

# The Formation of Ethnically Distinct Villages in Jember during the Colonial Period (1870-1942)

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## Abstract

The development of the plantation economy in Jember at the end of the 19th century required a large workforce, something that could not be met by the local population. The colonial government responded by bringing in workers from western East Java, the *Vorstenlanden*, and Madura Island. These migrants eventually settled in Jember and became pioneers for subsequent waves of migration until the Second World War. The entry of Javanese and Madurese people into Jember shaped the physical characteristics of settlements that have survived to this day. The settlement arrangements made by the colonial government were based on ecological and cultural considerations of migrants, and plantation-oriented resulted in a unique pattern of segregation. After Indonesia's independence, villages in Jember became more fluid in terms of demographic composition, however, the physical and cultural characteristics that indicate a village has Javanese or Madurese cultural roots are still clearly visible. This article describes the process of the formation of villages in Jember with a comparison of "Javanese villages" and "Madurese villages" to find out how far the colonial government's intervention influenced the formation of villages, and how the villagers concerned maintain their cultural identity as migrant newcomers.

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## Introduction

The Jember Regency was formally established on January 1, 1929, based on the decision of the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies through the *Staatblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* No. 322 1928. Through this decision, the government in the Jember region, which previously only covered one district, developed into a regency. This meant that the Jember region became wider and encompassed a complex government. The designation of an area as a regency in the 20th century was a very important increase in administrative status. Referring to colonial records in the 18th century, the area called Jember was still a *kabekelan* or a village-level unit under the authority of the Blambangan Kingdom (Bosch, 1857, pp. 469-508).

One of the reasons the colonial government formed the Jember Regency was the rapid development of the region since the seventh decade of the 19th century thanks to the operation of many private plantations, in addition to the administrative policies of the Dutch East Indies government which implemented the principle of decentralization at the beginning of the 20th century. If examined further, the

development of the Jember region and its surroundings started from the countryside, where the plantations were located. The pioneer of private plantations in Jember, George Birnie, in the early years of his business or around 1859-1875 spent a lot of his time in the village, in the midst of the population settlements in the Jember District (Arifin, 1989, pp. 32-38).

The countryside in Jember became a supporter of economic resilience in the 19th century until the end of the Japanese occupation. Apart from plantations located in rural areas, community agrarian activities were also predominantly carried out in villages. Agriculture in Jember is generally in the form of food crops such as rice and secondary crops. The process is supported by adequate irrigation both due to the presence of natural rivers and irrigation facilities built by the colonial government (Nawiyanto, 2003, pp. 94-120; Nawiyanto, 2018, pp. 17-18).

The uniqueness of the villages in Jember is the physical characteristics that show the ethnicity of the residents. It is common knowledge that Jember, as part of the cultural melting pot region in East Java, is inhabited by many Javanese and Madurese people. The distinctive characteristics of villages in Jember can help identify whether a village is predominantly Javanese with Javanese culture or Madurese with its culture. In the era of independence and especially after the Reformation, there were indeed no rigid boundaries regarding the socio-cultural reality in the Jember countryside, both because of the many mixed marriages between Javanese and Madurese and the movement of people in the local context (Widuatie & Sasmita, 2016, pp. 14-16). However, distinctive features, especially from the physical aspects of the village, can still be identified and are part of the history of the Jember countryside which is often missed from the analysis of academics.

This article presents an analysis of the formation of villages in Jember which shows socio-cultural characteristics as an influence of population migration from Java and Madura Island, as well as colonial government intervention in settlement arrangements in the late 19th century to the end of the colonial period. When the colonial government issued the Agrarian Law in 1870 (*Agrarische Wet*), the economy of the Dutch East Indies underwent a change towards a capitalist economy. Java and East Sumatra became investment destinations for European entrepreneurs, especially in the plantation sector, which also brought in workers from outside the region. In the Jember District, plantation entrepreneurs (*ondernemer*) for the cultivation of perennial crops experienced a shortage of labor so they had to bring in seasonal workers from Madura.

At the same time, tobacco and sugarcane plantations in the Puger District and other areas on the south side required labor that was experienced with irrigation systems. Entrepreneurs prefer to bring in Javanese people as workers because they are considered more skilled for rice field ecosystems with technical irrigation. In addition, Javanese people who come with the hope of being able to own land are used to open new land which they can later own and will be rented by the plantation. This is because ownership of agricultural land by foreigners is not permitted in the 1870 *Agrarische Wet*.

The presence of migrant workers from Java and Madura, both those who later became laborers and settled in the Jember District, the Puger District, and its surroundings, then also influenced the development of the area where they lived. In 1883, the Dutch East Indies government formed the Jember Division as a division of the Bondowoso Division. The Jember Division area includes the Jember District and other districts around it. The influence of plantation activities which increased the export-oriented economy, as well as population growth due to the migration of workers from Java and Madura, was a driving force for the division of the Bondowoso Division, or from another perspective can be seen as an increase in administrative status for the Jember District. In 1929 the administrative status of the Jember Division was upgraded to a Regency.

