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Preface

The purpose of this series is to show how cultural policies are planned and implemented in various Member States.

As cultures differ, so does the approach to them. It is for each Member State to determine its cultural policy and methods according to its own conception of culture, its socio-economic system, political ideology and technical development. However, the methods of cultural policy (like those of general development policy) have certain common problems; these are largely institutional, administrative and financial in nature, and the need has increasingly been stressed for exchanging experiences and information about them. This series, each issue of which follows as far as possible a similar pattern so as to make comparison easier, is mainly concerned with these technical aspects of cultural policy.

In general, the studies deal with the principles and methods of cultural policy, the evaluation of cultural needs, administrative structures and management, planning and financing, the organization of resources, legislation, budgeting, public and private institutions, cultural content in education, cultural autonomy and decentralization, the training of personnel, institutional infrastructures for meeting specific cultural needs, the safeguarding of the cultural heritage, institutions for the dissemination of the arts, international cultural co-operation and other related subjects.

The studies, which cover countries belonging to differing social and economic systems, geographical areas and levels of development, present, therefore, a wide variety of approaches and methods in cultural policy. Taken as a whole, they can provide guidelines to countries that have yet to establish cultural policies, while all countries, especially those seeking new formulations of such policies, can profit by the experience already gained.

This study was prepared for Unesco by Professor Haryati Soebadio, Director-General of Culture of the Department of Education and Culture of Indonesia.

The author is responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization.

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Introduction

Indonesia is an archipelago of continental dimensions, consisting of 13,667 islands, large and small, of which some 6,000 are inhabitable, the others being either too small or too inhospitable. Among the inhabited islands are some of the largest in the world, such as Kalimantan (Borneo) with an area measuring 539,640 km^2, Sumatra with 437,606 km^2, Sulawesi (Celebes) with 189,216 km^2 and Java (on its own approximately 120,000 km^2, or seen as one unit together with Madura measuring 132,187 km^2). Some fifty other islands are of average size, such as the well-known island of Bali, with an area of 5,561 km^2. The remainder are very small and sometimes only occasionally occupied, such as the small islands in the Bay of Jakarta known as Pulau Seribu (the Thousand Islands), which are used as recreation and week-end resorts.

This large archipelago stretches on both sides of the Equator, from latitude 6° North to 11° South over a breadth of 1,888 km, whereas in length it measures around 5,110 km, from longitude 95° to 141° East. This is approximately the distance from Ireland to the Urals.

The population is dense—147 million according to the 1980 census; a large increase on the 61 million mentioned in the 1930 census of the Dutch East Indies. The 1900 estimate was 35 million, and it is thought that in 1800 the population cannot have exceeded 10 million.

It is evident that over a long period many groups, scattered over the area of nearly 10 million km^2, were living very much apart and even completely isolated. To this day we may still find areas that are not easily accessible, although the government has in recent years built many new roads and air bases, and also organized new ferry and shipping connections all over the country. The inland seas have for a long time hampered direct communication. Thus we still find areas of almost complete isolation next to those which have had considerable interaction with the outside world since the earliest times. This means that in the early days marriage outside the group was virtually impossible in some groups, but in others it

was relatively easy. Thus, inbreeding was the rule in some groups, which resulted in certain types and physical characteristics becoming dominant over an entire area, although in other areas there was virtually a complete mixture of physical characteristics. The same could be said of cultural customs. This situation may well be one of the most important reasons why Indonesia's population consists of so many groups that seem to be ethnically divergent in physiognomy, customs and kinship systems.

However, modern socio-cultural research has long since established a basic similarity, even a common root, for the languages and dialects spoken in the archipelago. From the point of view of language 'families', the Indonesians are Austronesians or, to use another name, Malayo-Polynesians. This language family stretches from Madagascar to Oceanic Polynesia. However, probably also as a consequence of long isolation, many sub-languages and sub-dialects were formed. Recent research done by the Centre for Language Development, Indonesia, has registered over 400 languages and dialects, and it is expected that hundreds more will be added to this list. These languages range from such widely spoken languages as Javanese, spoken by some 60 million or more Javanese, to some dialects and languages that are spoken by very small groups, sometimes not exceeding a few thousand individuals. Parallel to the languages and dialects, we find a corresponding number of ethnic groups and sub-groups.

