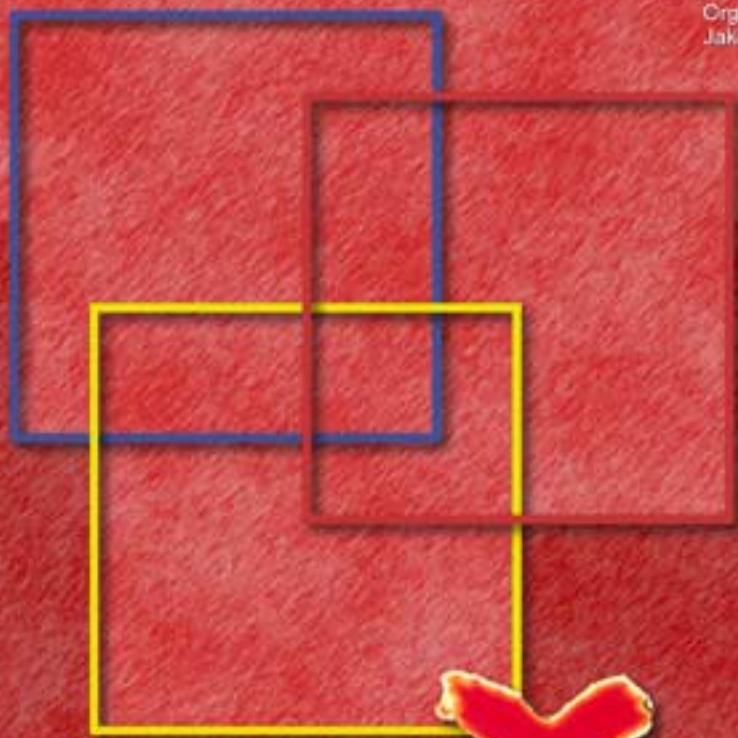




International
Labour
Organization
Jakarta



Child Trafficking for Prostitution in Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java

A Rapid Assessment

IPEC

International Programme on
the Elimination
of Child Labour

International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour

CHILD TRAFFICKING FOR PROSTITUTION IN CENTRAL JAVA, YOGYAKARTA AND EAST JAVA

A RAPID ASSESSMENT

International Labour Organization

2004

Foreword

The latest ILO global child labour estimates confirm what many have feared for some time: the number of children trapped in the worst forms of child labour is greater than previously assumed. It is now estimated that an alarming 179 million girls and boys under the age of 18 are victims of these types of exploitation. Among them, some 8,4 million are caught in slavery, debt bondage, trafficking, forced recruitment for armed conflicts, prostitution, pornography and other illicit activities.

Severe economic hardship, which has affected Indonesia since 1997, has forced poor families to send underage children to work. According to the 1999 data by the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), a total of 1,5 million children between 10 and 14 years of age worked to support their families. At the same time, data from the Ministry of Education shows that 7,5 million or 19,5 percent of the total 38,5 million children aged 7 to 15 were not registered in primary and lower secondary school in 1999. While not all these children are at work, out-of-school children are often in search of employment and at risk of becoming involved in hazardous economic undertakings.

In the face of this, it is truly encouraging that the Government of Indonesia has ratified both the ILO Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) and the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) by law No. 1/2000 and No. 20/1999 respectively. By ratifying Convention 182, Indonesia made a commitment to *“take immediate and effective measures to secure the prohibition and elimination of the worst forms of child labour as a matter of urgency.”*

Pursuant to this, the Government of Indonesia has developed a National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour which is now embodied in a Presidential Decree (No. 59, August 2002). The Plan seeks to eliminate worst forms of child labour during a twenty year time bound programme. The plan also identifies five forms of child labour as the most urgent to be targeted for elimination in Indonesia within a five-years. These are: children involved in the sale, production and trafficking of drugs, trafficking of children for prostitution, child labour in the footwear sector; in mining; and in off-shore fishing.

The ILO's International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) is currently providing support to the Government to implement the National Plan of Action through a support that started in January 2004. The TBP is providing support to develop policies, programmes and projects that have an effective impact on the worst forms of child labour.

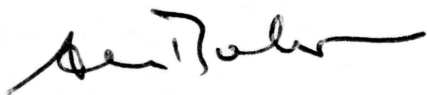
Although there is an increasing volume of information on child labour, there are still gaps in the knowledge and understanding of the various forms and conditions in which children work. The availability of data is crucial in order to ensure a good understanding of the child labour situation and the particular needs of the targeted populations. In order to ensure the availability of such information, ILO-IPEC has undertaken a series of six rapid assessments researching the sectors targeted by the National Plan of Action.

The particular research was undertaken by the Center for Population and Policy Studies (CPPS), Gadjah Mada University. Since its establishment in 1973, the center is consistent in implementing interdisciplinary researches in the field of population and development in Indonesia. Opinions expressed in this publication rests with the author and do not necessary reflect those of the ILO.

The initiative was coordinated by Ms. Arum Ratnawati, who, together with Ms. Anna Engblom, Mr. Pandji Putranto and Mr. Oktavianto Pasaribu also provided technical backstopping and editorial support. The report was edited by Ms. Karen Emmons. The initiative was made possible through the generous support of the US Department of Labour.

I hope that this rapid assessment will make a meaningful contribution to building the knowledgebase about the worst forms of child labour and in the long run to the elimination of such exploitation in Indonesia.

February 2004

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Alan Boulton', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Alan Boulton
Director
ILO Jakarta Area Office

Table of Contents

Foreword.....	i
Table of Contents.....	iii
Acronyms and Glossaries	vii
Acknowledgement from the Consultant.....	viii
Executive Summary.....	1
I. Introduction.....	4
Background.....	4
Issues covered in the rapid assessment	6
Theoretical framework.....	7
Definitions	8
Research methods	9
Data collection.....	10
Problems in the data collection.....	12
II. Mapping of Prostitution.....	14
Types of prostitution establishments.....	14
Observed differences in the three focus cities	18
Use of print media to advertise service.....	19
Magnitude of prostituted children	21
Results	21
III. Profile of Prostituted Children in the Rapid	
Assessment	18
Age.....	18
Geographic origins of respondents	18
Education	20
Economic background.....	20
Marital status.....	21
Sexual experiences before prostitution	21
Employment before being prostituted	22
Reasons for becoming prostituted	23
Prostitution conditions.....	25

Violence and health problems.....	27
Respondents' hopes for their future	32
IV. Profile of the Pimps	34
The pattern of transferring children into prostitution	36
Perception of the clients	37
V. Profile of the Sending Areas and the Households of Prostituted Children	38
Characteristics of the two sending areas in Central Java and East Java.....	39
Relationship of socio-economic development in the areas of origin to prostitution.....	43
Perceptions of prostituted children	46
People's myths relating to prostitution	47
Household profiles of prostituted children	49
The perception of parents of prostituted children about their daughter's work	51
Sibling's opinions about prostituted children	52
VI. The Movement of Young People into Prostitution.....	53
Modus operandi of trafficking	53
Those who facilitate the trafficking process.....	55
Transporting young people to a sex trade destination.....	57
VII. Policy for Dealing with Prostituted Children	61
The need for policy	61
Government's commitment to the problem of child prostitution	63
VIII. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations	68
Conclusions.....	68
Policy recommendations.....	69

