



**TATA KELOLA KOMUNITAS TERHADAP PROSTITUSI:
REHABILITASI SOSIAL BAGI PEKERJA SEKS MELALUI MODAL
SOSIAL**

**COMMUNITY GOVERNANCE OF PROSTITUTION: SOCIAL
REHABILITATION FOR SEX WORKERS THROUGH SOCIAL
CAPITAL**

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Abstract

The Indonesian government has closed entire prostitution sites, one of them is Sunan Kuning with 500 sex workers in 2019. The study aims to investigate the implementation of social rehabilitation programs for its members through different networks covering social capital in bonding, bridging and linking social capital. This study used ethnographic method and showed that since the zone was covered by uncompromising Islamist group in 1998, the government was reluctant to manage prostitution and the area was reopened in 2003 after hundreds poor sex workers and procurers approached to local authorities and other parties to support them. Since then, the city government delegated authority to the society to manage it as a prostitution rehabilitation site. To be successful, the community required its members to obey established rules and created networks horizontally and vertically to diverse groups to provide health and social service and empowerment. However, the program implementation of social rehabilitation was ineffective because of limited networks and resources; community inconsistency to define prostitution rehabilitation, members' inconstancy to follow agreed rules; lack of government responsiveness to the community conditions, and failure to define the substance problem. To solve this complex problem, it required continuing and synergistic collaborative governance with diverse stakeholders to resolve the problems.

Keywords: *Community Governance, Social Capital, Social Rehabilitation, Sex Workers.*



Abstrak

Pemerintah Indonesia sudah memutuskan untuk menutup semua lokasi prostitusi, salah satunya adalah Sunan Kuning dengan jumlah hampir 500 pelacur, pada 2019. Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk menelaah secara rinci bagaimana komunitas pekerja seks, Sunan Kuning Semarang mengimplementasikan program rehabilitasi sosial bagi para anggotanya melalui bentuk-bentuk jaringan yang mencakup modal sosial secara *bonding*, *bridging* dan *linking*. Dengan menggunakan metode etnografi, studi ini memperlihatkan bahwa sejak zona tersebut ditutup oleh kelompok Islam yang tidak kenal kompromi pada tahun 1998, pemerintah kota enggan untuk menangani prostitusi, dan area tersebut dibuka kembali pada tahun 2003 setelah ratusan pelacur miskin dan mucikari mendekati para tokoh lokal dan pihak lain untuk mendukung mereka. Sejak itu, pemerintah kota melimpahkan otoritas kepada komunitas untuk mengelolanya sebagai wilayah rehabilitasi sosial bagi para pekerja sex. Agar rehabilitasi sosial berhasil, komunitas mengharuskan anggotanya untuk mematuhi peraturan yang berlaku dan membuat jaringan secara horizontal dan vertikal ke berbagai kelompok untuk menyediakan layanan kesehatan dan sosial dan pemberdayaan. Namun implementasi program rehabilitasi sosial tersebut tidak efektif karena keterbatasan jaringan dan sumberdaya; ketidakkonsistenan komunitas dalam memaknai rehabilitasi prostitusi; ketidakkonsistenan anggota untuk mengikuti aturan yang disepakati; kurangnya responsivitas pemerintah terhadap kondisi komunitas; dan kegagalan dalam mendefinisikan substansi masalah dengan tepat. Untuk memecahkan masalah yang sangat kompleks ini secara efektif memerlukan *collaborative governance* yang melibatkan berbagai pemangku kepentingan secara berkesinambungan dan inergis.

Kata Kunci: Tata Kelola Komunitas, Modal Sosial, Rehabilitasi Sosial, Pekerja Sex.

A. INTRODUCTION

Street prostitutes, one of diverse types of sex workers in the modern societies ([Prakash, 2013: 32-33](#)), has been growing in Semarang City since early 1960s. The number of prostitutes increased spectacularly to over 700 while the number of procurers increased significantly to 157 in late 1990s particularly when Indonesia was suffered from the 1998 economic crises. The growing street level prostitution had caused anxiety among the local people. In order to make the city government (CG) effective to control the prostitution, all procurers and prostitutes were relocated to Argorejo, one of neighborhoods of Kalibanteng Kulon sub-district (*Kelurahan*) since 1963. Three years later, on August 15, 1966, CG based on Mayoral Decree No 21/15/17/66 officially decided the Argorejo neighborhood, well known as the Sunan Kuning (SK), as an area of social rehabilitation for sex workers. The programs of social rehabilitation are intended to change the notion of self and generate normative living and inhibit them to return to prostitution environment ([Nurbani, 2017: 44](#)). People living in this location who engage with prostitution activities commonly referred to as the community of SK. The principal causes of prostitution includes economic, social, psychological, biological, and religious and cultural factors ([Nurbani, 2017: 48](#); [Prakash, 2013: 32-33](#)) but economic factor, mainly poverty, is the strongest cause of prostitution ([Nurbani, 2017: 45](#); [Prakash, 2013: 35](#); [Sapio, 2011: 84](#)).



