Netherlands Indies Town Planning

An Agent of Modernization (1905–1957)

*Pauline K.M. van Roosmalen*¹

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the evolution of town planning in the Netherlands Indies from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards and on the role this – at the time – still new discipline played in the modernization of the Dutch colony and independent Indonesia. What made development in the Netherlands Indies remarkable is that twentieth-century town planning, alongside other disciplines, contributed to a significant extent to the colony's modernization. The chapter does not go into concrete town plans, but is in large part devoted to reflections on town planning by architects and local administrators, framed in the administrative context and against the background of the specific conditions in the Indies. Architects and town planners followed trends in their field back in the Netherlands rather closely, adopting, for instance, the idea that the city should be seen as a coherent entity, that general expansion planning and even regional planning were necessary to that end, that statistical data and a survey were indispensable for the formulation of large-scale planning, and that traffic was an important factor to be considered in the formulation of a town plan.

Town planning not only played an important role in the modernization of the Netherlands Indies, but also in the social integration of the colony. In the plural society of the Netherlands Indies, ethnic boundaries hindered social interaction. State policy often targeted, explicitly or implicitly, one ethnic category. Town planners, in contrast, increasingly looked at the city as an organic whole, in which people from all ethnic and social backgrounds had to find a place. Town planners therefore championed not just the interests of European inhabitants, but increasingly also the interests of the indigenous population as well as 'indigenous' approaches to resolve problems. The result was the gradual emergence of a modern town planning quite specific to the Netherlands Indies: inspired by architecture and town planning trends in the Netherlands while adapted to local conditions.

The grounds that underpinned and steered Netherlands Indies town planning ran parallel to and to a certain extent accommodated and facilitated the

¹ Translated by InOtherWords, Pierre Bouvier and D'Laine Camp.

socio-political developments in the Netherlands Indies: the gradual transition from the Netherlands Indies, a colony that until 1942 was governed by the Dutch, to Indonesia, an independent state from 1949 onwards. The approach and application of town planning evolved analogous to this evolution. The colonial cities of the early twentieth century, in which rulers and the ruled lived and worked in accordance with their own cultural customs, evolved in the course of 50 years into Indonesian cities, in which different urban quarters were defined by social and functional rather than ethnic criteria. The course of this evolution is recorded in numerous discussions and debates in which the political and administrative context was often determinant.

This chapter also describes the gradual expansion of the domain in which the town planner was able to operate in the colony and, for a couple of years, in the independent republic. This expansion, spurred by locally imperative developments, was facilitated and sanctioned by the colonial central government in Batavia. The start of this evolution – and consequently of the emergence of Netherlands Indies town planning – was the Decentralization Act of 1903 (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1903/329). Until the enactment of this law, the Netherlands Indies had been centrally administered by the colonial authorities in Batavia. The creation of local councils, independent entities with their own administrative and financial responsibilities established in accordance with the Decentralization Act, changed all that. It was the establishment of these local councils that created the conditions for the development of a Netherlands Indies town planning practice. In the years following the proclamation of the Decentralization Act, the administrative scope of the municipalities expanded steadily, inwardly as well as outwardly. Town planning echoed this trend closely. The first and most prominent administrative and financial responsibility of the local councils – soon dubbed town councils – concerned the construction and maintenance of public works.

Obviously, the local administrators – and town planners – had to take the social and geographic circumstances of the towns in the Netherlands Indies into account. They were working in a multi-ethnic society to begin with. The major division was formed by a legal tripartite division into three broad ethnic categories. Besides a relatively small group of Europeans, the Netherlands Indies were inhabited by indigenous people and the so-called Foreign Orientals: Chinese, Arabs, and Indians. While there was no rigid segregation between the different ethnicities and they frequently came in contact with one another in the course of doing business and daily routines, the different ethnic groups by

and large lived in separate areas. Not that this geographical distribution was entirely exclusive: besides ethnicity, financial means were also a factor in settling in a particular residential area. It was thus possible for well-to-do Chinese, Indo-Europeans, and indigenous people to live in the European areas alongside the Europeans while, conversely, less well-off Europeans and Indo-Europeans lived in non-European areas. Another exception was formed by the indigenous people who were in domestic service and thus often lived on the property of their European and Chinese employers, or in the immediate vicinity. This, however, did not diminish the fact that the Netherlands Indies society was characterized by a hierarchy based on ethnicity, reflected in the layout of its cities and the design of its residential areas.

European districts generally occupied a relatively sizable portion of land, were usually situated in better areas (locations of higher elevation) and featured spacious accommodations (Figure 4.1). Housing and employment were normally kept separate in the European districts. The latter was also partially true in the considerably more densely populated indigenous quarters. The indigenous and other Asian areas consisted of small plots of land with small

FIGURE 4.1 *Batavia: European houses constructed in the 1920s*

SOURCE: NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN WERELDCULTUREN, LEIDEN, RV-10761-96. COURTESY OF NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN WERELDCULTUREN

dwellings, narrow streets, and little public space. What distinguished indigenous quarters from Chinese, Arab, and Indian quarters was that the latter groups usually lived above or behind their businesses while many indigenous people, when being employed by Europeans or Chinese, worked in offices or homes outside their home districts.

Other characteristics of Netherlands Indies towns were their widespread configuration and low population density; these two aspects had profound consequences, in particular from a financial and social standpoint. Widespread built-up areas, after all, meant great distances. Great distances in turn required long infrastructure links and therefore considerable investments in construction and maintenance – investments which the municipalities, given the limited means at their disposal particularly in the early years, often could not afford.

Decentralization as a Stimulus for Town Planning

The expansion and consolidation of the colonial territory during the second half of the nineteenth century, the increase in the number of European private entrepreneurs and the resulting increased needs for houses, schools, hospitals, shops, and cultural institutions led to dramatic socio-economic changes and altered demands with regard to architecture and town planning. In addition, a new political course was initiated, that of the Ethical Policy. The essence of the Ethical Policy was that Dutch colonial policy should no longer merely benefit the interests of the motherland, but also the interests of the colony and its inhabitants.

One of the consequences of the introduction of the Ethical Policy in the archipelago was the decentralization of the administrative system. The Decentralization Act that was enacted to that end, ended Batavia's century long administrative hegemony over the islands. To assist the Governor General in the elaboration and implementation of the Decentralization Act and to inform the relevant authorities about the objectives and consequences of the new arrangement, a Regeeringscommissaris voor Decentralisatie (Government Commissioner for Decentralization) and a Deputy Government Commissioner were assigned to the Department of the Interior. In accordance with a proposal by the Government Commissioner, a Local Councils Ordinance was enacted in 1905. This ordinance gave the central government the power to establish regional and local councils that, taking existing administrative hierarchies into account, would be able to administer a clearly demarcated territory, using their own financial resources, as they saw fit (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*

1905/181). As a result of the Local Councils Ordinance, the first local councils on Java were installed in Batavia, Meester Cornelis and Buitenzorg on 1 April 1905.² These were followed a year later by the councils of Bandung, Blitar, Cirebon, Kediri, Magelang, Pekalongan, Semarang, Surabaya and Tegal on Java, Makassar on Sulawesi and Padang and Palembang on Sumatra. Over the following years, more municipalities followed.

One of the most evident consequences of the new administrative system was the direct confrontation of administrators with local issues. This confrontation did not immediately produce fully engaged local councillors and central civil servants – a considerable section of the civil service corps remained mistrustful towards the decentralized principle – but it definitely influenced the way in which cities were administered. The challenge facing the municipal councils was far from simple. Acute housing shortages, inadequate and poorly maintained infrastructure and an obvious lack of administrative experience, combined with limited financial, technical and legal resources, represented major obstacles. The problems were all the more serious because the central government, before decentralization, had done very little in the way of maintaining public works, and had passed on a severely neglected legacy to the municipalities (Woesthoff 1915:24).

