

# THE HIGHWAY AND ECONOMY DEVELOPMENT A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMICAL KNOTS AT THE NORTH COASTAL OF JAVA (PANTURA) IN 1930S - 1980S

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## ABSTRACT

This article analyze the relationship between *Pantura* (the north coastal) highway in Central Java and the economy development society in those areas at the Dutch Colonial era. The Dutch Colonial on the land transportation, especially in highway could open an opportunity for the development of industries sector. In the north coastal of Java, some cities emerged, such as Semarang, Pekalongan and Kudus. Those industrial cities became a magnet for urban people to appear. They came to those cities for venturing as industrial laborers, construction workers, blue-collar workers, such as housemaids, porters in terminal, market and harbor. The better highway, the increase of factory production, and the provided workers led the cities from Tegal to Semarang being the developed cities which never slept for 24 hours because they were a main road of goods transportation from the producers to the consumers. Thus, this condition caused an adequate high mobility in the areas.

**Keywords:** highway, industries, magnet, cities, factory production, consumer.

## ABSTRAK

Artikel ini menganalisis hubungan antara jalan raya Pantura (pesisir utara) di Jawa Tengah dan masyarakat pengembangan ekonomi di daerah-daerah di era Kolonial Belanda. Kolonial Belanda pada transportasi darat, terutama di jalan raya bisa membuka peluang bagi pengembangan sektor industri. Di pesisir utara Jawa, beberapa kota muncul, seperti Semarang, Pekalongan dan Kudus. Kota-kota industri tersebut menjadi magnet bagi masyarakat urban untuk tampil. Mereka datang ke kota-kota tersebut untuk menjelajah sebagai buruh industri, pekerja konstruksi, pekerja kerah biru, seperti pembantu rumah tangga, kuli di terminal, pasar dan pelabuhan. Jalan raya yang lebih baik, peningkatan produksi pabrik, dan pekerja yang diberikan membawa kota-kota dari Tegal ke Semarang menjadi kota maju yang tidak pernah tidur selama 24 jam karena merupakan jalur utama transportasi barang dari produsen ke konsumen. Dengan demikian, kondisi ini menyebabkan mobilitas tinggi memadai di daerah.

Kata kunci: jalan raya, industri, magnet, kota, produksi pabrik, konsumen.

## INTRODUCTION

Transportation is an interesting study for many historians. However, the historical study of transportation more focuses in the water transportation until now, especially which is through sea, and train for the study of land transportation. The study of the land transportation concerning the history of the highway is a new study which is also interesting. This is so strange because the importance of the highway becoming a public transportation in Indonesia, especially in Java, is certainty. There is a plan to build toll road at that time, that is *trans-Java* which is a monumental project at this century. Then, the raised question is how is the past experience of Indonesia society, especially Central Java about the use of highway in this transportation?

Based on the literary reviews, it shows that a study of the way of the northern coast of Java (*Pantai Utara Jawa*, abbreviated as *Pantura*) in a historical perspective is rarely observed (Sri Hartatik, 2011), especially a study of the highway transportation in a long period to post-independence period. Besides, the study of *Pantura* road at this time which is frequently written, is about the technical highway field, such as the bridge damage, the length and shoulder of the road, the material requirement for road, etc. This research, the history of the historical highway in the northern coast of Central Java from the early twentieth century to the New Order, is never written before. Hence, in this historical research, it will be analyzed the dynamics of the highway construction development which has a function as an alternative transportation to change trains, and its effects towards the social-economy development in those areas.

*Pantura* road still overcomes several problems nowadays, such as traffic jam, traffic accident, etc. The road development and maintenance were still done for two centuries after Daendels had built those post highways. Roads are an important choice for transportation mode towards the other undeveloped public

transportations, especially trains. In Central Java, *Pantura* road supports the knots in the big cities and becomes social and economy connectors in the hinterland areas. There are two important cities in Central Java which become a city connection between other cities in the northern coast of Java and the hinterland areas. The development of *Pantura* road causes a huge effect towards the Javanese society's life, especially in economy sector (Hartatik, 2016: 156-164)..

