Population - Environment:
Population Quality and Sustainable Settlements

Selected Proceedings from Two
Population-Environment Workshops
Vancouver, British Columbia, November 12-14, 1992
Ottawa, Ontario, February 10-13, 1993

Edited by

M. Alwi Dahlan and Geoffrey B. Hainsworth

for the

Environmental Management
Development in Indonesia Project (EMDI)

Halifax
School for Resource and Environmental Studies
Dalhousie University

Jakarta
Ministry of State for Environment

1995

Environmental Management Development in Indonesia

About the Authors:
Dr. M.Alwi Dahlan is currently the Vice Head of BP-7, The Board to Promote Education implementing The Guidance to the Perception and Practice of Pancasila. Jl. Taman Pejambon.
Dr. Geoffrey Hainsworth is the Director, Centre for Southeast Asian Research, University of British Columbia, V6T 1Y2.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4

NEGARA AND URBAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDONESIA: THE NEED FOR A COMPARATIVE AND HISTORICAL STUDY OF URBAN PLACES IN THE CONTEXT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

J. I. (Hans) Bakker

> *Negara (nagara, nagari, negeri)*, a Sanskrit loan word originally meaning "town," is used in Indonesian languages to mean, more or less simultaneously and interchangeably, "palace," "capital," "state," "realm," and again "town." It is, in its broadest sense, the word for (classical) civilization, for the world of the traditional city, the high culture that city supported, and the system of superordinate political authority centred there. Its opposite is *desa* — also a Sanskrit loan-word — meaning, with a similar flexibility of reference, "countryside," "region," "village," "place," and sometimes even "dependency" or "governed area ." Geertz (1980)

1. INTRODUCTION

The basic thesis of this paper is that the study of urban settlements in Indonesia should be placed in the context of a broader sociological study of the effects of the transformation to capitalism of the traditional *negara*. To better understand the relationship between human settlements and the bio-physical environment, we need to know the historical background and to have an adequate understanding of the comparative nature of Indonesian social structures. Basically, I am advocating an approach that is comparative (e.g., Apter 1963; Gamer 1982), and based on ideal type models (e.g., Anderson 1972; Roth 1968). This means I believe that strictly descriptive, idiographic history (e.g., Van Niel 1967), or empiricist urban sociology (e.g., Gutman and Popenoe 1970), are less useful than comparative and historical sociology. This paper will merely seek to outline and illustrate this methodological and theoretical position.

In preparing this paper, it was particularly interesting to review the history of city planning (e.g., Choa 1969), and the possibility of developing empirical indicators of the characteristics of the "good city" (Haworth 1963). I also read many articles on "new town" development. Fifteen years ago, my MA thesis had been concerned with the possibility of measuring "optimum city population size," and had sought to identify variables which could be used as indicators of this, and I eventually published a literature review on the topic (Bakker 1979). However, I was unhappy with the general state of urban studies, and realized that such basic factors as population density and heterogeneity had not been adequately studied and incorporated into empirical work. I even entered the Ph.D. program in urban and regional planning at the University of Toronto, and started to study under Professor Hans Blumenfeld (acknowledged to be a leading authority in urban studies), and attended lectures by leading urban planners, including John Friedmann. However, after a year of Ph.D. studies in urban planning, I switched to the study of economic development and social change, and have since been mostly concerned with the problem of the lack of basic needs for the majority of people in the "Third World." (Bakker 1990).

To some extent, I have tended to regard urban planning (particularly concern with urban aesthetics) as a "luxury" to be seriously addressed only after the problem of access to basic needs

has been solved. Now, I find I have the opportunity to try to combine the two approaches, and I realize that Third World development involves solving problems of urban planning just as much as it involves rural development. The "basic needs" approach is still extremely important to my way of thinking, and I recognize that the basic needs of both rural and urban people have to be considered. But I also appreciate the importance of establishing and practicing sound principles of urban and regional planning for sustainable development and for efforts to alleviate poverty and inequality.

2. ENVIRONMENT, SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ECOLOGY

The Brundtland report, *Our Common Future*, has made everyone involved in development much more aware of environmental issues, particularly the question of "sustainability." The report maintains that development must proceed in a manner that will foster sustainable economic growth and greater self-reliance of nation states in trade and finance. Tremendous changes have occurred in the world economy in the last few decades, and economic and environmental concerns are strongly affecting both urban and rural communities. Global restructuring has significantly altered international divisions of labour and terms of trade, and the more interdependent global system has dramatically increased competitive pressures in many countries and business sectors, including agricultural production and processing.

