

THE COLONIAL STRAINED IN JAVA 1870-1930: PUBLIC SPACES VERSUS PUBLIC POLICIES

Arief Akhyat

INTISARI

Proses kolonisasi pada akhir abad XIX dan awal abad XX bukan hanya menimbulkan persoalan internal di kalangan pemerintahan Hindia-Belanda, tetapi juga berdampak pada proses aplikasi kebijakan dengan dalih "Politik Etis". Periode 1870-1930-an adalah merupakan periode dalam sejarah politik pembangunan Indonesia yang sangat penting untuk melihat betapa krusialnya proses kolonialisme di Indonesia. Pertama, bahwa mekanisme kebijakan lebih diarahkan sebagai bentuk recovering pembangunan akibat Kebijakan Tanam Paksa 1830-1870. Kedua, bahwa dalam praktiknya, kebijakan yang digulirkan justru sangat paradoks pada tingkat publik. Munculnya berbagai ketegangan sosial, ekonomi bahkan politik (Colonial Strained) bersamaan proses pembangunan pada awal abad XX memberikan nuansa lain. Artinya antara kebijakan publik (public policies) dengan ranah publik (public spaces) belum menjadi konstruksi kebijakan kolonial secara menyeluruh dan sangat bias kolonial.

Kata Kunci: Transformasi sosio-ekonomi, kebijakan publik, Transportasi

INTRODUCTION

The process of socio-economic change under the Dutch Colonial administration has been studied in detail. The process is not just to concentrate on the economic exploration and to develop the colonial administration, but also on the process of social and economic changes among native villagers and all of its implications. The liberal economy policy that was introduced in 1870, resulted from intense socio-economic debate. It is not only because it possessed its own internal logic, but the Dutch Colonialist also

had a framework that was not appropriate with the local community (Knight, 2000).

The Liberal System, according to Breman, was the peak of Dutch Colonial exploitation aimed to reform and reformulate the Colonial authority foundation after the Cultivation System ended (Breman, 1980; Nawiyanto, 2000). The main goal of the Liberal System was both to pushed capitalization process and to open free trade system as a consequence of social inequality, disharmony and disintegrated among Javanese, especially and Netherlands-Indie

generally. In practice, it appealed strongly to a conservative style of Government well-suited for optimal Colonial "exploitation" (Onghokham, 1985, 1975). Under the Liberal System, the Dutch Government claimed legal sovereignty over the whole of Java excluding the *Vorstenlanden* regions, but the actual control over affairs exercised by its representatives in Java was highly circumscribed.

Discussion of village circumstances and its relationship with urban development are for the most part focused on the institutional, social, economic and cultural aspects of the agricultural as well as non-agricultural sectors. Public construction among village as well as urban dwellers, especially in the Liberal System are very far from the main focus of research and has received little attention (Kartodirdjo, 1966, 1973).

MOBILIZATION AND ECONOMIC JUDGMENT: PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION

This is a discussion about the relationship between the liberal economic condition and the

flourishing of village economy during colonial era. Using the mutual and reciprocal analysis of socio-economic transformation, Javanese villages in the liberal era positively responded the modernization growth from the urban (Schorske, 1998). Technological introductions, such as railway transportation, remarked the urban expanded markedly during liberal period. Just the opposite, the village responded through economic activities and social affiliation. The end of peasantry, hence, is used to remark the socio-economic transformation from village to urban in the end of 19th century for a new job and trading. At the most basic of transformation, trade and the new job involved in more than simple barter transaction among neighboring communities in goods and in the area of service (Elson, 1997). This period indicated by the change of peasant orders in Javanese village as a rural group where primary orientations, both social and economic, towards a broad participation in trading and non-farm system. They move from in simple, relatively unspecialized, housed-hold based, subsistence agricultural production to expand and share

¹ When Knight discussed about the coolie concept in the sugar cane industries in Pekalongan, it was very clearly that Dutch policies tend to be anachronistic prejudice among Javanese workers.