Problem of prostitution is very important to study because it is related to human survival and various conflicting values. It cannot to be overcome only by using a legal approach. Any government action to close prostitution based on legal approach can create new problem since the root of problem is not defined correctly. Therefore, the community of sex workers needs to be involved in decision making that affect their lives through community governance.

The idea of community governance is encouraged by the lost legitimacy of states and markets ([Alcock, 2010: 381](#); [Evans, 2011: 166](#); [Newman, 2010: 712](#); [Smith, 2010: 824](#)) which produces an intersection of neo-liberalism and communitarianism to develop the core of a new relationship between the state, the market and civil society ([O'Toole & Burdess, 2004: 434](#)). At the main element of community governance is 'social capital' ([Putnam, 1995: 66](#)). Because community governance is mainly management and decision-making that is performed by, with, or on behalf of a community, by a group of community stakeholders at the community level, the most appropriate theory as a tool of analysis for this study is theory of social capital.

As shown in table 1, social capital has been extensively explored in studies of corporation ([Zhang & Fung, 2006: 198](#); [Westlund & Adam, 2010: 893](#); [Tundui & Tundui, 2013: 50](#); [Roomi, 2009: 473](#)), farmer cooperative performance studies ([Sis, Mohammadi, & Hedjazi, 2013: 593](#); [Akahoshi & Binotto, 2016: 104](#); [Liang, Huang, Lu, & Wang, 2015: 49](#); [Morrow et al., 2017: 673](#)), health issues ([Cortelyou-ward, Noblin, & Williams, 2012: 7](#); [Katmini, Murti, Oepomo, & Anantanyu, 2018: 271](#)), socio-economic development ([Delić, Šarić, & Osmanović, 2017: 169](#); [Jordan, Anil, & Munasib, 2010: 143](#); [Zhang, Anderson, & Zhan, 2011: 119](#); [Hanka & Engbers, 2017: 271](#)), sustainable natural resource management ([Gutiérrez, Hilborn, & Defeo, 2011: 386](#); [Warren, 2016: 329](#); [Mitchell et al., 2016: 559](#)).

The current study uses ethnographic method whereas the previous studies used survey, phone conversation, face to face interview, and/or statistical data base; and none of the studies uses ethnographic research method. This method is able to provide a rich source of concrete data and helps to show unarticulated demands; and it also allows emotional behavior to be described; and provide interpretation behind data. However, studies of community governing sex workers through social capital are lacking. Moreover, systematic research on the SK community in rehabilitating its members never been done before. Therefore, this is a new and very interesting research to do.

The objectives of this study is to discuss how the community of sex workers, the SK of Semarang implements social rehabilitation programs for its members through building social capital. It discusses how the community strengthens internal cohesion and creates networks with external groups including government, local non-government organization NGO, Islamic groups, and privates to produce diverse resources intended to improve its capacity to provide social service for and empower its members. It also discusses how the community enforces regulations in adapting the government policy change and achieving its goals and minimizing free riders.

B. RESEARCH METHOD

This study, conducted in the Argorejo neighborhood, Semarang, Indonesia, is a descriptive qualitative research, not statistical hypothesis-testing. It uses an ethno-graphic method, involving several periods of fieldwork in 2017 and 2018 using *participant observation*, watching prostitutes, procurers, leaders of community, and CG officials relating to social affairs, and talking to them about what they did, thought and said. This method extended an insight into prostitutes, procurers, the leaders of community, officials



of CG' attitudes and the practice they realized their interactions between the individuals and the groups and including triangulation by using several contacts to people from different directions. Those methods were selected based on both purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques. This was combined with interviews with local people including local Islamic leaders, local non-government organization (NGO) non-prostitute, people living in Argorejo neighborhood, gate keepers of SK neighborhood, parking attendants, street vendors, and taxi drivers with comprehensive content analyzes of secondary research and local newspapers. The validity of this research was preserved by using multiple data sources by using various informants and various documentary data and methods of data collection, and the data interpretation collected from compound understandings.

C. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Community governance is an extension of the idea of local government beyond its traditional role in providing public services where there has been a shift in the case of the authority holder, in which the authority to provide services, structuring or management is no longer be held by the government but some of its authority is left to civil society or community to organize it ([Banner, 2002: 219](#)). Community refers to a group of people who interact directly, repeatedly and face-to-face with many people in a group, and they can be formed based on location/place, identity and interests ([Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 420](#); [Rudkin, 2003: 11](#)). Although Definition of community governance is contentious ([Provan & Kenis, 2008: 234-236](#)) the term community governance in this study refers to actions and involvements of diverse stakeholders in relations to the community of SK. It is basically management and decision-making that is carried out by, with, or on behalf of a community, by a group of community stakeholders at the community level.

