

THE IDEOLOGY OF *KAMPUNG* : A PRELIMINARY RESEARCH ON COASTAL CITY SEMARANG

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ABSTRAK

Kampung di perkotaan seringkali dilihat sebagai fenomena sebuah komunitas yang terisolir, marginal, dan eksklusif. Stereotipe ini muncul karena kebijakan kolonial sehingga penulisan sejarah kota sering hanya dilihat pada komunitas yang memiliki akses ekonomi, politik, dan sosial budaya langsung pada pemerintah kolonial. Komunitas *kampung*, yang pembentukannya memiliki sejarah yang panjang, hampir tidak dilihat sebagai bagian dari sejarah kota.

Pada beberapa dekade awal abad XX, *kampung* di Semarang menjadi fenomena yang menarik, bukan karena semata-mata pemerintah kolonial mulai memperhatikan status dan kondisi komunitas ini, tetapi secara mengejutkan justru hampir semua persoalan perkotaan, baik sosial, ekonomi, kesehatan, tata ruang kota maupun munculnya radikalisme justru memiliki keterkaitan dengan komunitas *kampung* di perkotaan. Beberapa faktor penting yang mempengaruhi adalah proses urbanisasi, industrialisasi, dan eksplorasi sosial-ekonomi di perkotaan melalui kebijakan perburuhan.

Kata Kunci: *kampung*, urbanisasi, industrialisasi, radikalisme

INTRODUCTION

Opening the 20th century, residency of Semarang and the neighboring regions such as Jepara, Rembang and Pekalongan became, the first (impression) in the internal migration context. In 1930's for instance, Semarang immigrants made up to 41 % of the population. When the railroad was built and accelerated the villagers move to city, villages became a partner for the city development. The Indies railways was operated, it needed many skilled workers, laborers, land' and financial support. The road building workers usually were Chinese and natives. Native workers were placed as clerk, station master or machinist. In 1918, for instance, reported that the Indies state railways

employed at least 179 Dutch officials born in Europe and amount 564 born in Indies. The need of skilled workers in 1918 increased after *Netherlands- Indies Spoonweg* (NIS) was sold to *Staatsspoorweg* (SS) in 1913 due to financial corruption and mismanagement. By 1914's, in Semarang it was reported that the opening of *Semarang-Chirebon Stoomtram Maatschappij* that connected Semarang and the western areas the need of railway workers rapidly increased. They were usually imported from village areas around Semarang and Cirebon or from *kampung* dwellers in the city.

They found work as labour loading merchandise in harbour and railway stations. Furthermore, since the Chinese in Semarang

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built many business enterprises of sugar industries, the emergence of Liem Kiem Ling and Company (1862), the success of Tjan San Go since Dutch Commercial Law applied to the Chinese in 1855 and the big businessman of opium, Major Oei Tiong Ham, who held the opium monopoly for Semarang, Solo, Yogyakarta and Surabaya in the years 1890-1903, caused many immigrants came of the city¹. Moreover, in 1894 immigrants coming to Semarang included women and children. The spreading of social response, the emergence of worker demand and the awakening of rationalization or contextualization in religion were the most popular evidences associated with the basis problem of industrial development in the colonial cities.² But, unfortunately, mostly, the study of urban history mentioned and expanded in spatial terrain³, cultural distances perspectives⁴, and social and economical accountability⁵. Socio-religious phenomena in the *kampung* of city as a view and way of life relying on a believe in the transcendent dimension and natural development is far and inadequately paid attention from historian.

Understanding with the *kampung*s in Colonial Semarang, for instance as a part, however, of the basic of social construction in the city will stimulated to establish for "spirit of city" among city dwellers. Semarang is the most crucial city in the early of the 20th century and has become the most strategic economic position in colonial context as well as the centre of radicalism movement in colonial Java. It is possible, and it seems to be the accepted view, that the cross intersection of personal and territorial arrangements which these inquiries is applicable in *kampung* circumstances since the villagers took a close interaction seriously with others through economic and industrial system. This paper will present the rhetorical forms of *kampung* question of the city and the process of "contested space" in the north coast Java in the end of 19th century and early of the 20th century.

