

Efforts to Control Social Sex Deviations, A Case Study in Surabaya

Lusi Andriyani, Chusnul Mar'iyah

*Faculty of Social and Political Science, University of Indonesia, Indonesia,
lusilamong@gmail.com*

Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the urban politics in Indonesia (the role in revitalizing Kampong Dolly, in Surabaya, Indonesia). This study is based on in-depth interviews with the Government (Mayor and DPRD or Assembly at Regional and Mayor) Board. The qualitative descriptive method is used to analyze and describe the Government role in initiating the revitalization program. The results of this research are as follows: First, Surabaya government to curb prostitution in Dolly. Second, Surabaya government to fulfill the vision and mission of the provincial government of East Java. This study shows that civil society plays a key role in ensuring regional autonomy; it does so, inter alia, by mobilizing support for governmental programs. In the field of urban political studies, cities are regarded as areas in which social services and welfare are most effectively administered despite competing interests. Surabaya government to implement the Dolly Village Revitalization program. The program was implemented under the leadership of the Mayor of Surabaya, Tri Rismaharini.

Keywords: *Civil society participation, urban politics, regional autonomy*

1. Introduction

Urban regime theories, especially Euro-centric theories, typically regard cities as areas in which social services and welfare are most effectively administered. The concept of urban regime was also used by Fainstein to explain the exercise and accrual of power in government. By 1980, he tended to focus on "urban political economy." An urban study based on Lexion's view and entitled "The City as Growth Machine" was published in 1983 (Harding, 1976).

DPRD has an important function in three matters, namely; legislation (relating to the formation of regulations), Budget (Authority in local budgets), supervision (authority to control the implementation of local regulations and other regulations and regional policies). By looking at these three functions, the running of the government will be reflected in the relationship established between the DPRD and the Mayor. Keith Boulding argues that power can take the form of intimidation, mutually beneficial productive exchanges and power as the creation of obligations, loyalty and commitment. In the case of closing the dolly, intimidation and exchange can be seen. The exchanges that were carried out still gave rise to conflicts at the lower level because they were not considered to be profitable or productive.

2. Development of urban studies

According to the United Nations' 1984 report entitled "World Urbanization Prospects," the population in the world's major cities had increased considerably. The report also stated that, by the year 2000, there would be as many as 23 metropolitan cities in the world, with a combined population of over 10 million. Jakarta's population density is currently the 11th highest among metropolitan cities. In addition, according to data released by the United Nations in 2014, about 54% of the world's population lives in urban areas. This number is expected to rise to around 66% by 2050. More interestingly, Asian countries are likely to have as much as 53% of the world's urban population. Major Asian cities such as

Tokyo, New Delhi, Shanghai, and Mumbai are likely to emerge as big cities. According to the research team at Gajah Mada University, which focuses on city planning, cities such as Manila and Jakarta are also very likely to grow into gigantic cities.

Cities tend to sustain communities; they are built to address human needs such as, housing, employment, social interaction, and recreation. Improving quality of life—both physical (physical) and spiritual (psychological)—is a basic human need. In order to ensure balance between urban and rural communities, it is necessary to preserve the environment and perform social functions effectively. It also requires comprehensive urban spatial planning. Urban management and urban development have been accorded importance since the 2000s. At the world's largest metropolitan congress held in Melbourne, Australia, the following were identified as the most pressing urban issues (Herlianto, 1997):

1. Uncontrolled urban population growth
2. Inadequate housing and other physical and social facilities
3. Deterioration of the environment and human health
4. Unstable economy and growing unemployment
5. Traffic and transportation-related problems
6. Incompetent urban organization and management

Cities in developing countries, especially countries in Asia Pacific, also face these problems. Cities in this region are growing faster as a result of globalization. Landmarks such as the Empire State Building and the World Trade Center in New York, the Sears Tower in Chicago, and the Petronas Twin Towers in Kuala Lumpur exemplify rapid urban growth. Indonesia is currently a member of the Habitat III, a United Nations bureau that focuses on sustainable housing and development. Other key members include Germany, Ecuador, Chile, France, Senegal, Slovakia, and the United Arab Emirates. Habitat III focuses on developing and implementing sustainable urban development strategies. It also evaluates the efficacy of poverty alleviation measures and seeks to improve quality of life in urban spaces. Its affiliation with Habitat III implies that Indonesia has a very important role to play in shaping the discourse about the urban.

Indonesia is one of the fastest developing countries in Asia and the fourth most populated country in the world. Its urban population continues to grow at a significant rate. In 2010, the urban population in Indonesia was about 49% of its total population. This is higher than the average urban-rural population ratio in Southeast Asia. In fact, it is higher than the average urban-rural population ratio of Asia.

