



## **Contestation of Religion, Politics, and Social Identity: a Historical Analysis of Ali Sadikin's Policy towards the Localisation of Kramat Tunggak in Jakarta, 1950-1999**

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### **Abstract**

This research examines the dynamics of Kramat Tunggak Localisation as part of the social structuring policy in Jakarta in 1950-1999. As Jakarta developed into a metropolitan city, prostitution emerged as a social problem that was difficult to control. Governor Ali Sadikin then took action by establishing an official localisation in Kramat Tunggak, North Jakarta. The policy aims not only to regulate the practice of illegal prostitution, but also as a surveillance effort, prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, as well as rehabilitation and resocialisation programmes for prostituted women. This research employs the historical method, which includes the stages of heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Data were obtained from various archives, newspapers, scientific papers, and literature reviews, with analysis based on Clifford Geertz's cultural interpretation approach and Michel Foucault's biopolitical theory. The research findings show that Kramat Tunggak is not only a representation of social policy, but

also a symbolic space where the state, society, and women interact in the context of power and morality. The closure of these localisations in 1999 signalled a shift in public moral discourse as conservative Islamic groups gained strength in the post-New Order era. However, the policy triggered the spread of prostitution to more hidden locations. Thus, the story of Kramat Tunggak's journey reflects the complex relationship between morality, state power, and social identity in urban spaces.

**Keywords:** *Kramat Tunggak, localisation, prostitution, Jakarta.*

### **Abstrak**

Penelitian ini mengkaji dinamika Lokalisasi Kramat Tunggak sebagai bagian dari kebijakan penataan sosial di Jakarta pada tahun 1950-1999. Dalam perkembangan Jakarta menuju kota metropolitan, prostitusi muncul sebagai salah satu masalah sosial yang sulit untuk dikendalikan. Gubernur Ali Sadikin kemudian mengambil tindakan dengan mendirikan lokalisasi resmi di Kramat Tunggak, Jakarta Utara. Kebijakan tersebut bertujuan tidak hanya untuk mengatur praktik prostitusi ilegal, tetapi juga sebagai upaya pengawasan, pencegahan penyakit menular seksual, serta program rehabilitasi dan resosialisasi bagi Wanita Tuna Susila. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah yang meliputi tahapan heuristik, kritik sumber, interpretasi, dan historiografi. Data diperoleh dari berbagai arsip, surat kabar, karya ilmiah, dan kajian pustaka, dengan analisis yang didasarkan pada pendekatan tafsir budaya dari Clifford Geertz dan teori biopolitik dari Michel Foucault. Temuan penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Kramat Tunggak bukan hanya sebagai representasi kebijakan sosial, tetapi juga menjadi ruang simbolik di mana negara, masyarakat, dan perempuan berinteraksi dalam konteks kekuasaan dan moralitas. Penutupan lokalisasi ini pada tahun 1999 menandakan pergeseran wacana moral publik seiring dengan menguatnya kelompok Islam konservatif setelah era Orde Baru. Namun, kebijakan tersebut justru memicu penyebaran prostitusi ke berbagai lokasi yang lebih tersembunyi. Dengan demikian, kisah perjalanan Kramat Tunggak mencerminkan kerumitan hubungan antara moralitas, kekuasaan negara, dan identitas sosial di dalam ruang perkotaan.

**Kata Kunci:** *Kramat Tunggak, lokalisasi, prostitusi, Jakarta.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Jakarta, as the capital city, has undergone major changes since 1949 after being re-established as the centre of government. Large-scale

development projects such as Gelora Bung Karno, the National Monument, Istiqlal Mosque, Semanggi Bridge, Sarinah, the Welcome Statue and Hotel Indonesia have become symbols of the modernity of metropolitan city development. Jakarta's rapid development has led to a dramatic increase in urbanisation, or the migration of people from rural to urban areas. Those who migrate to the city do so with the hope of improving their economic situation and quality of life. However, this was not matched by adequate job skills and job availability. This led to various social problems such as poverty, crime and prostitution, which were prevalent in public spaces in the capital (Kuntowijoyo, 2003: 63-72).