WORKERS RECRUITMENT AND SOCIAL MOBILIZATION

In 1904, total of passengers of NIS in the first class, usually European, rose by 4,000; the

second class passenger, usually lower-income Europe and top-level native, also rose by 33,000. In the third class, especially for native or and common people increased almost 550,000. The passengers logically appeared on the move with any reasons; reason to travel of economic nature: market and search work almost 69,5 % and reason to travel of personal nature (visits to family, law and order, faith and traditions and pleasure travel) reached 30,5%⁶. In 1918, the passengers started to decrease because of the World War I. In 1921 for instance the number of passengers rose because the railways tickets were cheaper than other. Besides, the passengers also were allowed to carry free baggage of 50 kg or more. The class structure of railway passengers was divided into three or four classes of passengers evidenced that Dutch was still running a racial politics. The majority of natives took for fourth class and usually they were called "kelas kambing" (goat class). Most of them were peasant, traders, laborers and another villagers. They had to pay in cash amount f 0,10/km for fourth class in 1919 from Semarang to Togoeng After the World War I, in which the Dutch had to spend lot of money for war and the funding subsidy for machine maintenance tended to be deficit. Therefore, the railway company raised the ticket prices followed by a general decline in living standards. The following table will try to account the cost of living index in colony after World War I;

Cost Living Index (1929=100)

1921	132,5	1931	69,5
1922	109	1932	54
1923	102	1933	44,5
1924	106,5	1934	42,5
1925	105,5	1935	43
1926	109,5	1936	41
1927	100,5	1937	46
1928	94,5	1938	47
1929	100	1939	44
1930	69,5 ⁷		

The most sign peant of decrease of living standard since 1910's. was the increasing of number of wage laborers in the city who

returned to their original villages. Although, a part of them still living in the kampong for another job and or for wage up grading. This is a time when railway workers extremely difficult to get a new job. Competition among them very high and that was became a sufficient condition for crime action and prostitute practices especially in the long of railways line⁸. In the same case, sugar cane *coolies* also losing their earnings during economic collapse. Actually, the urban workers and *coolies* were not only the victims of depression since 1910's, but they were also affected by the colonial authorities sharply reduce their socio-economic opportunities in the villages based on plantation product. It means that during technological transformation using railway introduction and sugar cane industries created a new sub-ordination relationship between the Dutch and natives. The "floating mass" was almost to be a "labor discourse" in the city because of uncertain opportunity. This condition can be taken for granted for radicalism movement since the worker unions established in Semarang.

The Chinese sugar mills basic, for instance, in the long north coast Java before the 19th century, night belong to Dutch. In 1850's for instances, Mr. Bayer, an *ingeneur*, tried to rebuild sugar factory in Java after collapse years. Since that time, majority of sugar industries in north coast Java were owned and managed by Europeans and run largely by Chinese settlers. A further, some of the institutional framework have done. In the first, the Dutch demanded to Residency of Semarang to submit the list of regents (*bupati*) including some 17 districts, each with "a *Demang*, *Mantri*, secretary and from 3-10 "spies" (*mata-mata*) and their subordinates. According to Onghokham⁹, there were some 4000-5000 such people employed in sugar industries in 1860's involving the whole of Java. In Wonopringgo, Pekalongan ner Semarang itself, the British manager, T.G. Edwards, considered the use carried on by the headmen, who were responsible for supplying *coolies* for

the *fabriek*¹⁰. Usually, the coolie trading system in Pekalongan utilized traditional channels of authority relationship and the religious teachers. The impact of sugar cane and coolie trading system in Pekalongan, for instance, is the direction in the sharp increase in the number of haji grown rich in trade and money lending¹¹. The involvement of religious leader in the process of laborer recruitment in the early of 20th century was the successful of Hurgronje effort to appreciate the muslim community otherwise they would be radical and world stage anti Dutch policy using "holy war" ideology.

According to Jan Knop's report that since 1812, Semarang was the more populous than other regions. The contribution to this situation was the great trade which carries with the other regions. Everyday, the caravans of coolies coming from and going to Semarang. Furthermore, according to Knops, more than five or six hundred not reckoning the loaded horses and bullocks. In 1890 along the North Coast Java, especially the Residency of Semarang, Jepara, Rembang and Pekalongan showed the flourishing of internal migration of coolie. In same time, the people who earned their primary income from agriculture had just 7 %¹². The demand of coolie in Semarang increased since the first telephone network was installed in 1884. Furthermore, when the busy harbor of Semarang constructed, the need of workers and coolies also increased¹³. They move from nearby areas of Kudus, Demak, Joana, Kendal and Jepara that were linked to Semarang by the railway network. Most of harbor workers, as Ingleson argued¹⁴, worked under the supervision of a *mandor* (foreman) or *jurumudi* (helmsmen) and not employed directly by waterfront companies. This indirectly employment of labor recruitment were common to many industries in colonial Java. The recruitment of workers usually came from foreman village of origin or families. The foreman looked for workers often personally visited their home region and recruiting workers. Villagers more often seem to have

chosen to go to get work information from a brother, families or friends. This recruitment model of workers also common to sugar cane industries, batik manufactured and cigarette industries, on condition that the recruitment of workers in harbor industry had to be more selective people. The model of labor recruitment method above, however, is the most complicated one in sugar cane industries because it is connected with land holders in the villages, social status of villagers and their patron, of course the compensation system¹⁵.

