BMT AS AN AGENT OF ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION: A RANDOM EFFECTS ANALYSIS IN FORMER RED-LIGHT AREAS OF SURABAYA

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the impact of the prostitution localization shutdown on the development of micro and small enterprises (MSEs) in Surabaya, focusing on policy interventions and the interaction with community-based microfinance institutions (BMTs). A quantitative method is employed using a random effect panel data regression on 154 urban villages from 2011 to 2021. The results reveal that the shutdown significantly reduced the number of MSEs, particularly in the food-beverage and textile sectors. However, the negative impact is substantially reversed when combined with BMT support. Social factors such as social capital and infrastructure access are also found to influence MSE dynamics. These findings highlight that localization shutdown policies should be followed by inclusive, community-based economic recovery strategies to mitigate the socioeconomic disruptions triggered by such closures.

Keywords: BMT, Local Economy, Micro and small industries, Prostitution localization, Public Policy

INTRODUCTION

Human civilization has a long history of prostitution, a practice that lasts from ancient times to the modern era (Jenness, 1990). The oldest record of prostitution is found in the book Al Bidayah wa An-Nihayah (1350 AD), which refers to the era of Prophet Syits AS, the grandson of the Prophet Adam AS. This story is reinforced by the Sumerian records around 2400 BC. Throughout history, the sex worker profession has sparked a variety of debates, especially among religious communities. Muslims, both Shia and Sunni, generally view prostitution as a forbidden sin (Ilkkaracan, 2016). On the contrary, the historical perspective of the church shows tolerance for prostitution, although this attitude developed to eventually call for the abolition of the practice (Bullough & Brundage, 1994). Contemporary discussions on prostitution focus on the regulation and localization of this practice, which faces a variety of challenges. These challenges include their relationship with human trafficking (Jana et al., 2014), increased sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Cameron et al., 2021), Conflict with religious values (Adamczyk & Hayes, 2012), and moral considerations (Adamczyk & Hayes, 2012), In addition, the closure of prostitution localization areas shows diverse impacts across different periods, reflecting the complexity of this issue (Levy & Jakobsson, 2014).

The closure of prostitution localization in various regions in Indonesia has had a significant impact on the social and economic conditions of the surrounding communities. Research conducted in Banyuwangi shows that the closure of some well-known localizations, such as Padang Bulan and LCM, has led to a decline in income for communities that previously depended on activities in the area. A similar thing happened in Kediri, where the closure of the Semampir localization had a negative impact on the economic life of local residents who lost their main source of income. (Ambarwati et al., 2020; Sutarmin & Budiarti, 2018). However, in Surabaya, a different approach was applied after the closure of Dolly's localization in 2014. The Surabaya City Government initiated an economic empowerment program by transforming a former prostitution guesthouse into a center for Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) activities. For example, Wisma Barbara now functions as a training and production facility for local artisans, who produce products such as laundry bags and hotel slippers for clients from various regions.1 This effort shows that with the right intervention, the former localization area can be transformed

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1 https://www.sapanusa.id/surabaya/30128200/dulu-tempat-prostitusi-wisma-barbara-kini-menjadi-pusat-pemberdayaan-umkm

