

Post-Closure Prostitution and The Adaptation Strategy of Sex Workers: Case Study of Dolly Prostitution Community, Surabaya Indonesia

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Abstract

Closure of Dolly as the biggest prostitution industry in South East Asia since the colonial era had an impact on the loss of economic resources for prostitutes, pimps and communities surrounding the area. This action changed the social interaction through which the symbiotic mutualism between sex commercial workers, pimp, and supporting a business that has been the long-standing among the actors disappear including lifestyle of the people. Is the adaptation process of Dolly actors made public so far managed or bring them back to his former profession? Employ the qualitative method we found that three kinds of adaptation that (1) are continue doing business stealthily use social media certainly commercial sex workers and pimp, (2) follow the government program such as on job training, open small business, and joint social services program, and (3) just transform to others job that are coming back to village and open new informal business. This founding clarifies the theory of structuralism Giddens who say that people will develop suitable strategies depend on their ability in countering dominant value and powers from the powerful actors. The future research should be a focus on the issue of oppression people who powerless in the contestation proses particularly old sex commercial workers.

Keywords: *Adaptation, Push Dolly, Prostitution, Localization of Dolly*

INTRODUCTION

Lately, Commercial Sex Workers have been regarded as professions by most people, because they are able to earn enough money, so the number of prostitution activities does not decrease, but even more and more, it even involves artist (public figure) fantastic. Official data of the Indonesian Directorate of Social Rehabilitation of the Ministry of Social Affairs, in 2012, recorded about 41,374 Commercial Sex Workers spread over 33 Provinces in Indonesia. The largest number is located in East Java as many as 7 793 people of Commercial Sex Workers and 1,031 pimps as its agent. In addition, the number of localization in Indonesia is mostly located in East Java Province, which is about 87 places, one of which is the localization of Dolly located in Surabaya City which is touted as the largest localization of Southeast Asia beat Phat Pong in Bangkok, Thailand, and Geylang in Singapore.

Historically, Dolly's localization was opened by a Dutch-born woman named Van Dolly around the 1960s which was marked by the establishment of homesteads that provided beautiful women assigned to serve Dutch troops. The strategic location of Dolly's localization in downtown Surabaya and the way to offer dramatic commercial sex workers by displaying beautiful and young women in a glass window, such as 'fish in aquariums', are an attraction

for consumers to vie to Dolly. The existence of Dolly localization brings benefits to the people who are in the vicinity because many of the citizens who depend on their life as a stall manager, parking attendants, laundry workers, pimps and homestead owners. In fact, Dolly's prostitution business is able to create linked links (symbiotic mutualism) with each other, not only involving commercial sex workers and pimps as the main actor, but also the surrounding community, as well as government officials ranging from Hamlet, Urban Village to sub-district (Nova & Huda, 2011). The dependence of these different types of businesses makes Dolly's territory a solid socioeconomic space with an abundance of cash flow and a business link that is not easily broken down (Faidah, 2014).

The presence of Dolly localization in Putat Jaya, Surabaya, Indonesia can rise the economic activities of the surrounding community because many businesses and jobs can be utilized starting from the business directly related to the sexual business as well as supporting businesses such as laundry, food traders, parking services etc. However, behind the positive impact, it also invites negative impact. Dolly's existence becomes a magnet for activities such as gambling, liquor, unofficial tax collection, and child traffic (Amirah, 2015) and giving a bad face to the city of Surabaya. Dolly's existence is also dangerous for the moral development of children around the area, there is a worriedness that children will be disturbed by their growth so that they feel confused to differentiate good and bad deeds. Cahaya Mentari Crisis Center Foundation activist said the children who live around this localization condition is very apprehensive. Most of them are grown prematurely. That is, they already consume spectacle and also behave that is not his age.

