Language management and minority language maintenance in (eastern) Indonesia: strategic issues

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This paper discusses strategic issues in language 'management' (Spolsky 2009; Jennudd and Neustupný 1987) and its complexity in relation to the maintenance of minority languages in contemporary Indonesia. Within Indonesia it is argued that language can be managed and that it should be managed as part of a national language policy framework (among other means). This is especially pertinent in the case of threatened minority languages. The discussion focuses on how categorizing an issue as either a 'threat' or an 'opportunity' has affected the priorities and the motivations in strategic decisions and implementations of language policies in Indonesia. These labels have symbolic and instrumental values, and both can be potentially exploited to achieve positive outcomes for language survival. However, the complexity and uncertainty of the problems in dealing with minority languages and their speech communities call for a sophisticated interdisciplinary model of language management. The problems will be illustrated using cases from (eastern) Indonesia, showing how Categorization (Cognitive) Theory and Organisational Theory (Rosch 1978; Rosch and Mervis 1975; Dutton & Jackson 1981) are useful for conceptualizing strategic issues by decision makers at different levels – individuals, families, traditional organizations (*adat*), and government institutions.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]**.** This paper is about indigenous[2] minority[3] languages in Indonesia in relation to the question of language management (Spolsky 2009; Jennudd & Neustupný 1987) (or language planning)[4]; that is, deliberate control of language use to get certain, intended outcomes. From a top-down 'macro' perspective, this is typically done via large-scale language policy by the government. I wish to extend the idea of language management to bottom-up community-based, that is, 'micro' initiatives for minority language programs, along the current trends discussed in (Liddicoat & Baldauf Jr 2008). I prefer the term 'language management' to 'language planning' as we are not, strictly speaking, dealing with planning, but also with actions in response to (strategic) issues.

There are two points I want to demonstrate in this paper. First, within Indonesia it is argued that language *can* and *should* be managed as part of a national language policy framework. Language management in Indonesia is politically rooted in the national motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity), which has its foundation in one of the pillars of the national ideology Pancasila (Five Principles), namely, that of nationalism. I will discuss how the interpretation of this concept in Indonesia by the government has caused pressure and distortion on local languages, as well as having unintended consequences for them.

Second, much of the dynamics of the politics of language in Indonesia, including the relation to minority languages, is explainable in terms of two salient strategic-issue categories: *ancaman* 'threat' and *peluang/kesempatan* 'opportunity'. Categorization of issues as strategic or not is a complex, subjective process that relates to the motivation of the individuals or groups. I will use insights from Categorization Theory and Organization Theory to provide an analysis of how strategic issues in relation to language in Indonesia are filtered out and responded to by decision makers at different levels, such as individuals, families, traditional (*adat*) organizations, and government institutions.

At the most local level, however, 'threat' and 'opportunity' categories are still valid. They are interpreted in a more subtle way, in combination with categories which are filtered out by local traditional *adat* (customary) clan-based values, where concepts such as *percaya* 'trust', *hormat* 'respect', and *kewajiban bersama* 'mutual obligations' are important. These are related to strategies identified by Carspecken (1996) as *charm* and *contractual power*.[5]

Given the central role of motivation, the main challenge in minority language maintenance is arguably how to influence or change the perceptions and motivations of the relevant decision makers and institutions, such that their responses are in favor of minority languages. I argue that category labeling (with the relevant filters) of an issue, e.g. as

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[2] The prevailing view today is that there is no formal universal definition for 'indigenous people'. The common criteria used to define 'indigenous people' are: ancestral claim/attachment to a territory prior to modern states; and socio-cultural economic conditions that distinguish them from the national community in terms of own customs and traditional laws or regulations (see the UN, ILO Convention no 169 article 1 subsection 1).

[3] The term 'minority' is used here to refer to relatively small ethnic groups (and their languages). It is a relative notion as it is defined in terms of relative size and (in)equality in power and opportunities against the dominant or majority groups in a given geographical space. An ethnic group such as Marind in Merauke might be categorized as 'minority' at the national level, but it is a dominant group in its region; further discussed in 3.3.2.1. Small ethnic groups with less than 1,000 members are definitely minority at the most local level in Indonesia. They have significantly less control or power over their lives than a dominant group, and are therefore typically disadvantaged in terms of a range of opportunities (education, jobs, wealth, etc.).

[4] I use the term interchangeably, even though the term 'language management' itself is part of a theory called Language Management Theory (LMT) proposed by Jennudd and Neustupný (1987).

[5] As defined by Carspecken (1996), charm is the ability to use culturally understood identity claims and norms to gain the trust and loyalty of others and contractual power is an agreement specifying reciprocal obligation between parties.

a 'threat' or an 'opportunity', is important. Both 'threat' and 'opportunity' have symbolic and instrumental values, and can be exploited for the benefit of local interests. Certainly, linguistic considerations and the necessary supporting resources of the implementation of the program are also important.

Thus, there is a need to have a sophisticated model of language management and maintenance/revival that takes into account the psycho-social aspects of the individuals and organizations involved.

This paper is organized as follows. Section 2 sets out the background context of the pressure that minority languages are under in terms of their 'language ecology' in contemporary Indonesia. Section 3 outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the paper, showing basic concepts in Categorization Theory and Organization theory and how they can be used to explain the complexities of language issues in Indonesia. It is argued that *ancaman* 'threat' and *peluang* 'opportunity' (3.2.1) are firmly embedded in the national ideologies of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* 'unity in diversity' and *pancasila* (five principles) which frame the politics of language in Indonesia (3.2.2). This is followed by a discussion of comparative cases in 3.3, based on fieldwork experiences working on Rongga (Flores) and Marori (West Papua). Assessments of a range of macro variables involved in the vitality of Rongga and Marori are given and future challenges are discussed.

2. SETTING THE CONTEXT: MINORITY LANGUAGES AND LANGUAGE ECOLOGY.
Indonesia is home to around 550 languages, roughly ten percent of all languages found in the world today. This makes Indonesia linguistically the world's second most diverse country after PNG (Evans 2009). Some languages found in Indonesia, such as Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese, have large numbers of speakers and are well studied, but many others, particularly those of ethnic minorities, are either under-documented or are not documented at all. Table 1 shows the composition of the languages of Indonesia (Sneddon 2003): 353 (64%) are Austronesian and 197 (36%) are non-Austronesian. Of these, 188 (34%) are minority languages with less than 1,000 speakers. [6]

Number of speakers	Austronesian	Non-Austronesian	Total
1million < …	13	-	13
100,000 – 1 million	35	-	35
10,000 – 100,000	92	22	114
1,000 – 10,000	127	73	200
200 – 1,000	62	59	121
… < 200	16	36	52
unknown	8	7	15
Total	353	197	550

(Sneddon 2003:197)

TABLE 1. Languages of Indonesia

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[6] Languages with unknown number of speakers are almost always small minority languages in Indonesia.

The minority languages, with their diminishing numbers of speakers, are constantly under pressure from languages such as Indonesian and other dominant regional languages. Many minority languages – such as Rongga in central Flores (Arka 2005, 2010) and Tomini-Tolitoli languages in northern Sulawesi (Himmelmann 2010) – have undergone unprecedented changes, rapid erosion and marginalization. There are Indonesian languages which are now extinct, e.g. Kayeli and Hukumina in Maluku (Grimes 2010), while many others are without doubt becoming critically endangered with only several fluent speakers left, e.g. Marori located in east of Merauke, West Papua (Arka 2010).

The size and diversity of Indonesia is not only a source of pride and strength but also a source of problems. The founding fathers of Indonesia were all too aware of this. To minimize the problems, the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) was enforced vigorously by the government with the emphasis on unity rather than diversity via forceful Indonesianization especially during the era of Soeharto, Indonesia's second president. Indonesianization and nation building still continue today, even after the fall of Soeharto in 1998.

Nevertheless, diversity (*kebhinekaan*) has been recognized as a national identity, guaranteed by the constitution and should be celebrated. The celebration of linguistic and ethnic diversity is currently not only carried out via education sponsored by the government but also by large private national companies who have an interest in the stability of Indonesia. For example, an advertisement from Telkomsel makes use of the *lagu wajib* (compulsory song) *Dari Sabang sampai Merauke* 'From Sabang to Merauke' [see video][7] showing Indonesian children of different ethnic groups with different local music and costumes to help reinforce the need for communication across the archipelago.[8] Likewise, an advertisement for *Indomie* (Indonesian instant noodles) [see video] glorifies the significance of being united and harmonious as one nation despite ethnic differences. This advertisement is interesting as the lyrics are in different local languages in addition to the singers being of different ethnic groups, and the background settings reflecting different regions of the archipelago.