The relationship between *coolie*, *mata-mata*, *Demang* and *mantri*, *bupati* in sugar cane industries, for instance, were more determined by status. Coolie is laborer who was hence a prime site of colonial exploitation. Coolie and workers have a racial distinctiveness. Workers were usually defined as a monthly paid worker and to be a part of industrial relationship¹⁶. In sugar cane industries, the *coolie* formally associated with the Government *coolie*. It means that, the factories authority did not have a responsibility on coolie conditions. It was a usage to differentiate them from Campaign workers whom the factories were able to recruit themselves and of course, the factories must responsible to all workers needs¹⁷. Consequently, workers required discipline. *Coolie* in the political sense, as crucial group to a set of web of violence than workers. The argumentation is Coolie were not seen as people working for wages but instead as workers by nature.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Semarang, according to Dutch references was as a large city for coolie settlement. They lived in *kampung-kampung* nearby the centre of city, such as Tegalwaroeng (Tegalwareng), Sronдол near Pecinan and in the long of railways road near the harbor. When the night came, they usually took warong as their social and cultural sharing place for each others. In the early of 19th century reported that the densely populated less than 30.000 people. It grew rapidly in 1850 to be 30,000; 60,000 in 1880; 97,000 in 1905 and 101,000 people in 1914¹⁸.

In 1932, according to the Labor Office that carried a survey of workers of the status with total addresses visited 281 people, found that in Semarang there were the -unemployment lists following data: Not at home (21 people), departed (22 people), visited (209 people), work found again (29 people), without (family (113 people), with family (96 people), unemployment pay or pension (14 people), supported by family (145 people), trade or property (36 people)¹⁹.

The increase of population in Semarang as influenced by any such factors included the development of European and Chinese trading houses, banks and plantation agents, ship harbor and the new housing building in the South corner of the city. In 1905, the city was expanded beyond the historical core contained within the bounds of the West flood canal and Semarang river and the east flood canal on the other side, with the Java sea to the North and the hill terrain to the South. In 1906, The Batavia government decided to make a decentralization system of government and Semarang was the first colonial city incorporated by Batavia government as an urban municipality (*Stadsgemeente*) with its own city council (*Stadsgemeenteraad*) and responsible to its domestic administrative (*Huishoudelijk*). The city council of Semarang consisted twenty five members including fifteen. European (mostly Dutch), five inlanders and foreign Asians. The type of *Stadsgemeente* actually did not mean the pure self-subsidy treasury. The annual subsidy from government relieved the city asking for money from government, but the city council could apply as subsidy the budget grant from government for special purposes (*subsidie voor buitengewone werken*)²¹. In 1914, the city contained more than 5125 hectares of which only 322 hectares or six and one quarter percent was owned by city. The city was also geographically divided into two main typologies; the lower land in the North side and the hill land in the South.

The development of railway line in Semarang connected to Vorstenlanden created to modern ways and developed economic

quantity²¹. Together with railway line development, the harbor of Kleine Boom, and the new harbour canal which was called Kali Baru also developed and many junk carried any stuff from sub-urban areas of Semarang to the city. In 1909, the electricity company, A.N .I.E.M was established and it began to operate 1913. Since 1913, the electricity of Semarang used hydroelectric power from the Tuntang river²². The Semarang - *Vorstenlanden* railway in 1905, served more than thirty-two sugar factories. Semarang - Djoana tram line served seven sugar factories and made totally serve of forty eight sugar factories from Semarang to sub-urban of Semarang²⁴.

KAMPUNG QUESTION: REINTERPRETED

These bases of modern technology in the city and the employment of workers in Semarang are typically of the situation in all Javanese industries in the colonial period. Technological innovation that is based on mass workers such harbor and railway industries needed sophisticated management. The workers came from both various social status and areas, although the mandor in sugar cane cases and helmsman in harbour industries, usually treated them alike. The position of wharf laborer were more better than harbor seamen. In 1921, the wharf laborers might worked only a 7 hour day with frequent rest breaks. While the seamen and other urban average earners working day found 10 and 14 hours per day²⁴.