In the 1950s and 1960s, Jakarta was undergoing extensive development and urban planning. The phenomenon of prostitution became one of the social issues that concerned Governor Ali Sadikin. At that time, prostitution was widespread in various areas of Jakarta and polluted the public spaces of the capital city. To address this issue, Ali Sadikin issued a policy to move prostitution to a special area, namely Kramat Tunggak in North Jakarta, which at that time was still far from residential areas (Ramadhan K.H, 1992: 205-206). The policy was issued through Governor's Decree No. 7/1/13/70 dated 27 April 1970 concerning the localisation and resocialisation of prostitutes and the division of duties and responsibilities. Although this policy had a structured objective, its implementation elicited various responses from the public. Some considered this policy a realistic step in addressing the issue of prostitution, while others criticised it for legalising prostitution. This controversy gave rise to complex dynamics, particularly in relation to debates on public morality, state power, and the reality of prostitution. Therefore, this study attempts to trace the development of Jakarta as a metropolis and Ali Sadikin's policies, the dynamics of life in Kramat Tunggak as a localisation area, and explain the process of closing Kramat Tunggak when it was deemed no longer relevant.

## **METHODOLOGY**

To address the above issues, this study uses the historical method. The historical research method consists of four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The first stage of this study

is to collect historical sources with relevant data in the field. In the heuristic stage, the researcher collected several newspapers, archives, books, and scientific works related to this research at the Salemba National Library, the Indonesian National Archives, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Library and Archives Office, the Cikini Library, the Jatinegara Library, and the UI Library.

After collecting various sources, the second stage was to critique the sources that had been collected. In the external critique stage, the physical form of the sources obtained was examined to ensure that there was no fraud or falsification. After that, an internal critique was carried out to test the accuracy of the sources obtained, whether the sources were reliable because they were contemporary with the historical events. The next stage is interpretation, which involves analysing the meaning of the data collected to produce the historical data needed to compile the history of the Kramat Tunggak Localisation over a period of 49 years (1950-1999). The final stage of historiography is to write down the historical facts about the Kramat Tunggak Localisation over a period of 49 years in proper and correct language.

## **DISCUSSION**

### **Jakarta as a Metropolis and Ali Sadikin's Policies 1950-1970**

Jakarta, as the capital of Indonesia, underwent major changes and developed into a metropolitan city after independence. The gradual process of modernisation and urbanisation transformed the city into a dynamic economic, cultural and political centre, reflecting the spirit of a developing country with ambitions to advance and compete on a global scale. After Jakarta became the capital city again in 1949, this decision marked the beginning of a grand idea to develop Jakarta (Ranamuska C, 2017: 57-58).

In 1954, under the leadership of Mayor Soediro, the planning of the city of Jakarta began to take shape with Prof. Clifford, who was later replaced by K. A. Watts with the assistance of a team from the Department of Public Works. Mayor Soediro's main focus was the development and expansion of the Jakarta area. This effort was realised with the drafting of the Greater Jakarta Preliminary Plan in 1957, when the population reached 2.2 million people with an estimated increase to 4.5 million people in the next 20 years (Sedyawati, 1986:

85). This plan included the arrangement of residential areas, offices, recreational areas, and other facilities to prepare Jakarta for development as a metropolitan city (Fikri, 2011: 24-25). However, its implementation did not go well due to a lack of support from President Soekarno, who at that time was more focused on political ambitions and the development of large projects through the Mercusuar Policy (Farabbi, 2018: 54). The Mercusuar Policy aimed to showcase Indonesia's progress on the international stage through monumental developments such as the Gelora Bung Karno Stadium, the National Monument, Sarinah, the Hotel Indonesia, the Welcome Statue, the Istiqlal Mosque, and the Semanggi Bridge.

The development carried out at that time made Jakarta appear to be experiencing rapid progress. However, the economy was actually being hit by inflation due to the implementation of a guided economy system, which had a major impact on the welfare of the people (Wie, 2002: 377). In these uncertain circumstances, many villagers migrated to Jakarta in the hope of improving their quality of life through better-paid jobs (Temple, 1986: 84). In 1961, the population of Jakarta skyrocketed due to this wave of urbanisation. Unfortunately, many of them were unable to adapt to the urban work environment due to their limited skills and the lack of job opportunities. As a result, many were forced to take odd jobs, ranging from pedicab drivers, street vendors, and cleaners to engaging in criminal activities such as pickpocketing, and some even ended up as sex workers (Suparlan, 1984: 50). This situation then gave rise to various social problems in Jakarta, including an increase in poverty, crime, and rampant prostitution.

