

A Spatial Political Economy Review on Urban Growth in Java Under Economic Liberalization of Dutch Colonialism During The 19th Century

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Abstract. This study understands the rise and fall of cities as a result of colonial worldviews and practices. Based on spatial political-economic thinking, this study examines the spatial implications of Dutch colonialism on urban growth in Java during the 19th century. The practice of colonialism at that time took place in a relatively stable regional situation. The analysis of textual data from various literature indicates that the economic liberalization of Dutch colonialism in that time was a continuation of the VOC's mercantilism but with a stronger intention to control the factors of production. Territorial expansion to fertile areas indeed encouraged the emergence of medium-sized cities in the inland, but on the other hand, degenerated several older cities on the coast. Spatially, the ambitions and practices of colonialism had limited implications on urban growth. The combination of territorial and capital logic triggered political liquidation, which was reflected in the spatial pattern of urban growth. The identity and symbol of colonial power were attached as new elements to the cities. This process revealed a locational decision to channel economic benefits to strategic places for sustaining domination of power for the long term.

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1. Introduction

In general, colonialism is the practice of conquest, domination, and control over territory, people, and goods by a forceful actor (Ypi, 2013; Böröcz and Sakar, 2012; Loomba, 1998; Horvath, 1972). It allows a powerful entity to implant new settlements on distant territories (Said, 1994). Such practice has been legitimated by the principle of the civilizing mission in Western European ideology (Kohn and Kavita, 2017). Since that, colonialism is often defined as the relation of domination ruled by Western European countries over the rest of the world (Césaire, 2000).

Besides the practice, colonialism is also portrayed as the worldview (Böröcz and Sakar, 2012). It provides both political and cultural justification for Western people to redefine the world in their space conception in a certain way, such as through cartographic manipulation, naming places, and spatial segmentation (Smith, 2005). This conception of space produces the process of alien settlement, the establishment of modernity, the change of instrument production, the circulation of capital, and the disruption of local culture. It also creates the global spatial structure of the political-economy into an unequal relationship between the colonies and the metropole (Moore, 2016; Flammini, 2008; Ashcroft et al., 2007; Braudel, 1979).

The manifestation of colonial relations persist in urban form and function (King, 1990). So, in terms of core-periphery structure, the city has a predominant role in colonialism to maintain the inflow of economic profit toward the mother country. The emergence of cities in the colonized country is an expression of colonialism penetration in both regions and

cultures. Therefore, the city does not materialize at any location due to geopolitical considerations (Gilbert and Gugler, 2007; Agnew, 2001; Dikshit, 1982). It only emerges and grows on a specific place that could support political power consolidation (Evers dan Korff, 2002).

Thus, the city's location reflects comparative advantages for fostering political and economic domination over its surrounding areas (Setiadi, 2015). As stated by Braudel (1979), the main feature of domination is the existence of a forceful center for controlling a vast periphery and taking advantage of its colonized regions. A port city on an overseas territory, for example, articulates an interdependent and symbiotic relationship with the metropolitan country (King, 1990). However, it is not easy to gain monopolistic power due to a cycle of struggle to deal with the uncertainty of economic and political control. Its success depends on how the center develops a power behavior to ensure the winning of the competition.

Cities are not single and independent entities but rather part of a broad regional context in which various political regimes compete with each other for their existence. It means that the rise and fall of cities must proceed under the specific organized power with a dominant actor. The rise of the cities must be associated with the economic and political motives to gain spatial advantages from agglomeration or geographical situation (Henderson, 2003). The actor could manipulate locational factors to gain capital accumulation and political advantages at a particular place. It may foster the emergence of urban centers in some specific areas and suppress other centers in different places. The spatial configuration of the city may

change, which enables a further impact on the transformation of political territory.

There are many discussions on the relationship between colonialism and urban growth. One of the fundamental arguments on that issue comes from the classical works of Taylor (1992), King (1990), De Bruijne (1985), and Yeoh and Hirschman (1980), which explore the colonial city for understanding the cultural and spatial foundation of today's world system. They agree that all efforts to understand today's urbanization in developing countries require an understanding of their colonial era in the past. Recently, these efforts have been seen in several studies from various scholars. While Oladiti and Idowu (2017) and Njoh (2001) discuss the historical influence of colonialism over town policy and planning, Amavilah (2011) elaborates on why and how colonialism affects the internal dynamics of the urban process concerning economic growth. Bhattacharya (2013) and Dembele (2006) pose the change of colonial impress in the historical and societal context of the city. Scholarships of McClintok (2018), Colombijn and Barwegen (2009), and Njoh (2008) investigate the colonial roots of the racialization of space based on social segregation concept. Other scholars, such as Aschroft (2017) and Beswick, et al. (2015), are more prefer to highlight the notion of the post-colonial city for exploring the extension of colonialism in modern life.

Colonialism has a different impact on various places around the world, depending on the colonial model adopted by the mother country. The difference in colonial influence is also reflected in the development of the city. Previous historical, sociological, and geographical studies have distinguished several models of colonialism to the existence of cities in Southeast Asia. Fisher (1984) pays attention to the British colonialism model by reviewing the economic and political geography in Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, Wertheim (1956) examines the Dutch colonial model and its implication on the socio-cultural elements in Indonesian. The model of colonialism applied in other parts of Southeast Asia also caught the attention of experts, namely Robequain (1944), about French colonialism in Indochina and Spencer (1952) concerning the American model in the Philippines. These studies suggest a unique urban development in each colony in relation to the characteristics of colonialism. The work of Baruah et al. (2017) on the colonial city formation in Africa and Lange et al. (2006) on the development reversal in the colonized countries reaffirm that difference. They state that the emphasizes of colonialism on capital accumulation, modern economic development, land regulation, and native people assimilation has deep impacts on the spatial structure of the urban region

This study aims to understand the spatial implication of colonialism on urban growth in the Island of Java, Indonesia, during the 19th century. The regional situation in Java throughout that time furnished a critical moment for urban development. For the first time in long centuries, the island had become an integrated territory entirely in terms of political and economic aspects, ruled by the colonial bureaucracy known as the Dutch East Indies (Lombard, 2005a). It was a contrast situation compared to the reign of Hindu-Buddhist and Islam when the island seemed like a war-torn territory due to the long-term political contestation among scattered small kingdoms (Ricklefs, 2001).

The regional stability in the 19th century allowed the Dutch government to advance its colonial ambition to turn Java into the most lucrative overseas territory (Vlekke, 2008;

Lombard, 2005a). Many historical facts discover that economic liberalization proceeded simultaneously with territorial penetration in Java during that time to control natural resources (Furnivall, 2009; Braudel, 1979). It provided a steady runway of city development on the island, mainly for ensuring the transfer of the most advantages to the Netherlands.