However, divergency was not the only result of ethnic development in various degrees of isolation during ancient times. Due to its geographical situation between two oceans (the Pacific and the Indian Oceans) and between two continents (Asia and Australia), Indonesia has also been subject to influence from foreign countries since relatively early times. Owing to the enormous distances involved, this foreign influence differed from area to area and from island to island. Thus we find islands and inland areas of the larger islands that were virtually untouched by outside influence and remained, until recent times, next to areas where continuous communication with the outside world resulted in the creation of a culture that became a mixture of various elements, blending and absorbing foreign ideas into the original structure. In this way Chinese, Indian (Hindu-Buddhist), Arabic (Muslim) and European (Christian) influences have been integrated in various degrees into the local cultures which are very varied and may be divided very roughly into the following categories:

1. Those that have remained relatively archaic until very recent times, such as the cultures of the people in the small islands to the west of Sumatra (Nias, Enggano or the Mentawais), the culture of some Bataks in Central Sumatra, the Dayaks of Kalimantan, the Torajas of South Sulawesi, some groups inhabiting the smaller islands and groups of islands in the east of Indonesia and Irian Jaya (West Irian).

2. Those that have received a strong Indian influence and where both Hinduism and Buddhism were able to take root especially as in Central and East Java, where powerful Hindu-Javanese kingdoms were established existing until the coming of Islam in the fifteenth century A.D. and where to this day that influence is felt, despite the spread of Islam; Bali, where the population has largely remained Hindu; and various other areas that were influenced by the former Hindu-Javanese kingdoms.
3. Those that were almost completely Islamized, such as Sumatra (except the Batak area in Central Sumatra), where Islam first arrived and where Marco Polo found concrete evidence of an indigenous Muslim community in 1292, when he passed through on his way back from China to Europe; the coastal areas of the larger islands; and smaller islands like Madura, Lombok and others.
4. Those that received Western and Christian influence more or less directly on their former archaic cultural structures, such as many Bataks, Torajas and other areas in the east of Indonesia.

It will be obvious that such a categorization cannot be maintained as strictly as the division presented here suggests. As already mentioned, the inland seas dividing the islands were at the same time also a means of communication. The coastal areas have, through trade, also received Chinese and other foreign influence from early times. Moreover, as was previously suggested, there must have existed much inter-island trading since early times.

It should be noted that, on one hand, the various aspects of foreign influence have been the cause of deepening inter-ethnic differences where these existed, while on the other hand they were the means of bringing divergent groups together.

None the less, the basic roots remain apparent, for the Indonesians have shown a remarkable ability to adapt foreign influence in such a way that something new is created that is found nowhere else and differs considerably from the original influence. This ability has been called 'local genius' by foreign scholars and may be seen, for instance, in the creation of the temple of Borobudur which is unique in the Buddhist world.

The basic common roots and the variety of local customs that have developed in the course of time are acknowledged in the coat of arms of the Republic of Indonesia with its motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, taken from an Old Javanese manuscript of possibly the eleventh century A.D., the *Sutasoma*. Literally, the motto's meaning is '[Although] divided it is [nevertheless] one', which usually is translated as 'Unity in Diversity'. The many ethnic groups may vary in their local cultures and languages or adaptations, but nevertheless have one and the same basis which is still obvious today. Therefore it was never a problem for Indonesians to find the right basis for a policy in which to develop national culture. The state Constitution drawn up in 1945 when Indonesia proclaimed its independence

states that the government has the task of developing national culture, with local customs and traditions forming the basis from which to develop this culture. Thus, national culture may be expected to develop through its own specific identity.

A policy for developing national culture on the basis of which the national identity may be strengthened has to be aware therefore of those values remaining from ancient times. Influence from foreign cultures and the positive effects of modernization may then be absorbed harmoniously with this national identity and the general principles of culture.

Indonesia's basic philosophy of culture is contained in the five principles of the national ideology, *Pancasila*, sometimes translated as 'five pillars'. These are: (a) belief in God; (b) tolerance; (c) humanity; (d) democracy; (e) social justice.

This state ideology should be seen, and has to be implemented, in relation to the composition of the country's population. A basic ideology or philosophy is necessary in order to contain the needs of such a variety of groups with their own local customs, traditions, local beliefs and religions. The Constitution, including the *Pancasila*, which upholds national ideology, guarantees legal acknowledgement and equality of rights for all groups.

Furthermore, in formulating its cultural policy, Indonesia needs to take into account the national policy of development in general, for culture is not the only aspect. An interrelation has to be acknowledged between culture and development, and likewise between the development of culture, cultural identity and the country's material development; because, in the formulation of its cultural policy, Indonesia, as a still developing country, has to remain aware of the cultural dangers and consequences as well as the side-effects of development for its people. On one hand, development needs a culturally congruent environment to be successful, while on the other, it also tends to bring negative side-effects in its wake, which may only be solved through cultural measures.

