



Social Perspective of Women in Localization

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Abstract

The existence of localization became a source of problems that caused many stereotypes against women. This study aims to, 1.) Describe the perspective of the people of Ponteh Village towards the women of Ponteh Village itself with the existence of localization. 2.) Describe the perspective of outside people with the existence of localization. The type of research used is qualitative with a case study approach. The theories used are Dahrendorf's conflict theory to explain the different community perspective. The results of the study are, 1.) Although the existence of localization in fact provides stereotypes due to the social construction, such as the assumption that Ponteh Village women are prostitutes, only their clothes are tight and thick makeup. In addition, this problem is getting longer because some of the people of Ponteh Village are involved in perpetuating the bad stigma by being involved in it. The perspective that existed in the community outside Ponteh Village previously considered that women in Ponteh Village participated in becoming prostitutes in it. However, this perception gradually became neutral, meaning that they did not deny the existence of localization but did not connect with women in Ponteh Village anymore as before. The further research is better to explain how is the woman in those area feelings.

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Introduction

Nowadays, discussions about gender are increasingly discussed by society in endless discussions and writings. Likewise in Indonesia, discussions about gender are endlessly discussed in various sectors, both government and non-government. This discussion about gender certainly cannot be separated from the various issues that contribute to it. According to Oakley Stoller in Utaminingsih, gender itself is a difference that is not based on biological factors and is not God's nature. Stoller defines gender as a social construction or attribute formed by human culture itself (Utaminingsih, 2017).

Meanwhile, the Office of the State Minister for Women's Empowerment of the Republic of Indonesia in Nugroho defines gender as a social role constructed by society, as well as the responsibilities and opportunities of men and women that society expects so that these social roles can be carried out by both of them properly. (Nugroho, 2008). From this definition, it can be seen that gender is a social role created by social construction and societal culture which gives rise to various assumptions regarding the roles of men and women in the social order.

Discussions about gender itself are often misunderstood by some individuals only for personal or even group interests. Wrong understanding of gender gives rise to various new polemics, especially when it comes to women's gender roles (Sarmini & Rizaq, 2019). Therefore, why discussion about gender is very important to overcome the various problems found. Some of the existing gender problems are; Gender inequality, marginalization of women, subordination, stereotypes, workload violence, and so on are problems that need to be addressed and are important to be reviewed because they are very detrimental to both men and women, especially women who are the ones who suffer the most from these problems (Sukerti, 2016).

Apart from that, gender inequality in society is a representation of the patriarchal culture that is still strong in Indonesia. The dominant influence of men gives rise to certain *labels* on women which affect their freedom of movement (Apriliandra, 2021). According to the Indonesian National Commission on Violence Against Women, the various laws that exist in Indonesia actually increasingly emphasize discrimination against women in society (Kusumawardhana, 2018).

Women are always the targets of harassment, regardless of the role of the family or social environment in which they live (Aji et al., 2020). This is certainly nothing new in everyday life when women's lives are in close proximity to houses of prostitution or Esek-Esek coffee shops. This act of sexual harassment was based on the assumption that the women around were the same as the call girls who worked at the place or because they were in the same environment as the house of prostitution.

The existence of places of prostitution in Indonesia is a problem that the government has not yet managed to fully investigate. The various polemics that arise are always related to immoral acts such as the sale or trafficking of human beings, exploitation of women for commercial purposes, harassment, rape, as well as drug parties and even gambling. The Indonesian Ministry of Health in Nanik stated that prostitution itself is work that actually violates the law where the Criminal Code article 296 prohibits prostitution in any form. However, in reality there are an estimated 99,105 people who are sex workers (Nanik, 2012).

Even though this work violates the law, quite a few people still open commercial services such as building dimly lit coffee shops and even direct houses of prostitution. As is the case with several cases that occurred in the Pamekasan, Madura, East Java area where there were several localizations in several areas and the arrests of pimps and prostitutes were often carried out by the Satpol PP. This problem continues even though related parties have eradicated it in several places that are hotbeds of immoral activities.

The existence of prostitutes and dimly lit coffee shops certainly has a quite negative impact on the surrounding environment. In this case, in Ponteh Village, Galis District, Pamekasan Regency, there used to be a dimly lit coffee shop that had been running for decades, the impact of the existence of this coffee shop tarnished the good name of the village and the people within it. The stereotype that is widespread in society when talking about Ponteh Village always ends with that dimly lit coffee shop. Apart from that, the impact on the women who live nearby has a very heavy moral burden because it is often associated with the prostitutes who work there.