into a new economic center that supports the growth of MSMEs and improves the welfare of the surrounding community.2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Dolly's Alley, one of the most notorious prostitution areas in Surabaya, originated from the area of a former public cemetery that was demolished between 1960 and 1967. Founded in 1969 by Dolly Chavit, a woman of mixed Dutch, Javanese, Manado, and Filipino blood, the region quickly became an important source of income for many. The economic impact extends to sex workers, small business owners, cigarette dealers, parking attendants, and others. However, the existence of this area is also associated with social tensions, including problems such as gambling and theft. As detailed in Table 19 in the appendix, there is a significant correlation between activities in the region and an increase in these social problems.
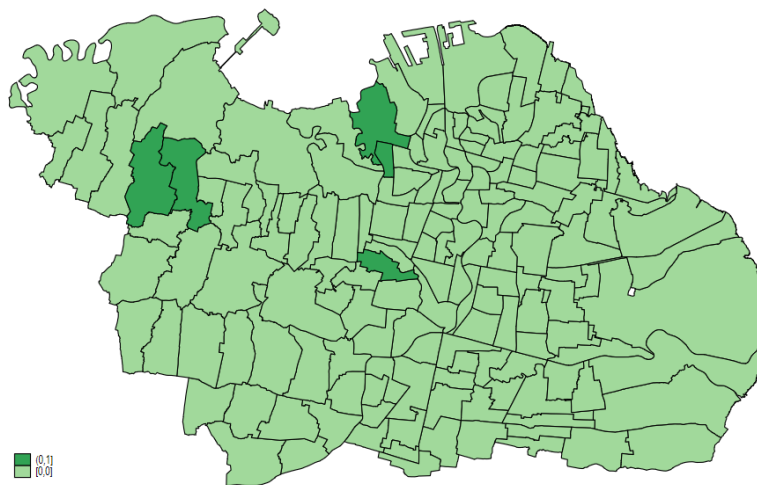
**Figure 1: Surabaya City Study Area (Green area shows the location of the closure of the prostitution area)**
Source: Surabaya City Social Service

Since 1999, Surabaya City Regional Regulation No. 7 explicitly prohibits the use of buildings for prostitution purposes. This regulation was issued in line with the Instruction of the Governor of East Java No. 460/16474/031/2010 dated November 30, 2010, which focuses on the prevention and eradication of prostitution and trafficking in women. This mandate was further strengthened by the issuance of Decree No. 460/031/2011 on October 20, 2011, which affirmed East Java's commitment to eradicating prostitution and immoral practices. Surabaya's long-term commitment to combating prostitution is reflected in these regulations, which are the legal basis for prohibiting activities that violate the city's moral and social norms.

This regulation expressly states that all forms of immoral acts, whether occurring in public spaces or in private areas, are strictly prohibited and are considered a violation of moral standards. In addition, this regulation includes responsibility in terms of facilitation, which requires the owner or manager of the business place to prevent and eradicate immoral activities in his environment. Thus, since 1999, the practice of localized prostitution in Surabaya has been considered illegal. However, evidence shows that these local regulations are not effective in controlling prostitution areas in Surabaya (Puspita & Rusdiana, 2021). The data shown in Table 18 and Figure 2 in the appendix, which illustrate the effect of the announcement of the enactment of the regulation, show that the regulation does not have a significant

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2 https://surabaya.go.id/id/berita/67943/cegah-praktik-prostitusi-terselubung-satpol-pp-bersama-tni-polri-rutin-patroli-di-eks-lokalisasi-dolly?utm_source=chatgpt.com