Within the Indonesian context of rapid change, functional diversification, and competition amongst languages across the archipelago, strategic issues in relation to the question of the survival of minority languages are discussed throughout this paper in terms of the key concepts listed in (1) below. Recently, there has been great interest in endangerment issues, i.e., the concerns and measures arising from (1d). Certainly, to discuss (1d), we have to first discuss the issues in relation to the complex socio-political drive behind (1a)-(1c).

(1). Related key concepts:
    (a) Language ecology and language contact
    (b) Language planning & management

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[7] Higher resolution versions of each video are available at the following URLs:
http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/4568/Arka_Indomie_Indonesian-Noodle.mpeg (74.5 Mb) http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/4568/Arka_Sabang_Merauke_Telkomsel.mpeg (53 Mb)

[8] See the appendix for the transcript.

(c) Bilingualism/multilingualism, diglossia
(d) Language shift, language loss & language death

The term 'ecology of languages' is used in this paper in its general sense to refer to a variety of demographic, geographical, sociocultural and political factors that affect the well-being of a language (see Haugen (1972) and Mühlhäusler (1996) for the use of the term 'linguistic ecology'). While the question remains as to how far one can draw a parallel between biological ecology and linguistic ecology,[9] I find this ecological metaphor enlightening, and therefore use it to conceptualize the complex dynamics involved in the survival of minority languages.

The complexity of the ecology of languages in Indonesia can be captured by the diagram in Figure 1.[10] Double arrows between (groups of) languages mean 'competition with interactions in both ways'. A single up-arrow from the macro variables indicates the causal direction.

There are two relevant, interrelated dimensions to be considered: the historical and the synchronic. The historical dimension is indicated by the horizontal arrow on the top. It can be understood in terms of the effects on the inter-generational transmission of language. In this way, the timeline can be broadly divided into the time of the older generation, of the current (young) generation and of the future generation. Thus, when we discuss strategic issues in language maintenance we are concerned with the conditions, awareness and strategic actions (of one generation) that may affect patterns of language use within another (future) generation.[11] We will come back to this point in relation to 'threat' and 'opportunity' categories in 3.2.1 and the politics of language in Indonesia in 3.2.2.

The synchronic dimension consists of at least two related and vertically structured spheres: the sociolinguistic sphere (upper part of the diagram) and the underlying non-linguistic sphere (lower part of the diagram).

The sociolinguistic sphere reflects complex diglossic or poliglossic situations - constant contact and competition among languages. (Standard) Indonesian is the 'high (or highest)' prestigious language, whereas minority languages are always at the bottom tier of the hierarchy. Standard Indonesian is the target language to be acquired only via a long and expensive education, and prevails in the majority of domains. It is by law that Indonesian must be used as the language of instruction at schools, universities, offices, official meetings, and for wider inter-ethnic communication across the archipelago. In between are regional languages or regional Malay varieties used for wider communication in their respective regions, e.g. Manggarai used in western Manggarai or Marind used in Merauke, Kupang Malay in West Timor.

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[9] This is a matter of debate; see, among others, Crowley (1999), Mühlhäusler (1996, 1998, 1999; Mühlhäusler 2002) and Siegel (1997).

[10] The upper part of the diagram is adapted from Paaw (2007).

[11] It should be noted that the horizontal arrow means the whole complex constellation of the language ecology traverses through time. It does not mean that the items on the left of the diagram are more relevant to the older generation while items on the right are more relevant to the next generation.

OLD GENERATION   YOUNG/CURRENT GENERATION   FUTURE GENERATION

LANGUAGE ECOLOGY:

MULTILINGUALISM:

STANDARD INDONESIAN

REGIONAL LINGUAFRANCAS

VERNACULARS   MALAY

COLLOQUIAL INDONESIAN

ACROSS REGIONS   LOCAL

LOCAL/VERNACULAR LANGUAGES

NON MINORITY   MINORITY

PRESTIGOUS

MACRO VARIABLES:

SOCIO-HISTORICAL & CULTURAL: Past domination by other ethnic groups; Introduction of world religions

POLITICAL: minority even at the regional level; government (language) policy

GEOGRAPHIC-DEMOGRAPHIC: opening of isolation, increased mobility/contact, …
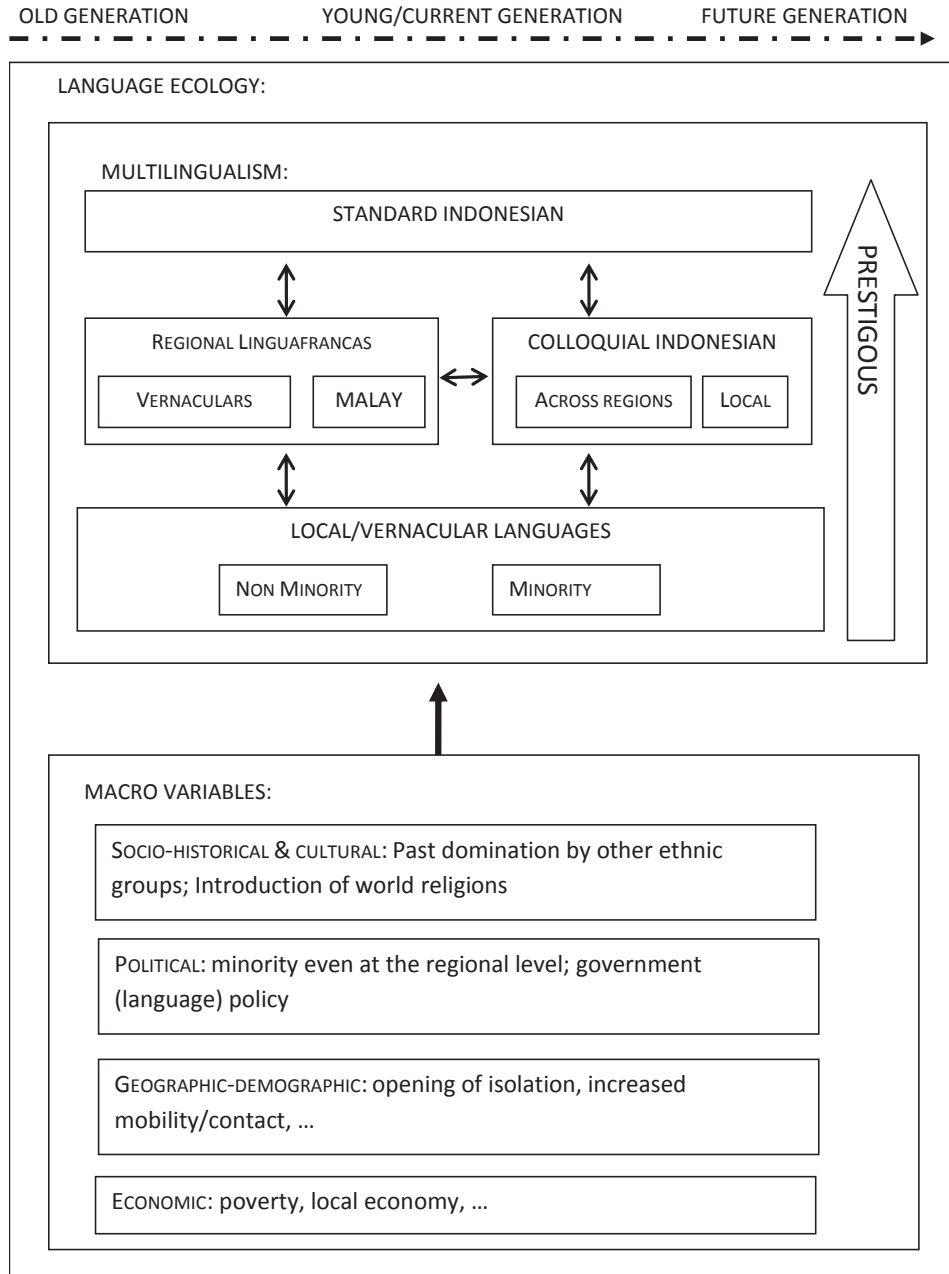
ECONOMIC: poverty, local economy, …

FIGURE 1. The language ecology of Indonesia

Minority languages are generally used in domestic domains or for intra-ethnic communication.[12] Even these domains have been increasingly impinged upon by the use of Indonesian (or a local variety of spoken Indonesian[13]) or the lingua franca of the region, for example, Marind in Merauke or Manggarai in western Flores. In short, minority languages are under pressure, not only from Indonesian but also from powerful regional languages.