The amount of work in sugar cane, harbor and railway industries in 1890's prior to 1921 fluctuated considerably. In sugar milling season, from June to September, the need of workers increased. Harbor industries also looked more busier when the harbors were full with ships waiting load processed sugar and other product for export. The wage of laborers varied depended on the local cost living and the strength local labor "market"²⁵. In Semarang for instance, before the strikes 1913, a seam who work on the boats had got less than f.5 in his wage. He had to pay 3 cents each night to sleep or he must sleep on small huts on their

prahu . Majority of harbor workers slept out in the open against the harbor wall²⁶. Every year, harbor workers almost reach 30-40 percent of the urban worker forces in the early 20th century. They live nearby foreman or helmsmen houses in *kampung* close to the harbor. They live in one slum dwelling consists 23 workers or more with 3 meters wide, 8 meters long and 1,7 meters high.

During the wet season, the *kampung* was under of water, poor. sanitation, and usually the water-born diseases became the major problem in these places. In the dry season, the *kampung* were very hot, dusty and rarely drinking water. Cholera, typhoid, influenza, malaria and tuberculosis exist. The drinking water also became a big problem, although many water tower (waterleiding) had been build in many areas near Semarang such as Oengaran, Tjandi (South Semarang, Tegalwarong (sic.) (Tegalwareng ?) (Central Semarang) and Genoek (East Semarang)²⁷. Many *kampung* dwellers usually use the river water for their diary needs²⁸, especially in the south of river. Since 1911, the construction drinking water works, washing and bathing facilities including markets, streets were undertaken in all parts of the city including in the *kampungs*. The legislation of 1907, gave the authorized city interference within *kampung* boundaries. This policy caused tension between city authority and *kampung* native population. The *kampung* native population actually settled on the land owned by government. According government, the areas of native settlement, *kampung*, were autonomous in the government domestics affair (huishoudelijk belangen). Although, the article 71 of the constitution 1854 regarded that daily life *kampung* dwellers as outside of jurisdiction of the city council. 1:tY 1930's) reported that in Semarang there were 137 *desas* or *kampungs* including the city Territory²⁹. ost of *kampung* dwellers worked for fabrieken, railways station workers and harbor laborers. They live in some location equalled 400 people per hectare or 1000 people per

hectare. H.F Tillema reported that in 1912 many *kampung*s in Semarang during flood monsoon, the cholera was found and almost a whole *kampung* dweller died.³⁰

The *Kampung* workers might have been more overcrowded. Such condition was not tolerated, but the *kampung* workers had no choices. There were no political organization care them when the living condition in *kampung* decreased. In exception, in 1927 in a public meeting of the Semarang branch of Boedi Oetomo (BO), Slamet, a BO and the city council members spoke about the description of *kampung* living condition generally. But the considered harbor? *Kampung* more than railways *kampung* and he decided to ask government, c.q. the city council to improve the *kampung* living condition, even in debt. On the other hand, in 1912, Tjipto Mangoenkoesoemo, a prominent nationalist and many Sarekat Islam (SI) activists launched a campaign against prostitution, gambling and drinking. Those three social phenomena, gambling, drinking and prostitution were a very close to *kampung* circumstances. On April 30, 1914, an anti-prostitution society Madjoe-Kemoelian (Noble Progress) was established in Bandung. In 1920, SI, BU and other nationalist parties have succeeded in reducing the number of prostitutes, gambling and drinking behavior. Many *kampung* women soon returned to their former life. This policy also reduced the incidence of venereal disease among *kampung* workers and city dwellers. According to Central Municipal Hospital at Weltevreden in 1902-1912, for example, reported that 6.5 per cent of European patients, 5.47 per cent of Indonesian and 13.11 per cent of Chinese were treated for syphilis³¹.

The succes of SI propaganda of anti-prostitution, gambling and drinking in the *kampung* areas was not also followed by the success attract *kampung* harbor workers for strike in 1923.

The dependency of workers to their patron, mandor, demang, mantri in sugar cane industries, foremen and helmsmen in harbor industries strong bonds of comradeship in the strike ages. They made a "communal" solidarity

and tried to challenge and to defended their authority through a strikes using the "wages" issues. In search of justice, was the main issues when the industrial labor of Semarang - had run the general strikes in 1923³². In 1915, labor unions in Semarang, *Perserikatan Pegawai Pegadaian Bumiputera* (PPPB) and *Vereeniging voor Spoor-en Tramwegpersoneel* (VSTP), more independence, since Indonesians became the majority of members. In 1921, PPPB, VSTP tried to joint Pawnshop Service workers to organize the strike. In exception, the pawnshop service workers had relatively better education than PPPB and VSTP workers.

Under the leadership of Pieter Bergsma, a chairman of VSTP, and Kadarisman, its secretary, VSTP tried to pressure their members and the workers responded again to demand a union negotiation about the workers and wages upgrading including working hours, holidays and rest periods, the improvement in meal money³³.