An essential problem for the municipal councils, particularly in the early years, was the limited way in which the central government interpreted the decentralization principle. To leave the power of the central government and its civil servants as intact as possible, the operational scope of the municipal councils had been kept to a minimum: the construction and maintenance of roads, including the plants and trees lining them, sewers, water supplies, public slaughterhouses, and covered markets (Woesthoff 1915:128). In addition, municipal authorities were responsible for the provision of fire fighting, cemeteries, ferries, and the collection of refuse along public highways, streets, and squares. Although these tasks were too limited to allow an effective approach to town development and the budget was too limited to appoint the expert personnel to execute these tasks, the municipal councils were highly ambitious (Van der Zee 1927:22).

In addition to this already complicated situation, there were two more factors that severely handicapped the municipal councils in the exercise of their work. One of them was land ownership. As the Topographical Service and the Land Registry had already noted in the nineteenth century, the indigenous

2 The denomination 'local council' (*locale raad*) was soon changed to 'municipal council' (*gemeenteraad*); for the sake of consistency the term 'municipal council' will be used throughout the remainder of this chapter.

people of the Netherlands Indies abided by an array of land rights of a complexity scarcely imaginable to Europeans. In addition, municipal territories often included many sizable private estates (*particuliere landerijen*). The consequence of this situation was that when a municipal council wished to carry out a building project on a piece of land to which it did not have legal title, it first had to establish the owner of the title to the plot in question and subsequently negotiate transfer of ownership – a costly and time-consuming procedure that seriously compromised the progress of projects (Van Roosmalen 2008:40).

A second serious obstacle that handicapped municipalities in their work was the lack of jurisdiction over the autonomous indigenous land (*desa* or *kampong*) within their municipal boundaries (Van Roosmalen 2008:28–29). This problem had arisen as a result of the enactment of the Municipal Ordinance of 1906 that decreed that indigenous lands fell under the jurisdiction of indigenous authorities, the autonomous *desa*. A situation that significantly hindered, complicated, and even harmed the execution of town plans and in worst-case scenarios forced town administrations to give up carrying out plans entirely. Although municipal authorities recognized that circumspection in interfering with autonomous *desa* was warranted – ‘what (responsibilities) had been acquired [could, after all,] never again be left to the kampongs’³ – they nevertheless attempted to persuade the central government of the need for a broader mandate by suggesting two alternatives: abolishing the administrative autonomy of indigenous communities or granting municipalities priority rights to land. Although it took the municipalities more than a decade, the government in 1918 revised the Governmental Code of the Netherlands Indies, which functioned as the Constitution of the colony, in order to empower municipal authorities to carry out public works projects throughout their municipal territory, including the autonomous *desa*.

Support for Town Planning

The Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen (Association for Local Interests) played an important role in the gradually more accommodating attitude of the central government towards the arguments of municipal administrators and town planners. The Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen, founded in 1912 at the

3 ‘wat eenmaal tot zich getrokken [was, kon immers] nooit meer aan de kampongs worden overgelaten’. Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta (ANRI), Departement Binnenlandsch Bestuur (BB) 1691, letter from the Regeringscommissaris to the Gouverneur-Generaal, 23-10-1905, No 857.

initiative of several members of the Semarang municipal council, was an umbrella organization for Netherlands Indies municipal authorities that served as a platform for local administrators and as an intermediary between municipalities and the government. A year prior to the founding of the association, its initiators had organized what they called a *Decentralisatiecongres* (Decentralization Congress): a congress at which national and municipal administrators could meet and exchange ideas about a variety of issues related to the local administration. The success of this congress marked the start of a series of annual congresses, organized from 1912 to 1942.

Held alternately in Bandung, Batavia, Malang, Semarang, and Surabaya, these Decentralization Congresses, along with the papers drawn up for these gatherings and the Association's publication *Locale Belangen* (Local Interests), were one of the few opportunities for government and municipal civil servants, lawyers and planners to meet, trade experiences and exchange ideas about a broad range of subjects: policy, administration, finances, health and hygiene, housing, and not least, developments in town planning. As the long distances in the archipelago prohibited regular contact, the congresses and *Locale Belangen* were instrumental in exchanging information and debate.⁴

While a major part of the debate about town planning and public housing was carried out by professionals, well educated members of the public increasingly began to take an interest in the development of their municipalities as well. In Bandung, for instance, the association *Bandoeng Vooruit* (Bandung Forward) was founded in 1932: an association consisting mainly of prominent citizens endeavouring to promote Bandung as a place to live and work. Six years later, a similar association called *Groot Batavia* (Greater Batavia) was formed in Batavia. Among less well-educated people, notably the indigenous people, interest in town planning developments remained minimal: not out of indifference per se, but because other, more basic issues called for their attention and particularly indigenous people, due to a high level of illiteracy and extremely deficient knowledge of Dutch, were barely able to obtain information about administrative and related developments. Only in the 1930s, when publications of reports and articles in Malay became more common, and information was also disseminated over the radio, did this change somewhat.

4 Beginning in 1932 the *Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen* also published *Locale Techniek* (Local Engineering). *Locale Techniek* merged in 1934 with *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* (Indies Architecture Journal), the organ of the *Vereeniging voor Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Association of Architects in the Netherlands Indies), founded in 1898. The merged publication was called *IBT Locale Techniek*. In 1938 the name was changed to *Locale Techniek Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift*. Publication of the journal ceased in 1942.

In 1938, for example, the indigenous broadcasting company Vereeniging Oosterse Radio Luisteraars (VORL, Association of Eastern Radio Listeners) in Bandung broadcasted Malay and Dutch programmes entitled *The Indies city as a social problem*, *Property rights in the municipalities* and *Town planning and kampong improvement* (Inheemsche belangstelling 1938). Given these titles, VORL clearly aimed at involving all Bandung residents, indigenous and otherwise, in local affairs, including issue related to town planning.

Motives for Town Planning

The initial lack of interest and participation among the majority of the indigenous population in administrative and other municipal affairs did not mean that there was nothing to remedy in the kampongs, the neighbourhoods primarily inhabited by indigenous people. On the contrary, the epidemics of plague and cholera that continued to break out until the second decade of the twentieth century were often a direct result of the exceedingly unhygienic conditions in these neighbourhoods.

As in Europe and in other colonies, in the Netherlands Indies medical experts were first to call attention to the link between the epidemics, public health, and housing conditions. The leading figures in the Netherlands Indies were the pharmacist H.F. Tillema and the physician W.T. de Vogel. Both lived in Semarang and were members of the municipal council. While De Vogel and Tillema pointed out the causal relationship between housing conditions and public health, it was particularly Tillema who explained this link to policy makers and other professionals and tried to convince them of the need for improvement. In the many lectures he gave and the various books he wrote and published (at his own expense), Tillema demonstrated the relationship between construction, town planning, and public health on the basis of statistics, maps and photos of dwellings, estates, vegetation, and streetscapes. (Tillema 1911, 1913, 1915–1922; Tillema and Tillema-Weehuizen 1919; Figure 4.2).⁵ Tillema also repeatedly pointed out that, in order to bring about improvement, it was crucial that the

5 Tillema financed these publications out of the fortune he earned from the sale of bottled mineral water. He had been a pioneer in developing a market strategy. Buoyed by his experience as a promoter and producer of bottle mineral water as an alternative to the often contaminated water from pipes or wells, Tillema was convinced that, if presented in the right way, the essence of the message about the causes and effects of hygiene, or rather the lack thereof, could be made clear to all and consequently public health would improve (Vanvugt 1993).

FIGURE 4.2 *Semarang: flooding in an unidentified kampong (c. 1910)*

SOURCE: NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN WERELDCULTUREN, LEIDEN, RV-10754-183. COURTESY OF NATIONAAL MUSEUM VAN WERELDCULTUREN

way in which houses and residential areas had been constructed up to the early twentieth century should make way for a modern and well-considered architecture and town planning – a change Tillema held to be urgently required, not just from an aesthetic but above all from a medical standpoint.

In their attempt to improve the insalubrious housing conditions in Semarang and other cities, De Vogel and Tillema generated ideas about the modern city. One way of doing this was by presenting the counter-image of the modern city: dirty, disorderly, and impoverished spaces, indigenous and traditionally built quarters inhabited and built by people seemingly ignorant about the hygienic and other shortcomings of their living environment. To overcome this ignorance, education and enlightenment were the first steps towards the process of modernization. It was this process that De Vogel and Tillema helped to instigate.