The underlying non-linguistic environment consists of a range of conditions (socio-cultural historical, political, geographical, demographic, economic and psycho-social) that affect the well-being of the speakers. These are in fact powerful forces that often relate to the very survival of the speakers themselves. Based on my field experience, it is almost always the case that these non-linguistic conditions – particularly of economy and politics – are of primary concern in daily life. For example, there has been on-going resistance to the political and economic dominance of the Indonesian nation state in West Papua, but there has been little or no resistance to the increased dominance of the Indonesian language. In fact, many of the minority groups embrace the Indonesian language; even the OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka* 'Free Papua Movement') use Indonesian.

One lesson that can be drawn from this is that the negative effects of language displacement are often not perceived as a threat, or because the change is gradual the effect is not realized until a dominant language has supplanted the minority language. My experience working with minority groups is that the elders became aware of this negative impact only when they were asked to reflect on how people used to speak the language in the old days and compare it with the present situation.

Further discussions with the locals reveal a common story. The mastery of the dominant language, Indonesian, is seen as a strategic opportunity to gain socio-economic advantages in modern Indonesia. This is a practical and pragmatic choice, and accepted as the only viable option. Hence, there is a trade-off between the 'opportunity' for a better future and the 'threat' to one's own language. When presented with this choice, I argue that people are generally motivated by the positive 'opportunity' rather than dissuaded by a perceived 'threat' to their home language; if the threat is acknowledged at all, it is viewed as an intangible threat, not really endangering physical life.

Raising awareness of this gradual negative shift, and motivating the locals to act, is important. My experience is that such action, though, is not easy. When everything is measured in a modern standard of economic success, language maintenance runs contrary to common sense. In fact the young people in Flores that I talked to during my fieldwork in 2004 were aware of the diminishing use of their language but were not alarmed by this trend. When prompted, they questioned the value of language maintenance, asking me to explain in what ways learning their local language would help them get a job or lead to

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[12] However, it should be noted that there are other patterns of language use, e.g. large languages, like Javanese, are used for inter-ethnic communication in areas outside Java (see Goebel 2010), as well as for intra-ethnic communication.

[13] A local Malay, such as Kupang Mala, is a variety of Malay with its distinct grammar and lexicon. A local dialect of Indonesian is, however, a colloquial variety of Indonesian, typically influenced by a local vernacular. Thus, colloquial Indonesian spoken by the Balinese in Bali is recognized as not the same as colloquial Indonesian spoken by the Buginese people in South Sulawesi (or by other ethnic groups from other parts of Indonesia).

a better life in the future. It is therefore significant to explain to them that getting a good education and a job to improve their quality of life in the modern world is one thing but keeping their native language with the ancestor's invaluable irreplaceable message (*pesan leluhur*) is another thing. Importantly, the two can in fact go together. My experience is that the elders typically have more awareness of this, and taking along the elders when discussing the issues of language maintenance with the younger generation could help. Language loss and cultural loss in eastern Indonesia tend to equate with lost, unemployed souls turning to alcohol. Speaking only Indonesian does not necessarily guarantee a good job, but it does dislocate young people from their culture and ancestors, and it can lead to social problems rather than economic gains.[14]

3. CATEGORIZATION THEORY, LANGUAGE MANAGEMENT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN INDONESIA. This section outlines how insights from Categorization Theory are applicable to language management and maintenance issues. Because maintaining a language is about human actions or behaviors in relation to organized groups (speech communities and modern-state institutions) I have incorporated insights from Organization Theory.

3.1. CATEGORIZATION THEORY AND ORGANIZATION THEORY. The assumption of Organization Theory, research and practice is that the short-term effectiveness and long-term survival of organizations partly depend on actions taken in response to their external environments (i.e. their 'ecology', as used in this paper) (Chandler Jr. 1962; Lawrence & Dyer 1983) and that organizational actions are partly determined by the intentional behavior of individuals in the organizations, especially top-level decision makers (Child 1972). Hence, we will examine language-relevant external environments closely in contemporary Indonesia, and the responses taken by Indonesian government bodies or by other organizations. This is expanded later in 3.2.1–3.2.2, but a brief overview of categorization theory is now given.

Categorization Theory (CT) proposed by Rosch and her colleagues (Rosch 1975, 1978; Rosch & Mervis 1975) attempts to explain the cognitive processes underlying the concept formation of natural objects. Central to the theory is the notion of the 'prototype' (or 'stereotype') - things are associated with the category on the basis of some kind of similarity with the prototype. In linguistics, the theory was first applied in lexical semantics, e.g. classification of colours and other natural objects such as 'chairs' and was even extended to morphosyntax (Taylor 1991). It has been argued that this theory is applicable in organizational research on decision making (Dutton & Jackson 1981).

I now want to propose that it is also applicable to research in language maintenance and management. CT provides us with a framework to understand past and present language policies formulated by decision makers and the implementation of such policies at all levels together with their consequential responses (or non-responses) and the implications of the policies. Importantly CT also provides us with insights into the complexities involved in any attempt on the part of local minorities to maintain their languages.

Research into categorization reveals important characteristics of *category labelling*.

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[14] Thanks to Louise Baird for pointing out this.

Firstly, category names or labels reflect cognitive structures. The critical assertion of the theory is that people form cognitive categories on the basis of certain perceived features or attributes of objects. For our discussions, we will talk more about social objects rather than about natural objects. Categories of natural objects are fuzzy, not clear-cut. Categories of social objects, situations and events are even fuzzier and more ambiguous than natural objects because there are often no clear prototypical cases (Cantor et al 1982). Because of the fuzziness of social objects, linguistic labeling of them is a powerful categorizing device, as I will show later.

Objects perceived as having similar attributes are cognitively processed and categorized in the same way, and hence assigned the same labels. Important characteristics of these labels are that cognitive categories come with a set of attributes, and the different attributes have a correlational structure. This is illustrated later in section 3.2.1 below, where the category of *peluang* 'opportunity' includes a correlation between 'positive' 'gain' and 'control' attributes.

Taken together, the shared attributes describe a prototypical member (Rosch 1975). Applied to social objects and situations, the notion of a prototype can be extended to include prototypical consequential events. This extension is motivated by the assertion of some cognitive theories which assume that individuals employ schemas to understand their world. (Schemas are data structures in memory representing knowledge and concepts (Bartlett 1932; Piaget 1952)). Relevant here is Script Theory, which describes schemas that specify the sequencing of events (Abelson 1981). Schemas (i.e. script and object categories) can have profound effects upon inferences and behavior.

For example, under the authoritarian *Orde Baru* (New Order) regime of Soeharto, the label *ancaman* 'threat' placed in the context of the priority of national unity was instrumental for the regime to silence any challenge to Soeharto's dominance of power. That is, any issue or person categorized as a 'threat' by the central government in Jakarta was in effect dealt with militarily by all lower-level decision makers. This label led to interpretive meanings of consequential actions including the oppressive physical elimination or neutralization of organizations and individuals.

Another important characteristic of category labeling is that it is an efficient way of storing information and useful for communication, as labels may carry culturally or politically complex meanings. The complex information carried by the category labels is shared by the community members, and the categorization therefore eases or reduces the complex processing in communication. That is, the array of complex information of the objects or issues is placed into a meaningful group, and can be interpreted in a similar and efficient way by the target audience.

Related to the efficiency of category labels in communication is the power of categorization, often used to induce the distortion of ambiguous information. This is particularly true when we are dealing with social objects such as local speech communities in Indonesia. While working on language-related issues, language activists often walk on a fine or fuzzy line, open to the possibility of distortive interpretative labeling, e.g. carrying out activities classified by the Indonesian authority as *ancaman* 'threat' to national unity (e.g. in West Papua today), or a threat to the established dominant religious grouping, e.g. a case in which SIL was evicted from south Sulawesi.

3.2. APPLICATION OF CATEGORIZATION THEORY. This subsection discusses the application of cognitive categorial structures within CT to the management of language-related issues in the Indonesian context. I will discuss the meaning of two salient category labels, namely 'threat' and 'opportunity,' in 3.2.1, and then look at the politics of language within this perspective in 3.2.2.