In the historical perspective, *Pantura* highway is a reality of a necessary transportation which exists till now, and it is also used together with railway. Additionally, it has function as the media connecting goods and people from a place to other places. Its emergence has encouraged an economy development in several areas which become knots media, whether it is in coast areas or the hinterland areas. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze those historical development.

Based on those problems, there are some research questions which become a framework in this research, namely (1) How is the development of *Pantura* highway from the traffic highway and types of transportation which were crossed above in the end of the Dutch-Colonial government, the Old Order and the New Order; (2) How is the development of the central cities in *Pantura*, Central Java which were passed by those lands; (3) How are the effects of the emergence of the highway towards the economy society in the northern coast of Central Java from the end of Dutch colonialization to Soeharto reign?

## RESEARCH METHODS

The data were gathered using several techniques. The first technique was documentation. Documentation was conducted by observing the documents which had information about the highway. Those documents investigated both in Indonesia and in the Netherlands. The locations of data collection in Indonesia included The Jakarta National Archives, The Archives Institution and The Local Library in Central Java, *Suara Merdeka* Library, The Ja-

karta National Library, The Press Monument in Surakarta, The Central Bureau Statistics in Central Java, some libraries in Yogyakarta, etc. The data in the Netherlands gathered from the Den Haag National Archives (ARA), KITLV library in Leiden, and Leiden University Library through a friend who was studying and conducting research in the Netherlands because the self-investigation would spend expensive costs.

The second technique was interview of the verbal history. The verbal history interview was used to reveal unrecorded facts in the written documents or to provide deeper information from the data collected from the sources.

There are two aspects of conducting interviews, namely a topic interview and a life story interview (Chew, 1998 : 47-48). The topic interview focused in the certain topics related to the history of *Pantura* highway, for instance traffic policy, driver's habit, environment changes, etc. The life story interview revealed a person's life related to the context of the observed history. Due to the context concerning the highway history, the revealed life story through interview was people who were involved in *Pantura* highway activities, starting from the policy takers to its users, for example police officials, *bina marga*, weighbridge and transport drivers. This interview was conducted to some interviewees, namely both the history agents and the history witnesses who saw, listened, or gathered information from other people, for example their superior, parents, or best friends concerning the relevant information related to those topics.

The individual interview was conducted to gather information individually about life history or other topics. The life history included the informants' life related to the history of *pantura* highway. The topic could be a part of a story experienced or known by the informants in an aspect or some aspects related to the verbal history in the certain period.

The data analyzed using the genealogical and chronological analysis models. Genealogical analysis is an analysis of

roots of the social phenomena in the highway. On the other hands, chronological analysis included the exposition of time chronologically about the development of highway and other aspects related to the emergence of *Pantura* highway. (Kuntowijoyo, 2004; Lombard, 1999).

The provided model uses the thematic model combined with a chronological model. The thematic model meant that the title of the chapters referred to themes and sub-titles in the form of chronology.

## RESULT AND DISCUSSION

### Transportation Network

The development of Semarang as a harbor city was related to the development of trade in the northern coast in Java. About 1412, there was a Chinese community in Semarang which lived in Gedung Batu area or Simongan and in the side of Semarang river. Those areas were chosen as living places for the Chinese community because they were the best and the most strategic areas. Simongan area included the bay located between the estuary of Semarang river and Semarang harbor (Suliyati, 2011:9). Along with the development of Semarang as a harbor city, on 5 October 1705, an agreement was arranged between Paku Buwono I and VOC (*Verenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*) in Kartasura which decided a law status of Semarang for VOC government as the second city after Batavia. This agreement led an effect of economy development in the areas around Semarang, indicated by many emergences of *onderneming-onderneming*, the sugar factories, and other trades which attract traders to earn living in Semarang coming from various ethnics and areas. Next, in eighteenth century, precisely in 1743, when Dutch moved the harbor from Mangkang to The Old Boom, the trade activities passed by Semarang river were more crowded because the old Boom was located near Pdamaran market which became a central trade at that time. Then, the villages developed as a living place for traders known as *Kampung Darat (Ndarat)* and *Kampung Ngilir*. At this century, it could be also known that Sema-

rang was a harbor city, similar with in the eastern side of Semarang, that was *Torrobaya* or *Terboyo* city which could be reach using a boat to trace the northern coast of Semarang (Suliyati, 2011:3-6). The inter-ethnics relationship in Semarang in 1708 to 1741 period was classified as a unique life symbiosis among several ethnics. Most of Javanese society and other Malay ethnics were located in the lowest economy level as employees, little traders, and fishermen. The high level Chinese community had an economy role for long time in Semarang and the lowest level as employees, and the emergence of VOC, which was European ethnics dominating trade and started to hold government (Krisprantono, 2011: 10).