The term *environment* is often used loosely and has been extended to mean many things. When people speak and write about the environment, they often do not limit their concerns to the bio-physical environment, but have in mind a much more general concept. The term has come to mean "everything around us." Thus, for example, many people write about the "social environment" and see no qualitative difference between the social environment and the bio-physical environment. It is true, of course, that anything that surrounds us is an "environment," but I prefer to restrict the use of the term to the aggregate of climatic and biotic factors that act upon organisms, including human beings. The aggregate of sociological and cultural structures and conditions that influence the lives of individuals, and that constitute human communities, should use a different term, for which I prefer the term *social structure*. It is of course also possible to discuss social structure as an aspect the "human environment." Regardless of what terminology is used, some kind of distinction must be made between the bio-physical environment and the socio-cultural and economic environment. Hence, I am concerned here with the interplay between environments and social structures.

A useful covering term is *ecology*, the study of the relationships between organisms and their environments. Hence, we can speak of *biological ecology* and *human ecology*. Human ecology is a paradigm for studying social structures, and biological ecology is a branch of biological sciences mainly concerned with biological organisms other than humans. I believe it is useful to use the term ecology to refer to the disciplines which study these phenomena. Thus, biological ecology studies the environment, and human ecology is one way of studying social structures. Biologists tend to jealously guard use of the term ecology (Krebs 1985), but I think it is reasonable to refer to a person who is interested in studying the interface between biological and socio-cultural factors an ecologist. The term, of course, is derived from the Greek word *oikos*, which means household or house. It is also the root of the term "economics." Therefore, I think it makes sense to allow for the possibility of a discipline of ecology which spans both human and non-human organisms. Thus, for example, the Brundtland Report points out that a production system that respects the obligation to preserve *the ecological base* for the future must be established on a global scale for "harmonious" development.

Of course, if anyone wishes to use the term environment to mean essentially the same thing as what I refer to as ecology then that is their right, as long as it is made clear how the terms are being used. It is pedantic to insist on only one use for a key term, but it is necessary to make analytical distinctions clear if we are to know what we are talking about.

2.1   URBAN SOCIOLOGY

There have been several paradigmatic approaches and "fads" in the study of human settlements and urban structures. Some of these fads have involved emphasizing specific research variables (e.g., hexagons or other geometric shapes of urban settlements), while others have taken more general theoretical perspectives. For example, the well-known Chicago School of urban sociology started as a set of ideas concerning the best way to do research, and became more theoretically and methodologically sophisticated. Sociologists at the University of Chicago such as Robert E. Park and Ernest Burgess encouraged the study of Chicago as an "urban laboratory." Many of their students undertook participatory observation studies, beginning with Nels Anderson's famous study of *The Hobo*, and a large number of such case studies were written as dissertations.

The Chicago School paradigm involved the study of ecological zones, based on an analogy with ecology in biology. A biologist named H. C. Cowles had studied plant succession on sand dunes at the south end of Lake Michigan (Krebs 1985), and Burgess utilized the notion of ecological succession in his descriptive generalizations concerning zones in Chicago. The Chicago School eventually led to the Human Ecology paradigm, a school of thought represented in the 1950's by Amos Hawley. The basic ideas established by Burgess were extended to various types of human community, not just to Chicago and other large cities. The study of "human ecology" had a significant impact in the discipline of rural sociology because settlement patterns were usually studied in terms of small town ecologies, particularly in rural agricultural areas. The community study approach tended to water down the use of ecological concepts like "succession," and "ecology" was sometimes used to simply represent the notion of the functional interdependence in complex systems.

Much of the literature produced in the sub-discipline of urban sociology in the 1960's was dull and boring because it took the form of "abstracted empiricism," as Don Martindale points out in his "prefatory remarks" to Max Weber's writings on the city (1958). Aside from a few classical articles like Georg Simmel's "The Metropolis and Mental Life" [*Die Grossstaedte und das Geistesleben* (1903)], and Louis Wirth's "Urbanism as a Way of Life" (1938; reprinted in Fava 1968), there were relatively few intellectually stimulating discussions of the city that were relevant for urban planning. Thick readers like Fava (1968), and Gutman and Popenoe (1970), were loaded with empirical information, but, by and large, the articles did little to inform the reader in any theoretically meaningful way.

> When one examines the urban books it is not immediately apparent where they are deficient. It is certainly not in their statistical tables — since every city is a somewhat untidy statement in applied mathematics. It is an argument in millions of kilowatt hours, millions of short tons of coal, iron, steel, concrete, and brick. It is metric assertion in linear miles of steel rails. It is a rebuttal in cubic feet of air space. It is a human petition in rates of infant mortality, and tuberculosis. It is a protest expressed in percentages of criminality, juvenile delinquency, prostitution, recidivism, mental illness, and senility. It is a suave assurance pronounced in volumes of transactions, in gross sales, in amounts of credit, in retail and wholesale values, in the size of payrolls, in cash reserves and balances.