Surabaya is the second largest city in Indonesia (Jakarta is the largest). As of 2015, it was on its way to become the fifth most populous city in the world (currently Tokyo). Its current population is 21.2 million. A mega-urban area, Surabaya has faced a number of social problems as a result of urban development. The city has begun to expand beyond its administrative boundaries, and the Surabaya “Extended” Metropolitan Area is called “Gerbangkertasusila.” A large number of people from beyond the city’s administrative area work in Surabaya; they also live in Surabaya as illegal migrants and enter the informal sector. Residents of the suburbs of Surabaya also pose a potential problem. The Surabaya government may not be able to administer public services effectively if residents from the suburbs move to the city. Urban development has also led to poverty, which, in turn, has led to the precipitation of other social issues. For instance, urban poverty has led to organized prostitution, which is called “Baisun Takusi” in Surabaya. In Jakarta, prostitution is more concealed. The French Parliament has passed laws to punish those who approach commercial sex workers; they are fined up to 3,750 Euros, which is the equivalent of Rp56.4 million.

3. Urban regime theory

In 1976, the theory of urban regimes was widely debated in Europe. The neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian approaches to urban regimes had dominated the continent until then. As per these approaches, cities are areas in which social services and welfare are most effectively administered. In contrast to the "city as a growth engine" view of Lexion's business studies in the United States, published by Harvey Molotch in 1983, and at the time Castells undertook the study of radicalism in urban studies in Europe and to date, the development of the great theory. Fainstein used the urban regime concept to explain the exercise and accrual of power in American government. Since 1980, however, the concept of "urban political economy" has been used by urban studies scholars (British Journal Vol.29 No4, 1999).

Bryan T. Downes highlights the following as issues that typically affect urban areas:

- 1) Physical problems: problems related to the environment (air, pollution, etc) and physical infrastructure (schools, industrial premises, roads, street lighting, parks, recreation, etc)
- 2) Human problems: problems related to the interplay between physical and psychological conditions, as well as values and beliefs (this category subsumes feelings such as prejudice, isolation, and helplessness; it also pertains to problems related to income generation). In sum, Downes focuses on the relationship between place and individual. Unlike the case by James Q. Wilson:... who has knowledge about and hence our ability to solve physical problems far exceeds our desire to deal with them. Quite the opposite seems to be true of human problems - public opinion seems more willing to solve this problem.... in new and growing cities and the environment or physical facilities deteriorate, rebuilding decisions become necessary (Bryan, 1976).

In "Politics, Change and Urban Crisis," Downes argues that urban politics pertains to the following aspects. First, it pertains to a city's political authority; in particular, it pertains to the fragmentation of authority and the ways in which this fragmentation is established. It also pertains to the ability of a city to solve problems. In short, urban politics pertains to urban governance and bureaucracy. Second, urban politics pertains to the role of the urban elite and the masses' capacity to trust the elite and the government to solve urban problems. Third, it pertains to the formation and strengthening of community ties. In other words, it pertains to achieving common goals through active participation. To understand the context of a city, it is necessary to understand politics and political change as factors that drive and shape governmental action.

Politics is the authoritative process of determining who gets what, when, and how. Therefore, it is pertinent to examine the ways in which public policies are made and implemented. It is equally relevant to examine the consequences of the urban problem-solving process. To do so is to identify the beneficiaries of this process, as well as the parties who do not benefit from this process. To regard politics as a process is to regard political views as more than merely the result of a policy. It is to regard political views as an aspect related to the relationship between the different variables involved in distributing authority and power. To examine the distribution of authority and power is to identify the privileges of the elite and the beliefs and behaviors of the masses (Bryan, 1976).

In other words, politics is the act of bringing about political change. Several factors determine the extent and efficacy of political change: (1) the general political characteristics of society, (2) the rules and procedures applied by the government and local political structures, (5) the distribution of authority and power in society, and (6) patterns of interaction between citizens, interest groups, and political leaders. It is worth noting that the distribution of power and authority is determined by the ability of the government and bureaucracy to perform their duties effectively (Bryan, 1976). In "Rebuilding Urban Regulation Theory: Arranging Urban Politics in the Global," Megan K. Blake explains that in

order to address urban issues, one should also focus on the functions of the local government and identify the ways in which it can build coalitions, consolidate power, and gain hegemony (Megan Blake, Sage Publication, 1997).

4. Citizen participation:

Being a complex concept, participation has different definitions. As per Brager, citizen participation is the result and manifestation of education and increased competence, whereas Armitage regards participation as the processes through which citizens respond to public policy. Westergaard regards participation as a form of public control over public services; it pertains to increased public attention to social issues, and it also refers to the act of influencing and controlling stakeholders, who in turn control and influence the distribution of resources (for example, the World Bank). Brager, Specht, and Torczyner, define participation as a means to educate citizens and improve their political competence. It is a vehicle for influencing decisions that affect the lives of citizens and an avenue for transferring political power. However, it can also involve the co-opting of dissent; it can be a mechanism for ensuring the receptivity, sensitivity, and even accountability of social services to the consumers. According to Armitage, citizen participation is also the process by which citizens act in response to public concerns, voice their opinions about the decisions that affect them, and take responsibility for changes in their community. Pran Manga and Wendy Muckle suggest that citizen participation is an effort to counter the general public's traditional sense of powerlessness in relation to influencing the government's decisions: "people often feel that health and social services are beyond their control because the decisions are made outside of their community by unknown bureaucrats and technocrats." According to Westergaard, participation refers to the "collective efforts to increase and exercise control over resources and institutions on the part of groups and movements of the hitherto excluded from control". The World Bank 's Learning Group on Participatory Development defines participation as a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives, as well as the decisions and resources that affect these initiatives (Effective Community: Chapter 02.pdf, accessed November 11, 2016.)