Nowadays, Java is the most urbanized region in Indonesia. As reported by the Centre of Statistical Bureau, more than 55% of Indonesia's population in 2019 lived on this island. There are also five of eight Indonesia's largest cities, which are inhabited by around 20 million people. They are Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, Tangerang, and Semarang. Whereas at the end of the 19th century, the population of Java was only around 20 million (Boomgard, 2004). It means Java's population had increased dramatically over the last 100 years. It is not surprising that more than 70% of land in Java had been utilized for supplying and supporting the citizens (Silalahi, 2006; Lombard, 2005a).

The long-standing role of social, political, and economic factors related to urbanization in Indonesia has been examined by Wertheim (1956), Keyfitz (1976), Nas (1986), Rutz (1987), and Rahardjo (2007). They convey important notes about the evolution of cities in Indonesia from the Hindu-Buddhist, pre-colonial, to modern times. However, they did not pay special attention to the situation in Java, especially at the height of the colonialism era. Indeed, the latest studies of the colonial city on the Indonesia Archipelago have been carried out by researchers from the disciplines of history, architecture, urban design, and socio-culture. But they tend to view the city as a single entity with examining various themes such as the persistence of colonial elements (Elisa, 2010; Tohjiwa et al., 2009), architectural landscape (Kumurur and Tampi, 2018; Kurniawan et al., 2013), town planning (Tutuko et al., 2018; Roosmalen, 2011), urban morphology (Sunaryo et al., 2011), urban identity (Susanto, 2016), and economic progress (Samidi, 2017). Meanwhile, Setiadi (2015) conducted a spatial-synchronic research on urban growth in Java Island which covers the Islamic to Colonial periods which emphasizes the concept of the center as a geopolitical entity.

This study differs from previous studies in terms of the combination between both the extensive-regional and spatial-historical approaches on the urban growth. It acknowledges urban growth as a process of becoming urban at a regional scale, which involves the rise and fall of cities. Recalling the work of Rahardjo (2007), the city can be understood as a human institution that depends on the types of specialization in which the community has an organized structure. Thus, the urban process is always related to state-building mechanisms, population growth, mode of production, and inter-regional trade for responding to the global flow and network (Fields, 1999; Dick and Rimmer, 2003; Sassen, 2002). A mixture of organized and self-market allows one party to emerge as primary controller of economic surplus redistribution, leading to the most profitable locations. (Polanyi, 1957)

This study starts from the concept of power-space relations for exploring urban growth. As Harvey (2010) noted, an asymmetric capital flow controls the spatial distribution of economic returns. The pattern of capital flows reflects the ideology of power that the ruling actors believe. In this case, ideology is the active consciousness that determines human existence through action (Althusser, 2004; Adian, 2006). Concerning Dutch colonialism in the 19th century, this conceptual setting raises questions about the spatial implications of colonialism's practice on urban development

in Java. What is the spatial pattern of urban growth during the heyday of Dutch colonialism under the auspices of economic liberalization?

This article consists of four sections. The first section is an overview of the political-economic situation of the 19th century that covered Java. Then, the second and third sections discuss the practice of Dutch colonialism and its spatial implications for urban growth. The facts of urban growth in the previous period (15th-18th centuries) may also be involved in these two sections as the historical traces of the urban process. Finally, the last section is a theoretical reflection on urban growth based on a spatial political-economy perspective to understand the 19th-century urban processes in a contemporary context.

2. Methods

This study is descriptive-qualitative research, which combines geographical and historical perspectives. Based on that combination, this study reviews spatial facts about urban growth and the reasons behind it to obtain a deep understanding of the urban process under specific political-economic circumstances. The rise and fall of cities are recognized as a continuous process stimulated by the flow of political-economic ideas within both space and time. It reflects a manifestation of human-environmental dialectics.

Data were collected through literature studies. Most of them were statements, opinions, and descriptions expressed by historians and geographers through various publications such as academic research, scientific articles, chapter books, conference papers, working papers, project reports, and monographs. As scientific works, these sources had a high level of validity in terms of conceptual, theoretical, and methodological aspects. The study also used statistical data and thematic maps, which were also obtained from secondary sources. Some historical-thematic maps were derived from Yamin (1959), van Diessen and Ormeling (2004), and Cribb (2007). For clarifying and validating data, this study applied a triangulation technique to conduct a cross-test method to identify the alignment of data or information from various sources.

For analysis purposes, this study adopted interpretative geographic reasoning as explained by Hoggart et al (2002). It examined various aspects of urban growth by spatial interpretation based on spatial political-economic logic. In this regard, data were treated as random and scattered pieces that needed rearranging to comprehend Java's urban growth during the colonialism era. Urban growth data (location, function, and performance) were grouped into several systematic themes related to colonialism practices, such as territorial expansion and infrastructure development in certain places. The changes in urban function and position are the result of colonialism practices.

3. Result and Discussion

Java toward the 19th century: a general situation of political-economic

The global situation in the 18th century came under the shadow of many political-economic conflicts due to the European War. The clash between France against Russian and Great Britain also changed the situation outside Europe. The competition between France and Great Britain, as the two leading European imperialist countries, extended to their colonies in Asia. To secure its political and economic interests in Asia, in 1784, the British agreed with another European power,

the Dutch Netherlands, to acknowledge each other's territorial colony so they could take economic advantage calmly (Wang, 1992). The agreement caused France to worry that the British would use the Dutch colony as military bases (Vlekke, 2008). Therefore the French leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, tried to break the British-Netherlands alliance by providing support to the Patriot Party in the Netherlands. He tried to undermine the power of King Willem V. In 1795, the King's position was successfully taken over, which paved the way for the formation of the Franco-Dutch coalition as a new alliance. In 1806 Napoleon appointed his brother, namely Louis Bonaparte, as King of the Netherlands; his title was Louis I.

At the same time, political conditions in the Indonesian Archipelago were also unstable. As the Dutch colony, the livelihood of the archipelago was strongly influenced by the authority of VOC (*Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie*). The VOC was a trading company established in 1602 by private businessmen to represent the Dutch mercantilism regime in the colony. The VOC played a dominant role in utilizing and controlling the local rulers. In the 18th century, the VOC had also changed their colonial orientation from trade monopolies to production regulation (Setiadi, 2015). But after being in power for almost 200 years, the credibility of the VOC began to be questioned by the Parliament of Netherlands due to the higher debt, declining profits, and growing resistance from local authorities (Vlekke, 2008; Furnival, 2009; Lombard, 2005a). These problems resulted in the weakening of the Dutch position in the archipelago. Since that time, the VOC's administration center in Batavia lost its effective power in controlling colonies outside Java (Lombard, 2005a).