The fundamental element of community governance is social capital ([Putnam, 1995: 66](#)), and therefore, a tool for analyses of this study uses theory of social capital. This theory is able to analyze more than the sum of the diverse natures of links considered in this study and can expose stories of reality that otherwise endure unseen ([Adler, Paul S; Kwon, 2002: 24](#)). Although social capital has not been conceptualized systematically ([Patulny & Svendsen, 2007: 37](#); [Schuller, 2007: 12](#)) there is agreement that discussions on it involve three types of networks including bonding, bridging and linking networks ([Pretty, 2003: 1913](#); [Putnam, 1995: 67](#); [Schuller, 2007: 17](#)).

Bonding network is ties and networks among equal position or homogeneous groups that may strengthen social cohesion ([Kearns & Forrest, 2000: 102](#); [Pretty, 2003: 1913](#)). Groups with higher cohesion create greater collaboration among affiliates, more conformity to group norms, greater pride with the group, and littler intensities of truancy ([Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950: iv](#); [Keller, 1983: 537](#)), and they are more effective in accomplishing goals of the group ([Goodacre, 1951: 149](#); [Norris & Niebuhr, 1980: 302](#)). Homogeneous communities or groups tend to have stronger social relations resulting in more social capital ([Alesina & La Ferrara, 2000: 849](#)). Bridging network refers to networks between groups or communities and other groups; this type of networks may create mutual support, information and knowledge sharing, and cooperation ([Bhuiyan, 2011: 535](#); [Flora, 1998: 490](#); [Narayan & Pritchett, 1999: 872](#)). Linking network is the capacity of groups to gain access to resources that are not offered within the community, ideas and information from governmental institutions outside the community ([Flora, 1998: 492-493](#); [Pretty, 2003: 1913](#)).

Some studies show that communities who have networks with diverse external associations are able to overcome the problems they face, such as being able to deal with



the problem of poverty ([Moser, 1996: 14](#); [Narayan & Pritchett, 1999: 873](#)), able to take advantage of opportunities for the group ([Isham, 2000: 33](#)), able to resolve the conflict ([Sudarmo, 2015: 192](#); [Varshney, 2003: 992](#); [Wilson, 1996: v](#)), able to create empowerment ([Batoa et al., 2018: 9](#); [Babaei, Ahmad, & Gill, 2012: 123](#)), and able to make collective action ([Sudarmo, 2018: 2782](#)). Other studies ([Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 422](#); [Hart et al., 2010: 30](#); [Platteau & Seki, 2001: 1](#)) show that communities with strong networks are able resolve multifaceted and dissolved problems. Community with strong networks also can resolve problems that cannot be managed by individuals acting alone, markets and governments ([Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 422](#); [Platteau & Seki, 2001:1](#)). Therefore, to be effective, community do not only create networks with diverse external groups who have resources that are not available on or cannot be provided by the community itself but it can also apply punishment or sanctions to those who break the norm because punishment or sanctions may provide solution of problem ([Fehr & Gächter, 2002: 139](#); [Sober & Wilson, 1998: 239](#)).

The community may apply top-down approaches in governing members' behavior in some occasions. Top down approaches create exact steps that can insist members of community to follow a regulation obediently so that it is able to make the community goals certain and reliable ([Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975: 446](#); [Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983: v](#)). However, government decision based on top down approach may ignore socio-economic situation and existing resources ([Pretty & Shah, 1999: 4](#)).

D. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Prostitution of SK had been managed by CG of Semarang of the New Order from 1966 to 1997. Procurers earned 75% of the total income obtained by prostitutes, while the rest were given to prostitutes. This unfair income distribution caused most prostitutes were living in poverty and highly dependency on procurers. During this time, prostitutes received free of charge intensive health care from local authorities.

In the period 1998-1999, when Indonesia was experiencing a severe economic crisis and the emergence of democratic euphoria, the place of prostitution was forcibly closed down by a hardline Islamist group. Prostitutes and procurers suffered physical violence and intimidation from the group. They were insulted as sinful and immoral people. Those who were known to keep open the practice of prostitution were persecuted. Government officials did not dare to take any action for fear of this group. As a result, most of the sex workers left Semarang city. Their lives were worsening because they had no job and sustainable income while they did not have any other skill.

In the period 2000-2003, prostitutes who were all from poor families, attempted to return to the SK but they did not dare to reopen the practice of prostitution at this location since the government was not capable of providing security protection for them but it keep running around the city secretly. The new elected Mayor of Semarang City of the reform era, starting to work on January 1, 2000, who was expected to help the powerless prostitutes, did nothing.

