Języki regionalne w systemie narodowej edukacji Indonezji: Studia porównawcze nad programami nauczania języka jawajskiego, sundajskiego i dajak

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Abstract

Indonesian language has been a lingua franca between 1.128 ethnical groups speaking 746 regional languages and dialects, living in the Republic of Indonesia. The domination of Indonesian language in daily practice, the emerging popularity of foreign languages and the change in socio-economic condition have adverse impacts to the existence of regional languages. By 2007 about 35% of those languages are believed to be disappearing. Some ethnical groups with large population succeeded developing their languages through elaborate standardization, better teaching programs and rich literary works. Since 2004 government and linguists have been working on effective regional languages teaching and promotion programs. As the educational policy lies in the hand of provincial government, new strategies have been implemented to incorporate regional language teaching into local content subjects within elementary, secondary and high schools respectively. In this paper the author will show a comparison study between teaching programs of Javanese, Sundanese and Dayak languages.

1 Introduction

The domination of Bahasa Indonesia - the official and unifying language of the Republic of Indonesia has led to considerable concern over the state of regional languages in this country. The number of regional language users has been declining, some even are believed to have been disappearing. The Indonesian government had introduced a new strategy to tackle this problem through better language teaching program.

1.1 Background

Since the establishment of compulsory education program in 1984, only a few of major regional languages, such as Javanese, Sundanese, Minang, Balinese, Madurese and Bugis had already been taught in schools within related regions. The policy of then government was focusing on stable economic growth and uniformity of its educational system throughout Indonesia. The state of small regional languages was not in special consideration. As the national awareness to maintain regional languages emerged, the government began reviving them through intensive researches on better teaching and promotion programs. A new program that incorporates regional language teaching into several subjects related to culture, sports and arts was introduced in the 2006 national curriculum. Aiming on better results, in 2009 the central government gave the responsibility over regional languages teaching strategies to the hand of provincial governments.

1.2 Definition of Problem

The 2006 national curriculum has brought significant improvement on results, especially in the case of major regional languages. Yet slow progress is still obvious in the case of small languages. There have been problems in several factors such as the lack of elaborate standardization of grammar, availability of dictionaries, reliable and attractive teaching materials, sufficient workload and availability of skillful teachers. Beside the small number of speakers, regional languages also face the question of economic advantage. As an impact of globalization, many people tend to focus on learning popular foreign languages such as English, Japanese, Korean, German and Chinese in the hope of finding good jobs. All those factors constitute challenge for each provincial government to provide attractive programs for regional language learning.

This paper describes the existing development of regional language teaching programs in Indonesia. For the case study, the author presents three languages from different status, namely *Javanese* and *Sundanese*, which both enjoy highly successful programs and *Dayak*, which represents a struggling one.

2 Regional languages and the domination of Bahasa Indonesia

By 2015 Indonesia has approximately 254.000.000 of population. The government revealed that there are 1.128 ethnical groups with 746 regional languages and dialects in the country: a fact that made Indonesia known as

a land of great diversity¹. This was the reason for Dutch colonial government, which administered Indonesian archipelago to develop Malay as a *lingua franca* for Indonesia.²

2.3 Regional languages

According to the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*³, the definition of regional language is:

Ø a language which is traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state, who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population;

Ø different from the official language(s) of that state.

In 2001 the UNESCO revealed that about 139 languages are endangered and 15 languages truly extinct in Indonesia. Endangered languages are those of; Kalimantan/Borneo (1 language), Maluku (22 languages), West Papua and Halmahera Islands (67 languages), Sulawesi (36 languages), Sumatra (2 languages), and Timor-Flores and Bima-Sumbawa (11 languages). Meanwhile, languages that have become extinct are in Maluku (11 languages), West Papua, Halmahera, Sulawesi and Sumatra (each 1 language).⁴

Several large ethnical groups such as Acehnese, Minangkabau, Batak, Riau, Sundanese, Javanese and Balinese had acquired developed culture, language and classic literary works since the era of ancient kingdoms over a millennium ago. Smaller ethnical groups and tribes have a large variety of languages and dialects but of much less developed literature.