This stereotype arises because the job has become so ingrained that it has been passed down to children and grandchildren. The slanted label received by society, especially women, is a very unfortunate thing because quite a few of them don't like

the existence of these coffee shops. Even though the coffee shop is no longer operating due to the death of the owner, the negative perception of the village and community remains to this day.

This condition is of course closely related to Dahrendrof's conflict theory which links the interrelated relationship between feminism and patriarchy, where feminists consider this to arise because of the strong hegemony of men through the representation of patriarchal culture, giving rise to various problems including exploitation of women and the perception that women are only as material to satisfy lust and the target of sexism.

From the results of direct observations and a few interviews conducted in pre-research with the outside community and the people of Ponteh Village itself, it was found that quite a few of them thought that women in Ponteh Village, especially those around the stalls, were involved in it even though they were not involved as call girls. but the effect is still there, the assessment is based on the way they dress and how they make up themselves which is quite striking. Meanwhile, according to the people of Ponteh Village themselves, the women in their village are not like that, in fact the average woman in their village is a hardworking woman with most of them being educated people with some having permanent jobs while still being housewives.

Based on the results of temporary observations, it can be seen that the problems of women in Ponteh Village, Galis sub-district, Pamekasan Regency due to localization are very interesting if studied from a social perspective. This research is useful for finding out the extent of the community's perspective regarding women in Ponteh Village and for digging deeper into the unique issues and phenomena contained therein.

This phenomenon surrounding women and prostitution in Ponteh Village can be used as a learning resource in social studies subjects in class VII odd semester where this phenomenon is partly related to the material on social problems in KD 3.2 and 4.2, namely identifying social interactions in space and their influence on social life, economics, and culture in values and norms as well as socio-cultural institutions (Kemendikbud, 2018). In its efforts, a good learning resource is a phenomenon that occurs in the surrounding environment in real terms. In this case, the community's

perspective on women in villages where there are dimly lit coffee shops can be used as a direct learning resource through community social interaction material therein.

There are at least several studies that discuss women and localization from a social perspective. Several previous studies that discussed this matter were; Erik Estrada and Oksiana Jatningsih, in their research, discussed the community's perspective on commercial sex workers in Putat Jaya Village, Surabaya, where the results of their research stated that the community did not agree with the existence of prostitutes in their area which was considered disturbing. Apart from that, people also say that the existence of prostitutes is considered unprofitable (Estrada, 2015).

Another research by Achmad Rofiqi discussed the Village Government's efforts to eradicate prostitution in Ponteh Village, where the results of the research showed that the Ponteh Village government made various efforts to eradicate prostitution, including conducting outreach to pimps and the surrounding community about the dangers of prostitution, kinship, and legal channels involving the local police and Satpol PP. Apart from that, the benefits of carrying out eradication efforts are restoring the good name of Ponteh Village, saving Ponteh Village teenagers from things that smell like prostitution in the environment where they live (Rofiqi, 2020).

Apart from that, research from Dwi Kartikawati discusses stereotypes of women in film media: objects, images and commodities, where the results of her research can be concluded that stereotypes of women in the film media *Love for Sale* further strengthen the myth that women are subordinate parties who lead women as objects, images and commodities that strengthen men's hegemony over women (Kartikawati, 2020). Based on several studies above, none of them has conducted research using a social perspective on women who live in a village with prostitution in it, especially in Ponteh Village, Galis District, Pamekasan Regency. For this reason, researchers consider it necessary to carry out this research to find out what the social perspective towards women in localization Village.

Method

This research is qualitative by case study approach. According to Moloeng, qualitative research produces analytical procedures that do not use statistics or quantification. The use of a case study approach in this research is to try and analyze

problems related to women around localization from the perspective of society where generally there is still less favorable treatment.

The research location was carried out in Ponteh Village, District. Galis, Regency. The research subjects used in this research were 8 people with 1 key informant, 2 people from Ponteh Village and 2 people from outside Ponteh Village. The data sources used are primary (observation results, interviews, documentation) and secondary (books, journals/articles related to women, society and localization). For data collection procedures, there are observations (participants), interviews (semi-structured), and documentation. The research stages used are analysis, synthesis, prognosis, diagnosis, treatment, follow-up.