To study community or citizen participation is to identify the factors that drive participation, to identify the set of people who participate, and examine the ways in which participation is generated. The participation of individuals and groups can be understood through cultural explanations (focusing on values, norms, and other rules) and cognitive explanations (focusing on cognitive abilities). It can also be understood by obtaining knowledge about the organization in which, or on behalf of which, they participate. Structural explanations, which focus on possible resource alternatives and the benefits obtained through participation, can also be used to study citizen participation.

In the context of urban political studies, the participation of communities and groups is an important aspect of the political process in urban areas. Implementing community-based control is one way to ensure participation. By doing so, it is possible to negate the unilateral decision-making capacity of the elite. In other words, the elite will not be able to make decisions without the community's involvement and control. In the US, for example, both public and private institutions are regulated by such controls. In order for community-based control to work, the public must understand that patterns of politics affect the implementation and determine the efficacy of policies. Furthermore, a diverse group of US citizens developed a merit-based administrative pattern in order to increase bureaucratic effectiveness and strengthen institutions to ward against racism. Typically, public services are monopolized by bureaucracies with special expertise in their fields. In these cases, the political process is

determined by the government's response. For instance, in New York City, power resides in its large-scale autonomous bureaucracies. Furthermore, citizens' deference to such values as the separation of politics and administration, promotion by merit, and professional administrative decision-making, has strengthened the bureaucracy's autonomy and reinforced institutional racism. (Effective Community: Chapter 02.pdf, accessed November 11, 2016.)

Controls undertaken against governments based on non-economic and other general factors also influence the political process. Controls are done more on building an environmental system (kinship, group) and more emphasis on citizen participation. Seeking control involves complex political acts such as, bargaining, forming coalitions, direct confrontation, and protests (Bryan, 1976).

5. Research methodology:

Research Approach: This study aims to collect information regarding civil society's participation in order to encourage city governments to perform their functions efficiently and justly. This research aims to present a detailed and descriptive account of the informants' interpretations of the processes involved in negotiations related to values and conflicts. The study also seeks to throw light on the ways in which such negotiations influence urban politics. This research is primarily based on a qualitative approach.

Setting and Research Location: This research focuses on the city of Surabaya, especially since it is one of the fastest developing cities in Indonesia, and it is also known for its urban spatial planning.

Data Collection: Information related to the urban development programs undertaken the Surabaya City Government and political contestation and conflicts in the city have been obtained through in-depth interviews with informants. In addition, data was also collected through observation and documentation.

Choosing Informants: Only informants who fulfilled certain criteria were chosen for this study. The criteria are discussed at a later stage in this paper.

Data Analysis: The data has been analyzed qualitatively. The data has been presented in a descriptive manner in order to best represent the relationship between the Surabaya City Government and its citizens. Therefore, this study also throws light on the political processes undertaken by the government and the ways in which power relations and conflicts of interest materialize. The data has been in a systematic manner, much like a field report. Care has been taken to accurately reflect the informants' views.

6. Prostitution in Kampong Dolly:

Dolly localization is mainly practiced in the subdistrict of Putat Jaya, Sawahan District, Surabaya City. In fact, this prostitution complex is located on Jalan Kupang Gunung Timur V Raya. The Tunjungan Road is considered the heart of Surabaya City, and Dolly is located not far away from downtown Surabaya.

Table 1. Data of Dolly And Distance Localization 2015 Putat Jaya Subdistrict Sawahan Surabaya.

NO	RW	PSK	MUCIKARI	LINMAS	WISMA			
					2011	2012	2013	2014
1	III	335	41	16	81	76	69	69
2	VI	104	16	6	23	21	21	21
3	X	172	49	42	74	72	70	70
4	XI	340	91	35	126	120	104	104
5	XII	498	11	14	24	23	22	20
Jumlah		1.449	208	114	328	312	286	284

Source: Data obtained from Sawahan Surabaya subdistrict.

Prostitution in Surabaya has proliferated at a very worrying rate. The Surabaya City Government has sought to prosecute sex workers, as well as those who seek their services. In fact, prostitution is prohibited as per Regional Regulation No. 7 of 1999, issued by the City Government of the Second Level Region of Surabaya. The prohibition was enforced on May 11, 1999, and it forbids the use of buildings or other places for immoral acts. The Surabaya City Government has also attempted to curb prostitution by issuing decrees; in particular, Decree Number 74, Year 2001, issued by the Mayor of Surabaya, was aimed at curbing prostitution in the city. The decree, however, was not effective. The Surabaya City Government officially called for the phasing out of the localization in Dolly on June 18, 2014, just before Ramadan.