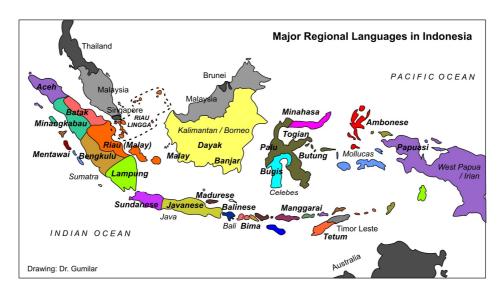
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¹ Badan Pusat Statistik/BPS (Indonesia's National Center of Statistics) release in 2015

² The 1824 London Treaty between the Netherlands and Britain drew a permanent line defining two colonial territories; Indonesia on Dutch- and Malaysia on British hands. The Dutch colonial government, who occupied Indonesia from 1602 until 1945, standardized the grammar of Malay and adopted Latin alphabet for Malay writing system. Later on, in the II Congress of Indonesian Youth in 1928, Malay language in Indonesia was renamed Bahasa Indonesia.

³ European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, Strasbourg, 5.XI.1992, Article 1 – Definitions.

⁴ UNESCO, Atlas of the World's Language in Danger of Disappearing (2001:40)



Picture 1: Major regional languages in Indonesia

Table nr 1.: Major regional languages and number of speakers.

Languages	Number of speakers (approximately)	Main location
1. Javanese	86.000.000	Central and East Java
2. Sundanese	37.000.000	West Java
3. Madurese	14.000.000	Madura island
4. Minang Kabau	6.000.000	West Sumatera
5. Riau/Musi	4.200.000	Central Sumatera
6. Bugis	3.800.000	South Sulawesi
7. Banjar	3.700.000	South Borneo
8. Acehnese	3.500.000	North Sumatera
9. Balinese	3.400.000	Bali island
10. Betawi	2.900.000	Jakarta, West Java

Javanese and Sundanese are languages with highest political and social roles after Bahasa Indonesia.

2.4 The domination of Bahasa Indonesia

Bahasa Indonesia had evolved from a language of administration during the Dutch colonial era into a miraculous unifying media among different ethnical groups, who emerged themselves as one nation of Indonesia. The *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* of Dutch colonial government in 1908 began the mass production of school handbooks, publication of newspapers and popular reading materials in Malay language to promote the use of proper Malay throughout Indonesia.

After the independence in 1945, the early government of the Republic of Indonesia successfully promoted the language to build a proud identity of this new-born nation, which was itself an antithesis for Western colonial hegemony. Through this new identity, Indonesia transformed itself as an emerging political power in Asia.⁵

Bahasa Indonesia began to dominate over regional languages in daily practice. In the time of 60's, local music industry grew along with the establishment of new recording and broadcasting agencies. The National television was established. More and more songs and movies in Indonesian language were produced. Politicians, singers and actors became stars. People began to perceive Bahasa Indonesia as an icon of modernity. During 70's and 80's popular weekly magazines appeared, giving space for writers to publish short stories and novels in Bahasa Indonesia. The era of 80's can be noted as the golden era of Indonesian novels, especially with the emergence of female writers.

By now, the domination of Bahasa Indonesia has reduced the importance of regional languages. It is not a strange thing now that some parents don't communicate with their children using regional language. It is also not surprising to meet some persons in big cities like Jakarta, Surabaya and Bandung, who don't speak well their own ethnical language. One of the reasons is that they are reluctant to use regional languages for they may be seen as being old fashioned by their community. Hence, speaking Indonesian language in daily practices is considered a way of being modern.

Dwi Puspitorini⁶ mentioned some negative perception among society, who perceive that a local language is:

Ø something ancient, derived from the past;

Ø useless outside its borders:

Ø a language of the poor and uneducated;

Ø hindering the learning process;

Ø impeding progress;

Ø epitome of backwardness;

Ø not prestigious.

2.5 Popularity of foreign languages

Another challenging factor is the growing popularity of learning foreign languages, especially English, which has been a compulsory subject in the secondary and high schools. English may also be introduced earlier in non-governmental elementary schools. The awareness of globalized society and the availability of modern media of communication such as internet has

⁵ During the 60's the 1st Indonesian president, Soekarno promoted the new Indonesian identity by banning western music and songs, urging the development of local music with lyrics in Indonesian language. By that time Indonesian language served well in large cities and among intellects, yet was not widely spoken by all Indonesians. The democratic character of Indonesian language also well suits his political vision which is pro socialism.