In early 2003, prostitutes were attempting to get help from procurers who once were their hosts to reopen prostitution but they did not dare to take a decision for fear of intimidation from extremist Islam group. Prostitutes together with procurers eventually visited heads of six neighborhood associations of Argorejo to realize their wish. They also visited a politician from Golkar party and the head of citizens association, named Suwandi, to provide protection for their activities.



Shortly, all community leaders together with some representatives of procurers and prostitutes held a meeting. They agreed to work together to overcome the problem they faced. They attempted to get support from diverse external groups including local government, politicians, public figures, residents of Argorejo neighborhood and those living in Kalibanteng Kulon sub-district before starting their activities. In a national conference on September 19-21, 2003, SK area was officially declared by the CG as a prostitution rehabilitation zone. The CG delegated this mandate to leaders of Argorejo neighborhood together with procurers and prostitutes to govern themselves. The prostitution rehabilitation basically has three main programs including health care, security and alleviation of prostitution practices through empowerment together with a spiritual rehabilitation series. However the program has only started since 2008 while the reduction of prostitutes program until end of 2018 has not been done consistently.

Since the rehabilitation program has been implemented all prostitutes are required to conduct medical tests to detect infectious diseases monthly. Severe sanctions can be imposed on prostitutes who are unwilling to pursue health and on procurers who are known to have deliberately left their prostitutes unwilling to conduct medical tests. They may be expelled from their location, and their brothels can be evicted.

The CG set a health check fee for each prostitute of 45 thousand rupiah, a price that is considered very expensive for prostitutes. As a result, many prostitutes were reluctant to get health control. In 2012, 12 HIV infections were found and the number was tripled in 2013. Despite infected, they still served customers because procurers still protected them while the local NGO Lentera Asa only provided counseling assistance for them. The community also runs a spiritual rehabilitation program aimed at achieving prostitutes' self-consciousness. The community in cooperation with the religious office of CG provides Islamic religious teachings and counseling once a week considering the majority of prostitutes are Muslims. The community also invited religious figures (*Kiyai*) from a number of areas in central Java to give lectures on Islamic religion monthly to provide awareness for the prostitutes and procurers. In addition, every holy month of Ramadan, all forms of prostitution practices in SK are obliged to stop and prostitutes are required to return home to perform fasting activity in their place of origin. However, anytime the fasting month of Ramadan ended, they came again to the SK. There were some prostitutes who declared repentance but the number was too little, not more than 10 people, especially those aged over 40 years and found them difficult to compete.

All prostitutes and procurers were also required to follow social activities in the forms of health exercises once a week and regular meeting once a month. Those who did not participate in such activities will be fined Rp 50,000 each time they were absent from the activity. All procurers and prostitutes were obliged to contribute to pay dues amounting to Rp 25,000 and Rp 15,000 each per month, respectively. Procurers who provide karaoke facilities are required to pay an additional fee for security toll of Rp 5,000 each room per month. As the top leader of the community said "so far, funding for all activities held in our neighborhood is provided by all members of the SK community through routine fees...the government does not provide financial assistance at all...the government has promised to provide 20 sewing machines but until now it has not been fulfilled" (interview, 17 May 2018). The money is used by the community for paying the whole security services, environmental hygiene, spiritual cleansing, monthly meetings expenses, and other social activities. Those who did not follow the regulations three times consecutively were penalized in the form of eviction from the location.



Since the Minister of Social Affairs Khofifah Endarparwangsa in 2014 instructed all governor, mayors and regents throughout Indonesia to close all prostitution sites in their territories by 2019, the CG of Semarang immediately instructed leaders of SK community to follow up the policy. It was supported by the Indonesian Council of Ulema of Semarang City by stating that prostitution is a sin and the current CG of Semarang should immediately close it because it only inherits the legalized prostitution of the past. The Islamic Defender Front (FPI) of Semarang even requested that the police immediately close the prostitution because it was considered to violate the state' rules.

The community leaders immediately informed the policy through the meetings but all procurers and prostitutes reject it (the policy) because the closing deadline was considered too short while the practice of prostitution was the only source of income for them. As one of powerful leaders said "...most of pimps have a lot of debts amounting to ...hundreds of millions rupiahs to banks for financing home renovations and car installments...some of them have paid off but some others still have to pay until five years and more. They only rely on this place to cover everything all of this...yes, we are required to obey the government policy...but if this place is closed, of course this will create difficulties for all our members" (interview, March 13, 2018). Some procurers objected because they still have hundreds of millions of debt for car loans and home renovations with a credit period of more than 5 years. While some prostitutes complained that they still have a lot of debt to procurers for buying motor cycle and debt to some neighbors in their area of origin to meet daily food for their families. However, most prostitutes refused to the prostitution closure plan because their lives were still poor and still needed a source of income that could ensure the sustainability of their lives. As one of prominent procurers employing some other subordinate procurers and having more than 20 prostitutes explained the situation of prostitutes "... they don't know where they have to go if this place is closed...they will not have a reliable job anymore to depend on...they still have a lot of debt...monthly payment for the motorcycle...installments of debt to their *mommy* (procurers)...they have to send money to their mother and children in the villages weekly...all foster children (prostitutes) in PK are poor" (interview, June 8, 2018).

