

DEMYSTIFICATION OF BOGOR AS A CITY WITHOUT WORRIES
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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the history and sociocultural background that gave rise to the mystification of Bogor (*Buitenzorg*) as a city without worry, and then demystifies and deconstructs it. This research aims to deconstruct the mystification of Bogor as a city without fear by examining the history of collective action that led to resistance in the Bogor area. This study also describes the sociological factors and changes in natural conditions that have changed from the colonial period to the present day. This research employs a qualitative descriptive approach and draws on deconstruction theory to reconstruct the history that shapes the identity of the Bogoran. The results of this study show that Bogor, which is famous for being a city without worry, is a result of colonial power conditions. That inherent and maintained identity is the result of knowledge imposed by power. The deconstruction carried out in this study ultimately led to the dismantling of meaning, revealing that Bogor had a more complex history than just being a resting place. There is also a stage for various forms of collective action of resistance from the colonial era, independence, to post-independence.

Keywords: Collective Action; Buitenzorg; Deconstruction; Demystification.

1. BACKGROUND

The development of a society cannot be separated from geography (Kartodirjo, 1978). Bogor is an area situated between the confines of Bandung and Jakarta (Danasmita, 1983). The dynamics of a society cannot be separated from its relationship with the area in which it lives, which encompasses aspects of sociology, economics, geography, culture, art, and history.

Urban areas are a product of space and time that combines various activities (economic, social, cultural). It presents a conventional space (Bagguley, 1992). The long journey of Bogor as a region, from the time of the ancient kingdom to the present, still leaves various mysteries. Therefore, the meaning of Bogor in historical terms requires continuous study. This research aims to deconstruct the mystification of Bogor City, which is often imagined as a "city without worries."

Buitenzorg is one of the areas that has always been a special attraction for tourists (Kartosudirjo, 1978). This is evidenced by the numerous records of visits to Bogor City, particularly those of Europeans. In the record, the city of Bogor provides coolness and 'peace'. As a buffer area for Batavia/Jakarta, Bogor is in great demand as a place to rest (Anjani, 2016).

Dutch colonial records portray Buitenzorg as "a city without worries". The buitenzorg is a resting place for the ruler and a symbol of peace. The symbolic creation of Bogor was a hegemonic step taken by the Dutch. The symbolic narrative masks the fact that Bogor is not just a resting place, but also an arena of resistance against the colonizers.

Resistance actions that occurred in the Bogor area occurred continuously, for example the Ciomas Peasant Rebellion in 1886, the Vanguard Rebellion in Pasarean Village in 1935, the Resistance to the independence revolution, and the Coup in the Bogor Residency in 1945, the

Tritura student demonstration at the Bogor Palace in 1966, and the demonstration at Juanda University in 1998. However, the above historical facts are obscured due to the mystification carried out by the rulers, so that the people of Bogor are unaware of them.

The history of Bogor is still minimal. This can be seen from the keyword "Demystification of Bogor". "Deconstruction of Bogor History", "Resistance Action in Bogor", and "Collective Action in Bogor" in the digital reference repository (GARUDA). If the search is expanded by checking the Google Scholar repository, the results are not much different. Only one article was found that spoke about agrarian conflicts in Bogor Regency (Suharto & Basar, 2019).

Outside Bogor, studies on the history of resistance have developed, for example a survey of the history of Aksi-Kamisan in Jakarta (Sari, 2020), a study on resistance in defending the history of living spaces in Surabaya (Attamimi, 2014), to a survey of the metamorphosis of social movements in Banten (Alhudri *et.al*, 2018).

Table 1. Corpus of Collective Actions in Bogor

Social Movements	Issue	Period	Actor
Ciomas Farmers' Resistance	Identitas (culture, religion) and Political Economy (Tax)	1886	Farmer
Vanguard Rebellion in Pasarean Village	Identitas (culture, religion) and Political Economy (Tax)	1935	Farmer
Youth Movement	National Liberation	1945-1949	Youth Groups
Coup in Bogor Residency	Ideology and Socio-Politics	1945	People
Student Protest at the Bogor Palace	Ideology and Socio-Politics	1966	Student
Demonstration at University of Djuanda May 1998	Politic	1998	Student

From a series of social movements that occurred in Bogor, as shown in the table above, the following article demystifies and deconstructs Bogor's identity, shifting from the image of the city as a "city without worries" to one that has a history of resistance.