The complaints of religious leaders from both the Christian churches of the colonizers and the Islamic and Hindu believers among indigenous people put pressure on the state to regulate or forbid sex work, largely unsuccessfully (Terence H. Hull, (2017). One of the red light districts of prostitution that has been closed by the government is the red light district of Dolly in the city of Surabaya. The closure of Dolly red light district was carried out by referring to Regional Regulation Number 7 of 1999 concerning the prohibition on the use of buildings or places for prostitution. The plan to close this red light district has been since 2010, but the realization was carried out on June 18, 2014. The aim is to save the fate of children in red light districts, raise the degree of humanity and the goodness of commercial sex workers (CSWs) and affected citizens by transferring professions (Budiraharso, 2014).

As a result of the closure of Dolly's localization, prostitution activities that have occurred about 48 years have been lost. So it is forced to change the lifestyle of a well-established society and need new adaptations to continue their lives, especially for commercial sex workers and pimps who have been accustomed to consumptive life. Kusnadi (1996) states that adaptation is a social act of the actors, both individuals, and groups in the face of various risks arising from changes that occur in society. If that change leads to something detrimental while the old culture has begun to fade and the new culture has not grown strongly (not fully adaptive), then according to Robert K. Merton there will be anomie and a social deviant. To deal with the social and cultural changes surrounding environment, usually, people still adaptation by way of conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion (Siahaan, 2010).

In contrast to the policy of closing localization in other areas, such as the localization of Keramat Tunggak and Kalijodo in Jakarta, Indonesia, where the closure is done by breaking down the houses of the surrounding residents, requiring all citizens to move and seek new businesses and places of residence other. However, in the localization community of Dolly, the real adaptation that needs to be done only the form and its form because the physical environment is still the same. Localization is something that can be eradicated and even eliminated, but prostitution is not an easy thing to eliminate as demand keeps coming (Hull et, all, 1997). In other words, the opportunity to re-open a prostitution business in Dolly is still promising. Therefore, adaptation strategies implemented by the localization community to anticipate changes in the physical and social environment that is happening after the closure of Dolly become interesting to be studied. Did Dolly's localization community really tough to adapt or were they frustrated and back in the old profession?

So far, research on the closure of localization both in Indonesia and in some other countries has been widely practiced but appears to be less successful in stopping the practice of prostitution. The results of Alexander's research (1998) indicated that the policy of localizing prostitution in embroidery houses is still needed because the prohibition of prostitution couldn't reduce prostitution practices, but can lead to street prostitution that is very difficult to detect and also difficult to supervise the spread of HIV / AIDS sexual diseases. Meanwhile, Bernard (1993) supports the results of Alexander's research, which shows that street commercial sex workers are more vulnerable to violence because of their uncontrolled presence by both the police and the wider community. On the other hand the stigma of commercial sex workers who are considered social ills in society to make acts of violence against commercial sex workers left by the community. Bernard recommended that there be an initiative from the state to make room for commercial sex workers in brothels.

Hermanto's research results (2013) prove that the closing of localization of Teleju by Pekanbaru, Indonesia, Municipal Government in 2009 through local regulation, caused prostitution increasingly difficult to eradicate because its existence became hidden so prostitution is wilder not only happened in the street but also went into the middle people's lives. In addition, Janif's research, et al (2014), found that the religious foundations built by the government and simply to obey the demands of a group of religious communities without any deep consideration through social-philosophical discourse, the decision made politically tend to fail to complete the practice of prostitution in the Balikpapan city, Indonesia, because post-closure prostitution activities re-occur. Therefore, Janif et al offer in closing the localization of socio-economic circumstances to be considered especially their post-closure economies. Meanwhile, Wisadirana and Hakim (2015) point out that the policy of closing localization has not been fully successful, not only because of the government's mistake, but also the collective doubts of the wider community, religious leaders, community leaders, and affected communities want to move from the comfort zone. In addition, the enormous economic dependence of the existence of localization, ranging from Becak (pedicab/ kind of a bicycle contraption made to transport 1 person or 2 people) drivers, laundry helpers, motorcycle taxi drivers, parking attendants, shop owners, karaoke spots, commercial sex workers, pimps, homestead owners, and security and government personnel are also some factors affecting the failure of localization closure.

