Abstrak


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Prelude

The history of city planning in Indonesia has begun since centuries ago with the lay out of Trowulan, the capital city of Majapahit and the capital cities of the sultanates in Java. Although there was no drawing, these capitals were planned by the sultan according to the cosmology and military strategy. Yogyakarta as the capital of Mataram was planned by Sultan Hamengku Buwana I with a palace, an alun-alun and flanked by two rivers: Code River and Winongo River. The location that was previously a forest called Mentaok was strategic in military defense. Besides the two rivers in the East and the west protecting from intruders coming from this directions, from the south there was south sea that could not be sailed and no ship could land, as the wave was wild. From the North there was Mount Merapi as a wall protecting the city from the north. To avoid the lava of Merapi there were two important hills protecting the lava pouring into the city. The topography of the city was steeping to the south and the drainage easily run so that there will be no flood in the city. The planning idea of Yogyakarta, besides its strategic location in protection against the enemy, it was also designed according the cosmology hence the axis of the city is North-South referring the Merapi Mount at North and South sea where Nyai Loro Kidul (the queen of south sea) lived.

Out of this unique traditional city planning centered in the political domain and based on the cosmological belief, the Dutch who occupied Indonesia for three and a half centuries, also planned the cities in the northern coast Java for defence against enemies who might attack from the sea. At that time the Dutch had to defend the island from other European who had the same interest to occupy the island. Since 16th century there were fortresses built by the Dutch and the Portuguese. These fortresses were like small towns, generated economic activities. Of course many of the fortresses were built near by settlement and native authority. But, there were also fortresses built far away from a settlement and became a magnet of the growth of a new city. The Portuguese fortress at the Muria Peninsula for instance, was far away from any native authorities. The fall of Portuguese in protecting the area, has left the fortress in ruin.

Based on the idea to defend the island, Daendels in the beginning on 19th century connected the whole cities in the northern coast of Central and East Java with the great mail road that could mobilize troops in a short time. This governor general’s great mail road had influence on the urban growth that before was oriented North-South according to the river direction, and after the construction of the great mail road the morphology of the city changed to East-West direction. This great mail road was soon followed by development of railway in the end of 19th century and the opening of roads in the interior. The modern city planning in Indonesia and especially in Java began not earlier than the beginning of 20th century following the pattern of European city. One of the city planning experiments was the city of Semarang with the urban extension to the south taking the hilly area that was a vast Chinese cemetery.

The history of city planning of Semarang 1900 – 1970 is related closely to the social history developed in the same period. Every plan decision is based on the social condition of the city both in the city center where the Dutch quarter located, and the urban kampong where the Chinese and the indigenous Javanese lived. City planning was hence the future lay out of social structure of the city, where the living space of people of different classes was controlled. The seventy years life span is highlighted in four periods. The first period is pre 1900 a period to see the background of planning in modern days. As an introduction, the
discussion of this period involve a review of urban development in Semarang of that era and
the cause of development. It of course presents a thinking of social economic condition. The
second period is 1900-1942 a colonial period before the coming of the Second World War
followed by the Japanese occupation. This is an important period of the urban history of
Semarang. In this period the Dutch architects brought about their idea to organize the
development of Semarang. The third period is 1942-1945 during the Japanese occupation in
Indonesia. The fourth period is 1945 – 1965, a period of independence day when the
country was lead by socialist leaders. The fifth period is 1965-1970, a period when Sukarno
had been declined and Soeharto was controlling the country. The period of post 1970 is to
conclude the whole paper.

B. The city of contrast

Semarang was a classical city where the Dutch built their building in classical style. The
center of the City is the Kota lama where a church in classical style located. People call
the church Gereja Blenduk. The total area of Semarang is 37,400 ha, 34.80% of the area is
lowland and the rest is hilly as rural area. The main part of the city is in the lowland 0 - 3.49
m high from the sea level. It spreads between five kilometers of coastline and five kilometers
of inland. Although the Climate is wet tropics, the city is not equipped with sufficient
drainage. Hence, it always suffers a big flood after the rain. Its average temperature is 27.5°C,
but sometimes in a dog day afternoon it can reach 37°C. Semarang is 300 kilometers east of
the Indonesian Capital city Jakarta and 100 Kilometres north of the Javanese cultural center
Yogyakarta City. Semarang is a meeting point between the East - West regional road
connecting Jakarta and Surabaya and the Road to Yogyakarta in the South.

There are wide boulevards and streets skirted by luxurious high rise buildings, beautiful villas, modern shops and shopping centres. Behind them are muddy alleys, slum areas and dirty canals. Luxurious cars, huge city buses, trucks, share the street with pedicabs and bicycles. The high rank Javanese civil servants live at villas with a large front yard. Wealthy Chinese live in an expensive estate. This is a contrast to those who lived on river banks and can be dragged away by the city authority at any time. The majority of the people, Javanese, Chinese and Arab descent in the main part of the city, live in crowded houses with inadequate drainage and water supply. The poorest of them spend the night at the eave of public building, the market, bus terminal or small hut on the river bank.

The three main streets of the city form a golden triangle for commercial area. Bojong
(street), formerly called Bojongscheweg, extending from the Southwest to the Northeast is
the most luxurious street. There are governmental buildings in the south-western part that
compose a civic center and there are large shops and shopping centers in the north-eastern
part. At the north-eastern end of this street there is the Regional market of Central Java. North of this market is the ex-Dutch quarters that was the center of the city. Nowadays this quarters is in decline and a few of the buildings are used for offices (fig. 4.10).