2. RESEARCH METHODS

This research employs a critical paradigm with a descriptive, qualitative methodological approach. The consequences of the selection of a necessary paradigm position this study on the power of historical analysis, social criticism, and the positioning of the researcher as a *transformative intellectual*/ advocate/activist (Tilly, 1978)

The method used in this study is a combination of *discourse analysis* (Carty, 1998) and deconstruction (Derrida, 2021) methods. The *discourse analysis method* is employed to examine documents and literature on the study of social movements in general, as well as those that occurred in Bogor within its historical trajectory. Meanwhile, the deconstruction method is

employed in the context of reading, serving not only as a *deconstructive tool* but also as a positive effort that maintains and prioritizes the pseudo, forgotten, and subordinate realities of the mainstream (Derrida, 2021). This effort has the opportunity to open up to the historical identity of "other" Bogor (Norris, 2020).

In this study, the data collection method is a literature study. Literature study is a data collection method used in social research methodologies to trace historical data (Bungin, 2008). The documents that will be used as the object of research consist of books, journals, magazines, newspapers, and include documents from historical archives spanning the time range of 1880-1998. The social movements used as case studies are the Ciomas peasant Rebellion in 1886, the Vanguard Rebellion in Pasarean Village in 1935, the Resistance of the independence revolution and the Coup in the Bogor Residency in 1945, the Tritura student demonstration at the Bogor Palace in 1966, and the demonstration at Juanda University in 1998. Data is reduced, presented, and elaborated.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Bogor has been used as a resting place for the colonial elite since the VOC era (Danasmata, 1983). The term "Buitenzorg" was used by Governor General Gustaaf Willem van Imhoff in the mid-18th century. The Bogor Palace, built in 1745, became a symbol of colonial escapism, serving as a refuge for Dutch officials to escape the noise and trouble of Batavia (Danasmata, 1983).

The narrative of Bogor as a "city without worries" was strengthened by the construction of the s'Lands Plantentuin te Buitenzorg (now the Bogor Botanical Garden) on May 18, 1817 (Goss, 2014). The Bogor Botanical Garden is a center for the study of botany and tropical beauty by naturalists. Andrew Goss (2014) referred to it as the "*apostle*".

The colonial power, along with the *apostles* of the Enlightenment, built Bogor as a utopia—a place free from unrest. However, in reality, Bogor has become a city full of resistance. The city has a long history of rebellion and anti-colonial movements.

Ciomas Peasants' Collective Revolt of 1886

The 1886 Ciomas Peasant Rebellion was a rebellion carried out by Bogor residents to resist the oppressive Dutch colonial government system (Iskandar, 1982; Kartodirjo, 1978). Farmers in Ciomas are compelled to cultivate coffee and sugarcane without generating a profit. They are increasingly suffering from high taxes and forced labor. This triggered the anger of the people.

Pero Ba Sa'maah and Idris led the people in the Ciomas particle land and organized resistance (Iskandar, 2007; Kartodirjo, 1978). They not only rejected colonial rule but also carried out attacks against Dutch officials and those they considered to be colonial accomplices. This rebellion lasted a short time (May 19-20, 1886). However, this rebellion received a brutal response from the Dutch government. They suppressed the movement militarily.

Although this rebellion ended in defeat, it showed that the people of Bogor had the resistance to the colonials. They dared to rebel as a form of resistance against the oppressive colonial government system.

Vanguard Rebellion in Pasarean Village 1935

In 1935, a peasant protest led by H. Abdul Hadi took place in Pasarean Village, Bogor. The action was a form of resistance against the oppressive Dutch colonial policy (Sudrajat, 2018). This protest arose because of the tax and land rental system that burdened farmers. Meanwhile, they were also compelled to surrender most of their crops to the colonial authorities.

