

URBAN POLITICS IN SURABAYA

(The Role of Majelis Ulama Indonesia in East Java to supporting Revitalization Kampong Dolly)

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ABSTRACT

urban areas are part of the area that has been studied since 1976 along with the debate over urban regime theory in Europe. That is used to view cities as areas that carry out the function of social services and people's welfare. Surabaya is the second largest city after Jakarta which is indicated in 2015 will be the fifth most populous city in the world. As a mega-urban area, various social problems are emerging as the city develops. One of them is a social problem that comes from urban poverty that prostitution. The issues in this study relate to: How is urban political policy in Surabaya in Tri Rismaharini's leadership in the case of Dolly Village Revitalization. with using urban regime theory as an analytical tools. The method used in this research is qualitative, which take the object of study in Dolly Village Surabaya. Data taken using interview technique and analyzed in the form of descriptive qualitative. The results obtained in this study illustrates that the Surabaya city government responded to the policy of East Java Provincial Government through the execution closing Prostitution with the Dolly kampong revitalization program to realize prostitution-free East Java. Many interests play in the Dolly village revitalization program, from academics, bureaucrats, officials, and mass organizations and economic actors. The conclusion obtained in this study is that the government has implemented policies that have the impact of social environment changes in society, especially in the prostitution dolly environment to realize the vision and mission of East Java as a city free of prostitution. Although prostitution is indeed difficult to eradicate, it shows that efforts to compare the city in accordance with its vision and mission have been pursued by various conflicts and conflicts therein.

Keywords—Revitalization Kampong Dolly; Prostitution; urban regime

INTRODUCTION

Urban and urban areas are part of the area that has been studied since 1976 along with the debate over urban regime theory in Europe that is used to view cities as areas that carry out the function of social services and people's welfare. The urban regime approach was also used by Fainstein to explain the circle of power in the administration and in 1980 the approach was more likely to be "urban political economy". In 1983 urban studies progressed with the publication of views of Lexion's "The City as Growth Machine". Population growth in major cities of the world is increasing in number as reported by the UN in 1984 entitled "Prospect of World Urbanization" which states that in 2000 there will be 23 metropolitan cities with populations over 10 million people where Jakarta is among the most populous cities to-11. Meanwhile, according to United Nations data of 2014, currently about 54% of the total population of the earth resides in urban areas. This number is expected to continue to rise to about 66% by 2050. Of these, Asian countries will be home to about 53% of the world's urban population. Asian countries are still relatively lower than in other countries, such as Africa, and some big cities in Asian countries such as Tokyo, New Delhi, Shanghai and Mumbai will emerge as megacities. The other cities, such as Manila and Jakarta, are also in the process of growing into a gigantic city.

The city has an important role for the community, especially in meeting human needs, among others in terms of housing, employment, social interaction and recreation. Humans themselves have a basic need to improve the quality of life, both physical (physical) and spiritual (psychological). To create a quality life balance for the lives of urban and rural communities, it is necessary to maintain the functions of the environment and social functions in a quality manner. To be able to maintain the balance requires a comprehensive planning of urban spatial layout. Urban issues became an important topic by the year 2000 to address the current urban developments, particularly with regard to urban management. In the world's largest metropolitan congress held in Melbourne Australia discussed six major issues facing major cities in the world. These problems include point-pont:

1. Uncontrolled urban population growth.
2. People's housing and physical and social facilities are increasingly inadequate.
3. The declining environment and health.
4. Our economy and employment are increasingly unbalanced.
5. Increased traffic and transportation.
6. Incompetent urban organizations and management.

Cities in developing countries like those in the Asia-Pacific region show similar symptoms. The growth of cities in the Asia-Pacific region is faster in line with the flow of globalization. The building of Empire state building and

World Trade Center in New York, Sears Tower in Chicago, Petronas twin towers in Kuala Lumpur show rapid urban growth. Currently, Indonesia has a very important opportunity in preparing the agenda of the world about urban areas. The strategic role is shown by the position of Indonesia as a member of the Bureau of the United Nations in charge of preparing Habitat 3 together with Germany, Ecuador, Chile, France, Senegal, Slovakia and the United Arab Emirates. The goal of habitat formation 3 is to develop sustainable urban development strategies, evaluate what has been done in relation to poverty alleviation issues, improved quality of life and new challenges in the world's urban so-called new urban agenda.

Indonesia, as one of the developing countries in Asia and the fourth most populous country in the world, is facing the urban challenges resulting from population growth. In 2010, Indonesia's urban population has reached about 49% of the total population. The proportion of Indonesia's urban population has exceeded the average proportion of urban population in Southeast Asia and even the Asian continent.

