

## Development of Kramat Tunggak Localization (1966-1971)

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### Abstrak

Masalah prostitusi di Jakarta yang semakin menyebar dan tidak terkendali pada periode 1960-an mendorong munculnya ide untuk melakukan pembangunan lokalisasi di daerah Kramat Tunggak, Jakarta Utara. Dalam proses untuk merealisasikan ide tersebut, terjadi berbagai dinamika yang mempengaruhi perkembangan Kramat Tunggak sebagai lokalisasi pertama yang dibangun oleh pemerintah Jakarta. Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menjelaskan dinamika dalam perkembangan Lokalisasi Kramat Tunggak selama tahun 1966-1971. Melalui metode penelitian sejarah serta pendekatan strukturalis oleh Christopher Lloyd, artikel ini akan membahas mulai dari bagaimana perkembangan prostitusi di wilayah Jakarta Utara pada periode 1960-an, apa yang menjadi tujuan dari Ali Sadikin menggalang pembangunan lokalisasi serta mengapa Kramat Tunggak yang dipilih sebagai wilayah untuk pendirian lokalisasi Jakarta serta bagaimana proses implementasi Kramat Tunggak sebagai lokalisasi pertama yang ada di wilayah Jakarta. Dalam penelitian ini didapatkan kesimpulan bahwa berdirinya Lokalisasi Kramat Tunggak tidak hanya memunculkan pro-kontra di masyarakat, tetapi setelah selesai dibangun Lokalisasi Kramat Tunggak mendorong pertumbuhan pemukiman, infrastruktur dan kegiatan ekonomi masyarakat di sekitar lokalisasi serta berhasil melokalisir praktik prostitusi di Jakarta.

**Kata kunci:** ali sadikin, lokalisasi kramat tunggak, prostitusi.

### Abstract

*The problem of prostitution in Jakarta which was increasingly widespread and uncontrolled in the 1960s encouraged the emergence of the idea to build a localization in the Kramat Tunggak area, North Jakarta. In the process of realizing this idea, various dynamics occurred that influenced the development of Kramat Tunggak as the first localization built by the Jakarta government. This article aims to explain the dynamics in the development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization during 1966-1971. Through historical research methods and a structuralist approach by Christopher Lloyd, this article will discuss starting from how prostitution developed in the North Jakarta area in the 1960s, what was the purpose of Ali Sadikin in initiating the development of the localization and why Kramat Tunggak was chosen as the area for the establishment of the Jakarta localization and how the implementation process of Kramat Tunggak as the first localization in the Jakarta area. In this study, it was concluded that the establishment of the Kramat Tunggak Localization not only gave rise to pros and cons in society, but after the completion of the Kramat Tunggak Localization, it encouraged the growth of settlements, infrastructure and economic activities of the community around the localization and succeeded in localizing prostitution practices in Jakarta.*

**Keywords:** ali sadikin, kramat tunggak localization, prostitution.

### INTRODUCTION

Prostitution is one of the social problems that occur in major cities in Indonesia, including in Jakarta. The practice of prostitution in Jakarta today is increasingly massive because it is spread

in various locations throughout the province of DKI Jakarta. The practice of prostitution in Jakarta is spread from low-end to high-end hotels, apartments, boarding houses, massage parlors, areas around stations and ports to roadsides at

night. The spread of prostitution practices in various locations in Jakarta has brought various negative impacts to the community, ranging from the number of underage customers, the increase in sexually transmitted diseases, the increase in crime rates to the existence of underage prostitutes (Lubis, 2018). This condition shows that prostitution is one of the important problems that need to be overcome by the current DKI Jakarta provincial government. Interestingly, the problem of prostitution in Jakarta is not something new at this time. This problem has occurred since the establishment of the Jakarta government after Indonesia's independence and this condition has been tried to be overcome by the Jakarta government in the 1960-1970 period.