With the presence of 67 plantations in the Jember Regency, this region can be called a plantation city. However, from the perspective of rural history studies, the existence of plantations outside the city area is the main area of work, because the existence of economic activities in the form of export commodity production and the social activities of its residents determine the development of the region in general (Brinkman's, 1937, pp. xix-xx). In this study, it is formulated that the growth of villages under the colonial plantation system which displays ethnic characteristics, namely Javanese and Madurese, is a "segregation" system influenced by economic interests. The concept of residential segregation in Jember is unique and will be explained further in the discussion section.

This study is guided by research questions to answer the following problems. *First*, how is the process of forming ethnically distinct villages in Jember? This is important to explain that the presence of private plantation companies plays an important role because they have brought in Javanese and Madurese migrants. *Second*, how did the colonial administration contribute to shaping the pattern of ethnically distinct settlements in Jember? Studies on village settlements in Jember have not yet received attention and there are more oral stories developing in the community. It is hoped that this study can provide a historical explanation of the social phenomena that unfold in the community as part of strengthening cultural identity.

## Method

According to Suryabrata, historical research aims to reconstruct the past systematically and objectively (Suryabrata, 1983, p. 16). To achieve this goal, historical research uses a historical method which includes the following steps: determining the topic, collecting sources (heuristics), verifying sources, interpretation, and historiography (Kuntowijoyo, 2013, p. 69).

In writing this article, a combination of library studies was used, namely an analysis of published documents and relevant previous works, guided by observations of certain villages. The criteria for selecting sample villages are the physical appearance of the village which shows the characteristics of Javanese and Madurese culture. Then, testing of available references is carried out to ensure that a village is a village that has existed since the colonial era and is in accordance with the objectives

of this research.

In this article, the author takes a sample of several villages based on the socio-cultural stereotypes of cultural areas in Jember, namely the northern region is inhabited by Madurese people and the southern region is inhabited by Javanese people. The villages in this study were not randomly selected, but based on physical characteristics that showed their cultural characteristics. The selection of villages also takes into account the administrative age of the village, in the sense that villages formed after independence are not included as samples because they are feared to contain bias.

In this study, linguistic parameters were not used as cultural characteristics because the flexible ethnic mix in Jember allows people to master both Javanese and Madurese, even though they are not fluent in one of them which is not their mother tongue. This causes the use of regional languages to be not very relevant to identify cultural characteristics. Not a few villages have residents who speak Javanese *kromo inggil* who are neighbors with speakers of Madurese who only understand a little colloquial *ngoko*. Instead of regional languages, physical characteristics in the form of settlement layout and the existence of old houses become parameters for determining the cultural characteristics of a village.

In the process of collecting data in the field, the author found that there is a tendency for villagers in Jember who in their daily lives use Javanese to call "meduroan" which means more or less "Madurese settlements" to refer to villages inhabited by Madurese speakers. Likewise, the Madurese community will call "Jowo" or "blok Jowoan" to settlements whose residents use Javanese. However, when residents from different ethnic communities communicate, for example in the market, Javanese-speaking buyers are still understood by Madurese-speaking sellers, and vice versa. This means that with intensive social interaction for some time, the use of regional languages is no longer relevant to map the distribution of ethnicities. However, the physical characteristics of Javanese and Madurese community settlements can always be distinguished. The identification of Javanese people with the Madurese community is not always based on language, but also on the physical characteristics of the settlement. Environments inhabited by Madurese generally have several distinctive markers, such as the presence of prayer rooms and houses facing each other inhabited by families who are still related. Meanwhile, neighborhoods inhabited by Javanese communities tend to have large yards so that there is a fairly wide distance between the road and the house. This pattern can be found in several villages in different sub-districts and quite far from each other. This is considered to indicate a pattern of segregation against population settlements in the past. Although in the 21st century these characteristics are increasingly blurred due to different designs and settlement layouts, they can still be found in some areas.

In Javanese villages, the settlement pattern is generally divided into a rectangular formation with village roads limiting one group of settlements from another, as well as serving as a connecting access. In addition, in the background of the settlement there are rice fields owned by local residents and at the same time limiting the village with

other Javanese villages. To get a picture of the shape of a Javanese village, screenshots from the Google Maps satellite imagery service are used.

The physical characteristics that mark a Madurese village are the existence of *taneyan lanjhang* settlements, which are a formation of a number of houses in the form of an *angkare* or a "U" shape and have a prayer room as a place to pray and learn to recite the Koran. The houses in the *taneyan lanjhang* are inhabited by families who are still related by family, so the *taneyan lanjhang* shows the existence of a large family. However, not all Madurese people in Jember form *taneyan lanjhang* house formations for various reasons, especially land availability. So here we will specifically discuss settlements that still show the characteristics of *taneyan lanjhang* even though the design or construction of the house already displays a modern style

### **Rural Areas in Jember until the 19th Century**

Villages in Jember have been established for centuries, long before the arrival of Westerners. Several villages can be traced back to the Majapahit era, when King Hayam Wuruk visited villages in the eastern region and recorded them in the *kakawin Desawarnana* or *Nagarakertagama*. In *Pupuh 22*, Hayam Wuruk is mentioned visiting a number of places identified as locations in the present-day Jember region. It is estimated that this trip was made during the month of *bhadra* (full moon) in the year 1281 Saka or 1359 AD, so that many toponyms have changed. However, Basini and Sadeng are still used by residents to refer to certain locations in the Puger sub-district, and Balung is still used as the name of the Balung sub-district.

