

# INCULCATE NATIONAL PRIDE, ENCOUNTERING THE SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION: THE STRUGGLE OF URBAN NOBLE CLASS OF MALANG 1903-1941<sup>1</sup>

**Reza Hudiyanto**

History Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, Universitas Negeri Malang

**Abstract:** First decade of twentieth century has been a watershed on the search for national identity. The glories of capitalism which has reached its peak in the beginning of twentieth centuries was marked by Diasporas of European and Chinese society in the major cities in Java. The flourish of colonial economy at that time has been represented by increased number of modern objects such as shops, bank, insurance, school, market, sport-centre, theater, hotel and entertained placed. City has turn to be node of capital, men, transportation and ideas. But in the other hand as centre of European interest, city also figured out social discrimination. This character gave impact on social dynamics and boosting the spirit of nationalism among the indigenous young people.

This short article tried to describe the social circumstances behind the movement of Young Noble in Malang for fifty years since the Ethical Policy has been issued in 1903 up to the 1940. Most part of this article based on the colonial period published newspapers. The result of this research showed that there were strong relation between urban space and the changing of political orientation among Young *priyayi*. The emphasized of discrimination, segregation, division of space in the city enhanced critical way of thinking amongst *priyayi*. In case of Malang, Nationalism would not have roused if they were no colonization.

## Urban and Social Mobility

“One day the Javanese will understand that they suffer great injustice by not being treated equally with Europeans.”<sup>2</sup>

For many historians, the beginning of twentieth century was the age of glory of Colonial Periods. The political domination of Dutch East India has stretched from Aceh to Papua. In java, cosmopolitan life was molded by the coming of Western ideas, lifestyles, and also the introduction of new modern technology. It changes the social life of Javanese. On the other hand, Dutch colonial society in Colonial Indonesia, although perhaps relatively tolerant toward Eurasian and

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<sup>2</sup> Letter from Baud to Van Den Bosch, 17 January 1831. This quote is taken from C Fasseur, Cornerstone and stumbling block. Racial Classification and the Late colonial society.” Robert Cribb,(eds) *The Late Colonial State in Indonesia. Political and economic foundation of the Netherlands Indies 1880-1942*. (Leiden: KITLV, 1994), 63

occasional individual who crossed the color line, was highly stratified in a legal sense. As a matter a fact, racial classification which has been upheld colonial administration for two centuries also took placed Malang.

As widely known by most colonial observer, since the middle of 19 centuries, Malang has been described as highly-populated village (*dorpshoofd*). Structure of city was centralized on regency square, traditional market and mosque, as usually seen on the other cities in Java. The street lay out was rectangular with important building sited spread along its axis. The style of architecture housed has been predominantly Indisch-empire that represented the acculturation between Western and Javanese character. Twenty years after the turn of century, the morphology of the city has changed. Influx of capital and migrant along with their new social behavior and cultural orientation has started changing process of manner, custom and the way of life among urban society. Most newcomers from motherland (*trekkers*) have different style of life with their predecessor. While most of pioneers – who has come to Java since seventeenth century, adopted the Eastern way of life, the latter has more oriented to western style.

The widespread of cultivation industry, bank, culinary, food and entertainment industry push brought the burden to the city. Bitter-competition over a piece of land comes up since most of indigenou people were drive away from the city. In the other hand, numbers of Kampong inhabitants increased without adequate sanitation infrastructure. Environments problems have roused new difficulties since the number of tropical diseases raised and threat many lives of European.

As a matter a fact, this situation gave a favor to the Emergence of new elite. The coming of new professional amongst the new generation of Javanese has been marked as dawn of nationalism. For example, some young priyayi in Malang very concern to the worse situation of Kampung where most javaness people stay and spend their whole live, so that they brought this matter to local parlement. (*Gemeenteraad*). As was mentioned by Colonial Report, since the installation of Municipal in 1914, Colonial Regulation gave 4 seat for Indonesian from totaly 15 seats of local parlement. After many years passed, *Stadsgemeenteraad* (Local

Parliaments) has contributed much to the process of political education for tiny part of Indonesian Politician. I will describe three contributed factor that accelerate emerging of young people as agent of social transformation on local scope, particularly Malang.