The community intensively negotiated with the head of Social Office of Semarang City (HSOSC) because in its opinion, problems of prostitution are complex; they need skill improvement, material and a lot of financial support, and thus it takes a long time. The community leaders and members asked the government and the local legislative (DPRD) to tolerate the conditions since most SK prostitutes were still poor and argued that they would be in high risk to contract the disease if they returned to the streets, and difficult to detect it due to lack of supervision. However, the head of HSOSC kept reminding the community leaders and members to obey the central government decision to close the prostitution.

To anticipate any unforeseen circumstances related to the central government's ultimatum and the CG order, Suwandi together with six heads of neighborhood associations in coordination and cooperation with all procurers and prostitutes agree to improve the function of SK as an institution for real rehabilitating prostitutes since 2014. This is essentially a program of gradual reduction of the number of prostitutes through empowerment in which prostitutes would be returned to their hometown after they complete their savings for three years and attending selected training for about a week.

In order the program to be successful, they assemble a common vision and goal and build a commitment to achieve it that consistent with the government policy. The community also created more extended networks with diverse external institutions or groups, not only with the CG, local Ulema Council and Islamic figures, and public



hospitals and health centers but also with culinary and food experts, tailoring specialists, and beauty consultants.

The leaders, procurers and prostitutes of SK have also agreed to implement a very strict regulation to any prostitute who does not want to have her health check. Through cooperation with local NGO Lentera Asa, until 2016 the community found about 120 prostitutes who had never conducted health checks for over 3 months. Because they were suspected of being infected with HIV, they were punished. They were asked to leave the site; the operating license of brothel was revoked and the brothels without an operating license were dismantled. Finally, the number of prostitutes dropped to 486 in 2016. However, until the end of 2018 more gradual reduction of prostitutes had never been made by the procurers, and any prostitute leaving the site was replaced by the new one.

Some brothels provided not only more karaoke facilities supplied with high alcohol drinks but also striptease dancing to attract more customers in March 2017. This situation has encouraged police and civil service police unit of Semarang city to control drunkenness leading to commotion, and the National Narcotic Agency to control the drug circulation in the SK. Although striptease activities could be stopped and the actors and customers were arrested by the police because they were considered to break the Law 44/ 2008 about Pornography, apparatuses keep conducting inspections more intensively to all brothels mainly since the early 2018.

Prostitutes have been recommended to save money since 2008, and since 2016 every prostitute has been strictly required to save for three years until the savings reach an ideal amount of at least 50 million rupiah before they are required to leave the SK. Since the news about the SK closure plan has been scattered compounded by intensively apparatuses inspection, while the covert prostitution spots appear in other locations around Semarang, the number of customers begin to decline resulting in a small amount of prostitutes' savings. As a result, the obligation of saving is overlooked by prostitutes. Although the community leaders control over the use of money by prostitute only for urgent needs, prostitutes tended to use various ways to be able to use the money freely for consumptive expenditures. As a result, the average amounts of their savings in general did not go up significantly. Most of them, on average only have savings between twelve and twenty million Rupiahs within three years. However, the board still decided that they have to go home after completing the entrepreneurship course no matter what savings they had.

Before prostitutes were returned to their home town, they were empowered with skill improvement. Each prostitute is required to attend one of three types of free of charge entrepreneurship trainings including making cake and food processing, beauty salon and bridal makeup, and sewing intended to improve their skills and business capability. Saving and training movements keep going but it was prioritized for prostitutes who were coming from Central Java given the financial constraints of the community. Nevertheless, the CG did not provide any financial or material assistance to support programs organized by the community to empower powerless prostitutes. Even, the government's promise to provide 20 sewing machines for the community was never realized. The government only provided training for five days in February 2017. It was held by the Social Office of Semarang City, in cooperation with Local NGO Lentera Asa, and the Soyger Home Industry which produced various processed products of soybean.