Studies on the policy of closing the localization described above are more likely to be examined from a religious, economic-political, legal and criminal perspective, whereas research closely linking closing policy to localization and adaptation of localization communities following the closure of localization has not been done. In fact, this research is important because although it has been officially closed, the possibility that prostitution practices in Dolly localization and surrounding areas are still operating. The difference that if the first execution can be done directly in the embroidery house, but now done in a number of inns outside of localization. When viewed from the side of HIV / AIDS prevention, the phenomenon of repatriation is actually worrying and cause new unrest in the community, because commercial sex workers infected with HIV / AIDS have the potential to spread to the community.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study used a qualitative approach to the type of case study. Case study research is applied to a community because it corresponds to its representation by the nature of the problem and objectives of the study. The selection of case study research strategies is based on; i) compliance with explorative research questions; ii) very small probability of researchers to control social events/symptoms that are not studied; and iii) the focus of research is contemporary social events / phenomena (present) in life (Yin, 2014).

The location of the research is the localization of Dolly and Jarak in the urban village of Putat Jaya, Sawahan Sub-district, Surabaya City, Indonesia. The data were collected by

direct observation, interviews, in which the researcher determined the initial informants to be interviewed then found further informants to expand the description of the information and trace variations of information that might exist. The number of informants to be interviewed is not restricted, but it will take place continuously until the answers from the informants will be repeated and do not get any additional information or replication (Kanto, 2004).

Interview with key informant use snowball strategy through which respective informant was recommended by other respondent and the interview was finished after there is no variation of information anymore that it is a precursor the data was saturated. The qualified informant is chosen purposively who are have direct interaction with the prostitution industry activities including local government, pimp, sex workers, and some NGO leaders and religious organization. We also collect secondary data from new papers, government report, and research report from university and local government.

All the data collected were analyzed qualitatively. It started with the research until the research was done. Data analysis technique refers to the opinion of Miles and Huberman (1992) which divides the three data analysis paths: data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion through verification. At the end of the study, in addition to the following summaries or key research findings, there is also a contextual recommendation and program of intervention to address the impact of closing localization.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Dynamic of Closure Dolly Prostitution

Attempts to close the localization site in Surabaya have strived for a long time. But this effort really can be said successful at the time Tri Risma Harini served as Mayor of Surabaya, Indonesia. Dolly's process of closing localization has indeed provoked resistance from some members of the community. Those who do this resistance are the people who feel their interests are disturbed. But this resistance or resistance can be dealt with without causing clashes resulting in casualties. The society as a whole has finally accepted the fact that Dolly's localization must be closed and all activities of members of commercial sex workers should be terminated. Everything can be said to work well although the process takes quite a long time accompanied by the resistance of the members of the community in the form of threats, intimidation, and other forms (Sanders, 2016).

In order to anticipate the impact of closing the localization, the Surabaya City Government gave compensation money amounting to 5 million rupiahs for commercial sex workers and pimps as capital transfers of the profession. They are also given training such as Batik (the traditional cloth of Javanese people, Indonesia), sewing, and food processing. The goal is that if they get out of this localization place can be independent, have their own income to meet the needs of his life. Such activities are aimed also to other affected people, they are people who live in the local area, such as bottled tea vendors, beer, parking men, inn owners, including hoodlum members.

However, when there is training or any kind of handling of the impact of localization closure they are given is indifferent and not involved in empowerment activities. This phenomenon according to Giddens (2010) referred to as a consciousness district, where they already know about the actions they do. Based on the narrative of some informants what is expected from Dolly's closing policy is not really in accordance with what the law wants. What they did as a result of their experience of training in localization areas was difficult to sell. They do not know how to be a good marketer. Things are getting tougher because the products they make are not competing with similar products from others who are more experienced. Call it Yuni (pseudonym), has received a fund of 5 million rupiahs, but the money can't be used to open a business in her village, then back to Surabaya and peddle him as before because skills acquired during the training can't be used to find a job.

