OVERURBANIZATION IN SEMARANG CITY

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Abstract: The economic growth in Semarang has resulted in bad impact of degradation the environment, traffic jams, increasing informal sectors and unemployment, crimes, and various social-politic conflicts. From this phenomenon, it is suspected that Semarang is undergoing overurbanization, that is the imbalance between population and economic growth. From the result of research, it can be concluded that the main determinant of urbanization process in Semarang is the prolonged capitalization from colonial era. However, it not industrialization that develops, but informal sectors and service sectors. The impact is the city involution because as if the new employees can never participate in informal sectors. As a result, the Semarang City Government must mobilize non-producing resources to finance creating and organizing the needed service for high concentration of population under low standard of industrialization. In other words, Semarang and the hinterland are indeed undergoing “de-industrialization”. Industrial and agricultural sectors decreases their role, and on the other hand the service sector increases. In those areas, urbanization tends to occur with a spreading pattern characterized by high rate of population in urban areas like in regencies surrounding Semarang. The economic growth in those areas does not depend on the core city, Semarang, so that the level of advanced primate city has been passed through. The suggestions proposed are that the megapolitan issues has been reached, thus the things that need to consider in megaregional tendency. The regencies in the hinterland are proven “to balance’ the global capitalism, apart from wether the growth of entrepreneurship innovation is accompanied by significant increase of welfare. This means that things need further attention is to manage the relationship between locality and production system and global economic in those ares to make people welfare and prevent people to migrate to other big cities.

Keywords: overurbanization, Semarang City, megapolitan

INTRODUCTION

The changes of Indonesian social-economy and poverty in the rural area have been discussed and researched many time, nevertheless research based on city problems is rarely found (Manning, 1985). Though the statement was already exist for over more than 25 years, yet it is still relevant through these days. According to some researchers, problems that also reveal together with the development of cities in the developing countries are the failure of modern industrialization policy in one hand, and in the other hand is the failure of agriculture development (bias urban), as a result is an uncontrollable urbanization.

In his study, Firman (2003) found that Regencies that had capitalist industrial basis are faster in increasing the number of more urban people. These increases can be observed in the Regencies located at North Coast of Java which spread out from Jakarta up to Semarang through Cirebon, and called Extended Metropolitan Region (EMR). Study on EMR formation and village-city relation in Java as above has also been done by experts as Jones (2000,2001,2003) and McGee (1971,1991). In brief, the globalization of commerce, productions, and finances emerge many of megaurban in Asia Pacific (Douglass, 1995 and 2000). The similar cases have also found in many of Asian Countries like Taiwan (Liu and Tsai, 1991), China (Yixing, 1991), and Japan (Ginsburg, 1990; Latz, 1991). In other words, EMR phenomenon is a part of urbanization in Asia (Lin, 1994).
This research focuses on phenomenon in Semarang City. The City was elected as being experienced the growing of population number and rapid economic development. Semarang as the capital city of Central Java Province located in a strategic position in the north coast traffic lane and takes its role as national and regional node. It has “hinterland” or country regions include Kedungsepur region (Kendal, Demak, Ungaran, and Purwodadi).

Kedungsepur region is a strategic node. The haze of non-administrative borders among these regions emerge the view as if unite Semarang region with cities surrounding it that create “megapolitan”. It is obvious, that many consequences should be faced by Semarang City along with its getting bigger area, some consequences are environment, traffic, settlement and other social issues. Other issues deal with the growing of big cities like Semarang as suggested by McGee (1971) who studied about the growing big cities in the Third World. McGee suggests that main issues of these cities in the Third World are: First, cities in the Third World growing rapidly; Second, the growth of these cities are not in line with rapid economic growth in order to supply adequate job opportunities. Todaro and Stilkind (1981) call it as “over urbanization”, i.e. an unbalance situation between urbanization and the city growth.

The background above leads researcher to consider that urbanization and over urbanization are interesting topic that need to observe further. Here, the topic is intended to outfit prior researches. Many research outcomes, especially Sovani (1964) and Kamerschen (1969), revealed that overurbanization concept could be observed in many ways, quantitatively and qualitatively. The two researchers above found many relations between urbanization and rural development issue, income discrepancy, and many other social-economy implications.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Issue that emerges is that the growth of population number is not in line with the growth of adequate economy to supply job opportunities to most of its people. In other words, Semarang City experiences over urbanization indicated by the unbalance situation between the growth of population and economy.