⁶ Dwi Puspitorini. Bahasa Jawa dan pengajaran bahasa (Javanese and language teaching)

given English a special attention in the educational system. Massive business investment in the country by foreign companies have encouraged young people to also learn Japanese, Korean, French, German and Chinese.

Taking additional private courses to learn foreign languages has been very popular among students. Some cultural centers such as *Goethe Institute* and *Centre Culturel Français/Institut Français* provide attractive German and French language courses in big cities of Indonesia.

3 Regional languages teaching program

The status and the teaching of regional languages are clearly defined by the government since 1950, but it was just in 2006 the regional languages teaching program was taken into serious development plan.

3.1 Indonesian law for regional languages protection and development

The Government of Indonesia protects the use of regional language under the Act Nr. 4 of 1950, Act Nr. 12 of 1954 and Act Nr. 20 of 2003 regarding national education system. Those languages may be used in the early stages of education to convey certain knowledge and skills. They are also treated as complementary to Bahasa Indonesia.

In association with development efforts, the Act Nr. 24 of 2009 defines the task to develop Indonesian language and literature in the hands of the central government, and the development of regional languages and literature as the responsibility of the provincial governments. Hence, the policy of regional languages teaching lies in the hands of provincial government. Provincial education committee engages experts to work on documentation projects, standardization of the grammar, dictionaries, and teaching methods. Each region has its own teaching program due to the uniqueness of its language. Thus, not all regional languages and dialects can be taught in the same approach.

3.2 Teaching program

Basic education curriculum is expected to be a mean for the transfer of knowledge, including teaching science through regional languages. Currently, Indonesia adopts 2006 national curriculum that sets regional languages to be taught as one of the local content subjects (muatan lokal) in elementary, secondary and high schools. Local content subjects, which are *Culture, Sports* and *Arts*, shall elevate the proficiency in regional language although those subjects may have no direct relation to it.

Indonesian National Education Ministry applies the CTL (contextual teaching and learning) method in delivering these local content subjects.8 CTL is a learning concept that assists teachers to relate teaching substances to real situations in the students' daily life. The CTL also encourages

⁷ Sugiyono, Institute of Language development, The Ministry of National Education.

⁸ Sutrisna Wibawa, Implementation of regional language teaching through local content subjects, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta.

students to implement what they have learnt into their everyday activities, which includes seven main components of effective learning; *constructivism*, *questioning*, *inquiring*, *learning community*, *modeling* and *authentic assessment*. Through this concept the learning achievement is supposed to be more meaningful.

Table nr 2.: 2006 curriculum structure for Elementary School (6 years).

Subjects	Y-1	Y-2	Y-3	Y-4	Y-5	Y-6
Religion & moral education State philosophy & citizenship	4 6	4 6	4 6	4 4	4 4	4 4
3. Indonesian language	8	8	10	7	7	7
4. Mathematics	6	6	6	6	6	6
5. Natural sciences	-	-	-	3	3	3
6. Social sciences	-	-	-	3	3	3
7. Culture & creativity workshops	4	4	4	5	5	5
8. Sports & health	4	4	4	4	4	4
9. Regional language & culture	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total hours per week	32	34	32	38	38	38

Table nr 3.: 2006 curriculum structure for Secondary School (3 years).

Subjects	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
1. Religion & moral education	3	3	3
2. State philosophy & citizenship	3	3	3
3. Indonesian language	6	6	6
4. Mathematics	5	5	5
5. Natural sciences	5	5	5
6. Social sciences	4	4	4
7. English	4	4	4
8. Culture & arts	3	3	3
9. Sports & health	4	4	4
10. Creativity workshop	2	2	2
11. Regional language & culture	2	2	2
Total hours per week	40	40	40

Table nr 4.: 2006 curriculum structure for High School (3 years).