² It can not be denied that the deterioration of social and economic shared and stricked among Javanese, except in local areas such as Besuki and Kebumen.

³ Onghokham pointed out that the exploitation of Colonial, especially in which happened in Java was more colored by conflict of elites both in the Colonial beuraucracy and also in the traditional authority.

⁴ Sartono Kartodirdjo's works are the most important information on religious upheavel in the colonial Java. Unfortunately, he did not do analyze how religious construction emerged when the collapse time.

notions of social and economic life beyond their specific community.

Since the 1870s, the government's attention to the agricultural sector has been more intensive than the non-agricultural sector. Consequently, the economic needs of the village population mostly depended on agricultural activities. In the next years, the government also developed the facilities as a consequence of agricultural production growth. Transportation, financial institutions and communication networks were developed. Since 1808, for instance, the Great Daendels Mail Road had been developed and as "a gigantic road building project" along Java island traversing through the sea port of Semarang. Many people who came from such areas had access to it and in the next, it would become inadequate for native trader who wished to travel on a modern road, which usually became overloaded with passengers. The road existence, actually was not only to be more easy for social mobilization and economic transportation, but it can not be denied that it also rose a social and environmental problem. According to Tillema report, in Boeloe road, Semarang, many people were infected by plague, cholera, typhus and other diseases because the layer of dust that

blown into houses near the road (Tillema, 1916). Mrazek also noted that the dust road is the most serious threat to the health after many cases of high child mortality found. In fact, rural agricultural activities on the boundaries of the normal rural-urban relationship and market networks utilized the transportation facilities. By June 17, 1864, Governor General Mr. L. A. J. W. Baron Sloet van Beele introduced the line for the first railway in Java. The line belonged to the *Netherlandsche-Indische Spoorweg Maatschappij* (NIS) and the first line development was located between Semarang and Tanggoeng operated in August 10, 1887. Due to unprofitable, the NIS in Central and East Java was later sold to *Staatsspoor-en Tramweg in Netherlandsh-Indie* (SS) in 1913. After the Cultivation System persisted for a decade, The *SemarangJoana Stoomtram Maatschappij* received the concession to build a light railway between Semarang and Juwana in 1881. In 1884, the SS reach Surakarta and it continue to Cilacap in 1888. A continuous line between Batavia and Surabaya completely built in 1894 involve actual travel time of 32,5 hours. For the whole of Java, the following main lines were built:

Table 1: The Main Lines Built in Java

Name	Location	Construction Periods	Length in 1949
Nederlandsch Indische Spoor Weg Mij.	West, Eastern Central and East Java	1867-1924	855 km
Javasche Spoorweg Mij.	Tegal-Balapulang Northwest Central Java	1885-1886	24 km
Bataviasche Ooster Spoorweg Mij.	Batavia-Krawang	1887-1898	63 km
Samarang-Joana Stoomtram Mij.	Semarang-Cepu, Northwest Central Java	1882-1923	417 km
Samarang-Cheribon Stoomtram Mij.	Semarang-Cirebon Northen Central Java	1897-1914	373 km
Oost-Java Stoomtram Mij.	Surabaya area	1889-1924	36 km
Serajoedal Stoomtram Mij.	Maos-Wonosobo, Seraju	1896-1917	126 km
Poerwodadi-Goendih Stoomtram Mij.	Purwodadi-Goendih	1894	17 km
Pasoeroean Stoom Tram Mij.	Pasuruan area	1896-1912	32 km
Probolinggo Stoom Tram Mij.	Probolinggo area	1897-1912	41 km
Kediri Stoomtram Mij.	Kediri-Jombang	1897-1900	121 km
Malang Stoomtram Mij.	Malang area	1897-1908	85 km
Modjokerto Stoomtram Mij.	Mojokerto area	1898-1907	78 km
Babat-Djombang Stoomtram Mij	Babat, Jombang	1899-1902	71 km
Solosche Tramweg Mij.	Solo-Boyolali	1908-1911	27 km