Based on the experience, big questions that need to answer in this research emerge. The questions are: how does the over urbanization process emerges in Semarang City; and what variables that could be used to clarify the understanding about over urbanization concept, especially “typical” and “contextual” variables to the issues that appear in cities of the developing countries?

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Urbanization And Urban Growth

Yunus (2007) literally states that urbanization is a process of becoming urban (towny). The process is usually related to economic growth (Davies, 1987 as cited in Keban, 1995). Urbanization is multidimensional process that involve demography, politic, economy, modernization, and legal or administrative issues (Drakakis-Smith, 1988; Schwab, 1982; Keban, 1995). There is basic different in term of urban growth and urbanization (Pernia, 1994 as cited in Keban, 1995). Urban growth is obviously related to urbanization, the different is, urban growth can be related to three components, which are:
natural growth, immigration to cities, and reclassification or changing in city borders. Therefore, to handle urban growth is different to urbanization.

Over Urbanization

The term “over urbanization” has become debatable issue through years. It refers to an unbalance situation between urbanization and urban growth, or others called this term as “premature suburbanization” or early process of urban development. According to UNESCO 1957(as cited in Nasikun, 1980) In defining overurbanization, two indices are being related to one another, the percentage of population living in urban areas, and the distribution of the total labor force in the country as between agricultural and non-agricultural occupations, then Lughod and Hay (1977) define it as overurbanization: which refers to the end result of excessive migration of un-and underemployed rural folk to the cities in advance of adequate expansion of urban employment opportunites.

Whereas Gugler (1982) call it as follows:”...Third World cities have substantial surplus labor force in various guises. Their labor force continues nevertheless to increase, swelled not only by natural population growth but also by rural-urban migration that contributes between on-third and one-half of the urban growth in most Third World countries. The process may be labeled “overurbanization” insofar as (1) rural-urban migration leads to a less than optimal allocation of labor between the rural and the urban sectors and (2) rural-urban migration increases the cost of providing for a country’s growing population”

Sovani (1964) argues the term overurbanization as defined by UNESCO. It is analogue to other experts like John Friedmann and Thomas Lackington (as cited in Nasikun, 1980) that suggest the term hyperurbanization. Sovani characterizes over urbanization is measured based on industrialization criterion compared to numbers of jobless men power in agriculture sector is too rough (Nasikun, 1980). The reason is that people in developing country who don’t work in agriculture sector, are working in other informal sectors. Using the United Nations Demography Yearbook data in 1952 and 1956, Sovani calculated correlation coefficient between urbanization and industrialization. Sovani divided some countries into US, Canada and 15 European, and also 24 developing countries. The result was quite surprising that developing countries showed higher correlation coefficient, i.e. 0.850, compared to 0.395 for advance countries.

Sovani’s research is supported by Kamerschen (1969) who used 1955 and 1956 data from 80 countries which resulted: 1). No positive correlation between urbanization and industrialization in the advance countries compared to the developing ones; 2). No positive correlation between urbanization and rural pressure; and 3). Urbanization and per capita income correlation in the developing countries are closer than advance ones. These “oddities” prove that over urbanization problem should also consider the condition of each country, especially related to political, economic stabilities, and other cultural issues. In the developing countries, men power are mostly leap over from agriculture sector to service sector without passing the industry one.

The critical point of view above justifies that over urbanization concept is able to measure both quantitatively and qualitatively.
Thus, it will be worthier if the urbanization analysis is closely related to life quality of citizen than regarding quantitative numbers about people who work outside agriculture sector. For developing countries, it would be described that measuring industrialization criterion based on number of workers in the agriculture sector is too rough, that a matter of fact from census result shows that workers who work in non-agriculture sector are only few of them working in industry, whereas mostly are involved in services or other informal sectors.

The explanation indicates that over urbanization concept is appropriately and worthy related to life quality of community like: unemployment, under-utilization employment, poverty, and insufficiency other social services. Therefore, here in this research, measuring ways by UNESCO, Sovani, and Kamerschen are “modified.” For developing countries, the concept needs to improve, and here, over urbanization concept is completed with measuring in “land support capacity” and “social accommodation capacity.” Land support capacity indicates measuring in the existing number of people to the width of land where they live. While social accommodation capacity involved social indicators as crime rate, environmental pollution, and traffic condition. The three indicators are not only experienced to poor people but also to those who are classified as wealthy. Thereby, the higher rate of environmental pollution, traffic jam, and crime, the higher “suffering level” of people in a city, moreover if other social infrastructures are not supportive. From this point of view, then, urbanization concept is about to concern.

**RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This research is trying to uncover the meaning of urbanization phenomena by utilizing the numerical data or information of survey result from BPS (Center Bureau of Statistic) or other related institutions. The understanding toward these data and information is fairly done and, without any manipulation, arranged through some experiments or tests. In other words, it tends to be a qualitative research (Nasution, 1988). This research, in order to be much comprehensively, will fuse the quantitative research and numeric (Brannen, 1997).

**ANALYSIS METHOD**

The data or information collected will be analyzed after being correlated and gathered with the facts and other data; besides it will be supported by the data triangulation. The analysis results are to determine the significances beyond the decision displacement of economic growth and population prudence in the relationship with the effects of urbanization. Seeing the model used by Miles and Huberman (1992), content analysis model is used to analyzed the substance of any documents related to spatial policy, spatial planning of the city, and some other population prudence.

**DISCUSSION**

Rapid growth happened in Semarang could be realized from the population growth along a year (see Figure 1 and table 1).
Standard in measuring over urbanization concept according to UNESCO is: the percentage of men power work in manufacturing industrial sector. When then percentage more than 55%, then Semarang City is NOT in over urbanized condition, because of the number is actually higher, i.e. 80.29% of men power people in Semarang City are working in non-agricultural sector. Nevertheless, after explored further, the percentage showed that most people are working in informal or services sector, and only 19.71% work in industry, as shown in Table 2 and Table 3.

Table 2. Semarang City Population 15 years of age and over who Worked during the previous Week by Main Industry (Year 2007)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21,652</td>
<td>130,695</td>
<td>194,090</td>
<td>160,187</td>
<td>150,903</td>
<td>663,053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Note:</td>
<td>(3.26%)</td>
<td>(19.71%)</td>
<td>(29.27%)</td>
<td>(24.15%)</td>
<td>(22.75%)</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BPS, Statistics of Central Java Province (Year 2007)

1. Agriculture, Forestry, Hunting and Fishery
2. Manufacturing Industry
3. Wholesale Trade, Retail Trade, Restaurants and Hotel
4. Community, Social and Personal Services
5. Others (Mining, Quarrying, Electricity, Gas, Water, Construction, Transportation, Finance, Insurance, Bussines Service, Real Estate)

Table 3. Profile of Workers Number Based on Work Fields in Semarang City Year 1990 - 2005

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Farmers</th>
<th>Farm Labors</th>
<th>Industrial Labors</th>
<th>Construction Labors</th>
<th>Transportation Workers</th>
<th>Services/Informal Workers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>32,957</td>
<td>30,945</td>
<td>143,434</td>
<td>90,820</td>
<td>16,934</td>
<td>145,839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>29,996</td>
<td>29,980</td>
<td>169,212</td>
<td>109,328</td>
<td>27,137</td>
<td>263,172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>23,224</td>
<td>24,351</td>
<td>188,674</td>
<td>108,090</td>
<td>28,473</td>
<td>283,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>24,815</td>
<td>17,271</td>
<td>191,818</td>
<td>139,157</td>
<td>28,197</td>
<td>236,925</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Bureau of Statistic/ BPS Kota Semarang in 1998 and 2008

Working in informal or services sector is believed to have low productivity. In other words, Semarang City will experience unbalance condition between urbanization and...
industrialization level. Semarang City is believed to experience involution, based on the reason that only informal and services work filed are available. These beliefs are supported by fact that in many years before number of workers in informal and services sectors increased gradually (Statistics Center, 1990-2008).

The increasing number of informal workers is believed that Semarang City is as always “welcome” to the men power numbers who are looking for jobs into the city. The fact indicates that the growth number of this city is also influenced by migration from many rural areas into the city. Unbalance condition between city and village development is believed to give huge influence for this kind of phenomenon. The condition have long predicted by Todaro and Stilkind (1981) that developing countries that tend to “bias urban” still, it is especially because of agriculture sector is not well developed, and on the other hand, urban areas increase their attractiveness. The situation leads migration from villages to cities still ongoing, especially for migrants who don’t have sufficient skills. Further impact for big cities is surplus number of incompetent workers, and most of them are services and commodity suppliers in small scale that contribute insignificantly toward cities income and their own well-being.