### **Newspaper**

Young movement played important role in the context in the transition of Indonesia Society. In first decade of twentieth century, many new intellectual elites adopted western value and used this to respond the situation, (van Niel, 1985). In the Javanese notion, they were in the transition period between adult and teenagers. They were called adult if they have acted according to Javanese tradition which in Javanese term was called *Jawani*. The main unexpected factor that changed character of young people is the education administered by colonial Government particularly ministries of education and Religion Issues . There were two different respond amongst the young graduated colonial school. The first is the young educated Javanese that preferred to serve at government office civil servant. The second one is the groups of young intellectual that chose to be a journalist and founding organization. At the national level, most of organization focused their object to the idea of the Indies shortly established self-government or at least that Bumiputera were given the right to have its own representative body and little share on administrative matter.(Hellwig: 209, 266)

Journalist played important role on the process of raising national sentiment, by means of published magazine and newspaper. It took important role in showing the national consciousness and identity. The dawn of nationalism also roused in Malang since the city has been the center of plantation, informal jobs, and other urban sector. So it was the main factor to the growth of press industry. News paper was one of many reason of the triggered national consciousness as they have spreads propaganda ideas of Indonesian independence. (Korver:1985,192) henceforth, the key of social transition was on the three points, education, pers and local politic movement.(Surjomihardjo: 2000, 182).

Back to the local sphere, most of printing industries in Malang has been run by Chinese and European because printing industries required more capital which most Bumiputera did not have. Jahn Hulten and van Meurs represent Dutch owned printing industry. The released *De Oosthoek Bode*, a Dutch news paper that has been circulated since 1895. The first Malays news paper was *Tjahaja timoer*. This newspaper was published at the first time in 1907 with R Djojosoediro as the redactor. Press has released a news that contained of social fact, issues, advertising and entertainment. (Suripan Sadi Hutomo: 1994, 8-10) Many young Indonesian earned money from this print industry for example, Jahn has 63 employment. Meanwhile, Kwee Khay Khee and Tna Ing Thjiang has 47 and 20 workers. (*Kolonial Verslag 1921 Bijlage GG*). The using of malays as the means of public communication gave the effect of inculcating Local Language.

Pers was the key point to waking up sense of nationality since content of the news was written in Malays, such as *Tjahaja Timoer*. *Tjahaha Timoer* oftenly reported news about discrimination, authritatian of Dutch to the natives, and other every days picture. By using Malayoe to send its message and idesa, *Tjahaja Timoer* has covered more wide readers since majority of city inhabitants have limited skill to Dutch. As Ben Anderson has been analyzed the relation between printing industry, language and nation-identity. He told that the decline of Latin as the *lingua-franca* of Europe brought the rise of local language in the end of theteenth century. That was the dawn of Nationalism in Europe. (*Prisma 8*: 1985, 20)

The continuity of pers industry was inevitable since the economic gwoth rapidly in the first quarter of twentieth century. It also gave the affect to the social economic circumstances of the city since more and more Bumiputera have an acces to Local Newspaper. In the first decade of twentieth century, on the outskirts of the Malang, Farming and animal husbandry was no longer the only source of their life. Since the coming of Dutch, there were so many industrial complex, shopping centre, school, culinary sector and office building has builded. It made people no longer depended on farming and cultivating. According to Volkstelling 1930 (Population CEncuss) , the number of farmer in Malang only 4.5%, and urban based

hard workers rose to 20.6%. The other occupations were soldiers and transportation-labour. (*Volkstelling 1930* Deel I:1935, 90) Comparing with farming activity, urban based occupation has produced a different style of living. Since 1920, the Javanese social stratification has been changed as the impact of so many economic opportunity that has been offered by colonial government. Pangreh Praja<sup>3</sup> was not the only patron for the commoners. Political influence of Patih, Regent and their relatives had been rapidly decrease by the coming of new elites. Moreover, in their everyday life, most native people had faced discrimination based on skin color. They had been treated as third class society in everywhere, such as residence, public places, office, theater, sport places, school, train and swimming pool. This circumstance has contributed to meaning of justice in the mind of Bumiputera. (Ingleson: 1986, 55-6) Some people which have ability to expressed their ideas and criticized colonial act of injustice on the news paper, has played important role in creating public opini. (van Niel: 1984, 74-5) This is one of the story reported by *Tjahaja Timoer* that describe the arogancy of the Dutch before the Javanese.

“In kampung Tumenggungan, there was a javanese boy crying. He was bitten by a dog. Father of this crying boy come after and help his son by beated the dog. Suddenly there was a Dutchman – who was the owner of this fierce dog, came and beaten the father of the boy by a stick immediately. The father did not fight back since knowing that man who had beaten him was a Dutch. In other cases, there was a Dutch insulted a natives *oppas* because *oppas* stop his car in the cross road infront of Military Hospital, just to give a way to a chart with 4 natives passenger inside.” (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 10 Mei 1915, 2-3).