Sources: Rudolf Mrazek, in John Ingleson, 1986

These of railway lines, recognizable that the Dutch transportation policy tend to be, at least as were needed by agricultural economy. The Government in the first plan calculated for construction amount 8,704,080 guilders, and the side tracks 3,215,520 guilders, totally 11,919,600 guilders. Added with 2,000,000 guilders paid for vehicles and warehouse and 1,000,000 guilders for take care of interest. The grand total reached 21,000,000 guilders. (Rudolf Mrazek, in John Ingleson, 1986)

By 1888, 8 main railway lines were in operation in all Java and 15

larger cities had railway connections, but it can not be denied that the development of railway lines in Java needed such rethinking again when the construction of railway lines were faced with the land problem.

Since 1870, the government applied the Agrarian Law which laid down the fundamental principles of land policy. The details were worked out in a series of Decrees and Ordinances. The aims of the policy was to restrict the use of land for rural dwellers, but not to the Dutch private sector and a number of limited Chinese. Furthermore, this policy also for the first time gave legal form to the

³According to Tillema, East and Middle Semarang districts are the most infected by cholera, while South Semarang district was "pokken".

principle that all land not in private ownership was state land. According to Furnivall, the definition of state land covered land held by natives and it therefore became necessary to distinguish between free land and unfree land in the rural areas. Free land was state land freed of native rights, unfree land was defined as state land subject to native rights (Furnivall, 1944). The hiring of land from natives was regulated by the Rent Ordinance of 1871. This Ordinance allowed the Dutch and Chinese to hire land from natives under certain conditions, mainly regarding the terms of lease and the intervention of the government. Under this condition, the government was not merely a decision maker regarding "rural traditional regulation", but intervened more deeply to control prices, time of leasing and the kind of land included for railway lines (Knight, 2000; Earl Willmott, 1960).

The impact of these regulations was the increase of private plantations that dominated agricultural sectors in Java after the 1870's (Kartodirdjo, 1973). Even though Houben has proven that the private sector had been developed since the Cultivation System era. Hence, the amount of the natives land declined because of rent

and sale. When Villagers had less opportunity to own land because of government restrictions on land ownership and the increase of population pressure in the rural regions, many villagers who had no land were found in the rural areas as laborers. Mostly, they worked as free labor and they had to move from one piece of land to other. They even had to move to non-agricultural sectors (Fernando, 1993), and went to cities to get other economic opportunities. Gooszen reported that during the liberal economic periods (1890-1905), rural-urban migrations especially in the north coast of Java, such as in Pekalongan, Tuban, Pasuruan, increased since the native trade economies grew rapidly (GOOSZEN, 1999), except for Kudus, because of uneven development between native and foreign trade system in this city. Consequently, along the north coast of Java, the residency of Semarang and the neighboring regions such as Jepara, Rembang and Pekalongan became the first impression in the internal migration context. In 1930, for instance, Semarang immigrants made up to 41 % of the population.

They found work as house servants, laborers loading merchandise in harbor and railway stations.

⁷. Making an exception, around 1850's, Tan Hoag Yan, the Chinese business interests probably one of Chinese businessmen who running of the sugar factory in Semarang had achieved success before that regulation introduced. According to Willmott, the regulation of European Law in commercial affairs was applied since 1824. It means that the position of Chinese in government regulation, education, the mass media, the living example of the local Dutch community were differ from Dutch position.

⁸. The result of this policy was until 1915, there were 582 private lands in Java covering an area of about 1,3 *bar* and comprising a population of about 1,8 million people.

Furthermore, since the Chinese in Semarang 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 to the city (Earl Willmott, 1960). Moreover, in 1894 found many Chinese immigrants came to Semarang included women and children.

On the other hand, many people left the *afdeeling* Grobogan and Demak due to the failure of harvest and illness among both region dwellers and they tried to settle in the neighboring residencies, even they moved to Sumatera's East Coast because the Deli Planters *Vereeniging* began enlisting the Javanese laborers in the early 20th century.