Second is Randoe Sari (Street) - Pieter Sythoff Laan - Hoogenraads Laan, which is
now called Pandanaran street and Jendral Achmad yani street configure two sections of
street. These streets are located from West to East passing two squares. The first square at

\footnote{2} Semarang lies between 105° 45' and 110° 30' East Longitude and 6° 50' and 7° 05' South Latitude
(DPU, 1990: II-3).

\footnote{3} Willmot (1960: 9), in the 50's, described also Semarang as a city of contrasts and it is still the same
at present.
the intersection of Bojongscheweg functions as a civic center. At this square one can find military headquarters, Governor's palace, the Cathedral and a market. The second and larger square named Simpang Lima is located one kilometer east of the first square. Simpang Lima is the most attractive place in Semarang and it is now the new city center. Along these streets is a rapid change from Dutch-colonial style villas -- they were Dutch houses before the Second World War -- to offices, hotels, luxurious supermarkets (fig. 4.10).

Third is Pandean (street) - Ambengan (street) - Karang Toeri (street) - Karang Sari (street) stretches from the North to the South and it is called Mataram street (Fig. 4.10). Along these straight streets -- which are occupied mostly by the Chinese -- there are shop-houses on narrow plots. The old Chinese quarter called Pecinan of Semarang is located inside the triangle, south of the Regional market. The density of the area is 247 persons/ha (DPU 1990: II-21), earlier it might have been 1000 persons/ha (Tilema, 1913). Behind Mataram street is dense urban kampongs where various ethnic groups live.

Entering the Semarang Pecinan, one can hardly find a piece of open land because it is already used for both temples and houses. The open space is not a large boulevard with trees on both sides or a wide plaza. It was not designed but emerged as a result of settlement development. Hence, the treeless and dusty street, congested area, lack of sewerage and lack of open space is the characteristic of Pecinan in Semarang.

Besides the railway station in the North, Semarang has a Central Bus station in the East as the biggest one in Central Java and has route connections to all cities on the island. In addition, an International harbor is the third biggest harbor on the Island. At the West Suburban, there is also an Airport. It is not a large one, but it has an important role for the city development.

The city is surrounded by industrial areas. Every day a large number of people commute from the hinterland to Semarang and the rapid urban development to the rural areas. Out of the glamorous life in Simpang Lima and the main street of the city there are a large number of poverty insides the urban kampong located between two main streets. Every open land in the city center has been used for commercial purpose. While poor people illegally occupy open land anywhere in the city, the government razes illegal buildings particularly those which are claimed to be prostitution areas. The city bears a contrast between the rich and the poor, the glamorous life and the dark life.

C. Between Military City and Trading City

The Sultan of Mataram handed Semarang to VOC in 1678. Soon after that VOC established their fortress as a substitute of their old fortress in Jepara, which was thought as not strategic anymore. Semarang gave a new hope for the VOC’s trade in Southeast Asia.

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4 About the governor palace, the writer found it in FORUM Keadilan, 4 December 1995. In 1992 it was still the building of Interior Ministry Academy.

5 About the characteristic of Pecinan, Anthony Reid gave a good description as follows: "(...) The treeless, congested quarters that the Chinese built of stone or brick beside the Southeast Asian market centers were stuffy expose to the sun and unhealthy (...)". By building on the ground they suffered from problems of flooding and of drainage and waste disposal from which the typical elevated pole house of maritime Southeast Asia was immune. (REID, in Journal of Southeast Asia studies XI. 2. 1980: 241). It is different with that in China where open space in a city was designed to have a symbolic meaning as the axial and orientation.
The fortress can be seen in the map of 1695 that was found from Van Bemellen’s book on the geologic condition of Indonesia. The city of Semarang was still a small settlement with an indigenous Javanese palace, Chinese settlement and a Dutch fortress. The settlement was united by a market where different ethnic groups met to trade. The location of the market was at the east bank of Semarang River together with the settlement. Adjacent to the VOC fortress, there was the regent palace and its alun-alun. As the city was handed to VOC, the regent was then under VOC authority and promoted by the Dutch. There were roads connecting the city to the villages at the west and at the east. Semarang was a city that could only be reached from the sea. She became a trading place of herbs and crops at the Java sea.

In this early date Semarang was a stagnant city that was not developed. In 1719 there was small development in the East surrounding the fortress. The coastal line moved to the north as there was sedimentation brought by Semarang River. To the west there was no development, the land was still rice field and there were several small villages (fig 4). Semarang till 1900 has never been planned. It was an open city centered at the old city, where there was Dutch quarter, Chinese quarter, and Kauman.

Traditionally places in Semarang was called in Javanese name according to the activities that took place or derived from the trees growing on the street side. The place like Jurnatan, the name was derived from the man, who live there and his profession was assistance of the King in Demak, The assistance was called Jurunata, hence the place was called Jurnatan. The northern part of Gajah Mada street until now is still called Duwet. From the old map of 1847 the street was ended at Kali Semarang. Along this street there are many duwet trees.

The long Java War from 1825 till 1830 that cost much government’s funding, affected economics in decline. To recover from this economic problem, at the end of the war, the Dutch government launched Cultuur Stelsel (Cultivation system), a system of forced cultivation of export-crops. The native farmers were forced to plan export-crops referred by the government on one fifth of their fields or work for 66 days in a governmental firm. This system oppressed people and made their purchasing-power decline. They were poor and could not buy import goods or other commodities from the Dutch importer. Although the government made a profit on the export crops, the weak purchasing power of the people made the economic condition of the colonial government still suffered a loss (PANGLAYKIM in TAN, 1979: 76).