An article in *Si tetap*, Malay newspaper, no. 4-5 April and May 1926, titled "Mei 1923, artikel 161 Bis, Mei 1926, artikel 153 Bis dan 153 TER", showed that the aim of strike of 1923, did not merely mention on the economic injustice as Ingleson discussed.

Discriminatory and the abusive behavior towards other members of social status became the main prejudice among Javanese coolie.³⁴, furthermore, restrains and curbing among Javanese coolie to express their ideas, would be "spirit" force to organize the strikes³⁵. The unions need was the claim of labor after the conflict between P.P.P.B Soerjopranoto and Sosrokardono before 1925. As far as the research had indicated, at least until 1923, there were no facts that the labor movement had consisted of anti-Chinese or anti-Dutch.

During the year of 1919, many VSTP's member organized the meetings with the demands for social life upgrading included the introduction of an 8 hours of work per day, the decision of a minimum wage, the development of a permanent arbitration court, the legal of

regulation included the abolition of the hierarchical authority structure and the abolition of arbitrary powers to supervisor and legal recognition of the VSTP³⁶. The meeting and discussion with railway manager about wage increases and the establishment of labor syndicate among railway and harbor laborers to consider a general strike were more active. The sharing of ideas had been done and the result of the meeting was usually published in the VSTP journal, *Volharding* in Dutch and *Sitetaf* in Malay. The most important aspect of technological change in Semarang before 20th century was the press printing. In February 1860, found weekly of the *Selomporet Melaijoe* and *Semarangsch Courant* in Semarang, by G. C. T. van Dorp & Co., a book shop proprietor, stationer and printer³⁷. The *Selomporet Melaijoe* became the most informative news and trading network, since the Dutch and Chinese mercantilist supported publishing and circulating in Semarang. According to Adam, the subscription rate was fl. 4,- per six months for all residents in Semarang. The subscription rate for outside Semarang reached fl. 5,-. The agents of *Selomporet Melaijoe* were Gebroeders Gimberg & Co. (Surabaya), H.M. van Dorp & Co. (Batavia), P.W. Homung (Rembang), J. Lapre (Banyumas) and M. Block & Co. (Cirebon)³⁹. The Chinese press also appeared in Semarang called *Warna Warla* edited by F.D.J. Pangemanan in 1902, *Djawa Kong Po* in 1909. Another press were also published called *Pewarla Priyayi* in . 1900, *Bintang Pagi* in 1908, *Djawa Tengah* in 1909, *Pamor* in 1910, *Padoman* in 1911 and *Sinar Djawa* in 1913.⁴⁰ The appearances of the vernacular press in the city were not merely identified as a "*kemadjoean*" (progress) among inlanders, but it suffices to say that a modern Indonesian consciousness in the turn century can be traced back to technological innovation of printing machines. Thanks to ships industries, railways, newspaper, telegraph and printing industries, the "*kemadjoean*" were propagated. This phenomenon did not constitute a barometer among educated people, but more to be

perceived as a changing times among coolie or laborers in the city.

In the time of crisis, the position of *kampung* headmen was as an organizer around the small power structure of the local radicalist and injustice hopes. The Mas Tjilik revolt, the Baujaya movement and almost the majority of resistance movement in the north coast Java during in the end of 19th Century the role of *kampung* headmen can not be doubted. The *kampung* headmen in sub-urban areas such Tegal, usually they were a religious teachers, *jago*, *lenggaong* or *bandits*.⁴⁰ Some of the response reflected the social critics of inlanders to Dutch authority and their agent. Most of the leaders and participants of the resistance movements judged and interpreted the *kampung* and urban conditions realively well.

The urban *kampung* dwellers in different regions try to solve the discrepancy between the villagers conception of themselves and the empirical hard fact of being subjugated by colonial rule and urban conditions⁴¹. The foreign power, Dutch as well as Chinese, moreover, not only made itself visible but also demanded certain loyalties and concessions. With all these unending series of political and economical demands and pressures, the Dutch and their agents along with their strange culture but strong economic challenges might began to be perceived as the real threat and partners on the other hand to the very foundation of Javanese urban population. It means that in Javanese urban dwellers the pragmatic development in which the Dutch introduced through technological achievement is not restricted to official or semi-official discourse.