The report describe the situation of colonial society which were the natives have become the victim of the social harassment, discrimination and subjugation who placed their position as marginalized people. Most of the discontent young people prefer to join the social politic organization. In the long run, this new organization had gained more members, whose their idealisme was not permitted themselves to work at gouvernement. (Sartono Kartodirdjo: 1988, 264).

The other fact behind the born of “Indonesia” was the incapable of Javanese elite to play the role as saviour for poor peoplw. The citizen of Malang divide into

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<sup>3</sup> Corps of Native Civil Cervant, most of its members was come from noble family. They work for Colonial Office as a consequences of Indirect Rule system

the part, first is noble group. Almost all of the member of this group were relatives of Bupati. Their identity recognized by attributes such as, cloth, umbrella, custom, way of talk, body language, home, horse and sometimes women. For many years, commoners people seen priyayi as point of reference because - as the relatives of the King, people believe to their divine-human descend. Henceforth, priyayi were supposed to be the buttress of culture. Become priyayi is a dream for commoners because they have a good living without working hard. As a matter of fact, their comfort life has trapped them to the brink of corruption and gambling. Most people hate priyayi for their hobby. Gambling become a favorite players for Priyayi. It had been widely known from the story of dokter Soekaton. Amongst the commoners, his name has been known as goodhearted doctor because likes to help poor and hates gambling. Otherwise, they tend to neglect the suffering of people. Unlike the priyayi from *pangrehpraja*, professional priyayi - for example doctor, lawyer, teacher, more pay attention to commoners than the first one. (*Tjahaja Timoer* 21 Mei 1924 dan *Tjahaja Timoer* 6 Desember 1916)

The image of priyayi as public figure have been faded away since they could not performed solidarity amongst them. They have an association named *Malang Hardjo* but this association has been used for fun, play gambling and not for discussion. This organization was dismissed because of they always look for status and rank among them. (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 30 Desember 1916). As a counterpart of *Malang Hardjo*, another priyayi founded *Societeit Hardoloko* in 1930. *Hardoloko* played important role in the founding of *Budi Utomo afdeeling* Malang. (*De Oosthoekbode* 11 Maret 1929).

The third factor enhancing rise of Nationalism amongst priyayi in Malang was geographical consideration. As a part of Javanese culture, the distance between Malang and Yogya-Solo is too far. So it can be implied that Malang was in the out fringe of Javanese culture area. Furthermore, for the people in Malang, Javanese culture relatively not deeply rooted. For example when the people of Malang was not performed *sembah* when they welcomed Sunan Pakubuwana X. *Sembah* (bowe) was used to be done by Javanese before the King. (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 22 Agustus 1924 dan *Tjahaja Timoer*, 10 Maret 1916).

Some Indonesian intellectuals sees part of Javanese culture associated to feudalism, comfort zone and backwardness. For example, some young students and teacher refused using *oedeng* as their etnical symbol. Up to 1914, many STOVIA reluctant to wear Javanese cloth because it symbolized their subordnity before European. The chair of *Perhimpoean Goeroe Hindia Belanda* instructed to all teacher not using long thrunk instead of *sinjang*. (*Tjahaja Timoer* 30 Januari 1914 dan *Tjahaja Timoer*, 25 Januari 1918). Many of progressive teacher and student want to replace their *oedeng* with *peci*. It prooves that Javanese idologi, symbol and identity no longer to be integrated power of natives society to counter colonialisme.

## **JAVANESE AND LOCAL POLITIC**

One of the most important result of colonization is political reformation. The executive power must shared its power to a new political body named local representative council. By the making of Local Representative Council (*Gemeenteraad*), indigenous people, particulary the Bumiputera able to share its vote on the local political process or political decision. *Gemeenteraad* has the power to draft and issued the Local Council Decree (*Gemeentebblad*), to desgin local budget and to give permit to people requirement. According to Decentralization Law 1903, 4 of 13 members of Local Representative Council must be Indonesian so that it give a chance to Young politicians learn how to manage the urban problem and to run the government. Four prominent political person from Malang Local Representative Council can be describe below.

