

Between Modernization and Capitalization: Commercialization of Malang in the Early Twentieth Century

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Abstract: Colonialism, capitalism, and the city are three elements that always correlated. At the beginning of the 20th-century cities, growth was inseparable from the economic expansion of Dutch capitalism represented by the plantation industry, trade offices, insurance offices, and elite shopping areas. The exploitation of urban space followed this process. As the regime changed in early 1942, the growth of the symbol of capitalism in the city was halted by the Japanese Military Government. This article attempts to explain the relationship between the development of capitalism, the modernization of the city, and its impact on society. To explain this connection, the author uses historical methods using the city government report. Based on analysis of municipal tax report and the response of indigenous people who lived within the city, it can be concluded that there is an influence of capitalism on the high intensity of exploitation and conflict in struggling for urban space. Modernization of the city is not merely efforts to create a city comfortable and hygienic, but the strategy of commerce urban space. Modernization of the colonial city has covered the suffering of most people that have their own way of living.

Abstrak: Kolonialisme, kapitalisme dan kota adalah tiga unsur yang selalu berkorelasi. Pada awal abad ke-20 pertumbuhan kota tidak terlepas dari ekspansi ekonomi kapitalisme Belanda yang diwakili oleh industri perkebunan, perkantoran perdagangan, perkantoran asuransi dan kawasan perbelanjaan elit. Proses ini diikuti dengan eksploitasi ruang kota. Ketika rezim berganti pada awal 1942, pertumbuhan simbol kapitalisme di kota itu dihentikan oleh Pemerintah Militer Jepang. Artikel ini mencoba menjelaskan hubungan antara perkembangan kapitalisme, modernisasi kota dan pengaruhnya terhadap masyarakat. Untuk menjelaskan hubungan tersebut, penulis menggunakan metode sejarah dengan menggunakan laporan pemerintah kota. Berdasarkan analisis laporan pajak kota dan respon masyarakat adat yang tinggal bersama di kota dapat disimpulkan bahwa terdapat pengaruh kapitalisme terhadap tingginya intensitas eksploitasi dan konflik dalam memperebutkan ruang kota. Modernisasi kota bukan semata-mata upaya menciptakan kota yang nyaman dan bersih, tetapi strategi perdagangan ruang kota. Modernisasi kota kolonial telah menutupi penderitaan sebagian besar masyarakat yang memiliki cara hidup sendiri-sendiri.

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INTRODUCTION

It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity but to their self-love and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages. Nobody but a beggar chooses depend chiefly upon the benevolence of his fellow-citizen (Hall, 1993).

That quotation takes form Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nation* 1776 which indicates that city life (in the West) is greatly inspired by what is called pragmatism or



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the motive of seeking profit. Profit oriented became the soul of Western colonialism which gradually began to spread amongst community of cities in Asia. The spread of colonialism in Asia brought about what so called worldwide capitalism or global capitalism. Two factor that determines the direction of urban development are technology and social power and both were in hand of capitalism. Natural resources provide the basic needs of human life in. However, after the colonization, the land has been used as an object of exploitation. Full investment technology has become a means of humans to convert a wild and vicious nature becomes become a comfortable place for them. Technology provides a save food supply for city dwellers and changes raw materials to world market oriented products. The third factor is the power structure. Power structure has been used by which the ruler can consolidate and maintain power to develop the formation of the city center. This power structure is an important thing in the expansion of the city both in terms of population and area. Secondly, social power is very important in the process of converting suburban areas from rural to urban. Structures of power are very important in the process of maintaining city life from the threat of crime, rebellion and attacks from outside (Sjoberg, 1965).

In an article entitled *The City of Entrepreneurs*, Hall said that the dynamics of the city are strongly influenced by one factor, namely the company. The company is very important both on economically and politically towards urban planning. In the 1970s, the urban planning movement began to accelerate. During the 1980s, there was a tendency to rebuild away from colonial past. New meaning emerged as a response to old traditions that were considered obsolete. The city is a machine for creating wealth, because at the first time city was design as place for making profits. Traditional urban planning patterns changed from the 1910s to 1940s, along with the golden period of capitalism which was also marked by extraordinary urban construction. This does not only occur in cities in British but also in cities in America. The crisis in 1964 until 1967 has prompted President Lindon Johnson's Government to double the urban *anti-poverty program*, especially after the 1967 riots. One manifestation of this program is the development of planning development models. the city which coordinates with the community development association (association) program. This program aims to raise awareness among marginalized people. But, this program was challenged by the local bureaucra-

cy and in 1976 the program failed (Hall, 1993).

