

# The Trend to Close a Sexual Trade Localization: The Shifted Model of Religiosity in Dolly, Surabaya

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## ABSTRACT

Before June 2014, Dolly is well known as the biggest prostitute location in East Java and even in Southeast Asia. But now, Dolly is exchanged to the religious zone and economic center both by the government and such social organizations. So, this paper tries to explain how shifting models of religiosity in sexual prostitute localization, specifically in 'Dolly' Surabaya. The researcher uses an ethnographical methodology of the research by configuring observational data combined with deep interview of the object containing the government, religious elite, local people and sexual prostitute actors. So, this paper firstly contains with the former dolly description as the locus of sex trade before it closed officially by government. Then it continues to re-question about how religion comes as a strategy to change prostitute location. And at the last, the writing discusses about process of negotiation of faith and the current religious life of the former sex trade location. The research finds that (1) there is a specific model of religiosity negotiated in localization to change the sexual prostitute to be more religious place. (2) The religionization of 'dolly' through how local inhabitants and organizations implementing faith negotiation. (3) The government with locals gives an awareness to 'rethinking' about sexual prostitution as the way of life through promoting Mbah Kapiluddin pilgrims. By this case, the writer argues that the sex trade has a contrasting idea with the religious life so the more strengthens religious promotion, the more prostitute decreases with the process of tackled negotiation.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Demographically, Gang Dolly (Dolly Alley) is name of the lane on Putat Jaya Village, Sawahan, Surabaya, East Java. Dolly is well known as the biggest place localization in Southeast Asia before the prostitute dismissed officially by the government in June 2014. In Surabaya itself, there were six localizations: Bangunsari, Tambaksari, Klakah Rejo, Sememi, Jarak and Dolly which the last two located

in Putat Jaya village. Dolly itself is recognized not only because of the huge amount of the prostitute exist there but also because of its specific characteristic.

Based on Report of Sulistyaningsih and Swasono on 1993, there are specific local regulations that should be obeyed by the owner and manager of brothel in Dolly: about visiting hours, registration report of the prostitutes, routine medical check-up, the age limitation and also for the visitors that are not permitted to drunk in the brothel or brings weapons to protect not only for the sex workers but also for the customers from any violence and disruptions (Jones et al 1995: 16). In their research, it also reported that there are around 2,000 prostitutes depending on their life on Jarak and Dolly Localization and even more because it also existed some 'unregistered' prostitute who work in night club, call girls, massage parlors and street prostitute (Jones et al 1995: 32).

The exclusiveness of dolly can be seen on the fee, age and gender for prostitutes. The fee for the customers is higher than the other places not only in the location surrounding the area but also other prostitute locations in Surabaya like Bangunsari and Sememi. Even the 'standardized' fee for the customer in dolly is three more than the other prostitutes in Putat Jaya localization. The fee in dolly is at least 200,000 while in Jarak is 50,000-200,000 and Kembang Kuning cemetery around 10,000-50,000 . The age of prostitutes affects the standardized fee directed by the brothel as commercial arrangement. Based on the report of International Labor Office 1998, the dolly is dominated by 17-23 years old and even it provided at least one-fifth prostitute is under 17 years old (Lim 1998: 43). Different with Jarak location, it is dominated more than 23 years old, and Kembang Kuning is dominated by the transvestite and old prostitutes.

Place/Aspect	Dolly	Jarak	Kembang Kuning
Average Fee	≥200,000	50,000-200,000	10,000-50.000
Age dominated	≤17-23 years old	≥23 years old	≥23 years old
Gender dominated	Child and young woman	Mature women	Old women/transvestites
Specific Location	Losmen/Hostel	Losmen/Bar/Massage parlor/discotheque	Cemetery Complex

Table 1: The Localization of Putat Jaya District

The idea of close Dolly localization is also challenged regarding the circle of the money happening and some civilian that depended their life on the prostitute existence. There is even a group who challenges the program named Front Pembela Lokalisasi (Front the Protector of Localization) and some local people who block the road of execution. But before the execution, the government also had made the religious approach to giving consideration for the prostitute actors. It was also refused by some people, then they said:

“kita gak butuh ceramah, yang kita butuhkan itu urusan perut”  
(what we need is not about religious teaching, we need to eat).