The fall of the Netherlands into Napoleon's power changed the political constellation in Asia immediately. British and Dutch must compete with each other. From the center of their power in India, the British military began to suppress the Dutch territories in the archipelago. On the other hand, from his exile in England, King Willem V ordered his loyalist outside Europe to surrender the Dutch colonies to British rule (Ricklefs, 2001; Vlekke, 2008). The VOC's trading posts outside Java fell into the British authority one by one. Several posts on the west coast of Sumatra, such as Singkil, Tapanuli, Padang, and Bengkulu, were occupied by the British at the end of the 18th century (Vlekke, 2008). After that, the British seized several places in the Maluku Islands, such as Ternate, Banda, and Ambon. Previously, the British also succeeded in conquering the Malay Peninsula and had a stable position in North Borneo. Clearly, the British became the dominant force controlling vital shipping lanes through the Malacca Strait, Karimata Strait, Java Sea, South China Sea, and Maluku waters. Therefore, the Dutch position on Java was surrounded by the British maritime power.

To defend Java from the British attack, the King of the Netherlands sent Hermann Willem Deandels to Java as Governor-General. Through a long and tiring journey to avoid the British blockade, Deandels succeeded in reaching Batavia in 1808. Besides strengthening the defense of Java, Deandels also brought a mission to generate economic benefits for the mother country to finance the war. To support the mission, the King equipped Deandels with enormous power, which freed him from various matters with the Indies Council in the Dutch parliament (Vlekke, 2008). But, a strict maritime blockade by the British fleet meant that Deandels' authority could only be implemented effectively on Java. Therefore, Deandels only had a choice to lead his colonial programs to the inland of Java.

Outlining spatial practice of colonialism in Java

Dutch colonialism practices in the Indonesian archipelago generally consist of two stages: mercantilism and economic liberalism. The main actor of mercantilism was a Dutch trading company called VOC. But, the VOC collapsed in December 1799 due to prolonged financial problems. The fall of the VOC looked like a sign of the end of the mercantilism regime. The Dutch Government in Amsterdam then directly controlled the colonial administration in the overseas territory. Then, when entering the 19th century, the archipelago came under a new administration with the Dutch Government known as the Dutch East Indies playing the role of the main actor.

But, the power substitution was not immediately followed by the change of colonial style. One of the reasons was intense debates in the Netherlands to ascertain the most appropriate platform for managing colonies in the archipelago (Vlekke, 2008; Simbolon, 2006). There were circulating views among Dutch officials about the importance of a stable government in Java to dictate the population (Furnival, 2009). Such stability was a critical condition for the agricultural development outside of the ricefield. They believed that the colonial economy might suffer huge losses without agricultural diversification due to difficulties in meeting European market demand. The prolonged debate caused a "period of uncertainty" during the early third of the 19th century (Simbolon, 2006). This uncertainty seemed to end in 1830 as the cultivation system of *cultuurstelsel* began.

Population control then became an essential goal in Dutch colonialism on Java. One of the crucial things in this issue was the spatial distribution of the population. This issue must be addressed amid geopolitical shock due to the internal conflict of the Sultanate of Mataram, which has been raised since the previous century. The conflict destabilized the ties between the royal palace, local rulers, and rural elites (Lombard, 2005c). It created difficulties for the colonial government to control the entire population of Java. Based on Raffles (1817), the population of Java in the first decade of the 19th century was around 4.5 million people. This number increased by almost 50% compared to the mid of the 18th century. In Southeast Asia, the population tended to be concentrated in the royal capital, trade centers, and rice fields enclaves (Reid, 1992). Of course, this uneven spatial distribution became a major obstacle in developing agricultural diversification, as expected by the Netherland parliament (Furnival, 2009).

The desire to control the population had consequences for territorial conquest (Braudel, 1985). For this reason, the Dutch Government seemed to have to thank the VOC hard work. Although the VOC must stop their supremacy, they had bequeathed a visible path for the next Dutch authorities to continue colonialism on Java. The path was built by colonial domination over the whole of Java, which was based on a bureaucratic system that hitched a ride on the local structure (Lombard, 2005a; Vlekke, 2003; van Niel, 2003; Ricklefs, 2001). The obedience and loyalty of local authorities to the colonial administration was the most important thing as a potent political basis for regulating land and people at once.

Thus, the role of Batavia as the center had changed fundamentally. It was no longer interpreted only as the hub of distribution and collection, but also as the core of economic and governance administration as well. Its function was not only to stabilize the flow of raw materials into industries but also to hold control over territorial and governmental mechanisms (Ormrod, 2003). The colonial administration

in Batavia must be able to encourage territorial integration, which was determined by locational advantage and political decisions. Since that, there had been a change of orientation in Dutch colonialism. It seemed that the purpose of establishing territorial hegemony was more prominent than obtaining a trade monopoly (Setiadi, 2015).

This additional aim influenced the practice of Dutch colonialism, which was controlled by the port city of Batavia. Indeed, since its inception, Batavia had been designed as the main base for developing Dutch excellence in the eastern world (Furnival, 2009). In the beginning, Batavia was squeezed by the power of the Sultanate of Banten from the west and Mataram from the east. Thanks to its strategic geographical location, Batavia managed to grow surely as the main hub of international trade. It was the most important port city in Asia with nicknamed "Queen of the East" that reached the west coast of Sumatra, Maluku Islands, the coast of India, Bengal, Srilanka, and Deshima in Japan (Brug, 2000; Blussé, 2007).

Unfortunately, Batavia was an outward-oriented city (Cobban, 1976). Indeed, the city was able to develop a wide regional network with many overseas places, but it had limitations in fostering internal spatial relations within Java. The VOC officials seemed not interested in the inland of Java (Lombard, 2005a). Batavia was seen more as a center of the staple market (Nierstrasz, 2015; Lesger, 2006). It was associated with a trading system that was formed by the high concentration of traders and commodities in particular places to sustain a large-scale market over time. Under a monopolistic regime, this system created a dendritic structure that describes a vertical dependence of all lower-level centers on a single higher-level center without horizontal relations among the centers (Smith, 1974). The higher centers had greater demand, more profits, and wider opportunities. There was a strong centrifugal force to overseas markets directed mainly to the mother country.

Until the middle of the 18th century, the inland areas in south Batavia were still uninhabited and covered by dense forests (Lombard, 2005a; Furnival, 2009). At that time, the Priangan Plateau at West Java was the only inland region that had been intervened intensively by the colonial program. Since 1720, the VOC began to plant coffee on a large-scale area at the plateau through the *Preangerstelsel* program by utilizing the local feudal system (Muhsin, 2017; Vlekke, 2008). The use of this feudal system was a response to the failure of the commercial network in the coffee business around Batavia in the early 18th century (Vlekke, 2008). In 1726 Priangan then became the leading global producer of coffee, which controlled a third of the world market (Muhsin, 2017; Vlekke, 2008). The *Preangerstelsel* system lasted very long until the adoption of the Agrarian Law in 1870. Thanks to Preanger Stelsel, the VOC realized how a feudal system could be an effective instrument for building territorial power in Java

After the collapse of the VOC, as mentioned above, the colonial government carried out a major overhaul of the government and economic system in Java. Following the mandate given by the Dutch Government in Amsterdam, Governor-General H.W Deandels (1808-1811) implanted a military style into the colonial government, but he could not fully implement this style (Marihandono, 2006). When constructing the 1000 km Postal Highway (Figure 1), he faced the problem of limited labor, especially in the rough terrain around Buitenzorg and Cianjur. Thus, to overcome this problem, he must combine the military style and feudal



Figure 1. The Postal highways on the Island of Java, initiated by Governor-General H.W Deandles (1808-1811)

system to ensure the availability of labor (Marihandono, 2006; Carey, 2013).