> Nor can one say the urban books are deficient in the kinds of items they include. What is a city without political parties, bosses, machines, chambers of commerce, credit associations, labor unions, factories, newspapers, churches, schools, welfare agencies, philanthropic societies, museums, art galleries, lodges, zoos, auditoriums, parks, playgrounds, slums, red-light districts, riversides or park avenues, main streets, jungles, sanitation plants and taxi-cab companies? ...One may find anything or everything in the city texts except the informing principle that creates the city itself. (Martindale in Weber 1958.)

2.2   SOCIAL CHANGE AND URBAN PLACES

What was missing from the analysis of cities in much of the American urban sociology literature of the 1950's and 1960's was a sense of comparative historical analysis. The city was assumed to be a structure which had always existed more or less as it was. There was no sense of historical origins and structural changes. Hence, the work of many European social geographers was not read and understood. A theorist who helped to fill the gap was Max Weber, the German sociologist best known for his work on the "Protestant ethic."

Max Weber has argued (1958) that the modern city, as we know it in the industrialized nation-states of the North, did not emerge until the sixteenth century. The modern city is part and parcel of modern capitalism, emerging for the first time in northern Italy (e.g., Venice, Genoa, Milan) and in the lowlands of Northeastern Europe (e.g., Belgium and the Netherlands). The unique historical background to the development of the modern city has to do with the development of capitalism in regions where feudalism had a slightly different impact that in the main feudal regions of France and Germany. This is not the place, of course, to rehearse the creation of the capitalist world economy after 1400 (see Smith 1991, for an overview); but, it is important to point out that the rise of merchant capital and world trade had a significant impact on the rise of the modern city.

Essentially the merchants and traders who gathered in densely populated areas were able to become a true bourgeoisie (i.e., burghers) when they were able to wrest political power from their erstwhile aristocratic overlords. Political charters were obtained by the merchant classes in the form of city charters, and these charters initially had the same legal format as the grants of sovereignty that were given to the baronial class by higher lords and kings or bishops. In places where the power of the lords had been weakened, or had never been fully developed, it was somewhat easier to obtain city charters. The city became a separate political entity, somewhat akin to the feudal domain, but without the superstructure of aristocratic privilege.

Of course, concentrations of population had existed since the beginning of history. Cities like Ur in Mesopotamia had been thriving commercial centres. The whole Mesopotamian civilization was based on trade. But early cities were not based on modern capitalism. Trade was organized on the basis of traditional "pariah capitalism" which involved buying luxury goods cheaply and selling them at high prices in distant places. Before the 15th century, cities were not true capitalist cities because they did not have the same political independence and autonomy as modern capitalist cities. The German saying: city air makes one free *("Stadt Luft macht Frei")* referred to the way in which a burgher could be absolved of legal jurisdiction from authorities other than the city oligarchy. The aristocratic land-holding classes did not have legal rights in the emergent modern cities because the bourgeoisie was protected by legal charters. That is quite a different situation from population centres which were parts of patrimonial prebendal "empires" (Bakker 1977, 1987a, 1988).

2.3   URBAN PLACES IN SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This brief summary makes it clear, I believe, that the study of urban places should be comparative and historical. Hence, when we discuss Indonesian urban places we should not repeat the errors of American urban sociologists and planners, and restrict ourselves to *"atheoretical"* description. It is important to have working hypotheses about city structure that are based on historical understanding. An example is Eliezer Ayal's (1992) study on the role of Bangkok as a primate city in Thailand. Many of the articles found in Fava (1968) also break away from the standard American perspective.

The view that one takes of urban places in the Indonesian archipelago will depend on one's perspective on the Indonesian nation-state and its history. The concept of "Indonesia," like the concept of Canada or the United States of America, is an historical fiction. The very name

"Indonesia," as Ave (1988) has carefully documented, is the product of linguistic classification and has no inherent political meaning.

The European "nation-state" concept emerged as part of the general transition from pre-capitalist to capitalist socio-economic relations that is the key to Weber's analysis of the city, which is part of his general analysis of economic and social history that is found in his magnum opus *(Economy and Society*, Weber 1968). The essence of that densely written and masterful work is the elucidation of the complex web of factors which must be taken into account if we are fully to understand the rise of modern capitalism in Western Europe. Weber contrasts different types of legitimate domination: traditional, charismatic, value-rational, and utilitarian goal-rational. He identifies capitalism with the process of rationalization of the relations of production, and the ever-increasing reliance on rational calculation of the relationship between ends and means.