Table 1.
Previous Studies in Social Capital

Author(s)	Focus of study	Methodology	Findings
(Zhang & Fung, 2006: 198–207)	It examines the characteristics and financial performance of private enterprises in China.	Surveys; data were collected from comprehensive 2000 and 2002 surveys of Chinese entrepreneurs.	Social capital, financing capital, and human capital have significantly effects on firm profitability
(Westlund & Adam, 2010: 893–919)	It analyses the effects of social capital on economic performance.	Reviews of 65 studies on social capital and economic performance.	Social capital has impact on firms' performance.
(Roomi, 2009: 473-495)	It explains the role of social capital owned by women businesspersons in different stages of growth within their firms	Semi-structured interviews on a one-to-one basis including 30 face to face interactions and 20 telephone dialogues.	The use of social capital facilitate businesses development and growth.
(Tundui & Tundui, 2013: 50–60)	It explores the impact of social capital on the performance of women owned microcredit supported enterprises	Random sampling of 429 women business owners.	Social capital plays a significant role in the businesses performance. The impact of bridging social capital on enterprise performance was more important than the bonding social capital.
(Sis, Mohammadi, & Hedjazi, 2013: 592–597)	It analyses the effect of social capital on performance of olive farmers cooperatives	Structured interview technique and questionnaire instruments, from 17 cooperative of Taram City, Zanjan Province.	Social integration, social awareness and infrastructural domain had the highest effect on performance of cooperatives respectively.
(Akahoshi & Binotto, 2016:	It identifies the existence of social	Case study; data are collected from	The actions of the cooperative based on



104–117)	interactions based on trust that increase social capital at an agricultural cooperative.	interviews with 12 managers and 10 cooperative members.	values including honesty, transparency, reliability, and the fidelity of the cooperative producers, cause the cooperative keep the attitudes of a cooperative group.
(Liang, Huang, Lu, & Wang, 2015: 49–78)	It develops a framework for defining and clarifying various aspects of social capital and examined the effects of social capital on members' participation in collective activities and on the economic performance of farmer cooperatives.	It uses database consisting of 147 farmer cooperatives in China's Zhejiang province	There is a positive relationship between certain dimensions of social capital and members' participation in training and general meetings. Each dimension of social capital has a significant and positive impact on the economic performance of cooperatives
(Morrow et al., 2017: 673–688)	It investigates how Ugandan farmers viewed the social benefits associated with cooperation. cooperative performance studies	Survey; data are collected from 183 respondents (Ugandan farmers).	Bonding networks increase emotional support and social support; Bridging networks expand tangible and intangible resources; The expected economic benefits of cooperation do not have effect on willingness to cooperate significantly.
(Cortelyouward, Noblin, & Williams, 2012: 7–15)	It identifies the relationships between Personal Health Record and patient health literacy	Survey with open ended questions; data are collected from 562 patients at a primary care physician's office, America.	Personal Health Record fosters the provider-patient relationship and increases social capital
(Katmini, Murti, Td, & Anantanyu, 2018: 271-273)	It analyses the empowerment of preventing preeclampsia with the increase of antenatal care in pregnant	observational study with case control approach	Social capital has direct and indirect relationships with the empowerment of pregnant women in preeclampsia



	women health issues; Kediri, Indonesia		prevention.
(Delić, Šarić, & Osmanović, 2017: 169–182)	It identifies and analyses social capital in socio-economic development context	Survey with 100 members of the top management teams in Bosnia and Herzegovina	Dimensions of social capital in Bosnia and Herzegovina are unsatisfactory
(Jordan, Anil, & Munasib, 2010: 143–159)	It examines whether local economic development can explain the variation in social capital across various geographical clusters.	Survey; It uses Human Development Index (HDI) to measure community development.	Community development has a positive effect on local social capital
(Zhang, Anderson, & Zhan, 2011: 119–142)	It investigates the differentiated effects of individual bonding and bridging social capital on subsequent personal income and income-to-needs ratios socio-economic development	The data are from a longitudinal panel study by the National Survey of Families and Households	Bridging capital is more effective than bonding capital in helping people advance economic well-being. Bonding capital, does not have impact in advancing economic well-being.
(Hanka & Engbers, 2017: 272–291)	It investigates how neighbourhood and individual characteristics influence economic development and social capital.	It uses survey analysis of three neighbourhoods with different socioeconomic status and policy interventions.	Individual and neighbourhood characteristics have effect on differences in social capital across neighbourhoods
(Gutiérrez, Hilborn, & Defeo, 2011: 386–389)	It discusses how community leaders, social capital, and strong incentives promote successful fisheries and sustainable natural resource can be conserved.	It uses a systematic search of the peer-reviewed and grey literature (n 5 1,168 documents) to identify quantitative and qualitative evidences of the impacts of fisheries co-management practices around the world	Community leaders, social capital, and strong incentives correlate with successful fisheries and sustainable natural resource
(Warren, 2016: 329–339)	It explores issues raised in social capital debates concerning leadership and public	Case study of destructive resource exploitation and changing rules-in-use	A more complex appreciation of vertical and horizontal relationships between



participation toward
sustainable natural
resource governance.

leaders and ordinary
villagers is required;

The current study shows that legalization of the prostitution since 1966 is expected to bring positive results. However, the legalized zone of the SK as a center of social rehabilitation of prostitution has been perceived as localization of prostitution. Its legal status has been becoming a pull factor that attracts hundreds women from diverse areas to joint in it because both prostitutes and procurers feel save under protection and empowered by the local government ([Mayhew & Mossman, 2007: 26](#)). Legalization of the SK as location of prostitution had encouraged the number of prostitutes working in brothels to increase because legalization means that prostitutes together with procurers can legally sell and make profit from numerous men who can legally buy sex services ([Raymond, 2004: 29](#)).