Subjects	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3
Compulsory:			
1. Religion & moral education	3	3	3
2. State philosophy & citizenship	3	3	3
3. Indonesian language	4	4	6
4. Mathematics	4	4	4

5. History of Indonesia	2	2	2
6. English			
7. Culture & arts	$\tilde{2}$	2 2 3	2
8. Sports & health	$\tilde{3}$	$\tilde{3}$	$\tilde{3}$
9. Creativity & entrepreneurship	2 2 3 2 2		2 2 3 2 2
10. Regional language & culture	$\tilde{2}$	2 2	2
I. Group of interests - Mathematics &			
natural sciences:			
11. Mathematics	3	4	4
12. Biology	3	4	4
13. Physics	3 3 3	4	4
14. Chemistry	3	4	4
II. Group of interests - Social scienc-			
es:			
11. Geography	3	4	4
12. History	3	4	4
13. Sociology & anthropology	3 3 3 3	4	4
14. Economics	3	4	4
III Crown of interests Linguistics 9			
III. Group of interests - Linguistics & culture			
11. Indonesian lang. & literature	3	4	4
12. Regional lang. & literature		4	4
13. English lang. & literature	3 3 3	4	4
14. Other foreign lang. & literature	3	4	4
15. Anthropology	3	4	4
13. Antinopology	3	-	-
Facultative in-depth learning:			
Cross- or in-depth subjects	6	4	4
or one or an acput subjects		_	_
Available hours/week	71	82	82
Total compulsory hours/week	44	46	46

From the tables above, we can see the disparity on compulsory languages learning workload (excluding the *Group of Interests III. Linguistics and Culture* in High School).

Table nr 5.: Comparison of compulsory languages learning workload.

Language:	Elementary	Secondary	High	Total
Bahasa Indonesia	8-8-10-7-7-7	6-6-6	4-4-4	77
English	-	4-4-4	2-2-2	18
Regional language	2-2-2-2-2	2-2-2	2-2-2	24

Please note, that many students also take extra hours of foreign languages learning in private courses/extracurricular.

The teaching of local language as a local content subject in school faces some obstacles, such as few teaching hours, issues of insufficient well-trained teachers and inadequate teaching materials. There is a disproportionate number of regional language teachers who have proper educational background, and only few colleges offer local language program of study. This shows that such study is not quite attractive both to high school graduates as well as to the teachers themselves.

The gaps between major regional languages and smaller ones in the results of teaching program are caused by the difference of:

Ø the number of users;

Ø political and social importance of the language;

Ø economical advantage of the language.

4 Regional languages teaching program

The author compares three regional languages as representation of cases based on their status in the society. Those are;

Ø Javanese - with 86 million speakers, the widest spoken regional language;

Ø Sundanese - with 37 million speakers, the most developed in contemporary literature;

Ø Dayak - with 2-4 million speakers, a struggling small language.

4.1 Javanese

The large population of Javanese in Central and East Java provinces made them the largest ethnical group in Indonesia. This has caused Javanese very significant in political scene of the Republic of Indonesia. Javanese inherited one of the oldest Southeast Asian civilization with high culture as can be found in the sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta in Central Java. Javanese literature has been rendered as classical and has been studied by many national and international scholars due to its uniqueness and importance.

Javanese is being taught compulsorily in elementary, secondary and senior high schools through local content policy which reserves 2 class

hours in a week. Additional classes are provided for students to learn Javanese script called Hanacaraka. Local content subject in the curriculum exercises the competency of language, literature, and culture within the framework of Javanese culture. It targets the language proficiency and communication skills of students, both oral and written.

The royal palaces of Yogyakarta and Surakarta still maintain their language with its complex registry. The existence of Javanese royal palaces is the key point why Javanese culture and language are preserved carefully. This makes a significant difference compared to the state of other regional languages in Indonesia.

Javanese has rich resources of teaching materials linked to classic literature such as *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana* and traditional *Panji* stories. Theatrical performances such as *Wayang* (shadow puppet and dances) are conducted solely in Javanese language as well.