In the late 19th century, Java's land was geographically divided mainly into three categories. The first, is *lungguh* land or *apanage* land, the land which the King had the right to use and to transfer to anyone and also had the right to take back when it was considered necessary. The second was property given by the King as a

consolation prize and the King did not have the right to use and transfer it to another. This was called a *perdikan* land (Schrieke, 1975). The third, is called a *daleman* land, land which was used for benefit of the King himself (Utomo, 1983). Of the three categories above, the *lungguh* land was the most debatable in the land ownership history in Colonial Java, because it did not consist an economic opportunity, but also was more political and developed in the socio-cultural sphere (Suhartono, 1991). For an argument to control *lungguh* land, the King laid down his mandate to someone who was called *bekel* as a *lungguh* holders (Utomo, 1983). *Bekel* as a coordinator of *lungguh* land, was given by the King one-fifth of the land. The remaining four-fifths of land was cultivated by the peasants using a *maron stelsel* system (fifty-fifty system). The peasant in this situation was forced to pay a tax in cash. As a consequence of working and occupying this land, the peasant also incurred obligations to carry out forced labor (*beerendiensten*).

HEGEMONY: PROBLEM OF PUBLIC POLICY

In the late 19th century, there were at least three kinds of forced labor: 1. *Krigandiensten*, forced labor in the common interest, 2. *Wachtdiensten*,

* For the early of 20th century Tillema, apotheker for Gemeentersaad in Semarang, reported that Semarang and it neighboring regions such Demak, Tegal, Sajung, even in East Java, the flood covered almost the whole of cultivation land and the quarter settlements in the cities.

forced labor in the form of guard duty at the house, yard or other possessions of the King and *lurah patuh*. 3. *Gugurgunungdiensten*, forced labor to deal with disasters or accidents or for work that needed to be completed quickly (Utomo, 1983). According to Utomo, this was a kind of “feudal force” and the farmers position became heavier since the King and *lurah patuh* leased their land to the private Dutch, Chinese and Arab descendants.

The “feudal force” in which Utomo argued, depended on both land diversification and polarization. Almost all of village economy activities were focused and depended on “land economy”. Indeed, the political references and socio-cultural management in Java were based on “land-economy” (Breman, 1986; Schaik, 1986). There were serious inequalities in land tenure in Java. In 1891 for instance, it was reported that more than half of the cultivated land of Jepara was held by supra-village heads including Chinese and Dutch entrepreneurs. More than 38 % of land in the hands of peasant landholders was for sugar manufacturing (*Koloniaale Verslag*, 1860-1900).

The “feudal system” that continued to exist in most of Javanese villages can be considered a description of a process of “mutual assistance” and “shared poverty”. The process of using more peasants in cultivating land to raise yields was gradual and irreversible. According to Geertz, the process of shared poverty in a Javanese village is an inevitable result of the unfair play of “competitive” natural (economic) forces between the native economy and capitalist economy. On the other hand, the position of native bureaucrats precisely tended to be an “agent” of this process and they posed as the new elite (Sutherland, 1979).

Most scholars who have studied the process of economic and social change in Javanese villagers agreed that the non-agrarian economy played an important role in creating both employment opportunities and additional income for small farmers and landless villagers. This can be proved when the agrarian economic collapsed after natural disasters in the mid and late 19th century. This means that the economic life of rural society after the liberal policy provided a plurality of economic opportunities. They did not get “capital” from the

⁵. Suhartono showed that in th years of 1850 prior to 1942 rural bandit can be divided into the three of locality of actions. The first, are in the Batavia and Banten areas, the second are in the Principalities (Yogyakarta and Surakarta) and the third are in the areas of Surabaya and Probolinggo. Henk S. Nordholt and Margreet van Till reported that a criminal pressure happened in the villages of Kediri, around tobacco company of C.A.A Amand. Moreover, in Blitar region, the regent of Blitar R.A. Ario Adinegara who served as regent from 1851-1869 had maintained good relationship with several *Taukes* or Boss. He was also reported that he allowed the predatory collusion

agrarian sector directly, but they discovered a non-farm economy. During of late 19th century there was an epoch of dramatic changes in the export crops such as sugar, coffee, tobacco and tea (Boomgaard and Alexander, 1991). They are largely grown under a plantation management system, although the rural peasant's agrarian production in other cases dropped.