impact on nighttime economic activity, both in localized and non-localized prostitution areas.
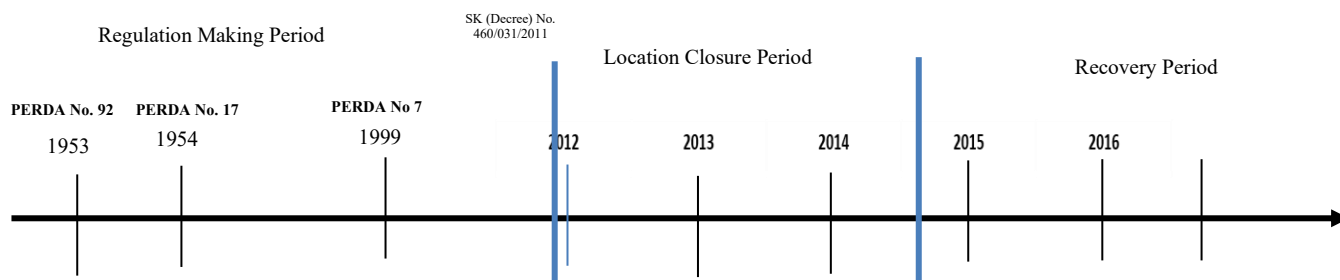
Figure 2: Timeline of the Localization Closure Study in Surabaya
Source: Illustrated by the Compiler
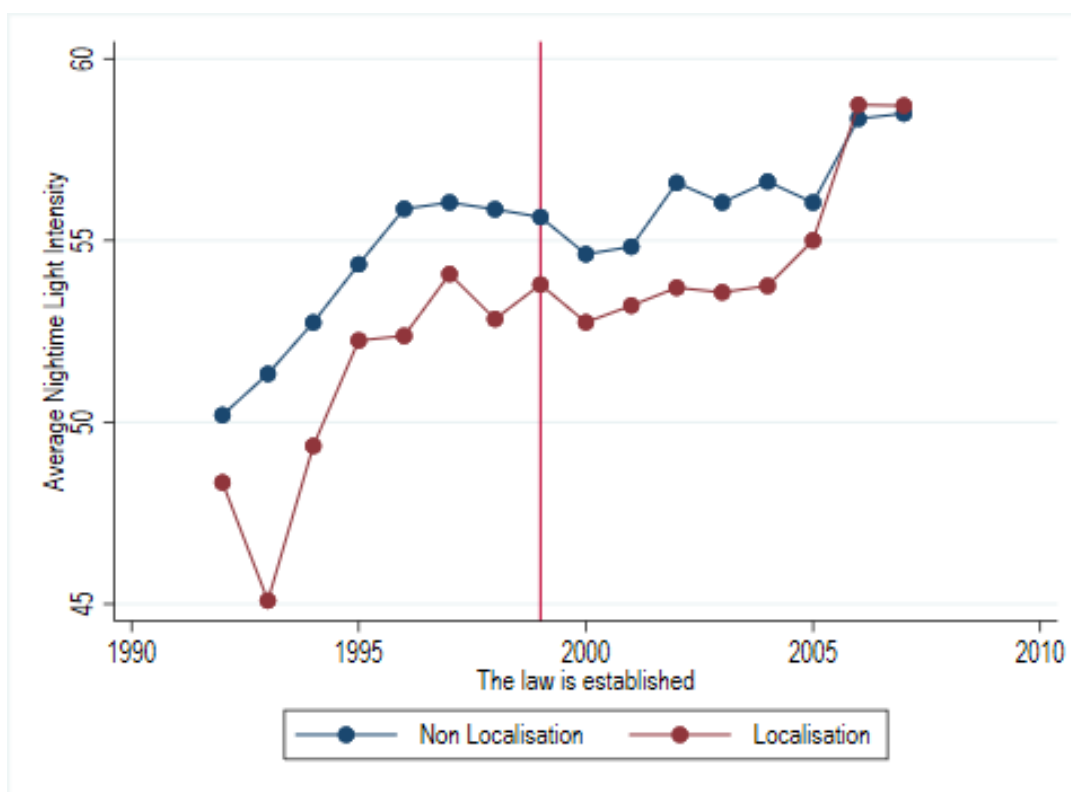
Figure 3: Effect of Announcements when Regulations Are Established
Source: NOAA, processed by the Compiler

Figure 2 presents a detailed illustration of the timeline of the closure of localization in the city of Surabaya. This process is divided into three main phases: the regulatory formation period, the localization closure period, and the recovery period. During the regulatory formation phase, activities that are considered to violate moral and social norms in the city of Surabaya are explicitly prohibited. This phase only resulted in the closure of one localization, namely the Wonokromo Localization, as reported by Puspita & Rusdiana (2021). This case is unique because the property used is under the ownership of PT KAI, a state-owned enterprise in the railway sector. The period of localization closure marks a shift to more

proactive measures from local governments in dealing with problems in the region. Therefore, the study focused on monthly analysis during the localization closure period. Night light intensity data was collected over 46 months, with each data capture aimed to accurately capture the total night light intensity at each location. A preliminary review of the four main points of prostitution areas in Surabaya shows that the closure was carried out earlier than previously estimated. Between December 2012 and June 2014, locations such as Dupak Bangunsari, Kremil Tambak Asri, Klakahrejo, Sememi (Moroseneng), Jarak, and Dolly were gradually closed.