Most of the skills were given during the rehabilitation process do not support to compete in normal life while the provision of skill is less effective. In previous studies, it was said that actually commercial sex workers themselves basically understand their condition and ability to do the job and before they apply for a job. But many of them are rejected by the place they apply for jobs (Octavian, 2008). This is influenced by existing structures in society that their shortcomings make them unable to work like everyone else. These findings indicate that there is no synchronization between the interests of the structure (the Government of Surabaya) with the actors (commercial sex workers, pimps, and affected communities) in the empowerment program. That is, the legitimacy aspect in the formulation of Giddens' theory of structure (2010), DSL (Domination, Signification, and Legitimacy) is not achieved.

The Adaptation Strategy of Sex Workers

The consequences of the inconsistency between the interests of the structure (the Government of Surabaya) with the actors (commercial sex workers, pimps and affected communities) in the empowerment program, the community develops some form of social adaptation, the main perpetrators of prostitution (commercial sex workers and pimps), retain the practice of prostitution through online virtual media and hidden sex transactions. On the other hand, the surrounding community who had been working as a trader, parking attendants still run its business despite the decreasing income.

Strategy 1: Building a New Innovation

The closing policy of localization that has been implemented in Dolly localization has caused the main prostitution business group to become subordinate. The insistence on the need that can't be postponed eventually leads the principal actors of this prostitution business to respond and work around it with new forms of innovation. Merton states that to get around the social and cultural changes surrounding environment, usually people still do the adaptation, one of them by building a new innovation (Siahaan, 2010).

When opened sex transactions can't be done in localization, the new innovations made by using mobile phones. One of the systems we usually meet at McDonald's outlet can be found in Dolly's prostitution deals and even the transaction system is much more practical. As if started by the glittering globalization followed because of the practical and time saving then the transaction system is also packaged in such a way. The intended transaction system is a "drive-thru" system. Drive-thru system is intended to deliver commercial sex workers to the place that has been agreed upon when booking. Customers are no longer required to come to Dolly or Distance to be able to make transactions but can be done at a place recommended by the customer.

In this case, in fact, the prostitution that had existed in Dolly's localization had never really died but only changed its way of transactions by the people involved to outwit all the rules related to the closing policy of localization. Coordination between the perpetrators was more organized, where the relationship between pimps and their workers, in this case, commercial sex workers still fairly stable. Even they still have a dependence on each other. Pimps depend on the income of commercial sex workers and in this case commercial sex workers also depend on the smoothness of their marketing skills pimps. Strong social relationships between commercial sex workers and pimps are not really said to be an act of protest against the government, but rather to survive. Customer search is an attempt to deal with government policies that are perceived to threaten the ease in obtaining jobs and income.

The results of this study also found that not only the way transactions are changed to overcome the problem and prevent the break-up of cooperation, then the strategy related to the distribution of results was also rearranged by those who still retain their profession. This can be seen from one of the following case examples:

Yes ... hehe ... they went come directly, enter the house ... now if there is a guest the girl will be called by phone every customer burdened 300.000 rupiahs, the 50.000 for paying the hotel, 150.000 for the girl, and the remaining 250.000 to the friends who seek guests (Interview, September 28, 2016).

The guesthouses around Dolly's localization are still operating as before, despite changes in shape, pattern, and work system, but not very influential. The efforts made by the Mayor of Surabaya to discipline prostitution in the Dolly localization even led to a new profession, namely 'ANJELO'. Anjelo is an abbreviation of 'Antar Jemput Lonte / deliver and pick commercial sex worker up'. In the work system, Anjelo tasked to deliver and also to pick up the commercial sex workers in meeting with their customers. In the distribution of results, usually, Anjelo get rations starting from 50,000 Rupiahs to 100,000 Rupiahs (about 3.8 - 7.6\$) for each work. Anjelo is a solution of the anomic state that was felt by commercial sex workers after the closure of Dolly.

The model of prostitution transactions that formed after the closure of the Dolly localization had a more practical flow. This is because customers who want to hire a dating friend can directly contact pimps through mobile phones, then pimps will give some pictures of commercial sex workers to be selected by customers as a date. Then negotiate related price and location agreed to meet. In this transaction, Anjelo performs their function to take the pimp boy to meet with his customers. This is where the payment is then made. In this transaction, the element of trust becomes the main capital.