The highway, which connects the westernmost and easternmost of the island, was a vital factor in generating spontaneous colonization and resource commercialization at once in Java, mainly for overcoming a financial deficit of the Royal Dutch (Lombard, 2005a). It was a sign of the fundamental transformation of the regional connectivity system in Java. Travel time between the western and eastern ends of Java can be shortened from several months to only six days (Simbolon, 2009). A more important implication of this road construction was the opening of the Priangan Plateau, which was previously relatively isolated. This isolation became one of the causes of various complaints about the delivery of coffee products from plantations in Priangan to storage warehouses in Batavia (Vlekke, 2008). Fundamentally, the open access to the inland provided a vast opportunity for the colonial government to exploit non-rice commodities as the source of profit.

During the colonial period, the feudal system was the only way to reach and control population and land to faraway villages based on hierarchical structures of traditional customs (Furnival, 2009). It gained the best momentum after the end of the Java War in 1830 when the socio-political atmosphere became more stable (Lombard, 2005c). At that time, Dutch colonialism experienced the most peaceful period in Java for the first time since their arrival more than 200 years before. The ambition to make the "profitable Java" instantly was also increasingly visible. Then, Governor-General Johannes van den Bosch (1830-1833) imposed the production system under the state dominant, which allowed massive exploitation in rural areas, known as the *cultuurstelsel* system.

The primary purpose of the system was to control agricultural production through hierarchical colonialism (Boomgard, 2004). The traditional Javanese power became the critical factor of this system to dictate both land and labor in producing precious commodities (van Niel, 2003). It was a replication of the *Preangerstelsel* system, which had been applying since almost a century earlier in the mountainous region of West Java. With this system, the coffee plantation expanded to Kedu and Banyumas as a continuation of the success in Priangan.

More noticeable changes were seen in the last third of the 19th century when the nuance of economic liberalization began to appear in Java. It was reflected by the Dutch government's

policy to sell some spacious unplanted lands to European private investors to open extensive crop estates to fulfill the overseas market (van Niel, 2003). The agenda of liberalization was more visible in 1870 as Agrarian Law legislation opened a broader opportunity for private sectors to involve in large-scale plantations. The law also deprived the state monopoly regulated by the *cultuurstelsel* system. Many private-crop estates then appeared in the entire Java. It had fundamentally shifted the basis of the Javanese economy from the rice field to crop estates. In that period, plantation crops (tea, coffee, cane, rubber, indigo, quinine, and cocoa) replaced rice and spices (cloves, nutmeg, and pepper) as the primary export commodities from Java. In line with that, Java turned into a "giant estate" (Lombard, 2005a).

The railroad opening in 1870 increased colonial penetration by connecting the port cities with the plantation areas in inland (Handinoto, 1999). It aimed to boost investment enthusiasm based on the higher certainty in transferring agricultural products to the ports. Merchant vessels no longer needed to lean too long in the harbor to wait for products from the inland. Despite being late in responding to plantation needs (Knight, 2014), this railroad has driven economic integration between the new production areas in the highlands and the trading center on the coast. More than that, it had embraced the hidden areas in the inland into the whole arrangement of Batavia as a center of colonialism (Setiadi, 2015). These regions became vital areas for the colonial government to struggle for economic benefits from Java. In the first phase, the railroads were launched in three main port cities, namely Semarang (1870), Batavia (1873), and Surabaya (1878), to their respective hinterlands. In the period 1880-1890, plantation investment also increased dramatically from f 10 million to more than f 35 million (Furnival, 2009).

Spatial distribution of urban growth toward the 19th century

One of the most important legacies of Indianization in Java was the concept of the kingdom (Lombard, 2005c). It introduced regional integration mechanisms that require population concentration. It also produced the term "center of power" as a derivative concept pronounced by the royal palace (Setiadi, 2015). The palace was usually associated with the most powerful entity, which had an absolute responsibility to regulate people's livelihood in a particular integrated system.

Regarding the concept, the spatial pattern of urban development in Java can be traced back at least to the 8th century. At that time the idea of the kingdom in Java was thoroughly applied as proved by the existence of two famous temples, the Borobudur and the Prambanan. The two temples were close together on the Kedu Plain, a fertile plain known as the "major heartland of Java" (Lombard, 2005a). Since that, the emergence and collapse of cities in Java over the long period were greatly influenced by the existence of power centers, which took place in line with the change of political regimes. Starting from the 12th- 15th century, the royal palaces of several prominent Hindu kingdoms named Singosari, Kediri, and Majapahit were situated in the Brantas Basin in the mountainous inland. The transfer of power to the Islamic Kingdom of Demak (the 15th -16th centuries) moved the palace to the north coast. Then, it returned to the inland during the reign of the Islamic Kingdom of Mataram (17th century). Finally, in the 18th century, the core of power moved again to the coast, notably to the VOC's administration center of Batavia. When political power was inland, the growth of cities was more driven by agrarian civilization. After shifting to the coast, the cities overgrew based on maritime-trade activities.

Figure 2 shows a typical pattern of urban growth both on the coastal and the inland region in three different regimes ranging from the 12th to 19th centuries. On the coast, the peak of growth occurred during the Islamic period, which ran parallel with the "Age of Commerce" in Southeast Asia derived from an energetic maritime trade (Rutz, 1987; Reid, 1992). The Sultanate of Demak then appeared on the north coast of Java as a hegemonic authority, which was more focused on trading expansion. Nevertheless, the Sultanate need to control the inland to stabilize the supply of rice as a major export commodity. Thereby, coastal cities such as Banten and Demak experienced rapid progress. They served as the port and the bench of the King at once. Moreover, together with other coastal cities (Kudus, Surabaya, and Gresik), they also became the seat of the Islamic clerics (*ulama*) who spread Islam to the inland. These cities enhanced the assembly of the political, economic, and religious powers as well. Their dominance suppressed the growth of the inland cities.