3.2.1. INTERPRETATION OF 'THREAT', 'OPPORTUNITY', AND OTHER RELATED CATEGORY LABELS. There are two salient strategic issue categories, as mentioned earlier: *ancaman* 'threat' and *peluang* 'opportunity'. Research on strategic decision processes (Nutt 1984; Mintzberg, Raisinghini & Théorét 1976) revealed that different stimuli evoked different decision processes and that the categories of 'threat' and 'opportunity' are relevant and consequential for decision processes.

Indeed, these two category labels have been used in everyday language in Indonesia, not only by top-end decision makers but also by ordinary people at the grass-roots level. For example, minority groups embrace Bahasa Indonesia precisely because of the *peluang* ('opportunity') category associated with it. This is the prevalent perception and attitude of local community members: parents typically do whatever they can so that their children acquire Indonesian as early as possible for better performance at schools, which means better future opportunities.

In Categorization Theory, labels reflect structured interrelated categories. On the basis of the current socio-political context of Indonesia, I propose the macro-level categories shown in Figure 2. These are salient in the discourse of strategic issues. While originating at the macro or national level, they interact with and therefore have consequences for local languages.
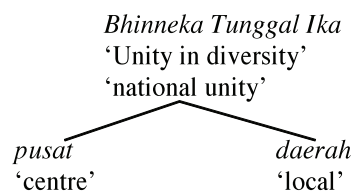
The top-most level in Figure 2(a) is the important territorial concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* 'unity in diversity'[15], encompassing the uniqueness and ideals of the Indonesian nation-state, uniting hundreds of ethnic groups across the archipelago. Nationalism is one of the five pillars of the national ideology of *Pancasila*. Thus, for the nationalists, national unity (*persatuan Indonesia*) is a non-negotiable principle that should be fought for until the last drop of blood (*titik darah penghabisan*). There are two labels prominent here *pusat* (centre) and *daerah* (local). The relevant attributes include *atasan* (superior /powerful) for centre and *bawahan* (subordinate/inferior) for local.

There has been an on-going tension of power and distribution of wealth between *pusat* and *daerah* throughout the history of Indonesia, and by extension Javanese and non-Javanese ethnic groups. The *Orde Baru* regime under Soeharto can be said to have been the most successful regime in imposing centralization in the name of national unity. Recently, there has been a dramatic shift towards autonomy, whose significance in relation to minority languages is to be discussed in 3.3.3.2 below.

It is within this concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* that strategic issues shown in Figure 2b, in relation to language management in Indonesia, should be understood. Included in strategic labels are *ancaman* and *peluang*, which themselves are related to the labels of

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[15] This motto is from Old Javanese which literally means '(although) in pieces yet One'. It is a quotation from an Old Javanese poem written in Indian metre, the so called *kakawin* or *kawya*. This poem in question is *kakawin Sutasoma*, written by Mpu Prapañca during the reign of the Majapahit empire in the 14th century http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Bhinneka_Tunggal_Ika.

(a) Territorial categories

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika
'Unity in diversity'
'national unity'

pusat   *daerah*
'centre'   'local'

(b) Strategic issue categories

strategic issues

ancaman   *peluang*
'threat'   'opportunity'

                                 merdeka
                                 'freedom'

separatis(me)   *otonomi*
'separatism'   'autonomy'
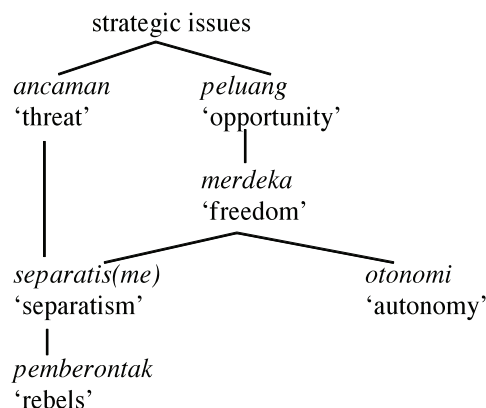
pemberontak
'rebels'

FIGURE 2. Macro-level categories

merdeka, *separatis(me)* and *otonomi*. (Each will be further discussed and exemplified in 3.3.3 below.)

The 'threat' and 'opportunity' categories both contain 'importance' and 'future-oriented' salient attributes. They have different properties with differential effects on the decision makers' processing of, and eventual response to, strategic issues. On the basis of the discussion given in Dutton & Jackson (1981), the general process model can be shown in Figure 3. I will frame the discussions within this simple model, in relation to the interpretation of the category labels shown in Figure 2.

Within this model, individuals and organizations (i.e. their decision makers) are placed in an environment consisting of a set of events, trends and developments. They are bombarded with a range of (possibly fuzzy) information coming from the environment. Due to constraints of different types (information capacity limits and individual or organizational filters), not all issues coming from the environment are perceived. Rather, they are selectively perceived, and possibly categorized differently by different individuals depending on the filters (which reflect past experiences and other complex strategies). Once an issue penetrates such filters, it is labeled and categorized. The label serves as a pointer to the
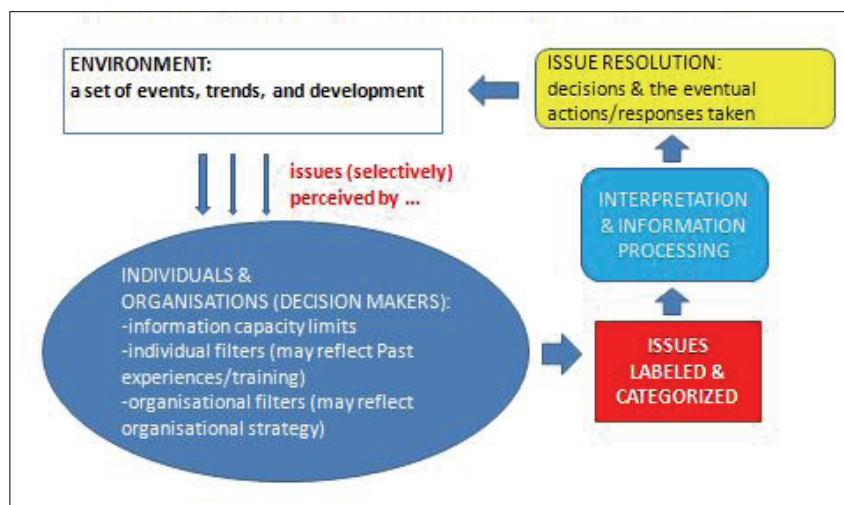
FIGURE 3. General Process Model (based on Dutton and Jackson 1981)

relevant cognitive category, along with its relevant attributes. Accessing the cognitive category affects both cognitive processing and affective reactions of individuals and decision makers in the organizations. This is followed by interpretation and further information processing, which then feed into decisions about how to resolve the issue.

Let us now focus on the two categories of 'threat' and 'opportunity' and their (hypothesized) relationship to cognition processes and responses. This is summarized in Figure 4.

As seen, a strategic category label carries prototypical interpretive meanings and salient attributes. For example, the prototypical salient attributes associated with 'threat' are *negative* situations imposed by external force which may lead to *loss* and over which one has *little* or *no control*.[16] These attributes are correlated cognitively. Once identified and categorized, the categorization of an issue affects the memory of the old information and the interpretation of new information, making the old/new information consistent with the content of the category (i.e. biases due to stereotyping). For example, in Indonesia, a demonstration protesting the same issue (e.g. a greater share of local revenues and recognition of local identity) by people in West Papua and in Bali could be categorized separately and therefore responded to differently by the authorities due to this stereotyping. The Papuan case is prone to be categorized as 'separatist' and therefore a 'threat', due to the cognitive processing of the authorities who treat the new information as consistent with the on-going struggle for independence by the West Papuans. In contrast, it would be unlikely for the Balinese demonstration to be interpreted and labeled as 'separatist,' and would not be regarded as a serious 'threat' by the authorities.

In a government-sponsored national seminar on the *Politik Bahasa Nasional* (The

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[16] Obtaining empirical evidence to confirm these is in itself an important research project for the future. The validity of the asserted link comes, for example, from research on decision-making and stress (see Dutton & Jackson 1981 and the references therein).

Category	Salient attributes	Cognition & Motivation	Organizational Processes
'threat'	negative - loss - little/no control	Biases/ stereotyping: interpretation of new or old info is made consistent with the category	• public issue labelling generates communication consistent with the category • a 'threat' label (a) decreases the involvement of lower level members in the resolution of the issue, and (b) increases the probability that the organizational response will be internal and of large magnitude (and vice versa)
'opportunity'	positive - gain - fair amount of control		

Figure 4. Linking 'threat' and 'opportunity' to cognition, motivation and organization responses based on the hypothesis discussed in Dutton and Jackson (1981)

Politics of the National Language) 1975, there was a concern that the development of local languages would lead to the disintegration of the nation-state of Indonesia (Alwi & Sugono 2003:60). This is explainable in terms of stereotyping, and interpretation of a local language as symbolically part of a *daerah* ('region') against the *pusat* ('centre', i.e. Jakarta) in the long history of discontented regions wanting to break away from Indonesia (i.e. a threat to the national unity).