Over urbanization that occurs in developing countries is predicted to continue by looking at the increasing surplus of incompetent workers. The condition is still ongoing for cities are able to receive any number of these incompetent workers to come, as if, cities are having unlimited capacity to supply “work field” for migrants. The fact as so called as urban involution symptom. As recorded day to day, many kind of “new jobs” are able to “be invented” by the migrants. In the old days, jobs like singing beggar on buses, bicycle public transportation, umbrella tenant when raining, garbage collector, 3 in 1 traffic jockey, supporting actress/actors in reality shows on TV, small changer on the sidewalk when idul fitri comes (Moslem holiday that initially by fasting in a month), and so on, were not exist. Yet, by the years 2000, those jobs are pleased by the migrants. The phenomenon showed that big cities would not be able to prevent the arrival of migrants.

Thus, it is quite understandable to see the fact that then some people suggest that big cities are able to act as “savior” of the rural economic decline in its way receiving unemployment villager migrants for not possessing any farm land, fund, and skills in their villages. The failure of rural development is also agreed by Gugler (1982) by saying that:

“...Effective demand for additional agriculture output is manifest in those Third World countries that have become dependent on food imports as their agricultural proved to supply the growing urban population....”

In other words, the migrants are relatively easier in getting jobs in cities than in villages. In looking at the migrants who work in informal sector with small income, Gugler still respond it from a positive way. With a little bit rhetorical words, he said; “What would have happened if some of the migrants had stayed in their rural homes?” The fact gives us an understanding that Gugler is more concern to observe and to analyze over urbanization symptom from the economical implication view.

Table 4. Number of Public Transportations and Passengers in Semarang City (Year 2008)
The assumption that migration movement to the Semarang City from its hinterland is strongly convinced by the data reported by The Central Bus Station of Terboyo Semarang, as shown in Table 4, that indicates the numbers of transportation armadas and passengers that come from Demak, Kendal, and Grobogan Regencies are precisely high.

Further assumption arise that the economic growth of Kendal-Semarang-Demak is significantly related to global economic growth. Many experts suggest that commerce globalization, production and finance emerge many megaurban in Asia Pacific (Douglass, 1995 and 2000; Light,2001;Tyner 2002). The same issue is also found in other Asian countries as Taiwan (Liu and Tsai, 1991), China (Yixing, 1991), Thailand (Jampaklay,2007) and Japan (Ginsburg, 1990; Latz, 1991). In brief, EMR phenomenon is a part of urbanization in Asia (Lin, 1994).

The matter of this fact causing micro economics business in Semarang city is growing rapidly. Table 5 indicates that micro economics are most business that have been done by most of people in the city, approximately 86.02%, with 40.44% of workers totally work in the city (Statistics Center, 2007). According to UNESCO criteria, the numbers are enough to indicate that Semarang City has experienced over urbanization symptom based on the fact that urbanization rate is not equal to industrialization rate. Micro business and other informal sector entrepreneurs are definitely having very low production frequencies, whereas, on the other side, they have to have adequate social services from the local government. This situation is worried to emerge implications in social, economy, and politic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bus Directions</th>
<th>Number of Bus Armada</th>
<th>Number of Passenger (people)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Bus Station-Jatingaleh (only in Semarang area)</td>
<td>1,849</td>
<td>260,792</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bus Station-Perumnas (in Semarang area and to regencies around, Semarang Regency)</td>
<td>3,377</td>
<td>845,993</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bus Station – Mangkang (in Semarang area and to regencies around, Kendal Regency)</td>
<td>2,712</td>
<td>363,863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Bus Station- Ngaliyan- – Pucang Gading (in Semarang area and to regencies around, Demak Regency and Grobogan Regency)</td>
<td>5,760</td>
<td>1,423,131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : Central Bureau of statistic Semarang City (2009)

Table 5. Profile of Economic Activity in Semarang City 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic Scale</th>
<th>SE-06 L1 (%)</th>
<th>SE-06 L2 (%)</th>
<th>SE-06 L1 dan L2 (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Big</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Middle</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>2.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Small</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>17.52</td>
<td>10.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Micro</td>
<td>9.64</td>
<td>76.74</td>
<td>86.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source : Central Bureau of Statistic Semarang City, 2007

Note :
SE-06 L1 : 1) is non-permanent work fields like merchantmen, freelance public transportation driver, motorcycle rider as public transportation, and other services like shoe polisher, and many others; 2) work fields that have permanent buildings but not belong to their own, like merchantmen on street, sidewalk, mall, traditional market lot, and other places.

SE-06-L2 is businessmen who have permanent location that belong to their own.