Capitalism is the main force in the post-World War II era. The capitalist economy which was supported by industry caused the accumulation of capital in the hands of "few but holding a monopoly" group. From then on, this group controls firms and industries and divide them from local businessmen and then integrates these firms into the power of global multinational companies. Often, this trend moves into the political realm to influence the process of selecting local leaders, especially the mayor. This started the change from the old planning system to the new system of inquiry where political issues began to dominate policy making (Hall, 1993).

The long history of colonialism proves that the orientation of Dutch colonialism namely the spread of capitalism has encouraged the growth of agents of capitalism in every city. The main agent of capitalism is founding the company. As Hall revealed about the key role of the company in the development of the city, Malang has existed because of the existence of plantation companies. Since 1920, Gemeente has become a "company" that has a tremendous impact on *architectural landscape* from Malang.

Research on city capitalization from a historical perspective is relatively new. Even in the latest research published in the book *Car Conduit and Kampongs: The Modernization of the Indonesian City 1920-1960* - which was the part of editorial work of Freek Colombijn and Joost Cote, gave no specific attention on the issue of symbol of capitalism (Colombijn & Coote, 2015). Most writings write down more colonial symbols in the cities after decolonization then put the element of capitalization as center of discussion. But none of those article depicted the correlation modernization and capitalization of the city and its impact to the indigenous, particularly in middle size city like Malang.

Capitalism developed in Europe, not in other parts of the world. According to the North in Tracy (Tracy, 2005), the key to the success of the development of capitalism in Europe lies on the ability of institutions to maintain pressing on the cost of transaction, production and transportation. Second, financial institutions have a strategy to improve production continuously. The main key to the success of capitalism is the recognition of individual property rights (North, 1991). Capitalism began worldwide in the 19th century. This goes along with economic liberalization, transformation towards an industrial country, evolution from a *city state* to a *nation state*, based on democratic values and sup-

ported by multinational economic networks. A decisive change comes by the forming of capitalist group which depend on wage labor rather than doing it themselves. Market development was the main cause of the decline of feudalism which was a strength of the *status quo* of Europe at that time. According to Braudel, the market forms a dialogue focused on three main components: supply, demand and prices. He argues that in capital system, maximum profit can be earned by monopoly. Privileged monopoly is not based on those, the ship's address is trying to force monopoly profits. In history, these monopolies do not rely on production but in circulation. For example, in trading the system of the 15th century financial speculation was a phenomenon that occurred repeatedly in the world. The transnational economic relationship is a real entity of capitalism (Braudel, 1983).

In the history of Dutch Indies colonial state, capitalism has been adopted by one of four principal state in Java, Mangkunegaran. According to Wasino, this state has rose income from *apanage* land, and its own sugar factory, coffee, sugar cane plantation. Coffee plantation was expanded by using a lot of waste land, clearing the jungle and continuing expired former leased land. From 1871 to 1881, Mangkunegara has obtained f. 1.261195,45 from selling coffee. That was a large amount for Traditional Javanese state (Wasino, 2014). Moreover, capitalism also affected development of urban cities in Java, including Malang. As colonial city, the Dutch maintained and strengthened their domination by implementing the same model of social engineering as they used in their mother land. It was the origin of municipal and its local parliament.

This paper will try to find a relation between the development of capitalism in the city and competition over urban space since 1930-1980.

METHOD

This study uses a historical method consisting of four steps of research, namely *collecting*, *appreciating*, *synthesis* and *presenting* (Garraghan, 1962). The information used in this study obtained from newspaper, the report of the City Government Malang every ten years and several secondary sources. The events on the colonial periods are more well-documented than those in post war periods. The municipal of Malang reported their yearly activity from 1934 to 1964. This provide information of population number, revenues from local market and veterinary supervision. The most important step in this method was the interpretation, for example analyzing the relation between the case of

illegal meat transaction and obligation to list their meat on abattoir. The last step is drawing conclusions from both quantitative and qualitative data.

COLONIALISM AND EXPANSION OF CAPITALISM

Most cities in Indonesia were formed as the result of regional-trade activity, particularly throughout fifteenth century. Along with the increase number of trading ships in the Southeast Asia seas, the coastal cities flourished on the North coast of Java. Due to their supremacy of naval fleet, this inter island monsoon trade then was monopolized by the Dutch Indies Company. Company has introduced capitalism system which has been applied since the end of eighteenth century. This new economy system admitted the individual land ownership, everyone's freedom, freedom to trade, the abolition of compulsory labor and the compilation of a legal system that is impartial and inexpensive (Furnivall, 1939). This capitalism increasingly penetrated inland Java by inter-continental cash crops trading. Governor General Du Bus Gesignes's policy (1826-1830) which gave permission to convert the frontier area to become plantation, has pave the way for expansion of large scale plantation land. The successful of land and labor exploitation has motivated the private company to gain the same profit. Since 1854, private groups have won their vote on *Tweedekamer* (Parliament) The Hague. This triumph ended with the promulgated of the Agrarian Law of 1870. This law changed the character of exploitation from state monopoly (mercantilist) to capitalist company. As a result, number of land leasing investment, opening cultivation industry, construction of transportation facilities and recruitment of wage laborers increased rapidly (Robinson, 2009). The extend of private estate has transformed middle-small city to became a big colonial city.