If examined historically, the problem of the spread of prostitution practices in Jakarta was tried to be overcome by the Jakarta government during the leadership of Ali Sadikin who served as governor from 1966-1977. Ali Sadikin's effort to overcome this problem is to limit the movement of prostitution practices in Jakarta through the establishment of localization. The establishment of localization is also part of Ali Sadikin's efforts to build Jakarta as a metropolitan city that is on par with major cities in the world (Blackburn, 2012). In the process of realizing the idea of building localization in Jakarta, Ali Sadikin faced various challenges. The first

challenge is the emergence of opposition from the community regarding the idea of establishing localization. People who are opposed to the policy of establishing localization are of the view that the establishment of localization is considered a form of legalizing the practice of prostitution in Jakarta (Tempo, 2023). The second challenge faced by the Jakarta government is related to determining which area will be used as a localization site in Jakarta. In the process of determining the localization area, the Jakarta government chose Kramat Tunggak in North Jakarta as the localization site to be built by the Jakarta government.

The selection of Kramat Tunggak as a localization area raises a question in the writer's mind. The question arises because in the *Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985* which is a development guideline for the Jakarta government, the North Jakarta area which includes Kramat Tunggak is not projected as a localization area. North Jakarta in the Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985 is projected as an industrial area, guesthouse and green open area (Jakarta, 1966). The inconsistency between the projections in the Jakarta Master Plan and its implementation in the field raises the question of why Ali Sadikin dared to make "adjustments" to the 1965-1985 Jakarta Master Plan by approving the establishment of a localization area in Kramat Tunggak, North Jakarta? Why

choose Kramat Tunggak as a localization area when there were many places of prostitution practices in the Jakarta area in the post-independence period such as Senen, Kalijodo, etc.? These questions attracted the author's interest in researching the development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization during 1966-1971 under the leadership of Ali Sadikin.

Studies on prostitution in the Jakarta area or specifically in Kramat Tunggak have been written/studied by both foreign and Indonesian researchers in the form of scientific articles or books. Generally, studies that discuss prostitution in Jakarta or in Kramat Tunggak explain more about the spread of prostitution practices in Jakarta in a certain time period or analyze the impacts arising from the existence of prostitution practices or the Kramat Tunggak Localization, especially the impact on society. There are several articles on prostitution in Jakarta or Kramat Tunggak that explain these things. The first is Endang R. Sedyaningsih's article entitled *Perempuan-perempuan Kramat Tunggak*. The book is the result of Endang's research when she conducted research in Kramat Tunggak for her dissertation while pursuing her doctorate at the Harvard School of Public Health. The research, which took place from 1993 to 1995, focused on efforts to analyze the increasing transmission of sexually transmitted diseases in society, especially HIV-AIDS in the late 1980s to

early 1990s. During her research process, Endang socialized with many prostitutes in the Kramat Tunggak Localization to hear their life stories about how they got involved in prostitution and how they live their routines as prostitutes in the Kramat Tunggak Localization. As a result, this book tells a lot about the brief history of the establishment of the Kramat Tunggak Localization, the background of the women in Kramat Tunggak who ended up in the world of prostitution, how the sexual behavior of prostitutes in Kramat Tunggak, how the Kramat Tunggak Localization works and the impacts that arise from the existence of the Kramat Tunggak Localization for the surrounding community (Sedyaningsih, 2010).

The second is Terence Hull's book entitled *Pelacuran di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya*. The book is a reference book that is generally used in researching the history of the development of prostitution in Indonesia from the colonial period to the contemporary period. This writing discusses the historical, social and economic aspects related to the development of prostitution in Indonesia. The study was conducted because it aims to see changes in government attitudes and the organization of prostitution from time to time. In Terence Hull's analysis, historical, social and economic aspects are interrelated with each other in the development of prostitution in Indonesia,

both during the colonial period, the Japanese occupation and after independence. Terence Hull's multidimensional analysis of the problem of prostitution in Indonesia makes this book one of the main sources when wanting to conduct a study on the theme of prostitution in Indonesia (Hull, 1997).