Results and Discussion

a. Analysis

The analysis stage is the stage where researchers begin to collect information or data obtained through interviews and observations regarding localization and social perspectives towards women in Ponteh Village through the existence of this localization. The first data obtained was regarding the existence of localization, which has existed since 1988 until sometime in 2022, the main localization headquarters was forced to close because the owner had died, but there were still some of its relatives who were still operating, although not regularly as before.

Throughout its operation, localization has had various impacts which are quite crucial both for the image of the village and the surrounding community. From what Mrs. SN explained, the most crucial impact lies in the behavior patterns of women around the local area who also dress like prostitutes, such as wearing sexy clothes and heavy *make-up* at all times. Apart from that, there is an influx of alcoholic drinks and strong herbal medicine to support these activities at the basic food stalls next to the localization. The rise of users, dealers and gamblers are taking part in it.

Another thing that happened in Ponteh Village regarding the existence of the localization was the discomfort of some women who often passed near the localization, sometimes some of them were *cat called* so that some were afraid to pass there. The people of Ponteh Village, such as Mrs. LR and Mrs. RS, feel disturbed, but cannot do much because the government is quite overwhelmed in dealing with this

problem. Apart from that, the slanted label that considered them to be one of the prostitutes used in that place was enough to make them angry. This is because it is not in accordance with what is actually happening in the field.

The facts obtained from the results of interviews and observations turned out to be a conclusion that there were once prostitutes there, but that was when it was first established. Henceforth, the existing prostitutes are people from outside Ponteh, even outside Madura and some from Sumenep Islands. The people of Ponteh Village say that women in their village are no different from any other village in that they work, are housewives and go to school.

They also strongly reject the notion that women are merely satisfying lust. Women are basically created as complements, not as objects. The notion that women are the gratifiers of lust is completely inappropriate when compared with the fact that humans are born from the womb of a mother and their first education comes from a mother who is a woman.

However, apart from the women in Ponteh Village, none of whom were prostitutes, in fact, from interviews and observations, it was found that some of the people in Ponteh Village were included in the prostitution network. Where by being a room renter, motorbike taxi driver, and alcohol provider for those who need these drinks.

Researchers also interviewed the outside community about how they view women in Ponteh Village, where most of them think that women around the localization take part in it, in other words they think that women around the place play a role in the localization because they see how they dress and *make-up*. used almost the same as prostitutes in localization.

However, there are some who take a neutral view and say that not all women in Ponteh Village look sexy, although they do not deny the existence of this localization. It's just that some of them regret that this place is still operational and has become a topic of public discussion, to the point where some say it is a red zone.

Apart from that, there was a statement from the people of Ponteh Village in which they said that the government was not firm enough and was involved in helping the localization continue to stand. This is considered due to the existence of localization which has been established for decades. This assumption actually

received a response from Mrs. SN, where the initial establishment of localization was indeed supported by the government and several elite groups involved, but it did not last long. The change in leadership began to become a new chapter for the Ponteh PEMDES with the promotion of health outreach and the use of legal channels.

Ponteh PEMDES also said that they had made various efforts from moral assistance to better business and relocation so that the place closed. The final result of all efforts was the closure of the coffee shop and the reduction in prostitution activities in Ponteh Village. Ponteh PEMDES is starting now to improve the image of the village, by building an MSME Village and a Culinary Village through Independent Village activities.

b. Synthesis

From the results of field data in interviews, observations and documentation that have been linked, the following are obtained:

- 1) The people of Ponteh Village have the perspective that women in their village are good women and are not involved in prostitution activities that have been established since 1988.
- 2) The involvement of some of the Ponteh Village community in prostitution activities by becoming room renters, motorbike taxi drivers for prostitutes, and alcohol suppliers.
- 3) The existence of localization is considered to disrupt social stability in the village. Some visitors often disturb them by *cat calling* some of the women or young girls there.
- 4) The connection between several political elites and officials within them has caused prostitution to exist for a long time. Apart from that, patriarchal cultural practices are deeply rooted where women are made objects of sexism and some women are enslaved therein.
- 5) The view of the outside community is negative, where they assume that the prostitutes used are the women of Ponteh Village themselves because looking at the clothes they wear, they tend to be sexy with heavy *make-up*, which is the appearance of the prostitutes there, apart from that, the village government is less firm in responding to this.