Peter Nas categorized four of type of Indonesian City according its culture domination namely, traditional, indisch, colonial and post-colonial modern cities (Nas, 1986). Terrence McGee also argues that the main characteristic of the colonial city is the center of exploitation of products which generates economic profit for the colonial government as well as the center of meetings between local and foreign traders. Colonial city played parasitic role in economic relation between World and local economic in which the lifeblood of the city depended on power from outside its own. On the one hand, this outside power enlarges cities and enriches overseas countries but in the other hand it exhausted natural resources, and humans inside

(Junus, 2008). Since then, architecture, management of space, facilities and various infrastructures increasingly leads to the formation of miniature European cities in the tropical Indies. The East and West are increasingly separate, especially in terms of social space.

Along with economic growth, political sphere also changed rapidly since the ideas to form city administration accompanied by the transfer of skill and competency from the Dutch to indigenous elite which continues to the first quarter of twentieth century. The formation of the city of Malang is a further impact of land expansion for plantations that occurred 50 years earlier which most population of Java experiences an extraordinary process of capitalization (Colombijn, 2010). One of many effects of capitalism on political matters is the drafting of Decentralization Act. City Council was formed and being seen as a sign of increasing levels individual right and regional autonomy. Many years later, the city council turn to be a symbol of European domination at the city level. The city council put the interests of the European population first and reinstates political segregation and puts the city as a means of generating economic benefits.

It began on 1919, when H. Bussemaker has been appointed as the first mayor of Malang (Lakeman, 1934). Since then the city has turned into what so called *The city of Enterprise*. Malang is built on the basis of a blueprint which divides the city into 8 regions (*bouwplan*). *Bouwplan I*, II, IV, V, VI, VII are residential, government and school areas. Meanwhile, *Bouwplan III* is graveyard for European and *bouw VIII* is an industrial area. (Lakeman, 1934, p. 44). Most residential areas intended for housing middle-class elite Europeans. The largest part of the residential area located in the western outskirts of the city, namely sub-district Talun and Oro-oro Dowo. This is developed from 1922 to 1931, *Bouwplan VI* which located in the southern area of the city was designed under the adviser of urban planning expert Ir Thomas Karsten. Several plots of this area allocated to BPM, schools, and housing particularly for Indo European. The largest part of the residential area located in the western outskirts of the city, namely sub-district Talun and Oro-oro Dowo. This is developed from 1922 to 1931. *Bouwplan VI* which located in the southern area of the city was designed under the adviser of Thomas Karsten, an urban planning expert. Several plots of this area allocated to BPM, schools, and housing particularly for Indo European.

After the construction was completed, houses in thus residential area were leased at prices from f.4.5 to f.6 for each house. The position of this industrial is nearby Kotalama railway station and *Malang Stoomtram* station. In 1931, NV Faroka bought 21,000 m² of land for a cigarette factory. Following Faroka, the Kian Hong Oil and Trading Company bought land in the area for rice mills, peanut and coconut oil mills. In 1931-1932 *Gemeente* built emplacements for workshops, armory, firefighting headquarters and livestock pens. After the complex was realized, *Gemeente* began to try to cover the capital spent on developing the Villa area through rent, land and building taxes and the sale of electricity and water. The development of the symbols of capitalism was not only represented in the buildings of the villas, but also included all capitalist life-supporting infrastructure such as sports complexes, cinemas, hotels and venturing into public areas, namely billboards. In general, the symbol of capitalism is identical to the lifestyle needs of the Dutch.

At first, the development of the elite settlement in the west part of the city will be carried out by the government itself in order to avoid the role of land speculators. This government unit is called *Gemeentelijk grondbedrijf*. However, the lack of the technical staff and money has made NV *Bouwmaatschappij Villapark* and NV *Grondexploitatie Vilapark*, a private constructing bureau to join in building residential areas. The price of land in the area (*Oro-oro dowo*) is an average of f.3 per square meter (Van Liempt, 1939). Property company was doing this project into two phases. The first stage lasted from 1919-1924, and the second stage from 1924-1930. The world economic crisis that hit the Dutch East Indies caused this further construction has to be cancelled. As soon as the construction of the complex is complete, the city government "sold" these houses at a fairly expensive rental price. In 1930, the world economic crisis hit the Dutch East Indies. The direct impact of this crisis was the cessation of capital flows for further development of the city. However, municipal gained much profit from the new completed properties projects. The profits obtained in 1934 were f 56.69; in 1935 at f 46.35; in 1936 at 42.84; in 1937 it was 46.48 and in 1938 it was 46.173. From this statement, it can be concluded that the income from property companies from 1934 to 1938 tended to decline (Lakeman, 1934).