On 28 April 1966, President Soekarno officially appointed Ali Sadikin as Governor of the Special Capital Region of Jakarta at the State Palace (Ramadhan K.H, 1992: 18). Upon taking office, Ali Sadikin was immediately confronted with various serious problems in Jakarta, one of which was the increase in prostitution. In the 1960s, prostitution in Jakarta grew rapidly and was difficult to regulate, spreading to a number of areas such as Planet Senen, Jalan Kramat Raya, Bongkaran, Boker, and North Jakarta, which became the largest centre with a spread across nine sub-districts. In response to this situation, Ali Sadikin routinely visited places known as "Pasaran Wanita" (Women's Market) to collect data and trace the root causes of the problem, which

were mostly related to poverty. He realised that prostitution had become part of the social reality that could not be completely eradicated. However, the Jakarta Regional Government could not allow this practice to continue openly in public spaces, especially since many of the perpetrators were still underage. Therefore, enforcement measures were taken to ensure that prostitution activities were not conspicuous, while still being controllable in order to maintain order in the city.

While visiting Bangkok, Thailand, which is famous for its sex industry, Ali Sadikin observed that prostitution in that city was not carried out openly in public places. He also learned that these activities had been localised to certain areas so as not to pollute public spaces. Ali Sadikin began to consider implementing a similar system in Jakarta, with the aim of preventing the capital city from appearing dirty and unsanitary (Ramadhan K.H, 1992: 205-206). After seeing the localisation practices in Bangkok, Governor Ali Sadikin decided to regulate prostitution in Jakarta by moving it to a special area, namely Kramat Tunggak, located in North Jakarta. This effort was reinforced by a legal basis through the Governor's Decree No. 7/1/13/70 on 27 April 1970 concerning the implementation of the localisation and resocialisation of prostitutes as well as the division of duties and responsibilities, as well as North Jakarta Mayor's Decree No. 25/II/DU/1970 concerning the implementation of the localisation and resocialisation of prostitutes and the division of tasks and responsibilities, and North Jakarta Mayor's Decree No. 25/II/DU/1970 concerning the implementation of the localisation and resocialisation of prostitutes and the division of tasks and responsibilities.

### **Kramat Tunggak as a Localisation Site 1971-1997**

The policy of the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, regarding the localisation programme for prostitution elicited various responses from the community. One of the rejections was expressed by KAWI (Women's Study Institute) led by Mrs. Sjamsinoer Adnoes. According to her, this policy was a form of exploitation of women, degrading their dignity, and hindering opportunities for those who wanted to leave prostitution through rehabilitation (Ramadhan K.H, 1992: 206). KAWI proposed that the handling of prostitution should focus more on reducing the number of prostitutes by enforcing stricter local regulations

and applying clear sanctions against pimps. Criticism also came from Islamic figures, such as K.H. Jarkoni, a cleric from Jakarta, who from the outset firmly rejected the existence of localisation because he felt that prostitution was contrary to religious teachings (Pos Kota, 26 August 1998). However, Ali Sadikin argued that the localisation policy was considered the most appropriate step in dealing with the problem of prostitution in the capital. According to him, the aim of localisation was to restrict the movement of sex workers so that they could be more easily monitored, while also reducing the conspicuous practice of prostitution in public spaces in Jakarta (Ramadhan K.H, 1992: 206-207).

The process of relocating sex workers in accordance with the instructions of the Governor of DKI Jakarta began in August 1971, with their relocation from six sub-districts in North Jakarta, namely Kalibaru, Cilincing, North Koja, Pademangan, Penjagalan, and Penjaringan (Kompas, 1971). In the following year, 1972, the relocation continued from four other sub-districts in North Jakarta, namely Semper, Tugu, Lagoa, and Rawabadak, and even expanded to areas in West Jakarta such as Angke and Jelambar, as well as East Jakarta in Rawabangke (Hull, 1998: 30-31). As part of this programme, the government closed two well-known prostitution locations, Kali Jodo and Planet Senen, and then concentrated these activities in Kramat Tunggak (Team Penyusun, 1977: 126). Before becoming a red-light district, Kramat Tunggak was a remote area of swamps, rice fields and gardens, far from residential areas. However, it was a strategic location because it was close to Tanjung Priok Port, a busy economic hub.

Based on the North Jakarta Mayor's decree No. 27/SKPTS/II-4/DU/72, the Kramat Tunggak red-light district covered an area of approximately 20 hectares. The buildings used for prostitution are categorised into two types, namely the TU-5 type, which measures 8 x 15 metres, and the TU-86 type, which measures 10 x 20 metres (Krisna, 1996: 80). The government only provides vacant land of a certain size, while the managers are responsible for building their businesses in accordance with the size and type of land. Land ownership status is regulated in the form of leases, which require permit renewals every four years (Hull, 1998: 28). Each manager has their own way of managing and utilising the available land. Some places even provide



additional facilities such as bars, dance areas, and singers or music groups to entertain visitors. This entertainment aims to create a lively atmosphere and attract more customers.