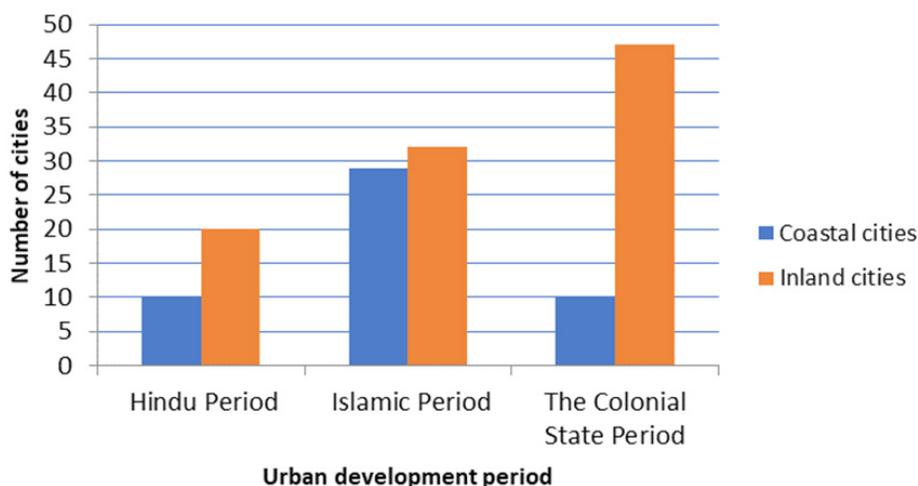
When the Mataram Sultanate took over political and economic power, the inland cities regained the opportunity to develop. They reemerged in fertile valleys as the agriculture restructuration. Otherwise, the coastal cities declined in their

economic role, even when entering the colonial era. More than 80% of the cities that grew in the colonial era were situated in inland (Figure 2). It means that around 47% of all the inland cities that flourished in Java since the Hindu period were the result of colonial penetration.

The difference pattern of urban growth between the inland and the coast in the colonial period may be associated with two interrelated reasons. First, as the expansion of maritime trade in Southeast Asia in the 15th century, the north coast of Java was crowded with large and small port cities controlled by the Islamic empire. In the early presence of European traders, there was no place for them to develop new cities without permission from the Islamic authorities. Hence, based on an agreement with the Sultanate of Banten, the VOC succeeded in setting up their first trading office in the Port of Kalapa, which was located a few kilometers to the east of the Banten Palace. A few years later, the VOC managed several old ports such as Semarang, Surabaya, Demak, Rembang, Lasem, and Gresik as trading posts (Figure 3). All ports had been established centuries ago, either under the Hindu or Islamic regimes. With these ports, the VOC attempted to dominate the maritime line of the Java Sea.

Second, the high increase of inland cities confirmed how strong the preference of colonial practices to exploit mountainous regions, which seems to had not been fully touched by the two previous regimes. The spirit of exploitation emerged later after the VOC had full control over the coast. It aimed to win competition through trade monopolies and production control as well. Fundamentally, it raised the issue of the degree of centrality related to territorial hegemony. The local rulers then became an extended-arm of colonial officials to deal with the issue. The feudal system of local rulers played a significant role in the structure of colonial administration. It indicates that the success of the colonial government in building supremacy over its colonies depended on the involvement of traditional local powers.

Therefore, the colonial administration developed several vital settlements the inland, which could be called as the centers on the periphery, such as Parakanmuncang and Galuh. According to Rutz (1987), they might include "definite towns," the places that meet the minimum criteria of the city. They were the cities with a limited influence just within the surrounding villages and plantations. However, they had an important role in allowing the regional inclusion of hidden places in the inland into the



Source: data processing from Rutz (1987) pp. 45-58

Figure 2. Development of cities in Java in the three periods of the power regime

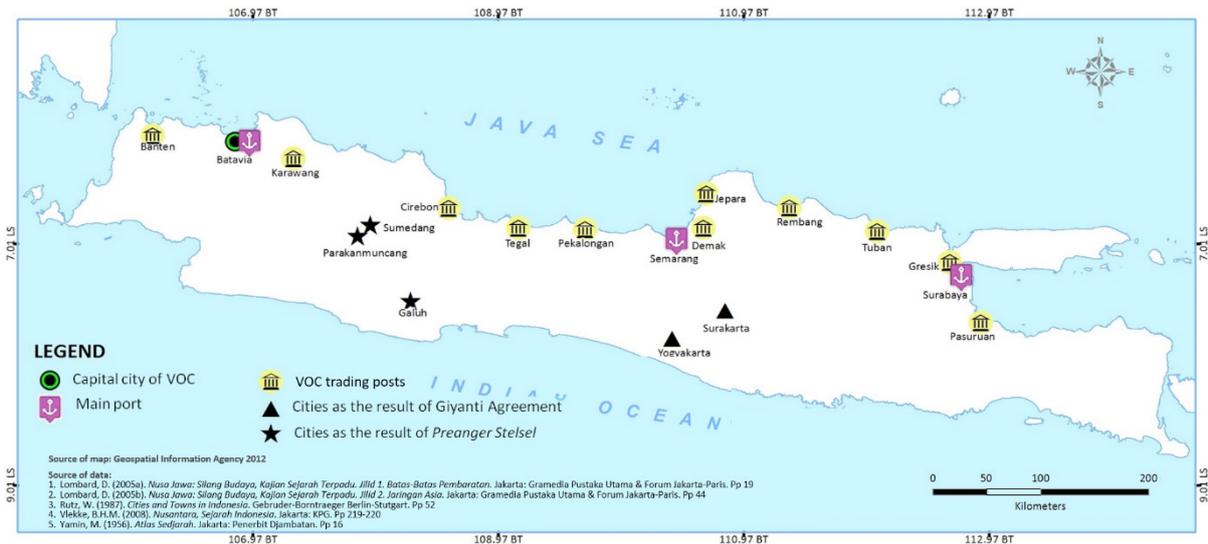
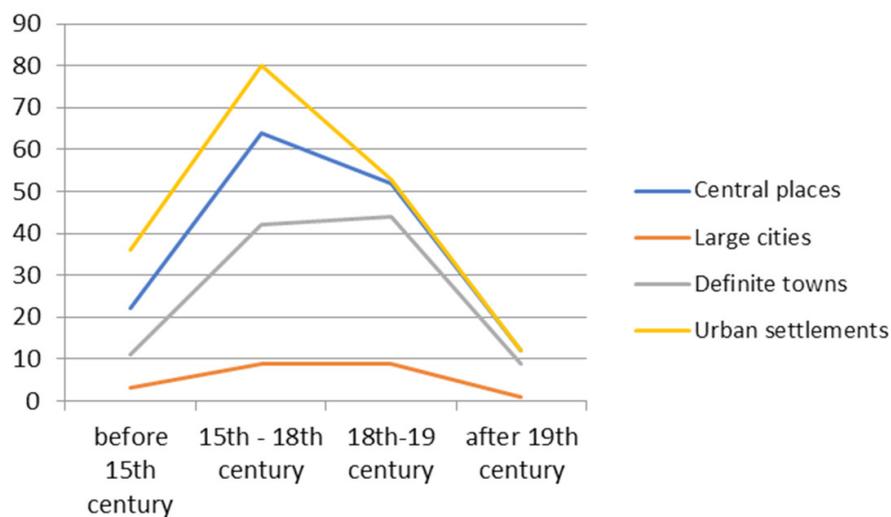


Figure 3. The urban situation in Java toward the 19th century as a result of mercantilism VOC



Source: data processing from Rutz (1987) pp. 64
 Figure 4. The trend of urban growth in Java during the 19th century

control of the colonial center in Batavia. As illustrated in Figure 4, this type of city experienced positive growth in the period of the 18th-19th century. On the contrary, the city with the status of "central place" showed a drastic decline at the same time. They were the cities that should have broad regional coverage, especially in economic services. In line with this tendency, the role of economic factors in urban development seemed to be dwindling and being replaced by political considerations (Lombard, 2005a; Boomgard, 2004).