H. Abdul Hadi is a respected figure among farmers. He organized resistance by refusing to pay taxes. He also invited farmers to oppose unfair regulations. This protest developed into a resistance movement. The colonial government responded by arresting H. Abdul Hadi. The colonial government also cracked down on the farmers involved. However, this protest became one of the symbols of the farmers' struggle in Bogor against colonial exploitation.

Bogor's Role in the Independence Revolution

When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, in Bogor, there was resistance (Sudrajat, 2018). The youth of Bogor are members of various armed groups. They took part in the seizure of weapons from the Japanese army. They expelled the Japanese from the city of Bogor. One of the heroic events occurred when Bogor youth, together with the People's Security Army (TKR), fought against allied forces attempting to retake Bogor City.

In addition, Bogor became a gathering place for nationalist intellectuals and thinkers, such as Sutan Sjahrir and Mohammad Hatta. They are actors who devise political strategies to defend independence. In his memoirs, Hatta (1960) noted that Bogor played a significant role as one of the intellectual centers in the struggle for freedom.

Coup d'état in Bogor Residency 1945

At the end of 1945, after the Japanese surrendered, there was a power vacuum. A rebellion ensued. The uprising was led by Ki Narija (Sudrajat, 2018). He attempted to stage a coup against the Bogor Resident. The Bogor resident was an official representing the newly independent Indonesian government at that time.

Ki Narija was a local figure with significant influence. He carried out a coup d'état against the government of the Bogor Resident. He felt that the Bogor Resident did not represent the interests of the people. He gathered support from groups who were disappointed with the political situation at that time. With his troops, Ki Narija tried to seize control of the government, but his efforts were met with resistance from those loyal to the Republic of Indonesia.

Eventually, this rebellion failed, and Ki Narija and his followers were arrested. Although unsuccessful, this incident reflects the political tensions that occurred in Bogor and other areas. Various groups competed to fill the power vacuum after the Proclamation of Independence.

Student Protest at the Bogor Palace in 1966

In early 1966, students from Jakarta and Bogor cycled to the streets in a demonstration known as Tritura (Gie, 2011). The movement demanded the dissolution of the PKI, the reshuffling of the Dwikora Cabinet, and a reduction in prices.

The demonstration that took place around the Bogor Palace emphasized that Bogor is not only an administrative city, but also a place of political resistance. Actions that occur in Jakarta often receive support and echoes from students and activists in Bogor. This social movement made this city a significant part of the broader current of political movements in Indonesia.

Demonstration at Juanda University in May 1998

In May 1998, near Juanda University in Bogor, a large demonstration took place as part of the wave of reform at the end of the New Order era (Zon, 2004). Students and members of society took to the streets to demand change in response to the economic and political crisis that had hit Indonesia. This demonstration escalated, and clashes between students and apparat occurred. The clashes ended with the death of a police chief. This demonstration proves that Bogor is not just a

place of recreation for the political elite, but has always been a symbol of resistance against arbitrary government.

Power of Knowledge: Power and Mystification of Bogor

In the framework of Michel Foucault's (1977) thought, knowledge is a tool of power. The mystification of Bogor as a city "without worry" is part of the discourse game used by the rulers to maintain hegemony. By portraying Bogor as a neutral place and far from conflict, the government succeeded in reducing the potential for resistance and inducing a false consciousness among the community.

History shows that the image of Bogor as a peaceful city is not something inherent, but rather a construction used by the rulers to dampen potential resistance. During the New Order, this discourse was further emphasized by infrastructure development that highlighted Bogor as both a tourist city and a research hub. The narrative of a "green city" and a "city of education" continues to be popularized, while the history of Bogor's resistance is increasingly being obscured.

Michel Foucault (1977) again explained that power works not only through repression, but also through the production of knowledge and discourse. By making Bogor a "carefree" city, power creates a reality that shapes public perception, shifting the focus from socio-political conflicts to other issues. This aims to prevent the formation of critical awareness. This is not only happening at the state level, but also in the collective memory of the community. People know Bogor better as a city of rain than a city of struggle.