In addition to buildings used for prostitution, the Kramat Tunggak area also has various supporting facilities intended to meet religious, administrative, and security needs. Across from the red-light district, there is the At-Taubah Mosque, which serves as a place for religious education for foster children. Right next to it is the Rehabilitation Centre, which serves as an administrative centre as well as a place for skills training and health checks. To maintain order, the government has established two security posts around the red-light district (Fikri, 2011: 40). In its management, the government receives assistance from the city-level Resocialisation Team, which involves various agencies, such as the Social Services Agency, Health Agency, Religious Office, and other technical agencies. The Social Services Agency is responsible for designing and implementing comprehensive resocialisation programmes, while the Health Agency focuses on the physical rehabilitation of residents through cooperation with the Tugu Community Health Centre as the main health service provider. Meanwhile, the Religious Affairs Office is responsible for the mental and spiritual guidance of the foster children, as part of efforts to provide comprehensive education for the residents of the localisation (Fikri, 2011: 40-41).

When Kramat Tunggak began operating as a localisation area in 1971, there were 300 foster children and 76 carers who managed various activities at the site. Towards the end of the 1980s to the early 1990s, this location experienced significant growth, with more than 2,000 foster children and around 230 caregivers actively involved in localisation activities (Hull, 1998: 27). A study conducted by Yuyu Krisna revealed that most of the sex workers in Kramat Tunggak were quite young. Of this number, 51.06% or 902 people were between the ages of 21 and 24, while 26.31% or 389 people were between the ages of 15 and 20, indicating the participation of teenagers and even minors in prostitution. The educational level of the residents is also quite low, with 65.40% or 1,156 people unable to read and write, 31.32% or 554 people only having completed primary school, 3.06% or 53 people having attended junior high school, and only 0.22% or 4 people having



successfully completed senior high school. This data shows that low education and economic pressure are the main factors that drive them into prostitution (Krisna, 1996: 81).

Considering the vulnerable social, economic, and educational backgrounds of sex workers, the government felt it was important to provide various services to support their welfare in Kramat Tunggak. One of the main focuses was health services, given the high risk of sexually transmitted diseases in the area. Health checks, such as blood and urine tests, are carried out routinely every month as a preventive measure, both for sex workers and their customers. The implementation of this service is the responsibility of the Tugu Community Health Centre under the supervision of the North Jakarta Health Office. In addition, the government also encourages the use of condoms as an additional protective measure to reduce the risk of sexually transmitted diseases (Hull, 1998: 41-42).

In daily activities, activities in the Kramat Tunggak red-light district usually begin around five in the afternoon, when the women start to dress up and wear eye-catching clothes to attract customers. Towards evening, the atmosphere in this area becomes increasingly lively, filled with visitors who come to the brothel to enjoy entertainment, such as drinking alcohol, dancing, and having sex (Sedyaningsih, 2010: 46-48). Customers come from various social backgrounds, ranging from port workers, local residents, people who are just passing through, to government employees. To obtain services, customers are charged a certain fee based on the duration and quality of the services provided. In 1995, the fee for *short-time* services was set at Rp15,000, while overnight services were charged at Rp40,000. Over time, these prices increased to Rp20,000 for *short-time* services and Rp50,000 for overnight services (Sedyaningsih, 2010: 51).

Economic dependence on localised activities was not only felt by sex workers, but also by the surrounding community who utilised its existence for their livelihoods. Over time, economic activity around Kramat Tunggak has grown. Many stalls selling food such as meatballs, ketoprak, fried foods, and various other dishes have become commonplace in the area. In addition, there are also stalls selling condoms, alcoholic beverages, and illegal items such as drugs. Every night, when the red-light district closes, the complex gates are filled with

motorcycle taxis and taxis waiting to take visitors home. Various informal economic actors also depend on the existence of this red-light district, from credit dealers offering goods, cosmetics sellers, street vendors, to shoe shiners who serve residents and visitors (Krisna, 1996: 47-48). However, this situation also has negative impacts, one of which is the growth of illegal settlements that are spreading around the area. This situation reveals weaknesses in the planning of the Kramat Tunggak red-light district, which did not sufficiently consider the social and economic dynamics of the surrounding community (Fikri, 2011: 47-48).