The emergence of Semaoen and SI' articulation of *kampung* dwellers in the city grievances acting as "*penyambung lidah rakyat*" in dealing with city council and manufactures authority, inevitably brought it into conflict in the city. Almost all of *pangreh praja* in the north coast Java did not support Semaoen ideas, even A Djajadiningrat supported the moderate wing led by

Tjokroaminoto and Gunawan than Semaoen. Only Raden Ismail struck more radical note by calling for the support of Semaoen radicalist and support the striking workers in Semarang. In his *Hikayat Kadiroen*, that was written while he was in jail about 1919 and was published in 1920 in serial form in *Sinar Hindia*, Semaoen criticized *pangreh praja* as “a colonial agent” and “social evil”. He described Kadiroen as hero’s adventures. It seems that Kadiroen adventures tried to discover All-Embracing Truth in world through the building of spiritual self- defense. During present in prison, he found the “real” asceticism in which he had obtained insight into essential situation of his world. He combined the triangular of “religious” power from *tapa* (asceticism), *noor*, *wahjoe* (light) and *nafsu* (lust)⁴². Semaoen in his “asceticism” period, had indeed acquired the cognitive insight and conceptualized it into action. Comparing with other novels such as *Salah Pilih* (1928) by Noer St. Iskandar, *Lajar Terkembang* (1936) by Takdir Alisjahbana and *Belenggoe* (1940) by Armijn Pane, which related to self-awareness through trials and tribulations, *Hikajat Kadiroen* went much further and so deep insight about humanity and God-Almighty. Communism, according to Semaoen is a science that organizes human being in the world. No one can exploit another. The main goal of science is to eliminate the capital system. Therefore, according to Semaoen, the capital of the present business engaged in all economic industries such manufactures, railways, shipping, storage were to be controlled by people.

After Semaoen launched the concept of “religion”, the situation became more crucial when the railroad workers began to protest a wage paying system in railways and harbor industries. In May 1920, Semaoen changed the name of the ISDV to *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) with VSTP as a core movement. In 1923, prelude of the general strike, the split between SI Semarang and Yogyakarta became absolute. Later on, the VSTP and PKI became an essential organ for laborer movement in

Netherlands Indies. The spreading of strike issue rapidly develops in connection with railways line and newspapers publication from the city to another and almost the urban workers united. Although, in the years of 1841, 1864, 1847 the protest movement still lived in rural areas and far from capital of Semarang, but in the early of 20th century two major disturbances move to the near city, Demak area in 1818 and Genuk in 1935⁴³. In Demak, for instance, the protest organized by the chairman *Sarekat Islam* of Demak, *Suharja* and the chairman of *Sarekat Islam* of Semarang, Semaoen. After the series of meeting held by local branches leader, the protest began. They demanded to : 1. the abolition of head tax; 2. the abolition of the *lumbung desa* (village paddy bank) and distribution of the paddy to common people; 3. return of the communal rice fields to them and the private land must be purchased by Government⁴⁴. In 1910, it was also reported that revolutionary slogan and propaganda seem to have entered the rural areas when the protest ideas influence spread to smaller towns along railroad lines, especially to Pati, Demak, Purwodadi areas, to Salatiga, Boyolali, Madiun and Nganjuk and to Pekalongan, Brebes, Tegal and Cirebon⁴⁵. Later on, the railway strike broke out from Semarang on May 10, 1923 over 12 days and a few days later, the strike spread through all Java as far as Cirebon, Surabaya and Batavia⁴⁶. After communist rebellion in 1928, reported that in Surabaya there were almost 524 serious traffic accidents, 23 percent of them caused by tramway⁴⁷.

The other case of protest went on Genuk in 1935, near municipality of Semarang. The cause of protest is the drivers of *gerobak* (buffalo-drawn lorry) or *delman* (dilman) denied to pay double tax both to Demak regency and Semarang municipality. The protest started when *gerobak* drivers were stopped by the policemen in Kaligawe, the eastern entrance the city. The result of protest was three people were killed and many wounded. On February 2, 1935 the *gerobak* drivers’ protest also

happened in Tanggulangin ruled by Sukaemi and Raden Achmad, a member of *Sarekat Kusir Indonesia* (Indonesian “*Dokar*” Drivers Association).

CONCLUSION

The suffering of Javanese urban, moreover, appeared to be related to economical as well as social or political problems. Urban areas, for example, now carried the burden of an increasing population whose numbers had reached a point beyond the capacity of the land to support them. The task of Dutch on Java, therefore, was a complex, multi stranded one for economic uplift which involved delving deeply not only into the material circumstances of urban life but also into the minds of mode of thought. Capitalistic economic development, urbanization and religious reform movement, geographical and social mobilizations and administrative unification changes have finally transformed the images of the Dutch among urban dwellers. The social process in *kampung* of city as explained could now be seen as partner in progress, reluctant modernizer, capitalist exploiter or even a hope of the reconstructing forces.