Dolly received a lot of media attention during this period. The Dolly Village Revitalization program was implemented in 2014. In fact, the revitalization had been expected since the issuance of Perda Kotamadya Level II Number 7 Year 1999. More recently, Mayor Risma shut down the localization in Dolly and implemented the Dolly Village Revitalization program. The revitalization program became a model program and exemplified the Surabaya City Government's stance on urban policy. Dolly, however, represents a number of complicated economic and social problems that are characteristic of urban cultures. Nonetheless, reshaping Dolly as a village is an important breakthrough. Prostitution is primarily a social problem, and it has always been difficult to phase out or overcome this problem. People mostly take to prostitution due to economic difficulties and lack of employment. Some argue that people take to prostitution because they are rather "lazy" to pursue other livelihoods.

The efforts to phase out the localization in Dolly was opposed by PDI-P, the political party to which Tri Rismaharini is currently affiliated. According to Deputy Mayor Wisnu Sakti Buana, the opposition was not driven by personal interest, but the party's concern for social problems: "We have never had a plan to close Dolly, there is only a limit of prostitutes and prohibitions on prostitution.... The PDIP as a wong cong-based party is well aware, tens of thousands of economic citizens have been heavily dependent on localization activities Dolly That fact has been going on for decades since Dolly was around 1966. "

The Dolly Local Workers Front (FPL), an advocacy group, argued that the closure of the localization in Dolly violated Law No.2 of 2004 on Regional Government: "Determination of Dolly localization should not be done before the economy is established, so the city government should pay attention to the law first if not have legal issues later." The

localization in Dolly did not pave the way for other crimes. The city government’s stance was partly responsible for Dolly’s bad reputation. Sex workers protested the closure of the localization; they were also supported by other groups that were economically dependent on the localization. The closure of the localization drew a response from the D-DPRD Commission in Surabaya. Commission D, however, has not been invited to discuss matters related to the closure of the localization in Dolly. The DPRD suggested that care had to be taken to ensure that the closure did not pave the way for new problems, as was the case with the closure of the localization in Sememi.

Table 2.
 Mapping of Interest and Conflict
 Kampong Dolly Revitalization.

No	Position	Actor	Statement
1	Supporting	58 Islamic Organizations incorporated in the Unity Islamic Movement (GUIB) East Java	In support of the local government’s effort to shut down prostitution venues
2	Supporting	Febria Rachmanita and Kadinkes Surabaya	Over 300 people in the Dolly complex have been infected with HIV. Dolly should be closed.
3	Against	The Front of Localization Workers (FPL): PSK, Pimps, local communities (street hawkers, laundry workers, becak drivers)	We reject the closure and all forms of discrimination and intimidation directed toward Dolly's localization.
4	Against	The Chairman of PDI-P, Surabaya and Vice Mayor of Surabaya, Wisnu Sakti Buana	The rejection of the vice is the official position of PDI-P in viewing the social reality of prostitution in Dolly.
5	Neutral	Komnas HAM	Komnas HAM only wanted to ensure that no human rights were violated during the closure initiated by the city government. Komnas HAM also sought to facilitate dialog.

7. Power Interplay Penutupan Dolly

The closing of Dolly was first proposed by the Surabaya City MUI in 2009 during a working meeting of the Indonesian MUI assembly. The proposal is motivated by the phenomenon of prostitution that exists localized that is not resolved. Localization and prostitution have bad implications as a means of extraordinary crime and exploitation of women. This condition conveyed by the Surabaya City MUI was finally conveyed by Kiai Abdul Somad as a recommendation to the Governor of East Java to think about closing the localization. The closure of localization support has been started since the Surabaya City MUI gave the recommendation, precisely in 2009. Kiai Abdul Somad reviewed and studied the phenomenon of prostitution that was localized and provided recommendations to the government of East Java Province. The recommendation explains that prostitution is an extraordinary means of crime coupled with the exploitation of women. It is time for the provincial government to consider the closure process in 2009 (MUI interview, 14 July 2017).

The proposal did not stop only at giving recommendations to the East Java Governor, but also an intensive approach was taken. In 2010 when there was a joint opening activity at the Puskodikal, when Kiai Abdul Somad gave a speech and lecture before breaking the fast, he tried again to lobby the East Java Governor Soekarwo or more commonly referred to as Pakde Karwo to be able to close the localization program. According to Kiai Abdul Somad, it is very ironic that East Java has the slogan "East Java Makmur is moral" has the largest localization in Southeast Asia. From the lecture, finally there was a dialogue between Kiai Abdul Somad and Pakde Karwo. The dialogue process has encouraged Pakde Karwo to approve the closure of localization and make it one of the East Java programs. The proposal was followed up by East Java Governor Pakde Karwo by issuing circular No. 460/16474/031/2010 concerning Prevention and Control of Prostitution and Trafficking in Women (MUI interview, 14 July 2017).

In practice, efforts to close the localization in East Java received a different reaction. Based on the data in the Surabaya City MUI proposal to close the localization in accordance with the East Java Governor's circular, there was a rejection from Surabaya Mayor Mrs. Tri Rismaharini. Surabaya Mayor Tri Rismaharini initially refused to close Dolly. But in 2011 Mr. Karwo issued another circular about human trafficking (MUI interview in Surabaya, July 14, 2017).