Based on the findings above, it can be seen that the problems that occur in Ponteh Village due to localization are very complex. However, the main factor in the problems that occurred was the establishment of localization which was used as a political tool and fun by some official elites so that it spread to the social order. The second factor is patriarchal culture in making women targets of sexism and the sex industry. Therefore, assistance is needed to break the chain of spread of prostitution so that society is safe and peaceful.

c. Diagnosis

In this stage the researcher determines the causal factors based on the results of problem identification. Therefore, it can be explained in more depth that the diagnosis results obtained were the establishment of a dimly lit coffee shop as a localization site.

Based on the problems found, it was found that the source of the problems faced by the Ponteh Village community was caused by factors, namely:

- 1) Internal factors
 - a) Imitation of appearance in terms of clothing and *make-up* which tends to resemble prostitutes.
 - b) People with interests in politics use coffee shops as pawns.
 - c) Near neighbors of the localization or red zone of the localization area who help or accommodate the import of goods that support prostitution activities.
 - d) People tend to surrender even though they are disturbed, under the pretext of prioritizing the human side.
- 2) External factors
 - a) The one-sided view of the outside community regarding Ponteh Village women as prostitutes without checking the truth.

d. Prognosis

At this stage, researchers will predict what will happen to the people of Ponteh Village, Galis District, Pamekasan Regency due to the existence of localization. Which worsens the general perception of women in Ponteh Village and the image of the village becomes increasingly bad, affects the psychology of the community, especially young children around the locality, declines in community morals, and increases the percentage of *human traffickers* who become prostitutes.

Furthermore, there is a possibility that if this problem gets the right help, namely that the mental psychology of children around the locality will not be disturbed, the self-image of women and Ponteh Village will improve, the social order will be free from immoral activities such as prostitution, alcohol, gambling and drug parties, reducing the percentage of *people trafficking*.

e. Treatment

Treatment here is providing assistance to the Ponteh Village community in overcoming problems caused by the existence of localization. Where the aim of providing *treatment* is to reduce the misunderstanding of the outside community towards women in Ponteh Village and rebuild the social order within the Ponteh Village community so that they do not return to being trapped in the realm of prostitution and other immoral acts.

There is several assistance offered by researchers to the Ponteh Village community to overcome these problems, including:

1. Ponteh Village women can improve their appearance or *make-up look* to be more natural in the sense of not being excessive and dressing more loosely.
2. Providing understanding to girls or boys about sex education as early as possible to become aware of themselves in future life and elements of harassment or *human trafficking*.
3. Increasing the level of education for young people in Ponteh Village so that they are not trapped in the realm of prostitution
4. The people of Ponteh Village can firmly reject the existence of localization.

f. Follow Up

To find out the results of *the treatment* that has been given, you can use several methods such as observation, interviews, or documentation to see to what extent the community has overcome existing problems.

In this case, researchers will present an overview of the results of *the treatment* that has been given to the community. The results of the first *treatment* actually remember that Ponteh is a rural area, but even so, the people in it are not people who are not up to date with developments in *trends*, so even though the researchers gave suggestions to change their *make-up look*, they didn't want this because they felt they

were used to it, but for In terms of clothing, they have started to improve on looser clothes.

For *treatments* number 2 and 3, researchers cannot provide further explanation, because it takes a long time, it is possible to see the results obtained in the next few years. Meanwhile, the researchers could not continue with the last *treatment* because in fact the community had firmly rejected it, but this did not produce results. The current form of community neglect because there is no other way to completely eliminate prostitution in the village can only be reduced little by little.

Discussion

The Ponteh Village Community's Perspective on Ponteh Village Women Through Localization

The existence of localizations or dimly lit coffee shops presents its own perception of the people who live around it. Prostitution in dimly lit coffee shops has a very bad influence on the outside community's view of the women around them. This condition is contradictory because it concerns the self-esteem of people who feel they are not involved in it. However, the existence of this localization gives it its own negative nuance.

“The women of Ponteh Village are the same as women in villages in general. It's just that, yes... because the existence of this localization gives its own negative characteristics to women here. Actually, women in Ponteh Village do not take part in it, they live like women in other villages who work or go to school. On average, those working in localization are still nuclear families and outsiders. However, yes... because of this localization, there is a skewed view of women in our village.” Alviaan Fitrohadi said when met at the Ponteh Village Office Hall.