Although SK prostitution has a legal status, it had been closed arbitrarily by the hardline Islam group during the early 1998 reformation euphoria because they saw prostitution as immoral practices and full of sin. It indicates that prostitution remains morally unwelcome ([Pateman, 1983: 561](#)) by some people in Indonesia. However, those who consider prostitution immoral might have less empathy for those joining in it and could therefore be more likely to urge a revengeful reaction ([O'Neill et al., 2008: 74](#)). Although tolerance might be necessary in principle, 'not all current associations' growing in early reform era such as extremist Islam group 'can be appreciated as tolerant' ([Corneo & Jeanne, 2009: 692](#)). However, since some recent stakeholders including public figures and residents of Argorejo neighborhood and those living in sub-district of Kalibanteng Kulon have backed prostitutes to gather material well-being in order to meet their basic needs and empowered them in terms of capital and skill from at least between 2003 and 2014, it indicates that some people were tolerant to prostitution ([Stack, Adamczyk, & Cao, 2010: 1721](#)).

Unfortunately, the New Order government was not able to manage prostitution fairly, causing prolonged poverty for prostitutes and their dependence on procurers. Similarly, the mayors of the reform eras was not willing to make any policy that may empower the powerless sex workers because all policies regarding prostitution have to encounter area-specific barriers, obstructions, demands and boundaries that form and restrict the possibilities of intensive action ([Wagenaar, 2017: 3](#)).

The study shows that the community of SK succeeded in building solidarity and cohesiveness among prostitution groups spread over six neighborhoods. It indicates that strong ties of the homogenous groups represent a sense of identity and collective purpose of the groups ([Granovetter, 1973: 1378](#); [Astone, Nathanson, Schoen, & Kim, 1999: 1](#)). In addition, the obligation of prostitutes and procurers to comply with the rules, such as having to pay monthly dues and participate in community social activities, such as monthly meetings, regular exercise, regular recital, accompanied by punishment or sanctions for those who violate regulations may minimize free riders and facilitate the achievement of group goals ([Lin, 1999: 48](#)). The existence of obligations that must be obeyed indicates that members of community maintain a sense of community togetherness and ensure that there is no cheating among them, and they are urged to monitor each other against their actions that are inconsistent with agreed rules. Monitoring by the community to members' behavior is effective way to make them accountable for their activities ([Bowles & Gintis, 2002: 431](#)). The bonding networks which are developed in the forms of monthly routine



meetings, regular exercise, systematic recitation, and other structured social activities may encouraged members to share common values which empower them to ascertain and reinforce mutual ideas and goals, and share a mutual set of principled attitudes and rules of activities through which to manage their relationships with one another ([Kearns & Forrest, 2000: 100](#)).

The SK community also created more bridging networks. It created cooperation with local NGO Lentera Asa. Although the community requires prostitutes to check their health on a regular basis, it does not guarantee that they will not contract infectious diseases because many members are left for several months disobeying the rules due to the cost of health checks service is too expensive for them. Unfortunately, there is no provision of the most effective and acceptable cost of health care service for all citizens ([Robinson, Jakubowski, & Figueras, 2005: 4](#)) although it is known that every citizen has different financial capabilities.

The SK community has also created bridging networks with diverse groups, including culinary and food experts, tailoring specialists, and beauty consultants. The network arrangements have improved the resource capability of the SK in providing training services regularly and continually for prostitutes' skill developments. The bridging networks that have been built by the community have produced social support, and information and knowledge sharing ([Narayan & Pritchett, 1999: 873; Flora, 1998: 490](#)).

The community also builds linking social capital with the government but it was less successful. The fact shows that the government does not contribute sufficiently to the empowerment enhancement for prostitutes in the SK. Semarang CG concerned to the community capability to alleviate prostitution and empowers them as this will contribute to the image of the government capability of relieving prostitution in its region. Even government responsiveness tended to be very minimal. It indicated that resource sharing and government support were insufficient. The lack of resource sharing and the absent of government as a core group obviously contribute to the ineffectiveness of community governance ([McDermott, 2004: 11; Probst & Borzillo, 2008: 344](#)). Similarly, the CG plan to remove prostitution by 2019 may conflict with the welfare of procurers and prostitutes because they would be placed in greater danger of economic survival and become vulnerable when they were removed from safe zones ([Brewis & Linstead, 2002: 90; Sanders, 2005: 174](#)).