References74

Figures and Tables

Figure 1.1:	Map of research areas in Java	9
Figure 5.1:	Map of sending and receiving areas of prostitution in East Java	38
Figure 5.2:	Map of sending and receiving areas of prostitutions in Central Java and Yogyakarta	39
Figure 6.1:	Map of trafficking pattern	57
Figure 7.1:	The complexity of child prostitution and alternatives for public policy.....	62
Table 2.1:	Number of establishments in <i>lokalisasi</i> in each focus city	15
Table 2.2:	Observable differences in management of various <i>lokalisasi</i>	17
Table 2.3:	Tariff of adult sex workers and prostituted children in certain areas, by observed age groupings	18
Table 2.4:	Category of advertisements	19
Table 2.5:	Guess-estimates of sex workers and prostituted young people in the three focus cities.....	16
Table 2.6:	Guess-estimation of sex workers and prostituted young people in Central Java, East Java and Yogyakarta Special Region.....	17
Table 3.1:	Current age of child respondents and age when first became prostituted	18
Table 3.2:	Employment of parents of child respondent	21
Table 3.3:	Job before becoming prostituted.....	22
Table 3.4:	Reasons to find nonsex work.....	23
Table 3.5:	Reason for being prostituted.....	23
Table 3.6:	Respondents experiencing physical, psychological and sexual abuse	30
Table 3.7:	What respondents do to prevent HIV infection.....	32
Table 3.8:	How respondents learned about HIV/AIDS.....	32
Table 5.1:	Population according to sex and age	40
Table 5.2:	National population aged 5-18 years, according to highest completed level	41

Table 5.3:	The population of the sub district in Jepara aged between 7 and 15 years who attend school or work (some do both).....	41
Table 5.4:	Number of schools (primary, junior and senior high), classes, students and average class size	42
Table 5.5:	Population aged 10 years and older, by source of income.....	43

Acronyms and Glossaries

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CPIC	Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Children
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CSEC	commercial sexual exploitation of children
HIV/AIDS	human immunodeficiency virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
IWSC	Indonesian Workers Service Companies
KTP	Kartu Tanda Penduduk/identity card
LPA	Lembaga Perlindungan Anak/Child Protection Centre
NAA	national agenda of action
NACEWFCL	National Action Committee on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
NAPZA	Narkotika dan zat adiktif (Narcotics and Addictive substance)
NGO	nongovernment organization
NPA	national plan of action
PJTKI	Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia/Indonesian Worker Service Company
SMP	Sekolah Menengah Pertama/Junior High School
SMS	short message services
UNICEF	United National Children's Fund
KUHP	Kompilasi Umum Hukum Pidana/Indonesian Penal Code
<i>ciblek</i>	young prostitutes
<i>Kyai</i>	Islamic religious leaders
<i>Lokalisasi</i>	a certain 'place' that was officially acknowledged as an area for prostitution
rupiah	Indonesian currency
SMP Terbuka	open junior high school

Acknowledgement from the Consultant

This rapid assessment was undertaken under cooperation between the Center for Population and Policy Studies (CPPS), Gajah Mada University and International Labour Organisation – International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC) in Jakarta

The Center appreciates the hard work of the research team: Muhadjir Darwin, Budi Wahyuni, Setiadi, Siti Ruhaini, Wini Tamtiari, Susi Eja Yuarsu, and Henny Ekawati and the valuable technical contribution from technical staff of the Center: Hanti Darmini, Sri Widayati, Sri Suharti, and Budi Riyanto.

The Center also gratefully acknowledges the valuable guidance and assistance from ILO-IPEC staff : Pandji Putranto, Arum Ratnawati, Anna Engblom, and Octavianto Pasaribu. Through intensive discussion with them, the research team from the Center was finally able to finalize the report.

Finally, the Center also appreciate contribution of other people that would be too long to be mentioned personally for their various contribution to the completion of this rapid assessment.

Executive Summary

The prostituting of children is a humanitarian problem that deserves world attention because of its impact on a child's development. All prostituted children are subjected to humiliation, exploitation, deception and marginalization, and many are denied their right to a proper education and other basic needs for developing in the healthiest way. Indonesia has ratified major Conventions related to trafficking that include the trafficking of children and child prostitution. And yet the number of children in prostitution has not declined; instead it continues to rise along with the fast growth of the sex industry in this country.

This report is based on a rapid assessment that attempted to generate qualitative as well as quantitative data related to children's involvement in prostitution, including the nature, causes, consequences and the magnitude. The gender dimension in the prostitution of children also has been explored in the report. This document includes recommendations, based on the research findings for the rapid assessment, to address the problems.

Prostitution of young people is most clearly unacceptable when the recruitment process involves deception, force, threats and, of course, kidnapping. It is also clearly unacceptable when young people are held against their will or in a slavery-like situation for purposes of exploitation. But what is also unacceptable is the prostitution of young people who may have "consented" or "chosen" to work in prostitution. It has become widely endorsed among the international community that consent made by children and young people to certain activities is irrelevant. The age of consent has been drawn at 18 years old. Thus, there are certain forms of labour specified as unacceptable for anyone younger than 18 – even with their parents' or their own consent; the list includes prostitution. This rapid assessment followed the definition included in the Supplemental Protocol to the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime that contends anyone younger than 18 in prostitution is a trafficking victim.

This rapid assessment, conducted by researchers from the Centre for Population and Policy Studies at Gadjah Mada University, took place over a

two-month period in receiving and sending areas in Central Java and East Java provinces and Yogyakarta Special Region. The receiving areas were Surabaya, Semarang and Yogyakarta cities, while the selected sending areas were a sub district in Jepara District and a sub district in Malang District. The report is based on observations and interviews with a variety of informants, including 36 prostituted young people, 6 pimps and 15 families in one sending and three receiving areas. The research also included interviews with several other informants: middlemen, parking guards and customers in the receiving areas, teachers, officials with relevant government agencies and NGOs and other key individuals.

The report documents the presence of young people in the sex trade, such as prostitution in the street, in *lokalisasi*, and in hidden prostitution – that is prostitution under the disguise of other businesses, such as beauty salons, discotheques, hotels, billiard halls, massage parlours, karaoke lounges and steam baths. The magnitude of children in prostitution is quite alarming. Based on the findings from the cities of Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Semarang and other areas, the researchers guest-estimated there were 7,452 prostituted young people in the two provinces and special region. Using Irwanto's (2001) estimation of 21,000 prostituted children in the country, this rapid assessment's calculation indicates that 35 per cent of all prostituted young people are found in these two provinces and special region.

The 36 children in prostitution interviewed for this assessment came from remote and poor villages that lack job opportunities and public facilities, especially schools. Ninety per cent of the 36 child respondents in the assessment worked in other jobs, mostly in the informal sector, before they were prostituted. The girls reported working as shop assistants, housemaids and in beauty salons and factories. The boys said they had worked as a street musician or a mechanic.

Generally speaking, the respondents had already left their home regions to work in other jobs and most had gone to urban areas looking for employment. According to their comments, several of the child respondents in the assessment said they left their first jobs for prostitution work because they wanted to earn more income.

The two sending areas observed for the assessment, a sub district in Jepara and in Malang, represent the typical impoverished environment from which it is believed most prostituted young people come. Both sub districts lack natural resources and the level of education of most residents is low. From a cultural point of view, the sexual behaviour of the people is permissive. Prostitution is not stigmatized socially and is even acknowledged by parents, siblings and neighbours as a source of income that can improve their living condition. Houses in two sub districts where the assessment were

carried out, for example, have been renovated from the remittances sent by the prostituted daughters in those families.

Though children in prostitution may contribute positively to their family's income and well-being, their employment in that type of activity cannot be justified due to the inherent humanitarian problems. Strict law enforcement must apply to all participants in order to break down the process of prostituting young people. Law enforcement must begin, however, to see young people, who in some cases could be considered also participants in the process, as the victims that they are. In addition, to control the problem of prostituted children requires strong institutional cooperation between various organizations, government and nongovernment agencies at the central and local levels, as well as internationally. Policy stakeholders must be able to develop a similar vision and mission to avoid contradicting actions in the field. Each institution can focus its attention on specific actions that are geared to achieve specific goals. If this is done in a large-scale, coordinated way, there is hope in solving this complex problem.



Introduction

This report presents the findings of a rapid assessment conducted in three cities (Semarang, Yogyakarta and Surabaya) and two sub districts in Central Java and East Java provinces to understand the situation of young people, particularly girls, who have been prostituted. The rapid assessment included interviews with 36 prostituted children – 30 girls and 6 boys, 12 in each of the receiving cities, 6 pimps and 15 families.