In nineteenth century, when trade activities were more crowded and required sufficient facilities and infrastructures, wharfs were built by the colonial government. The early stage in the construction of new wharfs was arranging a plan of developing a new canal 1854. The execution was constructed in 1873 and it finished in 1875. The construction of the new canal 1180 meters in length and 23 meters in wide aimed to cut off those stream flow from Semarang river which was too long (Liem Thian Joe, 1933: 178 in Suliyati, 2011:7). Francois Valentijn in his writing in 1825 argued that:

Semarang was one of the most harbors in Java which was lived by some rich traders. Many people lived in there and most of them were good in trading. The location of trading was a place which almost various goods were traded and the place was so wide and crowded. The old "*Kasteel*" had been destroyed in 1824 and it was replaced by a new entrenchment named "*Prins Van Oranye*" or "*Poncol*." (Krisprantono, 2011: 12)

Those construction which was tried to boost by The Dutch East Indies government in post-*Benteng Kota* phase (1824-1866) showed a seriousness of The Dutch East Indies government's efforts to develop Semarang (Staatblad van Nederlandsch Indie. 1906 no 120). In this era, it could be described that Semarang geographically

had beaches, lowlands and highlands which were frequently grown and developed until pre-independence era. Pioneered of the first transportation, that was railway Semarang-Tanggung road as far as 25 km that its stone-placement by Baron Sloet van de Beele on 17 June 1864 became an example that Semarang was a chosen city considered in many aspects, including economy development (Krisprantono, 2011:15). This might be reflected from many districts which produced coffee in Semarang regency area in the second half of nineteenth century, such as Grogol, Kradenan, Selokaton, Singen Lor, Singen Kulon, Semarang, Tenggara, Cangkiran, Limbangan, Ungaran, Ambarawa, Salatiga, Grobogan, Wirasari, Purwodadi, and Kaliwungu. In 1842, the ministry of colonial areas, J.C. Van Baud, had thought the development of transportation for products derived from *vorstenlanden* area to Semarang and the other way.

In 1861, then this was proposed by the Dutch private side, Poolman, to obtain consensus due to construction and exploitation of railway from Semarang to Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Therefore, a decision was appointed on 28 March 1862 becoming a basis of Semarang-*vorstenlanden* operation. Until 1893, Semarang had three stations, namely Tawang station providing Semarang-*vorstenlanden* way, Jurnatan station providing Semarang-Juana way, and Poncol station for Semarang-Cirebon way. As for the sea transportation indicated by many abroad ships, either steamboats or sailboats docked in Semarang. They came from various countries, such as England, Germany, Denmark, Japan, Austria, Sweden, Norway, etc. The increasing number of ships which were visited Semarang harbor in early twentieth century could be shown in table 1 (Yuliyati, 2011: 2-3).

Semarang, that its existence as a harbor city and a new trading city, was known in eighteenth century to the middle of nineteenth century. The role of Semarang was only well-known after the *cultuur stelsel* because of its function as an export harbor for plantation products in the hin-

Table 1. The Number of Ships and Its Contents (Net) in m<sup>3</sup>

Year	The number of ships	Contents (Net) in m <sup>3</sup>
1904	804	3.379.279
1910	1023	5.923.190
1915	1078	6.938.589
1920	1181	8.076.311
1925	1661	12.552.175
1930	2070	17.215.884

Source: *Kolonial Verslag*

terlands which were saleable in Europe market. This role had more increased together with the construction of transportation facilities, especially trains from harbor to the hinterlands in Central Java.