The government implements an economic empowerment strategy to anticipate the dead loss of the prostitute actors to close it officially. One of the strategies is through managing religious tourism (wisata religi) of the Mbah Kapiluddin which located in ex-localization of Dolly in Surabaya is now undergoing a profound transformation that sociologically connects the issue of pilgrimage places with the restoration of the social dignity of the area. Once known as one of the largest localizations in Southeast Asia, the Putat Jaya area has been officially closed since 2014 to break the chain of social problems such as exploitation and pathology of the community. During the transition process from the prostitution industry to the empowerment of the creative economy, the existence of the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin emerged as a crucial element in the reconstruction of regional identity. These religious sites

not only serve as sacred spaces for local pilgrims seeking blessings but also serve as a strategic instrument for the government to divert negative stigma into an image of "religious tourism".

This relationship between ex-localization and pilgrimage sites creates a unique commodification dynamic. The spiritual value of tombs that existed long before localization developed is now being repackaged as a cultural product to attract mass visits and drive the economy of the affected communities. Through physical renovation and historical narratives that connect Mbah Kapiluddin with great figures such as Sunan Ampel, this tomb became a symbol of new social cohesion that encouraged the spirit of cooperation of the residents. The commodification of pilgrimage places here plays a dual role: as a driving force for MSMEs and creative industries, as well as a guardian of the essence of religiosity that leads people out of the shadow of the past. Thus, the issue of pilgrimage sites in the ex-localization of Dolly shows how a sacred site can be used to renegotiate the moral space of society, transforming the pragmatic reality of prostitution into a spiritual practice that provides respectful sustainability of life for the residents.

In the view of anthropologist Volker Gottowik, the phenomenon around the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin and the ex-localization of Dolly can be analyzed through the concept of "heterodox ritual practices". Gottowik (2014) argues that in many pilgrimage sites in Java, there is a unique cross between sexuality and religiosity that is often considered deviant from mainstream religious norms but has its own spiritual logic for the perpetrators. In Dolly's context, the existence of a sacred tomb in the middle of a prostitution center creates a space where seemingly contradictory values—between sacred worship and pragmatic economic reality coexist in a single social ecosystem.

Gottowik emphasizes that for some pilgrims, interaction in places like this is not just the gratification of desires, but rather a mimetic attempt to gain spiritual strength, good luck, or wealth. In the ex-localization of Dolly, the narrative of the sanctity of the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin, which is now being developed as a "religious tourism" by the government, is a form of commodification aimed at reconstructing the image of the region. From Gottowik's perspective, this transformation shows how religious symbols are being used to renegotiate moral spaces that were once stigmatized negatively.

Furthermore, Gottowik's writing highlights that the commodification of places of pilgrimage does not necessarily mean the loss of sacred essence, but rather a shift in its functional role. In Dolly, the tomb is now positioned as an anchor of a new identity that keeps the religiosity of the community from being trapped in material consumption alone, as well as becoming an engine of local economic growth. This connection between the tomb and the ex-localization proves Gottowik's theory that pilgrimage sites in Java are dynamic spaces where the boundaries between the sacred and the profane often become blurred for the sake of the survival and spiritual expectations of the surrounding community.

In George Quinn's view, especially through his work *The Bandit Saints of Java* (translated as *Wali Berandal Tanah Jawa*), the existence of sacred tombs in Java such as the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin is a manifestation of a lively and dynamic local Islam. Quinn argues that the pilgrimage tradition in Java is a form of tacit resistance to rigid religious orthodoxy.

Quinn (2019) sees that sacred tombs in Java are often places for those who feel marginalized from formal religious institutions. In the context of Dolly, the existence of a tomb in the middle of a prostitution area shows that spirituality does not have to be separate from the social reality that is considered "dirty". For Quinn, the figure of a wali or saint in Java has an elastic and inclusive nature, able to embrace marginal economic actors, including those involved in the world of prostitution.

