

PROBLEMS OF URBANISATION IN INDONESIA : TAKING  
DJAKARTA AS A CASE STUDY

Jitendra Nath Shatta

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\* These should be read as "Figure" instead of "Map".

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## PREFACE

This dissertation deals with the urbanisation problems of Indonesia with special reference to Djakarta - the capital. Despite the dearth of data on the urban areas of Indonesia, this study was undertaken with a view to examine and analyse the process of urbanisation which has taken place during the last few decades in the largest country of Southeast Asia.

This dissertation is in partial fulfillment of the M.Phil degree requirement. The M.Phil requirements are the courses covering 24 credits and the dissertation submitted here covers only 6 credits. This further explains the introductory nature of the work. Because of the heavy course work towards M.Phil degree, sufficient time could not be devoted to this work. Therefore, it may be treated as a preliminary study which could be dealt in greater detail at the Ph.D. level.

Although several persons helped me in the preparation of this work, my indebtedness is great to Dr. R.C. Sharma, Associate Professor of Political Geography, who guided me right from the beginning. But I cannot forget the generous attitude taken by Dr. Vishal Singh, Head of the Southeast Asian Division, who generously did every thing in his hands to lighten the burden of my official work under him. Several

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(J.N. IMAPPA)

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## INTRODUCTION

The Republic of Indonesia has a population of 119 million (1971). It has more than doubled in fifty years time since 1920, but the country's urban population has grown at a faster rate, specially after the World War Second. The proportion of urban population which was only 5.8% in 1920, it rose to 7.5% in 1930 and shot up to 15.5% in 1961. While the growth of total population was only 60% during the 1930-61 period, the urban population increased by as much as 232%. This urban growth without any proper planning has created many complicated urban problems in Indonesia.

There has been a marked shift from rural to urban population and this has resulted in concentration of about 64% of the urbanites in 23 urban agglomerations having more than 100,000 population (1961). A bulk of this population resides in three million-cities like Djakarta, Surabaya and Bandung.

Djakarta - the capital - recorded 4.5 million urbanites in 1971. It is the main metropolitan area and harbour of the country. Its predominance in administration, political power, trade and commerce and industries is unparalleled in the country.

As Djakarta performs many functions, it is worthwhile to study some of its socio-economic problems with greater emphasis on its demographic and geographic characteristics.



The present study is based on primary and secondary sources made available by the office of the Governor of Greater Djakarta and various foreign publications. Moreover, a wealth of data were collected by the present writer during his 16 years stay in Djakarta with frequent tours to other regions of the country.

The study could not be made exhaustive in the absence of complete data. There were few censuses during the Dutch period. The only census which covered most of the islands was for that of 1930. The first census of independent Indonesia was conducted in 1961. But due to the economic chaos and political upheavals, the data could not be processed and published in the final form. The only report made available was for that of Greater Djakarta. This was another incentive which has encouraged to choose Djakarta for the present study. The study was further handicapped because there were no data available for other cities of Indonesia.

The present study has been divided into the following chapters i.e. (1) Geographic Setting: It deals with the physiography, climate, natural resources, agriculture, industries and transportation, (2) Population Growth and Its Main Characteristics: It covers population growth, rate of growth, population distribution, age and sex pattern, labour force and economic activity, (3) Growth of Urban population: This chapter covers the growth of urban population, its distribution by islands, rank of different

during different periods and some special urban characteristics found in different islands, (4) Some Urban Population Characteristics as Revealed by Djakarta:

This chapter deals with the historical background of Djakarta, growth of population in general and by sub-district, vital rates, size and pattern of migration, sex and age composition, dependency ratio, labour force and economic activity, and (5) Some Socio-Economic Problems of Djakarta and Development Plans: Some social and economic problems like slum, squatter and housing, problems of water, electricity and disposal of rubbish and transportation have been covered in this chapter. A brief description of the development plans has also been given in it.

Doubtless this study has many limitations e.g. it is difficult to analyse the 1971 census data which are not yet available in India, and the difficulty to go to Indonesia for a field work which would have enabled to collect more data and information.

## Chapter I

### GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

## Chapter I

### GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Indonesia, extending from latitudes  $6^{\circ}$  N to  $11^{\circ}$  S and longitudes  $95^{\circ}$  to  $141^{\circ}$  E, is a giant among the Southeast Asian countries as regards area, population and natural resources. With its population of 119 million in 1971, it ranked fifth largest country of the world.

Geographically, the country enjoys many potential advantages as it forms a discontinuous bridge between Asia and Australia. It is situated on direct sea route between India and the Far East. Consequently, Java and Sumatra have received deep and frequent cultural contacts and commercial benefits from the world outside.

This vast archipelago has thousands of named and unnamed islands whose size generally decreases from north-west to south-east, with the exception of Irian Jaya (West New Guinea). The four largest islands Kalimantan (Borneo), Sumatra, Sulawesi (Celebes) and Java are known as Greater Sundas. Those extending from Bali to Timor, including the Moluccas are called Lesser Sundas. However, the northern one-third of Kalimantan, parts of Timor and eastern half of New Guinea do not form parts of Indonesia.

Economically, Sumatra and Java are the most important units. Java stands out as the most favoured island for human settlement containing 65% of the nation's population on less than one-tenth area. Other islands having large areas but

less population are either far off from the main sea route or have inhospitable coasts or too rugged relief, infertile soils and adverse climate.

The islands situated in the western part are linked together by Sunda Shelf and those in the extreme east by Sahul Shelf. Between these two areas lies geologically the most unstable group of islands. They have recently emerged above the surface of deep sea. Sulawesi is the main island of this group.

Recent volcanic activities dominate the landscape of the whole archipelago, specially in Java, Bali and parts of Sumatra. Java's rare soil fertility and the resulting rice culture with very high population density depends mainly on the chemical composition of the volcanic deposits. The physiographic features (Map 1) of the main islands are described below in brief. For this purpose the islands have been grouped into West Indonesia including Sumatra, Java and Kalimantan and East Indonesia including Sulawesi, the Maluccas, Bali, Lombok and Irian Jaya.

#### A) West Indonesia

**SUMATRA:** This island is about 1,776 kilometres long surrounded by many minor islands like Nias and Seribut on the West and Riau, Lingga, Bengka and Belitung on the east. It covers an area of 524,000 square kilometres or 25% of the country. The relief is dominated by Bukit Range on the

whole of western coast uninterruptedly from Aceh in the north to the Sunda Straits in the south. The Bukit Range forms the watershed and all the major rivers like Kampa, Indragiri, Musi and Batanghari flow to the Malacca Straits.

While the western coasts are seldom wider than 19 kilometres, the alluvial plains towards the east are extensive and occupy almost two-thirds of the islands' east of the great mountain chain. There are extensive swamps in this region. At places these extend 240 kilometres inland. Swamps, mountains and tropical forests are great obstacles to human settlement and transportation lines. Economically the eastern plains and islands are most important for the country's life giving assets as petroleum, tin, bauxite and plantation industries are located here. These industries yield almost 80% of the nation's export earnings.

**JAVA:** The island stretches from east to west for more than 960 kilometres with varying widths of 96 to 192 kilometres. Java's central position, among the Greater Sunda islands, has great bearing for its preeminence since ancient times.

From south to north the physiographic features of the island are as follows: a) South Coast Limestone Platform, b) the Medial Ridge and Valley of disturbed sedimentary rocks, c) Volcanic Axis, d) a Crest of Alluvials on the whole length and e) North Coast Limestone Platform of Sumbawa and Madura.

Volcanoes dominate Java's landscape. So far 121 volcanic cones have been recorded. About half of these reach

2,000 to 3,000 meters height above sea level. "In few parts of the earth structural weaknesses and lava flows are crowded together in such a profusion".<sup>(1)</sup> Fortunately most of the ejected lava and ash are basic in character. Therefore the resulting soils are examples of extreme fertility.

Java has extraordinary dense human settlement having all the major urban centres of Indonesia. Since historical times the island was important due to its central location with transitional climate, gentle relief allowing easy transport and irrigation system, rich soil and smooth coasts on a busy sea route.

**KALIMANTAN:** Indonesian part of Borneo is called Kalimantan. It is the most massive and compact island with a tropical rain forest cover. Around three-fourths of the island's surface is below 300 meters. Only few peaks exceed 1,800 meters. Volcanic activities are practically absent. Except in few places like North-West and South-East, the soils are infertile. The watershed runs from the mid-highlands to the north-eastern part extending to West Malaysian part of Sabah. Large rivers like Barito and Mahakan provide routes to the interior.

Tertiary deposits cover almost two-thirds of the island having coal and oil bearing strata towards the north-eastern coasts.

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(1) E.H.C. Dobby, "Southeast Asia", University of London, 1967, p.218.

Kalimantan's off the route situation, dull uniform climate with low sunshine, infertile soils, absence of large mineral deposits and bold mountainous compactness added with tropical forests are some of the causes of its isolation, under development and low level of civilization. It is no wonder that although it occupies one-third of the country's area, it had less than 5% population.

#### B) East Indonesia

SULAWESI: This island is most rugged region with a very whimsical insect like outline. Fractures, deep rift valleys and other features indicate great upheavals in the island's geological past. Volcanoes are dormant except Mt. Soputan in Minahasa.

Good harbours are absent because of rocky coasts and high cliffs. Rivers are large in water volume but are of very young nature.

Except few patches in the south-west and extreme north-east, the soils are not fertile. They are subject to intense bleaching under high temperature and rainfall. Most of the area belong to upland of over 450 meters. The known minerals are gold, silver, nickel and iron found in lesser quantities. All the important urban centres of the island are located in the south-western and north-eastern peninsulas where the soils are fertile.



Including Sulawesi, this region is situated in the east of Wallace's line (Map 2) which demarcates "Asian" and "Australian" zones based on biological considerations. There are hundreds of islands in this region. But except Bali, famous for its colourful culture and intensive agriculture, and Irian Jaya, well known for its largeness and primitive population, all the units are small and unimportant economically. In fact these islands were in contact with the Australian Continental Shelf.

Some of the main islands of this group, besides Bali and Irian Jaya are: Lombok, Sumbawa, Sumba, Flores, Tanimbar, Aru and Timor in the southern part and Halmahera, Sula, Buru and Seram in the northern part.

Irian Jaya is the western half of the world's second largest island New Guinea. It covers 422,000 kilometers or 22% of the country's area with less than one million population.

The island is characterised by high mountains with snow covered peaks. Vast belts of swamps cover the southeastern part of the island. In its northwestern section coal, nickel, copper and petroleum have been discovered but only marginally exploited.

The physiography of the archipelago is characterised by numerous rivers and rugged hilly areas as well as volcanic fertile plains which are responsible for very high population density and major economic activities in Indonesia.

Climate: The climate of Indonesia is basically equatorial. But as the latitudinal range of the country is from

<sup>o</sup> 6 N to <sup>o</sup> 11 S, there are distinct climatic variations despite great homogeneity.

The winds blowing in January and February are almost from west and northeast and in July and August from east and southeast. These result in the North East Trades and the Southeast Trades over the archipelago (Map 3).<sup>(2)</sup> The air mass operating over the islands is characterised by high temperature and humidity but sweltering temperatures are rare due to the surrounding seas. All through the year the temperatures generally oscillate between <sup>o</sup> 26 and <sup>o</sup> 28 C. The coolest month of Djakarta shows <sup>o</sup> 25.5 C in January but the highest temperature does not exceed <sup>o</sup> 26.1 C in May.

The region gets highest and most regular rainfall of the world (Map 4). The variety of country's scenery and mode of life is closely related to the amount and trends of rainfall. In general most of the country receives heavy rainfall of about 2000 mm, with two well marked peaks in April and November. Djakarta gets an annual rainfall of 1500 mm near the northern coasts and about 3,500 mm in the extreme southeastern part (Map 5).<sup>(3)</sup> The average annual is around 1760 mm. Although in the whole of country there is no dry period, such months are not uncommon in the metropolis in between the above

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(2) Charles Robequain, "Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo, and the Philippines", Longmans Green & Co., (London, 1964), p.27.

(3) I Made Sandy, "Climate of West Java and Djakarta", (BAINAS, 1968), p.2.

(4)

two peaks of rainfall.

Rainfall is less towards the southeastern part of the archipelago where the Australian influence dominates. Such places do not favour human settlement.

### Economy

The Indonesian economy broadly comes under three categories i.e. (1) large scale capitalistic undertakings such as plantation, mining and manufacturing, (2) small scale rural industries organised on family or cooperative lines and (3) indigenous agriculture. Large scale industries mostly produce export commodities. Although some effort was made through planning to reshape the economic structure, nothing could be materialised due to political and economic instability. The present modest 5-year plan was started in 1969 and is showing some concrete results. At present many foreign companies are investing considerable amount of capital in petroleum, timber and manufacturing industries. But most of the manufacturing projects tend to concentrate in Djakarta and surrounding areas because of the numerous facilities available here as a consequence of highly centralised government. This has further added to the problems of urbanisation in Indonesia.

At the time of Japanese occupation, revolution and the Dutch intervention to reoccupy the islands, the country's

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(4) "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia 1963", p.6

economy witnessed a gloomy period (1941-49). Many urban centres were destroyed or abandoned. The Japanese suppression in the rural areas brought many thousands of peasants to the larger urban centres. After the Indonesian independence also the unrest continued in the countryside which caused considerable migration to the cities, specially to the capital - Djakarta.

#### A) Agriculture and Food Production

Indonesia is basically an agricultural country in which around 72% of the labour force is engaged (Map 6). Food crops occupy some three-times the hectarage devoted to export crops like rubber, palm oil, coffee, tea and tobacco.

Although the country was self-sufficient during the past, now it has to import food grains. The import of rice reached the peak of 1.8 million tons in 1964.<sup>(5)</sup> This dependence is on decline now but still half of the above quantity is imported every year.

As Java supports one of the densest agricultural population of the world, some of the salient features of its agriculture are worth mentioning separately.

I. Java The island's soil fertility and the resulting density are the outstanding features of its agriculture. Although

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(5) "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia: 1969", p.232.

on subsistence level, it feeds two-thirds of the nation's population. Since ancient times the Javanese are practising wet paddy cultivation. The system was further intensified with the Dutch experience in irrigation. Paddy, sugarcane and various plantations have occupied almost 80% of the island's area causing serious problems of soil erosion and floods. Land holdings have reduced to less than one hectare per family in the central and eastern parts of the island. The agricultural census of 1963 revealed that one-fifth of all the (6) holdings had reduced to tiny patches of less than 0.1 Ha. The average farm-land was found to be only 0.6 Ha. in the Special Area of Jogjakarta. The following table gives an idea regarding the increase in the total cultivated area of Java. This expansion had been possible due to the extension of irrigation system, reclamation of land and introduction dry land cultivation:

Table 1

AREA UNDER PRINCIPAL CROPS IN JAVA  
(Million of Hactares: 1939-68)

	<u>1939</u>	<u>1968</u>
Irrigated Paddy	3.6	3.7
Dry Paddy	0.3	0.4
Maize	2.0	2.3
Cassava	0.9	1.2
Sweet Potatoes	0.2	0.2
Pea nuts	0.2	0.3
Soyabean	0.4	0.5

Source: Statistical Pocket Book of  
Indonesia, 1968-69, p.126.

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(6) "Agricultural Census of Indonesia 1963", Central Bureau of Statistics, Indonesia, 1965, p.4.

The above data attest to the overall importance of paddy culture and maize cultivation in the country. The production of all the crops given in the table increased from 24 to 29 million tons during the 1939-68 period. This increase was nominal compared to population growth in the island which is doubling after every 25 to 30 years.

Coconuts, sugarcane, tobacco, kapok, coffee and pepper occupy around one million hectares of Java's cultivable land. Sugarcane and tobacco are generally sown in rotation with paddy. During the pre-war periods, Java sugar had occupied an important place in the world market with an annual production of around 1.4 million tons. (7) But the production considerably declined afterwards due to the pressure on land for food crops. Paddy hectareage has increased by 160,000 Ha. since 1939 mostly at the expense of sugar. (8)

II. Outer Islands The situation outside Java is quite different as a result of sparse population and low level of soil fertility. Vast lands are virtually empty. In many regencies (9) hardly 1% to 6% land is under cultivation whereas

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(7) "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia 1963", pp.66-68.

(8) Quarterly Economic Review, Indonesia Supplement - 1973, p.10.

(9) A regency (Kabupaten) of Indonesia is equivalent to a commissioner of India. Their areas are smaller in Java but larger outside it.

in Java's 37 regencies, 50% to 80% of the land is under cultivation. No where land hunger is found except in few patches of high densities like Aceh Plain in North Sumatra, West Sumatra, Bali, areas around Bandjarmasin in Kalimantan and South-western part of Sulawesi. Only in these areas wet paddy cultivation is practised. The majority of the population depends on shifting or ladang culture. In these ladang rice and maize are grown.

There is hardly a family in these islands without land ownership. Landless peasant problem is yet to come. Thus there is an acute labour shortage in the estates and mining enterprises. Sumatra's age-old labour shortage and abundance of land has attracted millions of Javanese workers and agricultural settlers. In some rural as well as urban localities these migrants now out-number the indigenous population causing social conflicts.

Areas around Medan in North Sumatra are well known for their plantation industries like tobacco, rubber and palm oil. In 1963 there was a total of 1,200 estates covering around 1.1 million hectares of land outside Java. <sup>(10)</sup> Of these, a large number was concentrated in North Sumatra. Prior to the 1930s, Java monopolised the export crops. In the late thirties this hold was broken and now Sumatra surpasses all other islands put together in export crops. Some estates are found in North West Kalimantan also.

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(10) "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia: 1963", p.279.

Labour shortage prohibits varieties in estate crops in these islands. Rubber and palm-oil account for 65% and 15% of the total area under estates. Now many indigenous people of Sumatra are engaged in rubber cultivation on their small holdings. Rubber production on these holdings now exceeds those of estates. At the time of war and revolution, many estates were destroyed, neglected and/or occupied by landless labourers causing serious damage to the industry.