Although the arguments of Tillema and De Vogel found a receptive audience among the largely leftist-oriented municipal council of Semarang, it was not enough to win the battle. Convincing other municipal authorities and especially the central government required more time and more persuasion. As for the latter, an inadvertent boost for the advocates of improvement came from the kampongs, in particular, where over the years an argument that eventually convinced the central government began to emerge: the ‘warning signs of popular awakening’.⁶ Poorly maintained kampongs provided a fertile

⁶ ‘waarschuwendende verschijnselen der volksontwaking’ (Karsten 1930:159).

breeding ground for this 'popular awakening', which had started to crop up as a result of advancing democratization.

The opportunity seized by indigenous intellectuals, starting in the second decade of the century, to champion their own regional, cultural and economic interests and form indigenous political associations, in part fostered the discontent felt by many of the indigenous population. The signals of discontent inspired fear in the central government, leading it on the one hand to pursue a more politically conservative course, but on the other hand to enact measures to counter the indigenous opposition to colonial rule, through the facilitation of systematic urban expansions and improvements, including kampong improvements.

Such was not the situation immediately following the introduction of decentralization, however. As mentioned previously, municipal councils around 1905 were anxiously seeking ways to fulfil their responsibilities in the area of public works and urban development as effectively as possible. One of the solutions proposed in this regard, following the example of the Netherlands, was to introduce a Housing Act in the archipelago. However, after several attempts, at last in 1916 when a draft text for such legislation was finally presented to the central government for approval, the sitting Adviser on Decentralization indicated that he had little faith in the effectiveness of a proposal of this kind.⁷ First and foremost, this was because he felt that the housing question was less well-served by a separate Housing Act that primarily and perhaps even exclusively focused on the housing issue than by a housing policy imbedded in a town planning policy. Secondly, his doubts came from the conviction that the most effective element of the Dutch Housing Act, the right to declare houses uninhabitable, was not desirable in the Netherlands Indies due to the archipelago's wholly insufficient housing stock and the fact that a substandard dwelling was still preferable to no dwelling at all. Thirdly, a Housing Act would not necessarily bring an end to the housing shortage, as evidenced by the situation in the Netherlands. Moreover, the Department of Public Works, due to a chronic shortage of personnel, would not be equipped to monitor compliance with such a law. Last but not least, the Adviser reasoned, the introduction of a national law was in violation of the decentralization principle.

Following the response of the Adviser on Decentralization, the 1916 draft for the Netherlands Indies Housing Act was put aside. More attempts to introduce a Netherlands Indies Housing Act in the archipelago only came to a definitive end when the central government, on 10 May 1926, issued a decree on the regulation of urban developments. This decree, which in reference to its listing in

7 The Adviser on Decentralization (Adviseur voor Decentralisatie) was formerly known as Government Commissioner for Decentralization.

the appendix to the gazette, the *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, became known as Appendix 11272, was the first concrete step towards a systematic and integral approach and a legal basis for town planning projects.⁸ Appendix 11272 stipulated that municipal authorities could obtain priority rights on land and subsidies for, for example, the construction of roads and sewers, if they submitted a request to this effect, accompanied by an town planning proposal, to the central government (Jansen 1930:148).⁹

Although this decree was a major step forward in terms of the systematization of the town planning practice in the Netherlands Indies, it was in no way the centralized regulation or town planning that municipal administrators and town planners had been advocating for so long.

The central government, however, was not yet convinced of the need for such a regulation in the mid-1920s. Indeed the government rejected the proposal to establish a commission that would consider the drafting of such a regulation, as, according to the government, there was really very little to do for such a commission (Poldervaart 1933:5).

A few years later, during which many, including political, arguments for town planning were put forward, the central authorities finally conceded. The threat of communist revolts in kampongs ultimately convinced the government in 1929 of the need to subsidize their improvement up to 50 percent of the costs. In 1930, two advisory commissions on building and town planning respectively were established. The findings of these commissions eventually culminated in an apotheosis in 1934: the establishment of a Town Planning Commission.¹⁰ It was this commission, of which the majority had also been a member of the two previous commissions, that formulated the legal foundation for town planning in the Netherlands Indies (Instelling Commissie 1934).

Findings of the Town Planning Commission

The assignment of the Town Planning Commission was two-fold: making an inventory of the fundamentals of urban development and formulating a legal

8 'Agrarische aangelegenheden gemeenten. Voorkeurrecht der gemeenten bij uitgifte van gronden in eigendom', *Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Bijblad 11272, 1926.

9 The regulation affected land within municipal boundaries as well as lands that, while outside these boundaries, were still within the municipality's sphere of influence.

10 The Commissie voor de Bestudeering van het Vraagstuk der Stadsvorming (Commission for the Study of the Problem of Urban Development) was informally referred to as Town Planning Commission.

town planning regulation for towns on Java and Madura to replace Appendix 11272. The Town Planning Commission presented its findings in 1938 in the form of a *Stadsvormingsordonnantie Stadsgemeenten Java* (Town Planning Ordinance for Municipalities on Java), along with an Explanatory Memorandum. Although the ordinance would not be enacted due to the Japanese invasion of the Netherlands Indies the Town Planning Ordinance and its Explanatory Memorandum were milestones: earlier than in the Netherlands, they set out the methodological, procedural, and legal principles for town planning.

One of the findings of the Town Planning Commission presented in 1938 was that the situation in the Netherlands Indies at the time was typical of a country or society in development. Politics and town planning had evolved in Europe in a similar way in the nineteenth century as was happening now in the Netherlands Indies. In Europe, as a result of a liberalism and a withdrawing state, responsibility for town planning had been reduced to ensure a certain minimum level of quality for given technical details, such as street and mains construction, and the allocation of abundant funds to roads with a representative function (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:96). As this situation gradually changed, the unsystematic approach to town planning issues in Europe was gradually replaced by an integral approach. This shift had produced a rapid increase in town planning legislation and the gradual rise of town planning training and education.

The Town Planning Commission expected that developments in the Netherlands Indies would follow a course analogous to developments in Europe: in the Netherlands Indies too, ad hoc urban development, from which the state distanced itself as much as possible, would gradually make way for an integral town planning practice in which the state would play a central role. The Town Planning Commission saw indications of an evolution in that direction, first and foremost, in the fact that the Commission had been established and in the fact that Netherlands Indies municipalities were increasingly issuing ordinances concerning construction and town planning.

The Town Planning Commission emphasized that, if the issue of urban development were subjected to a centralized approach, the disordered development of towns and urban conglomerations would make way for harmonious towns, operating efficiently in technical, social, economic and political terms. Harmonious, in this context, was not limited to technical or social aspects: it was also explicitly related to the aesthetics of the urban landscape.

A conscious organization of the physical elements comprising a town plan to realize functional and visual coherence was a major departure from the way in which neighbourhoods and towns had been arranged until the early

FIGURE 4.3 *Bandung: Frisia Street before and after modernization (c. 1936)*

SOURCE: *IBT LOCALE TECHNIK* (1936:28–29)

twentieth century: incidental, unsystematic, incoherent and inefficient. Because the urban landscape expressed the essence of a society:

Certainly the beauty of a city, or at least, at a lower level, its maintenance, orderliness, and comfortableness, are external signs of an internal order and harmony; they are a testament to the character of the society, as are facial features to that of an individual.¹¹

The transfer toward a more conscious organization, the Commission argued, should be given urgent priority (Figure 4.3).