Similar areas developed in other places are only specific to buildings and functions, different in *Bouwplan II*, IV, V, VI, VII and VIII. (Lakeman; 1934, 44) This area was designed under the advisor

of urban planning expert Ir Thomas Karsten. Several plots of this area are used by BPM, schools and housing were proposed by the Indo European group. Only a small part of the area is reserved for Bumiputra houses. *Bouwplan VIII* is located in the city expansion area in the south. This area is intended for Industry. Placement of this industrial area is related to the position of Kotooma and *Malang Stoomtram* stations. In 1931, NV Faroka bought 21,000 m² of land for the establishment of a cigarette factory. Following Faroka, the Kian Hong Oil and Trading Company bought land in the area for rice mills, peanut and coconut oil mills. In 1931-1932 *Gemeente* built emplacements for workshops, armory, firefighter headquarters and livestock stall.

The second modernize infrastructure is the market. Modernization of the market which was began in 1917 has change market from the weekly (*pasaran*) to the daily market. This modern market marked by many partitions to meet health and economic values. It was characterized by anti-fly gauze, tile floors partition based on types of merchandise and making drainage system. The first phase of construction completed in 1924 (Sardjono, 1954). *Gementee* has spent more than f 139,279 to modernized all markets in the city (Lakeman, 1934). In 1934, the market provides space for bus and taxi station since customer, visitors and market traders increased every year. *Gemeente* tried to solve overcrowded Central Pasar (market) by modernized small market located in entire sub-district in the City.

The third infrastructure is city water plant. Before the coming of the European, Javanese sees water as an inseparable part of every ritual. Tropical climate with high rainfall has contributed to the character and living habits of its people, particularly in using water. Water is considered as an abundant object so that Javanese-particularly who live nearby the river, never considered water as price product unless there is a *tuah* or *keramat* (sacred) in the water (Boomgard, 2007). This notion changed when the Dutch took the power of the city in Malang. Since a long time, the Europeans who live in the tropics area are always haunted by the danger tropical disease such as dysentery, *cholera* and *thyipoma*. This threat makes each Europeans very careful on consuming water and food quality. Encountering this treat, they build clean water pipe network that guaranteed the safety of water they consumed. This city water plan (*Gemeentelijk Waterbedrijf*) supplied water to a new residential area and kampongs across the city. The

water network has been built since 1914, when Malang was under the Pasuruan *Gewestelijk*.

City Waterplants obtained water from water spring Karang, Summersari, Bangun. This flowing water being concentrated in water reservoir in Betek and Dinoyo. From this two water reservoirs, the water subsequently distributed by a water pipe network. All water tunnels and pipes must be free of infection by involving bacteriologist for investigating the level of water cleanliness. In 1937, the price of consumed water has been calculated by watermeter and then this number will be converted to some price in Guilders. Between 1934-1938, there was a decline in income. In 1934, the water utility's revenue was f 314,142, then in 1935 it fell to f 288,710. In 1937, there was an increase, but only slightly, namely f 289,180. Income fell again in 1938, which was f 276,244 (Liempt, 1939). The construction of drink water facilities marked the beginning of the commercialization of natural resources. At least in five years, *Gemeente* receives income of f. 1,443,276. This figure is quite large considering the cost of building the City Hall which has been completed in 1929, spent more than f. 200,000. For the Europeans, clean and hygiene is the most priorities matters in which the municipal government concerned much. The effects of regular epidemics of the plague, cholera, and typhoid, which occurred every five years haunted most European in the tropic. When theories about the specific causes of such epidemics became more widely understood in the colony policies were developed which directly challenged indigenous practices in the way they consumed water (Colombijn, 2013).

The fourth infrastructure is a slaughterhouse or *Abattoir*. The first impact of this modernization was the emergence of various public facilities which were built to meet the European requirement. Most Europeans demanding a healthy and safety food. Therefore, they want a cleaner market, and slaughterhouses that meet European standards. For the Indonesia, these complicated requirements were responded by smuggling livestock into the city. They sold this livestock without being tested in slaughterhouses in order to avoid levies (Hudiyanto, 2011). The categories of animals that must be slaughtered in *Abattoir* are cows, pigs, sheep and goats.

The types of animals that are slaughtered at the Slaughterhouse are cows, pigs and goats. Of the three, cows make up the largest share of the Slaughterhouse's income to *Gementee*. During 1937, income from cattle slaughter reached f 11, 815; the second is goats and sheep at f 6,292; then the pig for

f 4.156. However, in 1938 the income of the slaughterhouse decreased. Cows only fell by f 11,564; goats and sheep fell to f 5,570; and pork fell to 3,986 (Liempt, 1939).