Another record about the Jember countryside was obtained from the Bujangga Manik manuscript, a priest who traveled from the Sunda-Pakuan region or western Java to Balambangan in the eastern tip of Java. Noorduynd estimates that Bujangga Manik's journey took place between the last quarter of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century AD because he crossed Demak but also still encountered *lurah* (administrative units) in eastern Java which indicated the Majapahit region. When returning from Balambangan, Bujangga Manik crossed Padangalun, then Mount Watangan which faced Nusa (island) Barong. His journey continued to Sarampon then headed to Cakru. Padangalun is still debated by scholars, but Sarampon is agreed to be the same as Sarampwan in *Nagarakertagama*, a village that Hayam Wuruk also visited almost two centuries earlier. Meanwhile, Mount Watangan and Nusa Barong have not changed their names, and Cakru is currently a village under the administrative Kencong sub-district, but is often mistaken as the Lumajang area (Noorduynd, 2019, pp. 6-7).

Up to the 18th century, there was not much satisfactory information about the development of villages in the Jember region. Even though between 1665-1669 the capital of Blambangan was estimated to have been in Kedawung (now the Umbulsari sub-district) but the information in traditional historiography is more of a record of political dynamics at the elite level than notes on local conditions (Margana, 2012, p. 35). Towards the *Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie* (VOC) military campaign against Blambangan (1768-1773), it was reported that a Mataram regent who ruled the Puger

Regency named Raden Ario Wiriodiningrat was killed in a conflict in 1757. The Puger Regency was then controlled by Blambangan and four *kabekelan* (village-level units) were formed, namely Puger, Jember, Sentong, and Prajekan (Bosch, 1857, pp. 469-508). When Blambangan collapsed, three of the four *kabekelan* were reorganized by the VOC into four districts, namely Jember, Sentong, Prajekan, and Sabrang in 1774. Meanwhile, Puger was considered more special so it was designated as a regency in 1775 (Margana, 2012, pp. 212-213). However, now Puger is only a sub-district under the Jember Regency. The ancient Puger Regency area is estimated to cover the southern part of Jember Regency.

The first regent of Puger was Tumenggung Prawiradiningrat, and as the regional head he was burdened with taxes in kind in the form of candles, cardamom, long pepper, red pepper, and silk thread. Prawiradiningrat also still has to fulfill mandatory deliveries in the form of coarse yarn, coffee, and rope. Because many of these items were not available in Puger, taxes and mandatory deliveries had to be purchased from outside the region. The cost of the purchase was borne by the people of Puger. Interestingly, there are differences in taxes based on the location of the population settlements. For those who live south of the Getem River, a tax of f 1 per family is imposed, while those who live north of the Getem River are taxed f 3 per family. Residents' mandatory contributions also include 1/5 of the rice field harvest and 1/10 for the dry land harvest (Wijayati, 2001, pp. 55-56).

Taxation in Puger Regency is interesting because there are natural factors that also play a role. Seeing that the population north of the Getem River is taxed three times higher than the population living south of the river, it can be estimated that the land north of the Getem River is more fertile or at least the people's livelihood is better. Unfortunately, it is difficult to estimate the river in question in modern topography. In addition, it can also be seen that rice cultivation in Puger Regency relies on irrigation and dry land at the same time.

The Puger Regency was liquidated in 1806 along with the transfer of the center of government to Besuki, on the coast of the Madura Strait on the East Java side. When the British occupied Java (1811-1816), Lieutenant Governor Raffles formed the Besuki Residency and the administrative status of Puger and Jember became districts under the Bondowoso Division. This condition lasted until the end of the 19th century (Winarni, 2018, pp. 51-58).

### **The Influence of Colonial Economic Policy on Jember's Demographics**

The In 1830 the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies, Johannes van den Bosch introduced an export crop cultivation system called the *cultuur stelsel* or cultivation system (cultivation system), especially on the island of Java. The main goal is to increase the production of export crops which was not satisfactorily achieved in the first quarter of the 19th century for various reasons, one of which was the Java War (1825-1830). The *cultuur stelsel* system or also known as the forced planting system involves residents as providers of land for "compulsory plants" as well as labor for cultivation to harvest. Thus, the *cultuur stelsel* made the Javanese people familiar with

the types of export crops and how to cultivate them even though they did not enjoy the results.

*Cultuur stelsel* also requires residents who do not own land to participate in *heerendiensten* or "forced labor" for jobs related to plantation supporting facilities and infrastructure. Not only involving residents, the *cultuur stelsel* also involved native officials from the village head to the regent as supervisors and also Dutch entrepreneurs to accommodate and process plantation products before being exported to Europe (Kartodirdjo and Suryo, 1991, pp. 56-61). In short, the *cultuur stelsel* was the beginning of a change in agrarian management in Javanese villages from what was originally a subsistence economy to a capital economy.