Referring to *port concept*, Semarang harbor's activity was actually determined by the productivity from hinterlands in producing export commodities and their buying power to consume or to purchase import commodities. As a result of this, infrastructures and facilities were also required, especially the transportation for carrying out economy relationship between the harbor and the hinterlands. This could not be denied that the infrastructure development, especially the transportation facilities and infrastructures which had been built between the harbor and the hinterlands was more supported by demands for transporting both export and import commodities. The suitable and matched choices in technology progress based on the time measurement was train. In the circumstances, Semarang was a pioneer in the Dutch East Indies, that was in constructing a new train company named N.I.S. (*Nederlandsch Indië Spoor Maatschappij*) in 1867. This company established a new railway for Semarang-Temanggung route in early time through Surakarta and Yogyakarta areas aimed to transport agricultural products which were saleable in Europe market from *Vorstenlanden* (the ruins of ex-Surakarta kingdom areas and Yogyakarta) and Semarang harbor, especially sugar, tobacco and indigo.

The colonial government in Semarang to comply transportation inside city,

in 1889, built steam tram network S.J.S. (*Semarang-Joeana Stroomtram Maatschappij*), subsidiary of N.I.S., connected Jurnatan (as a center station) with Bulu and Jomblang. However, in 1897 S.J.S. expanded its network into the eastern side, namely Mayong, Demak, and finally to Blora. For the west from Semarang, in 1908, a tram network was opened by S.C.S. (*Semarang-Cirebon Stoomtram Maatschappij*) company. After the construction of Semarang-Cirebon railway, almost areas in the Central Cava had been reached from Semarang through trains. Therefore, it opened an opportunity for people to take some advantages from those railways as a transportation mode, except the highway which was existed before.

Except trains, government also developed a highway transportation sector which had influenced economy development, especially in the central trade activities. A city space in Semarang was used properly, so its development was sufficient to outside borders of city administration, especially in some areas which had a direct access to Semarang, namely the east areas through the main route Semarang-Demak and Semarang-Purwodadi. The west corridor connected Semarang and Kendal and the cities in the northern seashore of the Central Java, and the main access was Semarang-Kendal highway. The south corridors connecting between Semarang, Semarang Regency and the cities in hinterland areas were Semarang-Solo, Semarang- Magelang- Yogyakarta and Semarang- Temanggung- Purwokerto-Cilacap road access.

In order to comply the available facilities, on 26 June 1950, Mr. Koesoebjono as a Semarang mayor, issued on an announcement No 3 containing the bus route, new fees and marking for special buses and their operation time in Semarang started from 1 July 1950. The city bus route was a development from the pre-existing route, and the route were commuted from Alun-alun- Jomblang-, Alun-alun- Jatingaleh, Alun- alun-Purusara (CBZ), Purusara- Jatingaleh. Alun- alun-

Table 2. The Number of Motor and Non-Motor Vehicles in A Big City, Semarang

Kind of vehicles	Years					
	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Passenger Car	725	890	1.140	1.670	1.825	1.910
Load Car	690	695	750	825	860	875
Bus	6	7	8	8	9	11
Motorcycle	215	215	940	2.065	2.509	2.592
Bike	29.370	29.588	33.976	40.088	42.880	45.988
Pedicab	2.937	3.351	3.681	4.048	4.048	4.296
Cart	-	-	241	252	246	259
Barrow	-	-	1.658	1660	1.690	1.516
Total	33.943	34.749	42.399	51.476	54.111	57.367

Source: processed from *Poltabes Semarang in 1955*(Warti Panca, 2002) *Daftar Kepemilikan Kendaraan Bermotor dan tidak bermotor di Kotamadia Semarang* (Semarang, *Poltabes Semarang: 1955*) page 8

Siranda, Siranda- Jatingaleh, Alun- alun-Kaligawe and Bulu- Jomblang. Besides, the operational time of those buses started from 6 am and ended at 8 pm. The details of transportation fees in Semarang could be divided into two groups, namely first, the general fees (one-way) for Rp 0,30,-, secondly, the monthly fees for school kids Rp 7,5,- in charge, civil employees and officers Rp 10,- in charge and for publics in one-way Rp 18,- in charge, two-way trip for Rp 30,- and three-way trip for Rp 40,-. The Semarang government also distinguished the city buses for officers and school kids. “S” mark was for school kids, and “K” mark was for officers, and if there was no mark, this was for publics. However, the government also showed instructions that if those marked buses still had chairs, they could transport publics who desired to go somewhere (Suara Merdeka, 29 June 1950).