Background

Since the economic crisis struck Indonesia in mid 1997, it is estimated that the number of child workers has jumped dramatically. Too many of these child workers in Indonesia are the victims of structural poverty. For example, the inability of poor families to keep up with increases in prices of basic needs pushes them to send their children to work. As such, it appears that children were the first victims and the ones who have suffered the most as a result of the prolonged economic crisis.

In this kind of situation, many children lose their right to education and recreation because they are forced to take part in earning their family's income and because the parents were not able to pay for tuition and other costs. To reduce production costs, employers often take advantage of young people's vulnerable position. As there are no effective mechanisms in place to protect young workers, there are many children working in exploitative fields such as fishing, the shoe industry and other places where they are in danger of being exposed to dangerous substances. Because of their vulnerability, many children become victims of trafficking and a few of them, particularly girls, have been trapped into prostitution.

Child prostitution is the use of young people in sexual activities for profit or other advantages. This definition covers the acts of procuring and offering children for prostitution (Ministry for Women's Empowerment, Republic of Indonesia, 2002:7). For this assessment, the definition of a "child" as anyone younger than 18 is based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (Article 1), which was ratified in Indonesia by Presidential Decree

No. 36 in 1990. The Convention maintains that children must be protected from all manner of physically, psychologically or sexually exploitative and high-risk work. In addition, this assessment recognizes the principle in the Supplemental Protocol to the Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime that someone younger than 18 is not capable of making informed consent regarding themselves. Thus, young people need protection from prostitution. According to Indonesian law, children younger than 18 years are the responsibility of their parents or caregivers. However, young people are forbidden to work in certain worst forms of labour, even when they have parental/guardian consent. Based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) and the supplemental protocol, children younger than 18 who work in the sex industry must be considered as trafficking victims. This is consistent with the concept that they are not capable of giving consent and instead require their parent or caregiver to act on their behalf.

Indonesia has ratified major Conventions that include positions against the trafficking of children and child prostitution. And yet the number of children in prostitution has not declined; instead it has continued to rise in tandem with the fast growth of the sex industry in the country (Brock and Susan, 1996: 7).

In the era of globalization, prostituted children have become a promising commodity. The demand was fuelled by the misperception that having sex with children was safer from HIV infection than sex with adults. But the fact is, the younger a person is, the higher is the risk of becoming infected – because of the physical vulnerability and also because younger people are more likely to lack knowledge on protection.

According to Farid (in Irwanto *et al.*, 2001: 31) the number of prostituted children in Indonesia is approximately 30 per cent of the total number of sex workers. According to data from Binrehabsos (Ministry of Social Affairs), the number of sex workers in 2000 reached 73,990 (Irwanto, 2001: 32); thus, estimated Irwanto, there were 21,000 prostituted children in Indonesia. According to government data, they operated in obvious prostitution establishments and in massage parlours, *karaoke* lounges, bars, discotheques and on the streets, among others.

In addition to this, prostituting of children can be inherently violent during the recruitment process. Because prostitution is considered as a shameful act in eastern culture as well as illegal, particularly of underaged persons, the recruitment process is conducted by acts of deception and even kidnapping. It is acknowledged by several researchers that there is a close relationship between trafficking practices and child prostitution (Brock and Susan, 1996; Raymond: 2001; Irwanto *et al.*, 2001).

Prostitution of young people appears to be increasing. The number of cases that have been successfully handled by the police signal that there are many more cases not dealt with and have not even been identified by the relevant authorities. The phenomenon of trafficking children is like an iceberg, meaning that only a small proportion appears on the surface, while the number of cases that are not apparent is much larger.

Several attempts have been made to go below the surface but have failed to reveal much more of the “iceberg”. Kuntjoro (1997) sought to research the factors that pushed females, mostly those younger than 20, into prostitution. However, the research did not reveal the condition of the young people in prostitution, the violence they suffered or the health impacts from their activities. The research was conducted in several areas suspected as sending areas of prostituted children.

Irwanto *et al.* (2001) then looked at the trafficking of children for several purposes, including as beggars, housemaids, drug dealers and prostitution. However, as Irwanto admitted, the work was not focused because the sensitivity of the issue prevented him from doing deep enough investigation. The research did not document aspects related to trafficking, such as profiles of the victims, profiles of the traffickers, trafficking patterns, violence and health impacts.

Dzuhayatin and Hartian S. (2001) also researched the issue of trafficking and were able to reveal more details on aspects related to the issue of prostituted children, both in the sending areas and the receiving areas. Their research documented details of the health impacts, physically, psychologically and sexually from the victims’ perspective. However, this research was focused more on the trafficking process at cross-border areas, such as Medan, Batam and Pontianak. It did not describe the magnitude of the suspected number of prostituted children.

Issues covered in the rapid assessment

In preparation for a time-bound programme being planned as an intervention within communities where prostituted children originate, the International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Exploitation of Children (ILO-IPEC) initiated this rapid assessment in hopes of adding to the previous research, especially to filling in the gaps in understanding. ILO-IPEC commissioned researchers from the Centre for Population and Policy Studies at Gadjah Mada University to conduct the rapid assessment. The specific issues this assessment should cover were as follows:

1. What is the socio-economic, cultural and family background of children involved in prostitution (all aspects including education, religion, income, opportunities, size, ages and land ownership, etc.)?
2. What are the characteristics of children involved in prostitution with regard to schooling and level of poverty?
3. How deep is the knowledge and awareness of the risk/hazards involved in prostitution, including HIV/AIDS, among boys and girls?
4. What are the health consequences, physically, psychological and sexually, for children involved in prostitution?
5. What are the levels of financial compensation to children involved in prostitution and how is the income used?
6. What are the levels of knowledge and acceptance of the families of the children involved in prostitution?
7. How intensive are the contacts with the other children and adults previously involved in prostitution?
8. What are the perceptions of work, life and future aspirations of the children involved in prostitution?

And the specific objectives for the assessment were as follows:

1. To generate qualitative data related to children's involvement in prostitution, including the nature, causes and consequences.
2. To produce quantitative data on the magnitude of children's involvement in prostitution.
3. To explore gender dimensions of children's involvement in prostitution, including differences in causes, sensitivity to conditions as well as factors that cause gender differences.
4. To propose recommendation for addressing the problem.

Theoretical framework

The researchers for this assessment recognize trafficking of children as the movement of children and young people into forms of labour recognized as unacceptable for their involvement. Most children who ended up prostituted originally wanted to migrate to a new destination for the purpose of working. Therefore, the push and pull factors of migration become relevant to the framework of this research.

Definitions

Trafficking

This report follows the definition of trafficking as acknowledged in the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, which regards that anyone younger than 18 engaged in the sex trade as a trafficking victim, regardless of how that person arrived in that position (see Box).

Definition of trafficking

The UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime provides the most generally accepted and widely used definition of trafficking. In article 3 trafficking is defined as follows:

- (a) "Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs;
- (b) The consent of a victim of trafficking in persons to the intended exploitation set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article shall be irrelevant where any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) have been used;
- (c) The recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of a child for the purpose of exploitation shall be considered "trafficking in persons" even if this does not involve any of the means set forth in subparagraph (a) of this article;
- (d) "Child" shall mean any person younger than 18.

Brokers/traffickers

For purposes of this report, all people whose business is to direct persons into various occupations, including prostitution, are referred to as a “broker” or when it is clear, as “broker/trafficker”.

Research methods

This is a qualitative research project. Nevertheless, limited surveys have been conducted to gain detailed profiles of the prostituted children.