Although recent data are not available, Table 2 gives idea about the cultivation of different crops in the outer islands:

**Table 2**  
AREAS UNDER DIFFERENT CROPS IN OUTER ISLANDS: 1962  
(1000 Hactares)

	<u>Sumatra</u>	<u>Sulawesi</u>	<u>Kalimantan</u>	<u>Others</u>
Paddy (Wet/dry)	1,440	632	661	452
Maize	85	398	19	289
Cassava	80	78	33	80
Sweet Potato	49	40	5	99
Pea nuts	24	26	2	26
Soyabean	2	8	3	48

Source: "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia: 1963", p.69.

#### B) Other Sources of Food:

The main source of protein in the Indonesia diet is fish. Although some of the eastern islands like Madura, Bali



Flores and Sumba have developed moderately good stocks of cattle, horses and pigs - ordinary man cannot consume meat on account of low standards of living. While the number of larger cattle has increased from 7.4 million in 1940 to only 7.8 in 1970-71, sheep and pig population has more than doubled i.e. from 2.7 million to 6.4.

Fish play an important role in people's diet. The fish output has increased from 462,000 tons in 1940 to 1,200,000 in 1970.<sup>(11)</sup> But it is still below the actual requirements of a people surrounded by sea. Two-thirds of the fish products come from the sea. While Sumatra surpasses all others in sea products, Kalimantan leads in inland fish production. In Java fish ponds and flooded paddy fields are used for this purpose.

### C) Export Commodities

The export commodities of Indonesia can be put into two broad categories i.e. (1) cash crops and forest products, and (2) mining products.

Till recently rubber surpassed all other cash crops like palm oil, tobacco, tea, coffee and copra. But in 1972 timber outpaced it by acquiring second position in export earnings. At present many Japanese, Filipino and Singapore companies are engaged in timber exploitation. The main

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(11) "Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia: 1957", p.78 and "Quarterly Economic Review, Indonesia Supplement, 1973", p.11.

concentration of this enterprise is in East Kalimantan with very little human habitation. It is likely that soon timber and related industries will develop creating new urban centres.

Most of the rubber estates and small holder rubber production of Indonesia is carried out in North Sumatra and North West Kalimantan (Map 6). Few estates are found in Java also. But at present the production on small holdings surpasses those of estates. The second largest city of Sumatra and the fifth of Indonesia - Medan - is wholly a creation of plantation industry. Table 3 shows the export earnings from timber, rubber and palm-oil.

Table 3

EXPORT EARNINGS FROM TIMBER, RUBBER  
AND PALM OIL: 1971-73

(Millions of U.S. \$)

	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u> (till June)
Timber	169	230	207
Rubber	223	196	139
Palm Oil	46	42	21

Source: Quarterly Economic Review, Indonesia Supplement 1973, p.7.

Table 4

ESTATE AND SMALL HOLDER RUBBER PRODUCTION:  
1968-71 ('000 of tons)

	<u>1968</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>
Estate	206	241	239
Small holder	546	537	572

Source: Rubber Statistical Bulletin and Quarterly Economic Review, Ibid., p.7.

D) Mining

The tertiary deposits of Indonesia are well known owing to their oil bearing strata and coal measures. Oil and coal frequently occur in the piedmonts lying on the plains east of the Barisan Ranges. The northern alluvial belt of Java has also oil bearing strata. Besides oil, tin is also an important mineral which is found in the islands off the coast of East Sumatra. These islands straddle the "Asian Tin Belt". Bangka and Billiton islands have rich alluvial tin deposits. These deposits are partially in the sea - hence locally known as "sea tin".

Although agriculture, forestry and fisheries account for 47% of the Gross Domestic Products, mining, including petroleum products, plays a vital role in Indonesia's export sector. By far the most important product in this sector is petroleum which earns nearly two-thirds of country's foreign exchange. At present Tin is the second largest mining product but earns only 5% of all the export earnings.

Indonesia's petroleum resources surpass all other Asian countries excluding West Asia and communist countries. It produces nearly 2% of the world oil at present and possesses an equal share or around 10.7 billion barrels of the known world reserves. <sup>(12)</sup> In 1971

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(12) Roger Vielvoya, "Oil Plan puts Nation Among Top Producers", The Times, 17 August 1973, p. viii.

the crude and its derivatives amounted to 44.8 million tons earning U.S. \$ 549 millions. Recent price hike will further increase oil earnings enabling the government to invest more on social welfare schemes.

Many Indonesian urban centres are indebted to petroleum industry for their existence and rise. The largest among them are oil towns of Palembang (474,971 in 1961), Pekanbaru (70,800) and Palaju (50,000) in Sumatra and Balikpapan (91,700), Samarinda (69,700) and Tarakan (3,145) in East Kalimantan. The rise of Pekanbaru is striking as it was a small place in 1930 with only few thousand people.

A bulk of the Indonesian oil is produced by Caltex whereas the state oil company PETAMINA dominates the overall business deals. The following figures give the production of crude oil in Indonesia:

Table 5

CRUDE OIL PRODUCTION : 1940-71  
(million tons)

1940	7.9
1955	11.7
1960	20.6
1965	27.9
1970	42.1
1971	43.8

Source: Statistical Pocket Book of Indonesia 1963 to 1969 and Quarterly Economic Review. Ibid., 1973, p.12.

Besides tin, the country has some amounts of bauxite, coal, gold, silver, copper, manganese, phosphate, sulphur and nickel. The towns of Bangka and Belitung are important tin centres. Map 7 shows the main mineral producing areas of Indonesia.

### E) Manufacturing

Large and small scale industries account only for 10% of the gross domestic products. Small scale industries are important producers of consumer goods for domestic market. Modern industries are engaged in processing of agricultural products. Many factories employ off-season farm labourers to process rice, sugar and topioca.

At present the government encourages joint sector with foreign collaboration. Foreign capital and know-how and political stability has boosted certain spheres of manufacturing industries such as tyre, textiles, yarn, match-box and paper. The production of these goods has increased from 26 to 64 per cent during the 1966-72 period. In 1972, 816 million metres textiles was produced. The present production is considered to be sufficient to meet the current demand.

Cement production has increased in the factories located at Tonasa, Indorug and Griesik. Two more factories

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(13) Asian Research Bulletin, "Brief Survey of Indonesian Textile Industry", August 1, 1973, p.1982.

are under construction at Tjibinong and Baharok. By 1974  
 end the total production is expected to reach 1.75 million  
 (14)  
 tons.

#### F) Transport and Communication

Transport is the main bottleneck in the Indonesian economy. Except Java and small areas of Sumatra, overland transport is greatly restricted on account of difficult terrain, forests and swamps.

Water boat transport remains the most important means of movement. Hundreds of small boats and small ships (361) perform intrasular trade. International trade is carried out by 57 ocean going ships. (15) But these meet only a fraction of the growing demand. Most of the ships are old and many rivers and harbours have become so shallow that they need immediate dredging.

At present there are 7,000 kilometres of railways and 80,000 kilometres of roads in the country. Most of these serve Java and some small patches of Sumatra. A considerable length of these roads are in very bad condition hampering transportation of people and goods.

Airlines play an important role in the archipelago's transport system. At present there is one state and three

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(14) Quarterly Economic Review, Ibid., p.14.

(15) Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 February 1973, p.36.

private sector air service. Almost all the international airlines touch Djakarta's Kemajoran airport. In 1972, 250,000 tourists visited Indonesia of whom a bulk was air born. The main tourist attraction centres are central Java and Bali famous for its colourful culture and religious activities. Denpasar (56,700) of Bali thrives on tourist trade. Maps 8 to 11 show the main cities, roads, and railways of Sumatra, Java, Kalimantan and Sulawesi.

The foregoing description would make it clear that the geographical and geological factors overwhelmingly control the population distribution of Indonesia. Dense population densities and volcanoes, whether dormant or active, are interconnected in a fashion rarely witnessed anywhere else in the world. Mining and plantation industries have given rise to large urban centres sometimes in the heart of forest and swamp areas. Strikingly, these areas show large proportion of population residing in urban localities than those found in the thickly populated areas of Java. While adverse geographical location and land forms have left some islands almost empty, others with favourable location are packed with swarming population. The spectacular growth of Djakarta as a multifunctional capital almost in the central part of the southern rim of the Indonesian islands, Palembang's and Pekanbaru's growth as oil cities, Medan's growth as a plantation city and Makasar's growth as a great entrepot in the east formerly, are some of the finest examples of

geographical control over growth of urban areas. Djakarta's  
Tandjung Priok was one of the best equipped harbour in  
the whole of Asia as early as 1938. (16)

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- (16) Charles A. Fisher, "Southeast Asia: A Social,  
Economic and Political Geography," Methuen & Co.  
(London, 1969), p.304.

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## **Chapter II**

### **POPULATION GROWTH AND ITS MAIN CHARACTERISTICS**

## CHAPTER II

### POPULATION GROWTH AND ITS MAIN CHARACTERISTICS

Indonesia is the fifth most populous nation of the world and with its 119 million population in 1971, it ranked below the United States and ahead of Japan. It is also the largest muslim nation of the world now after the breakup of Pakistan.

There are very little population data available for the earlier periods for the islands outside Java. Therefore, the present discussion deals mainly with the population of Java where about 80 to 90% of the island's people were found in the past. Although the situation has altered to some extent now, the island still dominates the country so far population is concerned.

The population growth in Java was phenomenal during the nineteenth century. In 1815 the population was estimated at only 4.6 million by Raffles. <sup>(1)</sup> Since then it has doubled several times as shown in Table 5.

There are several possible reasons to explain this unusual growth of Java's population. Among the most convincing factors are: its exceptional soil fertility, cultural traits and "Culture System" which required extra hands for forced cultivation for the colonial regime. <sup>(2)</sup> The over

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(1) Tomans Stanford Raffles, "The History of Java", (London, 1817) (Quoted in Widjojo's "Population Trends...", p.4).

(2) Widjojo Nitisastro, Population Trends in Indonesia, (Cornell, 1970), p.4.

Table 5.1

## POPULATION GROWTH IN JAVA : 1815-1971

	(Millions)	P.C. of Total
1815	4.6	N.A.
1845	9.4	N.A.
1880	19.5	N.A.
1920	34.4	71
1961	62.0	65
1971	76.0	64

Source: Census of Netherlands Indies 1930, p.85  
 Census of Indonesia 1961 and Asia  
 Research Bulletin, June 1973, p.980.

crowding of Java is revealed by the fact that it supports 65% population on less than 7% of the country's land area. Since ancient times, Java has been supporting large population as testified by the existence of massive temple complexes of Central Java. (3) By the 8th century, the island had established great inland kingdoms as against small (4) harbour principalities of the outer islands. Two cultural

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(3) Ibid., p. 4.

(4) B. Schrieke, Indonesian Sociological Studies (The Hague, 1967) pp. 299 & 301.

centres of Central Java, i.e. Jogjakarta and Surakarta are the finest examples representing ancient cities of Indonesia.

By 1920 some population figures from the outer islands began to appear in colonial reports. But these data were mainly concerned with the Dutch defence system, administration and areas of exploitation. In 1920, all the outer islands together held around 14 million population, the largest number being in Sumatra (6 million) followed by Sulawesi (3 million) and Kalimantan (1.6 million). As regards concentration of urban centres also, Java surpassed all other islands put together. For instance, while there were 31 urban areas with 20,000 and more population in Java, the outer islands accounted for only 7 in 1920.

Between 1930 and 1961 enumerations, important events like Pacific War, Japanese Occupation (1941-45) and the armed struggle for independence (1945-49) took place. All these have given lasting impressions on Indonesian population history. War casualties and malnutrition had caused very high mortality rates and large scale migration. During all these periods and during the aftermath of communist coup of 1965, Java suffered most because it was the main focus of political activities. The growth of population between 1961 and 1971 was minimum in Central and East Java where the

the maximum number of suspected communists were killed. (5)  
 As a consequence of high mortality rate and economic stagnation, Java which held almost 71% of the country's population in 1920, slid down to only 64% in 1971.

### Growth Rate

There are estimates that at present the Indonesian population is growing at a rate between 2.2 and 2.5 per cent annually. (6) The estimated birth rate ranges between 40 and 45, and death rate between 17 and 22 per thousand. (7) The infant mortality rate was around 84 per thousand during 1964-65. (8) Due to imbalanced sex-ratio and higher literacy rate, the birth rate is probably lower in the urban areas. (9)

As mentioned earlier and as revealed by the intercensal data, the growth rate in Java is lower now than that found for the other islands. For instance, between 1930 and 1961 the total population of Indonesia grew at 60%, the

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(5) Asia Research Bulletin, June 1972, p.980.

(6) Southeast Asian Economy in the 1970s, Asian Development Bank (London, 1971) p.453.

(7) Ibid., p.453.

(8) Ibid., p.62.

(9) Hilde Wanger, Trends and Characteristics of Population Growth in Indonesia (U.N.T.A.O., 1959), pp. 15, 17.

highest rate (91%) being shown by Sumatra and the lowest by Java (51%). Not only the total population, the urban population of Java is also growing at a retarded rate at present. The only exception to this rule were Djakarta and Bandung.

### Population Distribution

Maps 12 & 13 and Tables 6 and 7 clearly display the great contrasts in the population distribution of the archipelago. The mean density of population was 51 to a square kilometre in 1961. But this average is meaningless when Java's dense settlements are compared to vast empty areas outside it. It surpasses almost all the agricultural densities of the world. Java's average density was 477 in 1961. But in certain sub-regencies, located in the central part of the island, the densities even cross the 3000 mark. Table 6 portrays the spatial distribution of population during different periods.

By contrast the giant islands beyond Java are virtually empty. On the whole, on as large an area as nine-tenth, only one-tenth of the Indonesians are residing at present. (10) Outside Java only Bali, small parts of North, West and South Sumatra, Southwest Sulawesi and Southeast

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(10) U.N. Seminar on Population, "Indonesian Population" paper reproduced in 'Economics and Finance in Indonesia, 9(2), February 1956, p.91.

TABLE 6  
 SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION : 1920-61  
 ('000)

Islands	1920		1930		1961	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Java	34,977	70.9	41,718	68.9	62,994	65.5
Sumatra	6,280	12.7	8,255	13.6	15,739	16.3
Kalimantan	1,626	3.3	2,169	3.5	4,101	4.3
Sulawesi	3,108	6.3	4,232	6.9	7,079	7.3
East (1) Indonesia	3,334	6.8	4,353	7.1	7,105	6.6
Indonesia	49,325	100.0	60,727	100.0	97,018	100.0

(1) Excluding the population of Irian Jaya... Preliminary census report of 1971 gives the following population for Java: 76 million, Sumatra 20.8, Kalimantan 5, Sulawesi 8.5 and rest in East Indonesia. Total Indonesia 119.7.

Source: Census of 1930 and 1961, Asia Research Bulletin, June 1972, p.980 and J.N. Bhatta, "A Brief Note"..., 1970, p.10.

Kalimantan show some concentration of population. But except Bali, none compares Java in intensive agriculture and dense population settlements. Table 7 shows the percentage distribution of population on different islands, land area and densities on them in 1961.

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION,  
AREA AND DENSITY (PER KM<sup>2</sup>) BY ISLANDS: 1961

Island	P.C. of Total Population	P.C. of Total Area	Density/Km <sup>2</sup>
Java	65.5	6.9	477.0
Sumatra	16.3	24.9	33.0
Kalimantan	4.3	28.3	7.6
Sulawesi	7.3	9.9	37.0
East Indonesia	6.6	30.0	12.5

Source: Census of 1961 and J.N. Bhatta,  
Ibid., p.10.

The distribution of urban population was also in favour of Java, although the trend is on decline now. In 1961, 66% of the country's urban population i.e. 9.8 millions was found in this island. The country's three million - cities in 1971 i.e. Djakarta and, Surabaya and Bandung are also situated in the island. Of the total 23 urban centres



with 100,000 plus population, thirteen were in Java in 1961. This group of cities accounted for 64% of all the urban population of Indonesia. The present study also revealed that higher degree of urbanism does not necessarily go with high population density as shown by Map 14. Some of the thinly peopled areas of Kalimantan and Sumatra possess proportionately more urban population per regency than thickly populated Java.

#### Age and Sex Pattern

The figures given in Table 8 throw light on how the vital rates were affected during the troubled period of 1940-50. The age group 10-19 born during that period is considerably smaller (16%) than that belonging to 0-9 group (34%). This situation has greatly affected the number of school going population, dependency ratio and labour force. During the early periods of independence there were fewer children going to schools. Afterwards this number considerably increased over-crowding, specially, the schools of large urban areas like Djakarta.

The proportion of working age population (10-65) was slightly higher in Java due to in-migration from other islands. This proportion was even higher in urban areas particularly in Djakarta. Some figures depicting this aspect of the population are given below.

TABLE 8  
POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX : 1961  
(INDONESIA)

Age Group	Male ( '000)	Female ( '000)	Both Sexes	
			No. ( '000)	% of popula- tion
0-4	8,462	8,580	17,042	17.7
5-9	7,683	7,639	15,323	15.9
10-14	4,318	3,861	8,179	8.5
15-19	3,834	3,874	7,708	8.0
20-24	3,452	4,339	7,791	8.1
25-34	7,334	8,542	15,876	16.5
35-44	5,720	5,363	11,083	11.5
45-54	3,559	3,483	7,042	7.3
55-64	1,879	1,850	3,748	3.9
65-74	796	829	1,625	1.7
75 +	378	406	784	0.8
Unknown	60	57	117	0.1
All ages	47,494	48,825	96,319 <sup>(1)</sup>	100.0

(1) Excludes population of Irian Jaya and some other eastern islands.

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, "Population Census" 1% Sample Tabulation, 1963.

PERCENTAGE OF WORK-FORCE (10-65)  
BY AREAS

1961

Djakarta	:	67.2
Total Urban	:	57.6
Total Java	:	56.5
Total Indonesia	:	55.3

Demographically the Indonesian population is considered as young indicated by the presence of large proportion of persons in the 0-14 age group which was 42% of the total in 1961. This ratio is even larger in the outer islands where the birth rate is higher than in Java. Generally the urban areas show slightly smaller proportion in this bracket. The dependency ratio per 100 persons of of the work force was 88.8 for the total and 77.0 for the population of Java.