Another important point from Figure 4 is the linking of the issue category label to 'Motivation and Participation'. For example, the application of CT here can provide an understanding of the correlation between the category label of *ancaman* 'threat' and a decrease in grass-roots participation, especially in the West Papuan context. This is because of prototypical attributes (negative, loss, uncontrollable) and common filters from past experiences of the expected responses or consequences. The issue of possible (mis) categorization as *separatis* 'separatism' and therefore *ancaman* 'threat' is of great concern in West Papua. My experience from the field in West Papua is that the consequences of such labeling are well understood by the local communities. Thus, for active involvement of both local communities and local authorities in any community-based activities in West Papua now, we must cautiously and carefully craft the programs so that they are not miscategorized as engaging in separatist activities and therefore classified as *ancaman* 'threat'. This is a serious issue. When I carried out a workshop in Merauke, I met with officials from the department of education, and was asked to report to *kesbang* (*kesatuan bangsa*)—a government department responsible for detecting any suspicious activity threatening national unity. On another occasion, the head of *Dinas Kebudayaan* (Local Department of Culture), a Yeinan person, told me that that he made sure that small symbolic things such as the pictures of the president and vice president were on the wall, just to avoid being labeled as a separatist.

3.2.2. THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE IN INDONESIA. Strategic language-related issues in Indonesia have been politically motivated within the concept of Binneka Tunggal Ika, captured by the structured categories shown in Figure 2. They are part of nation building to

maintain and foster national unity. To understand this, one has to understand the sociocultural history of Indonesia – a vast archipelagic nation with divisions across ethnic, cultural, language and religious groupings. There have been turbulent tensions between *pusat–daerah* (central and local) where separatism and disintegration are two serious issues as far as the central government in Jakarta is concerned.

In what follows, I discuss one relevant label, namely Indonesian as *bahasa persatuan* 'unifying language,' and the implications therein. I then discuss the *Badan Bahasa* '(National) Language Board', a government body set up specifically in conjunction to this strategic issue. Finally, I will look at regulations and publications that reflect language policy or language management in Indonesia and assess the prospects for minority languages.

3.2.2.1. BAHASA PERSATUAN 'UNIFYING LANGUAGE'. The explicit labeling of Indonesian as Bahasa persatuan 'unifying language' was first made in 1928 in Sumpah Pemuda (Youth Declaration) as part of the struggle to gain independence from the Dutch colonial government. Since then, Bahasa Indonesia has been perceived of as having symbolic and instrumental value in unifying the archipelago.

This status was further enhanced by another classification – that of the *national* language and the *official language* (*bahasa resmi*) in the 1945 constitution, confirmed by the first Congress of Bahasa Indonesia in Medan in 1954. Its status as a national, official and unifying language, in addition to the language used as the medium in education, science and technology, and mass media has been further regulated by two recent *undang-undang* (or UU) 'laws', the law of the national education system UU 2 1989, UU 22 1999 concerning local autonomy and UU 24 2009 about the flag, language, national symbols and anthem.

Given the interests of the central government in maintaining and enforcing national unity, it is not surprising that the necessary support and allocated resources are in favor of Bahasa Indonesia rather than local languages. Such support includes legislation (ensuring the prestigious labels of Bahasa Indonesia as *bahasa persatuan* 'unifying language,' *bahasa resmi* 'official language,' and as the language of science and technology), government organizational structure (e.g. via department of education and culture with the formation of the *Badan Bahasa*, further elaborated below), standardization and material development for teaching and proficiency testing, support for the information technology needed (e.g. internet and social media), funding for collaboration, translations and guides of different kinds (see evidence from the publications discussed below in 3.2.2.2), and human resource development.

It is imperative to see the history showing the extent of the 'unifying function' of Bahasa Indonesia, specified by the laws which have been part of the cognitive filter of the decision makers. Soeharto's authoritarian regime managed to set up a centralized system, which in the name of national unity imposed harsh Indonesianization. This policy was translated at the lowest level in a similarly harsh way, e.g. cases of Rongga children who were physically punished when they used local languages in the classroom (Arka 2005). While perhaps not endorsing such physical punishment, Moeliono, former head of the *Badan Bahasa*, says "... knowledge of Indonesian is not an automatic affair; it has to be planned, promoted, and monitored at all levels of education, and all domains of its use" (Moeliono 1994:196).

There is no question that Bahasa Indonesia has now become a prestigious language used for wider communication in Indonesia in all domains. The case of Indonesian clearly indicates that language can indeed be managed. However, this has been done through systematic, oppressive, centralized language management with huge resources to back it up as well as government institutional support. In addition, this 'achievement' has come with unintended consequences, namely, the increasing marginalization of local minority languages. [17] This negative impact of Indonesian language policy has been recognized by academic communities in Indonesia, but apparently not so by the government ranks even in the current climate of the Reformation Era in Indonesia. Hence, the issue of the status and function of Bahasa Indonesia as a unifying language was debated again in a recent government-sponsored seminar on the politics of language (Alwi & Sugono 2003). One participant commented:

(2). *Tidak usah dirisaukan bahasa Indonesia sebagai bahasa persatuan karena hal itu sudah tercapai. Yang perlu diperhatikan adalah pengajaran bahasa daerah.* (Alwi &S Sugono 2003).
'We should no longer be concerned with Indonesian as a unifying language, because that has been achieved. What we need to be concerned with now, is the teaching of local languages.'

However, given the history of Indonesia in which Bahasa Indonesia has been perceived as instrumental in the struggle for independence and national identity, I expect that the labeling of Bahasa Indonesia as *bahasa persatuan* and the enforcement of this unifying function will remain an important part of the strategy of the central government in its nation building effort and in controlling its territorial integrity. In terms of our cognitive processing of category labels shown in Figure 3, the inclusion of the label *bahasa persatuan* in current legislation reflects the underlying filters or concerns of, and therefore response to, the national strategic issues of 'threat' and 'disintegration' from the government perspective.

3.2.2.2. THE BADAN BAHASA AND LOCAL LANGUAGES. Within Indonesia, it is argued that language can and should be managed as part of a national language policy framework. The Badan Pengembangan dan Pembinaan Bahasa 'National Board for Language Development and Cultivation', or Badan Bahasa 'National Language Board' is a special government body set up in 1975 to manage language-related issues in Indonesia.[18] Its responsibilities, according to the ministerial decree (SK Medikbud 022/O/1980) and recommendations of the national seminar on language policy (Alwi & Sugono 2009), are listed in (5).

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[17] Language marginalization is generally a reflection of the marginalization of the minority speech community: a small ethnic group has suffered increased inequality in modern Indonesia in terms of political control, education and wealth even at the most local level.

[18] This institution was previously known as The *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* 'National Centre for Language Development and Cultivation', or *Pusat Bahasa* 'National Language Centre'; http://badanbahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/lamanbahasa/.

(3). a. Formulating the national policy on language and literature in Indonesia

b. Undertaking and coordinating research and development on language use in Indonesia, including Indonesian, local languages of Indonesia, (local) literature, and foreign languages

c. Developing collaborative efforts with other relevant bodies, especially educational institutions, local governments and professional organizations

To help with its tasks in relation to local languages, it currently has twenty-two branches across Indonesia. These regional branches of the *Badan Bahasa* are known as the *Balai Bahasa* 'Language Offices.' While the *Badan Bahasa* also has some responsibility for local languages and literature, a great deal of time, effort and resources have been devoted to the research and development of Bahasa Indonesia. An investigation into its publications from 1975 to 2007, given in Table 2, reveals the imbalance in the attention given to local languages. During the period, a total of 1556 items were published and only a third of them are related to local vernacular languages.