Quinn specifically highlighted the commercial aspect of pilgrimage as a massive domestic economic motor. He saw the "commercial transactions" at the holy site not as a form of degradation of faith, but as a manifest form of devotion. In Dolly's ex-localization, the transformation of the tomb into a religious tourist destination is in line with Quinn's idea that economy and holiness can support each other for the welfare of the local community.

Pilgrims come to the tomb because they believe that the guardians have "direct access" or an express route to God (tawassul). For the residents around Dolly who are experiencing difficult socio-economic transition after the closure of localization, the existence of the Mbah Kapiluddin Tomb serves as a spiritual anchor to ask for blessings (ngalap berkah) to start a new life that is better morally and materially.

But what is interesting here is shifted religious response and life of civilians before and after the moment. The existence of religious activity and approach is still implemented by such organization and individuals who believe to give sustainable empowerment to avoid prostitution. So, for the writer, it is influential to research the model religiosity spread together with the dynamic of prostitute issues.

## 2. METHODS

Based on those backgrounds of the research, the research uses ethnographical research which the focus of the examination specifies into religious issues on prostitution. The data starts with the mapping of the object how the demography of the place of prostitution in situating the social condition that will be researched. Then it continues to the intersecting the religious issue with the matter of prostitution in such scholar debates. The strategy of religious issues entering the localization is the next issue by researching such religious actors and its model of religiosity to 'religionize' the former prostitute. The last is explanation about the shifted model of religious life and its change by interviewing the civilians as the subject who feel the process of negotiation.

## 3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Intersecting Prostitution and Religious Matter

At the beginning of this research, I will take the definition of prostitution of Sarah Jeffrey (1997) in his book "the idea of prostitution" that the prostitution is the place where the "brutal exploitation" is implemented in the way of the word "work, choice and sex". Moreover, she also mentions "prostituted women" is the constructed idea women should be doing some thing to be prostituted (Jeffrey 1997: 5). Interestingly, there is a specific word for place sexual prostitution in Surabaya called "aquarium", the glasses box where you can see and choose some fishes and buy it in the "fish seller". The fishes are displayed by the seller in the public place where the seller can attract some of the people to come to his shop.

The "brutal exploitation" of the women as an object of sexual intercourse in prostitution has happened here where the prostituted women imagined as a fish that sell by the brothels. Everything feels so legal when the customers come to the location without ignoring right of the prostitutes themselves that had been exploited. But prostitution is not only talking about the brothel and its prostitutes, but it is also found the stakeholders as the maintainer and the ruler of the localization articulated in bawd, the owner of the brothels and the hoodlums.

To be exploited and be an exploiter also does not feel by them. Because they were caged into the comfort zone. It can be imagined that the prostitutes get a facilitation such as cosmetics, house of living, and even a 'part' of salary that was been divided from the owner of the brothel, bawd, parking lot, dry cleaner, the sexual accessories shop, beers, cafe and discotheque. The chain dependence on the economic matter of prostitution circulation articulates here. Even it becomes a tourism spot or night tourism (wisata malam). The awareness of exploitation and danger of prostitution appears when the effect happens after the incident such as sexual disease and mental illness such as stressful. As like some researchers have focused the research of prostitution on economic issues (Truong, 1990, Anderson, 2010), health matter (Bliss, 2001) and psychological effect (Canter et al. 2009).

The feeling of wary does not appear for prostitute actors who do not feel the effect directly. Different with the religious, spiritual and faith awareness matter, it gives a contribution to each

personal configuration. Bullough et. al (1993) states that the origin of prostitution is from the moral code of the female in “promiscuous” practice to tolerates different standard of the males and it was rewarded by money or the other matter whether to choose or refused by the societal code and religious outlook. But the prostitute is often bound by its religious and philosophical problem that assume on the sexual intercourse, female virginity and female adultery (Bullough et al 1993: 14).

The ignorance of the religious feeling is so influential here. Religious and moral matters give a gap on prostitution without ignoring the danger of prostitute and social label. But most of the constructed social and religious view cage into giving the judgment of the personal morality and religiosity. So, the next discussion will focus on how religious matter plays its role in prostitution and how the process religious issues negotiate and affect the prostitution area way of life.