Surabaya City Government rejects the closure of prostitution more because of localization and prostitution as an economic source or an extraordinary market phenomenon and financial movements for the surrounding community that are worth billions of rupiah. In localization there are various kinds of jobs that generate profits. From laundry clothes, hawkers, small shops, salon workers, pedicab drivers and security guards. Localization is also seen as a means to localize the spread of HIV / AIDS. The thinking by the Surabaya City MUI is materialistic thinking (interview of the Surabaya City MUI, July 14, 2017).

The rejection of the closure of localization was also carried out by the PDI-P of Surabaya City. The PDI-P of the city of Surabaya made a rejection because before the closure there needed to be discussions and special studies relating to social effects, economic effects, psychological effects and sociological effects. With this study, it is expected to reduce the negative effects on the community in the localization and prostitution environment. Because there are still many people who depend on Dolly as a source of livelihood (Interview with Surabaya City DPRD Commission D, 22 January 2018).

According to Commission D, efforts to close localization must be seen from the viewpoint of the needs of the community as people's representatives. The people must feel protected by the programs carried out by the city government. With this program the people are expected to survive and be able to solve their own problems and will not return to the

place of localization. The closure program of localization is not merely "staging" to no avail. This means that the program is only used for the sake of a moment without any results that can be felt by the surrounding community (Interview with Commission D of Surabaya City DPRD, January 22, 2018).

The process of closing Dolly's localization received serious attention from the Surabaya City DPRD. It is not enough to discuss Dolly's closing. Maximum of two times a week this discussion was discussed at the Commission D meeting in Surabaya City DPRD. Demonstrations to refuse closing the dolly almost every day were carried out by people who refused to close the dolly. In one year, the Surabaya City Council received more demonstrations. The frequency of demonstrations within one month can be 2-3 times a demonstration. This made the Surabaya City DPRD have more energy to receive demonstration representatives than to discuss the special and more intensive dolly closure program (Interview with Surabaya City DPRD Commission D, 22 January 2018).

In addition to economic problems as a basis for refusing to close dolly, the D-commission, especially from PDI-P, illustrates that with the closure of localization, commercial sex workers will move up the class. This means that commercial sex workers (CSWs) who used to be in localization sites, are now spreading. In fact they have entered into apartments that have a "one gate system". Their entry into the apartment reinforces their position in the class. And the city government will find it difficult to monitor the spread of drugs and HIV / AIDS. (Interview with Commission D of Surabaya City DPRD, January 22, 2018).

The process in the Surabaya City DPRD, especially in Commission D to close the Dolly, was very tough. On average, the parties in the commission D support the closing of Dolly, except PDIP. The differing views of the PDIP are not a matter of agreeing or disagreeing, but the Surabaya City PDIP is more considering the economic viability of the surrounding communities whose lives depend on the existence of the localization of dolly (Interview with Commission D of Surabaya City DPRD, 22 January 2018). The Chairman of the Surabaya City PDI-P DPC asked the Surabaya City Government to review the closing time until the local residents were completely ready. The request has also been conveyed by representatives of PDI-P in commission D.

PDI-P assesses that the residents have not fully accepted the concept of recovery offered by the Surabaya City Government after the closing of Dolly Gang. For this reason, it is hoped that the city government will more intensively meet with local residents and formulate the best concepts that are mutually beneficial. According to the chairman of the Surabaya City DPC-PDIP, Wisnu Sakti Buana as well as the deputy mayor of Surabaya was of the view that if only giving severance to commercial sex workers (PSK) and also pimps, was not the right solution. The responsibility of the City Government is to ensure the sustainability of its citizens' income (Interview with Commission D of Surabaya City DPRD, 22 January 2018). According to Wisnu Sakti Pancabuna, Dolly's closure, which did not see the economic sustainability of the residents, would certainly be ensured that there would be a lot of covert prostitution, in the form of boarding houses, adult karaoke, massage parlors, and so on, which would harm the City Government.

The rejection of Dolly's closure was not only demonstrated by the chairman of the Surabaya City PDI-P DPC, but was also conveyed by Surabaya City DPRD members. The closure of prostitution localization which is considered the biggest in Southeast Asia according to the view of the Surabaya City DPRD is too forced. This was conveyed by Chairman of Commission A of Surabaya DPRD Tri Didik Adion (<https://regional.kompas.com>, May 6, 2014). The Chairman of Commission A of the Surabaya City DPRD requested that the City Government consider the impact of Dolly's closure. It is feared that commercial sex workers and pimps will open practices elsewhere.

In addition to these reasons, Commission A also considers affected people, especially those who depend on Dolly's income.

The same statement was conveyed by the Chairman of the Golkar Party Faction of the Surabaya DPRD, Blegur Prijanggono. The Chairman of the Golkar Faction said that the closure of prostitution localization would lead to illegal entertainment houses so that the spread of the HIV / AIDS virus would be uncontrolled. It is possible that commercial sex workers who previously operated at Dolly would practice in massage parlors, karaoke houses, salons, spas, and other places. For this reason, Commission A asks the Surabaya City Government to prepare its facilities and infrastructure before it closes, which is intended for residents who depend on Dolly's income. Dolly's closure cannot be done without thinking of future impacts.