Labour-force and Economic Activity

Persons between 10 and 65 years of age were treated as labour-force during the 1961 census. There were 64 millions or 54% of the total population in this group. Of these around 2 million or 5.4% were unemployed. Naturally among these, the number of females was larger, specially in the urban areas. If the labour-force participation rate is compared for different

islands, the proportion was found to be the highest (62%) in Kalimantan and lowest (47%) in Sulawesi. In rural areas comparatively more people were active (55%) than in urban areas (47%). This reflects higher dependency ratio in the cities and towns of Indonesia. Around 10% people over 10 years of age in rural areas were attending school and colleges. It is further supported by the fact that 26% of the males and 18% females between ages 10 and 14 were employed in rural areas as against only 8% males and 7% females in urban areas.

The information on economic activity showed that 72% of the total population was engaged in agriculture, forestry and fisheries. The second largest engagement rate was concentrated in the services (9.5%) followed by trade (6.7%) and manufacturing (5.7%). Services accounted for about one-third of all the employment in urban areas. Trade and commerce were the second largest employers. They accounted for 20% and 16% of the work-force respectively. Only one-tenth of the work-force in urban areas was engaged in transportation industry. Table 9 shows the percentage of population employed in different industries in urban and rural areas.

Some other population characteristics like sex-ratio and literacy rate are important aspects which influence migration pattern considerably. In Java there are more females than males. This trend is universal even in urban

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE EMPLOYED IN DIFFERENT INDUSTRIES  
BY URBAN AND RURAL AREAS, INDONESIA: 1961

(Ten years and over)

Economic Activity	Urban	Rural	Total
Agriculture and others	11.7	81.0	71.9
Mining	0.5	0.2	0.3
Manufacturing	15.9	4.1	5.7
Construction	5.9	1.2	1.8
Electricity	0.8	0.1	0.1
Trade	20.5	4.6	6.7
Transportation	9.7	1.0	2.1
Services	33.1	5.9	9.5
Others & Unknown	1.9	1.9	1.9

Source: Population Census, 1961 - One per Cent Sample Tabulation, Djakarta, 1963, p.32.

areas of Java except Djakarta and Bandung. In the outer islands the picture is different.

Literacy rate is higher in Indonesia (47%) as compared to other developing countries. Nearly two-thirds

of those over 10 years were literate in urban areas as against rural areas' only 43%. As expected, the highest literacy rate and higher education are found in Djakarta.

In conclusion it can be said that a very high concentration of population in agricultural sector will ultimately squeeze out a considerable number to the urban areas of Indonesia. As step-migration is not common in the country, the crowding would be in larger urban centres. Migration of females and unskilled and semi-skilled peasants would over-whelm the employment market which of late has got some momentum after a long period of stagnation.

## Chapter III

### GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION

## CHAPTER III

### GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION

Although the urban population of Indonesia is considerably small as compared to western countries, it is growing at a very rapid rate at present. While the country is ahead of Burma, Thailand and Vietnam, it lags behind West Malaysia and the Philippines in urbanisation. Map 15 shows the population and percentage living in urban areas of Southeast Asian countries during the sixties.

The census records of 1920 show only 5.8% of the population living in the urban areas of Indonesia. This proportion rose to 7.5% in 1930 and more than doubled (15.5%) in 1961. The preliminary report of the 1971 census classifies 20% of the population living in urban areas. While the growth of total population was only 23% and 60%, the urban population recorded considerably higher rates of increase i.e. 58% and 232% during the 1920-30 and 1930-61 periods respectively. Table 10 and Figure 16 reveal the growths in urban and total population

Together with the urban population, the number of urban centres also grew considerably in number with the changing conditions and definition of urban areas. Since 1920, a total of 263 urban centres appeared in the urban list of Indonesia. But inclusion and exclusion of many centres was common during all the census. While new centres appeared, some old ones disappeared. Most of the new urban areas came



urban areas came into existence on account of population increase in them and/or reclassification of urban areas. Thus there were 129 urban areas in 1920, 170 in 1930 and 229 in 1961. Not all the urban areas of 1920 were treated as such in 1930 or 1961. For instance, 10 places of 1920 were omitted in 1930 but 51 new ones were added instead. Although the net increase in the number of urban places was only 59 in 1961, in fact, 93 new towns appeared during this period.

Table - 10

PERCENTAGE INCREASE IN TOTAL AND URBAN  
POPULATION 1920-61

	<u>Total population (million)</u>	<u>% Increase</u>	<u>Urban Population (million)</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
1920	49.3	-	2.9	-
1930	60.7	23.1	4.5	57.6
1961	97.0	59.9	15.1	231.9

Source: J.N. Bhatta, "A Brief Note on the Growth of Urban Population of Indonesia", Dinas Geografis, Djakarta, 1971, p.8.

During the colonial period the urban classification was mainly based on their urban like appearance, white settlement and estate exploitation. <sup>(1)</sup> But in 1961 the urban classification changed completely. All the agency capitals

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(1) W.F. Werthem (Ed.), "The Indonesian Town", Van Noeve, The Hague, 1958, p.VI.

irrespective of their population size, the municipalities and some special areas with 20,000 or more population were treated as urban areas. This classification depended on density, availability of social services and the number of persons employed in different occupations. (2)

The average yearly growth of urban population in Indonesia was similar to those found in other developing countries. In developing countries this rate varied from 4.3 to 4.7 percent between 1940 and 1960. (3) But this rate was considerably higher in the largest cities of Indonesia. During the 1930-61 period the largest cities grew at an annual rate of 11.9%. (4) In other Southeast Asian countries this growth rate was much lower. For example, in the Philippines (1.3%), Burma (1.4%), Malaysia (7.9%) and Thailand (8.2%) the annual growth rate in the largest cities varied between 1.3 and 8.2 percent during the same period. (5) Some medium size towns of the outer islands showed 7% yearly increase. Cities like

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(2) Pauline D. Milone, "Urban Areas in Indonesia: Administration and Census Concept", University of California, 1966, p.82.

(3) Kingslay Davis, "The Urbanisation of Human Population in 'Cities' - A Scientific American Book, 1965, p.25.

(4) W.A. Withington, "The Kotapradja or 'King Cities' of Indonesia", Pacific View Point, 4 (1), March 1963, p.76.

(5) T.G. McGee, "The Urbanisation Process in the Third World", G. Bell and Sons, London, 1971, p.98.

Djakarta, Bandung, Medan, Palembang and Makasar showed average per decade growth rates ranging from 100 to 170 percent during the 1930-61 period. Figures 17 to 22 illustrate these trends of growth during different periods.

As it is evident from the average growth rate of the total population of over 2% and of urban population of over 4% per annum, almost half of the urban population of Indonesia has resulted from the influx of migrants from rural areas. A Djakarta survey conducted in 1954 revealed that almost 73% of the heads of households interviewed, were born outside the city boundary. (6) The census of 1961 also disclosed that 49% of all the residents of the capital were born outside. (7)

Like other developing countries, in Indonesia also five main factors were responsible for the rapid growth of urban population. They are:

- 1) Economic insecurity in rural areas;
- 2) Socio-political insecurity in rural areas;
- 3) Falling mortality rates, specially among infants in urban areas;
- 4) Expansion of urban areas and their reclassification; and marginal

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(6) H.J. Heeren (Ed.), "The Urbanization of Djakarta", Economics and Finance in Indonesia, 11 November 1955, p.699.

(7) "Census of Indonesia: 1961 - Special Area of the Capital: Greater Djakarta", 1963, p.19.

### 5) Industrial and Commercial growth.

The lure of urban life was also one of the factors bringing migrants to the cities and towns. But this phenomenon was never of a great dimension in Asian countries. The foremost among all the above factors responsible for urban explosion was obviously the pressure on land which squeezed out thousands of poverty-stricken peasants to the cities of Indonesia and other developing countries. This phenomenon is strikingly true for Java as already indicated above and in Map 23 showing the proportion of areas under cultivation. Ironically in these countries industrial development is lagging far behind to absorb all the unskilled labourers.

(8)

Political upheavals, whether of left or right origin, were also responsible in Indonesia for uprooting thousands of peasants pushing them towards the large cities. The little town of Pare Pare on the western coast of Sulawesi very rapidly increased from only 3,110 in 1920 to 67,990 in 1961 due to the fanatic atrocities of Darul Islam followers (Map 19). The preliminary census report of 1971 also illustrates the effects of post-coup massacres of 1965-66 in Central and East Java and Bali. In these regions the growth rates between 1961 and 1971 were only 18.8%, 17% and 19% respectively as

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(8) Philip M. Houser (Ed.), "Urbanization In Asia and the Far East", U.N.E.S.C.O., 1957, p.154.

against the national average of 22.8%.<sup>(a)</sup> Besides others, the expansion of city boundary has also contributed greatly in enhancing the number of urban population. As indicated earlier, the area of Djakarta which covered only 105 square kilometres in 1905 increased to 182 in 1935 and finally to 577 in 1966.<sup>(9)</sup> Table 11 shows how the number of towns and cities greatly varied from time to time.

Table - 11

NUMBER OF PLACES TREATED AS URBAN  
FROM 1920 TO 1961

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1961</u>
Indonesia	129 (119) <sup>(1)</sup>	170	229
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Java	77 (71)	102	89
Sumatra	28 (25)	35	49
Kalimantan	9 (9)	13	26
Sulawesi	8 (7)	12	38
E. Islands	7 (7)	8	27

(1) Brackets indicate "Continuous" cities.

Source:- J.N. Bhatta: Ibid., p.11

(a) Asia Research Bulletin, June 1972, p.980

(9) Routine W. Milone, "Ibid.", p.77 and others.

Great changes in the number of urban places in different periods create problems in the way of a systematic analysis. Some authors have preferred to consider only those cities for which data for all the periods were available. (10) While such cities have been classified as "continuous" cities, the total number of cities have been classed as "instantaneous" cities. (11)

Thus there were only 119 urban areas for which data were available for the census of 1920, 1930 and 1961. On the other hand, the number of instantaneous cities ranged from 129 to 229 from 1920 to 1961. The importance of continuous cities is obvious as it covers almost all the urban centres and, secondly, they give a clear picture of how the ranks of different cities were changing in different periods. Table 12 and 13 show the growth rates among both the categories of cities for the whole of Indonesia and by islands:

Table - 12

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF URBAN POPULATION IN  
INSTANTANEOUS AND CONTINUOUS CITIES:  
1920-30 AND 1930-61 (PER DECADE)

	Percent Increase 1920-30	Percent Increase per decade 1930- 61.
1) Instantaneous Cities	57	75
2) Continuous Cities	40	75

Sources:- J.N. Bhatta, Ibid., p.10

(10) & (11) Kingsley Davis, "The population of India and Pakistan", Princeton University, 1951, p.122.

Table - 13

PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF POPULATION IN CONTINUOUS  
AND INSTANTANEOUS CITIES (BRACKETS):  
1920-61

	<u>1920-30</u>	<u>per decade (1930-61)</u>
Java	37 (52)	68 (60)
Sumatra	56 (75)	111 (118)
Kalinantan	46 (90)	74 (91)
Sulawesi	55 (81)	124 (175)
Eastern Islands <sup>1)</sup>	38 (52)	78 (194)
Indonesia	40 (57)	75 (75)

1) Excluding I. Jaya.

Source:- J.N. Bhatta, Ibid., p.10 & 11.

It is quite revealing that despite the presence of four largest cities of Indonesia in Java, the islands' urban population did not grow fast enough as it was found in the other islands. While the island's urban population grew at only 60% per decade rate during 1930-61, Sulawesi experienced a rate of 175%, Sumatra 118% and the Eastern Islands topped the list with 194% growth rate. But the Eastern Islands are of very heterogeneous character spread over a vast area and therefore they do not represent any specific area. Java's overcrowding and economic stagnation

of several decades, perhaps, reflect a saturation point in respect of population growth and other developments if compared to young and developing islands outside it (Figures 16 and 24).

Some interesting characteristics were disclosed by grouping the cities in specific size. This grouping by size showed how the different group of cities were growing in different periods and how the number of places varied in each group. For this purpose the population of cities, their percentages and number have been grouped in eleven specific sizes as illustrated in Table 14.

The table clearly shows that the largest number of cities were concentrated in the 10-20 thousand group with 36 and 65 centres in 1920 and 1930 respectively. But the situation changed in 1961 when this concentration shifted to the 20-50 thousand group represented by 76 units. This was the largest number yet found in any group in the urban history of Indonesia. However, this does not mean that these groups of cities had the largest proportion of population also in them. The above 76 units represented only 15% of the urban population in 1961. Sixtyfive cities of the 10-20 thousand group in 1930 accounted for only 20%. On the other hand, the next higher group (20-50 thousand) with about half the urban places, grabbed more population (22%) in 1930. In 1961 two million cities held 26% of the urban population.

In order to avoid the problems of changing urban definitions with time and place, in many studies it has been preferred to group all the urban centres into two broad groups i.e. places with 20,000 and more and 100,000 and more



1920-1961

DISTRIBUTION OF INCREASES IN POPULATION OF CITIES OF 10,000 AND OVER  
 BY CLASS SIZE: 1920-01 : 1961-31

Size	No. of Cities			Population			Percentage		
	1920	1930	1961	1920	1930	1961	1920	1930	1961
I. Under 1,000	1	-	2	321	-	324	0.0	-	0.0
II. 1,000- 2,500	11	6	1	17,721	12, 14	1,535	0.0	0.3	0.
III. 2,500- 5,000	10	16	16	38,771	58,521	62,790	1.2	1.3	0.4
IV. 5,000- 10,000	34	30	37	257,628	231,319	215,343	7.1	5.1	1.4
V. 10,000- 20,000	36	65	56	517,773	910, 59	936,151	17.9	20.0	6.2
VI. 20,000- 50,000	23	36	76	322,260	1,000,136	2,221,272	22.2	23.0	15.1
VII. 50,000-100, 00	3	10	22	325,244	622,797	1,338,437	7.1	14.5	12.9
VIII. 100,000-250, 00	4	5	13	332,222	794,389	1,321,555	18.6	17.5	12.1
IX. 250,000- 500,000	1	1	6	306,309	341,675	2,360,001	10.7	7.5	15.7
X. 500,000-1,000,00	-	1	2	-	633,013	1,475,719	-	11.8	9.3
XI. Over 1,000, 00	-	-	2	-	-	3,930,997	-	-	20.4
Total:	129	170	229	2,320,919	4,741,473	10,075,227	100.0	100.0	100.0

population. Such grouping shows that the number of places with 20,000 plus population which was only 37 in 1920 rose to 53 in 1930 and finally to 127 in 1961. They covered only 71% of the urban population in 1920 but as large as 93% in 1961 as indicated in Table 15.

There were regional differences too. While in Java such places numbered only 31 in 1920, their number more than doubled (69) after 41 years. Sumatran cities of this group (20,000 plus) experienced steep rise from only 3 to 27, Kalimantan from 2 to 9, Sulawesi from 1 to 12 and the Eastern Islands from none to 10 during the same period (1920-61). As a whole, their population multiplied 7 times in Indonesia.

Similarly, there were only 5 places with 100,000 and more population in 1920. But in 1961, 23 urban places attained this rank holding 64% of the urban and 10% of the total population of Indonesia. In the earlier period all these cities were located in Java. But with the rise of plantation industry and mineral finds in the outer regions, specially in Sumatra, the situation markedly changed. Now almost half (10) of these centres are found outside Java. Sumatra with 6 such places was in lead in the outer region. Kalimantan and Sulawesi each had two whereas Eastern Islands had none.

During the last four decades, the number of persons residing in them had gone up by 12 times i.e. from less than

one million in 1920 to 10 millions in 1961. The highest concentration of population in these centres was found in Java (72%) and least in Sulawesi (42%). The figures of Table 15 show some trends of population growth in these two groups of cities.

Table - 15

NUMBER OF PLACES WITH 20,000 plus AND 100,000 plus PERSONS WITH POPULATION, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL AND URBAN POPULATION: 1920-61

	<u>Number of places</u>	<u>Population (million)</u>	<u>P.C. of Total</u>	<u>P.C. of Urban</u>
<u>1) 20,000 (plus)</u>				
		(1)		
1920	37 (129)	2.0	4	71
1930	53 (170)	3.3	6	73
1961	127 (229)	14.0	14	93
<u>2) 100,000 (plus)</u>				
1920	5	0.9	2	31
1930	7	1.7	3	37
1961	23	9.6	10	64

(1) Total No. of urban areas.

Source:- J.N. Bhatta, Ibid., p.12.

A brief description about the individual cities of higher rank is necessary. It was found that until 1920 there was no centre with more than 250,000 population except Djakarta (306,000). But in 1930 Surabja of East Java also joined this rank. The development of sugarcane and tobacco industries in its hinterland during the thirties were mainly responsible for the city's growth. While Djakarta crossed the million mark in 1949 and Surabaja in 1961, two cities - Bandung (972,566) and Semarang (503,153) - entered the 400-1,000 thousand group in 1961. The rise of Bandung was phenomenal because of its cool climate in the mountains of West Java and plantation industry in the surrounding districts. There was a time when the Dutch Government was contemplating to shift the capital from Djakarta to this place. With this view some head offices (army and railways) were brought to Bandung.

Including the above four largest centres, there were altogether 10 urban areas having 250,000 and more population accounting for 48% of the urbanites of 1961. Forty-one years ago this percentage was only about one-fifth with only one city-Djakarta. How spectacular was the growth of this metropolis can be judged by the fact that it commands around one-fifth of all the country's urban population at present. The growth rate in this city was fastest during the late forties and early fifties when great political and economic

changes were taking place during the post-war period. Figures 21, 25 and 26 throw light on annual growth rate, percentage of urban population held by Djakarta and percentage distribution of municipal population during the 1950-61 period. The capital crossed the million-mark in 1949 with 1.3 million persons. This was the greatest population increase ever witnessed by any Indonesian city. During this year 500,000 people were added within one year period showing an annual increase of 63%. This was the year when the country's sovereignty was recognised by the Netherlands Government after nearly a decade of bloodshed.