LANGUAGES	FIELDS OF PUBLICATIONS	NUMBER OF PUBLICATIONS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE	
Indonesian	Grammars/aspects of Grammar	132	556	35.8	69.7
	Dictionaries	228			
	Translations (into Indonesian)	15			
	Manuals and guides of different kinds	58			
	Congress Proceedings	6			
	Literature/Literary studies	117			
Local Malay	Grammars/aspects of Grammar	124	527	33.9	
	Literature/Literary studies	403			
Local vernacular languages	Grammars/aspects of Grammar	355	471	30.3	30.3
	Literature/Literary studies	116			
TOTAL			1554	100	

TABLE 2. Summary of publications of the *Badan Bahasa* 1975-2007

Among these local languages as seen in Table 3, the ones that have most publications are healthy non-minority languages, with Javanese on top (14.3%). The geographical spread is also uneven, as seen in Table 4, with linguistically diverse regions such as west

	Language	Grammar-related publications	% (of 355)
1	Javanese	51	14.3
2	Sundanese	24	6.7
3	Balinese	14	3.9
4	Lampung	9	2.5
5	Acehnese	7	1.9

TABLE 3. Local languages ranked in terms of grammar-related publications produced by the *Badan Bahasa*

	Regions	Number of Publications	Number of Languages in the publications	Ratio
1	Java	82	3	27.3
2	Sumatera	88	41	2.1
3	Bali & Nusa Tenggara	46	25	1.8
4	Kalimantan	49	32	1.5
5	Sulawesi	36	26	1.4
6	Papua	9	8	1.1
7	Maluku	7	7	1

TABLE 4. Regions sorted on the basis of ratio publications/number of languages

Papua and Maluku having a 1:1 ratio (i.e. one language with one publication), indicating that the language is given least attention.

Since the fall of Soeharto in 1998, there has been a radical shift towards regional autonomy, with West Papua being granted special autonomy status. According to the autonomy laws (UU 22 1999 on Local Autonomy and 2001 on special autonomy) and also the laws on languages (UU 24 2009), local languages are now mainly within the responsibility of the local governments. It is unclear whether this shift will benefit local languages, and what roles the regional branches of *Badan Bahasa* (i.e. *Balai Bahasa*) play in the new development. However, on the basis of the politics of language motivating the *Badan Bahasa* and its branches, evaluation of what the *Badan Bahasa* has done. and the local-level capacity to deal with local languages, I should not expect any radical change in the attention given (and therefore resources devoted) to minority languages, especially in eastern Indonesia. While local autonomy (special or ordinary) may indeed bring more freedom for the locals to handle themselves, groups who are a minority in their own regions would be still be disadvantaged. This is further discussed in 3.3.3.2.

3.3. COMPARATIVE CASE STUDIES: FLORES VS. WEST PAPUA. In this subsection, I present case studies based on my fieldwork in Flores and west Papua (Merauke). After providing a brief description of these two languages in 3.3.1, I provide an analysis along the lines of the points so far discussed in previous subsections: assessment of the sociolinguistic and other variables in the ecology of the languages (3.3.2), and special focus on regional/local support and future directions (3.3.3).

3.3.1. RONGGA AND MARORI: A BRIEF OVERVIEW. The locations of Rongga in Flores and Marori in west Papua are shown in Figure 5. Rongga is an Austronesian language, spoken by around 4000 speakers, mainly in the villages of Tanarata, Bamo, and Watunggene, Kota Komba sub-district, in the regency of East Manggarai. It is well documented (Arka 2005, 2010; 2010; Arka, Kosmas & Suparsa 2007; Arka et al. 2007).

Marori[19] is a Papuan language (isolate, Trans New Guinea (Ross 2005)), spoken by the Marori people in Kampung Wasur, around 15 kms east of Merauke, west Papua. Marori

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[19] Alternative names are Morori, Moaraeri, Moraori, and Morari.

FIGURE 5. Rongga in Flores and Marori in west Papua, Indonesia

is highly endangered, with only several fluent speakers left, out of a total of 52 families or 119 people. The sociolinguistic survey carried out in 2000 (Sohn, Lebold & Kriens 2009) reports the precarious nature of the language, which I further confirmed when I did my fieldwork in 2008 and 2009. Young Marori people typically no longer actively speak their langauge. They may, however, still have passive competence of varying degrees. They almost all speak Indonesian or the local variety of Indonesian/Malay, and also Marind.

Marori is under-documented. Previous publications mentioning this language (Boelaars 1950; Wurm 1954) mainly originated from the work of the Dutch missionary Father P. Drabbe, who also published his own work on the languages of southern New Guinea (Drabbe 1954, 1955). Mark Donohue collected a word list and also produced a picture dictionary (Gebze & Donohue 1998). A sociolinguistic survey was undertaken by SIL (Sohn, Lebold & Kriens 2009) on languages around Merauke including Marori.

3.3.2. ASSESSMENTS OF THEIR SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND OTHER MACRO VARIABLES. Table 5 shows similarities and differences between the two languages along a number of variables known to be critical for the survival of a language. It is clear that the prognosis is not promising because all variables listed show 'weak' or 'negative' vitality. Marori is certainly critically endangered in all endangerment scales proposed in the literature (Krauss 2006:1; Crystal 2000:19-23; Fishman 1991; Kinkade 1991; Evans 2009): it has a very few fluent speakers left and there is a serious problem with intergenerational transmission. The reasons for this are a complex, including a history of domination (enslavement) and forced relocations. In the case of Marori, for example, this ethnic group was hunted down by its more dominant neighbor, the Marind, known for their head-hunting traditions. The remaining population has therefore been small in number.

The question of what options are available to the community to redress this and how others might contribute is discussed in the next subsection.

3.3.3. CHALLENGES: PROVIDING ASSISTANCE, BUT HOW?

3.3.3.1.CATEGORIES OF ISSUES. Table 5 exemplifies the typical profiles of threatened languages showing the complexities of the problems involved. Helping minority groups to maintain or revive their languages means addressing all of those problems – a very daunting task. Given the complexities and uncertainties of the problems, minority language maintenance and revitalization are indeed two of "the greatest conservation challenges of our generation" (Harrison 2007:20). They call for an integrated, multidisciplinary approach (or model) by which linguistic and non-linguistic issues can be addressed.

On the basis of field experience, there are at least four major issues that need to be borne in mind, and within Indonesia these must be approached with the framework of strategic cognitive filters associated with labels given Figure 2.

(4). a. *Content issues:*
Providing complete descriptions of the language (including its sociolinguistic information) and related resources for learning/teaching and other language programs
b. *Participation issues:*
Encouraging and ensuring that speech-community members eagerly participate in language maintenance programs, or use the language at least in the family domain so that it is passed to the next generation
c. *Support issues:*
Providing long-term institutional/organizational and financial support or incentives such that language programs can be maintained, and/or the young people are eager to learn/use the language
d. *Capacity building and leadership issues*
Recruiting and training local leaders and community members so that they can do language maintenance/revitalization programs themselves, finding external support as necessary

Trained in linguistics, I can easily manage the content issues. This is what field linguists most generally do in the field: working with the community to produce language descriptions, dictionaries, teaching materials, working with local teachers to write syllabi etc. so that the language can be taught to the local children. However, teaching a language at school does not guarantee that the language is used outside by the students. We therefore need to address the other three issues in (4)b-d.

These are difficult issues, as they are typically not under the control of any single individual. Discussing them in considerable depth is beyond the scope of the present paper. However, I have provided a framework within the CT and organization theory (3.2.1) by which we can sort the issues, provide recommendations, and assess the prospects. I shall discuss this in relation to my own projects (Marori vs. Rongga) within the language ecology of Indonesia. I will focus on the support issue, and extend this to participation and capacity building issues within the current trend of regional autonomy in Indonesia.