The rule that required every animal they sold to be checked in slaughterhouse responded by "illegal" slaughter by cattle owned on the outskirts of the village. The government labelled this practice as *clandestiene slacht*. The high cost of testing and the longer of animals must wait for tested were the reason for animal owners to slaughter outside the slaughterhouse. During 1937 there were 17 illegal meats who were put in to sentences. Some of the violators were fined ranging from f.25 to f.125. The government's succeed in reducing the number of illegal slaughter and smuggling flesh trade in 1938 (Liempt, 1939). The city government built this *abbatoir* or slaughterhouse in the Mergosono sub-district. This building is quite extensive and meets the requirements as a modern slaughterhouse. By means of this slaughterhouse, the municipal gained income from clinical testing for livestock and using of slaughterhouses; test of meat before getting distributed, research, and renting meat space. From 1934 to 1938, the income of these slaughterhouses continued to increase every year. In 1934, the income was f 27,652 then it increased in 1936 by f 27,407 and in 1938 it increased again by 31,008 (Lakeman, 1934).

Based on several examples of the above cases, it can be concluded that colonialism dressed in modernism has a broad and profound scope of influence. The colonial government tried to inculcate mindset and perspectives on how to live healthy. On the other hand, there was an economic motivation that accompanied it. This can be seen from the various businesses that are a source of income for Gementee. There are a variety of businesses that are a source of Gementee profits. These benefits, among others, come from slaughterhouses, markets, clean water companies, renting sports complexes, land and housing. Among these businesses, the business that made the most profit was the clean water company, amounting to f 110,505. while the least profitable business is the sports complex lease, only f 1,581 (Liempt, 1939).

Another impact of the implementation of modernization is the increasing number of taxes. The decentralization of 1903 which was followed by the establishment of the Malang Gemeente in 1914 caused the local governments must support itself particularly financing the operations in the city. One of the most potential revenues is from the tax and retribution. Modernization of market, con-

struction of water pipe networks, housing construction, and slaughterhouses turned out to have financial consequences for city residents. This is due to the tariff for using of all facilities that have been built by Gemeente. If every violation of the utilization of facilities is always verbally processed, there will be an increasing number of law breaker among city residents (Hudiyanto, 2011). Traffic and selling regulations, medical pet-checks and selling alcohol permit are among the causes of many violations. The more new space that Gemeente built, the more regulations that accompanied it. There is a tendency that *Gemeenteraad* which is dominated by Dutch representatives, wants to impose the concept of city life into the indigenous community which actually has a different meaning about urban space. At the beginning of the 20th century, urban problems are multiplying. According to Kusno, the growing complexity of urban life was contributed by municipal administration which tried to transformed each individual person in the city to be a more well-regulated and organized one. The effort sometimes tends to rise potential conflicts. The city is also considered to facilitate the emergence of radicalism and political awareness among the population of Bumi-putera.

As an impact, every budget prepared by the City Council is always prioritized for European citizens. For example, the provision of electricity, paving roads, culverts and water network is always placed in the European quarter. In the *Gemeenteraad* Malang session, every proposal for improvement and constructing of infrastructure planning the budget session is always giving first priority to European quarter and rarely in the Kampong area. For *Gemeente*, *kampong improvement* was beyond the priorities until 1938. After the International Congress of the Colonies in Paris in 1937, the Colonial Government only considered efforts to improve *kampong* with the making of the *Comissie van Verbetering Kampong* which was sup part of the Central Government (Hudiyanto, 2011). By the end of colonial period, expert acknowledged that the government had failed to improve the physical condition in the kampong. Kampong in Malang still became neglected region that can be prove from the complaint below:

Based on information from *kampongers*, many of them feel disturbed by the existence of Dutch housing. The foul-smelling dung from the Dutch mansion often spilled over in front of the village. Dirt is a best place for mosquitoes breeding that can spread malaria. The difference with complain from Europeam, many *kampongers* are

afraid to report this incident. They only complain to their neighbors, and said that the Dutch can do everything they want. If those who carry out this are Javanese, they will immediately be questioned. This complaint does not mean anything because only the neighbors hear it and City council did not (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 1923).