An attempt has been made in this study to investigate how the first cities of each island were growing. On close examination it was observed that in those islands where the largest city originally held small proportion of urban population are adding up fast. But those which already held excessive proportions, remained almost constant. This proportion seems to stabilise at about 30% in the case of first city and at about 40% of the total urban population if the first two cities are treated together. For example, Kalimantan's two leading cities (Bandjarmasin, Pontianak) held 79% of the urban population in 1920. But this proportion declined only to 46% in 1961. Similarly in Sulawesi the first two cities (Makasar, Manado) declined in their proportion from 75 to 45 percent. Conversely, in Java

(Djakarta, Surabaya) the proportion which was only 22% in 1920, it rose to 39% in 1961. But remarkably, in Sumatra (Palembang, Medan) where this ratio had already approached the approximate limit in 1920, it remained constant at 39% even after a lapse of 4 decades. These percentages are given in Table 16 with their range and mean.

Table - 16

PERCENTAGES OF URBAN POPULATION HELD  
BY THE FIRST TWO CITIES OF EACH  
ISLANDS (1920-61)

	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1961</u>
Java	22	25	39
Sumatra	39	35	39
Sulawesi	75	63	45
Kalimantan	79	53	46
-----			
(a)			
Range	57	38	7
(b)			
Mean	54	44	42

(a) Range : 79 - 22 = 57

(b) Mean : 22 + 39 + 75 + 79 = 53.7

It has already been described that as the largest city of Indonesia was developing fast, the second, third and

other centres got certain drawbacks. For this comparison indices of population of all the important cities of each island were computed from 1905 to 1961 taking the first city as 100. The resulting picture again illustrated that Djakarta was growing faster than others. See, for example, while Djakarta was 100 in 1905, the second (Surabaya) and third (Semarang) cities were not much smaller with their indices of 87 and 68 respectively. But with time these indices climbed down to 63 and 52 in 1930 and finally to 34 and 33 in 1961. Thus Surabaya and Semarang/Bandung which had more than two-thirds of Djakarta's population in the past, have now remained only one-third. These indices are given below:

<u>City Rank</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1920</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1961</u>
1st (Djakarta)	100	100	100	100
2nd (Surabaya)	87	63	63	34
3rd (Semarang/ Bandung)	68	62	52	33

While Djakarta as a capital of the country was galloping fast, in other islands the situation was quite different. In Sumatra, the second city Medan which was only 61 compared to Palembang (100) in 1920, it rose to 99 in 1961 due to the rapid development of plantation industry in the thirties and forties. To some extent,

Medan also experienced influx of landless peasants and victims of Darul Islam movement. In Kalimantan the second city Pontianak rose, from its index of 61 to 70 in relation to the first city. Sulawesi's second city Manado also rose to some extent during the above period. But this rise was only from 30 to 34.

A note on the changes of rank of different cities would be worthwhile in the urban context of Indonesia. For this analysis the largest city by population got the first rank and the second largest, second rank and so on. On the whole, of all the 119 continuous centres, 58 moved upwards, 51 moved downwards and 10 remained constant between 1920 and 1930. Similarly, 57 moved up, 58 moved down and 4 remained constant during the 1930-61 period. In this movement also it was found that the urban places situated in Java are lagging behind. While during 1920-30, 58% of its centres moved up, in 1930-61 only 31% units showed this tendency. In the outer islands the situation was quite different. Whereas only 56% of the urban places climbed up in rank during the early period, afterwards as much as 83% showed upward jumps. Figures 27 and 28 clearly show these trends. There is no need to mention it again that Java's slow progress was mainly due to the economic stagnation.

The shifts in rank varied from one to 72 places. But the majority of cities and towns moved up or downwards only



by less than 10 places during all the periods and in all the islands. The most common rank movement was of only one place.

For about a century the first and second cities (Djakarta, Surabaya) of Indonesia did not change their places. Naturally the largest cities saw almost no change. But the greatest change was witnessed by medium size centres. There is some relationship between the rank change and growth rate of a particular centre. However, in some cases this statement does not hold good. For instance, Bau Bau (745%) of Sulawesi and Kuala Kapuas (114%) of Kalimantan moved up by 24 ranks but their growth rates were quite different during the 1930-61 period. Doubtless, the centres which moved up had greater growth rates ranging from 150 to 984 percent during 1930-61. On the other hand, those which experienced negative movements grew at less than 150% during the same period. Some centres of this group which lost population are situated in Madura island which suffers greatly due to its infertile soil and resulting movement of population to East Java.

It can be said that although the Indonesian urban population is still small compared to Malaysia and the Philippines, it is increasing rapidly at present due to the economic insecurity in the countryside and some industrial

development at late. While Java's urban growth on the whole, is witnessing a period of stagnation, the cities of outer islands, specially of Sumatra, are adding up fast. In most cases the migrants tend to concentrate in the largest cities at the expense of medium and small size cities. At the present rate, all the cities of Indonesia will double in their population within 10-15 years. The urban growth in Indonesia is spurious which has resulted in many socio-economic problems.

**Chapter IV**

**SOME URBAN POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS  
AS REVEALED BY DJAKARTA**

## CHAPTER IV

### SOME URBAN POPULATION CHARACTERISTICS AS REVEALED BY DJAKARTA

The present chapter analyses the population of Djakarta with special emphasis on some of its demographic aspects and urban problems. As data on other cities of Indonesia are not available and as the city contains almost 22% of the urban population of Indonesia, it is relevant to analyse the population of this metropolis in order to know some of the salient demographic urban features of Indonesia.

(1)  
The tiny colony of Djakarta which had only 6,000 residents in 1623, recorded 4,533,936 population in 1971. (2)  
Since 1900 the population of Djakarta has been doubling almost after every 20 years. This trend continued until 1940. Afterwards the growth was more rapid. The metropolis, with more than one-fifth of the urban and 4% of the total population, controls almost all the nation's vital functions and economic and political institutions.

Djakarta (6°S and 106°E), the capital and the principal port of Indonesia, is located on the North West Coast of Java. It is only at seven meters above sea level located on a marshy land along the Djakarta Bay on Java Sea. It covers a

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(1) "Djakarta" is pronounced as "Jakarta". Similarly thus "Dj" equals "J", "Tj" equals "Ch" and "J" equals "Y". Although the Indonesian spellings have been simplified, we have preferred to use the older ones to avoid confusion.

(2) "Djakarta: Regional Statistics - 1971", Census and Statistical Office, D.C.I. Djakarta, 1971, p.2.

maximum width of 28 kilometres from east to west and length of 60 kilometres from north to south covering an area of 587 square kilometres. (3) The city is surrounded by Java Sea in the north, Regency of Bogor in the south, Rivers Tjakung in the east and Angke in the west (Map 29).

Historical Background: The history of Djakarta is similar to other colonial cities of Asia. It was also a foreign creation on the coastal area. At the initial stages of its establishment it was exclusively dominated by foreign elements, Europeans as well as Asians. The port was the "head-link" through which the western influence, enterprise and power penetrated into the hinter-land. (4)

There was a kingdom in the 14th century named Padjadjaran in West Java. It owned several harbours on the northern coast of Java. One of them situated on the mouth of R. Tjiliwung, was called Sunda Kelapa. This harbour had already a Portuguese colony in it. (5) A Muslim leader ousted the Portuguese with the help of Sultan of Demak. He renamed the harbour of Sunda Kelapa as "Djakarta" (Ultimate Victory) in 1527. (6)

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(3) Ibid., p.2.

(4) O.H.K. Spate, "Factors in the Development of Capital Cities", Geographical Review, October 1942, p.628

(5) "Djakarta in Progress", Governor's Office, 1972, p.10

(6) Ibid., p.10.

This town was subsequently destroyed by the Dutch in 1619 and a new one was established, called Batavia. Under Governor General Coen, the Dutch East India Company's Office was founded on the east bank of R. Tjiliwang, facing the British Company office on the western bank. Soon the fortress of Batavia was also erected and the British were ousted.

After firmly establishing their feet in Batavia, the Dutch began to spread their power and enterprise to the far off regions of the archipelago. Several trading, mining and plantation centres were developed wherever the Dutch reached and conquered the land.

The opening of Suez Canal, rapid economic growth of Japan and the abolition of slavery from the Americas, have all affected Djakarta's rapid development as a great trading centre of the east.

(7)

Side by side Djakarta, plantation cities like Medan, Bogor, Kediri and Kasuruan, oil centres like Palembang, Balikpapan and Samarinda and Commercial and distribution centres like Surabaya, Tjiribon, Makasar and Bandjarmasin became prominent. These are exclusively colonial creations where the ancient cores have almost submerged and obliterated.

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(7) In order to avoid confusion, from now onwards only the name "Djakarta" will be used. Although the republicans called it "Djakarta", until 1949 it was known as "Batavia" throughout the world.

(8) C.A. Fisher, Ibid., p.301.

From the very start Djakarta became a multifunctional centre and continues to be so. All the important functions like administration, trade, commerce and education were performed from this place. Besides, it was the main centre of western cultural influence.

Djakarta got partial autonomy in 1620 when it became "Bhatavia City Administration" and ultimately full municipal status in 1905.<sup>(9)</sup>

This situation continued until 1941 and again after the Indonesian independence in 1949. During the Japanese occupation (1941-45), the administrative headquarters remained at Singapore. In 1942 the Japanese changed the status of Djakarta into "Tokubetu Si Djakarta."<sup>(10)</sup> This was the only Tokubetu established by the Japanese until their surrender in 1945.

After the proclamation of independence in the city, the "Tokubetu Si Djakarta" was changed into "National Government of Djakarta" by a special presidential decree in 1945. The area became a Federal District at the time of the establishment of the United States of Indonesia. But soon trouble started between the Dutch and the nationalist government resulting in bloody armed conflict which continued until 1949. The nationalists transferred their capital to

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(9) "Djakarta in Progress", p.10

(10) Ibid., p.14.

Jogjarkarta in Central Java for a while. But after the transfer of sovereignty, the Indonesian transferred the national capital again to Djakarta in 1949.

Soon by a presidential decree the city area was enlarged by annexing Pulau Seribu in Djakarta Bay, the surrounding districts of Tjengkarang, Kabajoran, Karamat Djati and Bekasi. In 1964 the metropolis was proclaimed as a state capital with full provincial status under a  
(11)  
governor.

During the earlier periods of Dutch expansion, the main city, Kota Inten (Down Town), was centralised where the present Pasar Ikan is located. The company had built several canals and bridges in Dutch style. While the Chinese were allowed to settle in Kota Inten, the indigen-  
(12)  
ous population was forbidden by law. Since those days the area has remained predominantly Chinese whose hold on the country's economy is still strong.

Due to the presence of canals and swamps, the health condition of this region was miserable. Constant floods and wars between rival groups made the life hazardous. Ultimately the administration and official residences were

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(11) Ibid., p.10.

(12) H.J. Heeren, "Urbanisation of Djakarta", Economics and Finance in Indonesia, 8 (11) November 55, p.700



shifted further south to Weltevreden in c 1810. The present Gambir area represents this site. Slowly new residential sites like Menteng, Gondaria, Menteng Pulo and Gunung Sahari were also settled and came under city's jurisdiction. These places are in fact the core areas of present Greater Djakarta. In 1935 the southern municipality of Heester Cornelis was also merged with Djakarta.

The effects of continuous wars and political turmoils were disastrous for the public services and a systematic growth of the city. Economic dislocation and political instability continued even after the political independence of the country. Several times there was a total destruction of public services. During the Japanese occupation and as late as 1966, there was complete neglect of roads, transportation, floods, sewage, electricity, water and housing facilities. Deplorable organisation, shortage of funds, lack of coordination in the works of different departments and discipline were chronic problems hindering any progress or development. These problems were added with the constant flood of poverty stricken migrants. The process of deterioration continued until 1966 when the new regime took full control of the administration. Now there is considerable change in all the spheres of public services. Road repairs, parks, shopping centres and other facilities are showing signs of improvement. The city has been officially "closed" for new settlers unless

(13)  
they have guaranteed employment. These characteristics have been discussed in the next chapter.

Modern Djakarta consists of 5 municipalities under mayors. The city has been divided into 27 *Ketjamatan* (Sub-districts) which again comprise 220 *kelurahan* (wards). Each *Kelurahan* is divided into *Rukun Tetangga* (Neighbourhood Areas) and *Rukun Warga* (Community Units). In 1970 there were 1,588 *Rukun Warga* and 20,455 *Rukun Tetangga*.<sup>(14)</sup>

The *Ketjamatan* population ranged from 50,000 to 220,000 with the exception of *Pulau Seribu* (Seribu Island) which had only 7,981 population in 1970.<sup>(15)</sup> Table 17 and Map 30 portray the municipalities, Sub-districts (*Ketjamatan*), population and density in Greater Djakarta.

The present area of Greater Djakarta is 587 square kilometres. But as the areas of sub-districts and *Kelurahan* are not reliable, the densities shown above are not dependable. As mentioned earlier, the area of Djakarta greatly varied from time to time. The following figures and Map 31 reflect on how Djakarta developed since 1905 onwards :

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(13) R.E. Otico, "Crucial Year for Indonesia", Insight, February 1974, p.51.

(14) "Djakarta in Figures 1971", Census and Statistical Office, B.S.I., Djakarta, 1971, p.11.

(15) Ibid., p.7.

Table - 17

DJAKARTA'S MUNICIPALITIES, KETJAMATAN,  
POPULATION AND DENSITY: 1970

Municipality	Ketjamatan (Sub-district)	Population	Density/Km <sup>2</sup>
<hr/>			
I. Central Djakarta	7	1,268,116	21,545
<hr/>			
	1. Gambir	162,756	18,947
	2. Sawah Besar	166,675	15,769
	3. Kemajoran	182,322	20,509
	4. Senen	180,397	47,224
	5. Tjempaka Putih	175,128	18,611
	6. Menteng	136,850	17,279
	7. Tanah Abang	263,988	27,328
<hr/>			
II North Djakarta	4	582,242	5,497
<hr/>			
	8. Pulan Seribu	7,981	867
	9. Pandjaringan	192,488	8,237
	10. Tandjung Priok	137,424	6,001
	11. Kodja	244,349	4,844
<hr/>			

Municipality	Ketjamatan (Sub-district)	Population	Density/Km <sup>2</sup>
III. South Djakarta	6	1,035,620	7,770
12.	Tebet	208,091	22,225
13.	Setia Budi	246,950	26,160
14.	Man. Prapatan	124,397	6,739
15.	Pasar Minggu	106,639	2,566
16.	Kebajoran Lama	166,445	4,100
17.	Kebajoran Baru	183,098	13,191
IV. East Djakarta	5	789,439	5,020
18.	Mataraman	165,349	31,676
19.	Pulo Gadung	175,850	5,994
20.	Djatinegara	225,078	6,977
21.	Karamat Djati	119,939	3,581
22.	Pasar Rebo	83,233	1,572
V. West Djakarta	5	731,718	5,736
23.	Tjengkaring	89,800	1,361
24.	Grogol Petamburan	246,259	14,186
25.	Tambora	240,652	33,011
26.	Taman Sari	136,796	33,860
27.	Kebon Djemk	69,211	1,624
Greater Djakarta	27	4,437,135 <sup>1)</sup>	7,551

1) The total population slightly differs in different sources.

Source: "Djakarta in Figures 1971" Ibid., p.10.

Table - 18

<u>Year</u>	<u>Area (km<sup>2</sup>)</u>
1905	125
1930	190
1935	182
1949	1,800 <sup>(a)</sup>
1950	530
1966	577
1971	585 <sup>(b)</sup>

(a) Area of Federal District.

(b) "Djakarta: Regional Statistics - 1971", p.2.

Source: Pauline Milone, Ibid., p.77

Population Growth: The population of Djakarta has increased ten-folds since 1920. It accommodates more people today than the combined population of the present municipalities had in 1930. The rapid expansion of the metropolis is not due to any notable industrial development in the city or in the country as a whole, which enables us to say that the urban growth was spurious in nature and created many urban problems. In fact there were steep jumps during and after those periods when there were great economic or

political upheavals. For example, between 1948 and 1949 more than 500,000 people were added in the city showing an annual increase of 63%. This was the period when peace returned in the country after a decade of bloodshed and chaos. In urban history also it was a notable period because for the first time an Indonesian city crossed the million mark. Another hike in population was in 1959 when there was 790,000 or 39% increase in one year. This year also marks political stability after several years of disorder and political chaos in the outer provinces. A pocket of rebellion in Western Java during that period had also added considerable population in the regions urban centres including Djakarta. Table 19 shows decennial population increase in the city:

Table - 19

POPULATION OF DJAKARTA : 1920-70

	<u>Population</u>	<u>% Increase</u>
1920	306,000	..
1930	533,000	74
1940	700,000	31
1950	1,432,000	104
1960	2,901,000	102
1970	4,437,000	67

Source: Census of Indonesia, 1930, 1961 and "Djakarta in Figures" 1971, Ibid., p.10

From 1951 to 1961 the annual growth rate of the population was 6.3%. Although the household listing of 1970 and census enumeration of 1971 show a slightly lower rate of increase (5.3%), the city population is growing at a yearly rate of 6.5% for some years despite having being declared a "closed" city in 1971.

Growth Pattern by Sub-district: Great Djakarta

consists of central city and ring areas. The ring areas are either suburbs or rural in character. Approximately 180 km<sup>2</sup> covered by the sub-districts of Gambir, Sawah Besar, Kemajoran, Senen, Tjempaka Putih, Menteng and Tanah Abang of Central Djakarta and PONDJARINGAN of North Djakarta and Grogol, Tambora, Taman Sari of West Djakarta and Tebet and Setia Budi of South Djakarta and Nataraman of East Djakarta having around 2 million population make central city. This is a very thickly populated area with more than 20,000 people per square kilometres as against city's mean of 7,551.