Figure 1.1: Map of research areas in Java



Research locations

This research took place in receiving and sending areas in Central Java and East Java provinces and Yogyakarta Special Region. The receiving areas in Central Java were Semarang and Yogyakarta cities while the sending area was a subdistrict in Jepara district. Based on the data obtained from Semarang and Yogyakarta, the number of child prostitutes from this sub district in Jepara is significant. In East Java, Surabaya was chosen as the receiving area and a subdistrict in Malang district as the sending area because the largest number of prostituted children in Surabaya originate from there. The choice of the two sending area locations was based on information obtained from various sources including government agencies, NGO activists, politicians and members of the local parliament (DPRD) who stated that those regions have many families with daughters working in prostitution.

Semarang, Surabaya and Yogyakarta were chosen as the receiving areas because these areas were indicated as cities where many sex workers from other regions come. This is reflected in the large numbers of girls observed working in prostitution spots in those cities. Although there is no statistical data, the widespread nature of the sex industry in these cities can be seen from the many prostitution spots that exist there.

Respondents and informants

The respondents in this research involved 36 prostituted children younger than 18 years in the receiving areas. The informants at the locations where prostitution activities take place were employees, parking guards and customers. Other informants with knowledge relevant to the research included:

- **Government institutions**

The Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Tourism, the Health Office, the subdistrict police force, the district police, members of the Regional Legislative Assembly, the subdistrict community health centre and villages heads.

- **Nongovernment organizations**

- Semarang: Griya Asa and Yayasan Setara
- Surabaya: Abdi Asih, KPPD
- Malang: Jarak
- Yogyakarta: Griya Lentera

Other informants included six pimps in the receiving areas, three brokers/traffickers in the sending areas and teachers, public figures, such as *Kyai* (Islamic religious and community figures), Catholic community figures and members of political parties, motorcycle-taxi drivers and parents and siblings of the child respondents in the sending areas.

Data collection

Data collected in this research includes both secondary and primary data. The secondary data was collected by searching through publications and references related to the topic and using note taking and documentation techniques (Sudaryanto, 1988). The secondary data included newspaper articles, policies of the related institutions such as local regulations on entertainment places and other similar policies, and also the records of the village and subdistrict. The data on judicial processes was gained from the subdistrict police and NGOs supporting the victims.

Primary data was gained through the following processes:

- a. Observation on the places where prostitution usually occurs, such as prostitution areas, and open spaces, such as streets and other public areas. Observation of prostitution locations was at conducted certain sites in three cities: Sunan Kuning area in Semarang; Dolly area in Surabaya; and Pasar Kembang area in Yogyakarta. During this observation, the information gathered was an age estimation of the sex workers based on common physical characteristics, the patronage interaction between the sex workers and their pimps and also the physical condition of the prostituted children, their living conditions and health facilities.

Meanwhile, the observation in the sending areas was focused on the condition of infrastructure such as the streets, transportation and telecommunication facilities, education and health facilities and also the physical and social conditions of the society.

- b. A limited survey of prostituted young people was conducted at the receiving areas and the locations where they worked. The survey of prostituted young people covered 36 children – 30 girls and 6 boys, 12 in each city (Semarang, Surabaya and Yogyakarta). This was conducted because the research mainly is based on a qualitative method, while the purpose to conduct the quantitative method was to support the existing data.
- c. Observations and interviews with NGOs workers and related parties were conducted before the survey at the prostitution locations to get to know the areas suspected of prostitution. In Semarang, the sampling process was conducted purposely as the exact number of the entertainment places and restaurants was well noted at the Tourism Bureau of Central Java province. These places include specific prostitution sites or *lokalisasi*, streets often used as places for sex transactions, hotels, beauty centres, massage parlours, saunas, karaoke lounges, discotheques and other similar places. In Surabaya and Yogyakarta, the sampling selection was conducted using a snowball technique with the respondents being employees, parking guards or customers. The sampling in Semarang covered 32 sites (approximately one third of the total spots existing in this area), in Yogyakarta it covered 28 sites (approximately one half of the total spots existing in this area) and in Surabaya it covered 41 sites (approximately one fifth of the total spots existing in this area). The sampling was conducted by first making a list of all the prostitution locations in each city, which was done together with a local resident as the enumerator. From this list, a sample was taken in accordance with the personnel and funds available.

In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were conducted with all the informants and respondents. The respondents included prostituted children, male and female employees, parking guards, and the customers at the entertainment spots. The informants were government officials, NGOs activists who support the children who have been trafficked, teachers and public figures both in the sending and receiving areas.

Problems in the data collection

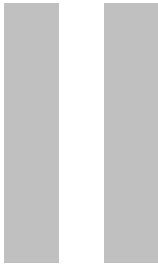
Child trafficking is a sensitive issue. This is because child trafficking involves various parties making a profit who actually already know that they are breaking the law, including pimps and brokers/traffickers. Furthermore the families of the prostituted children feel embarrassed to state the truth because it is shameful for them to admit that they allow their children to work as prostitutes.

Research on the households of prostituted children in the sending areas was conducted by first contacting people who were very familiar with the area and had good relations with the members of that household. The researchers first visited several community figures in each village, including the head of an Islamic boarding school, a village official, etc. They provided guidance as to whether certain households included a prostituted child. After this process, the researchers then visited the parents of prostituted children to request an interview. In addition to conducting interviews with the parents, the researchers interviewed three brokers/traffickers. To contact the brokers/traffickers so that they would agree to be interviewed, a researcher first visited a political figure who also worked for an NGO. That political figure then contacted three people he knew who sometimes worked as traffickers. The interviews with the traffickers could only be done in one of the sending areas, which was Jepara district, while in the other location it was not possible because there was no contact person in that area who could facilitate an interview with any broker/trafficker.

Research in the sending area in Central Java was relatively easier to conduct because people there were more open to admitting that the prostitution of young people takes place. This was different from the village observed in East Java. People in this village were fairly closed. Although there was a lot of information obtained to indicate that there were a number of children from that region working in prostitution, when the researchers arrived in the area, people were reluctant to point out which households had a child working in prostitution.

Most of the parents interviewed during the research for the household profile initially denied that their child was being prostituted, let alone that they consented or even encouraged their child to work in prostitution. The researchers found it necessary to cover up the intention of the interview by saying that other households were also being interviewed. The households of prostituted children were generally quite sensitive to outsiders because they thought that they would receive attention or be the target of malicious gossip from the neighbours. As such, during the interviews the researchers were very careful in asking about information concerning the conditions of those households. In terms of the information on households of prostituted young people, the researchers also used various supporting information from neighbours, community figures and even the households of other prostituted children. Of the parents interviewed, eventually some acknowledged that their child indeed was being prostituted. From that point and from them, the researchers were then able to pull together a picture of other households that included a young person involved in the sex trade.

In the receiving areas, interviews with the prostituted girls were conducted by first making contact with the NGO volunteers who were assisting the prostituted girls. Through them the researcher could access information from the prostituted children. The tendency for prostituted children to give a false identity, especially with regard to age, became a key obstacle in this research. In addition, the prostituted children were busy serving customers, which meant that sometimes the interviews could not be fully completed.



Mapping of Prostitution

Types of prostitution establishments

Prostitution in Indonesia can be divided into at least three categories: i) activities that take place in relatively closed places/veiled under the disguise of other businesses; ii) soliciting of clients that takes place in open or public places, such as streets, areas of food stalls or graveyards; and iii) services that are offered in obvious prostitution establishments, such as *lokalisasi*.

In the past, there was a policy of the Indonesian Government to have a certain “place” that was officially acknowledged as an area for prostitution, known as *lokalisasi*. This policy made it easier for the Government to control the activities in the *lokalisasi*, or localization – a red-light district where most or all houses are brothels. However, prostitution activities are found in many other places such as streets, discotheques, etc., but those doing prostitution outside the *lokalisasi* are subject to raids conducted by the regional government. As prostitution remains illegal in Indonesia, even the *lokalisasi* are subject to police raids.

The solicitation that is available in both the closed and open places of prostitution involves prostituted young people who work under the control of a pimp or as a “freelancer” soliciting customers on their own or through a middle person.