In the midst of the *cultuur stelsel* program which was a "government project", in a number of areas private plantations also began to emerge, especially in the second half of the 19th century. The emergence of this private plantation is the fruit of the establishment of the *Regering Reglement* 1854 which is a breakthrough in the conservative colonial economy (Kartodirdjo, 1992, pp. 17-19). The colonial economy is no longer solely a government monopoly, but the private sector has the flexibility to do business. Because export crop plantations in the style of the *cultuur stelsel* turned out to show bright prospects, it is not surprising that private entrepreneurs then joined in to build their own plantations.

Although Jember was not directly a zone for the implementation of the cultivation system, the Besuki Residency as its administrative parent was included in the compulsory planting, especially coffee, sugarcane, and indigo (Kartodirdjo and Suryo, 1991, pp. 58-62). Entering the 1850s, private entrepreneurs such as CH Doup, JC Berkholst, Fransen van de Putte, and LJ Uhlenbeck began to pioneer renting land from residents for tobacco cultivation in the Bondowoso Division which was the second largest administrative unit in Besuki (Arifin, 1989, pp. 29-31). Although tobacco plants were abolished from compulsory planting, in the Besuki Residency tobacco actually became a *prima donna* for private entrepreneurs.

Meanwhile, in the Jember District, the first private plantation was opened in 1859 by the partnership of George Birnie, C. Sandberg Matthiassen, and AD van Gennep. They formed a tobacco plantation company called NV *Landbouw Maatschappij Oud Djember* (LMOD). Until 1875 this company was still a small-scale plantation because the Jember District was isolated in the interior, while plantation products had to be transported by cart to the port of Panarukan on the coast of the Madura Strait. The plantation sector only started to move in Jember and the surrounding districts after the cultivation system was abolished in 1870, or after the enactment of the 1870 *Agrarische Wet*. Through this regulation, the Dutch East Indies economy became more liberal so that private entrepreneurs could more freely invest their capital.

From 1870 to 1929, it was recorded that around 50 private plantations sprung up in the Jember area (Ismet, 1970, pp. 188-193). The commodities cultivated include na-oogst tobacco, coffee, rubber, cocoa, and a small amount of tea. This fairly rapid development of plantations is inseparable from the problem of labor availability. This happened because in the 1870s the population in the Jember District and its

surroundings was relatively small compared to the nearest residency area, for example Pasuruan (Elson, 1984 in Nawiyanto, 2009, pp. 174-187). The death rate in this area is low, but so is the birth rate which is also low. In fact, population growth in the Jember region in the late 19th century to the early 20th century in the 1930s (census year) was contributed by migration. In the case of Jember in the period from the 1870s to the 1930s, migration needs to be seen as an implication of the massive development of plantations and its impact on the development of villages in the Jember District and its surroundings.

### **Profile of “Javanese Village” and “Madurese Village” in Jember**

On one occasion, the author had a conversation with a high school student in Jember. When asked about several villages, the student responded, “Wow, that’s the *Meduroan* area, ma’am!”. When asked what he meant, this student replied that the villages we were asking about were inhabited by Madurese people. How could she conclude that? The answer concerned was that the characteristics of the environment showed that Madurese people lived there. When the author tried to ask about a village that was generally known as the base of the Javanese ethnic area, the person concerned also agreed on the grounds that “the house looks like (belongs to) Javanese people”.

The experience of the short chat was repeated when the author asked the same thing to KKN students and acquaintances in Jember. They replied that they could estimate area “A” as a Javanese settlement, and area “B” was inhabited by Madurese people just by passing through it without having to talk to the residents. But on average they can't explain why they can conclude that.

The separation of settlements shows symptoms of segregation in the past. The fact that Jember became one of the centers of colonial economic activity since the second half of the 19th century strengthens the existence of a segregation policy carried out by the Dutch East Indies government. In his study of settlements in Batavia during the VOC era, Raben stated that colonial segregation was centered on issues of status, security, and economic mobilization. Raben also emphasized that the dominance of Europeans created a colonial city, and this colonial city was basically a “migrant community” (Raben, 2020, pp. 177-193). In the colonial social structure, segregation aims to “keep a distance” between their community and the local population to strengthen social prestige. The most basic basis for segregation is the *Regering Reglement 1854* which regulates the social stratification of the population of the Dutch East Indies (Hartono et al., 2015, pp. 13-14).

Demographically, the population of Jember is dominated by migrants or newcomers. This can be seen from population statistics which show a surge in the number of residents in the period 1870-1930. Population migration to Jember is quite interesting because it is dominated by two large groups based on ethnicity, namely Javanese and Madurese. The presence of Javanese and Madurese migrants in the same period as the beginning of plantation development shows the relationship between the emergence of the plantation economic system and the development of the region's demographics. Private plantations that have sprung up in Jember cultivate



commodities that require different handling. For example, *na-oogst* tobacco is planted in rice fields, as is sugarcane which requires rice fields with sufficient irrigation. These two types of plants clearly need different handling from coffee and cocoa which are perennial plants, whose cultivation patterns are on non-irrigated land and need a certain height above sea level to get optimal results.