The mystification of Bogor as "Buitenzorg" is not only a myth that lives in colonial history, but also a legacy that continues to shape the city's economic and social policies to this day. The image of Bogor City as a city of rest causes inequality in the distribution of resources and development policies.

Socio-Economic Consequences of the Mystification of Bogor as Buitenzorg

Bogor thrives in duality. On the one hand, Bogor is a center of tourism and business. On the other hand, Bogor is a suburban area that lags in infrastructure and public services. The economic concentration in the central region and around the Bogor Palace reaffirms the colonial legacy that made the city a resting place for the elite, not an inclusive economic center.

Meanwhile, people living in suburban areas (Cisarua, Ciomas, and Leuwiliang) face difficulties in accessing education, health, and employment. Many suburban people work in the informal sector or as domestic workers in the urban elite. This reflects social inequality that dates back to the colonial era.

The image of "Buitenzorg" also influences development policies that are more oriented to the aesthetics of the city than the welfare of its inhabitants. Urban revitalization projects often focus only on tourist attractions and business centers. Development usually does not take into account the needs of people with low incomes. In addition, the high rate of urbanization in Bogor is exacerbated by policies that fail to anticipate population growth, leading to congestion and environmental problems. This shows that the myth of Bogor's tranquility does not accurately reflect the reality of its people's lives.

Deconstruction Strategy: Reclaiming Bogor as a City of Resistance

To deny this mystification, a systematic strategy based on historical consciousness and social movements is needed. Based on this research, the following concrete steps can be taken. First, history needs to be revitalized with studies that focus on social movements. Second, public spaces

must be opened as a place for discussion, art, and culture of resistance. Local communities should utilize city parks, cafes, and cultural centers as alternative spaces for activism and political engagement. Third, the community needs to form a collaboration between academics, artists, journalists, and activists. The partnership aims to formulate strategies and form critical awareness. Fourth, the community should organize a cultural festival of resistance and an exhibition showcasing the history of resistance in Bogor. Fifth, art and literature of resistance need to be created as a tool to fight against the hegemony of discourse and resist the mystification of the city "without worry". Sixth, Bogor City activists should study other cities, such as Bandung, known for its intellectual resistance; Makassar, recognized as a center of militancy; and Jakarta, recognized as the hub of political movements. By comparison, the Bogor government can learn the strategies of these cities and adapt them to the local context.

4. CONCLUSION

Based on the research described, social movements existed in Bogor from the colonial era to the post-independence period. During the colonial era (1886-1945), the issue of the movement was related to the availability of living space for farmers. In this decade, the dominant actors of the movement were peasant groups. They have a spirit of liberation and resistance to colonialism.

In the era of independence (1945-1949), the motives of social movements were based on ideology. The actors who played a dominant role in this era were the intellectual group. Following the era of military aggression (1949-1998), the issue of social movements became a significant social, economic, and political concern. Students played the roles of actors in social movements during this period. His resistance movement is sporadic, in part, and not systemic, nor is it based on a strong ideology (*pseudo-populism is prevalent*).

The theoretical implication of this study is the deconstruction of the meaning of Bogor City. "Buitenzorg" is not just a colonial project, but a movement to reclaim history and social space. By debunking the myth of the city "without worry", Bogor can become a city that is aware of the history of resistance. Bogor was able to become part of the network of resistance cities in Indonesia. The narrative must continue to be fought for so that Bogor not only becomes part of the past, but also shapes the future of Bogor as a critical and empowered city.

At the level of praxis, the researcher suggested deepening the image that needs to be built in several ways, namely through education and historical tourism of the resistance. The school curriculum must start incorporating the history of the Bogor resistance into the local education curriculum. Schools in Bogor must begin introducing the story of resistance. In addition to formal education, this introduction to history can also be done through historical tourism. Routes associated with colonial heritage can be recontextualized by recounting the events of resistance that have occurred. Through a deeper study of history and active participation in the city's narrative, Bogor was able to break away from the shadow of the "Buitenzorg" and articulate its identity as a space of resistance.

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