Weber's colleague, Georg Simmel, discussed rationalization in terms of what he called "intellectualism." In a volume on *The Philosophy of Money* (1990), which parallels Weber's work (and which influenced it), Simmel argues that modern city life is characterized by a "matter-of-fact" attitude and the dominance of rational calculation. The money economy has become so significant in modern capitalist relations that everything in social life is tainted by calculation and the intensification of nervous stimulation. In urban social life, particularly in large metropoli like New Delhi and Jakarta, punctuality and exactness are the order of the day. The complexity of modern urban life in capitalist societies originates in the urban money economy. People in cities are over-stimulated and therefore develop a blasé attitude. The metropolitan person tends to become cosmopolitan toward new and different things and people; and he or she also becomes more formal and less tied in to the natural changes which take place in rural areas, such as the change of seasons in northern climates. Hence, the city is characterized by its own sub-cultures and its over-riding capitalist culture of modernity.

This theme, which originates with Simmel and Weber, was picked up by many other writers, including Robert Park (who studied with Simmel in Berlin), and eventually inspired Louis Wirth's famous essay (1933). The essence of the approach is to bring in the historical dimension. That does not mean idiographic fact-grubbing and historical description for its own sake. The type of historical awareness that informs the Simmel-Weber view of the city is a sociological understanding of history, particularly as analysis of the social implications of the development of modern capitalism.

2.4   CITY HISTORIES IN INDONESIA

One place to start is the history of particular cities. For Indonesia, the obvious candidates are Jakarta and Jogjakarta, and some preliminary work has been done for those cities. For example, Selosoemardjan's study of *Social Changes in Jogjakarta* (1962) is an important contribution to Indonesian urban history. Another source of information is the commemorative volume to which Darmosugito contributed (1956).

The study of Jakarta has long fascinated historians, but there is no sociological treatment similar to Selosoemardjan's work on Jogjakarta. Heuken's book (1982) provides some historical detail and much background information. Thus, for example, he examines the data we can obtain from study of graveyards and gravestones. On the basis of such evidence, he argues that Jatinegara Kaum had close connections with the leaders in Banten, and that Bantanese soldiers kept the surroundings of Batavia unsafe for the Dutch for quite a long time after the destruction of the town and *kraton* of *Jakarta* on the banks of the Ciliwung river (Heuken 1982).

Susan Abeyasekere's *Jakarta: A History* (1990) utilizes Heuken's work, as well as many other idiographic studies, and provides a good overview of Batavia-Jakarta from colonial times to the 1980's. She summarizes a vast literature and writes convincingly about the politics behind the urban planning decision-making process in different historical eras. The book is divided

chronologically into six chapters, from the history of Batavia as a "Company Town" and "Colonial City," to Jakarta under Ali Sadikin (1966-1977), "Sadikin's Successors," and the Tanjung Priok affair of September 1984. One theme of the book is the political role of Jakarta's citizens in Indonesian national politics. Abeyasekere discusses urban planning in some detail and points to ways in which Jakarta's role as capital city has had an impact on urban planning. Thus, for example, Mayor Sudiro set up the R.T. *(Rukun Tetangga)* and R.K. *(Rukun Kampung)* administrative units in Jakarta in 1954 in part because of the need for political mobilization, as well as to recruit "voluntary labour" in local projects. (Today R.T. and R.K. urban administrative units exist throughout the archipelago.) Similarly, Sukarno wanted to make Indonesians proud of Jakarta and spent lavishly on monuments and landmarks. The *kampung* improvement program, begun under Sadikin, was extended by his successors (Cokropranolo 1977-82) and Suprapto.

Although Abeyasekere's history of Jakarta is well-balanced, there is special emphasis on the problems of the poor, the majority of Jakarta's residents, who have generally been regarded by various governments as "superfluous" and the source of problems that detract from the city's beauty and livability. "The bulk of government efforts and resources has always been devoted to building up the modern sector of the city, regardless of the fact that this sector has largely served a minority" (Abeyasekere 1990). She is not optimistic that the gap between rich and poor will be narrowed; the city will continue to be a vast maze of jerry-built *kampong* with only "fragments" of "modernity." Nevertheless, since Sukarno, urban policies have been more realistic, and the general goal has been to make Jakarta a "modern city." Such "modernization" will no doubt continue.

Despite the enormous changes that have taken place in Jakarta since *merdeka*, some things have remained similar over the years. Many physical features persist, and Jakarta remains a port city. Fortunately, vestiges of the city's cultural past remain, particularly in the Kota Gambir, Pasar Baru, and Menteng areas. Jakarta also does not offer such "nightmarish portents for the future" as do cities like Calcutta or Manila.

Work such as Abeyasekere's deserves study and emulation, though it may be difficult to find detailed sources of valid historical information. Events since 1983 need to be more fully chronicled and analyzed, and, hopefully, Indonesian social scientists will use Abeyasekere's historical overview as a basis for more detailed and comparative analysis.