Phoenix (1999) has examined about the problem of prostitution as a “public nuisance” and the role as it into “private morality” examination. Prostitution is categorized as the public nuisance when the activities are differentiated into criminal law and private morality. So, the legalization of prostitute and prostitute pose are still debatable, but the categorization of prostitute mentioned as the public nuisance when the act relates to the “public decency” (Phoenix 2001: 21). Moreover, Phoenix also adds that there are two problems when prostitution as “public nuisance”. The first one is about the focus of ending and reducing on prostitution not on the form of prostitution and the act of related-activities prostitution such as salon, karaoke, bar and massage parlor. The second one is on protection of the “prostitute women” from the exploitation, coercion and act of the violence who take an advantage on the activities (Phoenix 2001: 28).

Again, the focus of demolishing prostitute should be mentioned here. The practice which has potency of prostitution. The ‘embrio’ of the sex trade is difficult to be vanished such as café, massage parlor or discotheque mentioned as the invisible prostitution (prostitusi terselubung). For the visible prostitution, the local government has anticipated it by routinely data collection of the prostitutes that still existed on the village. The rule to forbid newcomers for the prostitutes is highly resonance by the local government in reducing the number of prostitutes and the regulation of the moving for the prostitutes to the other brothels.

The other issue is about the prostitute women has a vulnerability on exploitation of its body and sexual matter. Religious matters can become an effective solution but it also re-question about the role of religion itself for the prostitute. “Religion has a direct role in social attitudes implementing in the body and sexuality” (Brock 1996: 128), which the social attitudes bring to the appropriated act and response for not to do prostitutes and violence. The concept of sin is so influential here, where the sin is seen as the problematic doctrine when it is used for the victim of sexual exploitation (Brock 1996: 236). Hence, the sexual victim also questioned the role of religion to acknowledge a trust in universe or destiny as the meaning of life. For sexual exploitation, they will question the main idea of his destiny as the prostitute. In Buddha that mentioned by Brock, it is recognized as karma of the former life that should be received. For the other religious tradition, the prostitutes will question about the God’s justice why she caged into the sex trade life and being exploited by some people as long as she did not harm the others. So, it needs specific religious treatment that should be done for prostitution.

### **Faith-negotiated Process: Religiosity Awareness as a Strategy in Prostitute**

Ngadimin (53), as one of the ta’mir (caretaker of the mosque), has a specific method for the prostitutes regarding the critics of religious life to the prostitution. Based on Craig’s research on Sarah Kingston book entitled “Prostitution in the Community: Attitudes, Action and Resistance”, the hypocritical of the prostitution are articulated by Muslim adherents regarding its consideration as immoral and unappropriated activities. Moreover, she also explains that the more religious for individuals, the more action of disapprove with the prostitution (Kinston 2014: 43).

One of the recognized verses of Quran talks about the actor of the adultery does not receive their worship as long as 40 days is problematic for the prostitute to pray to God. But for the ta'mir it can be negotiated if we believe in God authority, the ultimate authority of God whether accept our worship or not is depended on his own decision. So, for prostitute to do a repentance, they just pray in God and hope for God's compassion what she deserves.

The other issue is about the right of getting blessing because she is prostitute. The caretaker of the mosque, on the contrary, prays for them to get a blessing not only in the world but also in hereafter. The blessing can be got for everyone without differentiating from the past. It depended on the sincerity on the praying. And every human can get any blessing forgiveness from God.

The term *perek* (Perempuan Eksperimental) also give a contribution for the prostitutes in Surabaya. The traditional role of the women is a housewife who supporting their husband's career challenged by educated girl in urban area not exceptionally the lifestyle of the girl who did not obey the 'girl' norm, practicing materialistic way of life and even sexual freedom relation whether it is paid or nor labelled as *perek* (Hull 1999: 18). In the other hand, Kemala Sukma's research (2009) shows that the religiosity matter does not affect to street prostitute actors. The solidarity among street children is stronger than issue of religious ritual, religious identity, faith and even convert of religion in the name of solidarity (Sukma 2009: 38).