Table 1: Number of Sex Workers and Number of Prostitution Guesthouses in Surabaya City in 2014

Localization	Number of Sex Workers	Number of Prostitution Guesthouses
Dolly	580	52
Distance	482	260
Sememi	337	7
Beautiful Pond	328	96
Klakah Rejo	243	71
Dupak Bangunsari	153	50

Source: Surabaya City Social Service

The closure of Dolly's Localization in 2014 in Surabaya sparked a major controversy due to the extensive socio-economic impact on the surrounding community. Founded in the 1960s, the Dolly area is known as the largest prostitution area in Southeast Asia, housing thousands of sex workers, pimps, and traffickers. The main purpose of this closure is to protect children from the negative effects of prostitution as well as reduce the risk of spreading HIV/AIDS.

The Surabaya City Government allocated nearly Rp 9 billion to buy Wisma Barbara, a famous restaurant in the Dolly area, as part of the closing costs.[3] Financial assistance was also provided to sex workers and affected residents, most of which was funded by the Ministry of Social Affairs (Rp 9 billion) and the Governor of East Java (Rp 1.2 billion).[4] However, this step received rejection from various parties. More than 14,000 people, including small traders and children of workers in the region, depend on economic activity in the locality, raising concerns over the economic impact of the closure. In the three months after the closure, there was an increase in health cases related to prostitution. In addition, the closure of this area caused a domino effect that prompted similar closures in various other provinces in Indonesia. This decision illustrates the complexity of the social and economic challenges in the closure process as well as the government's efforts to eradicate prostitution activities in Indonesia.

Policies related to the localization of prostitution in Several countries

Policy approaches to prostitution in various countries reflect the diverse legal strategies applied, from criminalization to legalization. Each approach has its own advantages and disadvantages in dealing with the complexities of prostitution practices. First, the criminalization model that completely prohibits prostitution and related activities is considered to have many negative impacts. A study in Rhode Island

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[3] Detik.com. (2022). *The History of Dolly Closing, Innuendo for Risma to Prostitution-Free.* https://www.detik.com/jatim/budaya/d-6133606/riwayat-penutupan-dolly-sindiran-untuk-risma-hingga-bebas-prostitusi.

[4] Detik.com. (2014). *Dolly's Alley Officially Closed.* https://regional.kompas.com/read/2014/06/18/2154086/Gang.Dolly.Resmi.Ditutup

shows that this approach actually pushes the practice of prostitution into the underground realm, increases the risk of violence against sex workers and increases the rate of sexually transmitted disease infection (Cunningham & Shah, 2018). This proves that a total ban without an alternative solution actually worsens social and public health conditions.

Second, the British model that allows prostitution but prohibits activities such as brothel establishments has also drawn criticism, as sex workers are forced to work alone without collective protection, making them vulnerable to violence. Third, the Nordic model as applied in Sweden legalizes the sale of sexual services but criminalizes the buyers, with the aim of suppressing demand. Despite the decline in the number of street prostitution, this model raises concerns about the effectiveness of law enforcement and the violation of sex workers' privacy. Fourth, the legalization model such as in the Netherlands regulates prostitution through a licensing system and formal employment contracts. However, illegal practices and increased drug use among sex workers are still found, indicating that formal regulation is not yet fully effective. Finally, dekiminalization approaches such as New Zealand's remove all forms of prohibition on prostitution. This approach is considered to be able to improve relations between sex workers and law enforcement, although there are still concerns about political resistance and the absence of a significant decrease in the number of sex workers. In the Indonesian context, especially in cities like Surabaya, similar challenges arise when localizations are abruptly shut down without a holistic recovery approach. Therefore, studies of the role of institutions such as BMT in providing post-closure economic alternatives are crucial to consider in more comprehensive and humane policy formulation.Work (Karlsson, 2022).