Some of the wards of central city are so congested that their densities have already crossed the 100,000 limit. Among these mention may be made of the wards Kartivi, Kemajoran, Sordang of Central Djakarta, Mangga Besar and Djambatan Lima Timur of West Djakarta and Setia Budi of South Djakarta. It is needless to mention that most of these settlements represent the lowest strata of the society. Map 32 illustrates the density of population in Djakarta

by Kelurahan while the following figures depict the number of wards and their approximate areas with range of densities:

<u>No. of wards</u>	<u>Total area (km<sup>2</sup>)</u>	<u>Density/Km<sup>2</sup></u>
33	293	5,000 and more
62	163	10,000 and more
51	102	20,000 and more
14	20	50,000 and more
6	7	70,000 and more
4	2	100,000 and more
<hr/>	<hr/>	
220	587	
<hr/>	<hr/>	

The ring areas cover an extensive area with 30% of the total population of the city. But this region is still sub-urban in nature. As a matter of fact most of the wards of the southern part were village areas till recently (1950). The rural character is testified by employment data which show that on average 10 to 15 percent of the work-force of Greater Djakarta was engaged in agriculture and related industries in 1971. Naturally this concentration in agricultural activities was greatest

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(16) "Djakarta: Regional Statistics: 1971", Ibid., 1971, p.3.



in these areas. Child-women ratios are also higher in these areas. This feature generally goes with rural areas. Some sociologists maintain that the city as a whole and particularly the newly merged Kampongs (villages) retain a rural character specially in their infrastructure as well as mode of life.

(17)

With few exceptions of small areas of the city the density varies only from 1,000 to 7,000 per square kilometres. Table 20 portrays the growth of population in central city and ring areas:

Table - 20

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE CENTRAL CITY  
AND RING AREAS (IN THOUSANDS): 1930-61

<u>Year</u>	<u>Central City</u>	<u>Ring Districts</u>	<u>Total Population</u>
1930	513.8	269.9	783.7
1951	1,172.0	407.0	1,579.0
1952	1,309.1	432.9	1,742.0
1953	1,354.8	469.5	1,824.3
1954	1,355.4	496.2	1,851.6
1955	1,372.3	501.3	1,874.1
1956	1,391.3	536.2	1,927.5
1957	1,561.9	623.5	2,185.4
1958	1,648.4	653.9	2,302.3
1961	2,083.4	823.1	2,906.5

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics and Municipal Registration (Quoted in "The Growth of Population in Djakarta during the Intercensal Period", by Kartono Gunawan. International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, Sydney, August 1967 Unpublished).

(17) W.F. Wertheim (Ed.), "Indonesian Town", The Hague, 1958 p.VI.

The growth during the intercensal period was higher in the central city as compared to ring areas. But as many as 10 sub-districts of the fringe areas have been showing trends of rapid growth. Compare the growth rates of 17% to 16% in the central city with those of 23% to 53% which occurred in some of the sub-districts of the ring areas during the 1951-55 and 1956-61 periods respectively.

Vital Rates: The registration of births and deaths are compulsory but the returns are very poor. Therefore, it is difficult to derive accurate vital rates. Some trends on fertility can be obtained from child-women ratios, children ever born and children still living and proportion of married women from the census of 1961. A survey of 1957 yielded a birth rate of 36.4 per thousand for the city. There are other estimates also which indicate a rate of 35 per thousand in the larger cities of Indonesia. (18) During the late sixties also the birth rate was assumed to be 35 per thousand by some scholars. (19) Table 21 shows the age specific fertility rates in different ethnic groups of Djakarta in 1957.

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(18) V. Kannisto, "Population Increase in Indonesia", C.B.S., Djakarta, 1964, p.19.

(19) "KAP Survey in Djakarta, Indonesia: 1968", F.P.A.I., 1968, p.72.

Assuming a sex ratio of 102.3 at birth, the gross reproduction rate for the total population of Djakarta comes to 3.66 for both the sexes and 1.08 for females. Compared to some rural fertility rates, Djakarta's rates are considerably lower. (20) For instance, in Kendal, which is a rural area, these rates were found to be 5.02 and 2.49 for both sexes and females respectively. (21)

Table - 21

AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN DJAKARTA:1957

<u>Age of Mother</u>	<u>Indonesians</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
15-19	91.8	88.3	83.7	91.4
20-24	183.5	211.2	212.7	185.8
25-29	188.5	228.9	211.7	191.3
30-34	141.7	148.6	148.7	142.5
35-39	89.4	84.3	60.0	87.9
40-44	33.3	26.0	23.0	32.1
Total:	728.2	787.3	739.8	731.0
Total Fertility:	3,646.0	3,936.5	3,699.5	3,656.5

Source: City Health Department, Quoted in Kartono Gunawan, Ibid., p.9.

(20) Hilde Wander, "Trends and Characteristics of Population Growth in Indonesia", U.N.O., 1959, p.17.

(21) Ibid., p.17.

The above survey data enable us to deduce certain fertility indices also by ethnic groups. The crude rate of natural increase of the native population is higher than the Chinese despite higher gross reproduction rate found among the latter group. It may partly be due to the fact that Indonesians start procreation at younger ages although the completed fertility is less than the Chinese population.

We have no means to measure the fertility differences between the central city and rural ring areas. But the age distribution in these areas clearly shows that the ring areas had younger population than the core area. For example, the population between 0 and 14 years was 43% of the total in the ring area as against only 39% in the central city. This reflects a higher birth rate in the rural ring areas.

It has been estimated that the registered data on deaths rate are under-recorded to the extent of 15 to 20 percent. (22) Some adjustment on these data yield a death rate of 27.3 per thousand in 1931 and 15 per thousand in 1961. During the Japanese occupation and revolution periods, this rate was considerably higher. (23) It varied from 35 to 40 per thousand during that troubled period.

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(22) Kartono Gunawan, Ibid., p.11.

(23) Kurt Horstmann, "The Exceptionally Small Number of Children in Indonesia", E. and F. in Indonesia, April 1956, p.209.

Infant mortality rate which was around 300 per thousand previously, has declined to 150 per thousand in the sixties. (24)

By taking a birth rate of around 35 and death rate of around 15 per thousand, the natural growth rate of Djakarta comes to 2.5% per annum during the sixties.

The above vital rates clearly illustrate that the population of Djakarta is growing at a very rapid rate at present partly due to migration and partly due to natural increase. The total population is likely to double within 28 years without migration and within 12 years with migration. It would also be evident that the Chinese who now tend to concentrate more in the capital, have a greater natural growth rate than the indigenous population. This phenomenon is likely to complicate the problems of national integration judging their predominant role in the nation's economy.

As already mentioned, the ring areas are increasing at a faster rate than the core area. This trend is likely to intensify in the future. But it cannot be denied that the poor migrants will concentrate largely in the heart of city because of greater employment opportunities and transportation costs if settled in the fringe areas.

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(24) Kartono Gunawan, "Peranan Mortalitas...", Workshop on Population Problems, I.E.S.R., U.I., 1964, p.11.

Size and Pattern of Migration: Migration has played a prominent part in the growth of Djakarta's population.

(25)  
The original migrants were of Malay, Sundanese and Javanese origin. But they no longer dominate the political or economic life of the country. Their number might hardly be around 30% of the present population of Djakarta. (26)

At present almost 4% of the annual growth of Djakarta results from migration. We have already mentioned elsewhere that the main factor affecting migration in Indonesia is the scarcity of employment opportunity in the agricultural sector. But it cannot be denied that some industrial development during the post-war period is also responsible to attract thousands of people to the capital. Doubtless, the fantastic expansion of bureaucracy has also brought hundreds of people to this city. It can be judged by the presence of large number of civil servants who numbered only 50,000 in whole of Indonesia in 1942 as against 521,990 in 1970. One-fifth of these employees, including the pensioners, were stationed at Djakarta together with their more than half a million dependents. (27) It is no wonder

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(25) The Inhabitants of West Java are called 'Sundanese'.

(26) "The Spirit of Djakarta," Governor's Office, 1972, p.86.

(27) G.H. Hudson, "Reform and Revolution in Asia", Allen & Unwin, 1972, p.260.

that this city tops the list of those Southeast Asian cities where the largest number of residents were born outside. The proportion of those born elsewhere ranged from 34 to 50 percent in Bangkok, Phnom Penh and Singapore (28) as against Djakarta's 73% in 1954.

A breakdown of the census data on place of birth showed that, like other Southeast Asian cities, those migrants formed the majority whose native places were within a radius of 50 miles. Thus the proportion of migrants from West Java was 27% followed by other parts of Java (14%) and the outer provinces (8%). Sumatrans, specially the Minangkabaus of West Sumatra, were in largest number (4%) among those coming from the outer regions. While the migrants of Kuala Lumpur do not come directly to the city, Djakarta's 30% residents did not follow the course of step-migration. (29)

The census of 1961 revealed that the number of those born inside the city had increased in 1961. Of the total, 1.4 million were not born in Djakarta. Around 1.1 million from this group had migrated to Djakarta after 1927. The census data on age and birth place reflect that of the cohort 0-9 years of age, 174,000 were born outside as against

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(28) T.G. McGee, Ibid., p.100

(29) H.J. Heeren, Ibid., p.704 and M.C. Ghee, Ibid., p.107.

739,000 who were locally born. In the cohort 10-14 years, the ratio was 91 to 170 thousand. The participation rate in the labour force in the age bracket 15 to 34 years make it over-whelmingly clear that this proportion is substantially higher in Djakarta than the Javanese and Indonesian averages of urban areas. Table 22 records these percentages for Djakarta, Java and Indonesia.

Table - 22

LABOUR PARTICIPATION RATE IN URBAN AREAS OF DJAKARTA, JAVA AND INDONESIA: 1961 (MALES ONLY) (PERCENTAGES)

<u>Age</u>	<u>Djakarta</u>	<u>Java</u>	<u>Indonesia</u>
15-19	62	47	46
20-24	87	79	79
25-34	95	94	93

Source: Census of Indonesia 1961 (1% Sample).

In the 1954 survey of Djakarta it was also observed that around 50% of all the household heads interviewed (30) migrated to this city together with their families. But the single men formed an important component followed by those males who had left their families in their villages. By and large these migrants found better opportunities of employment in the early fifties but soon the rural poverty

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(30) H.J. Heeren, Ibid., p.705



was replaced by urban slums, scarcity and diseases.

Ethnic Groups: Although Djakarta which was essentially a foreign creation and was dominated by alien population at the initial stages of its establishment, it is now ethnically a homogenous city. At present about nine-tenth inhabitants of the city have originated from the indigenous group. Other Southeast Asian capitals like Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Singapore, Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane show substantial ethnic diversity. In these centres the ethnic Chinese outnumber the natives. Not surprisingly, even after the political independence, most of the wholesale and retail trade of these countries, is, by and large, under Chinese control. Table 23 shows the different nationalities of Djakarta in 1961. It will be evident that there were only 102,153 Chinese, 3,172 Indians, 1,856 Americans and Dutch and 1,847 Arab nationals in Djakarta. But it should be borne in mind that the census did not register the naturalised citizens of foreign descent. This factor has greatly affected the Chinese population resulting in a comparatively smaller proportion than what their actual number is.

An examination of the census data of 1920, 1930 and 1961 clearly indicates that since 1920 there has been considerable increase in the proportion of native population and corresponding decline in the proportion of foreigners.

Table - 23THE POPULATION OF DJAKARTA BY  
NATIONALITY : 1961

<u>Nationality</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Percentage</u>
Indonesians	2,787,425	95.9
Chinese	102,153	3.5
Indians/Pakistanis	3,638	0.1
Americans/Dutch	1,865	0.1
Arabs	1,847	0.1
Unknown	9,605	0.3
<b>Total:</b>	<b>2,906,533</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Population Census 1961: Djakarta (D.C.I.), p.9.

Formerly, the Indonesians formed only 75% but this percentage rose to 96% in 1961. It cannot be denied that the annexation of ring areas, which are predominantly indigenous, has played a prominent role in pushing up the proportion of native population. Growth rates of 74% and 580% among the native population and of 82% and 30% among the Chinese during the 1920-30 and 1930-61 periods respectively strongly support the above statement. These rates are given below.

Table - 24

## PERCENTAGE INCREASE/DECREASE

<u>Nationalities</u> <sup>1)</sup>	<u>1920-30</u>	<u>1930-61</u>
Natives	74.4	580.4
Chinese	82.0	29.6
Other Asians	64.5	(-) 19.5
Europeans etc.	24.2	(-) 93.5
<b>Total:</b>	<b>74.0</b>	<b>445.3</b>

1) Excluding naturalised citizens.

Source: Censuses of 1930 and 1961.

The Chinese population made up 14% and the Europeans, Dutch and Eurasians, 10% of the total population of Djakarta in 1920. But in 1961, both the groups jointly declined to only 4% of the total population. Among these 3.5% were the Chinese. However, this number is not reliable.

In order to get a true picture about the number of Chinese population we will have to rely on the census table on religion. The census recorded 367,000 Hindu/Buddhists and Christians in Djakarta in 1961. As the<sup>re</sup> are few Balinese

Hindu and Christians of indigenous group in the city, the majority of these belonged to the ethnic Chinese group. Relatively few Chinese could acquire Indonesian citizenship due to various political reasons. There are still many stateless Chinese.

Thus there are more Chinese in Djakarta than they were previously. This was caused mainly due to natural increase and in-migration from other parts of Indonesia. (31) Increasing restrictions on their trade activities in the rural areas have pushed out thousands of Chinese who have thronged in larger urban centres of the archipelago. The final blow to the Chinese activities in the countryside came in September 1969, when the government decreed all the foreign traders to move out of rural areas and sell their business to Indonesian citizens. (32) Heeren's survey had already found earlier that around 50% of all the heads of Chinese house-hold of Djakarta were born in West Java and the outer islands. (33) The maximum number of the Chinese have concentrated in Djakarta due to its cosmopolitan nature. During the fifties around 12% of all the Chinese were living in major Indonesian cities forming about 10% of the total population of these areas. (34)

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(31) Victor Purcell, "The Chinese in Southeast Asia", London, 1951, p.556.

(32) G.F. Hudson, (Ed.), "Reform and Revolution in Asia", Allen & Unwin, 1972, p.242.

(33) H.J. Heeren, Ibid., p.711.

(34) T.G. Mc Gee, "The Urbanisation Process in the Third World", London, 1971, p.110.

Unfortunately there is no means to determine the accurate distribution of ethnic group of Chinese by sub-district. However, the census data throws some light on the approximate distribution of Chinese population. The community is concentrated in the sub-districts of Rendjaringan, Mangga Dua, Sawah Besar, Krukut and Senen. In these areas they constituted from 5% to 14% of the total population. But in fact they form 9% to 37% of the population if such religious groups like Buddhists and Christians are also considered. (35)

As the Chinese population is economically strong they are rarely found in such professions as government service, agriculture and manual jobs. With their generations of experience and pioneering spirit they have now occupied a strategic position in the Southeast Asian countries including Indonesia. This situation will, perhaps, not change for generations to come, specially in such spheres as trade and commerce of urban areas.

The number of Europeans, Arabs and Indians has greatly declined after the independence. There was heavy migration of the Dutch and Eurasians during the last quarter of the fifties on account of anti Dutch campaign on their policy towards Irian Jaya. Table 25 shows the population of Djakarta by nationality.

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(35) "Population Census 1961: Djakarta", p.12, 16.

Table - 25

PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION OF DJAKARTA BY  
 NATIONALITY: 1920-61<sup>1)</sup>

<u>Year</u>	<u>Indonesian</u>	<u>Chinese</u>	<u>Europeans</u>
1920	75.0	14.1	9.6
1930	76.8	14.8	7.0
1957	88.8	8.9	2.3
1961 <sup>2)</sup>	95.5	3.5	0.4

1) Others and Unknown not given.

2) Excluding naturalised citizens.

Source: Kartono Gunawan, Ibid., p.4

It can be said that the foreign elements, who were an urban lot, have played a very prominent role in the Indonesian economy. Moreover, after the departure of the Dutch, the services, plantation, mining and technical enterprises almost collapsed. It was mainly because of the deliberate policy of the colonial government to deny education and technical training to the natives.

Sex Ratio: The sex ratio, in terms of number of males per hundred females, was rather high in Djakarta by Javanese

standard where females outnumber males - a phenomenon found since ancient times. The sex ratios in Djakarta were 103.0 in 1920, 107.4 in 1930, 103.4 in 1957 and 103.9 in 1961, showing a steady increase in the number of males. In 1930 the number of males had increased more due to the increased immigration from abroad with the thriving trade and commercial activities.

In Java there were 12 cities with more than 100,000 population. But it was only Djakarta and Bandung where there were fewer females in 1961. Not only the medium size cities, but even the second largest city of the country, Surabaya, situated in East Java with more than a million population, showed slightly more females in its population. In Djakarta itself there were only 96 males per 100 females in 1920 among the native population. It was only in 1930 that a marked increase was observed in the masculinity of the native group also. This had resulted due to the heavy in-migration from rural Java. However, the locally born Indonesians had more females among them. As late as 1961 this group showed only 98.3 males per 100 females.

By contrast, all the urban centres of the outer provinces show large number of males in their population. Table 26 shows the sex ratios of important cities of Indonesia.

Table - 26

## SEX RATIOS IN SELECTED CITIES OF JAVA AND OUTER ISLANDS, 1930-61

(Arrangement of cities according to descending order of sex ratio in 1961)

<u>Cities of Java</u>	<u>1930</u>	<u>1961</u>
Djakarta	103.6	103.8
Bandung	98.1	101.1
Bogor	94.3	99.9
Jogjakarta	90.3	99.8
Surabaya	95.4	97.8
Semarang	97.9	96.8
Surakarta	90.2	96.8

Cities of Outer Islands:

Tandjung Karang	119.1	108.5
Palembang	108.4	105.8
Pontianak	117.8	105.8
Medan	129.8	105.5
Padang	128.0	105.3
Manado	109.3	103.4
Makassar	118.6	102.4
Bandjarmasin	97.0	100.9

Source: Census of Indonesia 1930  
and 1961.



It is instructive to compare the ratios of Djakarta and Bombay - a city of male predominant country. While Bombay (1951) showed 68 males in excess of per 100 females, Djakarta had only 4. The ratio was prominently imbalanced in Bombay in the middle age work-force (35-44) in which we get 127 males in excess of every 100 females as against only 23 in Djakarta. (36) In Southeast Asian capitals, only Manila showed lower sex ratio than Djakarta. In Kuala Lumpur (1957) Singapore (1947) and Manila (1960) these ratios were 113, 112 and 93 respectively. (37)

It is worth nothing that while the male-female ratio of the native group is tending to become more imbalanced, the trend among the Chinese and other foreign groups is towards more settled nature than was the case in the early decades of the present century. The Chinese population showed a sex ratio of 132 in 1920. This preponderance of males declined to 131 in 1930 and finally it dropped to 119 in 1961. Some figures are given below regarding the sex ratio of the Chinese population and others by place of birth. These data clearly demonstrate the relationship between masculinity and the distance of Djakarta from the place of birth.