In 1847 the present form of Semarang can clearly be scrutinized with the Bojongscheweg as the main street started from the South to the North. The street was built by Daendels (1808-1811) as part of the great mail road – De groote post weg connecting Anyer in the west end of Java and Panarukan in the East end of Java for military defense. The opening of the street gave an impact on the development of Semarang to the West. Meanwhile to the South there was Mataram street. The two roads were very important in making Semarang the place to accumulate crops from her hinterland. They were the structure of modern Semarang as a meeting point of the three directions, from the East, from the West, and from the South. Along the two streets emerged secondary streets such as Duwet street, connecting Bojongscheweg to the bank of the Semarang River as mentioned above (fig 5).

From the map of 1847, which was drawn in 1923, we can see the old town of Semarang where the Dutch lived and worked. From this map we can see that the railway, the East and West Banjir canal had not been built. The city limit to the south was still the Bergota Hill, which was part of the mountainous area in the interior of Java. To the East, the city limit was Mataram street, of which sides was still empty land. To the West, the city limit
was Poncolscheweg, which was also an empty road. Outside of the city there were rice fields and fishpond. The city center was still the Dutch quarter even in the map it was written *stad* or city. Hence, out of the physical boundary mentioned above, the administrative boundary was in the surrounding the Dutch quarter, it was the city of Semarang. The Chinese settlement, the area of the Indigennous Javanese regent, the Kampung Melayu and the Arab quarter at Mataram street, were considered as villages, outside the city boundary. In such a perception, how could the Dutch enlarge the city to the south in 1916?

In 1866 a new canal was built for a new harbour. It took the flow of Semarang River that was already shallow. As a new modern harbour, the Dutch built a railroad connecting to the interior so that it made the crops transportation to the harbour became easier. As the city had been developed so far, the old fortress at sleko was substituted with a new fortress at the west Semarang. This new fortress was called Fort Prins van Orange, the colour of the Dutch Kingdom. The fortress was built half underground; hence the people of Semarang called it Benteng Pendem.

From the Map of 1866, we can see that there is a Chinese quarter in the west of the Semarang River. Mataram street had developed with houses which was inhibited by the indigenous Javanese. However, the city limit to the South was still the Semarang River. New streets in the East such as Karreweg (at present Dr Cipto street) as a tissue that was parallel to Mataram street. In between the two parallel streets emerged urban kampongs. There was also Dutch cemetery at this side. The estuary of Karreweg was at the road to Gubug at the southeast of Semarang. To the West the city was still bordered by Poncolscheweg, where new urban kampong emerged gradually. At the cross road of Poncolscheweg and Bojongscheweg, the city government built a road to the south as the beginning of the road to Candi at the hilly area. The railway was built connecting Semarang to the interior in the south. The railway station was not in the city center but near the new harbour called Kali Baru (fig 6). The road to Gubug was still passing rice field and empty land. However, from this map we could recognize that Semarang was already regional city.

The city of Semarang was configured along the Semarang River, which was the first primary element of the city. The urban development existed along this river hence the morphology of the city ran also along the river. The second primary element was Poncolscheweg connecting the city center with the villages to the west of the city. The third primary element was Pengapon street connecting the city with villages to the East. The three primary elements were the embryo of the city development sprawling to the villages.

The modern city of Semarang began with the opening of primary elements: Bojongscheweg, the new haven canal and the railway. In addition, the establishment of post mail created easier communication to Semarang and increase the city role in regional affair. In the meantime, the Dutch fortress at the east bank of the Semarang River was not a primary element of the city. At first, it was a magnet of development especially to the Dutch settlement. When this fortress was closed and its location was for settlement enlargement and a new fortress Prins Van Orange was built at Poncolscheweg, we can see that the fortress was only a secondary element as the dwelling area.

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6 Source map of 1866, by GPF Cronenberg Plattegrond der stad Samarang, diterbitkan oleh Do Oroot Kolf en Co Samarang.

7 Primary elements play the decisive role in the formation and constitution of a town. They are permanent through the history. Although some of them do not fulfill their propelling function anymore, but their form we are still experiencing. See ROSSI also 1975, page 61, and also PGC team 1986, page 8.
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The existence of the market that was at first as a local market serving the city inhabitants, following the development of Semarang as a modern city, the function of the market became a regional market locating at the bank of the Semarang River. A market is a secondary element, in the context of Semarang, this market became a primary element as the dynamo of urban economics growth.

As a whole in a period less than 2 centuries Semarang grew only in a radius of 2 km. Nevertheless, there are still urban kampong and squatter of the poor that was in a bad condition. Urban kampong surrounded the city of Semarang that had beautiful classical buildings. The last layer was rice field to the South east and west and to the north was fish ponds (fig 15 a,b,c).

C. The Growth of a Modern City

In Semarang modern facilities such as hospital, churches and hotels were built as the city experienced an economic booming in 1870. New offices were built along Bojongscheweg and large houses were constructed along Pontjolscheweg. Oppose to that, the part inhibited by the indigenous Javanese surrounding the regent palace was not developed and stayed in a state of stagnant. The same thing happened to the Chinese settlement that faced a stagnancy. Urban kampong emerged along Mataram street that gradually became dense.

From the map of 1892 we can see that Semarang had been equipped with a city tram connecting the city and the suburb. A large railway line was built at Jurnatan, located the south of the Dutch quarter. Hence the transportation from the city to Jomblang at the south and Bulu at the West became a daily transportation. The dwelling area between the Fort Prince van Orange and the city center had gradually become dense. A large urban kampong appeared in between Bojonghscheweg and Pontjolscheweg increasingly. The lengthening road of Mataram street was climbing to the hill had been constructed and attracted new settlement to grow on the hilly area. The road became an artery road to the south and became the primary element of several cities and towns in the interior. Meanwhile along Karreweg that was parallel to Mataram Street the Dutch built their villas. The city government also built a prison on the street.

