyday informal communication. Indonesian has instead been promoted as an addition to individuals' linguistic repertoires to enhance their access to education, government, broader employment and business opportunities, and the general modernization of the country as this has expanded in the hands of the Indonesians themselves. Such a deliberate hands-off approach, not attempting to interfere with the use of local languages in traditional and more informal areas of interaction, is commonly seen as one of the principal reasons why there has been such successful widespread acceptance and adoption of Indonesian as the national language (Bertrand 2003; Emmerson 2005). Indonesian and regional languages are not in any confrontation with each other and do not compete for use in the same areas of life, but exist in a generally stable complementarity of distribution. The broad archipelago-wide spread of the national language during the last six decades has, because of this pattern of complementary distribution, not triggered any major negative reactions from the indigenous population – no linguistic riots or cries of oppression through the imposition of language.[5] Emmerson (2005: 28) remarks that: 'Fortunately for Indonesian

[3] This chapter does not include coverage of the separation of East Timor from Indonesia in 2002, following a vote on independence which took place in 1999. For useful discussion of the role of language as a symbol of resistance and the violence which accompanied the departure of East Timor from Indonesia, see Bertrand (2003).

[4] <http://www.ethnologue.com/show_country.asp?name=Indonesia>.

[5] As noted in previous sections, the Chinese community in Indonesia has suffered the repression of its language in the areas of education, the media, and commerce, with the forced use of Indonesian in these areas by default. At the present time, however, there is a renewed presence of Chinese language in Indonesia, with Chinese publications, television, radio, and language schools appearing and being tolerated again (Drakely 2005: 168).

unity, over the rest of the century the national language was publicized but not privatized, and thus remained distinctively national.' In Indonesia today, the regional languages therefore remain very much alive and have positive associations for their speakers, being the languages of intimacy, local culture, and regional pride.[6] They may also influence the form of Indonesian produced in different areas, and standard Indonesian as codified and taught in schools is often adapted and blended with properties of local languages when used in everyday speech.

Bahasa Indonesia has been able to reach its present position as the primary language of national-level and formal activities so effectively not only because this ascendance has not harmed the use of the regional languages but also because Indonesian faced no threat from the continued presence of a colonial language following independence. As noted in sections 14.5 and 14.6, Dutch was banned from use by the Japanese in 1942 and did not come back into use during the four years of conflict with the Dutch from 1945 to 1949. When full, internationally recognized independence was achieved in 1949, Dutch remained absent, and attempts to construct an Indonesian nation began without the shadow of a colonial language maintained as an official language, potentially tempting people away from use of the national language in formal domains. The sudden, forced discontinuation of the use of Dutch in 1942 was furthermore managed without catastrophe as knowledge of Dutch was not as widely spread in Indonesia as the occurrence of English or French in various other Asian colonies. The 'useful' absence of Dutch from 1942 onwards therefore obliged Indonesian to grow into an official–national language which could be used in all domains of national life and was accepted by all as the only obvious candidate for such a role. Currently, Indonesia is still a country without the significant presence of any Western language, and neither Dutch nor English nor French is well known among the general population or the more educated elite. This continued absence of a sophisticated competitor to the national language is clearly beneficial for the position and prestige of Indonesian as the language through which modernity is accessed and development achieved, though it has also been noted that the lack of a sufficient knowledge of English among those in higher education impedes their understanding and use of new materials published in English on science and technology (Dardjowidjojo 1998: 45).

Fully established and dominant as the language in which all formal communications are effected in the country, Indonesian has also become positively valued as the primary shared component of the country's emerging national identity. Heryanto (1995: 40) notes that Indonesian is the most clearly defined and regularly experienced aspect of Indonesian national culture, adding that: 'The Indonesian elite repeatedly

[6] Although Indonesian is often used as a vehicle of inter-ethnic communication, when knowledge of a single regional language is shared between speakers of different ethnic groups, it has been observed that the regional language rather than Indonesian may be preferred for use in informal contexts, expressing greater potential warmth and closeness than the national language, which is still more clearly connected with formal domains of life (Goebel 2002).