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(36) M.L. Dentwala, "Work, Wages and Well-being in an Indian Metropolis", Economic Survey of Bombay, Bombay University, 1963, p.23.

(37) T.G. Mc Gee, Ibid., p.109.

<u>Place of Birth (Chinese)</u>	<u>Males per 100 Females 1930</u>
1. Djakarta	94
2. Abroad	275
3. Total Chinese	131

<u>Place of Birth (Total population)</u>	<u>Sex Ratio (1961)</u>
1. Djakarta	98
2. Java (excluding Djakarta)	105
3. Outside Java	140
4. Outside Indonesia	169

The sex ratios among other Asians, mostly Arabs and Indians, continued to rise until 1930 with sex selective immigration. But afterwards, it began to decline with more females joining them. Table 27 reveals that the number of males continued to rise among some groups until 1930. Afterwards it started to decline as a result of political troubles. During the fifties thousands of Dutch and Chinese had to leave Indonesia. But very soon their place was filled up by local males. However, even today, the overall sex ratio of the population of Djakarta is almost similar to what it was found four decades ago.

Table - 27SEX RATIOS BY ETHNIC GROUPS, 1920-61  
(DJAKARTA)

Year	Total population	Indo-nes-ians	Chinese	Other Asians	Whiter Eurasian population	Indonesia (Total)
1920	103.7	96.8	132.3	133.6	120.2	99.0
1930	107.4	103.0	131.4	142.5	107.1	98.1
1961	103.8	103.3	118.7	120.3	125.7	97.2

There is likelihood that in future the number of males will increase in the city with increased pressure of population on rural land and industrial development which has a tendency to concentrate in or around Djakarta. This is the consequence of a highly centralised government. There is one more factor to affect sex ratio. Rising cost of living discourages marriages. There are figures to suggest that on average around 28,000 marriages were performed yearly in Djakarta between 1961 and 1970. During the 1966-70 period there were 12,000 fewer marriages as compared to 1961-65 figures.  
(38)

An examination of the sex data by age shows the following broad trends in 1961. There were slightly more males in age groups from 0 to 10 years. After this age,

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(38) "Djakarta in Figures 1971", Ibid., p.99

there is a slight rise in the number of females from ages 10 to 25. Afterwards the picture changes substantially as there is a great preponderance of males in the middle age work-force i.e. 25 to 45 years. In each quinquennial age groups 7,000 to 21,000 males are in excess except in the 25-29 groups. After 45 years the number of males begins to decline and ultimately, from 57 onwards, females outnumber males. This trend continues till advanced ages.

One interesting fact is also reflected in the census data about the hypothetical age of marriage and availability of mates. The ratio of males between 20 and 49 years to females between 15 and 44 years is only 92. It clearly shows the deficient number of males in most suitable ages for marriage and reproduction. It has been assumed that this deficiency would have resulted due to the heavy casualties during the troubled periods of 1941-49 or due to age preference and resulting misreporting by females. It is also probable that they are actually in excess number because of their influx to Djakarta in search of mates and household jobs which they have monopolised in Java as well as in some cities of other islands also. How far this situation affects fertility rates is yet to be investigated.

Besides affecting vital rates, the excess of young females in a society has other implications also giving rise to various social problems. This is evident in Djakarta

where one finds thousands of divorced young women who cannot lead a normal life. Mushrooming massage houses, steam bath centres and beauty parlours which came up during the new regime, and nothing but secret prostitution houses. Recently, there were violent demonstrations against these centres also during the visit of Japanese Prime Minister. Doubtless the government is making concerted efforts to rehabilitate these wandering women in legalised areas.

It is not surprising that these centres and gambling houses yield about 22% of the total tax collected in Djakarta. Most of this money goes for development work and beautification of the city.

Age Composition: Unlike the 1930 census, the 1961 census data supplies exhaustive age data for the total population. During the earlier censuses, only the European and Chinese population were asked to report their ages. The 1961 census and other sources provide single year age data from 0 to 70 years. Age data by race, religion, marital status, education, place of birth, economic activity and industry are also reported.

The earlier data on age are of very limited value. It can, however, be said that in 1930 the percentage of those under 15 years of age in Djakarta was much lower than that found for the Indonesian average. This was mainly on

account of high mortality rates prevailing in Djakarta. This was supplemented by a large number of adult migrants. The broad age groups reported during the 1930 census are given below.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION  
BY AGE : 1930

<u>Age</u>	<u>Djakarta</u>	<u>Indonesia</u>
0-15	34.3	41.0
15 and over	65.6	59.0

An observation of the 1961 age data by single year interval indicates some of the common errors of age mis-reporting. The preference for certain digits, specially those ending in 0 and 5, is very prominent. This has resulted in several distinct age heapings specially at ages 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45 and 50 years. Other errors seem to be omission of the very young and under reporting of ages by young women. A glance at the 5-year age groups gives the following broad conclusion:

1. A large percentage (40.3) of the population was under 15 years of age,
2. A trough exists between 10 and 19 years,
3. A minor bulge is present between 20 and 30 years, and,

4. The percentage of older people is very small.

Forty percent persons under 15 years of age is regarded as a very young population having very high fertility rate. It is obvious that, although Djakarta's fertility is lower than the national average, it has either not yet experienced the effects of urbanisation or the war casualties have considerably depressed the number of adult population. This youthfulness of population in an urban area is rather rare. It is slightly younger than its own population of 1920 and 1930 and considerably younger than the urban populations of technologically advanced nations. Corresponding figures given in Table 28 for some important centres of advanced and pre-developed countries illustrate that Djakarta's young population is more than three times larger than that of Geneva and 33% more than those of Colombo and San Salvador. This proportion was as low as 27.9% for Bombay in 1951. The median age of Djakarta was 19.4 compared to 20.7 of Guayaquil of Ecuador, 23.1 of San Salvador of El Salvador and 24.5 of Colombo of Sri Lanka and as high as 42 of Geneva of Switzerland in 1950. However, the situation in Dacca and Kuala Lumpur was same. This table also reveals that the dependency ratio is highest in Djakarta compared to the other cities.

A young population creates problems of dependency and education. The present crowding in the schools and universities

Table - 28

## AGE AND SEX INDICES OF FIVE SELECTED CITIES

Indices	CITIES				
	Djakarta 1961	Guayaquil <sup>*</sup> 1950	San Salvador <sup>*</sup> 1950	Colombo <sup>*</sup> 1953	Geneva <sup>*</sup> 1950
Percent of Total Population in each age group:					
0-14	40.3	37.6	30.8	30.5	12.9
15-64	58.3	59.8	65.9	66.7	69.1
65 +	1.4	2.6	3.3	2.8	18.6
Dependency Ratio 1)					
	70.9	67.2	51.7	49.9	44.7
Index of Aging 2)					
Male	2.6	5.4	8.1	8.9	105.4
Female	3.5	8.6	13.7	9.3	172.4
Total	3.1	6.9	10.7	9.2	139.5
Median age Sex Ratio					
0-14	1008	1008	988	1056	1024
15-64	1067	896	795	1896	821
65 +	749	646	591	1012	627
All ages	1038	929	842	1548	806
Percent Male					
Total	60.9	48.1	45.7	60.8	44.6
15-64	58.8	47.3	44.3	65.5	45.1
(of total Male)					

$$1) \text{ D.R. } = \frac{(0-14) + (65+)}{(15-64)} \times 100$$

$$2) \text{ I.A. } = \frac{65+}{(0-14)} \times 100$$

\* Sources: H.L. Browning's, "Methods of Describing the Age-Sex Structure of Cities", Urban Research Methods, D. Van Nostrand Co. Inc., N.Y., 1961, p.135.



of Djakarta, which are forced to run in two and three shifts discloses this problem. Despite great progress made recently towards literacy in Indonesia, it was found that 31% children between 10 and 14 years were not attending any school in 1961. It is a clear evidence that the execution of government plans to improve the educational standard is severely hampered. In rural economy children are considered to be an asset as they help their parents in farming and related activities. But in urban environment it is contrary and poses many urban problems.

The percentage of those under 15 years of age is even higher (45.3%) for the Chinese population. Their higher standard of living is probably responsible for higher fertility and lower infant mortality rate. Perhaps this is also true that they desire larger families to run their enterprise by their own people.

As the figures of Table 29 portray, there is a sudden drop in the proportions of those belonging to 10-14 and 15-19 year age group. The total number between 4 and 9 years is 400,930 or 13.9%. But in the next two age groups (10-14 and 15-19) the number sharply drops to 257,398 and 288,875 or 8.9 and 9.9 percent of the total respectively. These were the cohorts which were born at the time of war. Above these age groups we get larger proportions i.e. 11.9 and 10.6 percent. Their number, supplemented by migrants, is rather normal as they were born during the normal period of the thirties.

Table - 29

## POPULATION OF DJAKARTA BY AGE AND SEX : 1961

Age	Male	Female	Male %	Female
0-4	257,771	253,631	17.4	17.7
5-9	200,798	200,132	13.5	14.0
10-14	128,567	128,831	8.6	9.0
15-19	143,422	145,453	9.6	10.2
20-24	173,848	173,226	11.7	12.1
25-29	151,065	156,215	10.2	10.9
30-34	129,079	110,836	8.7	7.7
35-39	101,724	80,543	6.8	5.6
40-44	67,241	54,383	4.5	3.8
45-49	43,506	35,534	2.9	2.4
50-54	32,762	31,393	2.2	2.2
55-59	17,664	15,834	1.1	1.11
60-64	16,520	17,987	1.1	1.26
65-69	6,462	7,360	0.4	0.51
70-74	4,985	6,784	0.3	0.46
75 +	3,968	6,438	0.1	0.16
	<u>1,480,771</u>	<u>1,425,762</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.00</u>

Source: Census of Djakarta, 1961, p.5

Doubtless there will be a noticeable change when those now under 10 years enter higher age brackets. It will surely create problems of higher education, employment and higher fertility rate later. This phenomenon is common throughout Indonesia.

The work-force, defined as persons between 15 and 64 years of age as a proportion of the total population, was 58.3% in Djakarta. This proportion was 55.4% for the total population of Indonesia. As compared to world urban standards this proportion is much lower. In fact it is equal to the world total for urban and rural areas combined. In industrialised countries the work-force is around 65% i.e. seven points higher than that of Djakarta. Djakarta's proportion was, however, slightly higher than that of Kuala Lumpur and Dacca. The Chinese population of Djakarta also furnishes, like Kuala Lumpur, a large proportion under 15 years of age (45.5%) and, therefore, fewer in the work-force. The percentage age distribution in the population is illustrated in Table 30.

The economic disadvantages of a small work-force are obvious. The fewer in working age, the higher is the dependency ratio. A dependency ratio of 71 for Djakarta was, perhaps, one of the highest of all the urban centres of the same size. This ratio was 67 for Guayaquil, 52 for San Salvador, 50 for Colombo and only 45 for Geneva. The

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(40) H.L. Browning, Ibid., p.135.

lower the ratio, the more reproductive the population. But whether this situation has any significance in absence of large scale industrialization, is yet to be examined. Nevertheless, there are complex problems involved in it which cannot be ignored. For instance, lack of skilled labour, incentive and wasteful exploitation of young adults and resulting low productivity are the main consequences of such features. (41)

Table - 30

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN DJAKARTA BY AGE TOGETHER WITH OTHER AREAS

		<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-59</u>	<u>60 &amp;</u>
Djakarta	1961	40.3	57.3	2.4
Dacca 1)	1961	41.1	55.8	3.1
Kuala Lumpur 2)	1957	44.4	51.2	4.4
Malaya 3)	1957	44.4	51.2	4.4
South Central Asia	1957	40.0	56.0	4.0
U. S. A.	1957	25.0	64.0	11.0
World	1957	36.0	57.0	7.0

Source: 'Determinants and Consequences....', U.N.O.

- 1) Census of Pakistan, 1961, Bulletin No.3.
- 2) Census of Malaya 1957.
- 3) J.C. Caldwell, 'The Population of Malaya', Australian National University Thesis, 1962.

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(41) "Determinants and Consequences...", U.N.O.

The broad age composition of the city population is similar to the total urban population of Indonesia. As Table 31 discloses, there is a slight difference in the old ages. While the proportion of older people aged 65 and over was 2.2% for the total population, it was only 1.4% for Djakarta. There may be two reasons to explain

Table - 31

PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION OF DJAKARTA COMPARED WITH OTHER AREAS OF INDONESIA

	<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>65 +</u>
Djakarta	40.3	58.3	1.4
Java Urban	38.8	58.9	2.3
Indonesia Urban	40.1	57.7	2.2
Indonesia Rural	42.5	54.9	2.6
Indonesia Total	42.1	55.4	2.5

Source: Census of Indonesia 1961 (1% sample).

the smaller number of older people in Djakarta. First, either the mortality rate is higher among them, or, second, the return migration of the older persons after retirement. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that half of all the residents were born outside the city and that in other areas whether rural or urban, the proportion of older population is higher than that found in Djakarta.

This proportion in Djakarta was almost half of the number found in the cities of other developing countries and only about one-tenth of the cities of developed countries. Compare the index of aging which was 139.5 for Geneva, 9.2 for Colombo, but only 3.1 for Djakarta. (42)

Let us now consider the age structure of the Chinese population. Their age pattern was found similar to the Chinese population of Malaysia and Singapore. But some striking changes have occurred in this group since 1930. Now there are more young and old dependents among them than in the twenties or thirties. There was substantial change in the proportion of those under 15 years of age. It was only 29.3% in 1930 but the proportion rose to 45.3% in 1961. Correspondingly the work-force constituting as much as 67.8% dropped to only 52.2% during the same period. These characteristics indicate a more stable life with family than what it was previously found. This group also reflects a very high sex ratio in all the age groups including those very young. In 1961 there were 121 boys in excess of girls aged 0 to 9 years as against only 3 boys in excess of per 1000 girls among the native group. Relevant figures show an overwhelming preponderance of young and middle aged people (90%) and an acute shortage of females and very young persons among

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(42) H.L. Browning, Ibid., p.135. (Index of aging

$$= \frac{65}{(0-14)} \times 100.$$

the Chinese who were born abroad. A completely difference picture is represented by those Chinese who were locally born. Some features have been depicted in the following tables about the age structure by place of birth and race.

Table - 32

DJAKARTA - BROAD AGE GROUP (P.C.)  
BY RACE : 1961

<u>Race</u>	<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>65 +</u>
Indonesia (Native)	40.0	58.9	1.1
Chinese	45.3	52.2	2.5
Chinese (1930)	29.9	67.8	2.3
Other Aliens	38.9	57.9	3.2
Total	40.3	58.3	1.4

Table - 33

AGE COMPOSITION OF THE CHINESE POPULATION BY  
PLACE OF BIRTH : 1930

<u>Place of birth</u>	<u>0-14</u>	<u>15-64</u>	<u>65 +</u>
Indonesia	41.5	56.0	2.5
Abroad	8.5	90.1	1.4
Total Chinese	29.9	67.8	2.3
Total Chinese (1961)	45.3	52.2	2.5

In the foregoing paragraphs we have discussed some of the socio-demographic characteristics and problems of Djakarta. In the following chapter we will review some of the specific socio-economic problems which have been multiplying due to prolonged neglect, ever increasing population and haphazard growth of the city.



Chapter V

SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF DJAKARTA AND  
DEVELOPMENT PLANS

## CHAPTER V

### SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF DJAKARTA AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS

The frequent and erratic changes in the administration of Greater Djakarta has resulted in prolonged neglect of public services and many complex problems. Since 1940 there was no proper planning and as a result, the city expanded haphazardly annexing many rural areas into its boundary. The socio-economic problems had approached unbearable proportions during the forties and sixties. An attempt has been made to analyse the problems in a systematic way.

The problems of this metropolitan city have mainly been from its colonial roots. The initial aim of the Dutch rulers was to establish this city to serve the specific colonial purposes. The maladies multiplied due to the continued political and economic unrest. The concentration of all political power and all non-agricultural industries in this capital had made the problems beyond control because of the growing population without any planning.

During the Dutch period the rulers had completely ignored the areas occupied by the non-European residents. Although the indigenous population was in minority at the initial stages, soon they outnumbered the foreign elements. Moreover, the Dutch government had deliberately ignored to train the Indonesians in urban management which was essential

to manage a rapidly growing city like Djakarta.

Until 1941, all the major cities of Indonesia were dominated by European and other Asian elites. The main function of these cities was administration, collection of raw materials and distribution of imported manufactured goods. As a whole the entire machinery was controlled by the Dutch with the Chinese as middlemen. Their departure from Indonesia after independence created a complete vacuum. This situation had caused a total collapse of the whole fabric of the city life. Despite some improvement, the chaotic conditions predominate the environment of Djakarta even now.

It must be borne in mind that except few, most of the cities are foreign creation whose prosperity and growth depended on the export of raw materials produced in their hinterland. Thus all the major cities of Indonesia are located on coastal areas. The only exception are the ancient cities of Jogjakarta and Surakarta in Central Java and a hill station - Bandung - in West Java. Heavy dependence on export enterprise had made almost all the coastal cities of parasitic nature.

Another colonial curse is the presence of numerous canals in many Indonesian cities. The Dutch had tried to imitate the navigational canals of the 19th century of their native land. These canals are now seriously clogged up by the present day pollution and neglect towards their clearance.

They have become notorious grounds for disease carrying insects. At the early stages of the colonial period, Djakarta had one of the highest death rates of any European settlement in Asia. <sup>(1)</sup> Many squatter settlements are located along these seriously polluted canals. Virulent malaria used to spread previously in the city areas through which these canals passed. From these areas the disease used to spread throughout the city.

These canals and the marshy terrain had compelled the white rulers to extend the city southwards on higher elevation <sup>(2)</sup> in the 19th and early 20th century. The expansion was rapid and almost all the civil servants and wealthy people shifted to the new areas. Similar southwards expansion were repeated in several Javanese cities like Surabaya, Semarang, Tegal, Pasuruan and Tubolinggo during the same period.