The artery street connecting Semarang and Batavia had not been connected to the road to Gubug, but ran at the foot of the hill to Jomblang (fig 15). At present it is called Sriwijaya Street. The old urban center where the Dutch built their fortress is now an area of offices. From the map we could see that Semarang had grown up to the south, leaving the south of Semarang River and along Mataram Street as urban kampons. Hence the urban center was still limited in the urban center. In the area south of the city there was a small village Jomblang that was still separated from Semarang. At present Jomblang is already united to Semarang. The city was enlarged with new streets followed by dwelling area (fig 8).

Until 1900 the urban area of Semarang was only at the kota lama where the buildings jostled one another. The city limit was in the radius of 2 km from the city center. The streets outside the city center was shadowy for there were many trees planted along its side. In the international level, there was a chance to improve the economic condition because the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 accelerated trading between Europe and Asia. Due to this condition in 1870, the Colonial government changed their policy by abolishing Cultuur Stelsel and allowing private enterprise to invest their capital in agribusiness. The new policy on the

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8 The map of 1892 kaart Van de Hoofdplaats semarang en Omstreken, unknown publisher.
plantation surely made a large improvement on the economics of the city. Many new offices and new industries were built. The city-center became a new field of various forms of employment. The houses in the city center were then changed to huge offices. Many new artery streets were opened such as Karreweg (in 1904) in the East, Pieter-Sythoff-Laan (in 1901) in the South, connecting the southwest end of Bojong (street) and Karangturi (street) (fig. 7.1) (LIEM, 1933: 184). The opening of Pieter-Sythoff-Laan, in my opinion, was the most important plan for the present form of Semarang. As a consequence, new settlers from villages flooded the city that grew rapidly (FLIERINGA, 1930: 163; BOGAERS, in NAS, 1986: 74).

The city growth and its problem of urbanity made the old governmental system that was centralized in Batavia was not able to maintain the city any more. The centralized system was unwieldy to manage the problem of housing, infrastructure and other forms of management. In response to this problem, in 1903 the Dutch government announced a decentralized system. In this new system, the municipality was allowed to manage their administration, authority and finances through a city council that was autonomous from the central government in Batavia (BOGAERS in NAS 1986: 74). In 1906, the decentralization system was founded in Semarang and only the natives were under the central government in Batavia (Inlandsch bestuur) and represented by the native regent in Semarang. The Dutch, the Chinese and other foreign inhabitants were under the city municipality.9

The economic development in urban area since the abolishment of Cultuur Stelsel has created an extremely dense area. In urban Kampung surrounding the regent's palace and Pecinan, the density reached 1000 persons / ha. At the turn of the century because of many diseases such as cholera, tuberculosis, the mortality rate of the population was bigger than any other country in Europe. Among the Chinese population in Semarang in 1911 the mortal rate reached 64.3/ 1000 persons (TILEMA, 1913: 121).

In the beginning of twentieth century, there was a movement of ethical politic that the Dutch who lived in Java should pay a gratitude to the indigenous Javanese who were poor. In Semarang at that time there was a movement of Kampong verbetering where the environment of the kampong was improved through ordering the WC, drainage and housing lay out. Tilema published this kampong verbetering in his book Van wonen tot bewohnen Huis en Erf. Tilema was a pharmacist. He was influenced by British program in India that aimed healthy settlement.

From the middle of Pieter Sijthoflaan, the city government constructed a new road connecting to Duwet Street. This new road at present was called Gajah Mada Street. New settlements emerged along the road to Batavia and to Gubug. The railway to Demak had not been built, meanwhile the railway to Tanggung was lengthened to Surakarta passing several small towns such as Gundih and Kedung Jati. I conclude that the city center suffered stagnancy meanwhile the periphery was developed through the construction of new roads. Morphologically new primary elements, which became strategic places, determined the city form. This development was the beginning of spatial fragmentation of Semarang that is continued until now. As explained above, the construction of Pieter Sijthoflaan created a golden triangle of the present Semarang city.

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9 The Inlandsch Bestuur governed the natives through the regent (Bupati), the district chief, the assistance district chief, and the ward. On the other hand, the city municipality consist of a mayor (Burgermeester), mayor's board (College van Burgermeester), alderman (Wethouderas) and Gemeenteraad (local council) (DJAWATAN Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1953: 35).
Semarang grew dynamically to the south along Karreweg and Mataram street with villas and urban kampong (fig. 9). From the construction of railway line to the West and Southeast, I think trading from this direction was more important than any other directions. A year later, in 1910 the railway line to Demak was constructed along the Groote Postweg to Surabaya that drew development along the railway line (fig 10). The main street and the railway line to Batavia had been used to connect Semarang to other cities in Central and West Java. Seeing that the center of movement was still in the Dutch quarter as the center of the city, the new street Pieter Sijthofflaan potentially changed this patron as we have seen today. All development at that time was centralized for the Dutch business in the city. Hence to protect their interest on the island the urban development in Semarang was an impact of military development plan of the Dutch. The city planning of Semarang in the colonial era was full of idea in military development pattern (fig 11).

D. The strategy of Development

After being in the office, the new municipality after decentralization saw this dense area including Pecinan as unhealthy and many were allowed to move out of Pecinan. The council wanted to increase the environmental and social quality of the city, and to build a new healthy housing-area separated from the city as a working-place. Since the Northward development was facing an unhealthy swamp, as an alternative area, the municipality agreed to develop the city to the hilly area in the South. However, on this area there were Chinese graveyards that had already been there for centuries. Hence, the Chinese of course opposed this idea. After some negotiations, the Chinese were willing to move their ancestor’s graves eastward. The new area was named Nieuw Tjandi (Candi Baru) for there had already been Oude Tjandi (Candi Lama) (LIEM, 1933: 190). The main road to Nieuw Tjandi is from Kalisari to the South through a new road Nieuw Tjandi, built in 1914.