take pride in saying that their nation is unique and superior to other formerly colonised, multi-ethnic, and multilingual communities in respect of the attainment and consensual acceptance of a non-European language as a national language.' As a symbol of distinctly Indonesian national identity, Bahasa Indonesia is also significantly felt to be different from neighbouring Bahasa Malaysia/Malaysian and Singaporean Malay (Moeliono 1986: 67). Though Indonesian and Malaysian are mutually intelligible, and differ largely only in the occurrence of more Dutch and Javanese loanwords in the former as opposed to more English loans in the latter, along with certain differences in pronunciation, the perception among Indonesians that Indonesian is a different language from Malaysian and hence nationally distinctive is certainly important for its symbolic role in supporting a national identity, in a way that is similar to perceptions held among Urdu and Hindi speakers in Pakistan and India of their respective varieties as different languages. The fact that Bahasa Malaysia was established and developed as a national language later than Indonesian may have helped in the creation of this perception in Indonesia, with Indonesian even felt to have exerted certain influence over the development of Bahasa Malaysia (for example, in the area of the building of new styles of modern literature).

In general then, and particularly when viewed against the multi-ethnic, multilingual background present in Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia has done exceedingly well in establishing itself as an ethnically neutral, fully modernized, indigenous new national language which is felt to be distinctive and well able to function in all domains of life without the need for a European language in an official supporting role. Given that this national development of Indonesian has come about without inciting conflict or serious contention and that the language has helped in a considerable way in the kindling of feelings of an all-Indonesian identity without stifling the enjoyment of regional linguistic culture, Indonesian can most probably be said to have fulfilled all the goals that might have realistically been imagined for it back in the 1920s, though the challenging goal of nation-building as a whole in Indonesia is still very much a process with a lot remaining to achieve.

What of the future? Concerning the evolving shape of Indonesian itself, there are two clear pressures on the language at the current time, influencing its development mostly in the area of vocabulary – Javanese and the Jakarta dialect (of Malay/Indonesian). The capital of Indonesia is considerably prominent in the way that modern culture from Jakarta becomes a model for many elsewhere in the archipelago, seen in television and cinema, and then adopted by young people in particular in other cities and regions of Indonesia. Where aspects of the Jakartan dialect occur frequently repeated in the speech of television and film stars, these may become part of common, more widely spoken Indonesian and direct its development in the same way that the increased borrowing of Javanese words into the speech of various important public figures might seem to some to threaten its neutral character. There are censures and checks on this spontaneous incorporation of new words into Indonesian, however, as when President Megawati Sukarnoputri was publicly

criticized in 2003 for an overuse of Javanese words in her Indonesian speeches (Emmerson 2005: 23). What is described and taught as standard Indonesian may also become influenced and perhaps redirected by the form of Indonesian commonly used in the media and emerging new literature, where a set of norms that is somewhat different from official, standard Indonesian have become widely adopted (Moeliono 1986: 54).

As for the position of Indonesian in the structure of society and relative to other regional languages, a consideration of both the recent past and current sociolinguistic patterns would seem to suggest that the stable complementarity of use of Indonesian and other indigenous languages in formal and informal domains is likely to continue for the foreseeable future. There are no obvious signs that there will be a significant increase in the number of people who will learn Indonesian as their mother tongue and potentially become monolingual Indonesian speakers, as the major regional languages seem to be quite secure and well passed on to and used by new generations. Indonesian itself is also very well embedded among the population and unlikely to lose its dominant position in the more formal areas of life. Though there is currently an emphasis on the decentralization of certain decision-making and a focus on increasing the participation of regional authorities in local forms of government as a way to begin to address regional inequalities and tensions, it seems unlikely that this will lead to the rejection of Indonesian as the language locally used in administration, education, technology, and the media, and the substitution of regional languages in these domains. The amount of time and effort required to develop a language for fully effective use in education, law, and government is considerable, and in the absence of any political secession from Indonesia, it would seem improbable that any region would attempt to undertake this. The current division of linguistic labour among Indonesian and the regional languages in formal and informal areas of life instead appears to work well and be quite happily accepted by most of the country's large population, suggesting it will continue on in this way for quite some time to come. Assuming such a steady multilingual future, as the years go by, it can be expected that increased general feelings of being part of a single new nation will be accompanied by a deeper embedding of the national language in areas which fall between those of strictly formal and informal family and home life, in the spread of a broadly familiar national literature and cinema, so that Indonesian comes to function in the way of standard national languages in other, often largely monolingual countries. If it does hold on to its present position and even consolidates this further, Indonesian will continue to stand out as one of the great success stories of a local, national language surviving the decolonization process in Asia and a prime example of the clear viability of a single, indigenous national language in a heavily multiethnic nation.