Despite its diverse social impacts, the existence of this localisation area was actually designed as an effort by the government to address the issue of prostitution. The government sought to reduce and gradually eliminate prostitution by establishing Kramat Tunggak as a temporary location for women involved in prostitution to undergo rehabilitation and resocialisation. This rehabilitation programme was aimed at restoring the physical and mental health of the children in care so that they would be ready to return to society with a better life (Hull, 1998: 36). In addition to focusing on physical recovery, mental guidance is also important, one of which is through weekly religious activities aimed at bringing the children closer to God and making them aware that their work is contrary to religious principles. However, physical and mental guidance alone is not enough to prepare them to return to society. Therefore, the government also provides various types of job skills training, such as cosmetology, sewing, cooking, laundry, and training to become domestic helpers, so that the children have skills that can help them live more independently after leaving prostitution.

After undergoing rehabilitation and resocialisation, women involved in prostitution who wish to leave that world are empowered through a referral programme to return to a better and more dignified life. This programme provides various options, such as marriage, returning to their families, finding employment, starting their own businesses, participating in transmigration programmes, or returning to their hometowns (Metro-J, 1997: 8). Between 1971 and 1978, a total of 1,610 foster children were successfully placed through these various pathways in an effort to achieve independence after leaving the localised environment.

### **Closure of the Kramat Tunggak Red-light District 1992-1999**

After more than twenty years of operation, the existence of the Kramat Tunggak red-light district began to cause discomfort among the community as it was considered to have deviated from its original purpose. Entering the 1980s, this area underwent significant changes with an increase in the number of residents who were economically dependent on the activities of the red-light district. Many of them built homes around the complex, making the area increasingly crowded and close to residential areas (Sutrisno, 2003: 4). This situation prompted the community to demand that the Kramat Tunggak red-light district be moved to another location.

The pressure to relocate the Kramat Tunggak red-light district came from various parties. One of them came from a cleric named H. Yakub, who emphasised the importance of relocation because the existence of this place was considered to have disrupted the community's life, especially because its location was getting closer to residential areas (Dwi, 10 September 1992). Strong support for this idea was also expressed by H. Tjokropranolo, Chairman of the Indonesian Ulema Working Unit (Satkar) and former Governor of DKI Jakarta. According to him, Kramat Tunggak, which was originally located in a remote location, has now become integrated with the residential environment, causing unrest among the community (Pos Kota, 20 October 1992).

One of the community leaders in North Jakarta, La Ode Djeni Hasmar, in his interview with *Sinar Pagi*, expressed his support for the plan to relocate the Kramat Tunggak red-light district. According to him, this step is very important to maintain the mental and moral development of the younger generation (Sinar Pagi, 12 October 1992). This issue not only attracted the attention of the local community, but also that of members of the DKI Jakarta Regional Representative Council. Among them, there were two different opinions: some urged the DKI Jakarta Regional Government to immediately close the location, while others preferred to relocate it to another place (Neraca, 19 October 1992). Similar concerns were also felt by students, including those from SMUN 73 North Jakarta, who also expressed their desire for the Kramat Tunggak prostitution site to be moved further away from residential areas (Berita Yudha, 1996: 2).

Responding to various demands from the community, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government planned to relocate the Kramat Tunggak red-light district in early 1997 by offering two alternative locations, namely Tidung Kecil Island or Lancang Kecil Island, located in the Thousand Islands District. The relocation was planned to be carried out no later than 1997 (Berita Yudha, 1996: 2). However, by February of that year, the plan had not yet been realised and had in fact been postponed. One of the main factors causing this was the status of the Thousand Islands as a tourist destination frequently visited by both domestic and international tourists, raising concerns that the existence of a red-light district in this location could give the area a negative image. From the era of Governor Ali Sadikin to Surjadi, the plan to close Kramat Tunggak was never realised due to complex social issues, considering that this area had become a source of livelihood for many people (Berita Yudha, 1997: 2).

During Governor Sutiyoso's leadership, a bold step was taken to permanently close the Kramat Tunggak red-light district. He understood that the women working there did not do so entirely of their own free will, but were driven by difficult economic conditions and a lack of skills to enter the formal job sector. Thus, Sutiyoso was determined to provide a solution by offering better job opportunities for them after the closure was enforced (MerdekaDotCom, <https://youtu.be/5yS8n3oBcvc?si=-cWLjTuy9J0qY-Sn>, 2022).