RESEARCH METHOD

This study uses a quantitative approach with panel data analysis to measure the role of BMT (Baitul Maal wat Tamwil) in economic recovery after the closure of prostitution localization in the city of Surabaya. The panel data approach was chosen because it allows the analysis of temporal dynamics while controlling heterogeneity between villages/sub-districts. The data used is sourced from **Village Potential Data (Podes)** published by the Central Statistics Agency (BPS). Podes data was chosen because it has a detailed coverage of information about socio-economic conditions and infrastructure at the village/sub-district level. In this study, the data analyzed includes the years **2011, 2014, 2018, 2020, and 2021** for the entire administrative area of the City of Surabaya.

1. Data Sources and Research Variables

Key data obtained from Podes which contains information about:

Table 2: Operational Definition of Variables Used

Variable	Operational Definition	Source
lnind_umk	Natural logarithm of the total number of micro and small industries (SMEs) at the village/city level	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
lnind_kain	The natural logarithm of the number of IMKs that produce fabric/woven goods	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
lnind_fnb	Natural logarithm of the number of SMEs engaged in the food and beverage sector	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
lnind_lainnya	The natural logarithm of the number of IMK engaged in sectors other than fabric/weaving and food/beverage	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
treatment_lokalisasi	Dummy variable value of 1 if the village/sub-district has been a prostitution localization area, 0 if not	Manual identification results from Surabaya City Government documents & reports

Variable	Operational Definition	Source
treatment_bmt	Dummy variable value 1 if there is Baitul Maal wat Tamwil (BMT) in the village, 0 if not	Ministry of Cooperatives and SMEs / OJK
treatment_lokalisasi # bmt	Interaction between treatment_lokalisasi and treatment_bmt to measure the combined effect	Results processed by researchers
social_capital	Dummy variable that represents the existence of social capital based on social institutions, religions or active communities in the village (1 = exist, 0 = no)	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
dirty	Dummy variable that is valued at 1 if the village belongs to an area with a slum category, 0 if not	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
hotel	Number of hotels listed in village/sub-district	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
Accommodation	Number of non-hotel accommodations (such as inns, guesthouses, etc.)	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
sinyal_kuat	Dummy variables that indicate the presence of a strong communication signal in the village (1 = strong, 0 = weak/none)	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS
Bts	Number of Base Transceiver Stations (BTS) as indicators of digital/communication infrastructure	Village Potential Data (Podes), BPS

2. Model Estimation and Analysis Techniques

To analyze the relationship between the existence of BMT and the increase in economic recovery in the post-localization closure area, this study applied the **Random Effects (RE)** model. The selection of the RE model is based on the assumption that variations between villages/sub-districts are random and do not correlate with existing explanatory variables. This model provides an advantage in estimating variables that cannot be directly observed but affect economic conditions in each region.

In addition, the analysis using the data panel model also allowed the researcher to:

1. Control the effects of time and the effects of unobserved regions.
2. Detecting periodic changes in economic conditions.
3. Provide a more robust estimate in identifying the impact of BMT interventions on MSME growth.

3. Econometric Equations

To illustrate the empirical relationship between the variables in the study, the econometric equations used are as follows:

1. $UMKM_{it}$ The number or diversity of MSMEs in village iii in the year t
2. BMT_i is Dummy, 1 if village iii has the existence of BMT (time-invariant)
3. $lokalisasi_i$: Dummy, 1 if village iii is a former localization (time-invariant)
4. $(BMT_i \times lokalisasi_i)$: Interaction variables to test the specific effects of BMT in the area of the former localization
5. $KontrolVariabel_{it}$: Control variables that vary between time (population, education, infrastructure, etc.
6. μ_i: Efek acak spesifik desa
7. ϵ_{it} Error idiosinkratik

With this approach and analysis model, it is hoped that the research can empirically reveal the strategic role of BMT in encouraging economic recovery and increasing the growth of MSMEs in the post-closure area of prostitution localization in the city of Surabaya.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION
BMT Ecosystem in Surabaya City