	VARIABLES	RONGGA	MARORI	COMMENTS
1	Sociolinguistics: (a) domains	-used in domestic domains and intra-ethnic communications, still among young generation	-used in domestic domains for certain families -intra-ethnic communications only among elders	similar; *limited* and *declining* in domains of use;
	(b) status in Indonesian diglossic/ multiglossic context (cf. Figure 1)	-at the bottom of the hierarchy, 'low' even in its own region	-at the bottom of the hierarchy, 'low' even in its own region	same; 'low' (disadvantaged)
	(c) fluent speakers & intergenerational transmission	-around 4000 people; with still plenty of fluent speakers; children still acquire the language in the interior territory	-100 people with few fluent speakers left; children mostly no longer acquire it	different; with Marori being critically endangered
2	Historical: domination by other local more powerful ethnic groups	-dominated by Manggarai people -adopt Manggarai identity	-dominated by the Marind people -adopt Marind identity	same; inferior
3	Religion	-Christian: extensive use of Indonesian; ritual language ceases to exist	-Christian: extensive use of Indonesian (ritual language: unclear)	same; negative effect of world religions
4	Political (in contemporary Indonesia): (a) impact of the Indonesian state	New Indonesian-style village/kampong structure: diminishing function of *adat* leadership	New Indonesian-style village/kampong structure: diminishing function of *adat* leadership	same; negative impact of the Indonesian state on *adat*.
	(b) modern democracy	Power in electoral system: tiny minority; not in control over local politics	Power in electoral system: tiny minority; not in control over local politics	same; too small to compete/contest the regional politics
	(c) consideration at schools as MULOK (local content curricula)	Local language curriculum: Rongga students learn Manggarai	No Local language curriculum in Merauke: recent attempt to teach Marori by an elder; not yet part of mulok	similar; no well-developed teaching-material available
	(d) Concerns by the regional/local government	No policy yet by Kabupaten/Provincial for minority groups in NTT	No policy yet by Kabupaten/Provincial for minority groups in Papua	same; too small to be considered
5	Socio-economic (regional)	NTT/Flores is the poorest region in Indonesia (77% under the poverty line)	Indonesian west Papua is rich in natural resources: the average 40% under the poverty line, but 80% of the native Papuans are under the poverty line.[20]	Papua is doing better than NTT/Flores
6	Demographic/ geographical (a) areas of living & contact with other ethnic groups	unprecedented contacts with other ethnic groups; forced relocations; but some pockets in the interior part are still homogenous	unprecedented contacts with other ethnic groups: close to towns; the kampong is multi-enthic with transmigrants settling in	different: Rongga is better than Marori
	(b) marriage	interethnic marriage	interethnic marriage: too small to have intra-ethnic marriage	same
7	Human resources: education	increasingly more educated locals (up to university level)	few educated locals; high number of school leavers	Rongga is better than Marori

TABLE 5. Rongga and Marori compared on the basis of different variables

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[20] http://www.suarapembaruan.com/tajukrencana/dana-otsus-dikorupsi/620.

3.3.3.2. SUPPORT ISSUES IN REGIONAL AUTONOMY CONTEXTS. The collapse of the Indonesian economy forced Soeharto to step down in 1998. Later, Indonesia was again in turmoil with the secession of East Timor. Indonesia then underwent a dramatic change from a highly centralized authoritarian state to a democracy with direct elections at all levels (central, local parliaments, president, governor and regents), and, importantly, embarked on radical decentralization reforms. Learning from the East Timor experience, two provinces – Aceh and West Papua – were granted special autonomy (*Otsus, Otonomi Khusus*) by the state, whereas others were given regional autonomy (*otda*, *otonomi daerah*). In view of the cognitive-based categories shown in Figure 2, this could be easily understood as the *pusat–daerah* ('central–regional') tension with West Papua and Aceh, playing both *ancaman* 'threat' and *peluang* 'opportunity' cards simultaneously. These are explicit in the interpretation of *Otsus* by local Papuans:

(5). *Makna daripada pemberian Otonomi khusus bagi provinsi Papua adalah sebagai siasat untuk merajut tali persatuan dan kesatuan bangsa, sebagai alat legitimasi pengakuan jati diri orang asli Papua untuk menikmati hasil-hasil pembangunan secara adil dan sebagai suatu peluang bagi orang asli Papua untuk merubah diri dalam belenggu keterbelakangan ketertinggalan yang menyebabkan kemiskinan, kebodohan, ketidaksehatan dan kemelaratan untuk meraih perubahan dalam mencapai kesejahtraan yang berarti.*

The special autonomy granted to Papua province is a strategy to strengthen the unity of the nation, a legitimate means to recognise the identity of the indigenous Papuans and their rights to benefit from the fair share of development, and as an opportunity to change themselves and get rid of the backwardness that has caused poverty, ignorance, unhealthiness, and misery, to achieve meaningful prosperity. (Rumbiak 2005:63)

There are two points here. First, special autonomy is an augmented regional autonomy, e.g. with uniqueness '*kekhususan*' in terms of local governance, e.g. where local *adat* elders may have representatives and local heads must be native Papuans. Secondly, the central government has committed to support it with special funds. A large amount of special autonomy funding has been granted every year for a range of purposes as outlined in the *Otsus* laws. Since the implementation of special autonomy in 2001, more than twenty trillion rupiah (US $2,208,724,461) has been granted to West Papua, and in 2010 both provinces in west Papua received a total of 3.7 trillion rupiah (US $408,614,025).

This support from Jakarta particularly with granting large amounts of funding is positive and potentially usable for the empowerment of local communities. In this respect, for a comparative analysis, the Marori people in West Papua are in a much better position than the Rongga in Flores, East Nusa Tenggara province (NTT). The Rongga in particular and other ethnic communities in Nusa Tenggara do not receive much funding. They do not have the *ancaman* 'threat' or *merdeka* 'freedom/independence' cards to play, and the central government in Jakarta would not see the issue in that way.

Indeed, the *Otsus* fund has brought change to local communities, though not yet in terms of language-related problems. For example, all Kampong across West Papua

FIGURE 6. One of the houses in Kampung Wasur built by the local government
using the special autonomy fund

have received funds annually for different sorts of projects. I attended one Kampong meeting in Kampung Wasur where the locals discussed this. Technically, in the special autonomy laws, there are also special funds for empowerment of *adat* and local languages. The provincial government in Jayapura already organized a seminar in November 2010 to discuss how to promote local languages, including teaching at schools. It appears language-related issues have indeed penetrated the cognitive filters of the local (provincial) decision makers. At the moment, activity appears to be more of an academic exercise as opposed to actual action at the community level.

The West Papuan case illustrates the point captured by the strategic categories depicted in Figure 2 where the local Papuans collectively have successfully played both 'threat' and 'opportunity' cards with the central government in Jakarta, potentially good for the maintenance of traditional *adat* customs including their languages. It remains to be seen how well the funds have been spent according to the spirit and points of the special autonomy laws. The power of *adat* cannot be undermined, as indicated by my interview with community workers from SKB (*Sanggar Kegiatan Belajar*). The resurgence of *adat* in current regional autonomy has been discussed in Arka (2008), and I will briefly touch on it in the next subsection.

It has been revealed that regional and special autonomies have implementation problems for various reasons, such as corrupt local bureaucrats, weak local infrastructure, lack of local control, and unwillingness of the central government to give up certain power (see

Tyson 2010; Kingsbury & Aveling 2003; Holtzappel & Ramstedt 2009).

One potentially negative side of this is the existence locally of a tension similar to the *pusat–daerah* tension that exists at the national level, which would, in effect, disadvantage minority groups. Relative dominance among ethnic groups applies to different layers of territorial grouping. There are problems among the local players, e.g. in West Papua among dominant ethnic Papuans; in NTT among the Flores people and other local groups. This is similar to the *pusat–daerah* tension, but it is on the regional level, i.e. *provinsi–kabupaten* tension. Evidence for this in West Papua came from the complaints of smaller *kabupatens* who did not receive a fair distribution of the *Otsus* support. I expect that tiny minority groups will always be disadvantaged even when special autonomy or regional autonomy is implemented. This is a fact of democracy where numbers count. This is an unfortunate reality even though the 1945 constitution treats and guarantees that all ethnic groups, with their cultures and languages, have equal right as part of the national culture and identity of Indonesia, and that laws have been passed that all local languages (minority or not) should be maintained. Dominant ethnic groups will claim the power and identity, eclipsing the minority ones. For example, names of buildings are in the local Marind language, even for a building in the Marori territory as seen in Figure 7.

FIGURE 7. Cultural Park in Kampung Wasur (Marori territory) but the name Bomi Sai
on the building is in Marind, meaning 'anthill (lit.) the house of ants'

Another point is that the category label of 'threat' as 'opportunity' as played by the West Papuans is valid only at the macro national level. The minority groups of West Papua such as the Marori can play this card against the central government only in collaboration with fellow West Papuans. The minority groups should collectively be part of bigger groups to bargain with leaders in Jakarta. However, to fight against the dominant regional

power for shares and rights in their own regions, new strategies must be sought in which they would unfortunately be alone.