By the coming of Japan in 1942, the city was fallen to Japanese military government and no longer produce much profit. They convert most cash corps to food corps. Only a few plantations that continues to produce, most of Dutch plantations were convert to supported war effort. For example, Japan order the people to cut coffee and rubber trees and then planting all cleared fields with, cassava, cotton, *jarak*, and *rami*. (Nawiyanto, 2005) Since Japan supply oil has been cut by allied fleet, they use *Jarak* as the source of power for aircraft and other military equipment. Japan also taking most of man power - which formerly works in plantation fields, to work at front line. The living condition in this period deteriorated since jobs on plantation disappear, farmers forced to deliver large quantities of rice, and many rural people were recruited as slave labor (*Romusha*). These specific difficulties were deteriorated the general problem of an economy such as hyperinflation and continues after the war. The independence does not immediately bring a positive climate for plantations. Security disturbance, the Dutch sea blockade and the scarcity of technical personnel, as well as plantation fields that largely have been turned into food crops have caused the plantations could not be reactivate.

DECONSTRUCTION AND RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

After Recognition of Independence on December 27, 1949, the city administration were transferred from RECOMBA (*Regeering commissaries van Bestuur Administratie*) or Commissioner of Civil Administration to Kotapraja Malang. At that time, the unstable financial system, the absence of direct investment, security disturbance and most of the plantations are still in Dutch hands creating a complicated problem for the city. Municipal government is not capable of encountering this financial difficulties, only a little money is available for reconstruction and rehabilitation of post war city. A number of available funds of Rp.8,000,000, allocated for the construction of new buildings and not for maintaining public facilities They used this tiny budget only for construction of government offices,

police headquarters, financial bureau, state prisons and other office buildings. There has been no allocation of funds for the repair of sewer and roads. This situation figured out on the local newspaper as follows:

If people walk along Kidul Pasar, Klenteng, Kebalen or Kebalen wetan, then people must be caution because of hollow street. Moreover, if someone ride a pedicab through the Kebalen road and Kebalen wetan that will cause uncomfortable on your stomach because of it is damaged road. The Municipal have no respond anyway. They covered the hollow road with soil. It only fixes the problem for a short time. It should be done with proper material such as asphalt. When rain come, the damage on surface became worse so that it increases the risk of traffic accidents. This has been protested by pedicab drivers because bad roads condition not only find in Kidul Pasar and Kebalen but also in Sawahan, Embong Arab, Tongan, Blakang loji (*Pewarta Soerabaia*, 1954a).

By August 1954, 40% of road condition in the City of Malang were badly damaged and many others are completely destroyed. Large scale and total improvement is impossible, considering Municipal the provincial government only provides 100 tons of asphalt. In fact, it need at least 180 ton of asphalt for total and complete road improvement (*Terompet Masyarakat*, 1954). This physical condition became worse after the roads has full of street vendors. Law enforcing was carried out by Municipal in the street by relocated more and less 60 street vendors that selling their merchant in restricted area (*Djualan di Djalan*, 1952). According to the residents living along the Chinatown road, compared to the pre-war era, the number of street traders is increasing. Not the slightest space left in front of the store (*Pewarta Soerabaia*, 1954b).

At the same time, Municipal also controlled illegal huts which are set up without a legal permit, around the Jagalan road on 13 November 1951. Some of migrant moved to one of the many existing kampong, other created new kampong by squatting on vacant land. One reason for this closure was that squatter setting to bad scene on the city. Many of the illegal houses stood around the Jagalan Tram Station (*Djava Pos*, 1951). On the streets of Pecinan, Pecinan Cilik and Kayutangan, homeless were found and often left garbage, and dirt that spreads bad smells. Every morning the shop owners had to flush and clean their shop yard. These shop owners often ask the municipality to solve this problem (*Djava Pos*, 1952a). In 1954, the city government planned to destroy 150 huts that stood without per-

mission. As compensation they were relocation to an area in Mergosono, Lowokwaru, Kutobedah and Sanan. ("150 buildings according to the plan were demolished" (*Djava Pos*, 1954). In the same year, the police have arrested approximately 200 homeless. Some of them were detained while others were sent back to their home in Banyuwangi (*Arrest of Bubungan Persons*, 1954). Clearing of squatters continued in December 1954, particularly in Kampung Klojen and Glintung (Penghancuran Gubuk, *Djava Pos*, 1955). In January 1957, in Samaan the police prevented many homeless that tried to set up their hut in open area. The police found there were 33 huts standing in illegal housings. According to Wibowo (1983) on Reerink (2014) The process of land occupation was as typical of countries in Southeast Asia and unlike the large scale invasion of vacant land common in South America. First a small number of squatters occupied the land to know whether the owner complained of this situation or not. If they are not warned, then they take their relatives to do so. Sometimes they needed approval or protection from an (informal) community leader before they could do so. This form of social screening meant that the growth of these settlement was incremental, a pre requisite for the survival of the community. Migration of people at same time would probably have led to disputes about scarce means of livelihood.