BMT (Baitul Maal wat Tamwil) is one of the fast-growing sharia-based microfinance institutions in Surabaya, a metropolitan city that is the center of economic activity in East Java. BMT's role is not only limited to providing business capital and savings and loans, but also includes business assistance, community empowerment, and strengthening social networks. The existence of BMT is considered relevant for micro and small business actors, especially in urban areas that have high economic mobility and diverse financing needs.
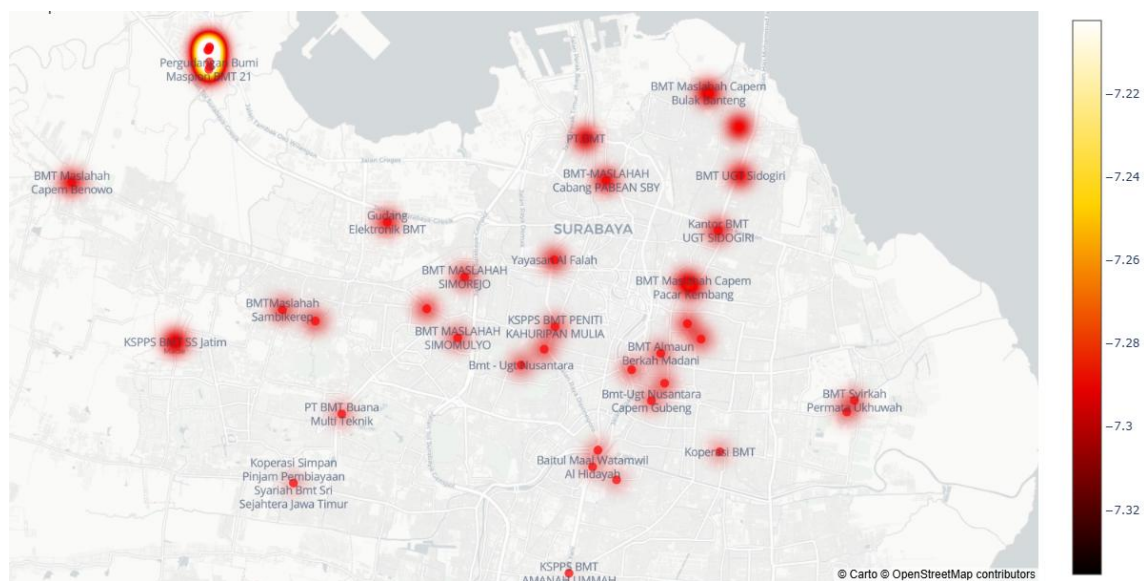
Figure 4. BMT Distribution in Surabaya.
Source: Google Maps

Figure 4 presents a map of BMT distribution in the city of Surabaya which shows the concentration of points of this Islamic financial institution in various sub-districts. Based on the map, it appears that BMT is fairly evenly distributed in the central and western Surabaya areas, with several significant clusters in the eastern and northern Surabaya areas. This distribution is allegedly related to population density, the level of economic independence, and the need for access to capital in each region.

The Role of BMT in the Economic Empowerment of the People of Surabaya
Equitable Sharia Financing Alternatives

BMT provides a fair alternative to sharia-based financing for the people of Surabaya, especially micro and small business actors. By implementing a profit-sharing and buying and selling system, BMT offers financing solutions that are free from usury and in accordance with Islamic economic principles[5]. This is very important for the majority of Surabaya people who are Muslim and want to carry out economic activities in accordance with their religious guidance.

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[5] https://media.neliti.com/media/publications/315444-peran-bmt-dalam-pemberdayaan-ekonomi-stu-a8e95adc.pdf

BMT-MU, for example, offers a not very high margin, ranging from 7-8%, much lower compared to online loans that are very burdensome to borrowers2[6]. In fact, for residents who are really underprivileged, BMT-MU does not charge a margin at all, although they still expect participation in the form of infak.

Reducing the Practice of Loan Sharks

One of the important roles of BMT in Surabaya is to reduce the practice of loan sharks that are still rampant, especially among the middle and lower economic community. BMT Al Fithrah Mandiri Syariah, for example, has a special focus on reducing the practice of loan sharks in the community of Kenjeran District, Surabaya7. Loan sharks are often called land leeches because they offer short-term loans with no collateral, but with very high interest rates on each loan. This practice does not help the community's economy, but rather makes it worse because the interest withdrawn by loan sharks can suffocate the community for a long time8. BMT seeks to keep pace with loan sharks by providing faster and more responsive services to the community, approaching a practical and simple process like those offered by loan sharks, but with a much fairer and sharia-compliant system.