Differences in handling plantation crops ultimately require different skills for each type of plant. Plants that require irrigation must be handled by workers who understand wetland ecology, as well as perennial plants need to be cared for by those who are familiar with upland ecology. So private plantations choose to bring in workers from outside Jember, especially because the local population cannot meet the labor needs of plantations which are still labor intensive. For this reason, plantations and facilitated by the government chose to bring in Javanese people from the *vorstenlanden* and mataraman (western East Java) and placed them on irrigated land in southern Jember. Meanwhile, for coffee and cocoa plantations which were widely opened in the highlands on the north side, Madurese people were brought in. This concept is in accordance with the thesis of scholars that the Javanese are experts in wetland agriculture, while the Madurese are experienced in farming on dry land (Kuntowijoyo, 1980, pp. 302-304 and Geertz, 1963, pp. 28-37 in Nawiyanto, 2009, pp. 174-187).

The dislocation of these migrant plantation workers eventually influenced their settlement patterns. Javanese people tended to be concentrated in the lowlands in the southern part of Jember, while the Madurese inhabited the northern side, which was close to the plantations of perennial crops. Migration continued until the 1930s, even during the Great Depression, because the growth of Jember as a city not only provided jobs in the plantation sector but also promised a better economic life.

Analysis of migration in general always pays attention to the pull factors from the destination area and the push factors from the area of origin which are the reasons for a group of people to migrate. In the case of Jember, the pull factor that applies to both Javanese and Madurese migrants is the availability of jobs in the plantation sector. So indirectly, the colonial government's economic policy package after the *cultuurstelsel* has become a factor that cannot be denied in discussing regional development in the eastern tip of Java.

In addition, it should also be noted that with the condition of a minimal population, there was still a lot of land that had not been opened, thus allowing newcomers to form new settlements. The opportunity to own their own land is believed to be one of the pull factors for Javanese and Madurese migrants to come to Jember (van Gelderen, 1961, p. 127; Boomgard and Gooszen, 1991, p. 53 in Nawiyanto, 2009, pp. 174-187). The opportunity to own land and build settlements was the initial motivation which ultimately influenced the physical form of the countryside in Jember.

Ownership of private land is a matter of prestige, but more than that it also reflects individual independence from the hegemony of the rulers. Both Madura and Java in the 19th century were still ruled by traditional powers that were feudal in

nature, so that the principle of land control was in the hands of the king or local ruler. Farmers, in principle, managed land that they did not fully own. It seems that the colonial government was quite negligent with these land tenure values when implementing the *cultuurstelsel*, so that this cultivation system did not benefit the people who *de facto* managed the land, but in fact did not fully control it.

The push factors from the migrants' areas of origin include Madura Island which needs to be seen as an infertile area. In addition, the Madurese people were still burdened with compulsory labor to the authorities and military service as the backbone of the *Koninklijk Nederlandsche Indische Leger* or KNIL legion (Nawiyanto, 2009, pp. 174-187). Migration can be seen as an effort to liberate oneself from the pressure of the authorities and the limitations of natural resources in the area of origin. For migrants from Java, there are several reasons that can be identified as push factors for them to migrate to Jember.

First, the pressure due to the *cultuurstelsel*. The Javanese, especially from the *Vorstenlanden* and *Mataraman*, had a bad precedent in their relationship with the Dutch. Through classic prophecies such as *Jangka Jayabaya*, they believed that the arrival of the white people was a period in which they would live in misery. So, resistance like that carried out by R.M. Said alias Prince Sambernyawa and R.M. Ontowiryo alias Ngabdulkhamid alias Prince Diponegoro tended to get the support of the common people. When the Dutch finally succeeded in quelling the resistance of these patriotic nobles and even intervened in the palace which was supposed to be a patron for Javanese cultural life, the pressure on the Javanese people increased. *Cultuurstelsel* made their lives even more miserable because traditional rulers also pressured the people in order to get a bigger *cultuur procenten*. The opportunity to migrate with the hope of getting a better life was finally responded to enthusiastically.

Second, Java was hit by a deadly epidemic in the 19th century. From 1825 to 1880 various epidemics broke out in Java, claiming a large number of deaths. These epidemics included cholera, smallpox, fever, typhus, and malaria (Boomgard, 1987 in Priyatmoko and Kurniawan, 2020, pp. 125-137). The impact of the epidemic was even more severe because at the same time the population had to deal with crop failure due to agricultural land being confiscated for forced planting.

The migration of Javanese and Madurese people to Jember was also supported by the opening of access to East Java. In 1897 a railway line was opened from Surabaya to Jember via Probolinggo. The existence of railways allows people to travel faster, and especially for plantation entrepreneurs, they can bring in more workers and also make it easier for migrants who aim to get a more decent living (Aprianto, 2011, pp. 55-56). So indeed, the population growth of Jember increased more rapidly at the end of the 19th century, contributed by migration.

### **Distribution of Migrants and Cultural Characteristics of the Village**

The influx of migrants to Jember must be seen as an effort by the colonial government and plantation entrepreneurs to succeed in the liberal economy. The migrants need to be regulated in such a way that the colonial economic goals are achieved. As has been

mentioned, both Javanese and Madurese people were brought in with certain aims and objectives, so their presence in Jember finally had to follow the wishes of the government which was supported by entrepreneurs. The Javanese were arranged to live on the south side of Jember, where there were many plantations with technical irrigation, especially sugarcane and tobacco. Meanwhile, the Madurese were arranged to live on the north side, close to the plantations of perennial crops. This pattern can be seen based on the results of the 1930 census which are presented simply in Table 1 and for comparison purposes, Figure 1 is presented.