However, the lack of nearby inhabited centers with shopping facilities and quick transport were the main obstacle to the urban development. As a strategy to develop the city to the south, the municipality held an international exhibition from 20 August to 22 November 1914, which was called Koloniale Tentoonstelling (colonial exhibition), at the boulevard. This exhibition got support from private entrepreneurs who were willing to invest in it. Oei Tiong Ham, a Chinese entrepreneur, borrowed his land, which was located in between the tentoonstelling and the town, to the exhibition board for nothing. Hence, a road connecting the tentoonstelling and the town could be built. This road is Gajah Mada street as mentioned above. Thus, this exhibition became a magnet of spatial development in between the city and the rural area to the South, fulfilling a vacant land that neglected by economic activities, and increasing its land value.

The exhibition ground that took 26 ha was divided into six sections. They were those relating to colonial government, agriculture, plantation, native industry, foreign industry, commerce and traffic. Each of these sections of course was again sub divided into large groups consisting of different companies. The exhibition was planned to promoting machinery product, indigenous industrial handicraft, including the place for black smith, and a vast area of demonstrative plantation and agriculture. It was likely a science park by the beginning of 20th century in which steel construction, electricity, and modern transportation had been used in it. It was, and is, the largest international Exhibition Park ever held in

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10 The map of 1910, Topographische Inrichting Batavia, 1910.
Indonesia and in every respect look like a universal exhibition on a comparable scale to that in Europe.

The plan to open the exhibition was predicted to be successful and profitable. New hotels and car rentals had been opened since a year before the opening days. Suddenly in the end of July 1914 began the First World War in Europe that gave an economic crisis to the whole world. The project, which had been prepared since 1912, got terribly severe. Many investors who expected to get profit from this event had suffered a great lost. During the event, the visitor number was declining day by day, from 23,000 visitors on the first day to 3,500 visitors on the 22 October. Hence, in order to get more visitors the entrance fee was decreased to a half price. However, it did not increase the visitor number.

Soon after the exhibition was ended, all buildings were dismantled without any track. No one could identify that a large exhibition was held on the area. Not even any single footpath can still be traced today. It was unlike in a European city where an exhibition building becomes permanent and identifies the place as a landmark, the *Koloniale Tentoonstelling* was gone likely to the earth, as if it was at the periphery of history, a temporary event that has been forgotten by the city dwellers. The boulevard Pieter Sytthof Laan, where this exhibition took place, is now a dense street with offices and hotels. The middle ground of the exhibition has been converted to housing and schools. The train- and tramlines were buried. The place for demonstrative sugar and rice fields has been used for governmental buildings.

However, the setting of the *Koloniale Tentoonstelling* is still sound as a portrait of the present urban condition where actually the periphery as a border was vague, as vague as the urban center itself. It means that urban form has been growing intolerable, sprawling everywhere, creating fragments of new centers, and declining the old one. It means that the exhibition was a true magnet of urban development in the southern periphery of the city. It is a true political thinking on urban development, we could learn for our era.

**E. The Ideal Plan**

After the Koloniale Tentoonstelling was closed in 1914, there was a strong tendency of development to the South. The land value was increasing as there was already infrastructure built on this area. Hence, the municipality started to plan housing area at this side. Nevertheless, they could not make a final decision until Thomas Karsten, the advisor for city planning, in 1916 gave an approved proposal and it was implemented by the municipality in 1917 (FLIERINGA, 1930: 165).

In his concept, Thomas Karsten said that economic class is more important in dividing the new settlement in Candi Baru. The old concept of racial separation that divided urban settlement into Dutch, Chinese, and indigenous Javanese settlement was left, as substitute the settlement is divided into the size of the house and its site that finally affect its price. In Candi Baru Karsten located the largest houses along the main street. The smaller houses were located behind the main street. The smallest houses for the lowest income group were built along the narrow street at the terrain.

As the housing plan based on economic classes instead of ethnical segregation (BOGAERS in NAS 1986: 79), in practice the three ethnic groups were also divided into three economics classes. Hence the Dutch and a few rich Chinese were in the highest economic-class category of the housing. The majority in the middle-class category were the Chinese and the majority of the natives were in the lowest class category. Consequently, the rich who could pay more lived at higher places with a better view, larger plot and better
houses than the lower income people.\textsuperscript{11} Rich Dutch and Chinese bought almost all houses in this new housing area.\textsuperscript{12} They lived on Niew Tjandi but worked downtown.

The layout of streets and roads in Nieuw Tjandi were adapted to the contour. The housing area is composed of main streets, secondary streets, and steeper. Squares created an attractive view everywhere. The luxurious houses on large plots were along the main road with a good view of the town and the sea. On the terrain, behind the villa there was low cost housing on smaller plots. Some of the houses were lower than the street level and they were reached through steeper (fig. 7.2).

In 1922 the municipality had developed the area between Semarang river to the south until the hilly area.\textsuperscript{13} Oei Tiong Ham, a Chinese entrepreneur who had the right to manage plantation opened a road from the middle of pieter sijthoflaan to the hilly area, the road was called Oei Tiong Ham Weg. Places like Candi Baru, Erlangga, Seroja, and Karang Wulan had been developed with grid pattern (fig 11). Grid pattern of street was not new for Semarang as the Old Dutch quarter and the Chinese settlement were also built in grid pattern. The harbor of Semarang was enlarged to the East taking the fishpond. The railway line has been lengthen to Batavia. The Semarang river, that before was a primary element, has been used and city drainage. The city grew from its economic reason. All roads were built under economic reason, the revenue, and profit.