The third book by Yuyu A.N. Krisna is entitled *Remang-remang Jakarta*. The book is the result of Yuyu's reporting as a journalist from the *Sinar Harapan* newspaper in telling the story of the lives of women who are involved in prostitution in Jakarta, both from the middle class and the lower class. In her report, Yuyu focuses on the practice of prostitution that is developing in Kebayoran Baru and Ancol. This choice was made because she tried to explore the reasons why many women from various socio-economic backgrounds (from the middle class to the lower class) decided to engage in prostitution and narrate the twists and turns of their stories in living their lives as prostitutes in Jakarta (A.N. Krisna, 1996).

From the works above that discuss the theme of prostitution, either in general or focused on Jakarta, the author sees that there is still a gap in the discussion regarding the development of prostitution in Kramat Tunggak, especially during the period when Kramat Tunggak had not been legally legalized as a localization area by the Jakarta government until the early period when

Kramat Tunggak was legalized as a localization, namely from 1966-1971. In addition, the author also attempts to expand the study of prostitution by using a structural approach in analyzing the development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization. The structural approach is used in this paper because this approach can explain that the birth of a policy related to the problem of prostitution in Jakarta cannot be separated from the loose social structure, namely *agency* and *mentalite*. *Agency* aspect in this case was Ali Sadikin as the Governor of Jakarta, where he plays a role as a factor that has the power and is willing and able to change the structure in this case, the policies of the Jakarta government. Ali Sadikin's actions as an agency that tries to change the structure are also influenced by cultural factors (*mentalite*) which triggered the birth of actions taken by Ali Sadikin to overcome the problem of prostitution in Jakarta, one of which was through the establishment of the Kramat Tunggak Localization (Lloyd, 1993).

Based on the explanation above, this article focuses on the problem of how the Kramat Tunggak Localization developed during the first period of Ali Sadikin's leadership, namely 1966-1971. In order to answer this problem, the discussion of this article begins with an explanation of the development of prostitution in the North Jakarta area including Kramat Tunggak in the 1960s,

what was the purpose of Ali Sadikin in initiating the development of localization as a solution to the problem of prostitution in Jakarta, why Kramat Tunggak was chosen as the area for the establishment of localization by the Jakarta government and how the implementation process of Kramat Tunggak as the first localization in the Jakarta area.

#### **METHOD**

The method used in this study is a historical research method consisting of 4 stages, namely heuristic, verification, interpretation and historiography (Gottschalk, 2015). The initial stage of this research is the collection of primary and secondary sources as sources for writing. In this heuristic process, the author collects primary sources such as through archives issued by the Jakarta government and the author obtained from the DKI Jakarta Provincial Library and Archives Service and contemporary newspapers from the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia. The use of sources from the Kompas newspaper for the period 1966-1971 has not been used in previous studies related to prostitution practices in Jakarta or the development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization. Therefore, this article attempts to bring novelty in the use of primary sources in analyzing the development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization. The secondary

sources used by the author are sources related to the Ali Sadikin government, the development of prostitution in Jakarta or the early development of the Kramat Tunggak Localization. Some examples of secondary sources used in this writing are the book Gita Jaya published by the DKI Jakarta Provincial Government and explaining various programs/policies related to the development of Jakarta during the Ali Sadikin era during his leadership period from 1966-1977 and the book *Pelacuran di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Pengembangannya* written by Terence Hull which explains the history of prostitution in Indonesia.