Table 1 Percentage Distribution of Jember Population by Ethnicity (1930)

District	Javanese Ethnicity	Madurese Ethnicity	Osing Ethnicity	Other Ethnicities	Total (%)
Tanggul	34.5	63.1	-	2.4	100
Puger	75.1	24.3	-	0.6	100
Wuluhan	73.5	22.8	2.8	0.9	100
Rambipuji	36.6	61.1	1.6	0.7	100
Jember	11.4	80.3	8.1	0.2	100
Mayang	4.7	93.2	1.7	0.4	100
Kalisat	2.4	95.7	1.6	0.3	100

Source of data: Volkstelling 1930 Vol. III (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1934), p. 22.



Figure 1 Map of Jember before 1930.

Source: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (KIT), 1900.

From Table 1, it can be seen that the Javanese people are the majority in the Puger and Wuluhan Districts which are located on the south side. These two districts are now the areas of several sub-districts including Puger, Wuluhan, Ambulu, Gumukmas, Umbulsari, Kencong, and Jombang. In this area, it is indeed dominated

by Javanese people. Meanwhile, districts in the northern part such as Tanggul, Mayang, and Kalisat are very much dominated by Madurese people. In this northern district area, coffee and cocoa plots are scattered in areas which are topographically highlands and hilly. While the Jember District itself can be called the forerunner of the current city of Jember, it is also dominated by Madurese people. The Rambipuji District, located slightly south of the Jember District, shows the dominance of the Madurese people which is not too extreme because the Javanese population is still quite large.

From the data presented in Table 1 and compared with Figure 1, the composition of the Jember population in terms of ethnicity does show a pattern that southern Jember is mostly inhabited by Javanese ethnicity and northern Jember is inhabited by Madurese ethnicity. This pattern refers to the segregation of newcomers. However, instead of being guided by the goal of ethnic separation or the implementation of social stratification, the dislocation of migrants is more about the function of mobilizing labor in accordance with land ecology. The Madurese people were employed in plantations of perennial crops in the northern region which is close to the mountain slopes, and they had to live near the plots to facilitate their work. Likewise, the Javanese people who were in charge of caring for tobacco plants occupied the lowlands in the southern part. In addition, the rice fields that were opened in the southern region were located close to irrigation channels, so Javanese migrants tended to choose to occupy the southern region.

In further developments, the migrants who inhabited the designated areas finally formed settlements in accordance with the traditions they held. This is a general tendency that people who adhere to a certain culture will continue to maintain their original culture as an effort to survive as well as maintain cultural ties with their area of origin. It was mentioned earlier that villages in Jember had been formed since the Majapahit era. However, the arrival of migrants, both Javanese and Madurese, from the late 19th century to the eve of the Japanese occupation changed the face of Jember from a sparsely populated area to a relatively crowded area, in the sense that the presence of migrants was sufficient reason for the colonial government to issue policies in the administrative field. In addition, the arrival of migrants also changed the physical appearance of the Jember region according to the area of origin of the migrants. This phenomenon is a historical process that determines the socio-cultural reality of Jember in the 20th century and even now towards the first quarter of the 21st century.

There are two patterns of development of villages in Jember, especially at the end of the 19th century. First, villages already existed before the plantation was opened. Examples of villages like this are the villages in Puger which have existed since the Majapahit era. Second, villages that were formed after the existence of plantations, either in the form of opening new areas or expanding from existing villages. For example, Jenggawah Village which was expanded into Jenggawah and Mangaran, as well as Tegalwaru and Sempolan Villages (Arifin, 1989, p. 117).

Both villages that existed before the plantation and villages that developed

following the plantation were also influenced by the activities of the migrants who occupied them. Villages inhabited by Javanese migrants will display physical characteristics in the form of settlements bounded by village roads which tend to be straight so as to form a square or rectangular area. For some migrants who believe that their ancestors fought alongside Diponegoro, they will plant sapodilla trees in their yards. Sapodilla *kecik* was chosen because it grows a lot in Tegalrejo, the base of the Diponegoro troop resistance in the Java War (1825-1830). After Diponegoro was arrested, his followers withdrew and marked their identities through sapodilla trees in their yards. Thus, sapodilla *kecik* has the meaning of strengthening identity as a follower of the Prince, besides that according to Javanese *kerata basa*, *sawo kecik* is expanded to mean *sarwa becik* or all good (Aryono, 2015).

In addition, the physical characteristic that marks a village inhabited by many Javanese migrants is the presence of a house with a *limasan* roof typical of the *Mataraman* area (western East Java). Unlike the slender *joglo*, the Javanese *limasan* has a roof peak that widens to the side. Houses with *limasan* roofs can be found, among others, in Tembokrejo Village, Gumukmas District. In this village, you can also find settlements in the form of squares and connected by straight village roads.