In addition to studies of major cities, mention should also be made of the anthropological investigation of social changes taking place in smaller urban centres. Geertz's early study (1962), comparing "Modjokuto" to Tambanan, is a good example of this genre of historical-sociological analysis. He looked at differences in the elite structures of east Javanese and west Balinese towns, and put forward several conclusions, including statements concerning "innovative groups" and "entrepreneurs." He argued that "without the growth of some sort of sturdy, indigenous business class the Indonesian government is likely to find the task of inducing rapid economic growth an insuperable one." Hence, his study of urban places was closely linked to his awareness of the problem of inducing economic development. He pointed out, along Weberian lines, that the traditional bazaar *(pasar)* economy had severe limitations for economic growth. In Modjokuto the entrepreneurs were all traders (or sons of traders) who would have to escape traditional, territorially-based, patron-client, political allegiances if they were to become part of modern capitalist relations (e.g., as members of nationalist parties or professional associations).

2.4.1 NEGARA AND COMMANDERY

An excellent example of the general approach I have been espousing is the work of Paul Wheatley. His book *Nagara and Commandery: Origins of the Southeast Asian Urban Traditions* (1983) can usefully serve as touchstone for a series of detailed, historically-focused social science studies of human settlements in Indonesia. The book consists of nine chapters: (1) the city and its origins; (2) of chiefs and

chiefdoms; (3) cities of "the hunter"; (4) cities of the *pyu*; (5) cities of the *rman*; (6) cities of the early Malaysian world; (7) urban genesis in the Indianized territories; (8) beyond the gate of ghosts; and (9) an "envoi" (concluding remarks). Wheatley has achieved a beautiful distillation of the essence of early Mandarin and Sanskrit texts (e.g., the *Maha-karma-vibhanga*). Particularly relevant is his discussion of "The Formation of the Southeast Asian Nagara." He discusses the socio-environmental stresses which acted as selective mechanisms of centralization of political rule in Southeast Asia. He also summarizes anthropological literature that utilizes both the *"etic"* (external, "scientific") and *"emic"* (internal, "indigenous") points of view when discussing the change from chiefdoms to centralized states. His deductive model of political centralization has clear implications for Indonesia's history. While we cannot hope to reconstruct the processes of political differentiation with complete confidence, there are some general signposts along the way. Generally, the "spiritual potency" *(mana)* of Southeast Asian chieftains probably intensified to the point where some form of centralizing rulership emerged.. He refers to the centralizing ruler as a "thearchic king." Kings of this type delegated certain responsibilities to ministers and officials. The socio-cultural integration that occurred went hand-in-hand with long-distance trade with India and China. The religious and political transformation that took place occurred in the context of what is generally called "Indic civilization."

Wheatley readily admits that lack of definitive evidence makes his interpretation a sort of "cartoon" of events which includes "clusters of interacting processes." But his discussion of different models of state origins, and of control hierarchies, is heuristic. The subtle nature of the *negara* is indicated, he says, in the complexity of *negara* in Bali in the 19th century, as interpreted by Geertz (1980). Geertz's excellent study provides a number of working assumptions and rough hypotheses that can usefully be pursued by students of human settlements in Indonesia, keeping in mind its enormous diversity (Dove 1988).

2.5   CITY PLANNING IN INDONESIA

Another interesting topic is the history of city planning during colonial times. The Netherlands East Indies (which came into existence after the Dutch East Indies Company went bankrupt circa 1798), and the British interregnum (1811-1816), began an attempt to coordinate city services in the mid-19th century. The so-called "cultivation system" on Java (as well as Madura and parts of Sumatra) brought intensification of cash-crop production, particularly coffee and sugar, and resulted in greatly expanded exploitation of land and other natural resources. The population of Java during the 19th century increased rapidly, due partly to improved hygiene and sanitation. There was a general improvement in infrastructure, particularly roads but also railroads. Settlement patterns were diversified and, during the height of Dutch colonialism, a hierarchy of urban places was established on Java. Dutch colonial cities were relatively well planned and administered, and were purposely kept relatively small. Only after independence did Jakarta begin to grow disproportionately to become a mega-city (Soon 1989).

Only with the advent of the so-called "ethical policy" did the Netherlands East Indies expand to include most of the so-called outer islands. The expansion of Dutch sovereignty in the archipelago was made possible by the perception that the war in Aceh had been won, and Governor General van Heutz, the "hero" of the Aceh war, initiated a series of civilian and military actions to expand the N.E.I. A series of so-called "long" and "short" contracts were initiated just after the turn of the century which bound local rulers to Dutch colonial power centred in Batavia, but there was also a concerted effort at urban planning in the outer islands, especially in cities like Palembang and Menado. The archipelago was effectively tied together by the inter-island shipping company (the KPM) until relatively late in the Dutch colonial era (circa 1940).