Prostitution veiled by other businesses

Prostitution under the guise of another business, such as a beauty salon, cafe, discotheque, hotel, billiard hall, massage parlour, *karaoke* lounge or steam bath, is found in many cities in Indonesia. Prostitution of this type is further divided into two categories: i) establishments in which the employees are made available for sexual services and ii) businesses that are used by sex workers and prostituted children who aren’t employed directly by the management but use it as a “base” in exchange for a portion of the customer’s payment.

Prostitution in the streets

People in prostitution working in the streets are located generally by “groups”: i) girls younger than 18 who are known by the term “*ciblek*”, or

“chicks”, in some cities; ii) a mix of teenagers and adults up to 30-years-old and iii) those mostly aged 30 and older. Fees charged among each group also varies; it is common for the younger people to charge higher tariffs.

Prostitution in *lokalisasi*

Before the reformation era that began in May 1998, red-light district was found in various cities throughout Indonesia. Some of the red-light districts were established by private individuals while others were deliberately set up by the Government to control prostitution, known as *lokalisasi*. Over time, the Government closed some *lokalisasi* and some others were closed through community pressure, such as *lokalisasi* in Yogyakarta and Solo. Many places remain operating, despite community pressures, such as in Sunan Kuning, Dolly Surabaya and Pasar Kembang. According to various interviews, the number of prostituted women and girls in *lokalisasi* still operating has increased since the other *lokalisasi* were closed.

Among *lokalisasi* that were closed, there were several alternatives chosen by sex workers who were removed from them. Those alternatives included (1) moving to another *lokalisasi*, (2) joining the hidden prostitution establishments, (3) basing themselves in red-light districts or (4) operating independently by waiting for calls from customers.

In each of the three cities selected as a focus site, several of the *lokalisasi* chosen for the rapid assessment allegedly were shut down by the Government but remained in operation. Of them, *lokalisasi* in Sunan Kuning in Semarang, Pasar Kembang in Yogyakarta and Dolly, Moroseneng, Jarak, Sememi, Bangunrejo and Klakahrejo (Table 2.1) were observed during the rapid assessment.

Table 2.1: Number of establishments in *lokalisasi* in each focus city

<i>Lokalisasi</i>	No. of establishments	No. of female sex workers
Surabaya		
Bangunrejo	190	950
Jarak	400	2,543
Dolly	55	584
Sememi	191	955
Klakah Rejo	150	750
Tambak Asri	352	1,600
Semarang		
Sunan Kuning	100	614
Yogyakarta		
Pasar Kembang	45	315
Total	1,483	8,311

Sources: Secondary data and primary data, 2003 from Surabaya social office, NGOs in

Semarang and Yogyakarta

The establishments within the *lokalisasi* are known in the local language as “*wisma*”, or “guest house”. Generally, a “*wisma*” operates under the charge of one person, typically a pimp/owner of the house. There are cases however, where one manager/pimp controls several “*wisma*”

Each *lokalisasi* applies different regulations and tariffs (fees charged to customers), as explained in Table 2.2. In Sunan Kuning, generally the sex workers live in ordinary houses and have no strict working hours. This condition is almost the same as in Pasar Kembang, Yogyakarta. Of the existing *lokalisasi*, Dolly seems to be the most different from the others. In this *lokalisasi* the majority of sex workers live in guest houses complete with “show rooms” and have set working hours. The management of this type of *lokalisasi* appears to be more organized because there are hostesses to receive the guests and guest house managers whom manage the finances.

To operate in a *lokalisasi*, generally pimps will require that the sex workers have an identity card to ensure that they do not employ any underaged children (younger than 18). In reality though, the age printed on the identity card is sometimes deliberately stated as older than the real age so that the children will be accepted to work there. Pimps in the *lokalisasi* in general do not dare to employ underage children because the competition between brothels may lead rival pimps to report the existence of prostituted children to the security forces who control the prostitution areas.

Table 2.2: Observable differences in management of various *lokalisasi*

Category	Sunan Kuning	Pasar Kembang	Dolly	Moroseneng/ Sememi	Jarak
Location	1 Neighbourhood unit (RW ¹), complex	1 Neighbourhood unit (RW), urban village	Several neighbourhood units (RW), guest houses	1 neighbourhood unit (RW), guest houses and houses	Several neighbourhood units (RW), houses
Pimps' residence	Adjoining neighbourhood area (RT)	Hotel owners in neighbourhood area (RT), in the same houses	Pimps live externally	Some live externally, some live in the same residences	Adjoining neighbourhood area (RT)
Number of sex workers*)	614	350	950	750	2,543
Number of pimps	100	-	55	150	400
System of payment	Pay to the sex worker	Pay to the sex worker	Managers	Pay to the sex worker or pimp	Pay to the sex worker
Fee charged for sex	On average, 50,000 rupiah (US\$6)	On average, 35,000-50,000 rupiah (US\$0.38- \$6)	On average, 70,000 rupiah (US\$8)	On average 50,000 rupiah (US\$6) In guest houses, more than 100,000 rupiah (US\$12)	25,000 -50,000 rupiah (US\$2.88-\$6)
Division of Income	50-50	Pay for board and room rate for each customer	6,000 rupiah (US\$ 0.75) for the manager and the remainder divided between the pimp and sex worker		50-50
Working hours	Flexible hours and holidays	Flexible working hours and holidays	Very strict working hours and holidays	Some strict, some flexible	Flexible hours and holidays

Source: Primary and secondary data, 2003

* Note: In the *lokalisasi*, there was a regulation that pimps were not allowed to accept children younger than 18 to work in their brothels. The women who want to work in a *lokalisasi* had to show their identity cards, but there was a possibility that some of them had falsified their card.

¹ Every village in Indonesia consists of several *Rukun Warga* (RW) or *Rukun Kampung* (RK), which are similar to hamlets; each of them contains a number of *Rukun Tetangga* (RT), meaning "neighbourhood association". A neighborhood association usually consists of 40 to 50 households.

Observed differences in the three focus cities

The three receiving areas researched for this assessment, Semarang, Surabaya and Yogyakarta cities, had their own unique characteristics. In Semarang and Surabaya, the prostitution activities were largely open, whereas in Yogyakarta it was more covert. Beauty salons and boarding houses, for instance, also doubled as prostitution places or provided the services of sex workers.

Table 2.3 indicates that there were differences in charges for the short-term service in accordance with the location and age of the prostituted person. Services available in a location with some modicum of privacy demanded higher fees compared with prostituted people working off the streets. In all locations, the sex workers/prostituted young people operating in more exclusive locations asked for higher fees; as previously mentioned, even prostituted young people operating from the streets demanded higher fees than older sex workers, sometimes as high as those working in exclusive areas (in Surabaya and Semarang).

Table 2.3: Tariff of adult sex workers and prostituted children in certain areas, by observed age groupings

Type of prostitution location	Surabaya			Semarang			Yogyakarta		
	< 18	xx-30, < 30	> 30	< 18	xx-30, < 30	>30	<18	xx-30, < 30	>30
Disguised prostitution									
200,000 rupiah (US\$24) and more	*	*	-	*	-	-	*	-	-
100,000-200,000 rupiah (US\$12 - \$24)	*	*	-	*	-	-	*	*	-
Less than 100,000 rupiah (IUS\$12)	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-
Street prostitution									
100,000-250, 000 rupiah US\$12-\$29)	*	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-
50.000-100,000 rupiah (US\$6-\$12)	*	*	-	*	*	-	*	-	-
5,000-50,000 rupiah (US\$0.60 -\$6)	-	*	*	-	-	*	-	*	*
Lokalisasi									
100,000-150,000 rupiah (US\$12-\$17)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
60,000-100,000 rupiah (US\$ 7-\$12)	*	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50,000-below rupiah (US \$ 6.25)	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	*	*

Source: Primary and secondary data, 2003

* = Available in this city

The street activity was the easiest to observe of the three types of prostitution, and thus differences were more easily noted. And there were distinctive differences: In Semarang, for instance, sex workers/prostituted

children stood along main roads under the guise of selling tea, including those operating at intersections. When a customer is “picked up”, he is taken to another place, typically a hotel. Many of these street operators work under the control of a pimp, though the researchers were unable to estimate what proportion. Income was then divided between the sex workers/prostituted young people and their pimps. The division varied with each pimp deciding what per cent their sex workers had to pay to them. Fees of the street-based sex workers/prostituted young people sometimes were no lower than for those operating in disguised establishments.