In this case, location of the prostitutes also supported for such Juvenile delinquencies. Drinking, free sex, insulting, tattoo, piercing and rude word are a usual activity to find surrounding the localization. One of the illustrations can be found when Bu Risma, Mayor of Surabaya city, gets depth interview with the old prostitute experience. The prostitute said even experienced booked by elementary school students and she accepted its offer. One of the respondents from local inhabitants also said that one of his friends was also influenced by the unappropriated environment. She becomes a *perek* although she is kind person when they were children. The respondents and her parents decided to study outside surrounding the localization in avoiding bad character contamination.

But in nowadays Putat Jaya, there have existed some Taman Pendidikan Alquran/TPQ (Quran Education Center) for the activity of the children. So, it contributes to the "Desa Ramah Anak (friendly village for children)" that also labelled by local government. The localization is not only friendly for the children, but also friendly for the local inhabitants to join religious activity in the mosque. Before it closed officially and religious activity seldom to do in the mosque, the people who want to come to the mosque are feel so shy to enter. But contrastingly, the prostitute feels shy to out of the brothel during the praying time and local inhabitants are free to come to the mosque.

The Government also considers the importance of religious issues on the prostitute. Before Dolly was closed officially, the government used a religious approach to prostitute actors. The invitation on the well-known religious endeavor such as Emha Ainun Nadjib, Kyai Gendeng and Kyai Aad give an awareness about the prostitute effect and morality consideration. The act also implemented by addressing MUI through its religious affair division to proselytize on the mosque and governmental spot on the localization.

In Roger Matthew's research, the different approach also implemented by such Faith-Based organization in England named WATW (Women at the Well) which the organization contains of nuns and volunteers. But the focus of the services is centralized on the specific need of women who basically on the crisis such as the physical and mental health, alcohol and heroin addicted, homeless, ex-prisoned, and family problems. Supporting women to wanting exit the prostitution is implemented by giving specific need for each prostitute like entrepreneur training and workshop, mental healing, and legal support regarding the women prostitute are excluded from the society and has her vulnerability (Matthew et. al 2014: 103).

It is like IDIAL (IKATAN DAI AREA LOKALISASI/The Community of Localization Area Missionaries) which has its role on the religious teaching spread surround the Dolly. The program that is practiced by the community is not only focused on religious matters but also on the economy, health and psychological healing. The program of the IDIAL is articulated on the table below:

Pre-closed	During Closed	Post Closed
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mapping the amount of prostitute actors</li> <li>• Processing the will of the prostitute actors</li> <li>• Giving religious teaching and moral healing</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Joining the execution</li> <li>• Contribute for the prostitute actors to shift their livelihood</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Controlling the former localization</li> <li>• Empowering the former prostitute actors</li> <li>• Fostering the religious activity/da'wa in such mosques</li> </ul>

Table 2: The Strategy of Religious Teaching by IDIAL in Localization

The personal strategy of religious view is by conducting the mental health treatment for the prostitute through religious way of healing. During the healing, the personal religious people named Pak Petruk also give a suggestion and advice to the patient for back to the Islam and God way. He argues that all the disease comes from God. So, for patients, he suggested repenting and leaving the prostitute world.

### Government Strategy: Accidental Pilgrim of Mbah Kapiluddin

The tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin is a historical religious site located on Jalan Kupang Gunung Timur, Putat Jaya Village, an area that was once known as the localization of Dolly, Surabaya. Although the written literature record of his figure is still limited, Mbah Kapiluddin is believed by the local community to be a "tripe alas" scholar or elder who first opened the Putat Jaya area long before settlement and localization developed. Genealogically, he is believed to have a close relationship with Mbah Karimah (Kembang Kuning), who was the father-in-law of Sunan Ampel, thus placing his figure in the network of early Islamic propagators in Surabaya.