RESULTS OF DESCRIPTIVE AND INFERENTIAL ANALYSIS

The following are the results of the descriptive analysis of the data that have been used in the research as follows

Descriptive Statistics Table

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Dependent Variable					
log(Total Micro and Small Industries(IMK))	64	2.108	1.427	0	6.361
log (Number of IMK goods from fabric/weaving)	64	.764	1.026	0	4.844
log(Total food and beverage IMK)	64	1.361	1.433	0	6.358
log(Other IMK Counts)	64	.309	.775	0	4.511
Variable interest					
Treatment Localization	64	.065	.247	0	1
BMT Treatment	64	.255	.436	0	1
Control Variables					
Social Capital	64	.86	.347	0	1
dirty	64	.24	.427	0	1
hotel	64	1.086	2.311	0	27
Accommodation	64	.894	2.783	0	60
Strong signal	64	.796	.403	0	1
Bts		1.53	1.657	0	14

[6] https://suaraaisyiyah.id/muhammadiyah-surabaya-resmikan-bmt-mu-dan-masjid-anwar-zain/
[7] http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/22587/3/Nurus%20Shoba%20Aristha_G04214034.pdf
[8] http://digilib.uinsa.ac.id/22587/3/Nurus%20Shoba%20Aristha_G04214034.pdf

Source : Results of the compiler's analysis, 2025

Descriptive statistical analysis of 764 observations showed that the average number of micro and small industries (MSEs) was 2,108 with a standard deviation of 1,427, indicating a significant variation between villages. The fabric industry category had an average of 0.764 with a standard deviation of 1.026, while the food and beverage industry recorded an average of 1.361 and a standard deviation of 1.433, indicating a more spread distribution. Other industry categories had the lowest average of 0.309 with a standard deviation of 0.775. The dummy variable shows that 6.5% of villages have been localized and 25.5% have BMT. Social capital is present in 86% of villages, while 24% of villages are categorized as slums. The average number of hotels is 1.086 (maximum 27), and inns are 0.894 (maximum 60), with a high standard deviation, indicating an uneven distribution. As many as 79.6% of villages have a strong signal, and the average number of BTS is 1.53 with a standard deviation of 1.657, indicating significant variation in telecommunication infrastructure between villages.

Table of Random Effect Model Analysis Results

VARIABLES	(1) log(Total Micro and Small Industries(IMK))	(2) log (Number of IMK goods from fabric/weaving)	(3) log(Total food and beverage IMK)	(4) log(Other IMK Counts)
treatment_lokalisa_si	-0.839**	-0.501*	-0.741**	-0.334*
	(0.363)	(0.267)	(0.336)	(0.186)
treatment_bmt	-0.216	-0.142	-0.077	-0.180**
	(0.167)	(0.123)	(0.154)	(0.085)
treatment_lokalisasi#1.treatment_bmt	1.383**	1.156***	1.019*	0.715**
	(0.583)	(0.429)	(0.539)	(0.298)
Control Variables				
social_capital	-0.532***	-0.245***	-0.656***	0.296***
	(0.123)	(0.090)	(0.126)	(0.076)
dirty	0.241**	0.216***	0.398***	0.110
	(0.112)	(0.083)	(0.114)	(0.067)
hotel	0.086***	0.049***	0.102***	0.007
	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.014)
Accommodation	0.045***	0.011	0.027	0.013
	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.017)	(0.010)
sinyal_kuat	0.532***	0.397***	0.548***	0.118*
	(0.105)	(0.077)	(0.109)	(0.065)
Bts	0.150***	0.089***	0.153***	0.036**
	(0.029)	(0.021)	(0.029)	(0.017)
Constant	1.798***	0.446***	1.068***	-0.091
	(0.169)	(0.124)	(0.169)	(0.100)
Number of Observations	764	764	764	764
Number of Villages	154	154	154	154