According to the Town Planning Commission, modernization of the city was more than a functional reorganization; it was also an aesthetic ideal. Beauty, in the eyes of the town planners, was order. In addition, a well-kept urban landscape was important because it served a societal interest:

just as children raised in a disorderly and uncomfortable home become slovenly and indifferent, so too, in a people compelled to live in

11 *'Zeker de schoonheid, doch reeds, op lager plan, de verzorgdheid, de ordelijkheid en de behagelijkheid van de stad, zijn uiterlijke teekenen van een innerlijke orde en harmonie, zij vormen een getuigenis omtrent het karakter der samenleving, zooals de trekken van een aangezicht omtrent dat van de dragers'* (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:64).

disordered and inhospitable towns, the tendency towards social discontent and disorder is reinforced. The assuredly largely ideal degree of harmony, harmfulness and aesthetic quality of our cities therefore also has a very concrete, indeed virtually political, actual significance.¹²

The Town Planning Commission felt that urbanization in the Netherlands Indies in the 1930s was characterized by two kinds of problems: concrete elements (construction, traffic, municipal works) and problems of a more general nature such as aesthetics, property rights, and finances. Rather than just identifying these problems, which had been done in a number of publications over the years, the Town Planning Commission also examined their causes. According to the Commission, the first major causes of the identified problems were the mistrust among the population towards the new phenomenon of urbanization and the refusal of many town dwellers to abandon an agrarian mode of living. Furthermore, the layout of towns reflected the colonial policy (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:78, 80): the amalgamation of various spheres in the colony – indigenous and non-indigenous, an intermediate form (Chinese) and a mixed form (Indo-European) – had produced significant economic, social, legal, and technical differences.

On an administrative level, the Commission observed the lack of an integral approach and efforts to attune regulations to the various tasks and responsibilities of the authorities. It was because of incongruences like these, which had come about because the interconnection between various urban phenomena had not been recognized, that the development of towns had hitherto been less than harmonious (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:86).

A third cause of an inadequate Netherlands Indies town planning practice, according to the Commission, was the reserved attitude of administrators towards the work of planners. Aside from exceptions, the majority of the administrative apparatus still demonstrated a striking lack of enthusiasm to address urban issues that were in the general interest. The lack of enthusiasm, according to the Commission, was due to the absence of a 'genuinely felt local

12 'zooals in kinderen, opgevoed in een onordelijke en onbehagelijke woning, slordigheid en onverschilligheid worden aangekweekt, zoo zal in een volk, dat moet leven in rommelige en onvriendelijke steden, versterkt worden de neiging tot sociale ontevredenheid en onordelijkheid. De zeker bovenal ideëel belangrijke graad van harmonie, schadelijkheid en welstand onzer steden, heeft dus bovendien een zeer concrete, ja welhaast politieke, reële beteekenis' (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:64).

patriotism which can be of such major significance to successful urban development'.¹³

Town Planning Procedures and Increase in Scale of the Plans

The draft for the Town Planning Ordinance described in six sections the methodological, procedural and legal aspects of town planning. To delineate the various concepts under discussion, the first section opened with a listing of definitions of terms and elements related to a town plan that were employed in the ordinance. The second section, entitled 'On urban development prescriptions', outlined the elements that should make up a town plan, the contributions and responsibilities assigned to various levels of the administration, the procedures to be followed in drafting and enacting a plan, the duties of inhabitants in terms of compliance with the implementation of a plan, the measures the state was empowered to apply to compel inhabitants to comply if necessary, the various kinds of permits required and, finally, the mandates available to municipal executives and municipal councils in extreme cases if inhabitants did not comply. The section also described the objective and function of a town plan and its attendant prescriptions. It was intended as a guideline for the development of a city or town in accordance with its social and geographical characteristics, seeking a balanced fulfilment of the needs of all sections of the population and the harmonious functioning of the city or town as a whole (*Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:12).

With reference to public involvement and input, the ordinance stipulated, in part, that interested parties would be able to submit objections to a detailed plan before it was adopted by the municipal council. To provide inhabitants the opportunity to do this, designs were to be made available for inspection at the town hall to all citizens, including those in indigenous communities, for six weeks. The period of public inspection was to be announced in municipal newspapers or in any other locally read publication. The ordinance stipulated explicitly that the mayor, with or without the cooperation of the Resident, was to ensure that the announcement of plans be made in such a way that illiterate citizens would also be informed (*Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:17).

The considerably more succinct third and fourth sections of the Town Planning Ordinance dealt with the financial aspects of urban development: compensation claims and the cost of tax levies. The fifth section described among others the

13 'werkelijk-gevoelde locale patriottisme, dat voor een gelukkige stadsontwikkeling [...] van zoo groote beteekenis kan zijn' (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:81).

powers of the Governor General to void decrees, the responsibilities of the municipalities and the necessity of compiling an annual report. The final, sixth section stipulated that unless they were revised to comply with the ordinance, all current municipal decrees related to urban development would expire within five years, and all current town plans would expire within 10 years of the Town Planning Ordinance coming into effect. It also stipulated that the ordinance would come into effect on a date to be determined by the Governor General.

The jurisdiction of the proposed ordinance was subject to three restrictions. The first, in accordance with the operational scope of the municipalities, was that it did not apply to defence installations, railways and ports. The second restriction was that it would not apply to towns on Java that did not have municipal status (*Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:9; *Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:105, 112). The second stipulation was motivated by pragmatic considerations. The physical and administrative differences between Java and the Outer Islands, as well as the differences between the mostly urban municipal towns and the considerably more rural regency towns, would have significantly hindered the formulation of a uniform programme. In addition, the Commission members felt that they were insufficiently knowledgeable about conditions in the Outer Islands. Should a need for a Town Planning Ordinance arise in the Outer Islands, however, the Commission was confident that a simple addendum to or revision of the ordinance would suffice to make it applicable to the municipalities in these areas (*Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* 1938:105–107). The third restriction was that the Commission had refrained from including regional plans in the Town Planning Ordinance. The reason for this was that the Town Planning Commission considered regional plans to be relating to a wider socio-economically cohesive area – which in the Netherlands Indies could be an island, for instance – and therefore well beyond the scope of a Town Planning Ordinance.

Before the Town Planning Ordinance was presented to the responsible senior official, it was discussed by various professionals (architects, town planners, legal experts, administrators) during the first Planologische Studiedag (Planning Workshop) – an initiative of a subcommittee of the Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen (Association for Local Interests). In general, attendants of the Planning Workshop praised the broad, rational and objective approach of the Town Planning Commission, the ordinance and its accompanying Memorandum.

There was also criticism, however. Many who attended the workshop particularly criticized the Commission's lack of attention for elementary aspects of the modern planning practice: traffic, regional planning, and 'planology'. They pointed out that, given the proved impact of motorized traffic on the development of urban areas and given the evident and irreversible nature of this trend,

it was incomprehensible the Town Planning Commission had barely taken these issues into account. To support their argument, the critics referred to the increasing numbers of buses, trams, and private cars which placed new demands on the layout, the construction and the cross section of roadways, while also increasing possibilities to easily cover greater distances and thus generate an entirely different use of space. The effects of the latter were already visible in the Indies towns where the financially well-off segment of the population increasingly settled further away from urban centres and developed a new form of leisure activity: going for a drive in the countryside. To avoid the already extensive towns and cities of the Netherlands Indies from continuing to spread in an unordered fashion, addressing the issue of traffic was of the essence in the late 1930s.

Equally baffling to critics was the lack of references to two recently introduced planning approaches: regional planning and what the Dutch called 'planology' (*planologie*). Regional planning had caught on in the Netherlands Indies starting in 1930, when it became clear that isolated town plans no longer sufficed, because the economic, social, and spatial development of municipalities was intricately linked to the areas surrounding them. 'Planology' by 1939 was a nearly 10-year-old interdisciplinary method that combined various disciplines related to analyse various processes that determined the organization, the use and the design of space: geography, sociology, town planning, and research (Bosma 2003:44–45). 'Planology' took an academic approach to the challenge of designing the physical space. Through planology, town, regional, national and even international planning would acquire the rational basis it currently lacked, but, according to the critics who attended the Planning Workshop, it so sorely needed.

A major problem that had faced planners in the early days of Netherlands Indies town planning was the lack of data about essential aspects that played a role in drafting a plan and that were also mentioned in the Town Planning Ordinance: the size and composition of the population, as well as growth, birth, and mortality figures. Towards the 1930s, efforts to remedy this had borne fruit after nearly 30 years. Based on reliable statistics on the demographics of the population, town planners in the early 1930s were finally able to estimate the population (breaking down the overall figure into smaller categories) and map urban areas.