Surabaya is the second largest city after Jakarta, indicated in 2015 will be the fifth most populous city in the world with a population of 21.2 million people below Tokyo. As a mega-urban area, the various social problems that have arisen along with the development of the city have been out of the administrative boundaries of the urban areas, especially the Gerbangkertasusila region. Many communities outside administrative areas work in Surabaya, as well as engaging in economic activities and living as citizens of Surabaya as wild migrants and entering the informal sector. The presence of residents from the suburbs of Surabaya became an important point. Their arrival will create problems in urban areas if the city government of Surabaya can not meet the needs of public services for them. The current urban development has raised its own problems, including social problems derived from urban poverty. The impact of urban poverty has led to prostitution that has developed into a business, such as in Tokyo known as "Baisun Takusi". In Jakarta, the same thing is done with a closed pattern when there is a big event under the pretext of accompanying and accompanying guests. The proliferation of prostitution businesses has also prompted the French parliament to pass a law punishing users of commercial sex worker services (fines) with a fine of up to 3,750 euros, equivalent to Rp56.4 million.

Urban Regime Theory

In 1976, there was a debate in Europe about the urban regime theory that had dominated neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian as an approach to seeing the city as part of an area performing the function of social service and welfare. In contrast to the "city as growth machine" view of Lexion's urban study in the

United States, published by Harvey Molotch's in 1983, at which time Castells carried out a study of radicalism in urban studies in Europe and to date construction of grand theory. The concept of the urban regime has been used by Fainstein to explain the circle of power that exists in administration within the American government. And in the end both approaches since 1980 more on "urban political economy".

In general Bryan T. Downes describes several issues related to urban areas, among others: 1) physical problems; related to the conditions of environmental quality (air, pollution), the condition of physical facilities (schools, industrial premises, roads, street lighting, parks, recreation, etc. 2) Human problems, related to humans, such as the linkage between physical and psychological conditions, attitudes or behaviors, values and beliefs - such as mental to generate income, prejudice, alienated feeling, helplessness, or relative deprivation. Second, it relates to the relationship between place and individual. Unlike the case by James Q. Wilson: ... that has knowledge about and hence our ability to solve physical problems far outdistances our willingness to deal with them. Just the opposite appears to be true of human problems - public opinion appear more willing to solve these problems.in new cities grow and age and its environment or physical facilities deteriorate, redevelopment decision becomes necessary.

Urban politics as described by Bryan T. Downs in his book *Politics, Change and Urban Crisis* will be related to several things, among others: First, the political authority possessed by the city, how the fragmentation of authority is established and how the ability of the city in solving its problems and the power that run the government, who governs, how the government runs and the function of bureaucracy. Second, the role of the urban elite and the mass trust of the elite and the government in solving urban problems. Third, the control that comes from the community as a form of active participation in achieving common goals. To understand the urban context, it is necessary first to understand politics and political change as the cause of actions and activities carried out by the government.

Politics is a process of authoritively deciding who gets what, when, and how. How are public policies made and implemented? What are consequences this process for urban problem solving? Knowledge of who benefits and why do not they solve their problems? In the conceptualization of politics as a process, more political view not only as a result of a policy, but relates to the relationship between different variables of the process of distribution of authority and power, privileges possessed by the elite and the beliefs and behavior of society. In this conceptualization of political process, the outcomes of political process and power, and prevailing elite and mass beliefs or attitudes.

The political process that occurs will result in political change itself, there are several factors that can be used to look at political changes, among others: (1) the general political characteristics of society, (2) rules and procedures applied by the government and local political structures, (3) the political behavior of the community, (4) the political culture of society, (5) the distribution of authority and power in society, (6) patterns of interaction between citizens, interest groups and political leaders and (7) The distribution of power and authority is determined by the ability of the government and the bureaucracy in carrying out its duties.

According to Megan K. Blake, in his book entitled "Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulating Urban Politics in a Global" explains that looking at urban issues should also look at the function of local government and the resolution of urban issues and how the government can build coalitions, consolidate, implement hegemony and transformation. Urban places are governed by focusing on how coalition emerge, consolidate, become hegemonic, and then devolve or transform.