The position of the Surabaya Regional House of Representatives (DPRD) before approaching closure has not taken a firm stand to respond to the realization of the closure of the Dolly-Distance localization. This was conveyed by the Chair of the Surabaya DPRD People's Welfare Commission, Baktiono, conveying that Dolly's closing declaration which will be held on June 18, 2014 has not received a firm response from the Surabaya City DPRD (Nasional.Tempo.co, accessed 15 April 2018). This condition is due to Surabaya City DPRD having called the city government several times but did not get a response. The summons aims to clarify the program that will be carried out by the City Government after closing Dolly to ensure economic sustainability for residents who will be affected by the closure of Dolly. As a legislative body it is not entirely against the government, but it is hoped that the government should be willing to listen to the wishes of the citizens.

On the other hand the DPRD agrees that localization is closed by considering the impacts caused and not to generate other impacts. With the closure of localization, the government will later find it difficult to control health and provide coaching and training to commercial sex workers. In the opinion carried out by the Surabaya City DPRD in the Dolly localization nearing the closing on June 17, 2014, information was obtained that the residents had never been consulted by the Surabaya City Government. The community also requested a blueprint or a feasibility study for the closure of Dolly, but the City Government did not provide it to residents (Nasional.Tempo.co, accessed 15 April 2018).

The Chairman of the Surabaya City DPRD People's Welfare Commission also considered that the city government had not yet realized the plans promised in the localization. The conditions in the Kremil localization, Dupak Bangunsari, and Tambakasri become one of the illustration that the program that was launched was only promised without any realization. Differences in views are also evidenced by the absence of the Chairman of the Commission for the Welfare of the Surabaya City DPRD in the declaration of closing the Dolly localization.

The attitude of the city government that was not optimal in communicating with the DPRD-Kota Surabaya caused an uneasy process of hearing conducted between the DPRD-Kota and the affected residents in Dolly, this was conveyed by the Coordinator of the Localization Workers Front (FPL), who acknowledged that the meeting with the Surabaya City Council did not get definitive results. The relevant Regional Apparatus Work Unit Leaders who are not present at any time invited by the Surabaya DPRD prove that the City Government and the Surabaya City DPRD cannot collaborate well. So that board members cannot provide input to the City Government. This condition illustrates that the position of the Surabaya City DPRD as a representative of the citizens of Surabaya did not get a place in the Surabaya City Government.

But in the end the debate about the issue of closing the Dolly was handed over to the Surabaya city government as the executor. Surabaya City PDI-P as the bearer of the Surabaya Mayor no longer provides explanations supporting or not supporting the Surabaya

Mayor's program. In the view of DPRD members from PDI-P that as long as the program is good, it will be our joint responsibility until the city government of Surabaya can provide guarantees and certainty to city residents to get a decent life (Interview with Commission D of Surabaya City DPRD, 22 January 2018) .

After the closure of Dolly's localization conducted by the Surabaya City Government, the Surabaya City Council did not know of its development. Based on data in the Surabaya City DPRD ignorance about the development of Dolly after the closure because the City Government did not explain to the Surabaya City DPRD. The hearing conducted by the Surabaya City DPRD which was held several times was never attended by representatives of the Surabaya City Government. This was also conveyed by Masduki Toha from the National Awakening Party and at the same time as a Member of the Surabaya City People's Welfare Commission;

Surabaya City DPRD commission member D Masduki Toha said that the Surabaya City DPRD in the closing of Dolly and Distance was not consulted. The closure of the Bangunsari localization, Krembangan, Klakah Rejo Surabaya City DPRD was spoken to. This was stated at a hearing with the community and affected Dolly residents on Tuesday, June 10, 2014 (<https://m.tempo.co/read/news> June 16, 2014). Member of Commission D from the Prosperous Justice Party Fatkur Rohman said that commission D actually did not debate the closure of localization, but in commission D there were differences of opinion in the closing process (<http://m.tempo.co/read/news/2014/06/10>) For the substance that Dolly's localization had to be closed was clear and did not get any opposition.

Surabaya City DPRD through commission D which oversees the Dolly issue, has invited all the Heads of the Regional Work Units (SKPD) involved such as; The Social Service, the Community Empowerment Agency, the City Development Planning Agency and the City Government Program section with the Dolly closure process, but only the Head of the Tourism Office was present, with other SKPDs represented. As for the people present from Jarak and Dolly, represented by the heads of RW 11 and RW 12 Putat Jaya Kelurahan and the Independent Youth Community (KOPI), Localization Workers Front (FPL), and the association of merchants around the localization. The meeting wanted an explanation from the Head of the Social Service, but the head of the SKPD who was expected to attend could not come. This resulted in the planned meeting being postponed. In the process of closing the dolly itself, it was felt by the community that there had been no socialization conducted by the City Government. So that the people affected have no clear fate in looking for income.

8. Conclusion:

The MUI and the GBUI encouraged the government to implement strong policies against prostitution. The MUI, in particular, initiated the efforts to shut down prostitution centers in East Java. In addition, it is important for the citizens of Surabaya to actively participate in urban governance and politics in order to ensure the city's development and the fulfillment of its mission.