The study also shows that the community of SK was inconsistent in interpreting it as a place for prostitution rehabilitation. Span of over one decade, from 2003 to 2018 is enough time for them to be able to empower the prostitutes, but during that time SK was treated as a prostitution site rather than a place for prostitution rehabilitation. The number of prostitution tended to be preserved and unintentionally reduced significantly. This is because prostitution is a very profitable business since it needs low-skill but well paid ([Edlund & Korn, 2002: 1](#)).

Spiritual rehabilitation as part of psychical empowerment, proved ineffective. Regular recitation once a week by the Religion Office of Semarang City and monthly recitation by *Kiyai* from outside the city of Semarang did not guarantee members of SK were repent. Moreover, those who returned home in the month of Ramadan there was no guarantee that they really run the fasting Ramadan because the community was unable to supervise them. Even in Ramadan there were many prostitutes worked in massage parlors. It is clear that spiritual rehabilitation through regular recitation has no significant effect on the rate of decline in prostitution practices because worship is taught as a routine religious activity and less emphasized as the process of personality formation ([Lobud, 2007: 350](#)).



This is not a matter of the length of time, the quantity and quality of religious education material provided but the factors keeping the members afloat in the world of prostitution failed to be correctly identified and defined by the community together.

The attitudes of hundreds prostitutes and procurers who opposed the closure of SK's prostitution and keep wanting to stay on the site because of a lot of debt, indicates that no matter how much the regular recitation was conducted, they retained prostitution for economic reasons. The empirical evidence indicates that the religion teaching does not affect the awareness of prostitutes to leave the prostitution world significantly but 'economic motives have strong effect on the reasons of people involvement in prostitution' ([Prakash, 2013: 44](#); [Nurbani, 2017: 45](#); [Sapio, 2011: 84](#)).

Although SK will have been cleaned from the practice of prostitution, there is no guarantee that those who have to leave the site already have enough supplies to create their own jobs outside the world of prostitution. Therefore, it is very likely they will re-engage in the world of prostitution in other locations because the poverty they face cannot be solved completely. Considering the poverty as a cause of prostitution is a very complex problem, it requires continuous collaborative governance involving diverse stakeholders who have commitment to resolve the complex problem effectively, not by top down approach or intimidation such as intensive inspections by apparatuses which created massive panic among prostitutes, but it requires authentic dialogue to guarantee that the decision they made is based on collective interests and goals and based on accurate definition of problem so that solutions offered do not create new problems in the future. Top down approach in decision making to close the SK evidently 'overlooks socio-economic circumstances and existing resources' ([Pretty & Shah, 1999: 4](#)).

E. CONCLUSIONS

Despite the authority shifts from the government to community, it does not mean that the community of SK is assigned to make decisions on its own totally independent; it is not to be associated with community self-government or self-fortitude, and the community does not have unreserved domination for itself but it reveals power share between the residents of the SK as a group of people and other groups including the CG, privates, Islamic teaching groups, and any other non-state groups.

Community can be an alternative to governance in the form of social rehabilitation for sex workers and deal with problems that occur with its members. However, only communities with adequate networks are capable of performing governance because through the established network resources can be obtained to build the capacity of the community in providing social rehabilitation services required by its members. Nevertheless, the community ability to conduct social rehabilitation for its members can be weakened by top down policies and not provide chance to negotiate, dialogue, discuss and define common problems and find mutually agreed solutions. Top down government policy tends to be incapable of accommodating real problems occurring in the grass root so that decisions made tend to be biased and do not overcome problems, but potentially lead to new problems in the future. Moreover, without a shared commitment among various stakeholders to address the problem, community will not be effective in conducting social rehabilitation for its members.

The substantive problem that occurs in the SK community is poverty, a problem that requires involvement, commitment, and sustainable and synergetic actions of diverse stakeholders including the government, private, non-government organizations, and religious figures, and those who are able to provide appropriate training to resolve it. The



lack of local government's commitment in providing financial and material resources to resolve the problems at SK, compounded by the lack of commitment among the prostitutes to saving the money to meet a very important and for productive spending and not for consumptive expenditures, also contributes to the low effectiveness of community governance in realizing comprehensive and sufficient social rehabilitation. Despite the collaboration involving diverse groups, the government should take a greater role in empowering sex workers as part of social rehabilitation programs because it has a lot of resources to be provided for them. Moreover, as mandated in the Indonesian constitution, the government has to responsible for overcoming the problem of poverty since decent life and free from deficiency is the right of every citizen.

However, this study has limitations of not being able to know what will happen after 2018. This study is important to continue because it can reveal the government's attitude in dealing with the future problem of prostitution. There is a space for the next researchers to examine the government policy in overcoming the problem of subsequent prostitution and its social and economic impact, and the possibility of finding a breakthrough solution of the problem of prostitution without having to sacrifice and marginalize sex workers, who, however, are entitled to decent life that the State has not been able to fulfill.

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