Research Methods

To obtain information in accordance with the problems that have been formulated in the research and research objectives, required a comprehensive research design in the form of scientific research methods. Some of the things that need to be explained in this research relate to: perspective and approach used in research, social setting, research location, data collection technique, presentation of data:

Research Approach; This research seeks to collect information relating to From the description of the above concepts and meanings clarify that this research will be directed to the form of descriptive or detailed story of the informant to be able to describe the process of value negotiation and the conflicts that occur within it and its influence on urban politics clearly and systematically. Therefore, this research will use qualitative approach. This study also considers the subjective role of each informant in obtaining information. In other words the "emic" side is more highlighted by describing the information obtained based on the statement, mindset and interpretation of the informant so that hidden data can be obtained.

Social settings and location of research: Research takes the object of Surabaya as one of the developing cities and has been awarded in urban spatial planning.
Data collection technique: Information related to urban development program conducted by Surabaya city government, political contestation, process and conflict can be obtained through in-depth interview technique with research subject. With such a pattern is expected to reveal that related to the processes

that occur in the existing city structuring program in the area of Surabaya. Informants are given the freedom to express their experiences and views according to what is expected to answer the research problem. In addition to interviews, researchers also use observation and documentation in the fulfillment of required data.

Technique Determination of Informants: In this study, researchers used techniques of determining informants with purposive techniques. By determining informants with certain characteristics needed in this study. **Data analysis technique:** The data are analyzed qualitatively with explanative descriptive model which is intended to be more effective and intense to see interaction, strategy of Surabaya city government. Therefore, in this research also try to see the process and how power relation and conflict of interest happen. From data collection techniques, the data obtained from the field is copied and narrated using a more systematic field report form without affecting the original data obtained from the field so it can easily describe the situation and condition when the data was obtained in the field by stating the name of the informant, the place, interview time.

Civil Society

Civil Society Civil society as a concept that has not been long known in Indonesia. historically the existence of civil society is firmly rooted in the intellectual and social journey of Western Europe as a form of rejection of all kinds of authoritarianism and totalitarianism. Analytically the concept of civil society is rooted in a building of thought that will become a model of human and society. The basic concept that is basic is the human ability that can be used to achieve the common good naturally. This view was developed by medieval and post-Renaissance thinkers. Like John Locke's idea of a social contract, Adam Smith on the role of the market economy, and Adam Ferguson explaining about civilization.

In the view of Hendro Prasetyo and Alimun Hanif, the Civil Society is seen not merely as a social entity consisting of a group of people, but a manifestation of a widely known communal system in traditional societies. Therefore, according to Hendro Prasetyo and Alimun Hanif, in this context civil society has characteristics also owned by individuals related to autonomy, volunteerism and balance. Civil society is not only described in the context of building opposition, civil society is more an effort to synthesize individual and state interests in public spaces that are able to guarantee the interests of the individual and order of public life. Civil society is built to control the power of political society and economic society, described in the context of parties, parliaments and business corporations. Civil society is built as an effort to balance the power and communication process and distribution of authority in society which can be seen with the emergence of voluntary,

independent, rational and participative organizations, both in discourse and praxis on all matters relating to society.

The role of civil society is not only in the context of power balancing, but is seen as an attempt to create a critical force arising from self-sufficiency, shared consciousness of society. With that view, Hendro Prasetyo and Alimun Hanif asserted that civil society is a prerequisite for freedom. This view underlies Hendro Prasetyo and Alimun Hanif to see the growth of civil society in Indonesia. The idea of the emergence of civil society became significant according to Hendro and Alimun Hanif because of changes in political system and social change in the process of political and state life.

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In a civil society that has begun to strengthen, religion can play a role for the exchange of ideas and ideas and able to promote civil society and social capital. In this respect there are several important religious roles: first, religion with messages conveyed in a religious context can have a powerful impact on individuals to change their behavior. Second, Religion can promote good ideas with others and be able to have formal structures for regular meetings and exchange of ideas. Third, the combination of both so that in a unique position of religion is able to influence the public.

The Role MUI to supporting Revitalization Kampong dolly

Surabaya is the second largest city after Jakarta, indicated in 2015 will be the fifth most populous city in the world with a population of 21.2 million people below Tokyo. As a mega-urban area, the various social problems that have arisen along with the development of the city have been out of the administrative boundaries of the urban areas, especially the Gerbangkertasusila region. Many communities outside administrative areas work in Surabaya, as well as engaging in economic activities and living as citizens of Surabaya as wild migrants and entering the informal sector. The presence of residents from the suburbs of Surabaya became an important point. Their arrival will create problems in urban areas if the city government of Surabaya can not meet the needs of public services for them.