The change of the nature of *kampung* in Semarang increased knowledge about “the others” and images on colonialism. Social mobility in this context accompanied with the course of change resulted in the social response to the city. In the historical perspective, among several groups in the *kampung* of city is clearly showed an antagonism between village and urban areas. The antagonism has almost certainly increased markedly in the 20th Century since the *kampung* dwellers must be oppressed due to urbanization process in Semarang. But it is by no means an entirely new phenomenon. In the late 19th Century for instance *kampung* phenomena is the phenomenon of agrarian society in general: poor hygiene, alcoholism, coolie laborer, poor food intake, prostitution and poor housing. Opening the 20th century the *kampung* phenomena can not be predicted as

an isolated territory. The *kampung* laborers for instance were often with a fixed territorial attachment, recognized as an isolated community and reject the tradition of the enlightenment. Later one, actually they became a radical base camp. The radicalism among them usually came from secular issues using laborer power and other revolutionary groups such as gangsters, banditry, jago or lenggaong.

A desire for wholeness in this time of Colonial economic exploration in the city after liberal era made “critical” appeals and radical figures more attractive. To Dutch and native officials, this conditions became the most serious threat. As the Dutch presence intensified, the *kampung* radicalists increased in number and injected with anti-colonial and urban authority sentiments by circulating through a network of *kampung* laborers, tarekat and urban radicalists. It gets the sense that popular participation in the movement was a way of restoring the harmony of “*kampung*” society in the city.

1. Donald Earl Willmott, 1960. *The Chinese of Semarang: a Change Minority Community in Indonesia*. Cornell University Press. pp. 148-149.
2. John Ingleson, *In Search of Justice: Workers and Unions in Colonial Java 1908-1926* (Singapore, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). See also Rudolf Mrazek, *Rudol Mrazek, Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in A Colony* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002) and Suzanne Marie Moon, “Constructing ‘Native development’: Technological Change and The Politics of Colonialization in The Netherlands East Indies 1905-1930”, Ph.D. Dissertation, Faculty of Graduate School (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2000)
3. Brenda S.A. Yeoh, *Contesting Space in Colonial Singapore: Power Relations and The Urban Built Environment* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003), James L. Cobban, “The City on Java: An Essay in Historical Geography”, Unpublished Ph.D Dissertation, University of California (Ann Arbor, Michigan University Microfilm, 1974).
4. Anthony Reid, “The Structure of Cities in Southeast Asia, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Centuries”, *Journal Southeast Asian Studies*, XI, 2, September 1980. Also W.F. Wertheim (ed.), *The Indonesian Town: Studies in Urban Sociology* (The Hague and Bandung: van Hoeve Ltd. 1958).