Post-War Reconstruction

The professionalization and modernization in town planning in the Netherlands Indies during the interwar period came to an abrupt halt with the Japanese invasion of the archipelago (1942). In 1945, when the war was over

and Japan had surrendered, the geo-political situation was so different from the pre-war situation that a continuation of pre-war developments in the Netherlands Indies was far from self-evident. Yet, although the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945 and the proclamation of the independent Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945 (only two days after Japan's surrender) had fundamentally undermined the unassailability of Dutch rule in the archipelago, Dutch administrators and town planners were undeterred to resume work in the territories in which the Dutch colonial government had more or less re-established its authority after August 1945: on Java Batavia and its surroundings, on Sumatra around the cities of Medan and Palembang, and on the islands that formed the 'Great East': Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku and New Guinea.

One of the major challenges facing town planners was the reconstruction of towns destroyed or damaged by the war (Figure 4.4). Material damage was particularly severe in the Great East.¹⁴ Except for a few dozen houses, Balikpapan, an important oil-producing town on Kalimantan, had been razed to the ground. In Manado, in North Sulawesi, only ten to fifteen percent of the buildings were still in tact, while in the city of Ambon, the capital of the Maluku Islands, only six to seven percent of the original buildings remained, of which the majority had suffered damage. In and around large cities on Java and Sumatra, war damage was primarily the result of neglect and looting.

Apart from an insecure political context, town planners in 1945 faced many other problems as well: unfamiliarity with the challenges of reconstruction, lack of materials and data, but most of all insufficient expertise and professionals. Of the pre-war contingent of architects and town planners, only fifteen (out of about 80) were available in the immediate aftermath of the war.¹⁵ The rest, including Karsten, had not survived Japanese occupation or had left the archipelago. If reconstruction was to be undertaken as efficiently as possible in spite of the enormous shortage of expertise, a fundamental organizational revision was imperative. Proposals to this effect were submitted by architect

14 ANRI, Algemeene Secretarie 1891–1942 (AS) 926, 'Rapport Technische Commissie ingesteld door de Directeur van Verkeer en Waterstaat ten behoeve van de wederopbouw in de Grote Oost en Borneo', s.l., (January 1946); Het Nieuwe Instituut, Rotterdam (Het Nieuwe Instituut), Thijsse THIJ d53, Jac.P. Thijsse, untitled note ('Just to prevent...'), s.l., s.a.:2.

15 Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijsse THIJ d39, Jac.P. Thijsse, 'Verslag van de studiereis naar Nederland en Engeland van 24 Augustus tot 31 October 1946 van het hoofd van het Planologisch Bureau van het Dept. VenW', Batavia (10-11-1946):6; Akihary 1990. See Van Roosmalen (2008) about the number of architects in the archipelago.

FIGURE 4.4 *Ambon: bombed town centre (c. 1945)*

SOURCE: NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR OORLOGS-, HOLOCAUST- EN GENOCIDESTUDIES (NIOD), AMSTERDAM, 54399. COURTESY OF NIOD

W.B. Kloos, who was working in the Netherlands, and ComTech.¹⁶ Based on the proposals of Kloos and ComTech, a Planning Bureau (PB) was established as part of the Department of Transport and Waterways in 1946. A year later the bureau was renamed the Central Planning Bureau (CPB). The principal task of the (C)PB was the drafting and coordination of local, regional and national reconstruction plans. In addition, it was to formulate legal urban development principles for municipalities or areas that did have a town planning department.¹⁷

16 Kloos 1939, 1945; ANRI, Algemene Secretarie en Kabinet van de Gouverneur-Generaal 1944–1950 (AS&KGG) 923, letter Minister van Overzeesche Gebiedsdeelen to the Gouverneur-Generaal, 22-3-1946, No 5/191. Because the population density and population growth were greatest on Java – and consequently the issue of spatial planning most urgent – Kloos' proposal focused mainly on Java. ANRI, BB 1683 contains a copy of this proposal, dated 5-5-1945. ComTech (Combinatie van Technische Diensten, Combination of Technical Services) was a group of private building companies founded in close cooperation with the Departement voor Burgerlijke Openbare Werken (Department of Public Works) in October 1945; it only accepted orders from this Department (Colombijn 2010:316).

17 Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijsse THIJ d53, Jac.P. Thijsse, 'Werkzaamheden van het Planologisch Bureau van het Departement van Verkeer en Waterstaat over het eerste jaar van zijn bestaan', s.l., s.a.:; Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijsse THIJ d53, Jac.P. Thijsse, 'Bespreking 2 December 1946 met den heer Wahban Hilal', Batavia Centrum, 2-12-1946.

Out of political and pragmatic considerations, the Great East was the region on which the (C)PB focused most of its attention. Not only were the towns of the Great East most heavily damaged, this was also the region where the Dutch were firmest in control. Although data and manpower were scarce, work proceeded rapidly: within four months all devastated areas and shortages had been inventoried and reconstruction plans for Makassar and Ternate were ready within seven months. Town plans and construction codes were next drawn up for Ambon, Balikpapan, Manado, Palembang, and Samarinda (Figure 4.5). In addition, the (C)PB drafted regional plans – the first in the archipelago – for the region of Minahasa, in North Sulawesi, and for the area southeast of Buitenzorg on Java.¹⁸

FIGURE 4.5 Samarinda: figures collected by the Balikpapan Planning Bureau for use in designing the urban development plan (1949): flood areas, war-torn districts, centres of malaria outbreaks

SOURCE: HET NIEUWE INSTITUUT, ROTTERDAM, LÜNING LÜNI 50, TOELICHTING OP HET STADSPAN KOTA SAMARINDA (1949). COURTESY OF HET NIEUWE INSTITUUT

¹⁸ The regional plans have not been located.

FIGURE 4.5 (Continued)

The (c)PB was well aware that the reconstruction plans were hampered by two significant limitations: they were based on incomplete demographic and economic data and, due to the unstable political situation, their life expectancy was uncertain, but short. In view of these limitations, the (c)PB emphasized that the plans were only provisional, and would have to be thoroughly revised as soon as the missing data were obtained and more definite future expectations could be determined.¹⁹

While designing the reconstruction plans, the (c)PB also had to deal with an important issue in the short term, namely drawing up their legal basis. To fill this void, the (c)PB together with representatives from the Departementen van Verkeer- en Waterstaat, Justitie en Binnenlandse Zaken voor Oost Indonesië (Departments of Transport and Waterways, Justice and the Interior for East Indonesia), looked into the adjustments necessary to make the pre-war drafts of the Town Planning Ordinance and its Memorandum applicable to the post-war situation.²⁰ The most important change needed concerned the nature of the projects to which the ordinance applied. Unlike in 1938, the Town Planning Ordinance in 1948 was no longer intended solely for carefully considered urban development, but also for the rapid reconstruction of areas affected by military conflict.²¹ Another necessary adjustment, expanding the jurisdiction of the Town Planning Ordinance beyond Java to the Outer Islands, was a simple, but in this context also crucial, change that was effected without much discussion. Once adapted to current power balances, organizational structures and the extraordinary challenges of war damage, the pre-war Town Planning Ordinance and its Memorandum provided an outstanding legal foundation for post-war town planning.

After the colonial government in Batavia had approved the revised draft, the Town Planning Ordinance, drafted in 1938, was thus finally enacted in

-
- 19 Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijssse THIJ d53, Jac.P. Thijssse, 'Werkzaamheden van het Planologisch Bureau van het Departement van Verkeer en Waterstaat over het eerste jaar van zijn bestaan', s.l., s.a.:2-3; Het Nieuwe Instituut, Lüning LÜNI 30, 44, 50; Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijssse THIJ d39, J.W. Keiser, 1980, 'Ruimtelijke ordening in het Indonesië van omstreeks 1950', s.l.:9 [manuscript].
 - 20 ANRI, AS&KGG 925, letter Directeur Departement van Binnenlands Bestuur to Minister Departement van Binnenlandse Zaken van Oost Indonesië, 26-6-1947, No A.Z.30/1/38.
 - 21 ANRI, AS&KGG 925, Draft Town Planning Ordinance, s.a., 1. To make this change possible, two articles (51 and 52) were added to the last section of the ordinance. Article 51 stipulated that the ordinance was applicable not only to administrative entities with the status of a municipality, but also to areas that showed signs, or would soon be showing signs, of urban development. Article 52 stipulated that non-municipal entities could also be assigned temporary administrative powers, so that the ordinance would also be legally valid in these administrative entities.

mid-1948 (*Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 1948/168). The first town where it was put into effect was Banjarmasin on Kalimantan (*Staatsblad van Indonesië* 1949/331). Several months later, the Town Planning Ordinance was implemented on Java for Batavia and areas in its vicinity (Kebayoran, Pasar Minggu), Bekasi, Cilacap, Malang, Pekalongan, Salatiga, Semarang, Surabaya, Tangerang, and Tegal (*Staatsblad van Indonesië* 1949/241). On Sumatra it was first put into effect in Padang.