As a main road of transportation either using trains or roads had a function as movement media for people and goods. In early twentieth century, people lived in the northern coast of Central Java dominantly riding trains for going somewhere or transporting goods outside areas. However, since 1930s, trains had begun to compete with other transportation modes

through highway, namely buses, trucks/camions and other two-wheeled vehicles. Those shifting was possible because those transportations were more effective because they directly delivered their users to their houses without using other transportations, such as gig, pedicab, etc.

Modernization in the transportation system reached its peak in The New Order. This condition occurred because the government at that time applied the policies focused on the agricultural sector. The government to support his program constructed and fixed the highway into the village areas, so the self-assistance program could be accomplished. The plentiful agricultural products in village required transportation facilities for carrying them to the consumers located in the cities or other places. The necessity of transportation facilities for agricultural products encouraged the development of motor vehicles in Central Java, either for four or two-wheeled vehicles and either for individual or public interests. Conversely, time effectivity and labors caused trains as transportation vehicle abandoned by people in 1980s.

### **The Economy Centers and Demographic Problems**

The development of transportation system in the northern coast cities of Central Java contributed a positive effect for economy-society system. The known effect included the convenience in transporting both small and big products. In addition, the convenience of transportation also opened an opportunity related to the highway, that was the emergence of motor vehicle traders in Semarang, parts of motor vehicles sellers, garage, etc. there was also a development of cigarette industries in the big cities in the northern coast of the Central Java, such as Kudus and Semarang. Excluding cigarette factories, Pekalongan and Lasem also developed into the center of clothing industries, such as batik which was known until now. The economy center society tended to be located in the big cities, such as Kudus, Semarang and Pekalongan. However, this was possible that other cities would be developed because every city had their own potential, but they were not as big as those three cities that the writer mentioned above.

Based on the handover from the governor of Central Java in 1930, this was informed that there were some mainstay industries in those areas, such as kapok industry located in Pati and Batang Regencies, batik industry in Rembang and Pekalongan Regencies and the hinterland of Banyumas, shipyard industry in Lasem, *kretek* cigarette industry in Kudus and the petroleum mining in Blora Regency.

The kapok trade was extremely important in the northern coast of those areas. Almost entirely was controlled by the Chinese traders. Due to the decreasing price of kapok in the world market, a tight competition and speculation spirit of the Chinese traders in this field highly decreased nowadays in 1928, referred to the formation of local buying syndicates. This was aimed to separate illegal competitions and speculations through price setting. This organization was initially successful, but the ability of the small organization and the resistance from its partnerships

appeared anywhere. The anxiousness argued that kapok producers would be dupe about the price setting which was not unreasonably proved until now. An effort to establish an organization for native people in Batang as media to face the syndicate formation was stumbled on huge money risk.

The petroleum mining and its by-products in this area were controlled in BPM, Cepu (Blora Regency) as its central, and this was caused Cepu to become European settlement center with *Nederlandsch Koloniaal Petroleum Mij* located in Blora. Under BPM administration, excluding the petroleum mining in Blora, Cepu also leads the petroleum mining in Semarang Residency, Bojonegoro and Surabaya now. This business started to decrease in the past, so there are only drilling lands in Ledok and Nglobo now, located in Blora Regency which still operates. Nevertheless, BPM still employed 250 European workers and 4800 native workers in the end of 1932. If the excise was 7,8 million guilders in 1929, then in 1932, this decreased to 5 million guilders. *Nederland Koloniaal Petroleum Mij* had smaller interests towards BPM. The government allowed those mining industries to the head of the drilling and mining institution BPM and *Nederlands Koloniale Petroleum Mij*, and their areas were located in Jepara-Rembang Regencies. Besides, for A.J. Loudon, his area was located in Bojonegoro Regency. The recent government still discussed a permission to drill the mining proposed by Oei Tiong Ham Concern, towards an area located in Semarang.

The shipyard industry belonging to Berendson in Lasem only works in an order now. The shipyard in Juwana (Pati) stopped its activity for a while. Nicki (*Nederland Indische Chemotte en Klein Industrie*) in Ngendang (Rembang), especially made equipment for fireplace material, and was bought by the sugar industries. Due to the sugar factories' closing, this business deteriorated rapidly. Then, the question was what was this business still able to survive? Karanganyar Regency

was known because of its pottery and earthenware industry. Kebumen Regency was well-known from its traditional brick making and it also produced good products.