The density population of Semarang City people effects on environmental support and social accommodation capacity become low. Environmental support capacity is land support capacity that could supply by Semarang...
City. Urbanization could also be seen from physical view, i.e. changes toward constructing area. Thus, it is important to measure land support capacity in Semarang City. Land support capacity is calculated based on the need of land per capita (person) per hectare. Land support capacity is seen from accommodation capacity and calculated based on “Land Function Area” divided by “Population Existing Number” variables.

According to Yeates (1980), the formula in calculating land support capacity is:

The result of land support capacity per capita calculation with limit threshold analysis approach, then determining density standard as noted in study about land consumption theory as suggested by Yeates (1980) that then emerge development possibility analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Subdistrict</th>
<th>Population (person)</th>
<th>Land Area Status, Width of Area (hectare)</th>
<th>Land Support Capacity</th>
<th>Limitation according to Yeates Scale</th>
<th>Status</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mijen</td>
<td>48,923</td>
<td>5,755</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>Not crowded yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Gunung pati</td>
<td>65,465</td>
<td>5,411</td>
<td>0.082</td>
<td>0.083</td>
<td>Crowded nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Banyumanik</td>
<td>121,855</td>
<td>2,569</td>
<td>0.021</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gajah mungkur</td>
<td>61,668</td>
<td>907</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>0.084</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Semarang Selatan</td>
<td>85,591</td>
<td>593</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Semarang Utara</td>
<td>126,765</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Semarang Tengah</td>
<td>74,228</td>
<td>605</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Semarang Barat</td>
<td>159,425</td>
<td>2,174</td>
<td>0.013</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Semarang Timur</td>
<td>81,747</td>
<td>770</td>
<td>0.009</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Candi Sari</td>
<td>77,937</td>
<td>654</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.079</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tembalang</td>
<td>127,008</td>
<td>4,420</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.075</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Pedurungan</td>
<td>163,562</td>
<td>2,072</td>
<td>0.012</td>
<td>0.073</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Genuk</td>
<td>80,600</td>
<td>2,739</td>
<td>0.033</td>
<td>0.080</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Gayamsari</td>
<td>70,782</td>
<td>618</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Tugu</td>
<td>26,976</td>
<td>3,178</td>
<td>0.117</td>
<td>0.091</td>
<td>Crowded nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ngaliyan</td>
<td>109,108</td>
<td>3,799</td>
<td>0.035</td>
<td>0.078</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SEMARANG</td>
<td>1,481,640</td>
<td>37,370</td>
<td>0.025</td>
<td>0.063</td>
<td>Crowded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The meaning of environmental capacity (carrying capacity) is upper limit and growth of a population where the amount of the population have no further support in case of infrastructures, resources, and existing environment (Zoer’aini, 1997). Supporting capacity is natural and artificial environment capability in accommodating population and physical growths without destructing the environment itself (Kaiser, 1995).

The condition indicates that subdistrict analysis unit is importantly needed to anticipate kinds of space and nature conditions in each subdistrict of Semarang City, which of course should be different one and another. While, town analysis unit is important to find out globally how long the city would be able to develop and would not be in the over limit area of the stated threshold.

Next, social accommodation capacity is the capability of Semarang City in giving the people feeling of comfort and secure. The low rates of environmental destruction and crime could be used as the indications of the feelings. This case also founded in India, with an in depth, qualitative exploration of women’s lives and perceptions captures some of more latent risks and rewards associated with both
migration and work in the informal sector (Bhattacharyya and Korinek, 2007). Data of Statistics Center shows the increasing value of environment destruction in Semarang City.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion that can be drawn based on the discussion above is that urbanization in Semarang City is determined by:

1. Different in advance countries, as founded by Kamerschen (1969) that urbanization is not related to rural pressure. The analysis resulted that over urbanization in Semarang City is triggered by migration flow from rural areas, especially Kendal, Demak, and Purwodadi.

2. The vast growing of new activity centers in suburban areas as indicated by the building of universities in Gunungpati and Tembalang Districts in 1990s, i.e. Semarang State University and Diponegoro University respectively, has also determined urbanization, especially if urbanization is characterized by the changing in land utility and population growth. Land utility has changed from farming or yard to become residents, stalls or small shops and students’ boarding houses.

3. The growth of new investments in the downtown. In 1990s, the vast growing of its business activities were also followed by the rapid growing of merchantmen and other informal sectors. The building of those business activities were also followed by the increasing demand for men power like salesperson, hotell workers, psychiatrists, physicians, managers and employees that the numbers could be thousands of people. Informal sectors have also increased rapidly. Those who work in the downtown usually would stay in suburban areas, thus, suburban areas are developing new residents continuously.

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