The second stage carried out is source verification. Various sources that have been obtained by the author, both written and oral sources, will then go through a process of internal and external criticism. Internal criticism is carried out to test the truth and accuracy of the information obtained in the research sources used. External criticism is carried out to test the authenticity of the sources used in this study. After going through the verification process, the third stage carried out by the researcher is the interpretation of the various facts that have been collected. At the interpretation stage, various facts and data that have been collected will be connected until a comprehensive interpretation is obtained. The last stage of the historical research method is historiography. At this stage,

the facts that have passed the interpretation stage will be written scientifically according to applicable writing rules so that they become an article that can be accounted for and tested.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

### **Conditions of Prostitution in North Jakarta in the 1960s**

The practice of prostitution in Jakarta has become a social problem that has emerged and developed since the Dutch colonial era when Jakarta was still called Batavia. The emergence of the problem of prostitution in Jakarta is closely related to Jakarta's status in the past, namely Batavia as the center of government and the center of commerce and economy since the Dutch East Indies era (Ingleson, 2013). This situation continued to persist both during the Japan occupation (1942-1945) and after Indonesia's independence in 1945. One of the areas in Jakarta that has many prostitution areas is North Jakarta. The development of prostitution practices in North Jakarta is closely related to the existence of centers of business and economic activities in North Jakarta, namely Tanjung Priok Railway Station and Tanjung Priok Port. The existence of Tanjung Priok Railway Station and Tanjung Priok Port gives rise to the dominance of male workers at the station or port. The condition of male workers who are far from home, especially those

who have families, affects the need of men to meet biological needs. Like the law of supply and demand in the economy, the logical consequence of this condition gave rise to the practice of prostitution which initially around stations and ports and then expanded to other places in the North Jakarta area (A.N. Krisna, 1996).

In the 1960s there were places that were popular with prostitution practices in North Jakarta. Places of prostitution in North Jakarta were spread across various areas starting from Cilincing, Kalibaru, Koja Utara, Pejagalan, Pademangan and Penjaringan (Sedyaningsih, 2010). These various prostitution places have different classes from each other. The differences in class are reflected in the rates of the prostitutes, the condition of the place provided, access to the location and the level of security and comfort for customers. The above conditions form a categorization of the classes of prostitution in North Jakarta, namely lower, middle and high class prostitution places in North Jakarta.

Lower class prostitution places in North Jakarta are located around Tanjung Priok Train Station. The area around Tanjung Priok Train Station is a lower class prostitution place because prostitution practices in this place are carried out in rows of huts with a length of 1.5 M and a width of 1.2 M. To rent the place, customers only need to pay a rent of Rp. 10. The rate for women around

Tanjung Priok Train Station is opened at Rp. 100, but this amount can be negotiated (Adi, 1967a).

Another prostitution area in North Jakarta is Kramat Tunggak which is located south of the Kalibaru area. Kramat Tunggak is a prostitution area that is the furthest from the center of Jakarta. In addition to being the furthest from the center of Jakarta, road access to the Kramat Tunggak area is still not good because the area around Kramat Tunggak is still dominated by swamps and rice fields. This condition makes the community around the Kramat Tunggak area call their area as *tempat jin buang anak* (A.N. Krisna, 1996). This condition makes Kramat Tunggak a lower-class prostitution area because of the difficulty of access to Kramat Tunggak. The ideal means of transportation used are pedicabs, motorbikes, bicycles or walking. Another thing that describes Kramat Tunggak as a lower-class prostitution area is that this area is dominated by semi-permanent houses located in small alleys.

Kramat Tunggak prostitution area is under control of two ABRI powers. The western part of Kramat Tunggak is under the supervision of the Indonesian Navy (ALRI). The eastern part of Kramat Tunggak is under the supervision of the Military Rayon Command (KORAMIL), Garrison Command Staff (SKOGAR) and Air Artillery Unit (ARSU). The condition of Kramat Tunggak which is under the