A detailed history of urban planning during colonial times would probably indicate the extent to which Dutch civil servants attempted to recreate the patterns of urban development that were contemporaneously popular in the Netherlands itself. Since the Netherlands has always been a very small country, there is a tradition of very detailed urban planning, particularly very strict rules concerning zoning and architectural styles. The same meticulous concern with detail tended to be carried over to planning in the N.E.I., sometimes without due regard for local conditions and norms. In addition to the "Dutch" core of many urban places, there was also an intricate system of *kampong* settlements. It was only in the 1920's and 1930's that much attention was paid to the *kampongs* themselves. A large number of detailed empirical studies were carried out by Dutch civil servants responsible for urban planning. Those documents have not yet been fully studied by modern researchers, and such research would be particularly helpful if Indonesian students were given opportunity to study the successes and failures of Dutch efforts at urban planning so that the same mistakes need not be made over again.

3. CAVEATS

In terms of the general implications of these brief comments concerning the study of Indonesian settlements, a few basic warnings are in order. I will briefly review four problematic issues: (1) physical vs. human aspects, (2) short-term vs. long-term, (3) universalistic vs. culturally-specific, and (4) Eurocentric vs. autonomous theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of *negara* and human settlements.

(1) While we cannot ignore the importance of the physical environment, such concerns should not lead to a lessening of emphasis on socio-cultural aspects of urban planning. An ecological approach does not have to be limited to bio-physical determinism. We must also keep in mind the importance of cultural worldviews and ideas. The mental life of city dwellers is at least as important as attention to geographic distribution and physical infrastructures.

(2) In giving attention to short-term problems, we must not lose sight of long-term implications. The historical context is extremely important for in-depth understanding. Many problems which are extremely perplexing if taken out of historical context can become less obscure if historical antecedents to the existing situation are taken into account. A short-term focus can lead to short-term solutions, but such "band aids" are inadequate for long-term planning. This does not mean we should ignore immediate and pressing concerns (such as lack of basic health care and other basic needs), but to really plan for the future we need insight into long-term trends.

(3) Much social science literature is written from an assumption (often implicit) that social science generalizations tend to approximate true "laws." This "nomothetic" approach can be useful for some kinds of problems (e.g., macro economic forecasting using linear programming), but many key issues are not based on universal laws true for all times and places. We must remain attentive to culturally-specific aspects of social problems. This does not automatically mean we cannot go further than "thick description," but it does mean we should not simply report on a problem on the basis of purely formal categories and criteria. Cultural content is crucial.

(4) Even though many scholars have argued in favor of an autonomous approach to Southeast Asian history (e.g., Smail 1971), there is still a tendency to allow Eurocentric categories to dominate analysis. While there are certain techniques of data collection and manipulation that are of value, regardless of specific conditions (e.g., multivariate analysis and other statistical techniques), there should not be undue emphasis on adopting the latest "European" or "American" techniques. Similarly, computers should be useful tools (e.g., as aids to quantitative analysis), but they should not become the be-all-and-end-all of social science analysis.

To summarize, I favor an approach to the study of human settlements, particularly urban places, (a) which emphasizes the continued importance of human factors in the face of environmental concerns, (b) which does not lose sight of long-term historical trends, and (c) which is culturally-specific, not slavishly "Eurocentric" in its methodological and theoretical approaches.

4. CONCLUSION

This brief essay has just skimmed the surface. What is needed is a comparative and historical evaluation of Indonesian urban places which stresses the social change that has occurred since colonialism in the cultural significance of urbanity. The link between capitalist development and cities is clear. However, our general understanding of that process should not preclude detailed and specific local studies of urbanization. The social problems of cities and other urban places are closely linked to the general problems of economic growth and socio-political-cultural development. Regardless of which ideal type models we may use to test details in historical studies, it is important to appreciate the uniqueness of Indonesia's settlement patterns while, at the same time, paying proper attention to the ways in which the Indonesian patterns may reflect larger structural currents in Southeast Asian, in Asian, and in world history. (Smail 1971; Smith 1991).

REFERENCES

[Author's Note: This list of books and articles covers a wide range of historical and social science topics, and represents works consulted in trying to formulate ideas concerning urban and regional planning in Indonesia. It is not a complete or systematic bibliography, but is broader than a list of the references cited in the text.]

Anderson, B. 1972. The Idea of Power in Javanese Culture. In *Culture and Politics in Indonesia*, ed. C. Holt, B. Anderson and J. Siegel. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Apter, D. E. 1963. On the Comparative Study of the New States. In *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. C. Geertz. London: Collier MacMillan.

Asad, T., ed. 1975. *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter*. London: Ithaca Press.

AIT (Asian Institute of Technology). 1990. *An Environmental Study Manual on the Case of the Upper Ciliwung Watershed in West Java, Indonesia*. Bangkok: AIT and Ford Foundation.

Abeyasekere, S. 1990. *Jakarta: A History*. Rev. ed. Singapore: Oxford University Press.