Apart from the form of settlement, villages inhabited by Javanese migrants are also characterized by rice fields located in the background of the settlement. In some villages, the boundary between one village and another lies in the rice fields because each village "backs against each other". For example, Bagorejo and Tembokrejo Villages in Gumukmas District which are located close to each other and are separated by a river that divides the rice fields which become the "background" of the settlements in each village. Both villages also have a square or rectangular settlement pattern which is bounded by village roads. The existence of quite extensive rice fields in Javanese villages confirms the thesis that Javanese culture is agrarian, and this is still carried even though they migrate hundreds of kilometers from their place of origin.

Such physical features of Javanese villages provide a number of clues about the historical processes experienced by these villages in the past, especially when Javanese migrants began arriving in Jember in the late 19th century until the collapse of the Dutch East Indies. Javanese villages have a uniform settlement pattern because the residents, or the migrants who inhabit them, come from the same cultural area. In addition, when the Javanese migrants arrived, the area they occupied still had a lot of vacant land so that the opening of rice fields and settlements could be carried out with a focus on certain patterns. No less important is that Javanese villages are in the lowlands, thus allowing for a more orderly arrangement of settlements because they are not obstructed by extreme topographical contours.

Land ownership law at the end of the 19th century still did not explicitly regulate government control over newly opened lands, or from forest clearing. According to the *Onteigenings Ordonantie* 1874, rights to newly opened land were given only to the party who opened the land, not to the village government as the authority. As a result, private ownership of land, especially agricultural land, has expanded in newly opened areas (Burger, 1957, p. 215). "Babat alas" or forest clearing is part of the

oral tradition of Javanese village communities in Jember, and is associated with pioneers who opened forests to become villages (Widuatie, 2020, pp. 519-528).

If Javanese migrants form settlements that characterize an agrarian society, then it is different from migrants from Madura. At the beginning of the 19th century, not many Madurese people inhabited the Jember area, even though Madurese migrants had begun to spread to other divisions in the Besuki Residency. Jember has not yet become a migration destination, because even though the land is fertile, there is no economic attraction. In addition, the Jember District is located far inland and transportation access is also difficult. It was only when private plantations recruited labor on a large scale and the colonial government built better road infrastructure that a wave of Madurese migration flowed rapidly to Jember (Arifin, 1989, pp. 95-96). In relation to the ecological aspect, Madurese migrants inhabit many of the northern and central parts of the Jember region.

At the beginning of the plantation period or around the 1970s, a large number of Madurese migrants came and dominated the population in Jember. The comparison of the number of Madurese and Javanese ethnicities in Jember is presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Comparison of the number of Javanese and Madurese residents in Jember (1870)

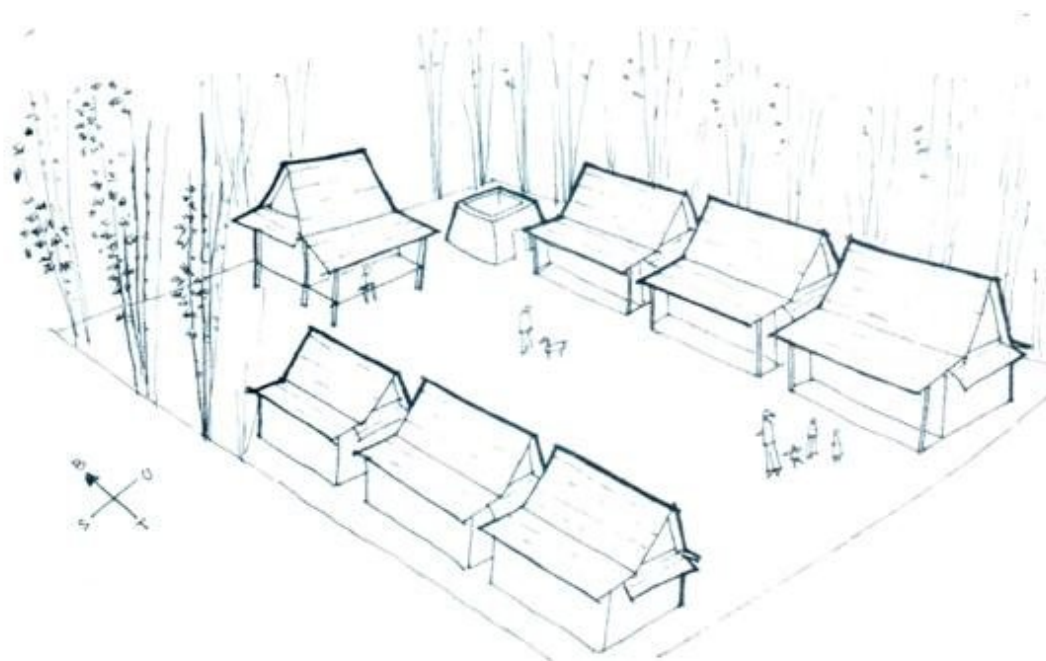
<b>Distrik</b>	<b>Etnis Madura</b>	<b>Etnis Jawa</b>
Kalisat	9570	244
Mayang	9318	473
Jember	8025	1134
Rambipuji	6107	3664
Tanggul	6307	3451
Puger	2434	7500
Wuluhan	2200	7350
Jumlah	44401	23822