As a first step in closing the Kramat Tunggak red-light district, the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government held a socialisation event for the residents and the surrounding community. This socialisation event took place from 31 August to 15 September 1998 and included an explanation of the closure plan, the resolution of issues related to prostitutes, and encouragement for prostitutes and pimps to switch to other, better jobs. After the socialisation was completed, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Sutiyoso, issued Decree No. 6485/1998 on 15 September 1998, which officially stipulated the closure of the Teratai Harapan Women's Social Centre in Kramat Tunggak, North Jakarta. The closure was planned to last for one year, with a deadline of 8 December 1999.

After the closure decision was issued, the government began preparing various measures to support this transition. Some of the

efforts made included providing skills training, moral and spiritual guidance, and business capital assistance so that the residents of the red-light district could become independent outside of prostitution. In an interview on the *MerdekaDotCom* *YouTUBE* channel, the Governor of DKI Jakarta, Sutiyoso, explained the closure of the Kramat Tunggak red-light district. He explained that the government distributed questionnaires to the prostitutes to gauge their interest in new types of work. The results of this questionnaire were then used as a reference in designing a job training programme, the costs of which were fully covered by the government. In addition, the government also provided mental and spiritual guidance through religious lectures by Kyai Zainuddin MZ, a well-known preacher with an engaging delivery style who is able to touch the hearts of many people (MerdekaDotCom, <https://youtu.be/5yS8n3oBcvc?si=-cWLjTuy9J0qY-Sn>, 2022).

Through a number of guidance programmes implemented by the government, around 450 prostitutes decided to leave the Kramat Tunggak red-light district (Pos Kota, 1999: 15). For those who wanted to start a new business, the government provided support through the Urban Community Improvement Programme (PPMK) by providing business capital loans of between 3 and 5 million rupiah. On the other hand, some sex workers chose to return to their hometowns and start a new life there. On 8 December 1999 at 10:40 a.m. Western Indonesian Time, Jakarta Governor Sutiyoso officially closed the Kramat Tunggak red-light district, also known as the Teratai Harapan Women's Social Centre. The closing ceremony was marked by emotions, with tears from the sex workers and pimps who were still at the location (Pos Kota, 1999: 20).

After the Kramat Tunggak red-light district was officially closed, problems related to prostitution were still not completely resolved. The closure actually had a domino effect, causing prostitution to spread to other areas that were more difficult to monitor. One clear impact was the emergence of Warung Ginseng, which operated not far from the Kramat Tunggak location (Pos Kota, 13 November 1999). In addition, the Kebayoran Baru area is now filled with commercial sex workers, whose numbers are far greater than when Kramat Tunggak was still in operation. Wargono, a local resident, stated that when the red-light district was still open, there were not as many women of the night in the

area as there are now (Pos Kota, 13 December 1999). A similar phenomenon can be seen at Tanjung Priok Port, where some sex workers pretend to be masseuses on docked ships, but actually offer prostitution services (Pos Kota, 13 December 1999). Around Pela-Pela, near Tanjung Priok Station, former residents of Kramat Tunggak built makeshift huts as places to serve clients (Pos Kota, 30 December 1999). A similar situation also arose on Jalan Enggano, right in front of Post VIII of Tanjung Priok Port, where dimly lit stalls became gathering places for sex workers (Pos Kota, 13 January 2000). Ironically, prostitution in the former Kramat Tunggak red-light district still continues. Some sex workers still serve customers by picking them up from outside the complex and taking them to brothels that still exist in the area (Pos Kota, 16 January 2000).

The closure of the Kramat Tunggak red-light district was an important moment in efforts to tackle prostitution in Jakarta. This action was taken to eliminate immoral practices from the capital and return commercial sex workers to a better life. However, the facts on the ground show that this policy did not completely solve the existing problems. Without a comprehensive follow-up plan, the closure actually encouraged the spread of prostitution to other places that were more hidden and difficult to monitor.

## **CONCLUSION**

The dynamics in Kramat Tunggak show that the issue of prostitution in Jakarta is not merely a social issue, but also an arena of contestation between public morality, state power, and the formation of the city's social identity. Governor Ali Sadikin's pragmatic policy of regulating rather than eliminating prostitution shows the state's attempt to control social reality without causing chaos in public spaces. However, when it was officially closed in 1999 under Sutiyoso's leadership, the decision served more as a symbol of political and moral change after the New Order than as a comprehensive solution. In fact, prostitution did not disappear, but moved to other locations that were more hidden and difficult to monitor. From the situation in Kramat Tunggak, it is clear that social policy in urban environments must be understood as a space of competing interests, where morality, power, and urban identity interact in shaping the development of Jakarta.



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