In short, Indonesia's cultural policy should aim at enhancing development through a dynamic type of national culture—a culture that is able to cope and agree with the specific needs of a country in the process of development and which also has a strong personal identity, able to withstand negative external influence as well as internal conflicts as a result of development. At the same time, it should be able to recognize and absorb positive influence and change in both the material and the spiritual sense.

Historical synopsis of cultural administration

Although we have seen in the ancient Indonesian manuscripts such as old Javanese historiography some sort of cultural administration, this only started in the modern sense with colonialism. In the early days of the Netherlands East Indies, cultural policy was not a government matter and cultural affairs were left very much to private persons and organizations until the end of the nineteenth century. It was scholarly interest in the life and manners of people in the colonies, the so-called 'oriental studies', that started a whole new branch of scientific study, which developed during the nineteenth century, but which had started much earlier. This interest in 'eastern' people's life (specifically languages and customs), had previously led to the establishment of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in 1778 through the initiative of Dutch scholars. The society started a museum and a library devoted to the cultures of the archipelago. It became the *Royal* Batavian Society in 1925 and was reorganized as a centre of 'all cultural sciences', such as 'linguistics, philology, historiography, ethnography, social anthropology, prehistory, archaeology, Islamology, customary law, jurisprudence, economics and sociology' in Indonesia—in fact, 'oriental studies' as they were then conceived. Despite its large scope, the society has contributed much to the study of Indonesian life and culture. The museum is at present the National Museum in Jakarta, and the library attached to it, with its well-known collection of indigenous manuscripts, is now a part of the National Library, likewise situated in Jakarta.

Another name connected with oriental studies is that of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. As Lieutenant-General during the British interregnum (1811–16) in Indonesia, he was the first to recognize the importance of the temple of Borobudur, which at the time was in ruins, the Indonesians living around it having been converted to Islam three centuries earlier. Raffles's two-volume *History of Java*, written in 1817, is a monumental standard work for its time and is still worth reading.

Oriental studies at their best produced some pioneering work in the research of language and local customs. They were conducted by a scholarly international community including a German, W. von Humboldt, who in 1861 in his book *Die Kawisprache* detected that Old Javanese (which he called Kawi) was linguistically an Indonesian language and not related to Sanskrit, despite the occurrence of many words derived or borrowed from it. Von Humboldt's work was in fact very advanced, but it took more than half a century before it was universally acknowledged that the study of Old Javanese need not be done through Sanskrit studies as it had previously at universities in the Netherlands until the 1950s, although as recently as the 1970s an amateur of Old Javanese in Indonesia called it a 'language derived from Sanskrit'.

The government's interest in Indonesian cultural studies started at the beginning of the twentieth century. Primarily it commenced with the preservation of historical remains. In 1901 a commission was set up for archaeological research (Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek van Java en Madoera), mainly concerned with Java and Madura. Dr J. L. A. Brandes, himself an astute scholar of Indonesian archaeology, was its first Head. In 1913, the commission was changed into the more effective Archaeological Service (Oudheidkundige Dienst) under the leadership of Professor Dr N. J. Krom, another scholar of Indonesian culture, whose book on Hindu-Javanese history (*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*) is still considered an important work.

Linguistic research into the languages of Indonesian was also considered important enough to justify the establishment of a government-sponsored publishing house, Balai Poestaka, in 1918. Balai Poestaka has produced many important publications containing indigenous works of literary value in Malay and other vernacular tongues. At present, it is still government-sponsored and has retained its former name, though under the new spelling system it is written 'Balai Pustaka'. It is engaged in the publication of books for schools and other institutions of education and socio-cultural research, especially those that are considered important but may be difficult to sell because they are too specialized. Balai Pustaka has to date produced several publications in co-operation with international study programmes.

The Netherlands Government's interest in the culture and languages of Indonesia extended to colonial services as well. Prospective civil servants, for instance, were required to familiarize themselves with the languages and customs of the region in which they were to work. Training in the languages and *adat* (customary law) of Indonesia together with more thorough studies of its culture were provided at Leyden University. In later years, not only were Dutch civil servants educated in Leyden, but also Indonesians, including future political leaders such as, for example, Mohammad Hatta, one-time Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia.