- 5 W. Leertouwer, *Semarang als Industriel, Commerciel en Cultureel Centrum* (Uitgegeven door Administratie kantoor von pemis, 1925)
- 6 Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in a Colony* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 10-11.
- 7 W. M. F. Mansvelt and P. Creutzberg (eds.), *Changing Economy in Indonesia*, Vol. 5, National Income, 1979. pp. 83
- 8 John Ingleson, "Prostitution in Colonial Java", in David P. Chandler and M.C. Ricklefs (eds.), *Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Indonesia: Essays in Honour of Professor J.D. Legge*, Southeast Asian Studies (Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, 1986), pp 123-138.
- 9 Ongkhokham, "The Residency of Madiun: Priyayi and Peasant in the Nineteenth Century", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Yale University, 1975
- 10 G.R. Knight, "The Peasantry and the Cultivation Cane in The Nineteenth Century Java: A Study From Pekalongan Residency 1830-1870", in Ann Booth, W.J. O'Malley, Anna Wieedmann (eds.), *Indonesian Economic History in the Dutch Colonial Era*, MonographSeries 35, Yale University Southeast Asian Studies (New Heaven, Connecticut: Yale University, 1990). The *coolie* typically to be measured in terms coolie days, Gully coolie, cutting coolie and fabriekcoolie.
- 11 Knight reported that in 1868 there were more than 863 *hajis* acted as money lenders and coolie traders.
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 John Ingleson, "Life and Work in Colonial Cities: Harbour Workers in Java in The 1910's and 1920's", *Modern Asian Studies*, 17,3 (1983), pp. 455-456.
- 14 In exception, John Ingleson more using workers concept than coolie or labour. But in his analysis, usually using harbour labour, too. Inconsistency of using concept had confused to determine who are the labourers, coolies and workers. It seems that Roger Knight description on industrial workers in Colonial Java more clear than Ingleson.
- 15 The system of recruitment in this sense, created a class identity among labour and their patron. The absence of middle class in the city, moreover, the labourer also tended to represent the revolutionary class. For a contemporary analysis on relationship between labourer, labourer system, ethno-religious and state see Vedi R. Hadiz, "Mirroring the Past or Reflecting the Future? Class and Religious Pluralism in Indonesian Labor" in Robert W. Hefner (ed.), *The Politics of Multiculturalism: Pluralism and Citizenship I Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001). Pp. 268-285. Also see Vedi R. Hadiz, *Workers and The State in New Order Indonesia* (London, New York: Routledge ASIA, 1997)
- 16 G. Roger Knight. *Narratives of Colonialism: Sugar, Java and The Dutch* (Huntington: Nova A Science Publisher, 2000), pp. 99-101.
- 17 *Ibid.*
- 18 James L. Cobban, "Kampungs and Conflict in Colonial Semarang", *JSEAS*, vol. XIX, no. 2, September 1988. Pp. 266-291
- 19 John Ingleson, "Urban Java during the Depression", *JSEAS*, vol. XIX, no. 2, september 1988. pp. 292-309.
- 20 James L. Cobban, op. cit. pp. 272.
- 21 Irawan, "Het Vervoer via de Spoorlijn Semarang-Vorstenlanden als Welvaartsindicator voor de Bevolking in Java's Vorstenlanden (1874-1883)" in Francien vna Anrooij, Dirk H.A. Kolff, Jan van Laanen, Gerald J. Telkomp (eds.), *Between People and Statistics: Essays on Modern Indonesian History; Presented to P. Creutzberg* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979), pp. 59-69.
- 22 Johannes Widodo, "The history of an Indonesian Coastal City: The Case of Semarang" , *Asian Culture* 21, June 1997.
- 23 James L Cobban, op. cit.
- 24 John Ingleson, *ibid.* pp. 458-459
- 25 John Ingleson, *ibid.* pp. 459
- 26 John Ingleson, *ibid.*, pp. 460
- 27 H.F. Tillema, Kromoblanda, *Over't Vraagstuk van "het Wonen" in Kromo's Groote Land*, deel I(s' Gravenhage: N.V. Electr. Drukkerij en Uitg. Maatchappij "de Atlas", 1915-1916), pp. 135-137. Also see Tillema's Kromoblanda book deel 2.
- 28 *Ibid*
- 29 James L. Cobban, of. cit. , pp. 275
- 30 H.F. Tillema, OF. cit. pp. 30-35. See also H.F. Tillema, *Van Wonen en Bewonen, van Bouwen, huis en erf* (Tjandi Semarang: n.p., 1913), pp.57
- 31 John Ingleson, op. crt. pp. 134
- 32 John Ingleson, loco crt.
- 33 John Ingleson, *In Search of Justice, Workers and Unions in Colonial Java, 1908-1926* (Singapore, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 117
- 34 *Si Tetap*, no. 4 April and no. 5 May 1926
- 35 In this sense, the labor-communist movement appeal to unite their goal with the slogan "Kaoem Proletar Di Seloeroeh Doenia Bersatoelah" (All of proletarians in the world be unite). *Si Tetap*, April 1924.
- 36 John Ingleson, (1986), op. cit. pp. 117
- 37 Ahmat B. Adam, *The Vernacular Press and the Emergence of Modern Indonesian onsciousness* (1855-1913), Southeast Asian Program, Cornell University (Ithaca, New York: Come II University, 1995), pp. 23
- 38 *Ibid.*, especially on footnote. pp. 2
- 39 *Ibid.*

- 40 Onghokham, op. cit. Greg Bankroff classified the bandit was divided into four categories: a. Professional Bandits, usually using professional management and no economic targets b. Social Bandits, usually living in their social, cultural and political circumstances. They were heroes for their followers and society c. charismatic Bandits, they were characterized by religious ties among followers and d. Supplemental Bandits, usually they were a branch of organisation of bandits. See G. Bankroff, "Bandits, Banditry and Landscape of Crime in the Nineteenth Century Philippines", *JSEAS*, 29 no. 2 (September 1998), pp. 319-339.
- 41 Vincent J.H. Houben, *Kraton and Kumpeni*; Surakarta and Yogyakarta 1830-1870 (Leiden: KITLV, 1994)
- 42 Semaoen, *The Story of Kadiroen*, Translated by Jan Lingard, Marcus Susanto, Ian Campbell and Adrian Vickers, RIMA, vol. 30 winter/summer 1996
- 43 Sartono Kartodirdjo, *Protest Movement in Rural Java: A Study of Agrarian Unrest in The Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1973) 441bid. pp. 58-59
- 45 Rudolf Mrazek, *Engineers of Happy Land: Technology and Nationalism in Colony* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 16.
- 46 *Ibid*
- 47 *Ibid*.

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