Source: Tennekes, "De Bevolkingspreiding der Residentie Besoeki" (1963).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the flow of Madurese migrants has been more organized because the Besoekisch Immigratie Bureau (BIB) was formed in 1901. As the name implies, the task of this institution is to take care of the movement of people in Besuki, including in Jember, especially those relating to the labor needs of plantations. In 1902, a total of 4,000 migrants were recorded departing from Sumenep using a ship belonging to KPM (*Koninklijk Paketvaart Maatscahhpij*), a maritime transportation company owned by the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Broersma, 1912, pp. 89-90). Thus, these migrants come with a clearer status and their goals are directed, so that when they form settlements in their destination it can be seen that the culture from Madura is still maintained. Madurese migrants who work on plantation plots in the highlands do not have the "luxury" of forming classic settlement patterns like the Javanese in the south. However, the distinctive characteristics of Madurese culture appear in the *taneyan lanjhang* settlement pattern.

Literally, *taneyan lanjhang* means "long yard", because the formation of houses in

traditional Madurese architecture surrounds an elongated courtyard. According to Maningtyas and Gunawan (2017), *taneyan lanjhang* consists of building and spatial elements which include *Roma* (house), consists of the main house and a house for girls; *Langghar* (surau), functions as a place of worship as well as socializing. In accordance with the geographical position of Indonesia in relation to the Kaaba at the Grand Mosque, the position of the *langghar* is always in the west. *Dapor* and *kandhang* (kitchen and barn). The kitchen, as usual, functions as a place for cooking, while the barn is a place to keep livestock, especially cows; *Taneyan* (yard), in the form of a rectangular open field. The main house is at the end of the *taneyan*, while other houses are on the right and left of the *taneyan*. Meanwhile, *langghar* is always on the west side; Live plant fences, both bamboo and shade plants (Figure 2).



**Figure 2: Formation of houses in taneyan lanjhang.**

**Source: Kurnia & Nugroho, 2015, pp. 10-21.**

Even though *taneyan lanjhang* is the physical element that most shows the Madurese cultural characteristics of a village, because Madurese migrant settlements in Jember are scattered in the highlands, not all Madurese families build this traditional housing formation because it depends on the topography of the land. Some villages that have houses with a *taneyan lanjhang* pattern include Sukowono Village, Manggis Village, and Pringgowirawan Village. Most of the *taneyan lanjhang* have undergone adjustments in both design and building composition, so that the characteristics that are still visible are the *taneyan* or elongated yard (Figure . This page is often used as a floor to dry unhulled rice and as an access road for local residents.



Figure 3 *Tanean Lanjhang* pattern in Pringgowirawan Village, Sumberbaru District  
Source: Google Street View

The development of villages in Jember inhabited by migrants, both Javanese and Madurese, was indirectly influenced by changes in colonial politics. Since the 1860s the colonial government began to promote efforts to erode feudalism, and this was supported by the entry of the money system into the household of villagers. The economic climate is increasingly not in favor of feudalism along with the payment of regional heads, especially regents, and thus their feudal rights are increasingly lost (Burger, 1957, pp. 209-214). The enactment of the Agrarische Wet 1870 made the role of the private sector significant in the colonial economy, especially in sectors related to the production of export commodities, so that the money system expanded in people's lives.

Entering the 20th century, the colonial government increasingly abolished the compulsory labor system, except for road and irrigation construction. Even in 1912 compulsory labor was officially abolished completely (Burger, 1957, p. 214). Thus, the Javanese and Madurese migrants who came to Jember were relatively free from various obligations that took up their time and energy, so they could focus more on arranging settlements by referring to their traditions and culture of origin. Thus, the development of villages in Jember is basically very complex because it is related to political policies, economic policies, and the culture brought by migrant newcomers. The arrival of migrants gives a unique socio-cultural touch to a sparsely populated area so that it develops into a more modern form.

### Conclusion

Villages in Jember underwent a development process during the late 19th century to the early 20th century as an impact of the plantation economy in this region. The presence of migrants, both Javanese and Madurese, which was originally intended to fill the shortage of labor on plantations, turned out to bring a strong cultural character from their area of origin. The arrival of migrants increased the population so that demographically Jember experienced significant growth, not contributed by birth or death rates, but by migration.



The pattern of distribution of migrants in Jember is greatly influenced by the private plantation system. Plantations need skilled workers according to the commodities cultivated, meaning that there will be a relationship between natural conditions, types of plants, and the presence of migrants. The different agricultural skills of the Javanese and Madurese people eventually made them placed in different locations, in accordance with the cultivation of plantation crops. On the other hand, the colonial government, which wanted to create a stable economic climate, regulated migrants in such a way that Javanese-style villages tended to be found in the southern part of Jember and Madurese-style villages were mostly located in the northern part of Jember. This means that the residential segregation that has occurred in Jember since the late 19th century or since the 1870s until the collapse of the Dutch East Indies in 1942 was more of an economic effort for the benefit of plantations, rather than an ethnic separation for political purposes.

Even though plantations are no longer the driving force of the regional economy, understanding the socio-cultural life of the people of Jember, especially in rural areas, is still relevant as an academic study, especially as input in improving the quality of human development. Understanding the culture of the community both in real terms and the process of its formation can help stakeholders to formulate appropriate programs and policies.

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