Colonialism, economic liberalization, and urban growth

A further implication of colonial penetration in Java was urban hierarchy alteration since the establishment of Batavia in the 17th century. Figure 5 shows the spatial distribution of the cities in of the top three ranks of the urban hierarchy of the 17th to 19th centuries. Referring to Rutz (1987), the first rank included large independent cities with broad regional economic and political influence. The second rank consisted of the smaller independent cities, larger dependent cities, or main ports in a broad territory. Meanwhile, the third rank was other important cities that have the function of trade nodes, high-level administrative posts, or local ruler seats. Each group had variations in the foundation period ranging from the Hindu to the colonial era.

For over two centuries, several major cities that played a prominent role as centers of political and economic power both in the Hindu period (Surabaya, Madiun, and Kediri) and the Islamic period (Demak, Banten, Mataram, and Cirebon) continued to decline. Meanwhile, by following trade agreements with Banten (1645) and Mataram (1646), the VOC had an opportunity to strengthen Batavia to be more vigorous. Furthermore, the VOC attempted to suppress the economic position of the Sultanate Mataram by weakening one of the royal's assets, the Port of Jepara. For this reason, the VOC built a new port in Semarang, a city that emerged during the Islamic era. Gradually, most of the trading activities shifted from Jepara to Semarang.

This pressure led to the Giyanti Treaty in 1755. It was a political agreement between the VOC and the Sultanate of Mataram, which resulted in the formation of Surakarta near the heart of the Javanese Islamic rule in Mataram. The agreement also incarnated the royal city of Mataram into a new city, namely Yogyakarta. Additionally, the political pressure on the coast turned into more intensive due to the establishment of Semarang as the basis of colonial administration for covering the eastern part of Java.

At the beginning of the 19th century, the weakening of traditional power also affected the alteration of urban

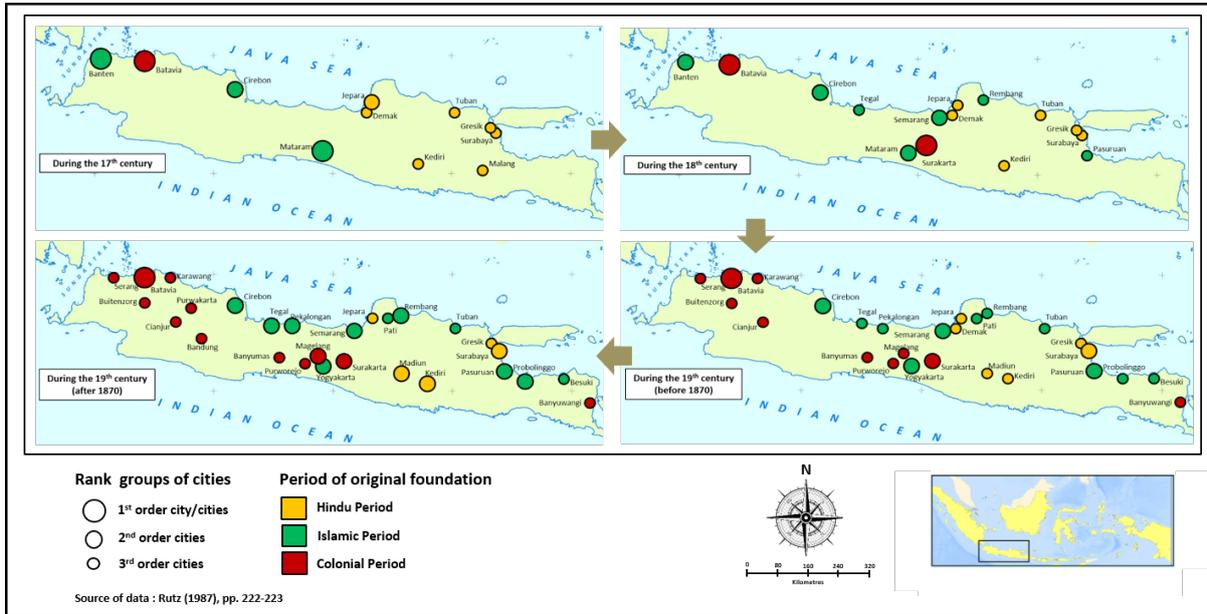


Figure 5. The spatial changing of urban hierarchy in Java during the 17th to 19th centuries

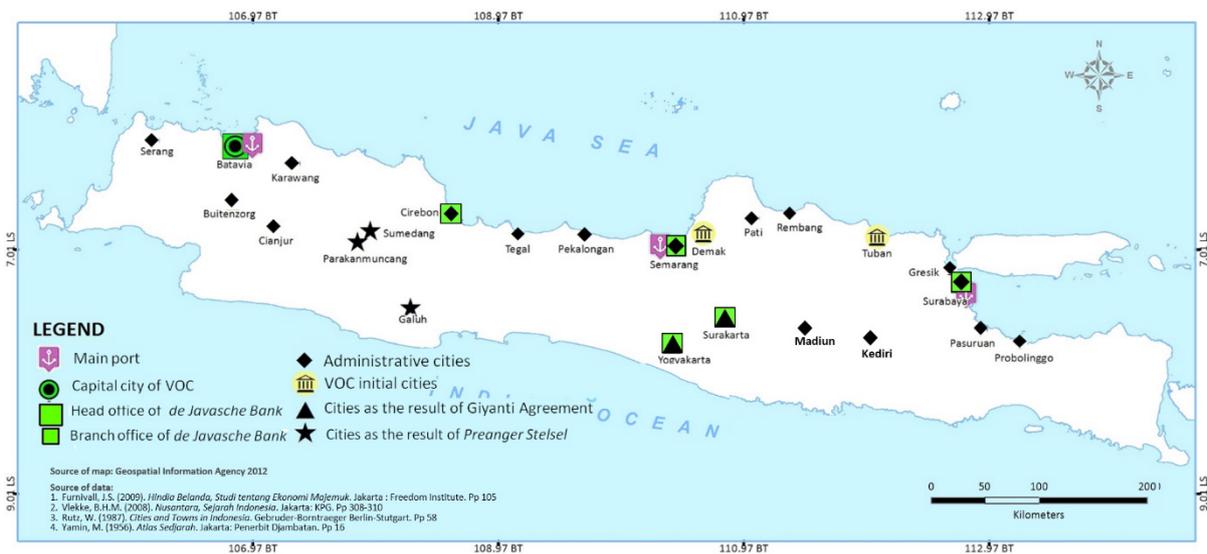


Figure 6. The spatial distribution of main cities in Java during colonial penetration of the 19th centuries

hierarchy. It resulted in the decline of the political role of royal centers in Banten and Cirebon. A new coastal city then emerged in Serang to replace the role of Banten in politics and the economy. As the most prominent of traditional power, the Sultanate of Mataram had lost its powers to almost two-thirds of the Java area toward in the mid-19th century (Lombard, 2005a). The population number of Yogyakarta and Surakarta were only half of their total population in 1815 (Boomgard, 2004). Both cities experienced deurbanization. Semarang also declined due to political reasons when Governor-General H.W Deandels removed its status as the capital of the Eastern Coast of Java in 1808. Finally, under such circumstances, Batavia sustained to develop smoothly to become the primary city on Java.