Semarang, so far, had been enlarged twice as large as its previous form. The city limit was removed to the south covering the new housing area at Candi Baru. Besides the primary element that had been changed into secondary settlement, there emerged new primary element constituting the urban form. The urban form that had been fragmented into several quarters, from the map of 1922, I think there is a new plan to unite the fragmented spaces into a compact city, ranging from the low land to the hilly area.

The state of the city in 1922 is the embryo of a metropolis where multi ethnic groups lived and traded in the city. It was planned a coherence of a metropolis taking smaller town such as Jomblang, Bulu, Kabluk, and Jatingaleh on the hilly area. In fifteen years many part of the planned had not been realized.

Up to this year, only housing at Candi Baru located on the hilly area was built. In 1937 the military whose head quarter was in Semarang planned an air strip for military defense.\textsuperscript{14} This air strip was located at the west of the city, surrounded by villages Kalibanteng Lor, Krapyak, Kali Banteng Kidul. As a result of the city enlargement, emerged new city centers at the periphery (fig 12). However, space in between the center and new center had not been developed very well. Then the dichotomy between urban and village area appeared (fig 15).

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\textsuperscript{11} This house program called Volkhuisvestingdienst was very famous in the history of city planning in Indonesia. However until the 30's the city council still built different houses for different ethnic groups: Dutch, Chinese and natives. The Dutch and the Chinese lived in a bigger house and the native in a smaller house (see FLIERINGA, 1930: 184-185).

\textsuperscript{12} From our observation, the Chinese who liked to live in this healthy and lavish area but expensive were only those who were peranakan and educated their Children in western culture. At this year there was already Holland Chinesishe School built in 1909 (LIEM, 1933: 194).

\textsuperscript{13} The map of 1922, NV Technisch - reproductiebureau en lichtdrukkerij Holland - Indie.

\textsuperscript{14} The map of 1937, Topografische dienst, 1937.
Since 1919, there had been two other expansion plans for East Semarang (BOGAERS, in NAS, 1986: 82). In 1923 since the need for housing increased very sharply, the government extended this housing area in East Semarang that was then occupied by middle-class Chinese (LIEM, 1933: 261). At this area, which is on a flat area, the layout was grid with large plots at the main street Karreweg. The low-cost housings, which were divided into main and secondary streets and arranged with squares and boulevard, are behind it. These houses were couple and single houses. They were built from Halmahera to the North. The larger houses at Sompok were almost completely taken over by the Chinese. This condition, of course reduced the density in Petinan (fig. 7.3). In 1929 when the need of inexpensive houses increased, the municipality opened a new low-cost housing in Mlaten. The Chinese who moved there immediately ran shops (fig. 7.4) (FLIERINGA, 1930: 145). The less expensive houses was divided into several classes, range from 17 - 74 m², with plot range from 80 - 100 to 275 - 400 m² (FLIERINGA, 1930: 184). This housing program was continued until just before the Second World War. The opening of Niew Tjandi as a settlement area was followed by the opening of the area surrounding for urban Kampungs like Ngaglik, Kintelan and Lempongsari.

F. The Flood and the Canal

For a long time the city of Semarang always suffered from the flood during the rainy season. The Semarang River as the primary element where boat transporting daily life anchored, always brought the flood to the city center. To control the flood the Dutch built a canal called Banjir canal Barat. The canal run from the upper course of Semarang river that soon could not be sailed and lost its function as a primary element of the city. Right after the construction, Banjir kanal Barat became the city limit at the West. Along the canal there are still rice fields. The decreasing volume of water in the Semarang River did not affect the function of the harbor along Kali Baru as a haven canal. The harbour was enlarge at the coast line and a railway station was built connecting the harbour and the interior of the island.

Due to the lack of drainage, in 1936 the Semarang municipality got a financial support from the Netherlands – there was no records of the sum, but it was part of the f 25 million as a total support for the whole colony (I.B.T. Locale Techniek, 1936: 117 – 119). With this financial support, the municipality wanted to continue the city drainage program that had been halted for financial difficulty. So far, the drainage did not work especially in rainy season when the canals overflowed and after that brought decease. The two city canals Banjirkanal East and West could not overcame the problem. It reduced only the water from Garang River in the Southwest and smaller rivers in the Southeast. On the other hand, the run off from the hilly area overflowed the lower part of the city and could not be drained well. Therefore, the government planned to build smaller canals at the foot of the hill. They were Siranda canal connecting the two Banjirkanals and Kampungkali canal at the south of Chinatown to the East and turn to North, which was then called Banger River. The predicted cost to build the canals was f 170.000 (I.B.T. Locale Techniek 1936: 119). A year later the canal in Siranda was built and it cost f 260.000 (I.B.T. Locale Techniek, 1937: 73). Half of the cost is supported from the central government in Batavia - the old name of Jakarta. This expensive project, like any other canals built in the colonial era, is at present dirty and do not work well because people throw refuse from the household onto it. There is no record on the cost of Kampung Kali canal.
After the construction of the two canals, the canals in Semarang could be divided into Four parts. At the west, running from North to South, there was Banjirkanal West. In the middle, running from North to South there was Semarang River. At the East there were Banger River and Banjirkanal East running from south to north. Meanwhile from east - west direction there were Siranada and Kampungkali kanal. In between these main canals, run smaller canals as connector.

G. The implementation of the plan

When the Japanese invaded the island and assumed control of Semarang in 1942, the governmental system based on different ethnic groups was abolished. Instead, the Japanese military government directly controlled all ethnic groups in the city, and the native regent, who was confirmed in this position by the Japanese, supervised the area outside the city (DJAWATAN Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1953: 35).