VARIABLES	(1) log(Total Micro and Small Industries(IMK))	(2) log (Number of IMK goods from fabric/weaving)	(3) log(Total food and beverage IMK)	(4) log(Other IMK Counts)

Standard error in parentheses, Source : Compiler analysis results, 2025
p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The results of the random effects model estimation provide a strong picture of the dynamics of the growth of micro and small enterprises (MSEs) in the areas of former localization and the role of the presence of sharia-based microfinance institutions, BMT. In general, the findings show that the existence of former localization has a significant negative impact on the number of MSEs, both overall and in the categories of fabric/weaving-based businesses, food and beverages, and other categories. The significant negative coefficient in *the treatment_lokalisasi variable* indicates that villages that have a history as localization areas experience obstacles in the development of the MSE sector. This can be caused by a variety of factors, ranging from the loss of a key consumer base, the reduction of informal economic activity that originally underpinned the service sector, to the social stigma that may be inherent in the post-closure of the region.

Interestingly, the existence of BMT (*treatment_bmt*) individually did not show a strong influence on the increase in the number of MSEs, except for other business categories that actually showed negative effects. This indicates that BMT alone, without a supportive social or institutional context, is not enough to encourage the growth of MSEs evenly. However, when the presence of BMT is interacted with the status of the village as a former localization (*treatment_lokalisasi#treatment_bmt*), the effect that emerges is very positive and significant in all business categories. These findings reflect a *synergistic effect* where BMT is able to be a catalyst for economic recovery in regions that previously experienced structural shocks due to localization closures. In this context, BMT appears to be effective in providing access to capital, expanding financial inclusion, and facilitating micro-enterprises to rise in a socio-economic ecosystem that is in transition.

In addition, a number of control variables also show interesting significance. For example, *social capital* has consistently negatively impacted MSEs in most categories, which may reflect that closed or overly cohesive social structures are hindering new entrepreneurial dynamics. On the other hand, physical and infrastructure indicators such as slum conditions, the presence of hotels, strong signals, and the number of Base Transceiver Stations (BTS) show a positive relationship with the growth of MSEs. This strengthens the argument that basic infrastructure development and digital connectivity play an important role in driving microeconomic activities.

Overall, these results emphasize the importance of contextual and locally-based policy interventions. Local governments and microfinance institutions such as BMT can play a strategic role in rebuilding the economy in the former localization area, not only through the provision of capital, but also through mentoring, business training, and the creation of a healthy business ecosystem. Therefore, a single intervention such as the closure of localization without a strong economic recovery program and institutional support can actually create stagnation or even a decrease in the productivity of MSEs. On the contrary, the presence of institutions such as BMT combined with infrastructure strengthening strategies and social reforms can be a model of inclusive and sustainable local economic recovery.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of estimation and in-depth analysis, this study shows that the former localization has a significant negative impact on the growth of MSMEs in the Surabaya area. Villages that were once the center of localization tended to have a lower number of MSMEs, reflecting the structural losses and residual impacts of localized closures. On the other hand, the presence of individual BMTs does not have a significant impact on most categories of MSMEs, but when interacted with the status of former

localization, the effect becomes very positive. These findings reveal the synergy between BMT's microfinance institution and the former localised socio-economic context, where BMT acts as a catalyst that is able to overcome obstacles to MSME growth and stimulate economic recovery in the affected areas.

The policy implications that can be drawn from these findings are crucial for decision-making at the local level. First, local governments must design an integrated economic recovery strategy, by strengthening the role of BMT in former localized areas through the provision of access to capital, business training, and business assistance. Furthermore, the development of basic infrastructure and digital connectivity needs to be optimized to improve the business climate and support the growth of MSMEs. A holistic approach that combines financial intervention with structural reform and infrastructure support is expected to transform the residual challenges of former localization into opportunities for inclusive and sustainable economic growth, thereby reducing social disparities and improving the well-being of local communities.

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