The existence of this tomb has been visited by residents since at least 1965, even when the area was still in the form of bushes (*glagah-glagah bong*). During the hustle and bustle of the prostitution industry that once dominated the area, this tomb remains a center of spiritual activities for residents who want to perform salvation or send prayers when they have a certain wish. After the closure of the localization in 2014, the Surabaya City Government has now officially integrated the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin into the development plan of Dolly Religious Tourism. This step was taken not only to preserve the historical site, but also as a positive commodification effort to change the negative image of Dolly into a religious tourist area that is connected to other sacred sites in Surabaya, as well as drive the creative economy for the local community.



Picture 1: Mbah Kapiluddin Pilgrim (Taken by Taufiqurrohim in Oct 2023)

The application of Peter Jan Margry's "Accidental Pilgrim" theory in the context of the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin in the ex-localization of Dolly provides a very sharp perspective on how a pilgrimage site transforms beyond the formal religious narrative. Margry defines an incidental pilgrim as an individual who has no intention of traveling a traditional religious ritual, but due to social dynamics, an interest in history, or pragmatic needs, they end up engaging in pilgrimage activities. At Dolly, this phenomenon is seen in the shift in the profile of visitors; Many people who initially came out of curiosity about the history of the change in the largest prostitution area in Southeast Asia, ended up being "trapped" in the solemnity of the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin. The tomb serves as a magnet that attracts individuals who may not be conventionally religious but feel the need to pay homage to a figure who is considered the moral and historical guardian of the region.

Margry (2014) argues that modern pilgrimage is often secular and driven by an individual's desire to find meaning during a crisis or environmental change. In Dolly's case, the closure of localization created an identity vacuum and an economic crisis for citizens. The tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin is present as a space where these people who "accidentally" became pilgrims find escape from social trauma. Residents who used to be only in contact with the night world are now incidentally involved in the management of tombs and the practice of prayer as an effort to restore dignity. This process transformed the tomb into a meeting point between historical tourism, public curiosity, and sacred rituals. These incidental pilgrims consume sacred space not only as an expression of faith, but as a form of solidarity with the social changes that are taking place.

In addition, Margry emphasizes that in incidental pilgrimage, the "sacredness" of a place is often recreated through spontaneous collective activity. The relationship between the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin and the ex-localization of Dolly creates a new aura of sacredness that is more inclusive and elastic. Visitors who come to see the "new face of Dolly" often feel compelled to make a pilgrimage because of the narrative of this tomb as a symbol of moral triumph over prostitution. This is in line with Margry's view that contemporary pilgrimage is often triggered by controversial issues or major social events. The commodification of tombs into religious tourism destinations carried out by the government further strengthens the position of these accidental pilgrims; they are tourists who go through the experience of space in Dolly, finally transforming into pilgrims who recognize the existence of spiritual power during the former red zone.

Finally, Margry's theory helps us understand that the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin is not just a religious artifact, but a stage for identity negotiations. The axial pilgrims here are representations of a modern society looking for an anchor amidst rapid world change. The connection between the sanctity



of the tomb and the memory of prostitution creates a paradoxical attraction that entices people to come. Thus, this tomb has succeeded in carrying out its function as an agent of social transformation; he turned the public's curiosity about the "sins of the past" into a tribute to the "glory of the present," proving that in Java, the boundaries between tourists and pilgrims are often very thin and fluid.

### **Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin: From Punden to Religious Tourism**

According to the sociological perspective developed by Taufiqurrohim, the transformation from "punden" to "place of pilgrimage" is a process of formalization and sanctification of space that involves a shift in meaning from local traditions to religious legitimacy. *Punden* was originally understood as a sacred site or object (often in the form of a large tree or stone) that was considered a place of residence and the protective spirit of the village (village *punden*), where the rituals carried out tended to be animistic or syncretic to honor ancestors without rigid religious narratives. However, in the process of transformation into a place of pilgrimage, the site undergoes a repackaging through Islamic religious narratives, where the buried or revered figure is re-identified as a cleric, wali, or Mbah (as in the case of Mbah Kapiluddin).