### **1. R. Kartodipoera.**

The assignment of Kartodipoera as member of *Gemeenteraad* has raised controversy among the priyayi. Some priyayi argued that he is not qualified to that position because he has no diploma from School of Law Weltevreden or MULO. Kartodipoera just hold certification from Native School no 2. One important reason for his assignment was because his position as Panitera Pengadilan Malang and his ability in Dutch language. With this capability, Kartodipoera made a breakthrough by uplifted his social status

from middle-lower office to the member of city council. (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 17 November 1920)

## 2. R. Soemitro

The controversy over the appointed of Kartodipoera as legislator was not the only one, In other cases, disputes over the local parliament assignment roused again when Soemitro was installed as representative of Indonesian in Gemeente Malang. Soemitro is a graduated School of Law who work in Court of Justice (*Landgerecht*). He won the competition by put aside his two European that nominated by mayor. Dutch Newspaper argue *Pers Belanda* consideren that this assignment is unfair because it too rely on the racial consideration than the competency. Soemitro also being juga condemned based on nepotism. He is a son of R Soenarto, head of District Turen who has discharged because of disagreement. It made the credibility of Soemitra was questioned. In Dutch Newspaper *De Oosthoekbode*, a conservative Dutch named Van Dijk " In the Edge of Liquidation" told in such way. It could be said that a son is not responsible or bear a sin from what has his father done or in the opposite terms. This moment showed that brown colour person has more opportunity than that a white man has. Nowadays, we are living in the periods when Indonesian became more and more favorite than our countrymen. Process of Liquidation of Nederland India has began. We don't have to be worried about this. (*De Oosthoekbade*, 28 Maret 1931) At that time, public was very sure that Soemitro has been chosen to be member of *Gemeenteraad* because he got political support from Governor. Van dijk said that struggle of white man was more difficult. Most of *Oosthoek Bode* reader expressed their resentment to what has been done by Indonesian lately, The Indonesian even dares to state their "rebel conduct". On one day, the pupil of Landopvoeding Gesticht sang the Indonesia Raya in their fluit instrument. Most of Dutch readers ask the director of that institution to punish their pupils for their inconvenient behave. They had received food, cloth and facilities from government, watched the football freely but they



did not respect those gift. (*De Malanger*, 31 Maret 1931) A writer - with B initial, ask Head of Resident Malang to punish them as the Sawah Lunto local government did in the same case. <sup>4</sup>

### 3. Soekardjo Wirjopranoto

Soekardjo was a man of honor, prominent person both in the eyes of Dutch and Indonesian. He was born in Cilacap on June 5th 1903. He began his political carrier as member of Budi Utomo, After the integration of Budi Utomo to Parindra in 1935, he join to that Organization. He started his professional carrier as civil servant at burcau of justice then has been a lawyer of Supreme Court (*Raad van Justitie*) Surabaya since from 1929 to 1931, He was the first Indonesian who held position on ad hoc comitte at Gemeenteraad Malang. (Koleksi Arsip daftar nama orang- orang terkenal di Jawa. ANRI). He was first Indonesian who has been asked by Gemeente to deliver speech in the 25th anniversary of Gemeente Malang. While all speakers gave credit and honor to *Gemeente*, he gave a critical stand on his speech:

"a Mayor is not a king, actually even though in relation with pcope, there was one similarity between them. Both of Mayor and King were responsible to keep their subject (save and welfare). Your honorable chairman of this Council, you are not failed to understand me. I will stand on my position to watch and critic you policy. I just accept the basic political principles that have been wrote in your Anniversary Book that I have received.

Part of his speech reflected his critical stand against colonial rules at that time. Though his position was in the comfort zone as member of high rank society, he still showed concern to the living condition of Bumiputera.

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<sup>4</sup> There were students from MULO marching infront of Assiten Residen building of Sawah Lunto. When they got in front of the building, they play orchest of Indonesia Raya. Some of them were dispelled for singing Indonesia Raya in public area, At that time, singing Indonesia Raya was forbidden. (*De Malanger* 29 September 1933)

#### 4. Mas Sardjono

Along with Soenarko and Pandjie Soeroso As a member of *Gemeenteraad*, Sardjono has been known as a critical Indonesian spokesman, particularly on struggling for his fellow Javanese people. With his fellow members in *Gemeenteraad*, Rahadjo he urged the Mayor to pay more attention to Kampong quarter. For example, he asked *Gemeente* for giving more share on the local budget to improve the Kampong facilities such as sanitation and lighting such as in Kampong Kasin, Sawahan and Sukun." His highest position on professional carrier was as Mayor of Malang in periods of Revolution (1945-1949). The other prominent political leader is Mr Soenarko. Indonesian who held a position as Head of Resident Malang. Another political person was R.P Pandjie Soeroso. He was a Chief Organization "Poetera" in Japanese Occupation. He has had member of *Gemeenteraad* Majakerta, before were install as member of *Gemeenteraad* Malang. Mas Sardjono, Soekardjo and Pandji Soeroso were professional nobles (priyayi) that constructing their political terms and ideas as their involvement as member of *Gemeenteraad*. For example they formulated the *Gemeente Decree* (*Gemeentebblad*), planed the development program, and discussed about the problem of the city. It made them experience in holding the Government in post colonial era. As the Dutch colonial government came to an end, they ready to fulfill their former master position. When the Japan came to dispel Dutch colonial government in 1942, they got a very high position in bureaucracy. Most of them have ability to speak Dutch, to up date their information either inside or outside country, and to communicate their idcas in network widely. changing outside the Soenarko was the first E.J.M. van Liempt, Notulen van de vergadering van der *Stadsgemeenteraad* van Malang 1939 304