*Moeria Tras Mij* in Tayu, due to the decrease of his products' price, he did not continue his business and it had to stop. At the capital city of Kebumen Regency, there was a big petroleum factory belonging to Rex Olie. Besides, there were some small Chinese petroleum factories in this regency. At the capital city of Karanganyar and the surrounding areas, various types of Tangerang woven hats emerged as a local business. In Kebumen Regency, there were woven mats and hats. In the Kebumen's carpentry school, making rattan furniture were taught as a lesson there.

There were some home industries in Central Java, such as a sawmill belonging to Van Oyen dan Van der Welle in Sepuran (Wonosobo) which provided materials for fixing house. Juwana was known with precious metals and coopers at the past. Although this was a past, this industry was necessary to mention in this article. The furniture and wood carving industries were so popular in the industries in Jepara. To encourage wood carving industries, an organization was established. In Jepara, carpentry school was opened led by the government expert.

The producing of *kretek* cigarette in Kudus was so important. In 1930s, the colonial government worried that this small industry would be bankrupt because of the emergence of bigger cigarette industry in Semarang, British American Tobacco Company. In fact, this industry was able to give a significant opportunity job for people. Besides in Kudus, this should be mentioned about cigarette and cigar industry belonging to MacGillavry in Ungaran (it experiences many declines now because of competition with Faroka). The local cigarette industry was established in Kudus, while traditional cigarette industry was found in Magelang Regency and Temanggung. Cigarette factory became one of a necessary local business for those areas. This business only partially

was arranged based on the factory system. People worked with *ebon*, that was an agent who received advances from entrepreneurs. In their villages, material for making cigarettes was produced by themselves, and the products were distributed to the entrepreneurs with a set price. To take care of *kretek* cigarette industry, the colonial government determined a cheap excise for the local industry.

Batik industry found its center in Pekalongan Regency and the surrounding areas. Then, the second place was Lasem and the surrounding areas and the third place was Purbalingga and Banyumas and the surrounding areas. In Pekalongan and the surrounding areas, this industry was controlled by the native people. They showed a description of the rich middle-class local people. To give impression about reach of this industry, it could be mentioned that 600 batik centers might provide income to five thousand people, except the sidelines such as *canting* making, *cemplongan* industry, etc., in the end of 1931 when the crisis existed.

Although Lasem was controlled by the native people, this industry changed to the Chinese entrepreneurs. In Banyumas, this industry was empowered by European and local women until the beginning of the big war. Then, most of them began to switch on the Chinese entrepreneurs. For years, batik industry and trade not only could obtain a big profit, but also this industry felt a serious problem because of the crisis effect. This industry suffered in Lasem and Banyumas areas. however, the interesting thing was how this industry was able to survive in Pekalongan with its fast adaptation toward changing condition. Through the tight competition from Japan cotton cloth, they had to orientate producing cheap batik products. Therefore, they had to prepare an extremely affordable white Japan's cloth. A big selling led this business still existed. Based on research done by the worker inspection, in 1928-1930, towards batik industry, data showed that the miserable condition of batik industries in this areas caused by some factors such as deprivation of liber-



Table 3. The Number of Batik Company in Pekalongan in 1927

<b>The Number of Batik Company</b>			
City district	Kedungwuni district	Wiradesa distr	Total
Onderdistrik Buwaran 278	Onderdistrik Kedungwuni 38	Onderdistrik Wiradesa 53	
Onderdistrik Tirto 224	Onderdistrik Wonopringgo 59	Onderdistrik Rembun 5	
Onderdistrik Poncol 124	-	Onderdistrik Sragi 1	
Onderdistrik Kota 225	-	-	
Total 881	97	59	1037

Source: *Kantoor van de Arbeid Residentie Pekalongan*

ty, the host child status, the bad treatment, the high interests, etc. Some efforts to fight those factors had been done, but it did not succeed (Memorie van Overgave Gouverneur van Midden Java Over Jaar 1930:1-12).

Based on the source from The Labor Office, information gathered and there were 1037 batik businesses (small and big industries) in Pekalongan in 1927. The details showed in table 3.