R.E. Elson reported that during the mid 19th century the regions of Demak, Grobogan and rural Semarang experienced a food production crisis (Elson, 1985). Food production failed because of four successive crop failures due to the dry season especially in 1848, 1849 and 1850 whose effect was exacerbated by a failure to harvest all the remaining products in the cultivated land. In addition, flash floods in January and February (1848, 1849) in undated large areas of rice fields in several districts, washing away expensive rice seeds and making the fields unworkable (H.F. Tillema). Insects worsened the conditions by attracting the roots of rice and plant crops. On the other hand, there were serious inequalities in land tenure. In 1894, for instance, it was reported that more than half of the cultivated land of Demak was held

by supra-village heads, 9 % was controlled by the village chiefs and about 38 % in the hands of peasant landholders (Djoko, 1982). During the political and social turbulence of the religious revivalism many village and supra-village chiefs took advantage of the peasant's flight by adding abandoned land to their private holdings.

The village and supra-village chiefs acquired their holdings not just through primary reclamation, but also by simple expropriation. Village chiefs, instead of dividing the village no fields equally among those entitled might hire out a portion to Chinese or other speculators. Sometimes village chiefs in turn acted as entrepreneurs and creditors in dealings with their fellow villagers in the local areas (Knight, in Ann Booth, W. J. O'Malley, Anna Weidemann (eds.), 1990). From this position, the local aristocracy got the opportunity to benefit from the land, product and labor of the peasants. Furthermore, they levied illegal taxes such as the *raja pundbutan* (the Collectors King). These activities brought great wealth to the powerful, but greater impoverishment to most peasants. Furthermore, according to Elson, who was supported by van Niel and Fasseur, the key factors in the

¹¹ Elson claimed this condition as "The End of Peasantry Ages". According to Elson, when the peasant, who were rural groups of people whose primary orientation, both social and economic, relatively unspecialized, household based, subsistence agricultural production started trying to participate in a broad participation, trying to life beyond their specific community and stood in relations of subordination to a more powerful class of climates outside their sphere.

success of the Cultivation System was the decision to use the traditional channel of village authorities.

In the 1880's, it was reported that in the cities and the countryside many people died of starvation along with an outbreak of cholera especially in the years 1875, 1881, 889 and 1890 (Knight, in Ann Booth, W. J. O'Malley, Anna Weidemann (*eds.*), 1990). Floods, volcanic activities, an earthquake in 1867 and the dramatic eruption of the Krakatau in August 26, 1883 had an effect on the crop failures (Lapian, T. Ibrahim Alfian, H.J. Koesoemanto, Dharmono H., Djoko Suryo (*eds.*), 1987). According to R.A. van Sandick's report quoted by Mrazek, there were more than 70,000 people died during the eruptions and all communication networks were broken. In Cirebon and Semarang between 1844-1850, as reported by Minister of Colonies, C.F. Pahud, environmental changes as result of floods, volcanic eruptions and disease outbreaks were to become a "metaphor" for distress in colonial politics. It means that the famine was not only the cause of the food shortage, but as a result of the heavy burden by compulsory cultivation, high land rent tax, and extensive forced labor (Hugenholtz, in Bayly and Kolff (*eds.*), 1986). Banditry, robbery and other social unrest developed which was not only restricted to the

principalities but also extended to several areas such as rural areas of Klaten in 1864, Semarang, Kendal, Salatiga and Grobogan in 1877 (Suhartono, 1995; Rafael, 1999). The main effect of those crucial events were found in almost all areas of Demak, Grobogan, rural Semarang, Cilegon, Surakarta which suffered from poverty. The death rate was alarming and there were great flights of people after the failure of the rice harvest. A pamphlet in 1850 mentioned the figure of 50,000 deaths in Java. The population of Semarang Residency diminished by 100,000 or 200,000 through death and migration (Hugenholtz, 1986).