Another problem in this city is prostitution. Some informants said that the majority of them came from broken homes. There are also men who actually encourage women who just divorced to become prostitutes. In many cases, there are husband that told his wife to be a prostitute. Most of this a prostitute were find walking around Kebalen Wetan and Kotalama streets (*Pewarta Soerabaia*, 1954a). The cases of prostitution have been widely found since the Dutch colonial era. From the early 1917, local Malays Newspaper *Tjahaja Timoer* has report that many prostitute teased "customer" in Kebalen, Kotalama and Jodipan (Hudiyanto, 2011). As a profitable business and having a lot of demand, prostitution is difficult to handle. Ingelson mention this activity as "necessary evil". One reason that explained why this bossiness flourish is the growth of capitalism. Since the service and industry-based urban economy has grown rapidly, accompanied by strong demographic pressures, the level of competition for living has become heavier. The urban glamor life has created a new lifestyle that cost a lot of money. Some people - particularly who lived in slum area, were disoriented and marginalized. They easily plug in to crime world because of the harsh

condition (Ingelson, 1986).

High rate of crime, and prostitution which were committed by disorganized people, is not the only urban problem that rose in the early 1950. The roots of this social disorganized is urbanization. In June 1954, total population of the city has reached 279.562 inhabitants (*Malang Pos*, 1952). Along with the sharp increase in population, the problem of waste disposal become severe. Problem of disposal is important because it has given the effect to health issues. According from the information from the Sanitary Department of Kotrapraja Malang, people of the city produce around 340 cubic meters which finally dispensed in Gadang. The conditions of the city in the 1950s were not as clean as that in 1942. With 480 cleaning service, 8 units of trucks, 53 animals to collect the trash box, and 50 carts, the cleanliness of city was completely good maintained. All this cleaning equipment and personnel are used to clean the area of Kampung Klojen, Oro Dowo, Tumenggungan and Kidul Pasar. After all, cleanliness of the city not only determined by the available of equipment and power, but also the character of its people. In 1942, the discipline of people in the city was strictly maintained and inculcated, due to strict law enforcement. Most of people at that time were conscious to the important of healthy environment (*Malang Pos*, 1952). Despite of those two reason which has been source of problem, there are more source of uncleanliness city. Firstly, the increase in population rate is not equal to the number of cleaning service and its equipment. They were only 413 cleaning service left after the war, meanwhile the number of truck and trash box decrease sharply. Most of this equipment area was out of order, so that these equipment was no longer usable. It is getting worse since people do not throw garbage in the trash. In one case, someone tries get water for their home by digging up sewer that were properties of municipal (*Djava Pos*, 1953). Every day, people find information in newspaper about a pile of garbage on the side of road that smells bad. This condition is deteriorated with the presence of people take a pee in particular corner of the down town (*Djava Pos*, 1952). Until 1964, this condition had not going better because of limited equipment. The Sanitary Department only has 6 trucks, 2 hand-carts, 50 bicycles and 40 small carts meanwhile the volume of waste increased from 880 cubic meters in 1952 to 1400 cubic meters in 1964.

The description above illustrates the effect of capitalism on the condition of the city. The low rate of foreign investment after Nationalization Dutch company on 1958 has resulted in reduced produc-

tivity and competitiveness of plantation companies and this has an impact on the cost of maintaining city cleanliness. Since the converting of former Dutch plantation to agriculture fields to support war effort during the Japanese Military Government, and following by the outbreak of the Indonesian revolution, plantations have no longer contributed to the prosperity of the city resulting in urban involution. Population growth is not accompanied by the economic sector growth. This population pressure has a wide impact, both on environmental health, social order and crime rates.

After the recognition of independent in 1949, the city has not shown the spirit of decolonization. The most visible consequence of the political and economic decolonization in the cities like Malang was the exodus of European people. Even so, the influence of colonialism on cities still continued until 1955. According to Colombijn, even though the colonial authorities had left Indonesia in 1950, the pattern of space segregation created by the Dutch colonial government was continued by the Republican government. The weakness of the Indonesian economy after the recognition of sovereignty has resulted government unable to print a model of the Indonesian city. Lack of budget for building construction and urban planning was the reason for Municipal continuing the segregation form of the colonial city. (Colombijn, 2010). The nationalization of Dutch enterprises in 1957-58, forced the Dutch to leave the country. They had no option than to simply give or to sold their houses, which were later being owned by government official and the military. Often these houses were later sold to well-to do Chinese because of very expensive tax-house.

After the political turmoil in 1966, General Soeharto took the power and removed all supporter of Communism. Two year after transfer of power, President Soeharto launched REPELITA (Five years of development Plan). First REPELITA give priorities to agrarian sector, particularly achieved *swa sembada pangan*. (self-sufficiency on foodstuff). This policy made construction of infrastructure program that had been running from 1953 to 1957 paused. Only a few building was constructed in 1955 to 1956, mostly for educational facilities.