In addition, in Batang Regency (Pekalongan residence area), there were 22 Chinese batik businesses and 73 local batik businesses or the total was 95 companies located in Kauman village (6), Projonanggan (3) Klidang (12) Batang (9), Baros (2), Dekoro (50) Warungasem (2), Gapuro (2), Banjiran (3), Masin (5) and Sodorejo (1). If this was added 60 batik companies belonging to the Chinese people which did not recorded in the source, so the number of both big and small batik companies in Pekalongan Residence area in 1927 was more than 1100, but the most company was the small ones. The existence of the batik companies, of course, encouraged an incredible work opportunity for local people with the simple works. According to the table above, it could be concluded that batik businesses had spread in almost areas of Pekalongan Residence, both in the coast and in the mountains. The influence from those industries could be clearly found in the coast areas to

the mountain areas.

In early twentieth century, the recruitment for industrial workers around Semarang areas often occurred. European entrepreneurs were pleased with this recruitment system because this way could provide credible workers supervised by a foreman. Social stratification (Europe, Foreign East, "Inlander") had placed the local workers in the lowest work and pay. Even, according to data from *Semarang-Joana Stoomtram-Maatschappij* and *Semarang-Cheribon Stoomtram-Maatschappij*, this showed that the number of native *ambtenaar* in the train company was less than 50% from European *ambtenaar*, and the number of native people who was more than European only occupied job as low-level employees with low pay too (*Memorie van Overgave Gouverneur van Midden Java Over Jaar, 1930:14*).

The development of the industrial sector who increased significantly in Semarang in The New Order era carried out effects, that was an emergence of the seasonal migration occurred in Semarang from the buffer cities around Semarang, for example people derived from Demak Regency, Semarang Regency, Grobogan Regency and Kendal Regency. Those labors did their activities started in the morning and went home in the evening, but they also spent their night in a week or a month (Ruku'an and Sukarno, 12 September 2013, 11 January 2014). The in-

Table 4. The Variation of work types in Semarang in 1930

Type of woks	Men	Women	Total
1. Cotters	4.301	570	4.871
2. Industrial workers	4.751	131	4.882
3. Home industry entrepreneurs	4.331	2254	6585
4. Trains and Tram workers	1.556	18	1574
5. The highway workers	2.997	77	2629
6. Plumbers	2.020	14	2034
7. Traders	3.834	3.358	7192
8. Civil employees	3.825	84	3909
9. Police officers	1.115	3	1.118
10. Maids	4.467	9.682	14.149
11. Carriage coachmen, etc.	8.945	1.111	10.056

Source: Hartono Kasmadi and Wiyono, 1985. *Sejarah Sosial Kota Semarang 1900-1950*, page 42

dustrial labors were paid monthly and the contract system was also used there. An interesting fact from some informants found that most of the industrial labors were illiterate and did not finished elementary school, but the foreman who became an agent for the labor recruitment required that the workers had to be hard worker and diligent people. Not all the workers coming from Semarang were in industrial sector, but they worked in other informal sectors, such as maids, shop keepers, restaurant servants, construction workers, etc.

Human resources were a necessary component in developing the economy, whether they were educated or not. For them who were educated, they definitely could be occupied in companies which required skills based on their fields, but for them who did not go school, they would only be occupied in the companies or industries which did not required particular skills. The uneducated workers usually were occupied in companies which required skills and desires such as cigarette industries, clothing and food industries, etc. which was their recruitment only based on the educational certificate or not. The other works for this groups usually

were in informal works such as mill-hands, constructional workers, porters in station and harbor, and maids.

Due to the provided jobs in the city either formal or informal works. People who worked in a formal sector were civil employees, police officers, highway workers, trains and tram workers, factory employees and plumbers. In contrast, the type of informal workers sector was cotters, home industry entrepreneurs, traders, wagon and carriage coachmen, etc. Table below showed an interesting data about the types of jobs based on sex with huge differences. Many jobs either formal or informal were dominated by men, and only maids who were dominated by women. The huge difference occurred in jobs related to trains and tram, which occupied women as 18 people, 14 people for plumbers and 3 people for police officer. The numbers and the job variation of people in Semarang could be shown in table 4.