supervision of the military apparatus makes many rules applied in Kramat Tunggak such as transaction activities between prostitutes and their customers that take place in Kramat Tunggak must not be more than 12 midnight and no customers are allowed to stay overnight in Kramat Tunggak. If there are any violations, a fine will be determined in the form of money. Every night, the hansip and ABRI officers routinely go around the Kramat Tunggak area to control the rooms that still have customers. However, there are several exceptions to the rooms that are not controlled, such as rooms containing family members of prostitutes, rooms that are the residences of ABRI members, and even more extraordinary are the rooms occupied by Chinese guests who have reported to the hansip beforehand. This condition shows how privacy in Kramat Tunggak is much more guaranteed when compared to other prostitution areas in North Jakarta. In addition, the houses that are used as "play" places are much bigger and more spacious when compared to other prostitution areas in North Jakarta with a house size of 2x3 M (Adi, 1967b).

The conditions of prostitution practices in North Jakarta in the 1960s were part of a broader picture of the problem of prostitution in Jakarta at that time. Other areas in Jakarta such as Senen, Kalijodo, Petojo, Cijantung also became the epicenter of prostitution

practices that were increasingly rampant in Jakarta in the 1960s. The problem of prostitution in Jakarta became a concern for the Jakarta government when there was a change in the leader in Jakarta. Sumarno, who had served as Governor of Jakarta since 1965, would be replaced by Ali Sadikin who was inaugurated on April 26, 1966. After being inaugurated, Ali Sadikin placed several priorities in the development of Jakarta in order to transform Jakarta into a metropolitan city (Blackburn, 2012). One of the processes to change Jakarta as a metropolitan city is to overcome the problem of prostitution which has not been controlled and has resulted in the emergence of new social problems in Jakarta. This is where we will see how Ali Sadikin played a role as *agency* in his efforts to overcome the problem of prostitution in Jakarta through his idea regarding the establishment of localization in Jakarta, specifically in Kramat Tunggak.

#### **Ali Sadikin and the Solution to the Problem of Prostitution in Jakarta**

The birth of the idea to establish a localization area in Jakarta emerged during Ali Sadikin's leadership as Governor of Jakarta in the first period from 1966-1971. The idea of establishing a localization was the answer to one of the urban problems that developed during Ali Sadikin's era, namely the spread of uncontrolled prostitution practices (DKI

Jakarta, 1977). The issue of prostitution is related to one of Ali Sadikin's five priority tasks when he was inaugurated, namely to develop a planned framework by establishing a master plan (Wahyudi et al., 2012). This connection occurs because city development must have a long-term plan so that when there is a change of government, the plan remains a guideline in the development of Jakarta. In the development of Jakarta as a metropolitan city, various problems in the social, economic, etc. fields must be overcome, including the problem of prostitution.

Wild and uncontrolled prostitution has various negative impacts felt by the community or has an impact on the development of the city of Jakarta. Some examples of the negative impacts of uncontrolled prostitution in Jakarta include the spread of sexually transmitted diseases arising from prostitution practices, moral decadence in society, and one of the impacts that has an impact on the development of the city of Jakarta is the existence of prostitution practice areas protected by military or government officials. The protection provided by these officials requires reciprocal efforts to pay "tribute" from the parties involved in prostitution to the protectors. This condition makes the areas where prostitution is practiced a black area that is vulnerable to all criminal acts such as territorial disputes between community groups/gangs, drug businesses, and

exploitation of prostitutes by *germo* or rulers in the prostitution practice areas (Lubis, 2018).

The increasing spread and increase of prostitution practices in Jakarta during the reign of Ali Sadikin was rooted in the large number of prostitutes in Jakarta. In 1967, the number of prostitutes in Jakarta was approximately 20.000 people. While in 1968 this number increased by 15% based on the results of an investigation by Antara journalists (Kompas, 1968b). The increasing number of prostitutes in Jakarta is driven by several factors. First, there is an increase in migration of people from villages to cities, especially Jakarta, in the period from 1960 to the early 1970s. The increasing flow of migration has increased the level of competition to get jobs in the city of Jakarta. In this competition, the position of women tends to be "less advantageous" because most women who migrate are still young, inexperienced, have low levels of education and have limited skills. This condition, coupled with the limited types of jobs with minimal skills, has led to the emergence of jobs in the informal sector, including becoming prostitutes. The second factor that has increased the number of prostitution in Jakarta is the high divorce rate of women in the areas around Jakarta, especially West Java. The frequent divorces have resulted in many women experiencing financial difficulties,

so in order to meet their living needs, they work as prostitutes (Hull, 1997).

Among the various areas in Jakarta, North Jakarta is the area with the most prostitution practices. This statement is based on a survey by the Jakarta government in 1969. Based on the survey, there were 1.668 prostitutes in North Jakarta. The number of prostitutes is spread across 13 locations in 9 sub-districts in North Jakarta. The 9 sub-districts that are the distribution areas for prostitutes in North Jakarta include Cilincing, Kalibaru, Koja Utara, Pejagalan, Pademangan, Penjaringan, Tugu, Semper, and Lagoa (Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Kota (BAPPEKO) Jakarta Utara & Lembaga Penelitian Universitas Indonesia, 1987). Woman sex workers come from various areas around Jakarta such as Bekasi, Bogor or from the West Java region such as Indramayu, Purwakarta. etc.

In order to overcome the increasing spread of woman sex workers in Jakarta and the uncontrolled areas that became prostitution areas in Jakarta, Ali Sadikin initially tried to be guided by the *Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985* (Blackburn, 2012). However, in the *Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985* there were no guidelines or recommendations related to efforts to overcome the problem of illegal prostitution spread across various regions in Jakarta. Ali Sadikin would get the idea to overcome the problem of prostitution in

Jakarta when he visited Thailand (K.H., 1992). During his visit, Ali Sadikin asked the people of the Indonesian Embassy in Thailand why even though Thailand has a sex industry, he did not see any woman sex workers during his trip in Thailand. This was answered by one of the Embassy staff that places that have prostitutes are localized by the Thai government so that the prostitutes do not roam around in random places. The actions taken by the Thai government in dealing with the problem of prostitution in their country are an example that Ali Sadikin tried to imitate and implement to deal with the problem of prostitution in Jakarta. This condition shows that the idea of creating a localized area was Ali Sadikin's idea and placed his position as *agency* which changed the structure, in this case the development policy regulated in the *Jakarta Master Plan 1965-1985*.

Upon his return to Indonesia, the concept of localization obtained by Ali Sadikin during his visit to Thailand was followed by the formation of a special team to discuss the plan to establish localization for woman sex workers in Jakarta. The concept of localization initiated by Ali Sadikin does not mean legalizing the practice of prostitution in Jakarta. Localization is formed with several objectives. First, localization development is expected to encourage women in the localization complex to be fostered, guided and given counseling and

expertise to make women in the localization can leave their nightlife and return to normal work in the community (A.N. Krisna, 1996). Second, the development of this localization was carried out so that prostitution practices in Jakarta would be concentrated and controlled so that it would not be easy to find prostitutes on the streets of Jakarta who could disrupt public order. Finally, the development of localization was expected to prevent the spread of sexually transmitted diseases which were increasing in number in Jakarta. This was conveyed by Ali Sadikin on March 22, 1967 when he visited prostitution pockets in the Kramat and Senen areas (Kompas, 1967).

#### **Establishment of the Kramat Tunggak Localization**

The development process of the Kramat Tunggak Localization will begin with research studies and field studies. Since early 1968, the Jakarta government has begun conducting research to determine the areas that will be used as localizations and the concept of localization that will be formed. In March 1968, several people from the Jakarta government representatives visited several localization complexes in Solo, Surabaya, Semarang and Malang. Based on the results of the visit, the Silir localization in Solo is the best example of localization and can be an example in the development of localization in Jakarta. The Silir

localization provides various facilities to its female residents such as mental education, spirituality, household lessons, physical education and is taught to save for life in the future. In addition, the enforcement of the rules in the Silir localization according to reports from representatives of the Jakarta government is very disciplined. If there are women who do not check their health regularly, the woman will be interned to be given education. If there are women in the Silir localization who run away and are caught in a raid by the authorities, the woman will be sentenced to 7 days in prison. The development of the Silir Localization by the Solo government has also had a positive impact, where there are fewer prostitutes roaming the streets because the prostitutes have been concentrated in the Silir localization (Kompas, 1968a).

The results of the study and research by the Jakarta government will be followed up by determining the location that will be used as a localization site. The Kramat Tunggak area, which since the 1960s has been one of the prostitution places in North Jakarta, was chosen as the first localization establishment area by the Jakarta government. The selection of Kramat Tunggak in North Jakarta as a localization area is based on several reasons. First, the Kramat Tunggak area, which is dominated by swamps, rice fields, and gardens, makes its location strategic because it is remote, there are not many

residential areas and the distance from residential areas around Kramat Tunggak is quite far (A.N. Krisna, 1996). Second, the location of Kramat Tunggak is close to the port and warehouse areas in Tanjung Priok, Cilincing and Marunda. The proximity of the location is expected to facilitate the biological needs of male port and warehouse workers in Tanjung Priok, Cilincing and Marunda. Third is the position of Kramat Tunggak which is under the supervision of the military in this case ALRI, KORAMIL, SKOGAR and ARSU. The existence of supervision from the military makes it easier for the Jakarta government to enforce the implementation of the rules when the Kramat Tunggak Localization is officially established. The three considerations above are the reasons why the Kramat Tunggak area was chosen as a localization location; remote but close to the port and warehouse where workers have biological needs to be met and are under the supervision of the military so that the transfer of Kramat Tunggak status and enforcement of rules in the Kramat Tunggak Localization can be carried out.

In July 1968, the first phase of construction of the Kramat Tunggak Localization had begun and was expected to be completed by the end of 1968. In this first phase of construction, the land area used for construction was 5 hectares which included 120 houses. In the next phase of construction, the land used for

construction was 15 hectares because later the prostitutes operating in Central Jakarta would be accommodated in the Kramat Tunggak Localization. The total area of the Kramat Tunggak Localization is 20 hectares and in the future it will be able to accommodate prostitutes from other areas of Jakarta (Kompas, 1968c). In the initial data collection in 1969 regarding the number of woman sex workers and *germo* to be placed in Kramat Tunggak, there were 1668 woman sex workers and 348 *germo* in nine villages in prostitution pockets in Jakarta (A.N. Krisna, 1996).

The Kramat Tunggak area chosen as the place where the localization will be established will be legalized legally as well as marking the start of the operation of the Kramat Tnggak Localization. The legalization of Kramat Tunggak Localization is based on Surat Keputusan Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 25/III/DU/1970 (Hull, 1997). After the letter was issued, the process of arranging and moving the prostitutes in the Kramat Tunggak Localization began. The process of moving the prostitutes to the Kramat Tunggak Localization was carried out by the pimps and the prostitutes under their care registering with the Suku Dinas Sosial Jakarta Utara to get a plot in Kramat Tunggak. (Sedyaningsih, 2010). Gradually, Kramat Tunggak, which was originally one of the many prostitution areas in North Jakarta, will become a localization that

covers all prostitutes in the North Jakarta area.

### **Condition of Kramat Tunggak Localization After Establishment**

After being legalized, the activities in the Kramat Tunggak Localization began to run even though the area that was completed in the first phase was only 5 hectares. In the Kramat Tunggak Localization, the prostitutes were provided with mandatory formal education, skills training for work, and mental and social guidance carried out by the rehabilitation center. In addition, in the Kramat Tunggak Localization, the prostitutes were asked to save part of their income as capital for their lives. In addition, when the Kramat Tunggak prostitutes leave the complex, they are entitled to receive compensation money of Rp. 250 (Hull, 1997). These actions are given as a long-term plan by the Jakarta government to improve rehabilitation, resocialization and localization programs for the prostitutes who are still in Jakarta (DKI Jakarta, 1977).

The large number of customers coming to Kramat Tunggak shows two interesting phenomenom. First, the large number of customers to Kramat Tunggak means that other prostitution areas in Jakarta are decreasing because the presence of prostitutes who previously operated in various places in Jakarta are now concentrated in one area, namely the

Kramat Tunggak Localization. This shows that the goal of establishing the localization has been achieved, namely to facilitate control over prostitution practices in Jakarta. Second, the large number of customers in Kramat Tunggak is also influenced by the ease of road access to the localization built by the Jakarta government. At the end of 1971, the Jakarta government repaired Jalan Kramat Jaya by widening and paving the road. It turned out that the construction and repair of the road had an impact on the increasing ease of access for large vehicles such as cars or trucks, so this "helped" truck drivers who wanted to visit the Kramat Tunggak Localization or men from the middle class who drove cars. The construction of the Kramat Jaya road also affected the concentration of people living there, giving birth to many new buildings owned by residents around the Kramat Tunggak Localization. More and more buildings are being built around Jalan Kramat Jaya and the Kramat Tunggak Localization, including schools, medical clinics, cinemas, shops and mosques (Sedyaningsih, 2010).

The early operational period of the Kramat Tunggak Localization showed a dynamic. Although there were several obstacles in the process of moving the prostitutes and the land development that had not been fully completed, the active participation of the prostitutes and pimps to move to the localization showed that

the existence of the localization could provide a sense of security for the prostitutes to operate. The Kramat Tunggak Localization showed how proper handling of the problem of prostitution would have a positive influence on the development of the city of Jakarta as a modern city and minimize negative impacts on society.

### CONCLUSION

Prostitution in Jakarta became one of the social problems that continued to grow after Indonesia's independence. Ali Sadikin, who was inaugurated as Governor of Jakarta in April 1966, would become a central figure and act as an agency in overcoming the problem of prostitution in Jakarta. Ali Sadikin's background from the Navy and his tough, firm nature encouraged the handling of the problem of prostitution rationally and as much as possible to minimize the negative impacts on society. Among the various solutions available, the establishment of localization was the choice chosen by Ali Sadikin. The concept of localization that has been implemented in the cities of Solo and Thailand is the most rational, humanistic choice and has become a good example in overcoming the problem of prostitution in urban areas.

In the process, the idea of establishing a localization reaped various responses in society, especially negative responses because the establishment of the localization was considered to legalize

adultery/extramarital sex. Thanks to the role of Ali Sadikin as Governor of Jakarta, he played a position as *agency* who are willing and able to change the structure in this case will continue to implement their decision to establish a localization in Jakarta. Kramat Tunggak, which is located in North Jakarta, will be chosen as the location for establishing the first localization in Jakarta. Its remote location but close to the port and warehouses whose workers have biological needs to be met and are under the supervision of the military are the reasons why the Jakarta government decided to make Kramat Tunggak a legally authorized localization based on Surat Keputusan Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 25/III/DU/1970.

After being inaugurated and started operating, the Kramat Tunggak Localization has experienced dynamic development. The growing activities of the Kramat Tunggak Localization are accompanied by the growth of settlements, infrastructure and economic activities of the community around the localization. This development shows two sides of the existence of the localization. The large number of visitors to the Kramat Tunggak Localization on the one hand means that the prostitutes who were originally spread across various regions have been successfully localized so that many customers come to the Kramat Tunggak Localization. On the other hand, the large number of customers at the

Kramat Tunggak Localization shows that the problem of prostitution will always exist and is impossible to eliminate. The Kramat Tunggak Localization is one proof that the negative impacts of the problem of prostitution can be minimized if rational and appropriate policies are made by the government.

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