Under the support of provincial government, Javanese is available as a program of study in several universities, especially in order to produce qualified Javanese language teachers. The interest among students is relatively high. As an example, in 2012 the University of Semarang received 125 students out of 1.119 applicants for the Javanese Language and Literature Program of Study.¹⁰

Javanese language and literature can be studied in:

- Ø University of Indonesia (Jakarta)
- Ø State University of Semarang (East Java)
- Ø State University of Yogyakarta (Central Java)
- Ø State University of Malang (East Java)
- Ø State University of Surabaya (East Java)
- Ø Udayana University (Bali)
- Ø Sebelas Maret University (Central Java)

Institutions under provincial governments responsible in the development and the implementation of Javanese teaching programs are:

- Ø Balai Bahasa/Language Center in Yogyakarta
- Ø Balai Bahasa Jawa Tengah in Semarang, Central Java
- Ø Balai Bahasa Jawa Timur in Surabaya, East Java

4.2 Sundanese

Sundanese is the second largest ethnical group in Indonesia which inhabit the West Java Province. Their language enjoys strong enthusiasm among university students as well as among international scholars. Unlike Javanese, Sundanese is more exposed to the fast changing cultural influences such as *Indonesianification* and Westernization. Sundanese language is as well more playful in character.

Bandung - the capital city of West Java, was the center of Dutch colonial government. In contrary to Javanese, the lack of royal palace gave the

⁹ Hanacaraka is an abugida developed by the Javanese people to write the Javanese language. It derived from Brahmi script which spread throughout Southeast Asia.

¹⁰ State University of Semarang. [@:] http://unnes.ac.id/prodi/pendidikan-bahasa-dan-sastra-jawa-s1/[access: 12.05.2015]

speakers of Sundanese a chance to explore modern literature. Many of Sundanese writers and linguists worked along with Dutch colonial government in producing publication in Dutch and Bahasa Indonesia. They enjoyed contemporary novels and short stories written by international authors, which widely available in books and local magazines. In the center of colonial government, the Sundanese authors possessed easier access to numerous printing companies to publish their literary works since the beginning of 1920's. "Mangle" has been a long lasting popular magazine in Sundanese language, which had contributed in raising talented writers of short stories and poetry.

The awareness regarding the importance of good writing skills and literature development during the Republic's era can be seen in the establishment of Sundanese Literature Award "Rancage" in 1989¹². This award significantly enhances the productivity of young writers and expands the interest in reading modern Sundanese literature. Despite the lack of royal culture the Sundanese people had managed to promote its regional language through creative endeavor.

Comprehensive handbooks and multimedia materials for Sundanese learning are widely available.

Sundanese language and literature program of study is available in:

- Ø Padjadjaran University (Bandung)
- Ø Universitas Muhammadiyah Sukabumi (Sukabumi)
- Ø Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia (Bandung)
- Ø Universitas Swadaya Gunung Jati (Cirebon)

Institutions under provincial governments responsible in the development and the implementation of Sundanese teaching programs are:

- Ø Balai Bahasa (Language Center) Jawa Barat (Bandung)
- Ø Language Center of Banten Province (Banten)

4.3 Dayak

Dayak is a large group of tribal people living in the Indonesian, Malaysian (Sabah and Sarawak), and Brunei Darussalam territories on the large Borneo/Kalimantan island. Indonesian part of Borneo is divided into four provinces: West Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, and South Kalimantan. There are approximately 450 Dayak groups living in Indonesian territory, which by 2010 made a total of 3.7 million people. The largest tribes are Dayak Ngaju, Dayak Penan, Dayak Murut, Dayak Maanyan and Dayak Lawangan. There are approximately 22 dialects of Dayak language. Except Dayak Ngaju which has about 710.000 of speakers, none of them has more than 100.000 speakers.

¹¹ The once powerful Sundanese Kingdom of Pakuan Pajajaran was destroyed by Sultanate of Banten in 1579. The center of Sundanese culture has then shifted to Banten. In 1813 Sultanate of Banten ceased to exist after being abolished by British colonial ruler who took control on Java from the Dutch during 1911-1915.

¹² Ajip Rosidi. Rancage was initially established to enhance the productivity and quality of Sundanese writers. it later also included Javanese, Balinese and Lampung languages.

Unlike the dynamic atmosphere in Java island, the teaching of Dayak languages in schools remains poor due to the large variety of dialects, limited human resources and slow progress of researches on grammar and vocabulary. The vast and rough territory of Borneo island hinders Dayaks from developing their culture and language into a level comparable to that of Javanese or Sundanese. The Dayaks are also lack of classic literary works, since their folklores are mainly based on oral literature. All of those factors had led to delayed implementation of the local content subjects of Dayak, which started later in 2011.