For customers who do not know pimp contacts or sites that can be visited to be able to transact visit Dolly or Jarak directly. Their prospects will be approached by pimps to offer commercial sex workers or customers will get a game of matches match. Such transactions are the answer to threats that have been felt by the sex business.

Interviews with informants and field observations illustrate that reproduction of prostitution practices in disguise at the Dolly localization is essentially unsafe and vulnerable to a number of risks. However, each actor has prepared a number of strategies to address these risks. Just as when they had to deal with the enforcement operation of the municipal police in Indonesia and the Police so they then volunteered to be arrested by the enforcement officers, but they would do the tricks to overcome them. For example, they must establish cooperation with officials of the urban village government or sub-district government about when the operation will be conducted. If only they netted the operation they were ready to face it. Even when they have to deal with police they already have tips to overcome them.

What is interesting about this is when the apparatus of the municipal police in Indonesia warned that people do not do prostitution activities in the Dolly localization not responded with the opposition of violence expression. They seem to obey and heed some of the 'rules of the game'. However, after the warnings, control operations, and even the execution of the evictions took place, they again ran the "rules of the game". This is where the form of resistance is expressed in secret.

Such that shy resistance, which is conceptually related to the definition of resistance in the form of ways of domination between one party to the other. The other side with it tactics against the dominating party the dominating party can use its strategy to maintain its function. Resistance is not only found in economic relations (work relations) but also in other social relationships found in everyday life. In this case more resistance to the symbolic interactionism that focuses on the meaning and symbols of human action and interaction. In other words, resistance emerges as one of the forces that push people's lives into a movement of change. Whether the change is dynamic or static depends on the strength of the resistance. Bennett (1982) as dictated by Aryadi (2012) even sees resistance is essentially a defensive relationship with cultural power adapted by subordinate social forces in situations in which the forms of cultural power arise from a source clearly experienced as something extranal. Resistance, in this case, is rooted in the working class cultural conditions facing the class culture of power. The form of resistance according to Bennett is vaguely in response to power.

For this reason, if we look at some of the social acts committed by commercial sex workers and pimps in the form of this shy resistance expression we classify in the form of non-

violent resistance (Scott, 2004), Alisjahbana (2005). On the one hand, they also realize that the work done is against the rules of the game. However, on the other hand, they have to maintain the social sphere through their habitus, because the capital they already have must also be retained. They also understand that the social space around Dolly localization is a forbidden location for prostitution activity. They also understand if the curbing operation will be done as well as the risks that will befall them. But they also have the knowledge to deal with these risks, in order to maintain their existence. From here, there are a number of strategies developed by the Dolly localization community that is indirectly part of the social networks they have created so far.

Strategy 2: Migration as a Last Choice

The migration of commercial sex workers to localization is often done as a survival strategy. Based on the interview with one of the informants, Mr. Suyanto, who is the *Gemeinschaft* chairman of Dolly, said that the commercial sex worker has a fairly high mobility, like a butterfly that is free to fly anywhere as long as there are beetles that can be stopped. Likewise with commercial sex workers in Dolly always alternated and tend only stay for 4-6 months - up to a year, if indeed they feel still comfortable. Leaving Dolly's localization to other locations to continue her work was commonplace and became a habit for every commercial sex worker. Generally, the move to other localization comes from the willingness of commercial sex workers themselves without any coercion or told others. Dolly's policy of closing localization has provoked commercial sex workers to immediately migrate to other localization.

There are two models of migration of commercial sex workers to other localizations. First, migration to other far-flung localizations is usually a choice for young commercial sex workers as they are physically strong enough to travel relatively far. Migration is done because the income earned is larger and more regular than the income around the ex-Dolly localization. That is, work optimization is measured by the amount of income that can be enjoyed in the destination. In accordance with the concept of Scoones (1998), migration considers aspects of space. In this case, commercial sex workers conduct internal migration with cross-district and provincial spaces, such as Batam and Borneo islands. Revenue from the migration results is very helpful to meet the needs of family life.

