

National Integration in Indonesia. Patterns and Policies. By Christine Drake. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989. Pp. xvi, 354. Maps, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, appendices, index.

“What is it that holds a nation-state together?” Christine Drake contends that for Indonesia this question is best addressed through consideration of four dimensions of national integration: historical and political factors, sociocultural characteristics, interaction among the people of Indonesia through communications and transportation, and economic issues such as levels of regional development and prosperity. In this book Drake presents a comprehensive analysis of how elements from each of these dimensions combine to “bind together the various regions and diverse peoples of a country into a functioning and interdependent whole” (p. 1). In particular, Drake focuses on how Indonesia’s extraordinary geographic, or spatial, diversity is dealt with in these processes of national integration.

National Integration in Indonesia has several specific purposes. These include an examination of the types of integrative links that have emerged to “bind” Indonesia together; an analysis of the spatial patterns in each of the four analytical dimensions; and an examination of the government’s role in the process of national integration. Additionally, Drake challenges the validity of the well-known descriptive usage of a “core-periphery” model of analysis in Indonesian studies. She suggests that the model of Java as the country’s “core” and the Outer Islands as the “periphery” is unhelpful in understanding Indonesian integration. Moreover, Drake argues that surprising patterns of linkage, or integration, are evident between and among various parts of the country that do not conform to a “Java versus Outer Islands” dichotomy.

The areal units of analysis in this study are Indonesia’s twenty-seven provinces. The data for most of the patterns analysed are Indonesian government statistics, primarily from the 1980 census, but also supplemented with some more recent data. The range and quantity of statistics collected by the Indonesian Government is astounding. Drake has pored through masses of figures and has compiled a highly readable and coherent body of statistical facts which alone are valuable to students of Indonesia. There is a wealth of fascinating statistical information covering

such aspects as inter-provincial migration, telephone and telegram usage, newspaper circulation, proficiency in Bahasa Indonesia, exposure to television and radio, and per capita economic indices of numerous types. All this information serves both to heighten our awareness of the immense complexity of Indonesia and to support Drake's illustrations of the ways in which the nation is, and is not, well integrated. Yet it is not the statistical collection itself which is most welcome but rather Drake's correlation and factor analyses of the data which depict multifaceted patterns of Indonesian integration.

The volume is exceptionally well organized with neat chapters that examine each of the four integrative dimensions in turn. Following the introductory chapter, which establishes the book's purposes and objectives, the second chapter concisely highlights integrative elements of Indonesia's history and politics. Chapters Three, Four, and Five examine the sociocultural, interactional, and economic dimensions. Chapter Six contains the detailed statistical analysis which is most helpful in illustrating the spatial patterns of integration. Chapter Seven examines government integration policies, while the concluding chapter summarizes the findings. The conclusion also takes into account contemporary political developments and their potential impact on future integration.

Statistical analysis of the spatial patterns of integration in Chapter Six comprises the more interesting and valuable portion of the book. It is in this chapter that we learn:

No simple spatial pattern of national integration in Indonesia emerges from the analysis. The most highly integrated and developed provinces on a per-capita basis are spatially separated both from one another, and from the national capital of Jakarta. They include provinces in the northern and western parts of the archipelago, and on three of the four larger islands, Sumatra, Kalimantan, and Sulawesi. The provinces that stand out most obviously as a distinct, more homogeneous group, those of Java and Bali, form a compact geographical bloc. . . . Immediate proximity to the capital, the true core of the country, seems to have little impact on the level of integration. Provinces closest to Jakarta — Lampung, Bengkulu, and Central and South Kalimantan, as

well as West and Central Java — are *not* the most integrated and highly developed. (pp. 221–22)

Drake argues that the contrast in the relative integrative strength of Indonesia's provinces is most striking not between Java and the Outer Islands, but among the outer provinces (p. 213). And the true national core of the country is not Java, but Jakarta alone. Drake also contends that Indonesia does not follow a pattern evident in other countries where the strength of national integration appears to decrease with increasing distance from the core. Within Southeast Asia, Thailand, Burma, and the Philippines may be cases where strength of integrative bonds diminish farther from their respective capital cities — a pattern seemingly unlike Indonesia's integrative linkages, according to Drake. In fact, she concludes that certain of the outer provinces, especially compared with Java (noted above), are strongly integrated into Indonesia and exhibit many powerful integrative characteristics. Characteristics of strong integration include high literacy and education levels, competence in Bahasa Indonesia, urbanization, sea and air transportation links, migration levels, and other indices of economic prosperity and development. Drake also notes that the depiction of Indonesia's complex patterns of national integration also underscores "weak integrative links" (p. 222) and this, in turn, has policy implications in terms of location, type, and amount of national development expenditures and projects.

Appropriately, Drake does observe that the one area in which the Java–Outer Island dichotomy may still be relevant is in terms of Javanese political predominance. None the less, according to Drake, we must conclude that

Java has been mislabelled as the core, for despite its high population density and well-developed infrastructure, it does not exhibit many of the characteristics associated with a core, especially in the sociocultural and economic dimensions of national integration. (p. 257)

There are, however, several less satisfactory portions of the book. Four areas in particular are noteworthy: the role of government and ideology, the impact of communications technology, the integrative aspects of

“intangible” factors — “feelings, perceptions, and attitudes”, and the author’s rationale for a somewhat pessimistic conclusion.