Surabaya is a multi ethnic city like ethnic Malays, Chinese, Indian, Arab, Madurese, Sundanese, Batak, Borneo, Bali, Sulawesi which blend with native Surabaya and form the pluralism of culture and characteristic of Surabaya city. The majority of Surabaya people are native Surabaya people and Madurese

who have the characteristic of easy to get along with a very open speech style. Surabaya city that experienced rapid development. With a population growth rate of 1.2% a year gives implications for the huge housing needs. The enactment of regional autonomy policy provides an opportunity for local governments, including the Surabaya City Government to build their own territories and communities independently financially and politically and to foster the sensitivity of political elites, development planners and existing agencies to be more sensitive to social issues at the local, and immediately handle it in order to improve the social welfare of the community. The importance of the role of political elites, related agencies, legislatures, employers, mass organizations and communities in the arrangement of the city becomes an important thing to be studied.

The election of Tri Rismaharini-Bambang DH in 2010 through direct election with 358,187 votes or 38.53% has placed Tri Rismaharini as an influential woman in Surabaya. The position of the Mayor of Surabaya has provided space for breakthroughs in its programs such as: reducing billboards, greening the Surabaya park through green park or green open spaces, closing Dolly localization, refusing toll road projects, arranging zoos. Two interesting programs to examine in view of Tri Rismaharini's leadership are; Dolly Village Revitalization Program and green open space program.

The Dolly case is getting public and media attention. The success of the Dolly closing program through Dolly Village Revitalization implemented in 2014 has been long awaited since the issuance of Perda Kotamadya Level II Number 7 Year 1999. Risma through Dolly Village Revitalization program has successfully closed the location of prostitution. The program becomes a model of prostitution area that can describe Surabaya city government policy in placing urban face. Dolly has more complicated issues, both in economic, social and urban culture. Reorganizing Dolly region into a creative village is a smart breakthrough in addressing urban issues. Positioning humanity more civilized and humane. Prostitution is a social problem that is difficult to overcome. The emergence of prostitution is caused by economic difficulties, lack of employment, as well as the "lazy" character factor that is the main reason for the continuing life of prostitution. This is the main reason for Commercial Sex Workers and the beneficiaries who have built a huge industry in it.

Dolly Localization is located in Putat Jaya Sub-district, Sawahan Sub-district, Surabaya Municipality. Precisely, this prostitution complex is located on Jalan Kupang Gunung Timur V Raya. If Tunjungan Street is considered as the center or heart of Surabaya City. Dolly is located not far from downtown Surabaya. The development of prostitution activities in Surabaya today is very alarming. Efforts to prosecute also has long been done by the City Government of Surabaya. Prohibition of prostitution itself has been listed in

the Regional Regulation Number 7 Year 1999 issued by the Government of Municipality of the Level II Region of Surabaya and set on May 11, 1999 is a regulation on the prohibition of using the building or place for immoral acts and the binding to perform immoral acts in Surabaya. Surabaya City Government has also attempted to stop such activities through the Decree of Mayor of Surabaya Number 74 Year 2001. However, it has not succeeded. Finally the Surabaya City Government plans to close the localization on June 18, 2014 before entering Ramadan.

Dolly closing process gets opposition from PDI-P that is a political party that carries Tri Rismaharini as the Mayor of Surabaya was elected. According to Vice Mayor Wisnu sakti Buana, that the rejection of Dolly's closure is not her personal interest but the concept of PDIP in viewing the social realities

of prostitution in Dolly; "We never have plans to close Dolly, there is only limitation of prostitutes and restrictions on prostitution activities PDIP as a party based on wong cilik is very aware, economically tens of thousands of citizens have been very dependent on activity of localization of Dolly. That fact has been going on for decades since Dolly was around 1966. "

With the advocacy team of Dolly Local Workers Front (FPL) who considered that the closure violated Law No.2 of 2004 About Local Government: "Closing Dolly's localization should not be done before the economy of the citizens is well-established. So the municipal government should pay attention to the law first if it does not want to have legal problems later on ". It does not make sense if the existence of localization triggers crime. It was just the city government that made a bad opinion about Dolly. The closure of Dolly also resulted in resistance from prostitutes supported by groups that were economically dependent on localization among others; thugs, gremos and merchants.

Dolly closing efforts received a response from the commission D-DPRD Surabaya. Commission D has not been invited to discuss issues related to the closure of Dolly. DPRD advises to pay attention to step after closing. So the closure of Dolly is expected not to cause new problems as it has happened at the closing of localization sememi with new mode (karaoke house, homestay).