In most of elementary schools Dayak is used as the language of conduct in teaching various subjects at early stage. The reason is that many Dayak children still don't understand Bahasa Indonesia well enough to be able to conceive the subjects' content. Unfortunately Dayak languages have not yet achieved sufficient development to be used for advanced linguistic purposes such as scientific and academic discourses.

Based on the need of updates on Dayak languages spelling and grammar, some linguists had worked on important books, such as:

- Ø Dayak Ngaju Morphology (Usop, 1976)
- Ø The Syntax of Dayak Ngaju (Panjaitan, 1983),
- Ø Generative Phonology of Dayak Ngaju (Toendan, 1996)
- Ø Morphology of Dayak Ngaju (Wihadi Admodjo, 1993)
- Ø Lexicostatistics Analysis of the Languages in Central Kalimantan (Poerwadi, 1993)
- Ø Let's Speak Dayak Ngaju/Ayo Berbahasa Dayak Ngaju (Anthony Nyahu, 2010)

These results of studies are still limited in circulation, though some have been published by the Center for Language Development and distributed to various libraries. Other major Dayak languages such as Dayak Maanyan, Dayak Penan, Dayak Murut and Dayak Lawangan are not yet much researched.

The interest among students to study Dayak remains low due to the question of economics advantage. As long as it's society prefer mastering Bahasa Indonesia and foreign languages for their economy, Dayak language faces stagnancy in its development.

Efforts have been made to increase the interest and to provide adequate teaching materials. In 2010 the provincial government of Central Kalimantan formulated the new curriculum of Dayak teaching for elementary, secondary and high schools. This curriculum includes the participation of local tribal leaders to teach Dayak in school classes. The "Radar Sampit" daily newspaper provides a page dedicated to Dayak Ngaju language learning. Some Dayak people had also began utilizing internet to promote Dayak language learning through websites.

Dayak language has not yet been included in any program of study in university level, but the aspiration to develop the status of it had raised

¹³ The first effort to write Dayak language was the Bible in Dayak using Latin alphabet during the introduction of Protestantism on Borneo by the Dutch and German missionaries in the 19th century.

discussions. In 2014 the Mulawarman University in Samarinda held an international workshop titled "Documenting Languages of Borneo", in cooperation with the University of Degli Studi Di Napoli L Orientale, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Kobe City University of Foreign Studies, La Trobe University, Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology and Atmajaya University (Indonesia).14

Conclusion

Since the independence of the country in 1945, the Indonesian government has been promoting high level of proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia as a new national identity and pride. This successful program had adverse impacts to the existence of regional languages. A large number of regional languages are critically endangered, some have even become extinct.

In order to revitalize regional languages, the national curriculum for elementary, secondary and high schools have been incorporating regional language teaching into local content subjects such as Culture, Sports and Arts starting from 2006. The central government handed the authority over the development of regional languages to provincial governments in 2009. This was meant to better address the issues of effective regional languages teaching program. Yet the situation vary from one region to another due to the differences in character, number of speakers, level of importance in socio-politics and economics advantage of each language.

The cult of Yogyakarta and Surakarta royal palaces still plays important political, cultural and economic roles among the Javanese society the largest ethnical group in Indonesia. Centuries of rich Javanese literature have a great impact to the successful Javanese language teaching program, which is enjoyed even by university students and international scholars.

The Sundanese which inhabit West Java have been taking creative ways of development through promoting the productivity of Sundanese contemporary writers, well supported by local magazines, literature award institution and academic critics. The Sundanese language teaching program has been well developed until the level of university.

In contrary to the Javanese and the Sundanese, Dayak people who live in the vast and rough territory of Borneo island still face great challenges in developing their language teaching program due to the large variety of dialects and limited resources. Scholars still have to make a lot of efforts to conduct extensive studies on standardization of grammar and vocabulary of Dayak languages, as well as to provide comprehensive textbooks.

Like for many other small languages, the teaching program should be accompanied by creative literature development and attractive economical advantage, to compete with the emerging popularity of foreign languages as the impact of globalization.

¹⁴ The workshop included issues on data collecting and category methods, recording technique, translation and meta data production.

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