The only map drawn during the Japanese occupation was a map produced by the allied in 1946. It was a reproduction of a map published in 1943 (fig 14). Before the fall of the Netherland Indie government in the hand of the Japanese, new housing area at Karang Wulan has been realized completely with a sport center area. The east side of Semarang had also been developed with housing estate. The area at both sides of Pieter Sijthoflaan was still empty. A plan had been set up on this area but it was realised after independence day.

From Oei Tiong Ham weg to Siranda there had been many houses taking the site left and right of the street. The houses were large like villas. They belong to the rich Dutch and Chinese. The villages at the suburb such as Jomblang that was annexed to Semarang gradually became a dense area with a bigger market. Jomblang, Bulu, Jatingaleh, and Genuk became the satellite of Semarang. It was the beginning of a gigantic city. Almost all city planning in the map had been implemented with several changing such as the square Simpang Lima. In 1943 Semarang has already been the capital of Central Java Province, hence the shadow of a large metropolis appeared from its development inclination.

In such a city, the transition from empty land to housing area was very common. This transition was actually a revolution seen from spatial point of view, or a sudden change in the urban design. The primary elements were moved to secondary the satellite towns. It became the dynamo of urban growth at this part. At the same time, in the city center land use transformation went on organically from empty land to urban kampong that was unpleasant. The city limit however, was the Banjir Kanal Timur and Banjir Kanal Barat.

This phenomena showed the growth of urban morphology that tend to the domination of street as primary element surrounded an empty area. Along the street new houses or shop houses were built as other alternatives to live besides in the old urban center. This street became the dynamo of urban kampong filling the area behind the shop houses (fig 12). The present form of Semarang can be seen from a map before the second world war. The municipality had set a plan at the north and south of Pieter Sijthoflaan taking the rice field and swamp. However, the Dutch government never realized it until they had to leave the country (fig 18). This entire plan was never linked to the old city even it tried to open a new land for a new city without any effort to preserve the old city. The southern part of the city, which was newly developed, and the northern part of the city was bordered by

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15 The map of 1943, Kaart Van Semarang yang diubah menjadi peta militer Semarang Military Guide Map.
The Semarang River. North of Semarang river was old city and south of semarang river, reaching the hilly area was a new urban area that was designed in modern form.

In 20 years of Independence Day Semarang became a big city taking many villages at her surrounding. The Dutch who left the country were substituted by the villagers configured a large urbanization happened in the city. In the 40's the population of Semarang was 400,000 inhabitants and in 1965 increased to 150% or 600,000 inhabitants. However, along with political uncertainty, the city development had no plan and no direction.

Suddenly, Soekarno the first president of Indonesia implemented the pre-war plan. He asked the municipality to build a square for one million visitors to hear his speech at the end of Oei Tiong Ham weg. The area, which was formerly a large swamp to catch run-off from Niew Tjandi, was covered by mutual co-operation of the inhabitants. The square was officially opened in 1969 by the governor of Central Java, as the substitute for the Alun-alun that would become a market extension (SUARA MERDEKA, Nov. 21, 1986). Around the new square, which is called Simpang Lima (a cross of five streets), the municipality planned to build a civic center.

Gradually the new square was called Simpang Lima (the node of five cross-streets) and it became a strategic place for investment. Two cinemas and two shopping centers were soon built by Chinese investors. The area surrounding the square was developed for housing and a state University. At present Simpang lima is the most attractive place in the city where luxurious shopping centers, offices and hotels are located (fig 3.16).

The housing program after Independence Day principally continued the planning of Volkhuisvesting by building new houses of 53.5 m² in the same area at East Semarang. Regarding the fact that only the Chinese who could buy the houses, the municipality decided to build smaller houses of 40 m² for lower-income people (DJAWATAN Penerangan Kota Besar Semarang, 1953: 125). These houses were built in the South of the Semarang river at Brumbungan. However, later on, there were also middle-class Chinese who could occupy the houses and they lived side by side with the natives.

The golden triangle of the city soon emerged as a bussiness area bordering by Mataram Street, Bojongscheweg, and Pieter Sijthof Laan. The city limit enlarged to the East reaching the slaughterhouse at Kabluk, to the West reaching Kali Banteng.

H. The Unplanned City: Semarang in the Post 1970

The rising of new order had changed the concept of city planning as social planning to economic planning in the region of Semarang. In the new order, it is not important whether the urban space had a certain quality to give an optimal comfort and communication among city dwellers, but how a location could became strategic to be sold and brought profit. Five years after the establishment of Soeharto order in 1965, there had no development can be detected. However, after ten years, we could see that there were many changes happened in Semarang as a result of the economic development supported by loan from the west. Along with that, new housing areas were constructed.

The city masterplan drawn in 1975 to direct the city in 25 years, had been emphasised in the development of trading center that covered the whole Central Java Province and to the outside of Java. Since then the city was a field of investment. In the mid of 1975 there were three large real estates that built new housing estate at the coastal area.

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that was actually swamp to absorb the flood and on the hilly area south of the city. The fist was PT. Tanah Mas that built two and a half billion Rupiah housing estate at previously swamp. Consequently the water catchment area of the city was reduced significantly. The second was PT Bukit sari that developed six hundred million Rupiah land development on Gombel Hill. Accordingly, the run off from the hilly area flooded onto the lowland of the city. The third was PT. Kamajaya that built one billion housing estate at the west of Semarang (Hanapi, in Suara Merdeka 19 Desember 1975). In 1976 the city was extended from 100 sq. km with 712,000 inhabitants, to 340 sq. km with 1 million inhabitants reaching Gunung Pati in the West, Banyumanik in the South and Pedurungan in the East. It was the second largest city in Indonesia after Jakarta (fig. 7.9).17 Parallel to the development on the hilly area, Simpang Lima became a strategic region for investment. It became a business district center and the most expensive zone in the city, neglected the masterplan in 1975.