Taufiqurrohim (2017) sees this phenomenon as part of the efforts of communities and local authorities to give a new dignity to a region through a more widely accepted symbol of holiness socially and theologically. This change not only changed the ritual procedures from *punden* worship that some people might consider "syirik" to a "wali pilgrimage" that is worth worshiping but also triggered economic commodification. A place that was once quiet and only visited by locals for certain purposes is now promoted as a religious tourism destination that attracts pilgrims from outside the region, complete with supporting facilities such as lodgings and markets.

In the context of Dolly's ex-localization, the transformation from a hidden *punden* tomb to an official pilgrimage place for Mbah Kapiluddin serves as an instrument of "cleaning" stigma. According to Taufiqurrohim, this change in status allows the government and society to carry out moral reclamation of public spaces. By highlighting the identity of the tomb as a sacred place of pilgrimage, the collective memory of the past of localization is slowly eroded and replaced by an awareness of the sanctity of the region. Thus, the *punden* that transforms into a place of pilgrimage is not just a physical change of the building, but a cultural strategy to harmonize local traditions with religious modernity and economic development needs.

In his article in *New Mandala* titled "Holy Places and Unholy Politics", George Quinn (2017) highlights how sacred tombs such as Mbah Priok in Jakarta became a political battlefield and a symbol of the people's resistance to formal authority. Quinn argues that pilgrimage sites often have "magical-political" forces capable of uniting the masses in the harsh and pragmatic urban environment. When connected to the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin in the ex-localization of Dolly, Quinn's view provides a framework that the tomb is not just a passive religious site, but a space that has its own moral sovereignty during urban "space politics".

Like Mbah Priok who survived during the squeeze of container ports, the Tomb of Mbah Kapiluddin survived and is now the center of new gravity after the collapse of the prostitution industry. Quinn sees this phenomenon as a form of inclusive local Islamic "victory," in which holy places can accommodate the needs of marginalized communities—from dockers in Priok to former economic actors in Dolly—to gain social legitimacy and spiritual protection. The commodification of the tomb into a religious tourist destination by the government, in Quinn's eyes, is an acknowledgment of the spiritual authority of the tomb that cannot be ignored by the state.

Furthermore, Quinn emphasized that pilgrimages to places like these are often an express route for people to convey their aspirations and seek the blessings of life outside the rigid religious bureaucracy. In Dolly, the existence of Mbah Kapiluddin serves as a meeting point that unites the dark

memories of the past with the hope of a more sacred future. This relationship proves Quinn's theory that Java's sacred tombs have always been at the forefront of responding to social change, acting as an anchor of identity that transforms "sinners" into revered sacred spaces, as well as economic engines for the small communities around them.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

The closeness of the prostitute Dolly is not as easy as the direct execution of demolishing. It needs a process of mapping, negotiation, execution and control. The process of the mapping needs to be implemented regarding such challenge and dependence of the circle of prostitution on economy, social and sexual matters. Religious consideration comes a negotiating tool during pre, during and post execution. Sustainable awareness of the prostitute matter is the main role religiosity in processing the way how the morality and social issues are articulated. The effect of religious strategies on localization gives appropriated environment not only for the children but also for the locals to pray.

The process of shifting model of religiosity in prostitute places has specific model of negotiation. Negotiating the existed rule with considering God's blessing is more intended to the prostitute than the direct legitimation of the rule. The concept of *shin* should not be labeled on the personal view. But it particularly is focused on the huge of the God forgiveness. The actors of the religious and faith negotiation are on the three circulations: government, Non-government Organization and personal actor which integrated each other.

The dynamics of commodification that occur around the tomb prove that the value of spirituality and economic interests are not always in opposing positions. As explained by George Quinn and Greg Fealy, the commodification of pilgrimage sites is a form of adaptation that allows local traditions to survive during the currents of modernity. By packaging tombs as cultural and religious products, the local community not only preserves the heritage of their ancestors but also creates a new economic ecosystem that is more respectable for the residents affected by the closure of localization. This phenomenon also gave birth to what Peter Jan Margry calls the accidental pilgrimage, where visitors who initially came out of curiosity about the history of Dolly ended up engaging in spiritual activities that gave new legitimacy to the sanctity of the area.

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