According to Nisbet, the changing outside the society will inflict to one particular groups if they were agent of change, The agent of change play important role to change internal perception of one society. (Nisbet: 1969, 276 dan 282). The

enlargement of bureaucracy after the political reformation in 1922 affected to the social dynamics. There was increased number of state employee since the installation of Municipality in 1914. We can see the growing of state employer from 1914 to 1939 in the chart below:

Years	Jumlah Pegawai
1914	18
1919	67
1924	84
1929	99
1934	235
1939	365

Sumber: "Groi van het personeel der Stadsgemeente Malang in de Periode 1914-1939," van Liempt 1939, 16-17

The growing numbers of Gemeente staff has multiplied member of professional elite in the city. This was not only occurred in State offices but also in private company such as plantation industry (*onderneming*), financial company (*Handels Vereenigings Amsterdam*), metal factory (*Nederlandsch Indische Metalwerken Factorij*), cigarette industry of Faroka, machine industry Semeroe and many other sector of Industry. This economic activity has open up so many job opportunities. At the end, number of professional workers has soared up. (van Liempt:1938, 16). It has generated a favorable circumstance for National Movement Organization which has its goal is independence nation. In Malang, number of all organization has reached to 50 organizations. But in front of many writers in Tjahaja Timoer, the quantity is not important, but quality is more important. (*het vele is goed, maar het goede is veel, nietwaar*). (*Tjahaja Timoer*, 18 Mei 1941).

## CONCLUDING REMARK

The social milieu of the cities has paved the way for strengthening national identity. Young western educated nobles of Malang pioneered it. The quest for national identity was indirectly assisted by the founding of local representative councils. This modern kind of state administration has inspired so many young Malang politicians to put forward the interest of Natives particularly the lower which live in Kampung. The emerging of local politician was the beginning of strengthening identity of nation that ended to the freedom Country. As the Second largest city in East Java, Malang has dominated by cosmopolite western characters that overwhelmed the local culture. But the positive factor if this was this modern infrastructure has facilitated - particularly place for converge, and then continued their effort to express their ideas. The second contributed factor to the changing of orientation among young noble in Malang is newspaper. The development of freedom theology and speculative philosophy which were subject sin high school has boosted growing idealistic thinking of the Indonesian Young student. If we took a red line from this article, we can conclude that social milieu was MiC most important rule in the changing of orientation among the youth. From discrimination r they had faced every time and everywhere, they could shaped their identity as a main ased for their organization. They began to realize that indigenouse people were object of injustice, exploitative and discrimination, Sensibility of young people was important key to open up the way for the free nation. Finally, the main cause of national awakening was the growing resentment among commoners to old style Javanese noble as they became more engaged to gamble and alcohol. The commoners came to conclusion that they were no longee Source of moral guide, The commoners then look for other modern style- priyayi that considered as good example for good-Javanese conduct. In such way, modern-priyayi showed their social charity, good interest to fight for Indonesian right and leader in the hard situation

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## **SURAT KABAR DAN ARSIP**

Koloniaal Verslag 1921

Volkstelling 1930

Tjahaja Timoer, 10 Mei 1915,

Tjahaja Timoer 21 Mei 1924

Tjahaja Timoer 6 Desember 1916

De Oosthoekbode 11 Maret 1929

Tjahaja Timoer, 30 Desember 1916

Tjahaja Timoer, 22 Agustus 1924

Tjahaja Timoer, 10 Maret 1916

Tjahaja Timoer 30 Januari 1914

Tjahaja Timoer, 25 Januari 1918

Tjahaja Timoer ,17 November 1920

Tjahaja Timoer ,17 November 1920

De Malanger 29 September 1933

Djawa Baroe No 17.9 Januari 2604

J.M. van Liempt, Notulen van de vergadering van der Stadsgemeenteraad van Malang 1939

Tjahaja Timoer, 18 Mei 1941