Malang has continued to be an educational center in East Java. In order to support this function, building were constructed such as, the building of Islam University in Malang (1961), Institute of Teacher Training and Education (1954) and Brawidjaja University (1957). Construction of housing for civil servant, and lecturer come after

the completion main complex of University. The Public works service designed these housing complex and its street pattern according their pre-war Dutch urban design one. It can be seen from the similarity of landscape between Housing area around IKIP Malang and former European housing in *Bergenbuurt* (Colombijn, 2010).

In the political sphere, the Local Parliament of Malang City (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Gotong Royong) Malang supporting Indonesianization and the spirit of eradicating all forms of communist teachings. The New Order policy which initially focused on agriculture changed direction to industrialization 1980. Following the successful in building industry in mid-late 1980s, some of the symbols of capitalism began to emerge. Example of symbol that represent the triumph of capitalism are SARI-NAH Department Store, MITRA I, MITRA II and Gadjah Mada. This new shopping center attracts residents of cities around Malang such as Blitar, Turen, Kepanjen, and Batu to visit Malang. In 2009, giant shopping center was built in former *Arjuna Park*, spacious garden south of Football Stadium. Municipal government of Malang hope that this modern hypermart will invite investors to save their capital business while complementing shopping and entertainment facilities that will meet the needs of the middle class in this city. The existence of the mall will increase the opportunity to increase tax revenues, public transportation, rental rooms and parking. Not many people know that increasing of the modern market has resulted in a reduction in the number of open space and disorientation of regional arrangements. The development of the shopping area has impacted on the demolition of several *heritage* buildings that represent colonial culture. The demolition of *zweembad* (the first swimming pool in Malang) has added list of destroyed colonial building after Societeit Concordia, Cinema Grand, Pasar Besar and Hotel Mabes, etc. In overall process, the demolition process until continues until today. Mumford mention this place as process toward necropolis. In one sense, indeed, the city of the dead is the forerunner, almost the core, of every living city. Urban life spans the historic space between the earliest burial ground for dawn man and the final cemetery, the Necropolis, in which one civilization after another has met its end (Hudiyanto, 2011). In Malang the modern world represented by 21 century civilization has crash the colonial-*Indisch* culture. Only 10% from all houses in *Ijen Bouleverad* that keep intact, the rest has been totally changed by a new one. The balance between economic interests and conservation is indeed not

easy to achieve because economic orientation is always considered more important than cultural orientation.

CONCLUSION

In the first half of nineteenth century, monetization in the upper Java runs very fast along with the formation of western capital incursion. Tax collection which was originally only for agricultural activities has expanded to other business sectors. This work has become increasingly intense with the implementation of decentralization. The urbanization and demographical pressure made urban space no longer available for human living. Meanwhile, municipal government tried to cope this problem by applying registration for resident, occupation, and followed by tax intensification. The modernization of the city which took place in the first quarter of the twentieth century hopefully will push to people to a more well-organized, hygienic and well-ordered urban society. However, urban space that has been built only for the European has engulf the social tension between a different race in the city. This tension has been spark in to conflict when Japan took the power from Dutch in 1942

From the point of urban administration, modernization expands the coverage of taxation. Since decentralization in 1914, it has put the economic responsibility is no longer in central Government but to local government, levies has been executed in almost all sectors of business and life. In the other hand, according to many cases in Malang, the modernization of the city was not followed by changing character and habit among most of city residents. Mentality and habit of the people in the city remain the same. The condition of the post-war city showed that many facilities that were built during the Dutch colonial period having damage caused by both war-effect and neglected by the absent of fund. On the other hand, the consistency in land-use regulations is getting weaker in this period, proved by high rate of crime, demographic pressure and incapability of City Government in preventing illegal occupation. It made the modernization of the city – that hopefully started again after the independence, come to stalemate and even decline. After stopping for a while, modernization continued until 1956 when the old order tried to build facilities for high education in Malang.

After New Order has succeed to increase economic growth and the national welfare in 1983, large trade-center and supermarket buildings were built in almost every city in Java. Supporting by big retail company, city has growth with its own life

style representing the successful economic that reach its peak on 1985, has boosted the growth of the property sector. Many open space in the city – that previously functioned as garden and water catch area, being converted to be a big central-trade. The demand over new architecture building became uncontrolled. Since the space became scarce, most heritage building become easy target for “modernization”. Is this an attempt to prevent the city from necrosis into a metropolis? Considering that some people still have mindset that sees heritage buildings as “an old and unusable building” then it must be totally removed and rebuild with a new style. It can be concluded that efforts to prevent necropolis cities are just economic interests. This still raises the unanswered question which is very important to be used as the theme of the next researcher. In this case, most people in the city only look this problem form economic perspectives, not cultural one. In the further research, the central issues must be on how to spread the idea of cultural resources as economic solution so that the heritage building does not become the victim of progression.

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