This urban extension had triggered a fast housing-estate development in the periphery that was fragmented further to the west, to the south and to the east directions. There have even been private real estates that built new settlements in the southern periphery up to the hill of Ungaran, although according to the Masterplan it should have been preserved as a green belt of Semarang.

The problem is that the expensive real estate was closed by walls and has only one gate guarded by security. Surrounding this luxurious space was a slum area, with people who were almost forgotten by the wheel of modernization. Of course, through this kind of design there was no integration between the rich people in real estate, who are mostly Chinese, and the poor, who are native. Seeing this gap, no wonder that the Chinese were always thought as the other, the target of a riot. Modernization keeps the coals live, which can ruin the country.

The city enlargement explained above has two impacts on the old urban area. On the one hand, most of the main streets in the city are strategic locations for business especially the central part of the city that has gradually changed from a residential area to a business area. Although many Chinese live outside old Pecinan, they still work in he Pecinan and the area is still an important trading-center. On the other hand, the dark side of this economic booming is shown by illegal squatters behind the shops that even create slum areas along the city canal including the Semarang river. Besides that, the area of the old Dutch quarters is declining. The buildings are empty and no investor is interested in establishing their offices in the area. This historic area is now very quiet at night, some parts of it have become a prostitution area including the area near the railway station and most of the buildings are deteriorated. People have tried to revitalize it but only the place near the regional market, which is the economics vein, is still alive. The urban center has then been fragmented into luxurious commercial buildings, empty houses and slums. All of this have created segmentation in the urban center that ended to a social problem along with the worsening of environmental quality. Flood and water intrusion from the sea are daily problems.

The urban renewal project that aroused criticism on the national level was the Normalisation of Semarang river. The project was to overcome floods, which were an old environmental disaster in the low land of the city. Since the 80's this disaster has become an acute problem along with the city development. To reduce it, the municipality widened the Semarang river and built inspection roads on both sides (fig. 7.10). This project took

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17 Kompas, 11 May 1976. But, according to the Review of Spatial Design of Metropolist/Big City, Planning Project of spatial design as a support for strategic areal Sector, the total area of Semarang is 37,400 Ha (DPU,1990: II-1).
hundred of houses to be demolished including those in the Pecinan area. The cut houses that formerly backed the river are now facing the inspection road. In Petudungan (street) there were 22 Chinese houses were demolished and 11 were cut. Three of these eleven were left only 3-4 m. In Gang Warung there were 24 Chinese shop-houses which backed the river. From this number, nineteen of them according to the plan should have been demolished. At Kalikoping street at least ten houses were cut. After a long negotiation the houses along Gang Warung were not totally demolished but cut several meters. Although after normalisation the river, which was backed by houses and surrounded by slum areas, has been flanked by secondary street that increased environmental quality and higher land value, it shows that urban renewal in Pecinan has been done without a clear concept and indeed it has destroyed the link with the past (fig. 7.11).

I. Closing Remarks

City planning is social setting through spatial organization, in which every single plan of land use will affect the urban life, communication of the inhabitant, and provoking movement. The city planning of Semarang in the period of 1900 – 1942 showed a great deal of effort in taking the right of the lower class in the urban setting. The housing of Candi baru which was divided into economic class instead of ethnicity, the design of rental housing that applied communal spaces and communal public toiler and bath, showed that Thomas Karsten as the architect had a strong attention to the lower income class. Tilema's writing that defend the right of the indigenous to get a better space prove that there was an effort among the Dutch thinker to bring welfare among the poor. However, the city planning of Semarang still had a large gap between the rich and the poor that should be accommodated in the spatial configuration. This gap could not be solved even in the independence day when the Dutch as the superior had left the country. Even in the hand of the Indonesian authority the poor have no chance to become an actor in the city planning.

City planning as future land-use configuration is a game of dealing with several actors negotiating to comprise the city according to their interest. Such a game of land use can be seen in the case of when the Jakarta Planning board socialized a new master plan of the city in 2001. In the wake of democracy, the board invited all layers of the society from enterprenuer, lecturer, to the poor people who live in informal sector. In the meeting, the

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18 According to the city major: There were 1,312 families, from the estuary of the Semarang river to kapuran in the South Pecinan, whose houses were cut for the project. For about 1,092 families had to move to other part of the city (SUARA MERDEKA 24 February 1988). However, the normalisation was not purposed to stop the flooding but to accelerate the decrease of flooding, Said the major (SUARA PEMBARUAN, 15 March 1988). This project has been strongly opposed by the Chinese. In the beginning of 1987 the Semarang river normalisation was hampered. It was because the Chinese of Gang Warung demanded a compensation till Rp 100,000/ m² that was 10 times higher than that the government's offer. Meanwhile in the kampung area whose inhabitants were natives, 1,142 houses has been demolished (SUARA MERDEKA 6 January 1987). Until September that year, 60 family at Gang Warung and Petudungan street had not been willing to demolish their houses. From the estuary of the river, till the southern part of Pecinan only them who were not willing to demolish their house (SUARA MERDEKA, 25 September 1987). In middle of November that year the houses at Petudungan street were demolished (SUARA MERDEKA, 15 November 1987). However the final commitment between the city government and the inhabitants was; none of the houses at Gang Warung were totally demolished but cut. The compensation was lower than Rp 100,000.-.
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board openly asked inputs for the new master plan, the result was that every one would like
to express their mind for their own interest. The five hours meeting did not meet any
decision. In city planning every actor in the urban society negotiates one to another. Hence,
city planning without social concept will not answer the social problem on the city. Solving
the social problem and bringing welfare is the main purpose of city planning.

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