This localization, which was established in 1988, created a new phenomenon in Ponteh society, where prostitution was initially established using local residents who were close relatives as prostitutes. However, it didn't take long because the prostitutes used were outsiders. The existence of prostitution brings changes to the social conditions of the Ponteh community where there is an influx of alcohol, cockfighting and money gambling, as well as drugs.

According to Paisol Burlian's opinion, this immoral act in her book 'Social Pathology' is the impact of localization, namely damaging the moral foundations of

young people and the psychology of young children in the environment. Apart from that, according to Burlian, the act of prostitution is an activity that degrades women (Burlian, 2016). This is in line with what happens in society, especially women.

The results of the research explain that the people of Ponteh Village view that women in their village are not commercial sex workers like what is often talked about by people outside. Most of the women there are housewives, casual workers, daily laborers, teachers, students, and others. This condition is real in the field.

The existence of localization in Ponteh Village is basically a phenomenon that has developed since 1988. Starting from that year, there have been many negative labels received by some people, especially women, to this day, even though the coffee shop as the main base for prostitution has closed around the end of 2018. The stereotype that has developed among the outside community regarding women in Ponteh Village is a representation of some people who see several women around the local area who are preening and wearing tight clothes.

They conclude that women dress up and wear tight clothes as a form of flirting with men and equate them with prostitutes. According to Mansour Fakhri in his book *gender analysis and social transformation*, this problem is a form of gender injustice by stereotyping women who dress up and wear tight clothes as a form of flirting with men, and even tend to blame women if they experience harassment because of their appearance like that (Fakhri, 2013). Mrs. SN (50) said that no woman wants to be seen as simply satisfying lust.

"I don't agree if women are only seen as satisfying lust. Women are more than just that, they are figures who build civilization and the main madrassas for their children. As a wife, a woman is a complement who balances her household roles. "There are definitely those who become prostitutes who want to be seen as satisfying their desires, because the essence of women is not just limited to mattresses, wells and kitchens."

The stereotype of women in Ponteh Village, which is equated with prostitutes, has caused conflict where some people, such as Mrs. RS and Mrs. LR, say that they are good women, even though they live close to the local area. The stereotype that worsens their image is that women are thought to be mere satisfiers of lust, where the women of Ponteh Village firmly reject this notion and say that women in their

village are not so lowly that they are equated with prostitutes and are mere satisfiers of men's lust in bed.

The problems that occur above are a manifestation of the patriarchal view which considers women who dress up and have a strict appearance to be equated with prostitutes who are then seen as mere satisfiers of lust. This is in accordance with the view of socialist feminism put forward by Fakhri in her book 'Gender Analysis' where the main problem lies in an assessment of the differences in conditions that exist in the social system of Ponteh Village where there is a place of prostitution. In this case, women are always the targets of sexism and pornographic content (Fakhri, 2013), in this case it is related to the existence of existing localization and prostitutes so that Ponteh Village women who look this way become a generalization of the stereotype that Ponteh Village women are involved in becoming prostitutes. and considered as mere satisfaction of lust.

Apart from the women in Ponteh Village who were not involved in becoming prostitutes in this localization. The situation that occurs in the community of Ponteh Village is an anomie which, according to Durkheim in Hisyam with his book 'Deviant Behavior' states that a system in society that is disorderly will have an influence on other individuals in the system (Hisyam, 2018). In this case, the existence of prostitution has now become a division in society which makes some of them also become part of this prostitution. However, some feel uncomfortable and reluctant because it carries a bad stigma. Some people are indirectly involved in prostitution activities as explained by Mrs. SN (50);

"The existence of prostitution actually has an impact on the socio-economic system of the local community. Where in its network, prostitution becomes a source of money for some of those who work under it, such as renting out rooms, being drivers for prostitutes to go to local locations, grocery stores that provide strong alcohol and herbal medicine. The involvement of this part of the community is more about fulfilling material needs."

The view of the people of Ponteh Village towards women in their village is that they look at women in general who work and take care of their home and family. Although the existence of localization in fact provides stereotypes due to the social construction it provides, such as the assumption that women in Ponteh Village are prostitutes just because of their tight clothes and heavy make-up. Apart from that,

this problem is getting worse because some of the people of Ponteh Village are involved in perpetuating this bad stigma by getting involved in it.