3.3.3.3. PARTICIPATION AND CAPACITY BUILDING ISSUE. Local participation and leadership are the hardest issues to address and cultivate. These entail both the internal motivation of community members as individuals as well as a group, as well as collective, strategic, and critical forward-looking assessments of the organizational environment. On the basis of field experience, these boil down to two central issues. First are the community-internal capacity (building) issues, which themselves are complex. There is no clear and easy way to shape or produce people with the right qualities needed to move forward; such qualities can be only achieved. I think that through education, such a long-term investment process would take one or two generations to take effect. Second are the priority issues due to a clash between the macro-level perspective, reflecting (central) government interests and captured by categories in Figure 2, and the micro-level community perspective. From the macro-level perspective, the 'threat' is interpreted within the concept of national unity. National unity is paramount, and it takes precedence over any other issues. From the local perspective, the 'threat' is actually a real physical threat with respect to their existence or survival as human beings, particularly in relation to land and related *adat* rights (*hak ulayat)*. For example, in modern Indonesia, the local Papuans have found that their hunting forests have been cleared, as the *adat* laws are no longer respected.[21] For them, these are priorities that need attention. There has been a call to politicians in Jakarta to change the approach in handling local issues, and to abandon the 'security-approach', i.e. threat-based oppressive measures with no local consultation. Such a threat-based approach, as seen in our model in Figure 4, decreases the involvement of the local community in active participation to resolve the issues.

In terms of the Process Model given in Figure 3, all these are related to *influencing* or *changing* the cognitive filters so that, for example, local people see the need to be involved in certain initiatives. Issues (including the language-related ones) should penetrate the *adat* filters and local priorities, so that they can be categorized and interpreted appropriately in a local context to bring in the trust necessary for active participation and appropriate resolution.

My experience from the field suggests that using category labels, such as *ancaman* 'threat' and *peluang/kesempatan* 'opportunity,' appropriately are powerful indeed when talking to elders and local government officials about minority language maintenance. I spent quite a lot of time travelling around talking to local officials, community elders and youth organizations in order to gain their trust. I worked with Rongga and Marori elders, and managed to raise awareness that *bahasanya terancam punah* 'the language is endangered' and *kesempatannya sekarang untuk melakukan sesuatu* 'there is an opportunity now to do something' about it. In Rongga, for example, local elders and teachers had the initiative of teaching a highly endangered song and dance called *Vera* to the children. The Marori elder, Pak Esebyus (though not a teacher by profession) had the initiative to teach Ma-

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[21] Language-related issues at the most local level are traditionally embedded within *adat*. For example, certain types of rituals with their ritual language belong to particular clans, and there is typically an obligation of the clan to transmit them to their next generation.

rori to the local students at his Kampong, and the local school master, a Biak person, acted on this after I had talked to both of them. In collaboration with the local SKB (*Sanggar Kegiatan Belajar* – Learning Centre) and Department of Culture of Merauke, I organized a workshop on a dictionary project which was attended by a number of representatives of speech communities in the southeast New Guinea area, including Marori. (At a broader level, I joined Nikolaus Himmelmann and Margaret Florey in organizing the workshop for language activists across Indonesia in Ubud, Bali.)

The problems working with the locals, especially in relation to capacity building, are enormous. Most of the problems are non-linguistic, but among them is education, an important aspect related to 'filter' in the Model process in Figure 3. School drop-out rates are high, and because of poor education, minority groups can not respond strategically to the fast-changing world in a way that would be helpful economically and culturally (including the purpose of mother tongue maintenance). In the case of Marori (and other ethnic groups in Indonesia in Papua generally), they are out-maneuvered by migrants in almost every aspect of competition in life. For example, builders and vendors (Figure 8) are almost all outsiders. A member of one local Marori family, however, Mr. Dominikus Kaize set up an orchid nursery in front of his house, selling local varieties of orchids that he collected and grew from the surrounding forest (Figure 9). Certainly, this is an instance of positive development where a local Marori person joins outsiders in small business opportunities.

Figure 8. A Javanese vendor with his motor bike selling fish, vegetables, and other daily staples around the Marori Wasur Kampong

FIGURE 9. A family business of Orchid nursery in Kampung Wasur, owned by Mr. Dominikus Kaize, a local innovative Marori person

Problems in education and training give rise to other pressing problems such as high unemployment, poverty, and health issues (especially HIV and drinking problems). The problem in relation to language maintenance or endangerment is either regarded as a non-issue, or if it is acknowledged, it is not considered urgent. Even though we managed to change people's cognitive filters and show that language maintenance IS urgent, the locals are in most cases powerless, not knowing what to do, or if they know what to do (because we tell them), they typically have no means, no skills, and no resources to carry out what they want to do.

Another issue in the field with minority groups is also finding the right individual with the necessary background to work with. Such people are typically small in number and very few of them are (potentially) adequately skilled. All of the most active people are typically already committed to a range of responsibilities. In the case of the Marori elders, all of them are typically busy with necessary daily routines, generally more interested in going hunting or going to their garden, rather than attending a training session or meeting (even though they know that such training and meetings are important).

4. CONCLUSIONS. While there has been a radical shift recently in Indonesia in terms of democracy, following the fall of the totalitarian regime of Soeharto's *Orde Baru* in 1998, strategic issues pertaining to minority languages and the politics of language in Indonesia have not changed much. I have argued that category labels such as *bahasa persatuan* 'unifying language' are still salient as part of the cognitive filters of the decision and policy

makers at the national level, even in the current Reformation climate where the swing towards greater or full regional autonomy cannot be reversed. I have also argued that the national ideology of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and *Pancasila* is the central organizational filter by which issues are strategically labeled as 'threat' and/or 'opportunity'. These are powerful symbolic and instrumental labels. There is evidence that certain regions such as West Papua have managed to manipulate the 'threat' and 'opportunity' cards at the macro level to force the central government in Jakarta to address their regional concerns, by granting them special autonomy. Special autonomy with its huge funding support potentially opens up the opportunity for the acceleration of regional development, including better resources for local languages. There is evidence that progress has been made in non-language related areas, but there is also evidence of problems in the implementation of special autonomy structures.

The policy situation of tiny monitory languages such as Marori is expected to remain unchanged, or at least there will not be any radical change toward a sudden outpouring of resources for its maintenance or revival in the near future. It is too small and too weak, even in its own region. There are big issues in relation to local capacity building, and bottom-up initiatives. Nevertheless, the picture is not all bleak: there are local Marori people showing signs of innovative entrepreneurship and joining the migrants who dominate the local economy. It remains to be seen how such initiatives may be extended to deal with their dying language.

The road ahead is not going to be easy, and will remain a challenge for all of us. This is because everyone depends on individual and collective/organizational internal motivation to take up the challenge and respond strategically. It is precisely this kind of linkage that is very difficult to create at the most local level because motivation, as argued in this paper, is a complex cognitive process that involves local *adat* filters not always controllable by or accessible to outsiders. Motivation is associated with the individual/collective cognitive filter of the local community, and the role of cognitive filter in language maintenance/ revival has been overlooked in the literature. One way to move forwards is to pay more special attention to this filter, integrating it in the community-based program. Recruiting an educational-psychologist as part of the team working with the community is a logical, fruitful move.

There are surely severe limits in local capacity and resources. Outsiders (NGOs or field-linguists) may be able provide assistance but it is the local people themselves who will ultimately determine the fate of their own language.

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APPENDIX

The lyrics of the songs *Dari Sabang sampai Merauke* [see video] and *Indomie* [see video]

Dari Sabang sampai Merauke

Dari Sabang sampai Merauke	from Sabang to Merauke
berjajar pulau-pulau	lie islands one after another
sambung menyambung menjadi satu	inter-connected into one
itulah Indonesia	that is Indonesia
Indonesia tanah airku	Indonesia, my homeland
Aku berjanji padamu	I promise to you
menjunjung tanah airku	that I glorify you
tanah airku, Indonesia	my homeland, Indonesia

Indomie ' Indonesian Noodles'

yeah here we go   (English)
kita orang orang pe unik   oh oh   (Manado Malay)
We all have our own uniqueness

saya ko deng dia tra sama uh   (Papua Malay)
We are all not the same

bahat bahasa dobo adat ba   (Batak)
(There are) plenty of languages and customs

mawarnoi negeri kito   (Palembang)
making our country colourful

terus meneng iraga melenan   ye   (Balinese)
in harmony despite our differences

Karen mawon kito mboten sami   ye ye   (Javanese)
happy, though we're not the same

pancen leres kito benten   (Javanese)
true, we're different

tetapi satu hal, kita sehati   (Indonesian)
but there's one thing, we all share

Indomie Indomie pilihanku   (Indonesian)
Indomie indomie my choice

satu selera untuk semua   (Indonesian)
One taste for us all

Indomie Indomie hm seleraku   (Indonesian)
Indomie Indomie… my taste