The consultations between the (C)PB and the departments also resulted in the drafting of a regulation that was necessary for the implementation of the Town Planning Ordinance, the *Stadsvormingsverordening* (Town Planning Regulation).²² The Town Planning Regulation set out which functions, building types and roads should be listed in an urban development plan and the minimum standards these elements should meet. The Regulation also defined how drawings and maps should be produced, what legends should be used and even the quality of the watercolour paint that planners were to use for their designs. A year later, in 1949, the Town Planning Regulation was also enacted (*Staatsblad van Indonesië* 1949/40).

Developments Around the Transfer of Sovereignty

The enactment of the Town Planning Ordinance marked a turning point in town planning in the Netherlands Indies – and the Kingdom of the Netherlands, for that matter. On the one hand the ordinance consolidated the way town planning and the town planning practice had evolved since 1905. On the other hand it formed the prelude to the future of town planning: rationalization and an expansion of scale.

Barely three months after the Town Planning Ordinance had been enacted, the colonial government appointed another commission in 1949 – this time charged with formulating a draft legislation for the spatial planning of non-urban areas. In order that the various spheres of influence and operational areas were coordinated as productively as possible, representatives of various departments sat on the commission along with the director of the (C)PB and two members of its staff.²³ In mid-1951, less than three years after it was established and one and a half years after the Netherlands transferred sovereignty to Indonesia, the commission presented the draft for legislation on

²² ANRI, AS&KGG 925, *Ontwerp Stadsvormingsordonnantie*, 15-10-1948.

²³ See Van Roosmalen (2008) for the composition of this commission.

spatial planning, including an explanatory memorandum, to the Minister of Public Works and Energy (Pekerdjaan Umum dan Tenaga).²⁴

In its preface to the draft legislation, the commission outlined the arguments for the introduction of spatial planning. The most important argument was the profound impact of industry on spatial, economic, and social developments. If this impact was not managed properly, the line between city and countryside would blur, cities would expand uncontrolled while ribbon development and deforestation would occur on a massive scale. A situation that could be avoided if, with the application of a national plan, regional or local plans, and sector plans, land-use allocation was codified in a timely fashion, making it possible to properly manage spatial, economic, and demographic changes.²⁵

A second argument for the introduction of spatial planning was that, unlike in Europe where a large-scale reorganization of land allocation was an extremely complicated operation as all the land was already in use, a comparable operation in Indonesia would be simpler due to the still extensive use of land. The rapid introduction of spatial planning, according to the authors of the draft legislation, was therefore crucial. The longer the delay, the more intensive the use of land would become and consequently the more complicated the introduction of spatial planning would be.

Aside from an economic and pragmatic argument, there was, according to the commission, also an aesthetic argument for the introduction of spatial planning – an argument that had also been used in the 1938 Town Planning Ordinance. To realize a harmonious landscape, it was indispensable that all the factors that had an impact on the landscape should be rationally attuned to one another, something that could only be achieved if spatial planning was the underlying ordering principle to organize the factors and interests that impacted on spatial development.

As had been the case with the Town Planning Ordinance, enacting the draft for legislation on spatial planning took more time than drafting it. The chairman of the commission responsible for drafting the new legislation, Jac.P. Thijsse, in hindsight suggested two possible reasons for the problems with its enactment. The first reason could be that the draft was written in Dutch which

24 Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijsse THIJ d39, J.W. Keiser, 1980, 'Ruimtelijke ordening in het Indonesië van omstreeks 1950', s.l.:18–25 [manuscript]; Private archive Ir. Suyono, Jakarta, Regeringscommissie voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening, *Wetsontwerp op de Ruimtelijke Ordening. Inleiding*, Djakarta, June 1951.

25 Private archive Ir. Suyono, Jakarta, Regeringscommissie voor de Ruimtelijke Ordening, *Wetsontwerp op de Ruimtelijke Ordening. Inleiding*, Djakarta, June 1951:2.

most responsible Indonesian officials in 1951 did not master sufficiently to fully grasp the content of the draft. The second reason could be that administrators realized that once the legislation was enacted, 'the execution of this law will be very difficult owing to lack of competent personnel'.²⁶ To sidestep this problem, Thijsse suggested, the minister probably deemed it better to have no act at all than to have an act he could not observe. A situation that echoed the arguments not to pass the Housing Act in 1916.

As the enactment of the Spatial Planning Act was delayed, the Town Planning Ordinance remained the legal and methodological basis for town planning, regional planning, and spatial planning in independent Indonesia until 1992 when it was finally replaced by a new Spatial Planning Act (Undang-Undang 24/1992 tentang Penataan Ruang).²⁷ It was thus the 1948–1949 legislation, a legislation rooted in Indonesia's colonial history, that for decades provided the independent republic with a fitting methodological and legal foundation for its spatial planning practice. The absence of an updated legal foundation for the spatial planning in Indonesia echoed the situation in the Netherlands Indies: as in colonial times, legal and methodological practice was only codified into law after the planning practice had more or less consolidated already.

Prelude to a Definitive Rupture

The political rupture that followed the Japanese invasion in 1942, the Indonesian Declaration of Independence in 1945, and the official transfer of sovereignty in 1949 initially hardly influenced the town planning practice in the newly established independent Republic. The explanation given by Thijsse concerning the deferred enactment of the Spatial Planning Act from 1951 were directly related to the Indonesianization that followed the 1949 transfer of sovereignty: Indonesians were appointed in the executive positions previously occupied by Dutch professionals, Indonesian replaced Dutch as the administrative language, and cities, towns, villages, and streets were being given Indonesian names. Notwithstanding the transfer of sovereignty and

26 Het Nieuwe Instituut, Thijsse THIJ d48, Jac.P. Thijsse, 'Building Legislation in Indonesia. Appendix III for ECAFE Report 1954', s.l., s.a.:2; Private archive Drs E.E.M.Th. Bogaers, Amsterdam, letter J.W. Keijser to Erica Bogaers, 12-10-1983. According to Keiser, translation of the draft proposal was entrusted to Go Djam Ing.

27 Fifteen years later, the 1992 Spatial Planning Act was replaced by Undang-Undang 26/2007. Correspondence author with Ir Hendropranoto Suselo (2-7-2007).

Indonesianization, the procedures for town planning as developed during the colonial era and formalized in the post-war period, remained unaltered. The use of pre-war practices was also consolidated and even regenerated when in the early 1950s, following the return of political order in the archipelago in 1950, many newly graduated Dutch architects and urban designers once again opted for a career in Indonesia, with or without being interviewed the Indonesian embassy in The Hague.²⁸

During the early years of the Republic, the town planning practice thus hardly differed from the pre-war and post-war colonial system. What did gradually change in this period though, were the possibilities and the organization of higher (technical) education. At the Faculty of Engineering of the University of Indonesia (Universitas Indonesia), founded in 1950, Thijsse, who by then had resigned as head of the (C)PB, established the Architecture Section (Seksi Arsitektur) in 1951.²⁹ As before the war, the curriculum was modelled on the curriculum of the Polytechnic in Delft. The Architecture Section consequently offered four courses: monumental architecture, utilitarian architecture, social housing, and planning. Much attention was devoted to the theory and design of applied mechanics, and hardly any to the theory and design of contemporary architecture and town planning.³⁰ What was taught, at the initiative of President Sukarno, was Hindu-Javanese art and the history and construction of Hindu-Javanese architecture. The number of architecture students who graduated from the school was initially quite small: the first two qualified in 1956, five more in 1957 and another five in 1958. The number of alumni with a town planning specialization was even smaller.