Ayal, E. B. 1992. Thailand's Development: The Role of Bangkok. *Pacific Affairs*. 65(3): 353-367.

Bakker, J. I. 1977. Bureaucratization of Patrimonialism: Colonial Taxation and Land Tenure in Java, 1830-1850. In *The Past in Southeast Asia's Present*, ed. G. Means. Ottawa: Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1985. Data Gathering and Project Design: A Third World Case Study of Community Development. Jour. of the Commun. Develop. Soci. 16: 1-17.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1987a. Class Relations in Java in the Nineteenth Century: A Weberian Perspective. *Can. Journ. of Develop. Stud.* 8: 137-156.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1987b. The Cultivation System, Ecology and Underdevelopment: An Examination of Geertz's Agricultural Involution Thesis. In *Culture and Development in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of Social Change in the ASEAN Region*, ed. J. I. Bakker and R. Amore. Guelph, Ontario: Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1988. Patrimonialism, Involution and the Agrarian Question in Java: A Weberian Analysis of Class Relations and Servile Labor. In *State and Society: The Emergence and Development of Social Hierarchy and Political Centralisation*, ed. J. Gledhill, B. Bender and M.T. Larsen. London: Unwin Hyman.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1988. *The World Food Crisis: Food Security in Comparative Perspective*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

Bakker, J. I. (Hans). 1993. The Aceh War and the Creation of the Netherlands East Indies State. In *Great Powers and Little Wars: The Limits of Power*, ed. I. A. Hamish and E. J. Errington. New York: Praeger.

Boeke, J. H. 1951. *Economie van Indonesie*. Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink and Zoon.

Choa, F. 1969. *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*. New York: George Braziller.

Collins, R. 1986. *Weberian Sociological Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cove, J. 1987. *Shattered Images*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Crone, D. K. 1986. The Changing Pace of Southeast Asia's Economic Relations with Canada. *Southeast Asia Business*. (Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan). 8: 1-4.

Crouch, H. 1978. *The Army and Politics in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Crouch, H. 1979. Patrimonialism and Military Rule in Indonesia. *World Politics*, 31.

Darmosugito. 1956. *Kota Jogjakarta 200 Tahun*. Jogjakarta: Panitya Penerbitan.

Dickenson, J. P., et al. 1983. *A Geography of the Third World*. London: Methuen.

Dove, M. R., ed. 1988. *The Real and Imagined Role of Culture in Development. Case Studies from Indonesia*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Drake, E. 1984. Shared Perceptions of Canada-ASEAN Relations. *Canada and the Pacific: Agenda for the Eighties, Working Paper Series*. 30: 1- 6.

Ehrlich, P. R., and A. H. Ehrlich. 1990. *The Population Explosion*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Fava, S. F., ed. 1968. *Urbanism in World Perspective*. New York: Crowell.

Feith, H. 1962. *The Decline of Constitutional Democracy in Indonesia*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Feith, H. 1967. The Dynamics of Guided Democracy. In *Indonesia*, ed. R. McVey. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files and Yale University.

Feith, H., and L. Castles, ed. 1970. *Indonesian Political Thinking*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Finer, S. E. 1962. *The Man on Horseback*. London: Pall Mall.

Fryer, D. W. 1970. *Emerging Southeast Asia: A Study in Growth and Stagnation*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Garner, R. E. 1982. *The Developing Nations: A Comparative Perspective*. 2d ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Geertz, C. 1962. Social Change and Modernization in Two Indonesian Towns: A Case in Point. In *On the Theory of Social Change*, ed. E. E. Hagen. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Geertz, C. 1963. The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States. In *Old Societies and New States: The Quest for Modernity in Asia and Africa*, ed. C. Geertz. London: Collier MacMillan.

Geertz, C. 1980. *Negara: The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Green, B. S. 1988. *Literary Methods and Sociological Theory: Case Studies of Simmel and Weber*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gutman, R., and D. Popenoe, ed. 1970. *Neighborhood, City, and Metropolis: An Integrated Reader in Urban Sociology*. New York: Random House.

Hainsworth, G. B. 1982. Beyond Dualism? Village-level Modernization and the Process of Integration into National Economies in Southeast Asia. In *Village-level Modernization in Southeast Asia: The Political Economy of Rice and Water*, ed. G.B. Hainsworth. Vancouver, B.C.: U.B.C. Press.

Hall, D. G. E. 1970. *A History of South-East Asia*. 3d ed. London: MacMillan.

Haworth, L. 1963. *The Good City*. Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press.

Heuken, A. 1982. *Historical Sites of Jakarta*. Jakarta: Cipta Loka Caraka.

Homer-Dixon, T. F., J. H. Boutwell, and G. W. Rathjens. 1993. Environmental Change and Violent Conflict. *Scientific American* 268(2): 38-45.