In Surabaya, where prostitution in general appeared more widespread than in the other cities, sex workers/prostituted young people on the streets typically operated without a pimp. And occasionally they were found sharing the same area with transvestite prostitutes. Even some graveyards were used as a base for sex workers (typically those older than 35); fees for sex in these areas appeared to be the lowest charged, around 5,000 rupiah (US\$0.60).

In Yogyakarta there was less street prostitution than in the other two cities. In the dark areas where it was found, never would there be an overlap of, say, sex workers and transvestite prostitutes because of the increased competition each group represented to the other. Street operators charged much lower fees than those found in disguised prostitution establishments.

Use of print media to advertise service

Male sex workers seeking female clients appear to be increasing in magnitude and operate slightly different from females. Male sex workers, who also base themselves in shopping malls, seem to rely more on selling their services, either blatantly or covertly through print advertising. In several newspapers surveyed, the classified ads contained solicitations for male sex workers.

Table 2.4: Category of advertisements

	Beauty salon	Healing (health treatment)	Dating columns
Sellers	Women	Men and women	Mainly men
Target	Middle- to upper-class men	Middle- to upper-class women and men and older rich men	Rich women, rich older women
Service advertised	Grooming treatments (camouflaged as beauty salon)	Massage	Sex – no disguise
Working hours	Morning-night	On call 24 hours to home or hotel	24 hours

Sources: Various printed media

The language used in advertisements for male sex workers in Yogyakarta appeared more covert, almost shy than those in the other two cities where prostitution is more widespread. Of the newspapers analysed for this research, three to five ads appeared daily, such as:

Massage provided, women aged 20-35, guaranteed satisfaction from an athletic man. Please contact HP No.

And most of the ads placed by male sex workers that were surveyed in Semarang and Surabaya asked readers to call rather than send a text message on the hand phone as a way of preventing pranks. Many of the male advertisers were available either one-time or for longer affairs. In such cases, according to a resource person who had conducted similar research, the income typically would be higher than the standard rate, depending on the generosity of the women clients and the services they received. Much more bravado was used in advertisements in these two cities, as the following examples illustrate:

Athletic Body Ready to Date You Aunty: Name Priyo Wijaksono, nickname Yoyok, age 32, I want to get to know you ladies in Jakarta and of course I'm handsome with a very interesting job, I'll date anyone who wants to date me, contact me on HP:

Hungry for Sex? Contact Me: My name is John, age 27, height 178 cm, handsome face, employed in private industry. I am a guy who's hot in bed, I really like sex and once again I want to get to know any lonely ladies.

Do You Want to be a Woman in Love, Aunty?: My name is Toto, age 30, single, a real bachelor. I'm still unmarried so I don't know much about sex because I've never been out with anyone. For this reason I want to get to know you, aunty, and you can contact me on HP No:

The ads placed by female sex workers offered a service, such as the following:

Relaxing health massage. Contact 081-xxxxxxx (Fani, Lia, Tata). No info SMS

Personal, sexy: massage with Neneng Evis on 081-xxxxxxx

Dianna massage and Body massage called to your hotel. Please call 031-xxxxxxx (24 hours).

Magnitude of prostituted children

Methods

Estimating the magnitude of prostituted children in the three cities of this assessment was not easy. Empirical data was not available as prostitution has never been included in the national census or surveys. Secondary data was available in local government offices, which was collected through *Rekapitulasi Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial* (Recapitulation of Persons Who Have Problem Achieving Social Welfare), but the quality of data is questionable. And more critically, the secondary data does not segregate the population numbers by age.

Because of the time constraint, the nature of a rapid assessment and the mobility of prostituted children, the best estimate on the magnitude is based on guesswork by key informants. After identifying locations where sex workers operate, the researchers asked key persons in those areas to estimate the number of sex workers and prostituted children operating there. According to those informants, the number of locations in Semarang that were included in this assessment were about one third of the total possible locations in that city.

In Surabaya and Yogyakarta, the sampling was taken using a snowball technique because the total population of possible prostitution locations in these two cities was not known. The result of the sampling taken in Surabaya was estimated to cover one fifth of the total places suspected as locations for disguised prostitution. While in Yogyakarta, the key informants estimated that the locations focused on for the assessment represented one half of the total number of such places.

In *lokalisasi*, the researchers relied on pimps for an accounting of workers and prostituted young people.

Results

Table 2.5 shows that the identified numbers of sex workers in each of the three focus cities. In Semarang: 1,155 (614 in the *lokalisasi* and 501 in other places); Surabaya: 8,440 (7,442 in the *lokalisasi* and 998 in other places); and Yogyakarta: 575 (315 in *lokalisasi* and 260 in other places). Based on the assumptions that the researched locations were only a portion of the possible total (one third in Semarang, one fifth in Surabaya and one half in Yogyakarta), the researchers further estimated that the total number of sex workers to be 2,237 in Semarang, 12,432 in Surabaya and 835 in Yogyakarta.

Because a direct survey would be impossible due to the illicit nature of prostitution, the researchers were able only to guess-estimate the number of sex workers and prostituted children for the purposes of this rapid assessment. This rapid assessment found an erratic distribution of prostituted children in the various locations observed. Some spots were dominated by young people (more than 50 per cent), while in other places prostituted children appeared to be only a small portion of the sex workers (about 10-20 per cent).

To make the guess-estimation more accurate, the researchers first identified the proportion of prostituted children in each location utilizing information given by key informants in each place. As seen in Table 2.6, the proportion of prostituted children varies among cities and also among locations within cities. In Semarang, a high proportion of prostituted young people were found operating in the streets (70 per cent) and cafes (50 per cent). In Surabaya and Yogyakarta, they were mostly found in beauty salons (50 per cent). As an aside note, street prostitution in Semarang is not considered “low class”, as indicated by the prices charged for sex services, which were as high or even more expensive compared with prices in *lokalisasi*. Another interesting observation made by the researchers is that most sex workers in Semarang and Yogyakarta operate outside of *lokalisasi*, while in Surabaya most of them work in a *lokalisasi*. This is because the local government of Surabaya is more reluctant to tolerate the existence of prostitution outside the *lokalisasi* in its region compared with the other two cities.

Second, the researchers used the percentages of prostituted young people in each type of location and the estimates of total sex workers. Based on that method, the researchers guess-estimated that in the locations observed for this assessment there were at least 975 prostituted young people in Semarang, 2,329 in Surabaya and 104 in Yogyakarta. It is interesting that when looking at the proportions, Semarang had a larger portion of prostituted young people at 43.6 per cent of the estimated total of sex workers. In Surabaya the portion was 18.7 per cent and prostituted young people in Yogyakarta was 12.4 per cent of the estimated total number of sex workers.

This assessment also attempted to make a guess-estimation of sex workers and prostituted children in the provinces of Central and East Java and Yogyakarta Special Region. This guess-estimation is important because the issue of prostituted children also persists in smaller cities and even villages. Though there is little information about the prevalence in nonurban areas, the researchers again guess-estimated the magnitude using three basic data. First, they made a guest-estimation of the total sex workers and prostituted young people in the three sample cities. Second, to get a number of sex workers in the rest of each province the researchers used secondary data of prostitute populations in these regions from government offices (i.e. *Kantor Dinas Sosial*

Propinsi). Third, to get the number of prostituted young people in the rest of each province the researchers used as a multiplying factor the 30 per cent estimation made by Farid (in Irwanto, 2001 and Hull, 1997), who estimated that about 30 per cent of all sex workers in Indonesia were younger than 18. Fourth, to get a total of sex workers and prostituted children in each province, the researchers combined the guess-estimates of sex workers and prostituted children in each sample city with the guess-estimates of them in the rest of each province.