First, Drake fails to include the role of the government as a *primary* dimension of the national integration process. The role of the government is treated in Chapter 7 (“Government Response to the Need for National Integration”). While it may be pedantic to cavil at Drake’s use of “response” in the chapter title, her formulation suggests a secondary, or reactive, role for government. The role of government in binding the nation together is absolutely crucial and is not merely a reaction to a pre-existing need for integration. Drake implies that national integration exists as something to be responded to, while it is actually the case that government establishes integration as a political goal and then seeks to implement it. Most of the integrative, and even some of the disintegrative, elements discussed in the book are a direct consequence of government action. Moreover, the sheer power of the central government to persuade, manipulate, and even coerce integration in the past two decades is not recognized.

Closely related to the role of government are the ideological dimensions of national integration. Drake undervalues the integrative role of ideology in Indonesia. For example, the national ideology, Pancasila, is not merely a papering over of “deeply rooting differences” (p. 41). Since Independence, government leaders have been faced with the task of fashioning a national culture to transcend the diversity of the country’s 300 ethnic groups. The creation of a state ideology has been central to this endeavour, as it attempts to identify the unifying values of the Indonesian people. The conscious construction of a national history, and the delineation of key national symbols, such as the Indonesian national motto, “Bhinneka Tunggal Ika”, have also supported government integration efforts in ways that are difficult to quantify or statistically evaluate. Although Drake superbly analyses those factors of national integration which are statistically compatible, some vital aspects of Indonesian integration do not lend themselves to quantitative analysis. And it is not clear in this study that the conscious political decisions of leaders to unify the state through the creation of a national value system, in addition to other physical linkages, are an integral part of the

integration process. The centrality of government and ideology to the whole national integration enterprise is given too little emphasis.

Second, Drake discusses the integrating power of Indonesia's sophisticated satellite communications system which has brought television, radio, and instantaneous communication to virtually all parts of the country. However, it is not just the existence of high-technology communications links such as these which may enhance national integration. It is also the content of the broadcast messages through popular programmes, instruction, newscasts, and so on.

Third, it is important for the reader to bear in mind that several factors for understanding and evaluating Indonesia's level of national integration are intangible. Statistics can hardly present us with an understanding of the degree to which people identify themselves as "Indonesian". We should recall Karl Deutsch's description of integration, cited by Drake, as the "attainment of a sense of community". How do we go about measuring "sense of community" or "feelings, perceptions, and attitudes" (p. 256) that are crucial to national integration? How do we know if these factors help to integrate more fully peoples and provinces into Indonesia in spite of what the statistics tell us about an area's supposed relatively low level of national integration, as is the case for the Javanese provinces? The absence of these aspects in the volume suggests that such studies are needed. To be fair, Drake is clearly aware of the lack of data in this regard and points up the problematic nature of comprehensively investigating national integration in Indonesia or elsewhere in the developing world:

The lack of data has both necessitated the omission of significant aspects of the concept of national integration, such as the feelings, perceptions, and attitudes of people in different parts of the country toward the nation-state, and at times forced the use of surrogates, such as road density rather than the preferred numbers of interprovincial travellers. (p. 256)

Finally, the conclusion, "Retrospect and Prospect", is not entirely persuasive. After reading the book up to the conclusion one is left with a guarded feeling of optimism for Indonesia. Drake shows how the country has made enormous strides towards creating a "functioning and interdependent whole", even when we consider the huge developmental

challenges still to be undertaken. This impression of optimism and confidence and a very real record of developmental achievements stands in stark contrast to deep pessimism and lack of integration found in so many developing countries. Yet in the conclusion Drake acknowledges that the prospects for Indonesia's future are less optimistic (p. 268) than the patterns of integration depicted in the body of the volume. The main problem here is that Drake's survey of contemporary Indonesian politics (in the late 1970s and early 1980s) equates political problems with integration problems. For example, in this period Drake observes various instances of political dissent, corruption, and protest (pp. 264–67). While I agree that scholarly caution is justified in a consideration of the unknown future, Drake's pessimism in the political arena derives from an error in confusing two very different issues: threats to national integration and threats to regime survival. These are not necessarily the same thing. Dissent or anti-regime behaviour is not, *ipso facto*, disintegrative, as Drake seems to suggest. Drake confuses threats to national integration and cohesiveness with challenges to regime legitimacy. Opposition to the government is not the same as opposition to Indonesia *per se*.

In spite of the undervaluation of political, ideological, and other intangible aspects of Indonesian integration, this book is a very significant contribution for Indonesianists, as well as those more generally interested in theoretical and practical questions of national integration in the developing world. The author systematically handles with great care and sophistication a huge volume of statistical data and a wide range of supplementary secondary sources. Most importantly, Drake's analyses clearly illustrate the varied and complex spatial patterns of integration in Indonesia. Moreover, she convincingly argues that such patterns do not conform to a Java–Outer Islands dichotomy prevalent in much of the literature.

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