At the same time, in Indonesia, as in the rest of Asia, the realization of

the importance of national culture came in the wake of nationalism. Indonesian nationalism, crystallized in 1908 with the establishment of Boedi Oetomo, followed in 1922 by Taman Siswa, which as national educational centres, stressed the importance of national identity. These, in the initial stages, took shape in regional cultural manifestations. National awakening culminated in the *Sumpah Pemuda* (Youth Pledge) of 28 October 1928, which proclaimed it would work to achieve 'One Nation, One Language and One Country, Indonesia'.

The Japanese occupation (1942–45) indirectly stimulated Indonesian cultural life. In the first place, Dutch was completely eliminated as the language of official communication and replaced by Malay which had been chosen in 1928 by Indonesian youth as a basis for the development of Indonesian. To this end, a commission for language study was established, the Komisi Bahasa, which was given the task of selecting new words so as to make basic Malay capable of becoming the national language of Indonesia, Bahasa Indonesia. When at a later stage in their occupation the Japanese started to make their own language obligatory, Indonesian had already firmly taken root and was nationally accepted at all educational levels.

The Japanese also created a cultural centre, Keimin Bunka Sidhosho, to promote Indonesian art and culture, whereas Poetera, headed by national leaders, provided opportunities for exhibitions, performances and other activities.

With Independence gained in 1945, the Indonesian Government established the Ministry of Education and Culture (at present called the Department of Education and Culture) as a consequence of Article 31 and Article 32 on education and culture in the state Constitution. Within this Ministry, there was a Cultural Department consisting of three separate divisions, Archaeology, Art and Languages.

The Division for Archaeology contained, and was the successor of, the Dutch East Indies Archaeological Service which was established in 1913.

The Division for Art was responsible for the establishment of various education institutes for art, such as the Indonesian Academy of Fine Arts (Akademi Seni Rupa, shortened ASRI), the Indonesian Academy of Music (Akademi Seni Musik, or ASMI), both in Yogyakarta, and the Conservatorium of Traditional Music (Akademi Seni Karawitan, or ASKI) in Surakarta, Central Java.

The Division for Languages consisted of two parts in 1952. One was the former (Dutch) Institute for Literature (Instituut voor Taal en Cultuur Onderzoek) in the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia, Jakarta. The other was the Language Division in the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture. In the same year the Cultural Department opened branches in the provinces: Medan (North Sumatra), Bukit Tinggi (West Sumatra), Palembang (South Sumatra), Jakarta, Bandung

(West Java), Surabaya (East Java), Denpasar (Bali), Makassar (Ujungpandang, in South Sulawesi) and Ambon (Moluccas).

In 1956 the following changes took place: (a) the Division for Archaeology became the autonomous Institute of Archaeology; (b) one part of the Division for Languages became the Sub-Division of Customs and Traditions within the Cultural Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture; (c) the other part was incorporated into the Language Division of the Faculty of Letters, University of Indonesia; and (d) the Cultural Department was given a further responsibility: museum management with a brand new Museum Section.

An extensive ministerial reorganization took place in 1960. As a result the Cultural Department was incorporated into the Directorate of Culture, while the Museum Section became autonomous as the National Museum Institute. Consequently, the Ministry of Education and Culture dealing with cultural management one Directorate (for Culture) and four institutes: Archaeology, Languages and Literature, the National Museum, and History and Anthropology. Cultural branch offices were set up in the provinces under the auspices of the Inspectorate of Provincial Culture.

Further changes were made in 1966. The ministry, now called the Department of Education and Culture, was divided into five directorates-general, among which was included a Directorate-General of Culture, although, in 1969, the number of directorates-general was reduced to three: Education, Culture and Youth and Sports. However, since 1975 the Department of Education and Culture has been further divided into seven divisions:

1. Secretariat-General.
2. Inspectorate-General.
3. Directorate-General of Primary and Secondary Education.
4. Directorate-General of Higher Education.
5. Directorate-General of Non-formal Education, Youth and Sports.
6. Directorate-General of Culture.
7. Research and Development Centre for Education and Culture.

The Directorate-General for Culture, which is responsible for cultural matters, is divided into the following sections:

1. Secretariat.
2. Directorate of History and Traditional Values.
3. Directorate of Arts.
4. Directorate of Museums.
5. Directorate for the Preservation and Restoration of Historical and Archaeological Monuments.
6. Directorate of Local Beliefs.

In addition, the Directorate-General for Culture has three centres under its aegis—Centre for Library Development, Centre for Language Development, National Centre for Archaeological Research—and nine provincial branches throughout Indonesia as follows: