



EFFECTIVENESS OF PUBLIC ORDER ENFORCEMENT AGAINST PROSTITUTION IN KARAOKE VENUES IN THE FORMER SUNAN KUNING RED-LIGHT DISTRICT OF SEMARANG

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the enforcement of Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 concerning the Maintenance of Public Order specifically regarding prostitution in karaoke venues within the former Sunan Kuning red-light district by the Semarang City Public Order Agency (Satpol PP). It also seeks to identify factors influencing enforcement effectiveness and examine the efforts made by Satpol PP to enhance this effectiveness. The study employs a qualitative research method with an in concreto theoretical focus. Data were gathered through interviews, observation, documentation, and literature reviews, then analyzed qualitatively using Soerjono Soekanto's theory of legal effectiveness. The results indicate that the enforcement of Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 has been carried out through patrols, surveillance, enforcement operations, the imposition of administrative sanctions, and the sealing of violating business premises. However, implementation has not been fully effective because prostitution patterns have shifted from open to covert, making detection and the gathering of evidence more difficult. Enforcement effectiveness is hindered by factors such as limited personnel and operational budgets, information leaks prior to raids, difficulties in proving violations, and social factors within the surrounding environment. Conversely, supporting factors include a clear legal basis, the commitment of enforcement officers, and community participation in providing information and conducting oversight. Efforts to improve effectiveness involve preventive approaches such as public outreach, guidance, and supervision and repressive measures, including raids, the temporary suspension of business activities, and the sealing of premises proven to be in violation. The study concludes that enhancing the effectiveness of Regional Regulation enforcement requires strengthening cross-sector coordination through collaborative governance, building the institutional capacity of Satpol PP, and fostering sustainable community economic empowerment to address the root social issues in the former Sunan Kuning red-light district.

Keywords: Effectiveness, Regional Regulation Enforcement, Public Order Agency (Satpol PP).

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a state based on the rule of law, as affirmed in Article 1, Paragraph (3) of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. As such, all governmental administration must be grounded in statutory regulations to foster public order, security, and welfare. One manifestation of the rule-

of-law state's function is the maintenance of public order, a responsibility shared by both central and regional governments. Within the framework of regional autonomy, regional governments are empowered to regulate and manage governmental affairs concerning tranquility, public order, and community protection. This authority is stipulated in Law Number

23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government.

In line with the spirit of decentralization and regional autonomy mandated by Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, regional governments are granted the full right, authority, and obligation to regulate and manage their own governmental affairs based on the principles of autonomy and the "co-administration" task (*tugas pembantuan*). Fundamentally, the devolution of this autonomous authority aims to bring public services closer to the people, accelerate development processes, and optimize law enforcement tailored to local characteristics. This authority is concretely realized through the enactment of Regional Regulations (*Perda*), local legal instruments that play a strategic role in translating national legal provisions into specific applications at the regional level (Bunga, 2020; Parlingungan, 2017).

As the frontline agency for enforcing local regulations, the Semarang City Public Order Agency (*Satpol PP*) possesses authority outlined in Article 255, Paragraph (1) of Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, which states: "The Public Order Agency is established to enforce Regional Regulations and Regional Head Regulations, maintain public order and tranquility, and provide public protection." Furthermore, the elaboration of Article 5 of Government Regulation Number 16 of 2018 concerning the Public Order Agency specifies: "The Public Order Agency is tasked with enforcing Regional Regulations and Regional Head Regulations, maintaining public order

and community tranquility, and providing public protection."

The implementation of Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 culminated when the Semarang City Government officially closed the Argorejo Resocialization Area, commonly known as Sunan Kuning, on October 18, 2019. This closure was marked by the installation of a sign reading "Argorejo Area (SK): Prostitution-Free Zone," which explicitly cited Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 concerning Public Order as its legal basis. The Semarang City Government also facilitated the repatriation of the area's residents, provided social assistance, and conducted post-closure monitoring through *Satpol PP* and relevant agencies.

From a legal perspective, the closure of Sunan Kuning was not specifically enacted through a widely published Mayoral Decree serving as the sole basis for the action. Nevertheless, the closure rests on a solid legal foundation, as it is grounded in the local government's attributive authority derived from Law Number 23 of 2014 concerning Regional Government, Government Regulation Number 16 of 2018 concerning the Public Order Agency, and Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 concerning Public Order. Furthermore, the closure is part of the Ministry of Social Affairs' national policy aiming for an Indonesia free of designated prostitution zones by 2019.

Although the Sunan Kuning area has been formally closed, reports and allegations persist regarding covert prostitution activities shifting to karaoke venues and other locations within the former red-light district. This situation demonstrates that the

administrative closure of a designated prostitution zone does not necessarily result in the actual cessation of prostitution practices. Such a phenomenon raises questions regarding the effectiveness of the Semarang City Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) in enforcing City Regulation No. 5 of 2017 to eradicate prostitution following the closure of the zone.

The effectiveness of law enforcement is measured not only by the government's success in shutting down an area deemed a hub for prostitution but also by the capacity of local ordinance enforcement officers to conduct monitoring, prevention, and enforcement actions, as well as to foster legal compliance within the community (Soekanto, 2019). From the perspective of progressive law—a concept advanced by Satjipto Rahardjo—law should not focus solely on legal certainty; rather, it must also be capable of realizing order, justice, and societal benefit. Therefore, the success of the Sunan Kuning closure requires further analysis to determine whether it has genuinely eliminated prostitution practices or merely altered the form and location of such activities.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Based on the background outlined above, the legal issues to be examined in this study are as follows:

1. How does the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) enforce Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 regarding prostitution practices in karaoke venues within the former Sunan Kuning red-light district?
2. What are the factors hindering and supporting the effectiveness of the Public Order Agency's

enforcement of the Regional Regulation?

3. What efforts are being made by the Public Order Agency to enhance the effectiveness of enforcing Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 against prostitution practices in the area?

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses an in concreto legal research approach to examine the application of legal norms to specific events. It focuses on the application of Semarang City Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 to karaoke venues in Argorejo. The study draws on observation, interviews, and documentary materials, including relevant policies, legislation, and literature. The data are analyzed qualitatively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Enforcement of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 in the Former Sunan Kuning Area

This in concreto legal study focuses on the application of written legal norms to specific events occurring within the community. The primary subject of analysis is Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 concerning the Maintenance of Public Order, specifically the provisions governing public decency and social order. The researcher observes that this legal instrument was designed to serve as a juridical guide for local government officials in eliminating forms of social behavior that deviate from norms and disturb the public. Consequently, the law's effectiveness in the former Sunan Kuning red-light district is measured by the extent to which the

regulation's provisions are translated into actual, law-abiding behavior by entertainment business operators and workers within the area.

Analyzing the matter through the lens of legal system theory, the ineffectiveness of law enforcement is closely linked to the failure of the "legal substance" subsystem to function comprehensively when confronted with ground-level realities (Friedman, 2019). Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 imposes relatively lenient sanctions for violations of public decency, specifically, classification as a minor offense (*Tipiring*) or the imposition of an administrative fine. The researcher argues that these minor sanctions fail to provide a sufficient deterrent effect for those involved in covert prostitution businesses, given that their material profits far exceed the legal fines required. Furthermore, in concreto law enforcement highlights the need for robust cross-sectoral coordination between the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) and other relevant technical agencies, such as the Semarang City Tourism Office and the Social Affairs Office. The researcher observes that interagency rivalry sometimes hinders the effectiveness of law enforcement. The Public Order Agency often acts unilaterally when conducting repressive enforcement measures in the field, without being supported by strict licensing monitoring from the licensing authority or sustained mental guidance from the Social Affairs Office; this results in law enforcement efforts appearing fragmented and incomplete. Field evidence regarding the 400 karaoke hostesses reveals that economic dependency is the primary driver of non-compliance with the local

regulation. Researchers observe that the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) faces a dilemma between humanitarian concerns and law enforcement. Taking firm action against all indications of covert prostitution risks triggering significant socio-economic resistance from these hundreds of informal workers. Consequently, enforcement actions taken in the field are often compromised, targeting only the most visible violations. The study concludes that the enforcement of Semarang City Regulation No. 5 of 2017 by Satpol PP regarding prostitution in the former Sunan Kuning area struggles to balance the requirement for legal certainty with the need to address dynamic social issues. Law enforcement has succeeded only at a superficial level, transforming the outward appearance of the red-light district into karaoke lounges, but has failed to substantially eliminate prostitution practices, which have instead evolved to become more discreet, organized, and concealed within Argorejo's nightlife businesses.

Based on a comprehensive analysis of the in concreto implementation of legal norms, the researcher evaluates the effectiveness of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 in the former Sunan Kuning red-light district as concerning, given that compliance remains merely formal. The evaluation indicates that while this legal instrument has succeeded in suppressing overt and visible manifestations of prostitution, it has failed to halt the underlying prostitution practices. The Semarang City Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) has only managed to enforce regulations at the district's exterior level, whereas an ecosystem of covert

prostitution has expanded within 120 karaoke establishments, involving approximately 400 karaoke hostesses. Consequently, the legal certainty envisioned by the regulation is undermined and weakened when confronted with the power of personal transactions shielded by the legitimacy of nightlife business licenses.

A key finding formulated in this study is the emergence of a phenomenon termed "Juridical Compliance Camouflage" within the Argorejo area. The researcher found that nightlife business operators consciously utilize official karaoke licenses as a legal shield to legitimize their economic activities, while simultaneously creating a closed space for negotiating covert prostitution. This *modus operandi* is a crucial finding demonstrating that, from a socio-legal perspective, the 2019 closure of the red-light district merely shifted the venue and method of sexual transactions from localized open spaces to private, digital-personal realms. As a result, in concreto law enforcement efforts have reached an impasse, as existing legal norms lack evidentiary mechanisms capable of adapting to technological advancements and these concealed *modi operandi*.

Drawing upon the Legal Effectiveness Theories of Hans Kelsen and Lawrence M. Friedman (2019), the success of a legal norm is measured by the extent to which it is observed and implemented by both the public and law enforcement authorities. In the context of enforcing Semarang City Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 in the former Sunan Kuning area, the law's effectiveness has undergone a gap between formal norms and actual compliance due to

resistance from the subjects of the law. The researcher observes that while the legal structure represented by the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) has attempted to carry out formal enforcement actions, the legal substance governing public morality has encountered a formidable barrier: the economic necessities of the 400 karaoke hostesses. In concrete terms, the law cannot achieve absolute effectiveness when the target population creates a subsystem of counter-norms within the 120 karaoke establishments, norms that deliberately blur the boundaries between legal and illegal behavior for the sake of material gain.

Further examination of the legal culture component within the Theory of Legal Effectiveness reveals that the efficacy of a rule relies heavily on the public's internal legal consciousness rather than merely a fear of external sanctions (Friedman, 2019). Findings from the Argorejo area confirm that the legal culture prevailing within the karaoke establishments tends to be permissive and accommodating toward covert prostitution. The compliance of establishment operators with Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 5 of 2017 is merely instrumental, driven by the fear of raids, rather than normative, which would stem from moral awareness. When this permissive culture outweighs the public order values championed by the regulation, the regulation's binding force inevitably weakens, rendering it sociologically ineffective.

From the perspective of Law Enforcement Theory, law enforcement activities by the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) in the former Sunan Kuning area require a balance

between repressive and preventive measures to ensure legal certainty. However, when viewed through the lens of Public Protection Theory, these enforcement actions have failed to provide comprehensive protection for the well-being of local residents. Public protection, a primary objective of public law, demands that the state, acting through Satpol PP, shield residential areas from the negative externalities of the nightlife industry. The researcher argues that when Satpol PP fails to detect covert prostitution negotiated within karaoke booths, the local community's right to a safe and orderly living environment is disregarded due to the weak implementation of the regulation.

As a theoretical synthesis regarding the first objective, the researcher concludes that the ineffective enforcement of this regulation directly undermines the public protection system for the community surrounding Argorejo. Based on Public Protection Theory, the law must serve as a shield, protecting society from moral hazards and social degradation. The researcher interprets residents' concerns about the presence and attire of karaoke hostesses in residential areas as an indication that expectations of psychological and moral protection remain unmet. Consequently, the failure of law enforcement to crack down on this covert prostitution is not merely an operational failure on the part of the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP); rather, it represents a failure of the legal system to fulfill its functions of social engineering and social defense at the local level in Semarang City.

Factors Hindering and Supporting Effective Enforcement

This study identifies and examines the various obstacles faced by the Semarang City Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) in the field to understand why the enforcement of Regional Regulation (Perda) No. 5 of 2017 has not proceeded optimally. The analysis is divided into two primary dimensions: internal factors stemming from the institutional limitations of the enforcement agency itself, and external factors arising from the socio-communal dynamics of the former Sunan Kuning red-light district. These two dimensions are intertwined, creating systemic obstacles that undermine the reach of the law.

Overall, a critical evaluation of these obstacles reveals a systemic imbalance between the Satpol PP's institutional capacity and the complexity of the sociological issues on the ground. Internal limitations such as personnel shortages and fiscal constraints regarding operations have substantially limited the consistency of field supervision. These institutional limitations is exacerbated by external resistance, ranging from social friction caused by public order disturbances involving intoxicated patrons and resident complaints regarding the "moral degradation" associated with the attire of female hosts, to the leaking of tactical information during raids. The study concludes that these obstacles are no longer merely incidental or temporary; rather, they have evolved into structural barriers socially organized to resist the implementation of the norms set forth in Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 within the area.

The researcher highlights a crucial finding regarding the nature of these

obstacles: the existence of a deeply rooted "mutualistic symbiosis of public order violations" linking alcohol abuse with the persistence of covert prostitution. The study reveals that alcohol-fueled altercations between patrons are not merely negative side effects but serve as effective distractions in the field, consistently diverting the Satpol PP's focus away from enforcement efforts. Furthermore, the researcher's findings reveal a sharp clash of values: the permissive legal culture of entertainment business operators driven by economic imperatives versus the normative legal culture of local residents. This spatial conflict places the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) in an unenviable dilemma, as they must enforce the law within a residential environment that directly encircles this concentration of nightlife businesses.

Analyzing the obstacles to enforcing Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 is best approached through Soerjono Soekanto's Law Enforcement Theory, which posits that enforcement is shaped by five key factors: the law itself, law enforcement officers, facilities/resources, the community, and culture (Soekanto, 2019). The researcher found that all five factors simultaneously act as impediments for the Semarang City Public Order Agency in the former Sunan Kuning area. The factors of law enforcement personnel and resources are constrained by limited staffing and insufficient budgets to maintain 24-hour surveillance across 120 karaoke establishments. Meanwhile, the community and local culture resist the legal norms in question, creating a wide gap between the legislators'

intent and actual implementation on the ground.

Examining the "law itself" factor within Soekanto's (2019) framework reveals weaknesses in the specific codification of Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017, particularly regarding the evidentiary requirements for covert prostitution. The regulation was drafted based on the assumption of visible violations; consequently, as prostitution modus operandi evolved into discreet, digital, and personal transactions, the legal text lost its flexibility. This issue is compounded by the fact that tactical information regarding raids frequently leaks before operations commence. These theoretical obstacles demonstrate that law enforcement is unlikely to proceed smoothly when the legal subsystem (enforcers) and the social superstructure (establishment management networks) clash over the control of information in the field.

Viewed through the lens of legal culture within the legal system (Friedman, 2019), the aforementioned obstacles confirm that legal effectiveness is inevitably hindered when a counter-legal culture legitimized by economic interests is present. The researcher analyzes the role of alcohol-related altercations among karaoke patrons as a tangible form of sociological resistance that undermines the effectiveness of the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP). Alcohol-related disturbances fosters social disintegration at the local level, causing law enforcement resources to be exhausted in managing physical conflicts (issues of social order) rather than addressing the root causes of moral violations (issues of moral order). These structural barriers underscore that the law cannot

function effectively in isolation; it requires a harmonious social environment that reinforces the normative intent of the regulations.

Ultimately, the law enforcement challenges faced by Satpol PP compromise the essence of the Theory of Public Protection. Constrained by limited personnel and evidentiary weaknesses, law enforcement agencies leave the community surrounding the former Sunan Kuning settlement in a vulnerable position, lacking adequate legal protection. The researcher interprets public complaints regarding the revealing attire of karaoke hostesses and alcohol-fueled disturbances as a public outcry demanding the immediate activation of public protection measures. However, because the systemic obstacles facing Satpol PP remain unresolved, the public protection mandate inherent in the objectives of administrative law has stalled, leaving the Argorejo area trapped in a status quo of social instability that disadvantages local residents.

Efforts to Improve Enforcement Effectiveness

Evaluating the transformation efforts following the official closure of the Sunan Kuning red-light district is crucial for assessing the sustainability of the public management policies adopted by the Semarang City Government. The researcher maintains that the 2019 closure should not have ended with a mere ceremonial declaration but required consistent area-transformation management. The Public Order Agency (Satpol PP), acting as the local government's enforcement arm, bears a significant responsibility to ensure the former red-light district is truly free from prostitution

and transitions toward a positive social function. In evaluating this transformation, the researcher identifies a dual strategy: preventive and repressive approaches. The preventive approach involved installing signs prohibiting prostitution at the area's entrance, establishing communication forums with the Argorejo Karaoke Entrepreneurs Association, and conducting periodic legal awareness programs. The researcher considers these initial steps effective in instilling a normative understanding that the area's governance has changed and that new legal regulations must be observed.

The study's evaluation of Satpol PP guard posts in the Argorejo area also reveals a decline in surveillance intensity over time. The researcher found that posts established after the closure are frequently unmanned, particularly during vulnerable night-time hours. Business operators have exploited this reduced physical presence to relax internal oversight regarding dress codes for karaoke hostesses and the circulation of alcohol within karaoke rooms. From the perspective of public accountability, the performance of this area transformation requires a fundamental policy reorientation. The researcher argues that the Semarang City Government cannot simply delegate the burden of eliminating covert prostitution solely to the Satpol PP through repressive legal enforcement. A review of regulations governing nightlife business permits in residential areas is required, alongside the strengthening of administrative sanctions, specifically the permanent revocation of licenses for karaoke establishments found to be allowing their staff to engage in prostitution.

Based on a comprehensive analysis, the researcher asserts that the Semarang City Government's transformation efforts, particularly those of Satpol PP, in the former Sunan Kuning area have succeeded only in halting overt prostitution within the red-light district; however, these efforts have stagnated regarding the maintenance of the area as a zone free from covert prostitution. The failure of the economic transition and inconsistent oversight following the closure have left the Argorejo area mired in social anomie, where formal public order regulations are forced to compromise with the realities of a problematic nightlife industry.

A final evaluation of public management dynamics following the official closure reveals that the Semarang City Government has experienced symptoms of post-policy failure in maintaining the consistency of the area's transformation. The researcher assessed that the preventive and repressive approaches mandated to the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) lost their sustainability due to the premature termination of cross-sectoral socio-economic support programs. The 2019 dismantling of the red-light district was not accompanied by a robust "grand design" for an alternative economic spatial plan for the local community and the 400 karaoke hostesses. Consequently, law enforcement actions by Satpol PP on the ground functioned merely as reactive "firefighting" measures when conflicts flared up, rather than serving as instruments of social change capable of guiding the area's substantive transition.

A fundamental finding highlighted by the researcher in this transformation evaluation is the

emergence of a "Collaborative Governance Void" following the closure phase. Empirical evidence shows that strategic coordination among Satpol PP, the Tourism Office, and the Social Affairs Office ceased after the closure was declared; as a result, Satpol PP was left to shoulder the legal burden alone, without support for the area's socio-economic recovery. These findings underscore that transforming a former red-light district integrated with residential areas cannot rely solely on administrative or minor criminal law enforcement. The researchers propose a conceptual finding that successful enforcement of the Public Order Regional Regulation in a transitional area like Argorejo requires substantial restrictions on entertainment business zoning and commensurate economic substitution interventions by the local government to permanently break the chain of covert prostitution.

In evaluating the transformation efforts following the official closure of the Sunan Kuning red-light district, the Theory of Public Protection provides a framework for assessing the extent to which the state is present to protect citizens from the threats posed by the persistence of the prostitution ecosystem. The researcher assesses that the Semarang City Government's decision to primarily mandate area reorganization to the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) represents a methodological error in public management. Protecting the community from covert prostitution practices will never be fully achieved if reliance is placed solely on a repressive approach based on positive law. When the "Thematic Village" program stagnated economically and

social support for 400 karaoke hostesses was halted, the community protection function was effectively paralyzed, as the root causes, poverty and economic dependency, were not addressed by the relevant technical agencies.

Through the lens of Law Enforcement Theory, specifically regarding the consistency and sustainability of enforcement actions, the researcher found a decline in enforcement activity following the 2019 closure. Concrete evidence regarding unmanned Satpol PP guard posts during vulnerable night hours demonstrates that law enforcement personnel failed to maintain a steady pace of supervision. The researcher views this reduced physical presence as a weakening of legal commitment, creating space for 120 karaoke establishments to gradually revert to a nightlife business model permissive of covert prostitution, thereby undermining the legal certainty of the area's transformation.

An analysis based on Legal Effectiveness Theory reveals that this transformation failure stems from the inability of formal law to redistribute alternative economic access to the affected community. Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2017 and the policy to close the red-light district were designed to forcibly alter social behavior. However, the researcher argues that the law proved ineffective due to a lack of supporting mechanisms capable of shifting the local community's economic orientation away from the nightlife entertainment industry. Consequently, the law succeeded only in altering labels (shifting from "red-light district" to "karaoke tourism") but failed to instill public order values within the

residential area. The research analysis concludes that there is a strong, intrinsic link between the theories of legal effectiveness, law enforcement, and public protection in the case of the former Sunan Kuning area. Inconsistent and obstructed law enforcement (law enforcement theory) causally results in the ineffectiveness of local regulations on the ground (legal effectiveness theory). Ultimately, this legal ineffectiveness undermines the state's function of guaranteeing peace and comfort for residents living near the Argorejo area (public protection theory). These specific theoretical findings underscore that the transformation of the former red-light district requires a seamless integration of firm action by the Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) on the ground and holistic socio-economic management by the Semarang City Government.

CONCLUSION

The Semarang City Public Order Agency (Satpol PP) has enforced Semarang City Regional Regulation Number 5 of 2017 through patrols, monitoring, enforcement operations, and the sealing of non-compliant business premises. However, implementation has not been fully effective because prostitution practices are no longer conducted openly; instead, they have shifted to more covert patterns involving private agreements between karaoke hostesses and customers outside the karaoke venues. This situation indicates that the resulting compliance is merely superficial, meaning the goal of maintaining public order has not been optimally achieved.

The effectiveness of enforcing the Regional Regulation is influenced by various factors. Hindering factors include limited personnel and operational budgets, information leaks prior to raids, difficulties in proving covert prostitution, social resistance from segments of the community, and public order disturbances triggered by alcohol consumption. Conversely, supporting factors include a clear legal basis and community participation manifested through the submission of reports and support for public order enforcement efforts.

Efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the Regional Regulation's enforcement involve both preventive and repressive approaches. Preventive measures include public awareness campaigns, guidance, and the installation of signage prohibiting prostitution, while repressive measures involve raids, the seizure of evidence, the temporary suspension of business activities, and the sealing of non-compliant premises. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of these efforts requires strengthened cross-sector coordination through collaborative governance involving the local government, Satpol PP, the Social Affairs Agency, the Tourism Agency, security forces, and the community to ensure the sustainable management of former red-light districts.

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