External Social perspective on Ponteh Village Women Through Localization

The existence of prostitution in a place close to a residential area generally has its own label for people who view that place, especially outsiders who view the community and its area. Prostitution is a social disease that spreads very quickly and has quite bad effects on the surrounding community, one of which is negative views. The image of women in Ponteh Village is quite unpleasant to hear, apart from that, the bad reputation of Ponteh Village is known as a prostitution village IQ (48);

"The bad view of people outside this village towards women is quite unpleasant, in the sense that it is quite bad. They don't directly say that women here are involved in it, but they view it almost the same because several women who live close to the local area dress quite tightly and make up too much."

In this discussion the researcher will focus on how the outside community views women in Ponteh Village through the existence of localization in the village. In this case, the outside community tends to assume that women in the village are involved in the world of prostitution in the sense of being prostitutes. As expressed by Mrs. SN and Mr. Alvian, this was then reinforced by Mr. IQ and Mr. AS, where they got this by looking at the daily lives of several women in Ponteh Village who were preening and wearing tight clothes.

This problem is in accordance with Alifiulahtin Utaminingsih's statement in his book entitled *Gender and Women's Careers* where patriarchy considers women only as objects, and subordinate to men themselves. Apart from that, in the theory of radical feminism, Utaminingsih explains that patriarchal ideology categorizes women as merely satisfying their desires (Utaminingsih, 2017). They tend to view women who wear tight clothes and preen themselves with sharp swooping eyebrows and lipstick as a form of flirting with men even though in reality it is not, they only look that way as part of beautifying themselves or looking their best. As stated by Mr. AN (24), he does not think that all women in Ponteh Village carried out this act, but in some cases he regrets the existence of this localization in Ponteh Village.

"I cannot judge that all women in Ponteh Village are bad. Because not all the women there are sex workers. So I view Ponteh village women like women in general. "But it's really a shame that this place is in Ponteh Village."

Some of them then assumed that they had just found out about the prostitutes being used who were not local residents. It's just a shame that the local government's actions are considered less firm in eradicating prostitution in Ponteh Village considering its existence which has been around for decades. This problem was then answered by the Ponteh PEMDES, Mr. Alvian, that his party had made various efforts from socialization, tabayyun, to bringing in the authorities but there was no meaningful response.

On the other hand, Mrs. SN stated that in the past this place was founded in connection with important people such as officials and political elites, where the coffee shop was used as a tool to gather crowds for elections and other needs of officials who wanted to have fun. This problem is in accordance with Dahrendorf's conflict theory which states that a social system that is connected and related can be said to be a conflict. This conflict arises because there is pressure from those who have power against those who are weak. Political elites and officials who have interests in doing whatever they can in their power and women and society who have resigned or tend to be fed up with the situation that is happening but do not accept this condition (Susan, 2022).

Other views seem more neutral, although in fact they do not deny the existence of localization in Ponteh Village, but they do not view women negatively. They said that Dea Ponteh women were the same as village women in general who worked, learned to care for children, and so on. They say this assumption based on what they see and believe, because not all women in Ponteh Village preen themselves and dress tightly.

Even though they have a neutral view of the women of Ponteh Village, AG's statement is that the area around the localization is a red zone and even though the localization has closed, there are neighbors who still rent out their rooms for their customers to live in or sleep in. In this case, the existence of localization actually causes the settlement to become a red zone, which according to Burlian, in his book

Social Pathology, states that the existence of prostitution or localization demoralizes other crimes and destroys the moral and religious foundations of the surrounding environment (Burlian, 2016).

Conclusion

The view of the people of Ponteh Village towards women in their village is that they look at women in general who work and take care of their home and family. Even though the existence of localization in fact provides stereotypes due to the social construction, such as the assumption that women in Ponteh Village are prostitutes, the only thing is that they wear tight clothes and heavy make-up. Apart from that, this problem is getting worse because some of Ponteh people are involved in perpetuating this bad stigma by getting involved in it. The perspective of the community outside Ponteh Village previously assumed that women in Ponteh Village also became prostitutes in it. However, this perception gradually became neutral, meaning that they did not deny the existence of localization but no longer connected it with women in Ponteh Village as before.

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