Definitive Rupture

The collegial atmosphere in the Indonesian planning practice and education in the first half of the 1950s, attested to by Indonesian and Dutch participants alike, stood in sharp contrast to the precarious political relations

28 Correspondence author with Ir Maarten Westerduin (14-2-2007, 16-2-2007). Westerduin graduated from Delft Polytechnic in 1951.

29 Interviews with Ir Ardiman, Bandung (14-11-2000), Ir Harisanto, Bandung (19-12-2000), Ir Achmad Noe'man, Bandung (8-1-2001), Ir Kwee Hin Goan, Rotterdam (16-6-2003), Ir Adhi Moersid, Jakarta (5-1-2001), Prof. ir Purnomohadi, Jakarta (5-1-2001), Prof. ir A. Sidharta, Semarang (28-11-2000); correspondence author with Ir Maarten Westerduin (14-2-2007, 16-2-2007).

30 Interview with Prof. ir A. Sidharta, Semarang (28-11-2000).

between the two countries. The Netherlands found it difficult to accept that the Republic was charting its own course. The controversy over the constitutional position of New Guinea was the straw that broke the camel's back. In late 1957, the 50,000 Dutch nationals living in Indonesia were forced to leave the country.

More than the transfer of sovereignty, it was this event that led to profound changes in town planning. The vacancies in planning departments and universities left by the forced departure of the Dutch were rapidly filled by Indonesians, but also mainly by American, German and Austrian professionals.³¹ The result of these changes soon became apparent, initially primarily in education, but soon also in the planning practice, and consequently in the design and the functioning of cities and towns.

One element of the growing modernization of Indonesia, and the role of town planning therein, was the increasing orientation of Indonesian planners towards American planning. At the Faculty of Architecture of the Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB, Bandung Institute for Technology) more time was allotted to architecture, town planning, and landscape design.³² In addition, the Bagian Tata Pembangunan Daerah dan Kota (TPDK, Division of Regional and City Planning) was established at ITB. The name deviated from the customary order of terms, in which 'city' would be listed first, followed by 'regional'.³³ The TPDK, which opened its doors at the start of the 1959–1960 academic year, aimed to meet the growing demand for education and training in the planning field.³⁴

-
- 31 Interviews: Ir Ardiman, Bandung (14-11-2000); Ir Harisanto, Bandung (19-12-2000); Ir Achmad Noe'man, Bandung (8-1-2001); Ir Kwee Hin Goan, Rotterdam (16-6-2003); Ir Adhi Moersid, Jakarta (5-1-2001); Prof. ir Purnomohadi, Jakarta (5-1-2001); Prof. ir A. Sidharta, Semarang (28-11-2000); correspondence author with Dr. ir Yuswadi Salya, Bandung (19-2-2007); Prof. William A. Doebele, Cambridge (29-6-2007); Ir Maarten Westerduin, Heemstede (17-7-2007). Alumni and correspondents recall, again not in full and with possible inaccuracies here and there, the following names: Kopeinig (architecture), Mrs. Lechner, Natt Messnig (architecture), Noffsinger, Mrs. Schonherr (interior design). The Hungarian Obolensky taught History of Civilization until the 1959–1960 academic year.
- 32 ITB had been created in early 1957 after the faculties of engineering, mathematics and physics were split off from the University of Indonesia and reformed into an independent institution.
- 33 The unusual appellation for this new ITB division was chosen '[i]n order to emphasize the importance of regional issues in a nation as far-flung as Indonesia' (Doebele 2000:3).
- 34 Although the intention was for it to eventually become an independent institute for urban studies and research for South and Southeast Asia (Doebele 1962:95, 97), the TPDK has remained part of the ITB to this day.

The TPDK was an initiative of the Indonesian architect Kus Hadinoto, the United Nations Bureau of Technical Assistance Operations, the Harvard School of Graduate Design, the Biro Perancang Negara (National Planning Bureau) and the ministries of Pekerjaan Umum dan Tenaga (Public Works and Energy) and Pendidikan (Education).³⁵ The influence of American town planners and teachers led to a change in town planning and architecture design practice in the archipelago in the second half of the twentieth century. Whereas designers educated in the Netherlands or elsewhere in Europe had worked according to European design principles and methods during the first half of the century, designers in the second half of the century predominantly applied to American viewpoints and methods. The result was that the attention to the small scale, detail, and ensembles that typified Dutch and European town planning and architecture made way for a design approach with entirely different principles. In particular, the introduction of personal transport by car, championed in America, as the basis for planning represented a radical turnaround in the way in which towns and cities were designed and laid out (Figure 4.6). Through the input of the Americans, the car, the paramount symbol of modernization, acquired a primary place in Indonesian town planning after 1957.

A comparison of residential areas from the first and from the second half of the twentieth century illustrates the formal implications of this change. Whereas in the Netherlands Indies the proportions and layout of residential and commercial districts, conjure up reminiscences of contemporaneous districts in the Netherlands, Indonesian residential areas increasingly resemble

35 There is no (complete) overview nor certainty about the teachers who worked in ITB's Faculty of Architecture and the Division of Regional and City Planning. According to Doebele, teachers from the University of Kentucky worked exclusively in Yogyakarta. Oetomo and Watts, however, write that Walter Hunziker (Housing) and George Hinds (Urban and Regional Planning Process), both from the University of Kentucky, worked for the Division of Regional and City Planning. What is certain is that, through the United Nations Technical Assistance Program, the following instructors taught at ITB: Kenneth Watts (City Planning in Indonesia), George Franklin (British, urban planning for the Overseas Development Administration), Prof. Rosenberg (geographer from New Zealand, for urban geography, initials unknown), Dr F.W. Ledger (Melbourne University, for urban and regional planning), Dr Väinö Kannisto (demographics), Prof. V. Milone (Stanford University, for urban design). Due to the suspension of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and the United States there was no instructor from Harvard in Bandung during the fourth year. During the seventh year – which was also the last year American teachers would be stationed in Indonesia – a Harvard instructor of Canadian origin taught at ITB. Doebele (1962); Oetomo (2004:55–56); Watts (1997:109–113); Private archive Prof. William A. Doebele, Cambridge, 'A Few Reminiscences about the Founding of the Division of Regional and City Planning at the Institute of Technology Bandung', 2000; correspondence author with Prof. William A. Doebele, Cambridge, 29-6-2007.

FIGURE 4.6 *Jakarta: Jalan Thamrin (1972)*

SOURCE: *DJAKARTA MEMBANGUN 1972*

American suburbs. Leafy avenues, enclosed shopping streets, and contemporary architecture have made way for boulevards, six-lane highways and retro architecture predominantly copied from Western models. This was not a change exclusively reserved for new districts. Numerous inner-city areas underwent similar transformations: streets were widened as much as possible while relatively modest dwellings and shops made way for large-scale, fully air-conditioned homes, high-rises, and shopping malls.

Beyond changes in the urban landscape, the introduction of American planning principles had an additional effect. Whereas town planners in the first half of the twentieth century made an effort to take local climatic, technical, material, and socio-cultural conditions into account, this town planning practice seemed increasingly irrelevant in the Indonesian Republic. Aside from a few exceptions, Indonesian town planners increasingly applied global design methods and measures. As a result, Indonesian plans, as well as the elements that make up urban development plans, are scarcely, if at all, typical or specific to their local, Indonesian context (anymore). This is a development that has not only reduced town planning in the archipelago to a superficial imitation of an imported principle, it has also robbed town planning of its autonomy and its role as an agent of modernization.