Together with the development of Semarang becoming an industrial city, the other cities as feeders were required. The feeders could be available for human resources as labors, commodities which had function as materials used by the industries and the highway as a transportation

for goods, people and service's distribution. The areas were Demak, Jepara, Kudus, Grobogan, Kendal, Pekalongan, Tegal etc. Each city had a potential to move its industrial activities in Semarang, such as Demak, Grobogan, Kendal. Besides, the three areas were not only popular as their granary in Central Java, but they also provided many human resources in the industrial sector. Among cities located in the northern coast of Central Java, there were cities which were developed to be a strong knot to the industrial cities, namely Kudus and Pekalongan. Kudus was developed into an industrial city, especially cigarette industry since the colonial period to The New Order. Therefore, due to the high development of the cigarette industry, this led Kudus to accommodate job seekers inside and outside the city. Those cigarette labors came from Demak Regency, Jepara and Pati. Pekalongan located in the northern coast of Central Java in the west side also had almost similar function, that was being a knot or a bond for the surrounding cities, namely Batang, Pemalang, Tegal and Brebes. This bond occurred because their areas had nearly similar geographic locations, that was such mountains, fields and beaches. Pekalongan and Pemalang were the central development of clothing industry, such batik, weave, jeans, sheath, etc. Pekalongan and Tegal were the central producers and processor of the fishery products. On the contrary, the agricultural and plantation activities in *pantura* areas in the west side were known regionally and nationally, and the products were tea and onions. The big cities in the northern coast of Central Java had a positive effect because of their positions, so they were passed by vehicles, either through the highway and trains from the central east of Surabaya and the central west of Jakarta for almost over 24 hours.

The changing of The New Order government's policy focused on agricultural and industry sectors brought a development in economy society sector. As a result of this, the transportation sector became an adequate significant facility to

support the government program. This development opened a new opportunity for people to take part in the development plans of the central and local governments. The paved road led an impact to the transportation system, that was accelerating mileage and expediting the road. This condition caused the higher population mobility in accessing road and developing it. In the end of 1980s, the highway in Semarang and other big cities at the northern coast of Central Java started to become crowded, so it was required other alternative roads which did not enter the central cities in order to decrease overcrowding. The development of the highway sector caused an impact to the economy development especially in trade centers. The city space in Semarang was widely used, so its development was sufficient to outside the borders of city administration, especially in several areas which had a direct access to Semarang, that was the east areas through the main route Semarang- Demak and Semarang- Purwodadi. The west corridor connected Semarang and Kendal and the cities in the northern seashore of Central Java, and the main access was Semarang- Kendal highway. The south corridor connected between Semarang and Semarang Regency and the cities in hinterland areas through Semarang-Solo access.

## **CONCLUSION**

It can be concluded that since the Dutch colonial to the New Order era, it caused the rapid population mobility due to the modernization of land transportation, especially the highway in the northern coast of Central Java. This was proved by the development of the cities along those areas and they became cities which stood on agricultural and fishery sectors in the past, then they moved into the industrial cities such as Semarang, Pekalongan and Kudus. The industrial cities attracted urban people came to earn living as industrial labors, constructional workers and other service jobs.

The government policy in the highway transportation caused the distribution

of goods, people and services to become more effective and efficient from the producers to the consumers, from Surabaya as the central east of Java to the central west of Jakarta or other cities in Java, and the other way. The distribution of goods, people and services opened an opportunity for cities in the northern coast of the Central Java integrated to a trading network and it developed into the different economic knots. Areas which had an adequate potential, such as Semarang, Pekalongan and Kudus were developed differently with other cities. Semarang was not only the capital city of Central Java, but it also became a strategic place for an industrial city because it had harbor, station, entrepreneurs, adequate human resources and other potentials. In addition, the other cities in Central Java which were undeveloped also being industrial cities, but they had a function as feeders to provide its development, such natural resources, labors, etc.

Furthermore, the highway also opened an opportunity to people in the northern coast of Central Java area in order to obtain other incomes, except as farmers, such as peddlers, providing garage services, owned restaurants, workers in gas station, brokers, parking attendants, drivers, etc. Those work types became a new trend after the highway transportation was confirmed in The New Order.

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## Informan

- Ruku'an, interviewed 12 September 2013
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