The Chinese role could be accounted in that cases. The Chinese in Semarang, for instance, had built up a powerful position by purchase loaning money, the *minding* system introduction, and leasing village land due to the absence of an adequate reaction from the colonial administration. In this situation, an illegal trade system emerged for economic survival strategies. Opium plants and the emergence of black market in the north coast Java were the important solutions (Rush, 1990; Schmidt, 1998). In the areas where the agrarian economic collapsed, the opium farm became the alternative economic opportunities. In the 1880s for instance, clandestine opium came

ashore all along the north coast Java. From Batavia fed to its hinterland included Priangan and Bantam, Surabaya became the main source for Kediri regions, Madiun, Pasuruan and Surakarta, Pacitan. Joana-Lasem, Jepara, Rembang, the opium trade earned success since this areas once thrived on trade and shipbuilding industries. From Blora, Surakarta via Kudus, Demak, opium export flowed to Semarang. This was possible and increased rapidly since the Dutch developed many roads, railroads, village paths in which it connected between one areas to another (Rush, 1990; Schmidt, 1998). Entering the years of 1901, 1902 and 1903, the Government just already brought a relief program which spent about 1,600.000; 1,730.000 and 500,000 guilders with set up a committee to investigate the causes of the famine.

The conditions brought people out in the wake of famine. A large number of people fled elsewhere in search of food and work to the Semarang Residency, Pekalongan, Kedu, Surakarta, Madiun, Kediri and even as far as Malang, Surabaya and Pasuruan as labor and peddlers. This moment created the mobilization of villagers from one space to another. Continuously, the conditions greatly increased the rural trade in Java and created the *pasar desa* (village market). In the second half of the 19th century

the markets became widely open to petty traders operating with limited resources (Elson, 1997).

In other regions such as Jepara, Rembang, Purworejo, Bagelen, Kedu which had not experienced the famine crises there emerged a center of rural trade in Central Java. Agricultural goods such rice, indigo, tobacco, palm sugar and non-agricultural goods such as earthenware, copper utensils, cotton and textiles were the most important commodities for the domestic and export markets. Fernando reported that there were many markets in Tegal, Pekalongan, Banyumas in the late 1830's. Rembang, for instance, had 247 markets, Surabaya had 135 markets, prior to the early 1850's (Fernando, 1996). Associated with the existence of markets the number of *warungs* also increased in the following period since many sugar manufactures were built in several regions of Java. At the same time, the entrepreneurs gave many reasons for renting out the land. It was more profitable to rent land than to cultivate it oneself. Villagers who got credit and rented out their land for sugar manufactures were an urgent need for ready cash (Boeke, 1953).

Several products such as earthenware, bricks, pots increased in several regions as a response to the industrialization process in the villages. In Bagelen, for instance many people made brick tiles as private

entrepreneurs since the 1830's and it continued to the 1900's. Agricultural failure also happened in Grobogan, Salatiga. It is described by Fasseur that almost the whole of area was poor, there were no bamboo, coconuts or fruit trees. The development of non-farm sectors in the village was important since the liberal economic policy was introduced. When the growing number of land-less villagers caused by the rise of land need for industry and the possibility to earn enough income from outside agriculture such as crafts, manufactures and sugar manufactures were able to stimulate the village economy.

Entering the 1880s, many Dutch entrepreneurs built sugar mills in the villages (Knight, 2000). Furthermore, in the 1880's with the great change in the number of *pasar*, *warung* and home-industries influenced to social mobilization in the rural to response industrialization process. All the more so, transportation services and workers emerged rapidly. At the same time, the majority of rural manufacturers and peddlers were slow to respond to transportation services (Rudolf Mrazek, in John Ingleson, 1986).