Conclusion

Town planning is premised on a belief in progress, modernization, and the engineering of society. Modernization and town planning, by definition, focus

on improvement. In this sense, town planning in the Netherlands Indies was a manifestation of the broader societal process of modernization and, simultaneously, one of the major agents of the modernization of Indonesia in the first half of the twentieth century. Town planning in the Netherlands Indies in the first half of the twentieth century evolved from an intuitive process scarcely supported by any data to a discipline based on rational, objective and legal principles. This process, the gradual professionalization of town planning in the Netherlands Indies, ran virtually parallel to the modernization of the archipelago. As agents of modernization, town planners defined what was modern. Kampongs formed the antithesis of modernization: unplanned, disorderly, unhygienic, and dangerous. Modern town plans and cities were orderly, harmonious, organic, and pleasing to the eye.

The necessity felt by many architects and town planners to raise what around 1900 was a fairly poor level of architecture and town planning in the archipelago to a higher level resulted in a campaign for recognition of architecture and town planning as professional disciplines, as well as a search for a systematic, rational method to design modern, harmonious cities, neighbourhoods, and buildings. The establishment of professional associations such as the *Vereeniging voor Bouwkundigen in Nederlandsch-Indië* in 1898 and the *Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen* in 1912, as well as the publication of professional journals such as *Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift*, *Locale Belangen* and *Locale Techniek*, are a testament to that quest for professionalization. The formulation of the Town Planning Ordinance in 1938 was an important step forward: it paved the way for a legal, methodological foundation for a professional spatial planning practice.

It was not only town planning that modernized: the state apparatus, instrumental in creating the context for planners to work in, modernized as well. The shortage of data that had haunted planners in the early days of Netherlands Indies town planning was finally solved in the 1930s, when the state was able to provide reliable demographic statistics and detailed maps of urban areas. The modernization of the state also entailed the development of a legal foundation for town planning. The juridical underpinning of town planning culminated in the 1938 Town Planning Ordinance, which was finally passed in 1948.

The enactment of the Town Planning Ordinance in 1948 underscores the continuity in town planning practice before and after Indonesian Independence. A major change in thinking about town planning did not occur until the forced replacement of the remaining Dutch planners in 1957 and beyond. American planning and the pivotal role of the car became the new standard, with cars seen as the embodiment of modernization.

The attention for the car and suburbs in the late 1950s erroneously suggests that planning only concerned the residential areas of the elite. From the early twentieth century onwards, planners were concerned about all groups. Although attention initially was limited mainly to issues that mattered to a small segment of the population, the Europeans, colonial town planners did not accept the backward state of kampongs as permanent. Modernization was to be brought to everyone. Netherlands Indies town planning was consequently marked by a clear evolution. Almost immediately after the Decentralization Act of 1903 was implemented, town planners and administrators shifted their attention to living conditions in non-European areas as well. The planning area of urban development therefore expanded, from the residential quarter level to the urban level, and finally to the regional level, doing away over time with any distinction between European interests and those of indigenous and other groups. It was this evolution that turned town planning into a powerful instrument of modernization in the archipelago: besides properly managing the development of towns, it also contributed to a growing awareness among the local population about the scope of the colonial administration and the development opportunities of their country.

Town planning modernized society not only through interventions in the built environment, but also by educating and enlightening the population, particularly the indigenous people. Professional training programmes were established and non-European intermediaries were installed between the non-European population and the civil administration. In addition, radio programmes were increasingly broadcast in Malay, and Malay translations or summaries of Dutch articles on urban development appeared in publications. The gradual increase in interest and participation by non-Europeans concerning urban problems that resulted from these efforts belied the assumption, widely shared during the first years of decentralization, that non-Europeans a priori did not care about such issues. Nothing could be further from the truth, it turned out: the more access they had to the civil administration and the better they were educated, the more non-Europeans participated in the debates. The evolution of and the discourse about Netherlands Indies town planning therefore largely followed a course parallel to the democratization of Netherlands Indies society.

The gradual rationalization of Netherlands Indies (and Indonesian) town planning and its evolution into a systematic, rational, and even scientific discipline, as well as the increasing participation by non-Europeans in the town planning practice and the town planning debate, are evidence of the role of town planning as an agent of modernization in the archipelago.

References

- Akihary, Huib (1990). *Architectuur en stedenbouw in Indonesië 1870–1970*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- Bosma, Koos (2003). *J.M. de Casseres: De eerste planoloog*. Rotterdam: Uitgeverij 010.
- Colombijn, Freek (with the assistance of Martine Barwegen) (2010). *Under construction: The politics of housing and urban space during the decolonization of Indonesia, 1930–1960*. Leiden: KITLV Press. [Verhandelingen KITLV 246.]
- Djakarta membangun* (1972). *Djakarta membangun/Djakarta in progress*. Djakarta: Pemerintah Daerah Khusus Ibukota Djakarta.
- Doebale, William A. Jr. (1962). 'Education for planning in developing countries', *Town Planning Review* 33:95–114.
- Inheemsche belangstelling (1938). 'Inheemsche belangstelling voor stedenbouw', *Locale Techniek: Indisch Bouwkundig Tijdschrift* 3:88.
- Instelling Commissie (1934). 'Instelling Commissie voor de bestudeering van het vraagstuk der stadsvorming', *Locale Belangen* 7:102.
- Jansen, Gerard (1930). 'De Decentralisatie en de grond', in: F.W.M. Kerchman (ed.), *25 Jaren decentralisatie in Nederlandsch-Indië 1905–1930*, pp. 145–158. Semarang: Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen.
- Karsten, Th. (1930). 'Volkshuisvesting I', in: F.W.M. Kerchman (ed.), *25 Jaren decentralisatie in Nederlandsch-Indië 1905–1930*, pp.159–161. Semarang: Vereeniging voor Locale Belangen.
- Kloos, W.B. (1939). *Het Nationaal Plan: Proeve eener beschrijving der planologische ontwikkelingsmogelijkheden voor Nederland*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Samson.
- Kloos, W.B. (1945). 'Over de wenselijkheid van de oprichting van een centrale Planologische Dienst voor Java en Madoera', *De Opdracht* 17:10–12.
- Oetomo, Andi (2004). 'Lintasan singkat sejarah Departemen Teknik Planologi Institut Teknologi Bandung', in: N. Jenny, M.T. Hardjatno and Febi Harta (eds), *Sejarah penataan ruang Indonesia 1948–2000: Beberapa ungkapan*, pp. 51–72. Jakarta: Departemen Permukiman dan Prasarana Wilayah.
- Poldervaart, A. (1933). 'De kosten der stadsvorming', *Locale Belangen Mededeeling* 96:1–12, 19–21.
- Roosmalen, Pauline van (2008). *Ontwerpen aan de stad: Stedenbouw in Nederlands-Indië en Indonesië (1905–1950)*. [PhD thesis, Technische Universiteit Delft.]
- Stadsvormingsordonnantie* (1938). *Stadsvormingsordonnantie Stadsgemeenten Java*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- Tillema, H.F. (1911). *Rioliaana*. [s.l.: s.n.].
- Tillema, H.F. (1913). *Van wonen en bewonen: Van bouwen, huis en erf*. Semarang: [s.n.].
- Tillema, H.F. (1915–1922). "*Kromoblanda*": *Over 't vraagstuk van "het Wonen" in Kromo's groote land*. Vol. 1–5 [s.l.:s.n.]; vol. 6 Den Haag: Adi-Poestaka.

- Tillema, H.F. and A.S. Tillema-Weehuizen (1919). *Kampongwee*. Groningen: A.S. Tillema-Weehuizen and H.F. Tillema.
- Toelichting Stadsvormingsordonnantie* (1938). *Toelichting op de "Stadsvormingsordonnantie Stadsgemeenten Java"*. Batavia: Landsdrukkerij.
- Vanvugt, Ewald (1993). *Een propagandist van het zuiverste water. H.F. Tillema (1870–1952) en de fotografie van Tempo Doeloe*. Amsterdam: Jan Mets.
- Watts, Kenneth (1997). *Outwards from home: A planner's Odyssey*. Lewes: The Book Guild.
- Woesthoff, P.F. (1915). *De Indische Decentralisatie-wetgeving*. Leiden: N.V. Boekhandel en drukkerij voorheen E.J. Brill.
- Zee, D. van der (1927). 'De werkelijkheid der Decentralisatie', *Locale Belangen Mededeeling* 64:1–119.