Krebs, C. J. 1985. *Ecology*. London: Harper and Row.

Leonard, J. H., ed. 1989. *Environment and the Poor: Development Strategies for a Common Agenda*. New York: Transaction Publishers.

Lipton, M. 1977. *Why Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias in World Development*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

McVey, R., ed. 1967. *Indonesia*. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files and Yale University.

Migdal, J. S. 1974. *Peasants, Politics, and Revolution: Pressures toward Political and Social Change in the Third World*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Milne, R. S., and D. K. Mauzy. 1990. *Singapore: The Legacy of Lee Kuan Yew*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Park, R. E. 1952. *Human Communities: The City and Human Ecology*. New York: The Free Press.

Roth, G. 1968. Personal Rulership, Patrimonialism, and Empire-Building in the New States. In *State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, ed. R. Bendix. Boston: Little Brown.

Samuel, G. 1990. *Mind, Body and Culture: Anthropology and the Biological Interface*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Selosoemardjan. 1962. *Social Changes in Jogjakarta*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Simmel, G. 1990. *The Philosophy of Money*. Ed. D. Frisby. Trans. T. Bottomore and D. Frisby. 2d ed. London: Routledge.

Smail, J. 1971. The Javanese Kings ... Java, 1757-1872 [and] ...Indonesia. In *In Search of Southeast Asia: A Modern History*, ed. J. Steinberg, et al. New York: Praeger.

Smith, A. K. 1991. *Creating A World Economy: Merchant Capital, Colonialism, and World Trade: 1400-1825*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

Soegijoko, S. 1979. Towards an Urban Development Strategy for Indonesia. *UNCRD Working Papers* (United Nations Centre for Regional Development, Nagoya, Japan): 74-7.

Soon, T. K. 1989. *Mega-Cities in the Tropics: Towards an Architectural Agenda for the Future*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies.

Stavrianos, L. S. 1981. *Global Rift: The Third World Comes of Age*. New York: William Morrow.

Stinchcombe, A. L. 1982. Review Essay: The Growth of the World System. *Amer. Jour. of Sociology* 87.

Strasser, H., and S. C. Randall. 1981. *An Introduction to Theories of Social Change*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Stren, R. et al. 1992. *The Urban Problematique: The Challenge of Urbanization for Development Assistance*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Sundhaussen, U., and B. R. Green. 1985. Indonesia: Slow March into an Uncertain Future. In *The Political Dilemmas of Military Regimes*, ed. C. Clapham, and G. Philip. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble.

Tsuchiya, K. 1987. *Democracy and Leadership: The Rise of the Taman Siswa Movement in Indonesia*. Trans. P. Hawkes. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

United Nations. 1989. *Population Growth and Policies in Mega-Cities: Jakarta*. New York: U.N. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs.

Van Niel, R. 1967. The Course of Indonesian History. In *Indonesia*, ed. R. McVey. New Haven, Conn.: Human Relations Area Files and Yale University.

Vittachi, T. 1967. *The Fall of Sukarno*. New York: Praeger.

Waddell, J. R. E. 1972. *An Introduction to Southeast Asian Politics*. Sydney: Wiley and Sons.

Wallerstein, I. 1980. *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World Economy, 1600-1750*. New York: Academic Press.

Weber, M. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Trans. and ed. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills. New York: Oxford University Press.

Weber, M. 1958. *The City*. Trans. and ed. D. Martindale, and G. Neuwirth. New York: The Free Press.

Weber, M. 1968. *Economy and Society*. Trans and ed. G. Roth, and C. Wittich. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.

Weinstein, F. B. 1976. *Indonesian Foreign Policy and the Dilemma of Dependence: From Sukarno to Suharto*. Ithaca N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Wertheim, W. F. 1960. *Indonesian Society in Transition*. The Hague: Van Hoeve.

Wertheim, W. F. 1961. *Indonesian Economics: The Concept of Dualism in Theory and Policy*. The Hague: W. van Hoeve.

Wertheim, W. F. 1968. Sociological Aspects of Corruption in Southeast Asia. In *State and Society: A Reader in Comparative Political Sociology*, ed. R. Bendix. Boston: Little Brown.

Wheatley, P. 1983. *Nagara and Commandery: Origins of the Southeast Asian Urban Traditions*. (Department of Geography Research Paper, Numbers 207-208, double number). Chicago: University of Chicago.

Whimster, S. and S. Lasch. ed. 1987. *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Whyte, W. F. 1981. *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*. 3d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilner, R. A. 1970. The Neotraditional Accommodation to Political Independence: The Case of Indonesia. In *Cases in Comparative Politics: Asia*, ed. L. W. Pye. Boston: Little Brown.

Wirth, L. 1968. Urbanism as a Way of Life. Reprint *Fava*. 1938: 46-63.