References

- [1] Andranovich GD (1993) *Doing Urban Research*, applied social research series, Sage Publication.
- [2] Budiardjo M (1984) *Aneka Pemikiran tentang Kuasa dan Wibawa*, Jakarta:Sinar harapan
- [3] Castells M (1987) *City, Class and Power*, London:The Mac Milland Press
- [4] Cullingworth JB (1973) *Problems of an Urban Society*, Volume 2: The Social Content of Planning, University of Birmingham, Tahun.

- [5] Downes B T (1976) *Politics, Change, and The Urban Crisis*, North Scituate:Duxbury Press.
- [6] Denzin NK (2009) *Handbook of qualitative research*, Jakarta:Pustaka Pelajar
- [7] Herlianto U (1997) *Pembangunan dan Kerusakan KotaBandung*, PT Alumni
- [8] Heywood A (2013) *Politik*, Jakarta:Pustaka Pelajar
- [9] Le Gates RT (2011) *The City Reader*, Canada:Routledge.
- [10] Poloma MM (1994) *Sosiologi Kontemporer*, Jakarta:raja Grafindo Persada.
- [11] Ritzer G (2007) *Teori Sosial Modern*, Jakarta:Prenada Media
- [12] Prasetyo H and Alimun H (2002) *Islam dan Civil Society: Pandangan Muslim Indonesia*, Jakarta:Gramedia Pustaka
- [13] Kacung Marijan, *Ilmu Politik Dalam Paradigma Abad 21*, Jakarta, Prenada Media Group, 2013.
- [14] Allan D (2012) Konstalasi Politik Kota Dalam Kebijakan Reklame di Surabaya, *Jurnal Politik Muda*, Vol. 1 No. 1 Oktober-Desember.
- [15] Akhmad R (2010) Sketsa Elit dan Fragmen Ekonomi Politik Kota, *Jurnal Sosiologi Dilema*, ISSN: 0215-9635, Vol. 25 No. 2 Tahun.
- [16] Harding A (1999) North American Urban Political Economy, *Urban Theory and British Research*, *British Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 29, No. 4, pp. 673-698.
- [17] Amin A and Graham S (1997) The Ordinary City, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 22, No. 4, pp. 411-429. AbdouMaliq S (2015) The Urban Poor and Their Ambivalent Exceptionalities Some Notes from Jakarta, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 56, No. S11, pp. S15-S23,
- [18] Horan C and Jonas AEG (1998) Governing Massachusetts: Uneven Development and Politics in Metropolitan Boston, *Economic Geography*, Vol. 74, pp.83-95.
- [19] Viantari D and Hudalah D, *Globalisasi dan Politik Perkotaan dalam Suburbanisasi di Kawasan Metropolitan Jabodetabek*, *Jurnal Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota SAPPK*.
- [20] Gibbs DC, Jonas AEG, Reimer S, and Spooner DJ (2001) Governance, Institutional Capacity and Partnerships in Local Economic Development: Theoretical Issues and Empirical Evidence from the Humber Sub-Region, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 103-119.
- [21] Imbroscio DL and Baker (1996) Chapters 9-11 in Chicago stand in contrast, for they demonstrate the limits of progressive reform efforts, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 885-887.
- [22] Shipps D (2003) Pulling Together: Civic Capacity and Urban School Reform, *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 841-878.
- [23] Stoker G (1998) Theory and Urban Politics, *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, Vol. 19, No. 2, pp. 119-129.
- [24] Huey LP (2003) Race, Power, and Political Emergence in Memphis, *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 274-275.
- [25] Amarasuriya H and Spencer J (2015) “With That, Discipline Will Also Come to Them” The Politics of the Urban Poor in Postwar Colombo, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 56, No. S11, pp. S66-S75.
- [26] Handinoto, *Kebijakan Politik dan Ekonomi Pemerintah Kolonial Belanda Yang Berpengaruh Pada Morfologi (Bentuk dan Struktur) Beberapa Kota di Jawa*, Jurusan Teknik Arsitektur, Fakultas Teknik Sipil dan Perencanaan - Universitas Kristen