The flourishing of trade activities in rural Java which was connected with the towns was largely

provided by transportation services. In 1890s the river transportation in Central Java was still largely used. Many roads and bridges had been built in the late 19th century. This policy largely expanded the labor mobilization from the village areas to the towns. For instance, in Ambarawa and Salatiga, Central Java, showed how many craftsmen, traders and coolies had moved to Semarang because of the demand for manufacturers development, private enterprises, transportation services, especially in the case of railways development. The development of railway transportation in Semarang since 1864 would be connected to the *Vorstenlanden* in 1870 by *Nederlandsch Indische Spoorweg* (NIS) and this was very important for the next stage of economic development and population migration in both regions. According to Shiraishi, since 1875, railway transportation between Semarang and the *Vorstenlanden* was expanded and their passengers reached 899,000, and 124,000 tons of merchandise a year and earned 2 millions guilders. Meanwhile, in 1880 the railways carried 950,000 passengers, 334,000 tons goods and earned 2,6 millions guilders (Rudolf Mrazek, in John Ingleson, 1986). The following table will describe the calculation of railways transportation through East-West and Semarang-Vorstenlanden;

Table 2. Return from public transports in Java (1895-1915)

Years	Kilometrage	Passengers	Earnings from	
			Passengers (in thousand guilders)	Goods
1895	1,319	5,759,000	3.054	6.588
1900	1,609	9,738,000	4.022	9.743
1905	1,704	13,361,000	4.979	10.216
1910	2,174	28,420,000	8.825	15.738
1915	2,448	42,579,000	13.685	22.194

Sources: Rudolf Mrazek, in John Ingleson, 1986

The transportation sectors in the early 20th century have played the important role for non-farm activities. The majority of entrepreneurs and peddlers were slowly to respond the railways service. In 1938 Banyumas and Pekalongan showed that the *batik* trade along the rail routes had increased amounting to 22,613 kg which was 1,325 kg more than in the preceding quarter. For Lasem, the dispatch of *batiks* fell down from f. 89,589 in the second quarter to f. 77,210 in the following quarter. It was caused by an increase in dispatch from the railway station at Blora (Angelino, 1931; 1935).

During the early decades of the 20th century, the situation of rural non-farm activities rapidly increased. Statistically, it was reported that many rural of Kebumen have produced *tritik* (a standardised red-brown or blue cloth with figures outlined in white dots for various forms of clothing,

including *kain* and *slendang*). The manufactures of household, especially for the female, industry had also increased such as bamboo strips, *pandan* and reeds. Other export products included *slepen* (small box used as cigar or tobacco box), *tudung* (hats woven from bamboo strips) were important products for the rural economy of Kebumen. In Gombang markets, amount 50.000 *slepen* were sold each month. There were at least 182 producers of *tudung* hats spread over 14 villages. The Pejagoan villagers were and still are major copperware producers, gold and silversmiths. It was also reported that one village in Kebumen manufactured oxcarts and *dokars*.

The case of *sarong* industries, for instance, the total Java production in the third quarter of 1938 amounted to about 87, 200 cargoes to a value of approximately f. 1,656,000. Jepara, Rembang and Pekalongan dominated that production. The wages earned in

¹² Night tried to show how the development of sugar industry use a modern technology in Javanese villages, Wonopringgo villages, took A conflict between in Dutch interest, Wonopringgo villagers and the local beauraucrates.

this industry amounted to roughly f. 345,000. Other products such as the umbrella industry showed an increase production. In Juwiring (the village near Klaten, Central Java) the production of umbrellas was greatly in demand by wholesale trade. In 1936, Juwiring umbrellas totalled 120,000 units and in 1937 there were 156,300 units sold. In the first quarter of 1938 only about 64,000 units sold in this region, but there were only 61,000 units in the second quarter. In the first half of 1938, 190,000 units were produced. In Ciamis and Tasikmalaya, West Java, the production of this native umbrella remained constant, while Banyumas reported a decline in its product, but the number of roofing tiles despatched from the railway station of Notog amounted to 1,827,000 units with the price rising to an average of f 4,35 per 1000 units. In the case of furniture articles, it was reported that in Serenan (Juwiring, Klaten), the surrounding villages of Yogyakarta, Surabaya and all the more so Jepara expanded after the harvest had come in. In Jepara, there were few fluctuations of the export value during the east monsoon.