Second, They migrate to other localizations which have lower status (downward mobility). The type of migration they do is circular migration or short-term migration, not permanent migration. These are elderly commercial sex workers who have lost out to young commercial sex workers. Usually, commercial sex workers belonging to this group come from the distance localization that moved to the wild localization in Wonokromo or the Kembang Kuning in Surabaya tomb which is known by the people of Surabaya as the lower class localization.

Strategy 3: Diversify Employment

Job diversification is a social adaptation by prostitution business actors in order to meet the needs and adapt to changing socio-economic situations. One of the informants who do the job diversification is Madam Sri (a pseudonym) a former commercial sex worker who is 50 years old and has lived long enough in the former localization of Dolly. At the age that is not easy anymore, there are no consumers who want to buy sex services. To anticipate that, she accepted a job offer from a former pimp who is opening a lending service business. From the job, Madam Sri received wage 100,000 Rupiah (about 7.6\$). In addition to doing side work, Madam Sri also receives massage services. However, the income from the massage services business is uncertain, depending on the number of customers. In a day, minimum income of Madam Sri is from a traveling masseuse as much as 50,000 - 100,000 Rupiahs (about 3.8 to 7.6\$). The average customer Madam Sri is a man who just finished dating a commercial sex worker.

In carrying out her activities, Madam Sri claimed to still maintain good relations with the local people around Dolly localization. Good relations with local residents are maintained, such as work devotion, social gathering, and others. Everything she does as a form of gratitude has been accepted in that environment. Such social adaptations, both in finding other jobs to sustain life and the pattern of relationships with surrounding communities, seem interlocked and complementary. It is as if the rights and obligations are inseparable. Commercial sex workers did alive and earning a living around Dolly's localization is their right, but commercial sex workers still have an obligation to participate in building and active activities in their neighborhood. The proven social adaptation will be applied continuously so that it can sustain its life in the increasingly violent prostitution world. Relationships with the surrounding community that has been built well will be maintained and maintained, so no worries expelled from the environment.

Meanwhile, the community has been working as a prostitution business supporter adaptation strategy by continuing. It's business by following new rules or empowerment activities undertaken by the government. Most of the people who joined in this group diversified their work, such as street vendors, laundry service, massager, loan shark, and later several joint *Kelompok Usaha Bersama/KUBE* (business groups), such as *Samijali* chips business, shoe crafts, and batik.

Initially, many residents refused to join a joint venture group formed by this government because their efforts did not generate money directly, such as the prostitution business they had been struggling for. However, some *KUBE* members who still survive, now prove that tenacity and perseverance must be fruitful, such as *KUBE Mampu Jaya* which produces sandals and shoes currently flooded with orders. Examples of sandals made by *KUBE Maju Jaya* and *Bintang Dolly* crackers from *Samijali KUBE* can be seen in Figure 1.



Figure 1. Sandal and crackers product from the community of Dolly and Jarak ex-localization

CONCLUSION

Adaptation strategies that localization initiates as a result of Dolly's closure can be divided into two forms. The main perpetrators of prostitution (commercial sex workers and pimps) choose to go back to the business of prostitution because it is considered more able to support the family. People who enter the main perpetrators of the prostitution business are not interested in other professions such as entrepreneurship by relying on training facilities provided by the

government. When there is training or any kind of impact handling, the actions they undertake are indifferent and do not engage in empowerment activities.

This phenomenon according to Giddens (2010) referred to as a consciousness district where they already know about the actions they do. Consequently, they undertake various adaptation strategies, including; (a) make new innovations through sex business transactions and seek guests through social media, message and use of motorcycle taxi drivers or better known as Anjelo (Antar Jemput Lonte / deliver and pick commercial sex worker up), (b) business strategy of: migration as a last resort, to a lower localization, for example to the yellow flowers or Wonokromo, Surabaya.

So, according to the typology of the adaptation strategies, we found three kinds of adaptation that; i) are continue doing business stealthily use social media certainly commercial sex workers and pimp; ii) follow the government program such as on job training, open small business, and joint social services program; and iii) just transform to others job that is coming back to village and open new informal business. This founding clarifies the theory of structuralism Giddens who say that people will develop suitable strategies depend on their ability in countering dominant value and powers from the powerful actors.

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