The above description suggests the process of urban development through one or a combination of territorial fusion, takeover, or conquest conducted by a dominant power. In Java, the process was preceded by the VOC's decision to change the identity of port cities on the north coast of Java into trading posts as part of the mercantilism strategy. Previously, these ports competed openly with each other in their position as Mataram's properties. However, under the

colonial government, these ports were under a single system to connect the inland areas with European markets. The tight spatial interaction between the coastal and inland cities became a crucial factor in urban development. It was related to the concept of space in mercantilism, which considers port cities as the central hubs of the global trade channels (Omrode, 2003).

To obtain added value from controlling the port, the VOC conducted tricky strategies to get monopoly privileges on precious commodities based on separate agreements with several local rules (Ricklefs, 2001). They outlined the deceptive scenario to outsmart local authorities who had full control over agricultural production in the inland of Java. Through these agreements, the VOC did not have to be present directly in the centers of the agricultural output in the upland but rather be represented by local authorities.

In the next century, the Dutch East Indies Government replaced the position of the VOC as the ruling actor. As a part of the territorial restructuring, some of the settlement centers were transformed into colonial administrative cities, better known as "resident cities" (Figure 6). They were the answer to the need for hierarchical and integrated territorial control

Table 1. Rural development in Java during the 19th century

Regions		Year		
		1795	1840	1867
The coastal and easternmost regions of Java	The number of villages (unit)	15.000	n.a	18.000
	The average population per village (persons)	110	n.a	360
The Sultanate of Surakarta and Mataram	The number of villages (units)	n.a	9.000	21.000
	The average population per village (persons)	n.a	85	50

Source: Boomgard (2004) pp. 201-2

Table 2. Urban development in Java during the 19th century

	Year		
	1815	1850	1890
The number of cities of more than 20.000 inhabitants	19	14	16
% of inhabitants	6,7	6,8	3,0
The number of cities of more than 5.000 inhabitants		78	93
% of inhabitants		12,7	6,4

Source: Boomgard (2004) pp. 195

from one large center to several small centers. The Dutch government officially assigned representatives in these cities to run colonial programs, including the control of production. The rise of the resident cities put an end to the urban dichotomy on Java that had formed since Hindu times. Thus, the coastal cities were no longer associated with port cities. They had a more playing role as a territorial integration controller. Together with Batavia, several coastal cities such as Cirebon, Tegal, Pati, and Rembang expanded territorial control to the inland by taking advantage of the existence of the Post Highway.

Furthermore, the colonial process of urban development continued into the inland targeting several older cities that grew up in the Hindu period, such as Madiun and Kediri. This process not only strengthened the position of the cities as the bench of political power but also gave them multiple new identities as the economic centers, military headquarters, and transportation hubs. The embryo of the inland economic centers was the plantation cities, such as Cianjur. The large crop estates intensified the economic activities as well as expanded the use of money both on the coast and the inland (Boomgard, 2004; van Niel, 2003). There was an urgency to maintain the circulation of money for the purposes of business credit (Erma, 2014). So, in the 19th century, the economic function of the cities extended to financial services as a stronger penetration of the money economy through plantation investment. Hence, the center of financial service was embedded in two cities, which were the symbol of traditional Javanese power, Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The authority and identity of the two cities began to be determined by economic interests.

Following the opening of the crop estates, the colonial government also restructured rural administration and livelihood, especially in the inland. One of the main objectives was to control the abundance of labor supply due to a large population and socioeconomic pressures (Furnival, 2009). Rural populations need to be controlled through two approaches. The first is treating each village as a political and economic unit (Lombard, 2005a; van Niel, 2003). The second is empowering the vast arable land as an instrument of labor and profit control. Then, the colonial penetration under the Agrarian Law in 1870 synthesized both approaches. It kept rural-urban migration, mainly to large coastal cities, by improving job opportunities and wage rates on plantations (Furnival, 2009; Boomgard,

2004). Otherwise, it increased inter-village mobility as well as diversified the labor market and trade activities in the rural. The hidden hinterlands had turned into a granary of economic benefits for the colonial government.

Table 1 illustrates the different impacts of colonial penetration on the rural structure between the coastal and the inland region. For only 23 years (1840-1867), the number of inland villages within Mataram and Surakarta territory had added than doubled, from 9,000 to 21,000 units. It was four times greater than the coastal villages. In a longer period (1795-1865), the number of villages on the coast had only increased by 3000 units. However, when the number of villages in the inland increased significantly, their average population of them decreased. This contradiction was a result of the territorial split of the large villages into several small neighborhoods (Boomgard, 2004).

In addition, according to Lombard (2005b), the habit of Javanese rulers in dedicating a piece of territory to a certain social group, such as religious community, also contributed to such contradiction. It gave rise to independent villages in the inland with full control over land and labor. Then, the colonial government gave special privileges to them under a dual-style government system. By this system, Dutch government officers acted as superiors for village authorities to bind them with various strict provisions (Evers and Korff, 2002).

Economic liberalization in 1870 increased the socioeconomic dynamics in the inland, especially around the plantations. There was a significant increase in economic attractiveness. Demand for labor and production inputs shifted from the coast to the inland. Overall, it expanded the role of the non-agricultural private sector in Java's economy, including petty economies such as craftsmen and small traders. However, this trend was not in line with urban development. The proportion of the urban population declined amidst the increasing number of cities (Table 2). During 1850-1890, several large cities even degenerated into small cities. It suggests that the advantages of the post-1870 colonial programs did not flow to main cities, predominantly on the coast. It means that colonial aggressiveness towards the inland reduced urban growth.

Thus, it is interesting to note that colonial political and economic expansion during the 19th century encouraged the emergence of inland cities and revived the rural economy.