Almost all the Indonesian cities exhibit a marked racial zoning which is also a legacy of the colonial past. Many "China Towns" of Southeast Asian nations testify this fact. The concentration of economically strong alien group in one area of urban centres is potentially dangerous causing social tension. Although the European sectors of the city

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(1) Charles A. Fisher, Ibid., p.303.

(2) Ibid., p.304.

landscape of the past have disappeared and occupied by the indigenous elites, the Chinese quarter still makes unmistakably separate entity on the urban landscape of Southeast Asia. Their powerful presence is hatefully felt causing violent riots with slightest provocation. "Every revolt or revolution in the country's history started with the massacre of local Chinese."<sup>(3)</sup> The situation has not changed much even after political independence.

#### SOME SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Djakarta's development has seriously suffered due to the shortages of adequate funds. Lack of funds may result in improper city structure, problems of housing, health and sanitation, education and recreation facilities, and above all transportation and numerous others. Some of the specific problems have been dealt with in the following paragraphs. Although this city's budget is proportionately much larger than other Indonesian cities or even regions, the capital is far behind if compared to other capitals of the region. A glance at the following comparative figures adequately supports this statement.

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(3) Approdicio A. Lequian, "Urban Tension in Southeast Asia in the 1970", in Worriggins and Guyot's "Population, Politics and Future of Southeast Asia," Columbia University Press, New York, 1973, p.124.

Table - 34

COMPARATIVE FIGURES ON POPULATION, AREA AND  
BUDGET OF GREATER DJAKARTA AND OTHER  
CITIES (AROUND 1971)

	<u>City</u>	<u>Population</u> (000,000)	<u>Area</u> (Km <sup>2</sup> )	<u>Yearly Budget</u> (Million of U.S. \$)
1.	Djakarta	4.77	592	21.3
2.	Bangkok- Tomburi	2.55	290	30.0
3.	Singapore	2.00	30	130.0
4.	Hon_kong	4.00	4	75.0

Source: "Djakarta Dalam Data Pembangunan",  
P.C.I., 1971, p.nil.

The above figures are self revealing showing the contrasts between a well organised city like Singapore and a neglected one like Djakarta. In 1959 the Singapore municipal budget was almost five-times larger than that of Djakarta with twice the population. <sup>(4)</sup> The above table illustrates that the gap has further widened recently.

For a considerable period in the past the government had miserably failed to allocate adequate power and funds to the city administration of Djakarta and other cities of

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(4) Fryer W. Donald, "Emerging Southeast Asia", McGraw-Hill, New York, 1970, p.97.

Indonesia. Conflicts and contradictions prevailed. The rulers gave greater emphasis on external behaviour of the nation rather than on the urban problems. Perhaps Djakarta and Rangoon are the dirtiest cities of Southeast Asia at present. (5) Instead of overcoming the problems of the metropolitan area of Djakarta, the rulers used vast sums of foreign exchange in unproductive projects like Asia's biggest stadium, huge mosque, luxury hotels, "National Movement" topped by a ball of flame in solid gold of 36 kilograms. Fortunately this trend has changed now.

Heavy concentration of administrative power and other capital function in Djakarta had attracted many foreign as well as local entrepreneurs to throng in the capital in the past. Thus since early periods, this city remained the most industrialised area of Indonesia. Almost one-third of all the industrial projects and the same proportion of country's capital investment are concentrated here. It virtually monopolises all the non-agricultural manufacturing activities. It does not seem that this trend has changed to any great extent even after the collapse of foreign rule and downfall of the Sukarno regime. Concentration of most of the manufacturing industries in a single city of a vast country like Indonesia cannot be without serious consequences. This concentration has resulted over crowding of public services, pollution, labour problems, uneven economic standards and social tension.

(5) Ibid., p.97.

Leaving aside all the older industries, 36% of the projects contracted recently with foreign collaboration have also been funneled into this city. For instance, after the liberalization of law on foreign investment in 1967, Indonesia signed 444 contracts with foreign companies. Out of these, 238 projects were to be concentrated in the areas around  
(b) Djakarta. Almost one-third of the domestic capital was also consumed by this city alone during the recent drive towards industrial development.

Most of the industries of the early periods belong to small and moderate scale category. The hotel industry was also flourishing previously. But this enterprise was completely ruined during the fifties and sixties. The main cause was the government take over and occupation of the hotel rooms permanently by civil servants and army men. At present there are 32 hotels with 2,090 b.ds. With the increasing number of tourists and businessmen from abroad, the government has approved 31 additional units with 2,324 bed-rooms with all the modern facilities. Tourism industry is thriving now and 70,000 tourists entered Djakarta in 1970.

After the normalization of relation with the western countries and Japan, quite a number of basic and heavy

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(c) "Djakarta in Progress", Ibid., p.110.



industries have also sprung up in the industrial estates of Djakarta. Between 1967 and 1971 contracts worth US \$ 333 million were signed for various projects for Djakarta area. The following table shows the number of projects for Djakarta and the rest of Indonesia. These figures clearly indicate the preference of Djakarta by foreign concerns.

During the Dutch period all the small scale industries were located in Central Djakarta. The second largest concentration was found in West Djakarta. The census of 1971 recorded as many as 807 small and moderate scale industrial units in the Sub-District of Sawah Besar followed by Tanah Abang (520).

The above places are situated in Central Djakarta. Fortunately the new industries get approval only in industrial estates now.

### (1) Problems of Employment

The economic problems result in many social evils. We need not emphasise that the establishment of new industries in Djakarta and growing pressure on land in the rural areas of Java will attract countless number of persons despite the city's closer to unemployed migrants. Among the new comers there are many educated youths who have acquired some skills. Some of these might get employment

in the new industries but the majority, together with the thousands of unskilled peasant-migrants, will remain unemployed. It has been estimated that the new industries would absorb only about 48,000 persons which is negligible in comparison to the inflow of migrants. In 1971 it was observed that out of 4.7 million persons aged ten years or over 37,918 were unskilled and were temporarily employed. Altogether 42,400 were not employed at all. (7) Although these numbers seem to be under estimates, nonetheless they reveal the seriousness of the situation.

In a purely pre-industrial society the social problems intensify without adequate control on rural-urbanward movement and lack of employment opportunities. Moreover, thousands of freedom fighters thronged the capital immediately after the Transfer of Sovereignty, to get their due share in the new setup. Djakarta is facing this problem since independence. Consequently most of the government departments have become overstuffed. This situation has resulted in notorious inefficiency, corruption and serious delays even in those sectors which needed urgent attention.

There is a vast army of bureaucrats in Djakarta who are not trained in any particular profession. The higher

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(7) Ibid., p.118.

ups of these, the top army officers and the Chinese traders have earned the notoriety for their ostentatious living. During the pre-coup days of 1965, this privileged crust of the society was the main target of communist propaganda.

The employment problem is so serious in the larger urban areas that in many instances students are paid large sums of money by the government to encourage them to remain in colleges rather than to graduate and further swell the demand for government employment. (8) Bandung and Jogjakarta are the notable examples for their large number of time serving students who form a very conspicuous element in the local population. (9) Some of the findings of Fisher and Carpenter clearly demonstrate that most of the enterprising students do not want to remain in their provinces but move to Djakarta as soon as opportunity arises. (10) This drift not only overcrowds the employment market but constitutes a constant provincial braindrain among the educated elites.

Even a casual observation of the Indonesian capital will reveal hundreds of petty retailers, hawkers, private servants and rickshaw drivers. Many people wait to perform odd jobs and thousands have become professional beggars.

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(8) Donald W. Fryer, Ibid., p.89.

(9) Ibid., p.89.

(10) T.M. Smith and H.F. Carpenter, "Indonesian University Students and their Career Aspiration," Asian Survey, 14 (a) September 1974, pp.824-5.

Concealed unemployment has encouraged strong trade unionism in the established industries.

There are some 200,000 tricycle rickshaws in Djakarta at present. They provide fractional employment to around 400,000 drivers on whom more or less one million persons depend for their living. (11) These poor drivers will be thrown out of employment if they are prohibited from the city area. The process has already started with the beautification plan under which many roads have been barred from them. Many experts blame these tricycles for the sluggish traffic of Djakarta. Although the government has made some plans to rehabilitate them in agricultural projects of S. Sumatra, very little has been achieved as yet. Many of those who were sent to these areas ultimately returned to Djakarta, for, they lacked pioneering spirit.

## (2) Slum, Squatters and Housing Problems

An army of unemployed and semi-employed rural migrants has caused considerable erosion of government authority. In absence of cheap housing, these people have become squatters on valuable government and private lands. Several of these slums are found in the heart of Djakarta. Thousands of squatters have invaded the old quarters of the city settling

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(11) Apuricio A. Laquian, "Urban Tensions in Southeast Asia in the 1970s", in Worrigim & Guyot (Ed.), "Population and Politics...", p.124.

down on the low-lying grounds, garbage dumps and other odd spots.

The low-lying areas of Djakarta are liable to frequent floods during rainy seasons. Flood problem has become menacing in a city like Djakarta where nearly two-thirds of the area is flooded during heavy rains. (12) These floods have frequently caused serious damages to the slum dwellers, odd office complexes and commercial areas. Clogged-up sewage and drainage system of the city is mainly responsible for this miserable state of affair. The city administration has made plans with the collaboration of the Central Government to collect flood waters in artificial ponds and finally pump it into the sea. (13) Most of the destructive floods occur in West and South Djakarta areas. During the 1967-70 period, almost 170,000 people (14) suffered due to the floods in these areas.

Some international organizations have recommended to resettle the squatters in the outlying areas of Djakarta. But the time consuming and high costs of urban transport system discourage the migrants to settle in far off areas. In congested parts of the city there are more employment opportunities for them.

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(12) "Djakarta in Progress," D.C.I., 1971, p.84.

(13) Ibid., p.84.

(14) Kantor Dinas Sosial, D.C.I., 1971, Official Files.

Doubtless, the slum areas have greatly depressed the adjacent property values. Recently, the administration has started to improve the Kampung and slum areas with encouraging results. The values of such lands situated in Kemajoran, Rawabadak, Kajumanis, Menteng Atas and Kampung Kerdang have increased from 42 to 86 percent after some of the development plans were implemented. It was also revealed in some surveys that the incomes of the residents of these areas have gone up from 3 to 33 percent. (15)

Any resettlement plan of the slum dwellers meets stiff resistance. Generally the authorities feel their helplessness because the squatters happen to be politically well organised and highly motivated lot. There is a general tendency among the squatters to believe that the longer they remain in occupation, the greater their moral claim and probability to get government approval. It has been generally noticed that as soon as any squatter area is cleared, the dwellers promptly occupy the nearest vacant site. Not only the new site fills up soon, a fresh trickle of new migrants often occupy the empty places vacated by the old residents.

During the Sukarno era, the landlords who tried to oust the slum dwellers found themselves threatened with

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(15) Ibid., p.89.

physical violence from the militant left-wing elements of the residents. It is needless to mention that these elements dominated the Indonesian politics until 1965. It would be foolhardy to believe that these elements have been completely eliminated from the soils of Indonesia after the failure of 1965 coup. Almost one-third of the city population is composed of landless peasants from the countryside. Even the present government hesitates to take any drastic measure to clear the slum areas inhabited by the migrants.

As noted earlier these slum dwellings are invariably built of inflammable materials like bamboo, wood, cardboard, plastic and gunny sheets. Besides the problems of floods on low lying areas, seasonal fires create havoc among these helpless dwellers of hutments. Until 1967, the yearly destruction rate by fire was around 3,000 structures. Approximately 15,000 people lose their shelters annually. Property worth more than \$ 4 million was lost and 17 people were burnt to death in 1967 alone. It was the year when the law and order situation was considerably improved. Most of the fires occur during the dry months of August, September and October. It is not a secret that the cause of most of these fires are speculators who cannot apply force to evict the unauthorised squatters. Fortunately these fires are on decline now.

It is needless to mention that these poor areas without adequate water, electricity, schools and sanitary arrangements have become major breeding places for crimes, delinquency and diseases. On several occasions these diseases reach epidemic proportions. Malaria had reappeared in Djakarta during the mid-sixties after a lapse of some decades. Many other mosquito born diseases were on the increase until 1967 due to the inadequate refuse disposal in the squatter camps and elsewhere. More than 2,000 smallpox cases were reported in Djakarta during 1966-67. (16) An estimate of the World Health Organization disclosed that nearly 50% of the city population show positive reactions to the tubercular tests. (17) Once the Governor of Djakarta lamented that there would be 60 to 90 thousand tramps in the city who roam from one place to another in search of food and shelter. (18)

The housing problem of Djakarta is similar to the cities of other developing countries. In some respects it is worse because since long very little public or private investment came forward to ameliorate this problem. The neglect by Government was so consistent that this problem touched pathetic levels. In fact the government responsibility is

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(16) "Djakarta in Progress", p.82.

(17) Djakarta Times, 19 January 1971.

(18) J.N. Bhatta, Ibid., p.6.



more in this sphere, for, there is very little private response in real estate. Most of the private capital is in the hands of Chinese who have neither the interest in this enterprise nor the law permits them to do so. Moreover, the returns are not so attractive in this enterprise if compared to profits available in other business.

A glance at the house-hold listing of the 1961 census discloses that about two-thirds of the city dwellings are cramped with 4 to 10 members each. Sixty-two percent of these tenants had only one room. A bulk (85%) of these units were built of bamboo and wood and thus almost half were classed as semi-permanent structures. While around 40,000 households are added yearly in the city at present, (19) only 3,000 permanent housing units are approved annually. A breakdown of the type of dwellings is given below.

As expected, these figures reveal that the maximum number of permanent constructions (33%) are found in Central Djakarta. It is a further proof that even in the heart of the city only one-third housing units are permanent. The harbour and other areas of North Djakarta show an even staggering records with only 13% of the dwellings built partly of bricks and cement.

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(19) Aprodicio A. Laquian, ibid., p.124.

Table - 36PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DWELLINGS BY TYPE IN  
THE MUNICIPALITIES OF DJAKARTA (1971)

<u>Municipalities</u>	<u>Permanent Houses</u>	<u>Semi- permanent</u>	<u>Tempo- rary</u>
Central Djakarta	33	34	33
North Djakarta	12	21	67
South Djakarta	29	27	44
East Djakarta	18	21	61
West Djakarta	23	21	56
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Djakarta (average)	23	25	52

Source: "Djakarta: Regional Statistics 1971",  
D.S.I., p.16.

At present 8 persons live in a single housing unit on average. At this rate 400,000 extra housing units would be required in addition to the existing 463,000 houses to provide a moderate housing standard to the residents of Djakarta. (20) Rough estimate shows that it would take around 20 years to attain this moderate standard at the rate of 20,000 new units per year. However,

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(20) Statement of the Indonesian Delegation at Asian-African Housing Conference, October 1967, Singapore, Djakarta Times, October 12, 1967.

considering the present growth rate of the city population and a maximum of 5 members per unit, the yearly requirement (21) would be 45,000 dwellings. Around half of these would be required by the annual net increase of the population and the rest against replacement of illegal or damaged structures, emergency work and government offices.

A socio-economic survey conducted by the municipal authorities in 1963 showed that although there is no clear indication towards the concentration of urban properties into few moneyed hands, only about half (53) of all the dwellings were occupied by the owners themselves. More than one-tenth of the units were in the hands of unauthorised (22) persons. But this seems to be an under estimate.

As late as 1967-68 all the plans to resettle squatters and other housing projects were bogged down in political and administrative disputes over the ultimate responsibility between the central and local governments or various city departments. There was also a programme to assist low-income group people with housing projects. But the spiralling prices became the greatest obstacle towards the implementation of those plans. Whatever funds, materials and lands were

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(21) "Djakarta in Progress", Ibid., p.104.

(22) Ibid., p.104.

available, were grabbed by mid-income group bureaucrats and (23) speculators. The present set-up of the administration has more power and finance at its disposal and some international organisations have also taken initiative in real estate projects. Of all the housings, hotels and office building contracts signed with foreign firms, nine-tenths are for the Djakarta area. Anyway, the housing shortages are enormous and tremendous efforts will be required to solve this problem marginally.

Some resettlement plans like Singapore and Hong Kong are, perhaps, the need of the hour. The achievements of the Department of Resettlement of Hong Kong and the Singapore Housing Board of these island states have been given full authority to look into the squatter and overall housing problems. The above department of Hong Kong has rehoused about 600,000 squatters in multi-storied blocks between 1954 and (24) 1964. However, such plans are also not beyond criticism. Social workers have argued in favour of regulated squatter camps but not flats. According to some experts, squatter camps provide much greater economic and personal security (25) and better environment for the raising of children. In

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(23) Statement in Asian-African Housing Conference, Ibid.

(24) Donald W. Fryer, Ibid., p.92.

(25) Donald W. Fryer, Ibid., p.92.

both these island city states, some building complexes have been built up on reclaimed rubbish dumps on sea shores. Ironically now these colonies themselves are producing considerable quantity of rubbish creating disposal problems. As a result, hostile slogans were raised against 'colonies on garbage dumps' as was heard in Japan also. Besides, these colonies of flats have created problems of sub-letting, rent collection and speculation. Moreover, it is problematical whether any such measure would work successfully unless the whole social and economic structure of the society changes drastically. If the prevailing economic and political insecurity continues in the rural areas, a primate city like Djakarta, whether 'closed' or otherwise, cannot escape squatter and related problems.

### (3) Effects of Overall Low Sex Ratio in Java

Among many socio-economic problems, the overall surplus of females in Java and the customary high divorce rate, as mentioned previously, have great bearing on the morality of the people. As a result of excessive divorces amidst poverty, many young unmarried and divorced women crowd all the cities of Java including some others outside this island. They migrate in search of jobs and/or suitable mates. Despite the presence of marriageable males in Djakarta,

serious housing and employment problems, prohibit marriage and settled life. These frustrated women seek household jobs or became semi or permanent prostitutes. During the fifties and sixties, groups of wandering women, who could not lead a normal life, were found in almost all the darker spots of the city during the nights soliciting clients. This situation had created problems of lawlessness, vagrancy and venereal diseases which is wide spread in the country.