On the other hand, support for the closing of Dolly is given by Islamic organizations, Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI). MUI East Java Province since 10 years ago has support government to close the prostitution. MUI on December 24, 2009 give recommendation to the government on this issue. MUI get positive response from the Government of East Java Province. Governor Dr. H. Soekarwo then issued Circular letter No. 460/16474/031/2010 dated 30 November 2010 regarding Prostitution and

Woman Trafficking Prevention and Countermeasures addressed to the Bupati and the mayors of East Java and Circular Letter no. 460/15612/031/2011 dated October 20, 2011 on controlling Localization in East Java and this program is also supported the Minister of Social RI and Tri Rismaharini

Starting from prostitution in Dupak Bangunsari is a pilot project and the closer of localization program driven by MUI East Java Province whose implementation is by IDAL MUI East Java with full support from Provincial Government. Through an integrated and holistic program since 2010, the prostitution in Dupak Bangunsari was finally closed. IDIAL MUI Jatim is an institution under the MUI of East Java Province which operally handles programs to closed prostitution.

Since December 12, 2012, Surabaya City Government executed the policy of closing localization in Surabata, Start from Dupak Bangunsari, Tambak Asri or Kremil. Then in 2013 following Klakah Rejo and Sememi. Others with Dolly-Distance-Putat Jaya as the biggest localization. For the closer of Dolly-Putat Jaya, the Government is more cautious. The result has been several times there WTS are willing to repatriate. Handling Dolly is a lot of lead to the pros and cons. The problem is not only related to economic issues, but extends to politics and government. How not in Dolly and Distance there are dozens of homestays. They have lived side by side in five RW, in Putat Jaya Village, Sawahan District for decades. The local residents also get the economic effect of the prostitution activity. Naturally if later, local citizens strongly reject the closer policy. Almost most of the Dolly workers from the homestead owners trongly resist the closing. They even strongly refuse and oppose the government if it still closes.

Dolly workers also formed the Front Workers Localization (FPL) also rejected all forms of compensation cover in the form of business capital and economic skills training provided by the government. The government through the Ministry of Sosisl RI has budgeted Rp. 8 billion for WTS handling, Rp 1.5 billion from East Java Provincial Government for prostitute, and Rp. 16 Billion from Surabaya City Government to redeem localization homestead. The support of GUIB, IDIAL MUI East Java and other supporting elements, government of Surabaya did the closing of Dolly. On the day of June 18, 2014, a number of locals along with the local community around the area held a demonstration refusing to close down in the Dolly. This action can not be separated because of the support of a number of NGOs. Interestingly there is a female Muslim activist who participated in the action refused to close. On the same day in front of Grahadi held Tabligh Akbar event support plan closing Gang Dolly, Distance and Putat Jaya.

although the Islamic Da'wah Forum of Indonesia (FDII) of East Java has requested that various mass organizations not be allowed to interfere with the

closure of the Dolly alley. This was conveyed by the chairman of the East Java FDII, H. Alibadri: "Leave it all to the PP and the police. As the authorities, those with the obligation to close. " Dolly's localization closing declaration took place at the Islamic Center Building in Surabaya at 19.00 WIB and attended by many people, among others: a number of scholars, Social Minister Salim Segaf Al-Jufri, East Java Governor Soekarwo, and Tri Rismaharani Surabaya Mayor. There are 107 citizens of Putat Jaya who signed the declaration of closing Dolly prostitution center.

The declaration contains four main points: First, the citizens agree on Putat Jaya territory free of prostitution. Second, over the other profession in the field that is in accordance with the guidance of religion and regulations. Third, support the firm action against traffickers or traffickers. Fourth, ready to build Putat Jaya area become safer, progressing and better with government guidance.

Although Dolly has been declared closed, the oldest existing localization in Surabaya remains open as usual. Only, the tight guard was done to avoid the officers. In the main hall of Dolly, among the 56 homesteads, only four of them are recorded, namely: Wisma Sumber Rejeki, Wisma Lancar Jaya, and two homestays that are mentioned in Dolly, Wisma Barbara and Wisma New Barbara. After closing Dolly's localization, the Municipal Government seeks to manage affected people, those eligible are channeled to city government agencies as employees. As for the prostitutes who received stimulus assistance Rp.5.050.000, - based on newspaper sources, amounted to 164 people, and pimp 29 people. This number is only a fraction of the total PSKs of 1,449 people and 311 pimps. CSWs who get help are returned to their places of origin.

Conclusion

The conclusion obtained in this study is that the government has implemented policies that have the impact of social environment changes in society, especially in the prostitution dolly environment to realize the vision and mission of East Java as a city free of prostitution. MUI as Islam organization contribute to closed prostitution in east java. Although prostitution is indeed difficult to eradicate, it shows that efforts to compare the city in accordance with its vision and mission have been pursued by various conflicts and conflicts therein.

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