However, these inland cities did not have a significant influence on the surrounding countryside. In other words, the expansion of the colonial political economy did not improve rural-urban relations. That could be due to two critical factors. First, the opening of crop estates had increased the independence of the rural economy. Since that, the progress of rural livelihood was no longer dependent on urban economy, especially in terms of providing employment. Second, most inland cities played administrative roles that relied on the feudal system. It caused urban political and economic activities not to be directly related to rural life. The cities, mainly in the inland region, were unable to develop both political and economic domination over their hinterland.

Theoretical reflection

The urban growth in Java during the Dutch colonialism period of the 19th century was a continuation of urban processes in the 17th-18th centuries when the VOC's mercantilism still dominated the practice of colonialism. However, there was a quite difference in the fashion of territorialization between the two periods. The aim of territorialization in the 19th century was to control the factors of production rather than to dominate maritime trade lines. But, whatever the intention, the local feudal system always played an essential role as an extended-arm of colonial administration for the sake of territorial integration. Starting in the 18th century in the Priangan Plateau on the south of Batavia, the use of local feudal systems in colonial bureaucracy continued to expand throughout the regions of Java during the 19th century. The Dutch government promoted new cities in the inland to establish colonial administration. They also changed the function of older cities which emerged both in the Hindu and Islamic eras. Several deep-rooted cities grew and collapsed alternately in line with the change in their role.

Implicitly, the spatial pattern of urban growth denotes the existence of the territorial surplus. As pronounced by Harvey (2010), this kind of surplus describes the vacuum of power in a particular space. It is a part of territorial logic in managing the relationship between space and power. The presence of power may not appear in the midst of social and political life for various reasons such as uneven population distribution, topographic obstacles, social-cultural resistance, and lack of infrastructure. To deal with the surplus, the ruling actor attempts to embrace the space through both pragmatic and symbolic approaches. While the former relates to spatial expansion, territorial occupation, and areal fragmentation, the latter is associated with the attachment of power representation, such as through identity alteration, cultural imposition, and power devolution. Hence, the former is more tightly bounded by the physical obstacles of space rather than the latter.

Based on this logic, the territorial surplus is a result of the inability of the local ruler to ensure its presence in a specific area through effective regional management. As a consequence, other external powers perceive the area as a surplus that can be easily exploited. Thus, the weaknesses of one power will create a surplus for another power. In accordance with this understanding, the application of Preangerstelsel in the interior of West Java was a manifestation of the creation of a new colonial landscape that utilizes the "absence" of local powers. It might be related to the traditions of the local people who were accustomed to living in small scattered groups based on shifting cultivation systems (Sumardjo, 2002). The local powers were just present when they were involved in a different system controlled by a hegemonic-external power, the colonial government.

Furthermore, this brings us to Harvey's next view about the logic of capital as the other rationality regarding the power-space relationship. This logic talks about the ability and flexibility of capital flow to overcome spatial obstacles either physically, culturally, or even politically. The flow of capital is like a molecular movement in penetrating space via unexpected pathways, usually driven by capital owners, not the government. Its key term is capital surplus. The surplus needs to be absorbed, placed, mobilized, and accumulated in a specific location to produce a further surplus. Then, the development of physical infrastructures such as roads and railroads strengthens the attachment of power to the territory so that it can absorb the various advantages that allow the development of cities.

According to the two logics, it is reasonable to understand the rise and fall of cities as a spatial implication of capital absorption through a territorial expansion conducted by a powerful-external actor. To maximize economic advantages, the external actors modify space by way of establishing cities as the symbols of their power. In this sense, the cities are the product of political rationalization (Parker, 2004). The ruling actors encourage the rise of cities in certain places, but they suppress other cities in other sites. The rapid development of Batavia for being a supreme colonial city, on the one hand, and the fall of royal cities such as Banten and Mataram, on the other hand, are appropriate examples of the reasoning.

The existence of a dominant actor, as shown by the colonial administration, allows the incorporation of territorial and capital logic. Consequently, the formation of cities runs simultaneously with the mobilization of all power assets in terms of ideology and practice to maintain stability for capital accumulation purposes. The city itself is a synthetic form of those assets. It is an asset of power. Thus, the development of the city is a part of the establishment of a geopolitical network. It involves the political liquidation process. The process is related to the change of power holders over the city and the conversion of identity, symbols, and institutions hidden behind city life. It describes how the ruling actor detaches the city from its original roots by imposing a new identity to represent their interest. The emergence of residential, financial, military, and plantation cities both in the inland and the coastal region containing colonial architecture had fundamentally changed the development orientation of several major cities that previously held the identity of royal and religious cities.

However, with regard to ideology, it is not easy to determine a definite timeline to distinguish between periods of mercantilism and economic liberalism. As an ideology, both can be mixed in the political-economic practices carried out by various powerful actors. For example, the idea of mercantilism about state control remained to exist in the era of crops estates privatization under the liberalization regime. The state played a dominant authority in controlling and shaping the market (Kadir, 2017). In addition, there were liberalism elements in VOC administration practices that continued and were modified during the 19th century. One of these elements appeared when the VOC shifted their position in colonial practice from the merchant to the landlord resulting in the Preangerstelsel policy. According to Latham (2000), such mixing in ideological practice is indeed difficult to eliminate because colonialism is essentially a phenomenon of mercantilism. The main objective is to strengthen and maximize the country's wealth and not the entrepreneur's.

Thus, the growth of cities in Java during the colonial era of the 19th century, both in terms of the emergence of new cities

and changes in the function of old cities, was the product of the practice of liberalism, although there were also contained elements of mercantilism for the wealth of the mother country. It can be said that the mixing of the two ideologies was the last layer of the main ideas of urban development in Java. Meanwhile, the two previous layers derived from Indian and Islamic traditions still remained visible but had been liquidated by colonial symbols and identities. The process of liquidation went hand in hand with the growth of the city and the spatial expansion of colonial power, which targeted certain places. This process involved a location decision to flow and allocate profits to places of interest. It also allowed a particular city to develop steadily as a big center through actions of power to build and maintain dominance in the long run.

4. Conclusion

The economic liberalization of Dutch colonialism on Java in the 19th century was a continuation of the VOC's mercantilism but with a stronger intention to control the factors of production. Territorial expansion into fertile areas encouraged the emergence and development of medium-sized cities in the inland as the junctures of colonial power. These cities served as the perch of colonial administration over traditional Javanese rule. But, it was hardly noticeable to see the emergence of new towns on the coast. There were only changes or the addition of urban functions in the old cities. Some of these cities had even degenerated in their economic role. They no longer functioned as ports but as nodes of colonial power for the sake of territorial integration. Spatially, the ambitions and practices of colonialism to control the factors of production had limited implications on urban growth.

Dutch colonialism in Java showed how a combination of territorial logic and capital could trigger political liquidation which was reflected in the spatial pattern of urban growth. The emergence of cities or changes in urban functions occurred in areas with weak or even empty political power. The identity and symbol of colonial power were attached as new elements to these cities. As a result, some of them fell apart from their original roots. This process revealed a locational decision to channel economic benefits to strategic places for sustaining domination of power for the long-term.

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