Table 2.5: Guess-estimates of sex workers and prostituted young people in the three focus cities

Places	Semarang				Surabaya				Yogyakarta			
	Sex workers		Prostituted young persons		Sex workers		Prostituted young persons		Sex workers		Prostituted young persons	
	From research	Estimated total	%	No.	From research	Estimated total	%	No.	From research	Estimated total	%	No.
<i>Lokalisasi</i>	614	614	20	122	7.442	7.442	15	1.086	315	315	10	31
Streets	180	540	70	378	330	1.650	25	412	135	270	6	16
Cafes	50	150	50	225	65	325	15	49	13	26	20	5
Discotheques	35	105	20	21	150	750	5	38	14	28	36	10
Hotels	30	90	50	45	50	250	35	88	18	36	11	4
Billiard halls	40	120	30	36	25	125	30	38	-	-	-	-
Massage parlours	190	570	20	144	173	865	25	216	20	40	20	8
<i>Karaoke</i> lounges	13	39	10	3	110	550	30	165	49	98	20	19
Saunas	3	9	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Salons	-	-	-	-	95	475	50	237	11	22	50	11
Total	1,155	2,237	43.6	975	8,440	12,432	18	2,329	575	835	12.4	104

Explanation: i) Sex workers include the number based on key informants and the estimated total is based on multiplying that number by different factors as key informants estimated the number of locations researched were only a portion (one third in Semarang, one fifth in Surabaya and one half in Yogyakarta) of the total.

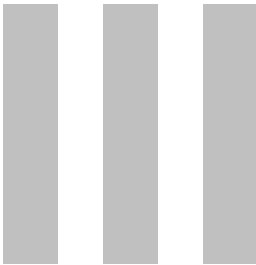
ii) % = Estimated percentage of the total estimate of sex workers that are prostituted children in each type of prostitution location

iii) The total number of estimated sex workers in *lokalisasi* is equal to the sex workers (no multiplication). For other places in Semarang, the estimated total of sex workers = sex workers X 3; Surabaya total = sex workers X 5; and Yogyakarta Special Region total = sex workers X 2

At the conclusion of these calculations, the researchers estimated there were 8,495 sex workers and 3,177 prostituted young people in Central Java; 14,279 sex workers and 4,081 prostituted young people in East Java; and 1,106 sex workers and 194 prostituted young people in Yogyakarta Special Region. Combined, there were 23,880 sex workers and 7,452 prostituted young people in the two provinces and special region. Using the assumption that the real number of prostituted children could be five or even ten times beyond the initial estimates, Irwanto (2001) estimated that the number of prostituted children in Indonesia was at least 21,000. This means that the two provinces and special region in this assessment may have contributed about 35 per cent of all prostituted young people in the country.

Table 2.6: Guess-estimation of sex workers and prostituted young people in Central Java, East Java and Yogyakarta Special Region

Provinces	Sex workers	Prostituted young people
Central Java	(8,495)	(3,177)
Semarang	1,155	975
Other areas	7,340	2,202
East Java	(14,279)	(4,081)
Surabaya	8,440	2,329
Other areas	5,839	1,752
Yogyakarta Special Region	(1,106)	(194)
Yogyakarta	835	104
Other areas	271	90
Total (3 provinces)	23,880	7,452



Profile of Prostituted Children in the Rapid Assessment

Age

The 36 child respondents (30 female and 6 male) ranged in age from 14 to 18 at the time of the assessment research, as Table 3.1 indicates. Of them, 47.22 per cent of them were 17 years old and another 44.44 per cent were 18. Most of them were prostituted between the ages of 15 and 17. Specifically, 16.66 per cent were 14 when they were prostituted; 25 per cent of those surveyed were 15; 19.44 per cent were 16; and 22.22 per cent were 17. The youngest age reported at becoming prostituted was 13.

Table 3.1: Current age of child respondents and age when first became prostituted

Age	Current age		Age when became prostituted	
	Respondents	%	Respondents	%
13	-	-	3	8.33
14	-	-	6	16.66
15	-	-	9	25
16	3	8.33	7	19.44
17	17	47.22	8	22.22
18	16	44.44	3	8.33
Total	36	100%	36	100%

Geographic origins of respondents

Of the 36 prostituted young people interviewed, 35 came from 21 regencies/cities on Java Island. The other person came from Sumatra. In terms of their home villages, 5 came from Semarang, 4 from Wonosobo, 3 from both Malang and Solo and 2 each from Purwodadi, Blitar, Yogya and Jombang. One person each came from the villages of Batang, Jpara, Purworejo, Sumatra, Tasikmalaya, Sragen, Kulon Progo, Banyuwangi, Bandung, Pasuruan, Tuban, Lumajang and Madiun.

Arta, 17

A boy in street prostitution Semarang, Central Java

Arta* has lived on the streets with his family his whole life – all 17 years of it. His father works in a market stall and his mother washes laundry at a place known for prostitution activities. Arta finished primary school but started busking and watching parked cars for small change.

Living on the streets, Arta played with other street kids. His first experience with sex was when he was 12 and one of his friends forced him into oral and anal sex acts. He called that first friend a boyfriend, but it is unclear if he considers himself gay. After a while, Arta said he had many sexual experiences with other street children. He said that is the typical culture for street kids – the ones he knows have had various types of experiences from an early age, such as anal sex, oral sex, thigh squeezing or merely touching the genitals.

The open sexual environment made it easier for Arta to start taking money from older men in exchange for sex to add to his income. He was 13 then and went with a man to a hotel in Semarang. He has since prostituted on the streets nearly every night in the past four years. He finds his own customers; sometimes there are four or five, sometimes there are none. The average is probably two men a night. He starts looking for customers around 8 in the evening and stays up till early morning, depending on how many he finds and what they request. The men will usually take him either to their hotel or to their home.

He claimed he earns from selling sex about 400,000 rupiah (US\$0.50) a month. But calculating what he charges each customer, which is 50,000 rupiah (US\$6) and that he finds at least two customers 20 nights a month, his income is likely to be considerably higher. That 2 million rupiah estimation does not include what he continues to earn from busking and watching cars, which may total around 500,000 rupiah (US\$60) per month, he said.

Whatever he earns, it is easy money for which he doesn't have to work hard, he said. He has freedom and can choose his working hours. He can still spend time with his parents. Switching to another type of job doesn't occur to him. Though he admits he knows prostitution on the streets is not good work, nor is busking, he said.

He admitted to knowing the risks of sexually transmitted diseases; he learned about them from PKBI (the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association). He acknowledged he recently had felt itchy around his genitals

and was taking antibiotics. He has been advised to wear condoms, but in serving clients or having sex with friends he doesn't always wear one. "It is up to the customers," he said. "If they want it, then I wear one. If not, then that's okay. It is better than not getting any customers."

Arta claimed to feel no social problem in being a street kid or being prostituted. He claimed to feel no alienation. His parents know about the prostitution and he said they do not mind. They are pleased because he often gives them money, he said.

* Not his real name

Education

Not one of the child respondents had been to senior high school. The highest education level among the 36 young people in the assessment was completion of junior high school. Only 13, or 36 per cent, of them had only a primary school education. And yet, in the two areas of origin of these 36 respondents, there were sufficient educational facilities available at all levels; it appears that young people in those areas should have no difficulty reaching a school location. Poverty and low motivation to study from both the parents and the young people being prostituted seemed to play a more critical role among these respondents in not continuing their schooling.