The increase of many native industries in the village region during the late 19th century and the early 20th century, according to White, showed a survival strategy among villagers when the public policy of Colonial was

deviated. The experiences of Demak and Grobogan villagers in the 19th century showed this process. People tried to move out to the other regions for economic survival in various jobs. In short, they got opportunities in any way possible from the "economic" process in the village areas out of Colonial grand design of development. They subsequently concentrated in limited land-ownership, the rice demand connected to high taxes and the geological change influenced to failed harvest, but they developed new strategies for social and economic establishment.

The expansion of the Dutch, Chinese and local authorities private enterprises, as large-scale industry was possible only if entrepreneurs were able to control the village economy in their own behalf and if a sufficient reservoir of labor were available that was willing to work and for wages. From this intervention, the manufacturers had also interfered in the domestic affairs of villages, particularly in the redistribution of village land and cultivation of villages crops. There was great competition and conflicts among entrepreneurs. In this situation, the non-farm sectors became more consistent to account for in the rural economy, although the pressure of Chinese capitalist in quality import was very strong to create conditions that led to the

collapse of these sectors in the early 20th century.

As a system, the market system that increased in the late 19th century and the flourishing of the non-farm economy in the villages made it capable to expand and absorb new social and cultural elements as they became socio-economically feasible. This means that the type of market system contributed to their underdevelopment needs qualification. It is possible to consider that the emergence of a market system based on non-farm economy showed quite clearly the influence of social patterns in one sphere of economic behavior. The economic situation offers such basis for building a strong community. The competition of traders in the market system is free, and they can not control capital. The demands of business, which force village traders to travel to other markets from time to time, staying away for days, weeks and even longer, further weaken local ties.

PUBLIC SPACES BEYOND PUBLIC POLICY: A CONCLUSION

Since the time the government opened the new policy of liberal economy in 1870, many investors (Americans and Dutch) came to Netherlansch Indies. The

establishment of the private sector was already accomplished in the sense that they were owned and managed by private capitalists and their owners could sell a large proportion of crops products on the open market. The development of liberal ideas among Dutchmen needs a broader understanding of the phenomena to take a cognizance of the political structure in Java. The liberal ideology which increasingly gained strength was not born in a vacuum of romantic idealism, but gained its tenacity and its ultimate victory from the realities of life on the ground of Javanese villages (public spaces).

Designing with the liberal system, many *onderneming* in the outer *Vorstenlanden* develop fast. Various product of export in agriculture, manufactures and industries were increased. The value of exports from Java to the outer island between the years of 1915 prior to 1929 showed extremely rapid growth in the shipment of cigars and cigarettes, crops products of cars and car parts. Furthermore, it also showed slower growth in the case of petroleum products, sugar and textiles.

With the opening of the Twentieth century, a new colonial policy namely the ethical policy was began. This notion of progress gave a new sense of direction to the people of Indies. The new era means an age

of expansion, efficiency and welfare (public policy). Under the Dutch control, Dutch and Chinese business activities expanded rapidly. Economic expansion and export doubled in the first decade of this century increasingly rationalized and centralized the state activities in villages. Those employed in this state activities joined the native administrative officials. The majority of native officials especially after moving to village could get another jobs in Dutch and Chinese private business. Beside, the expansion of western style education was also a hallmark of the ethical policy. The aims of policy was to produce the kind of work forces needed for the state and Dutch private business activities and to guide them to "ersatz capitalization" of East.

The dual policy experiences of Colonial in Java historically had given the state to be the hegemony holder during liberal and ethical policies. In other hand, economically but not socially, the colony tried to respond the policies using trading and local economy based on their circumstances, although the Dutch tend to be a racial prejudice among Javanese when Dutch, Chinese and indigenous aristocracy involved in social and economical spheres. Public policy according to Dutch is no more

or less as the construct of economic boundaries under the concept of colonialism. This is a problem of public spaces but not public policy.

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