- Petra <http://puslit.petra.ac.id/~puslit/journals/>, DIMENSI TEKNIK ARSITEKTUR Vol. 32, No. 1, Juli 2004: 19 – 27.
- [27] Haryanto, Elit Politik Lokal Dalam Perubahan Sistem Politik, *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik*, Volume 13, Nomor 2, November 2009 (131-148), ISSN 1410-4946.
- [28] Ward KG (2001) The Re-Interpretation of Urban Politics: Three Authors, Four Papers and the 'Shibboleth of Regulation Theory', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 127-133.
- [29] Delaney KJ and Eckstein R (2007) Urban Power Structures and Publicly Financed Stadiums, *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 331-353.
- [30] Ford LR, A Model of Indonesian City Structure, *Geographical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 4, pp. 374-396.
- [31] Lewis AC (1957) Social Conflict and Theory of Social Change, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol.8, No.3, pp. 197-207.
- [32] Blake MK (1999) Reconstructing Urban Regime Theory: Regulating Urban Politics in a Global, *Economic Geography*, Vol. 75, No. 4, pp. 419-420.
- [33] Ramsay M (1996) *Community, Culture and Economic Development: The Social Roots of Local Action*, Albany: State University of New York Press 163p.
- [34] Stoker G (1996) The American Political Science Review, *American Political Science Association*, Vol. 90, No. 4, pp. 920-921.
- [35] Rhee N, (2000) The Social Construction of Reality, Review, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 25, No. 3, pp. 398-400.
- [36] Rulli Pratiwi Setiawan, Penggusuran Pemukiman Liar di Stren Kali Jagir: Sebuah Tinjauan dari Sisi Hukum dan Humanisme, disampaikan dalam seminar nasional perumahan, pemukiman dalam pembangunan kota tahun 2010.
- [37] Rizali Shobirin Azandi, Konflik Kepentingan PT.KAI dengan Pemerintah Kota Dalam Kebijakan Pembangunan Jalan Layang Pasar Kembang Surabaya, *Jurnal Politik Muda*, Vol. 2 No.1 Januari-Maret 2012.
- [38] Keil R, (1998) Globalization Makes States: Perspectives of Local Governance in the Age of the World City, *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 616-646.
- [39] Shenjing H and Desheng X (2014) Identity Building and Communal Resistance against Landgrabs in Wukan Village, China, *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 55, No. S9, pp. S126-S137.
- [40] Aminah S, Konflik dan Kontestasi Penataan Ruang Kota Surabaya, Lab Sosio, Pusat Kajian Sosiologi FISIP-UI, September 2015.
- [41] Clark TD, Who Rules Šiauliai? A Case Study of an Emerging Urban Regime, *Slavic Review*, Vol. 56, No. 1, pp. 101-122.
- [42] Swanstrom T, Semisovereign Cities: The Politics of Urban Development, *Polity*, Vol. 21, No. 1, pp. 83-110.
- [43] Carter T, et al. (2009) Beyond the urban gradient: barriers and opportunities for timely studies of urbanization effects on aquatic ecosystems, *Journal of the North American Benthological Society*, Vol. 28, No. 4, pp. 1038-1050.
- [44] Pengajuan izin IMB dan Reklame Surabaya, <http://news.detik.com/berita-jawa-timur>, Selasa, 06 September 2016.
- [45] Dicky Dwi Ananta, Perjuangan kelas menengah reklamih ha katas kota, <http://indoprogess.com/2014/03>, 15 Maret 2014

- [46] Berdardus Djonoputro, *Agenda Baru Perkotaan Indonesia?*, Kompas, Rabu 11 Mei 2016.
- [47] Perundang-undangan:
- [48] Keputusan Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah Kota Surabaya Nomor: 68 Tahun 2014 Tentang Persetujuan Terhadap program Pembentukan Peraturan Daerah Kota Surabaya Tahun 2015
- [49] UU No 26 Tahun 2007 Tentang Penataan Ruang
- [50] Perda Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Surabaya No.7 Tahun 1999 Tentang Larangan Menggunakan Bangunan atau tempat untuk perbuatan asusila serta pemikatan untuk melakukan perbuatan asusila di Surabaya.
- [51] Chusnul (1998) Mar'iyah (disertasi), *Urban Political conflict in Australia: The Redevelopmen of inner Sydney*, Department of Governments the University of Sydney.
- [52] Heri Solehudin (Disertasi), *Kebijakan Politik Perumahan di Perkotaan: Studi KAsus Pembangunan Superblok Oleh Pemerintah dan Swasta Berdasarkan Peraturan Daerah No. 1 Tahun 1991 Tentang Rumah Susun di Daerah Khusus Ibukota Jakarta (2006-2013)*.
- [53] 10 Fakta yang belum terungkap tentang walikota Surabaya DR.(H.C) IR.Tri Rismaharini, <http://beritasepuluh.com/2015/10/19/10-fakta-yang-belum-terungkap-tentang-walikota-surabaya>, 19 Oktober 2015, diakses pada 12 Pebruari 2016.
- [54] Peraturan Daerah Kotamadya Tingkat II Surabaya, Nomor 7 tahun 1999 Tentang: Larangan Menggunakan Bangunan/Tempat untuk Perbuatan Asusila Di Kotamadya Daerah Tingkat II Surabaya.
- [55] Kompas.com, *Penolakan penutupan dolly adalah konsep PDI-P*, 01 Juni 2014.
- [56] Sindonews.com, *Tutup Dolly, pemkot Surabaya Langgar UU*, Jumat, 30 Mei 2014, diakses 11 Nopember 2016
- [57] Republika.co.id, *Perlawanan Dolly*, 24 Juni 2014.
- [58] Viva.co.id, *Surabaya dipimpin Singa Betina, Dolly Akhirnya di tutup*, Rabu, 18 Juni 2014.
- [59] *Penanganan Masalah Permukiman Perkotaan melalui Penerapan Konsep Kota Kompak (Compact City) dan Transit-Oriented Development (TOD)* Tim Peneliti Program Studi Perencanaan Wilayah dan Kota, Universitas Gadjah Mada Kontak: s1pwk_ugm@yahoo.co.id, pramono_wid@yahoo.co.id