The government has taken some steps to ameliorate the woes of these women by making legalised centres for their activities, medical care and rehabilitation in other professions. A big bamboo hut colony has sprung up in the harbour area where they have been localised. Now only in few congested areas, such illegal centres are found. But the problem persists on higher level in the form of luxury hotels, message houses, gambling and steam bath centres. If not all, a majority of these are pseudo-prostitution houses. During the anti-Japanese riots of January 1974, these centres of vulgar show of luxurious living were also a target of peoples wrath.

#### (4) Problems of Water and Electricity Supply

Until 1959 the city had very little supply of purified water. The canals, excavated by the Dutch, served for water

supply, public washing place, sewer and defecation for the majority of the people. As a whole, 97 wards which accommodate only 15% of the city population, have the privilege of piped water. Others depend on porters, hand-pumps, wells and canals. As the city is situated on coastal area, the wells have very high water-table. Hence, they are inhygenic (26) as a result of surface seepage.

The existing laid-out pipe system is only 225 kilometres in length and in most cases these are 40 to 100 years old. The main sources of water for this system are five Water Purification Centres. But the most important ones are Sedjompangan No.1 and No.2. Both of these purify around (27) 85,000 liters of water per second. Originally the water comes from Bogor.

Electricity supply is also much below the required level. Only around 20% of the population uses electricity. The supply system is so inadequate that the industrial projects generate their own power producing as much as 50% (28) of the entire Djakarta's electricity supply system. While the official estimate puts the minimum requirement at 200 watt

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(26) "Djakarta in Progress", Ibid., p.85.

(27) "Djakarta in Progress", Ibid., p.85.

(28) Aprodicio A. Laquian, Ibid., p.124.

(29)  
 per capita, the present supply is only 24 W. Slightly more than half of the total supply is consumed by private households, 25% by industrial projects and 20% by the commercial and government institutions.

Till recently the State Electricity Company was running at great loss on account of rapidly falling value of Indonesian currency, theft of power and nonpayment of dues by the government offices and even many individuals. The situation is improving steadily and now the World Bank has come forward to assist the government for the improvement of distribution system and further expansion.

#### (5) Rubbish Disposal Problem

Like Calcutta and Karachi, the disposal of waste is one of the greatest problems of Djakarta. Estimates have revealed that around 5,300 cubic metres of rubbish accumulate in the city every day. More than one-third of this quantity is being produced by the disorganised vegetable market centres. It is mainly because of the fact that most of the dealers in this enterprise happen to be out-siders from the villages. They are generally very indifferent to the cleanliness and hygiene of the city environment. Cabbages are the most common vegetable of Indonesia produced throughout the

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(29) "Djakarta Dalam Data Pembangunan", D.C.I: 1971, p.29.



year. The discarded outer leaves of this vegetable is in abundance which produces considerable amount of moisture and unpleasant odour after being crushed by pedestrians and traffic. The seriousness of the rubbish disposal is more during the rainy season when most of the drainage system is clogged up and the fruits and vegetables are in abundance in the market. During this season the quantity of garbage doubles. The refuse from factories is at present negligible.

Official sources indicate that of the total quantity of garbage, about 5,000 m<sup>3</sup> is being dispersed by a fleet of 150 vans and 1,000 refuse carts. The remaining refuse disposal is the responsibility of Community and Neighbourhood Organizations. In Indonesia it is a common practice to burn waste materials outside ones residence. This waste burning is the main source of smoke pollution in the cities of Indonesia. Thus too much waste accumulation, odour from clogged up canals and garbage and lack of greenery make Djakarta a very drab and dirty city like present day Rangoon. Some efforts of the new governor has made marginal progress in the matters of parks, shade and flowering trees on roadsides, bus stations and shopping centres. Unfortunately these improvements are concentrated only along some main roads which are at times extravagantly decorated and lighted while others remain in darkness.

(6) Shortages of Market Sites and Storage Houses

Shortage of market sites has encouraged irregular market places on roadsides causing considerable rubbish and traffic congestion during peak hours. At present there are only 70 hectares of authorised market sites which is probably less than half of the present requirement. Although the authorities have fully realised this shortage, only 5 hectares could be added since 1966. A further of 35 hectares at different sites have indeed been rehabilitated and improved recently.

It should be borne in mind that when the western ways of living are penetrating fast in our urban areas, market modernisation is very necessary. With the growing number of consumers and varieties of consumer goods, the distribution and storage of edibles like rice, fish, meat and vegetables must be handled properly in order to meet the requirements of health service. A considerable amount of garbage accumulation is intrinsically linked with shopping centres. In the draft plan, the government has made tentative programmes to make suitable distribution centres at Pasar Lama, Pasar Ikan, Pulo Gadung and Tjawang areas.

During the mid-sixties some modern shopping centres were constructed in Pasar Senen, Tjikini, Glodok and Kebajoran. But some social scientists consider these centres parasitic and point of the recent burning down of the huge

pasar Senen shopping centre by a violent mob. The slum dwellers and lower middle class people took active part in this violence. In fact most of the shops belong to the Chinese community which is a constant irritant to the local population.

Connected with the problems of market sites are auction places and cold storage for fish, meat and vegetables. Acute shortages of cold storage is a serious handicap towards proper distribution of fish and meat to the consumers. As a result these commodities lag far behind the consumption requirements. The yearly estimate of consumption rate is 30 kilograms of fish per head whereas the supply meets only 6% of the above moderate needs. (29)

The low consumption rate of proteins is substantiated by the fact that in 1970 only 161,000 small animals like goats, sheep and pigs and 20,000 cattle were slaughtered for the public consumption. Some increase has been recorded recently in the above number. The main problem faced by this trade is that most of the slaughter houses are scattered in far off areas of South Djakarta where hygiene is completely ignored and proper preservation is beyond imagination.

#### (7) Transportation and Road Problems

Public transport system was in a deplorable condition

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(29) Fishery Seminar 1968, Djakarta, Unpublished materials.

till recently. This sphere was completely neglected because of the availability of subsidised petrol on very cheap rate. It encouraged most of the bureaucrats to maintain their own motorised vehicles. Secondly, cheap rickshaws were available in abundance. A very high concentration of motorised vehicles (40% cars and 20% trucks) of the country in Djakarta, (30) slow moving rickshaws and stagnate lengths and widths of roads all combined make a very sluggish traffic system in Djakarta. Due to this neglect, the poor man suffered considerably. The situation deteriorated so much during the 1964-65 period that it was a common sight to see trucks being plying in the heart of the city packed with standing passengers.

There were only 554 buses, 3,127, 12-seater minibuses and some local trains in 1966. This was the main reason that at the time of drafting the rehabilitation plan for Djakarta, special provision was made to overcome this problem. Soon the bus fleet was enlarged with 500 units in 1970 and with the same number in 1971. Although there is no reliable information, perhaps, by 1974 3,000 more buses were added as stipulated in the above plan. Besides, there are now 372 motorised rickshaws and 697 taxies specially

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(30) Aprodicio A. Laquian, Ibid., p.124.

for the use of tourists. Nearly 420 inter-local buses also enter the city. But even at present, the things have not improved to the desired standards. Compare a total of only 1,990 buses (1971) for a population of five millions with that of Bangkok's with half the population but 3,300 buses.

The roads of Djakarta were not any better than the transport problems. Even the main roads were full of pot-holes during the rainy seasons. After 1967 some improvement was made with the rehabilitation plan. Now all the roads have been regrouped into : 1) Economy, 2) Environmental, 3) Village and (4) Kampung Roads. But it is only the Economy Roads consisting of only 236 kilometres, out of a total of 1,011 kms roads of Djakarta, which are repaired throughout the year. Environmental roads which cover more than half the total length are maintained only once in three years. The village (19 km) and Kampung roads (71 km.) are still in miserable condition.

### (8) Problems of Schools and Literacy

Among all the developing countries Indonesia could boast for its high literacy rates which was a remarkable achievement immediately after the independence. But afterwards very little could be done as a follow up measure. Many

"literate" of the fifties were reverted into illiterate category during the sixties. Bandung, Surabaya and other Indonesian cities had the same fate. It is hardly any surprise that out of a total of 470,000 school age children in 15-19 age group, only one-third were attending schools in 1972. (31) In a city like Djakarta, where the dependency ratio is as high as 71, as compared to only 45 of Geneva (Table 28), this situation is potentially dangerous specially in absence of employment opportunities. There is an acute shortage of school buildings. Only about three-fourths of the schools possess their own buildings. Most of them have been accommodated in provisional structures of bamboo and wood. However, in the absence of extreme climate the difficulties are rather lesser than in other underdeveloped countries where cold and heat waves are to be faced by small children.

### Development Plans

In order to overcome the varied and long neglected problems of the Indonesian cities and particularly of Djakarta, the new government has drafted some short and long term plans. The most exhaustive plan is, of course, for that of Djakarta in which three distinct roles of the city have been recognised.

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(31) "Kompas", June 15, 1972.

These roles are: the city as a capital of the republic, as a principal port and as the largest city of Indonesia where welfare and other services were completely neglected for several decades.

The Municipal Council of Greater Djakarta has approved three development plans. It has been acknowledged that this metropolis lags behind around 15 years if compared to Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Manila. The plans are:

- 1) Master Plan: It is a 20 years (1965-85) Development Plan for the Municipality of Djakarta and surrounding areas.
- 2) The First Five Year Development Plan: It is the Plan (1967-72) which will be implemented during the general plan of the country.
- 3) Three Year Rehabilitation Plan: This plan (1967-69) was of emergency nature to meet the immediate problems of road, electricity and water lines repair and school buildings.

The main aim of these plans is to improve and to expand the economic and social infrastructure. The

Administrative machinery is also to be improved. (33) The greatest obstacle to meet these ends is the non-availability of adequate funds and its utilization amidst corruption and mal-administration. It has been stipulated that the required funds would be acquired through the city government's revenues, contribution from the Central Government and its subsidy. These will be supplemented by domestic and foreign credits. (34) Previously the value of money collected as tax was rapidly falling due to the rampant inflation. Its collection itself posed serious problems. After the control of inflationary trends and special salary hike for the personnel of the Ministry of Finance, tax collection became easy and effective. The city government was authorised to collect taxes from local enterprises. Numerous night clubs, casinos, gambling houses, "Djakarta Lottery" and other such measures returned handsomely. Although these steps were very much criticised by the orthodox Muslims, the present policy is perhaps to collect money from the stronger sections for the welfare of the weaker sections of the society. "Service is money and money is tax", motto has emerged recently. (35)

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(33) "Djakarta: Its Rehabilitation and Development",  
S.I., 1971, p.8.

(34) Ibid., p.9.

(35) Ibid., p.9.



It has been decided to distribute the returns of these taxes towards the routine and developmental expenses at a ratio of 40:60. After some years this gap will be narrowed.

Despite some drawbacks and cumulative effects of the past neglect, some of the steps taken under these plans have been successful. Frequent visitors have found vast changes in bus system, roads and its lightening, recreation centres, youth clubs, children's and green parks. Water and electricity supply have also improved to some extent.

Perhaps the most successful plan is the establishment of industrial estates. These estates came into existence at a time when numerous entrepreneurs were enthusiastically searching suitable sites for their projects soon after the foreign capital began to flow into the country. The industrial estate at Pulogandung in East Djakarta has been reserved for heavy and basic industries. An area of 560 hectares has been allocated for this purpose. The Industrial Estate Gandoria in South Djakarta is for agricultural industries. Some industries like Indomilk, Dumex, Super Mie (noodles) and others have already started production. In addition to these, there are Industrial Estate Pulit and Industrial Estate Antjol each on about 400 hectares.

Many cosmetic, medicine and beverage factories have sprung up in Pulo Mas and Tjenpaka Putih along the Djakarta Bypass. Handicraft industries are getting easy clearance for South and West Djakarta areas.

Kampung development plan could prove most rewarding if properly implemented. It covers almost all the aspects of life necessary for the survival of poor inhabitants. Some of the kampongs are in deplorable condition. As a start, the administration has taken up work in 5 kampongs covering an area of 158 hactares at a cost of U.S. \$ 1.25 million. There were reports that the improvements in some sectors were carried out successfully and the life improved to some extent.

To sum up, it can be said that the Indonesian capital has many complex problems to solve. Some efforts have been made recently to develop the area through some long and short term plans. The most successful ones were the emergency plans and the establishment of industrial estates. But as the problems are complex, nothing can be achieved unless the improvement drive continues for some decades. Ironically, the recent concentration of industries in the capital is likely to pose serious threats in the near future. All the improvements made would be neutralised by the fresh inflow of migrants and the resultant congestion and pollution.

## **CONCLUSION**

## CONCLUSION

The Indonesian urban population has been growing at a very rapid rate for the last few decades. This growth rate is almost double the rate of growth observed during the fastest growth of urban population in the industrialised countries. Indonesian urban expansion has no association with the rate of economic development. As a consequence, a majority of the migrants remain unemployed or semi-employed. These uprooted migrants who are constantly struggling for their survival, are the potential source of sporadic outbursts of violence and rioting. It has become a permanent feature in Djakarta. It is more so because most of the affluent ones are the Chinese and few Indonesian elites.

As it has been generally observed in other developing countries, in Indonesia also the rapid urban growth is the product of agrarian unrest in the countryside. But political and religious disturbances were also the major factors squeezing out hundreds of thousands of helpless peasants to the largest cities. "Black-listed" and undesired persons are easily absorbed in big cities rather than in rural environment. This was amply proved during the aftermath of the communist coup of 1965.

More than one-fifth of the Indonesian population resides in urban areas of varying size. The concentration is more in the few largest cities. More than two-thirds

of all the urban population was living in urban places with more than 100,000 population in 1961.

Including Djakarta, there are now (1971) three million-cities in Indonesia. The other two are Surabaya and Bandung. Djakarta, as a capital and chief harbour of the country, shows all symptoms of a primate city. But, on the other hand, Indonesia is the only country of Southeast Asia, where a number of medium size cities are also found. It is primarily because of the country's huge area scattered on many large islands with rich natural resources and old civilization.

As a consequence of unprecedented population concentration in Java, all the major urban centres are situated here. Although some islands, especially Sumatra, are rich in natural resources, their inhospitable climate, rugged coasts, thick forests, marshy lands and difficult terrain, severely restrict communication and human habitation. However, the situation is steadily changing now with the rise of plantation, timber and mining industries. It has been observed that, except few, all the medium size rapidly growing towns are situated in the islands other than Java. In fact for some decades Java has been showing some tendency of stagnation.

The smaller towns of Indonesia are showing relative decrease in their population. It highlights the tendency

of rural folk to "leap-frog" directly from the villages to metropolitan areas. While the government has been talking of taking preventive measures to check this trend, it has so far done nothing specific except "closing" the capital officially for unemployed migrants. There is no adequate machinery to check this flow of people to the city whether closed or not.

In fact more and more money is being spent every year to cater to the ever growing demand in the over crowded cities like Djakarta for water, electricity, housing, recreation, education, transport and other essential services. This encourages the influx of new migrants. But for the majority of the 20 million urbanites, the daily life is still a nightmare. Essential services are not just inadequate, they are completely non-existent. Notwithstanding some improvement over the last decade, the maladies persist.

There is considerable scope to decongest Djakarta, Surabaya and Bandung by forcing industrial enterprises and offices to other centres. This determination is still lagging behind.

Although the archipelago has its own urban history as exemplified by Jogjakarta and Surakarta, almost all the present day urban centres are colonial creation and the western elements have submerged the ancient urban landscape. These centres survived on international trade

of export of raw materials produced in their hinterlands. Therefore all these cities are situated on coastal areas surrounding Java Sea - a major sea route joining the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

Not surprisingly the cities founded by the Europeans were extremely heterogenous in their population, culture and functions. These functions were primarily administrative, trade and strategic. The society was predominated by the Dutch at the upper crust of the urban heirarchy whereas the Chinese filled up the middle rungs in plantation, mining, utilities and retail trade. Ultimately the wholesale trade and distribution of essential commodities also became the Chinese monopoly. Despite the establishment of national government, the situation has not altered to any great extent. In fact in some cases the process has intensified in collaboration with local 'sleeping partners'. The Chinese happen to be a highly urbanised lot. They are more so now because of the increased legal restrictions and hostility towards them in rural areas. Colonial creation and dual economy have given rise to racial zoning in every city. The largest concentration of the Chinese population is found in Djakarta.

The long neglected Kampongs and squatter settlements, specially those situated on the fringed areas of Djakarta, are, perhaps, the worst spots on the urban scene of

Indonesia. These areas are potential source of disturbance with slightest provocation. These neglected areas are liable to frequent fires and floods also. Rapid and haphazard growth of the city has given rise to speculative tendencies and disproportionate concentration of urban properties.

Every effort in the past to improve the city through planning failed because of frequent changes in the administration and lack of funds. The present government has the will and resources to implement the development plans. The short term rehabilitation plans in Djakarta were quite successful. Funds were made available by taxing industries, luxuries and running special lotteries. These measures, though criticized by the orthodox Muslims, have raised much needed funds for the development plans.

Among the development plans, the most promising and ambitious one is the twenty-year Master plan for Djakarta. Such plans exist for other cities also. The most promising aspect of these plans was the rehabilitation of decayed services and allocation of specific areas for industrial projects in Industrial Estates. This step was most timely, for, many foreign as well as local firms were impatient to establish industries soon after the liberalization of the law on foreign investment. Previously foreign investment was a taboo.



One of the urgent needs is to create a physical environment that would enrich human life. Perhaps the preparation of the Master Plan for Djakarta is the first step in that direction.

The optimum distribution of the population between rural and urban settlements based on equitable exploitation of natural and human resources should be the main objective of any social welfare programme. Perhaps these have been touched very superficially. Upheavals cannot be ruled out unless sincere efforts are made to improve the quality of life and eliminate the vast differences between the living standards of the countryside and few affluent pockets of urban areas. Only by embarking on an extensive programme of rural welfare can the new government of President Suharto make a success of the transitional period. A spatial pattern of economic development and location of hierarchy of human settlements consistent with human resources and its exploitation should be the main objective of any development plan. Unless it is done, it would be rather difficult to achieve maximum benefit of a planned urban growth.

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