However, 52 per cent of the child respondents had attended training courses for such skills as sewing, hair grooming, mechanics, computers and handicraft production. In a gender light, more of the girls trained in sewing courses and more boys trained in the mechanics and computer courses. But according to interviews and the survey responses, none of the respondents were very interested in applying the skills they had learned. Having been trapped in prostitution and losing their dignity, they preferred to continue to work in prostitution because at least it provided them with much more income.

Economic background

The child respondents generally come from a low economic background. Most of them have fathers who work as farmers on a small amount of land (30.55 per cent) or as agricultural labourers (13.8 per cent). Most (45.71 per cent) of the mothers did not work outside of the home; 14.28 per cent of them considered themselves farmers and another 11.42 per cent called themselves farm workers (Table 3.2).

Conditions of poverty often result in children being told to start work at a very early age, as was the case with the young respondents in the rapid assessment.

Table 3.2: Employment of parents of child respondent

Employment	Father		Mother	
	Respondents	%	Respondents	%
Farm worker	5	13.80	4	11.43
Farmer	11	30.55	5	14.28
Labourer	5	13.88	4	11.42
Trader	8	22.22	5	14.28
Housewife or other	7	19.44	16	45.71
Sex worker	-	-	1	2.85
	36	100	35	100

Marital status

When each of the child respondents was first prostituted, they were still unmarried. At the time of the assessment, two of the girls were married and four of them had married and were divorced already. None of the six male respondents had ever married.

Given that the age of the respondents is still very young, the marriages would be considered early marriages. That is typical in villages where girls who have graduated junior high school, or even primary school, are married off to a man who is usually their parents' choice. Because the child's age does not fulfil the requirements for legal marriage, it is not uncommon for them to ask the village administration to falsify the age so that they are entitled to an identity card and thus can marry. Early marriages tend to be fragile; it is likely that many end up divorced.

Sexual experiences before prostitution

Although all the child respondents were single when they were prostituted, 20 of them had already had a sexual experience with a boyfriend. The respondents acknowledged that their sexual relations started between the ages of 13 and 15. For seven of the girls who married early, their first experience with sex was with their husband. Only eight girls had their first sexual experience when they were prostituted. Among the six male respondents, the first sexual encounter occurred between the ages of 13 and 16 and with, according to their responses, another street kid, a girlfriend, a neighbour, a broker or a sex worker.

Employment before being prostituted

As Table 3.3 shows, 90 per cent of the child respondents worked in other jobs, mostly in the informal sector, before they were prostituted. The girls reported working as shop assistants, housemaids and in beauty salons and factories. The boys said they had worked as a street musician or a mechanic.

Generally speaking, the respondents had already left their home regions to work in the other jobs. According to the responses, those first jobs were largely in urban areas like Jakarta, Semarang, Kudus, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Solo, Surabaya and Malang. The shift from their previous work into being prostituted strengthens the opinion that economic aspects are one of the primary reasons why young people seek out prostitution. According to their comments, 6 of the 26 child respondents in the assessment left their first jobs because they wanted to earn more income. Some of them were tricked when they tried to get a job with higher income, but a few of them entered prostitution because of the condition of their family, such as the father was sick and the family needed more money to pay for his hospital treatment.

Table 3.3: Job before becoming prostituted

Job	Respondents	%
Street musician	5	13.88
Mechanic	6	16.66
Housemaid	1	2.7
Servant	5	13.88
Trader	6	16.66
Blue collar worker	8	22.22
Babysitter	2	5.5
Not employed	3	8.33
	36	100

The reason given by more than half (56 per cent) of the child respondents for seeking employment (though not in prostitution) at an early age was to make their own money. However, at least 19 of them talked of economic pressure in the household as strong impetus for leaving school and going to work. Other reasons stated were boredom in the village, looking for experience, left by their boyfriend/girlfriend, were given the opportunity and wanted to find new friends.

Table 3.4: Reasons to find nonsex work

Reasons	Respondents	%
Earning money because the parents are poor	19	52.8
Want to stay in home village	2	5.6
To quit a boring situation	1	2.8
Find any work experience	2	5.6
Left by boyfriend/girlfriend	2	5.6
Chance to work	5	13.9
To find more friends	3	8.3
Being tricked a person	2	5.6
Total	36	100

Reasons for becoming prostituted

As already mentioned, the most repeated reason given by the child respondents for switching from a job into being prostituted was to obtain more money. But as only eight of them gave that reason, there clearly are other factors affecting the move. Of course five of them said they had no skills and six said they were unable to find any other job with higher income. Other reasons given by the child respondents included having a broken heart or frustration from being left by a boyfriend/girlfriend, pressure from friends in prostitution already and efforts to find some escape from the difficulties and “hopelessness” of their household situation and thus wanting to find some enjoyment or happiness.

Five of the 36 respondents said they were tricked into being prostituted after they had agreed to take a certain, usually nonsex, job. One girl said she felt forced, though not tricked, into prostitution by someone who promised to find a job for her.

Table 3.5: Reason for being prostituted

Reason	Respondents	%
Have no skill	5	13.88
Unable to obtain another job	6	16.66
Duress/ forced by conditions	1	2.77
Tricked	5	13.88
Frustration/ broken heart	6	16.66
Supplement income	8	22.22
Pleasure	2	5.55
Friend	2	5.55
No comment	1	2.77
Total	36	100

The change in job was tied closely with the people who gave the respondents the opportunity to become prostituted. Sometimes it occurred from a chance encounter, such as the case of Yulianti (Box).

Yulianti, 17

A prostituted girl in a lokalisasi

From Lumajang and living in Surabaya

Yulianti* comes from Lumajang and is currently working in a wisma (a house for prostitution) located in red-light area. Her parents are farm labourers, with an income hardly sufficient to sustain the family's needs, including food. The poverty of her parents prevented her from continuing with her education beyond elementary school. She left her studies to work in a fertilizer factory in the town where she lived earning about 150,000 rupiah (US\$17) a month. And she sent nearly all her wages to her parents. A year after she started working, her father was diagnosed with cancer. His treatment would require a lot of money. Yuli was perplexed because her income was not enough to cover the costs.

One day while having lunch at a food located in front of the factory, Yuli struck up a conversation with a man sitting at her table. They talked about a variety of things, including her work. Yuli complained about her low wages and talked about her father's illness. The man offered Yuli a job with much higher earnings, though he never said what the work would entail. Yuli accepted his offer but was later shocked when she was taken to the wisma and she realized what the work would be. But with the pressure of her father's treatment and pressure from the man who was actually a pimp she found it difficult to leave. She told herself she would quit as soon as her father had recovered and that she would return to her village and begin some retail business. That was three years ago.

Yulianti feels sad about being prostituted. She can barely imagine how to face the community on her returning home – she feels an avalanche of shame and fear, she said. Yet she hopes to go back home one day. She hopes that her father recovers quickly.

*Not her real name

Friends from the same village and village neighbours were most often mentioned by the respondents (21 of the 36 respondents) as the ones who encouraged them to be prostituted. One respondent said the person who encouraged her received some payment from a pimp, but the others said no one they knew was paid for talking them into being prostituted.

Prostitution conditions

Hours

The child respondents reported working six to seven days each week, generally from 7 p.m. until 2 a.m. If they have a daytime customer, they are usually willing to serve them. The respondents working with a pimp claimed they were never forced to serve a client. They take rest breaks when there are no customers.

They return to visit their family in their home region, at a varying rate from once every two weeks to once a month to once a year.

Customer frequency

The number of sex transactions ranged from two to five people per day. Business picks up on Saturday nights and early in the month when employees receive their salaries and the number of their customers increases, according to 54 per cent of the respondents, to three or four per night.

Locations of activity

Forty per cent of the female respondents said they operate in a *lokalisasi*. Other locations, in descending order as specified by the respondents, were hotels and guest houses and discotheques and one person said she used a boarding house. All the male respondents said they operate from the streets and usually go with customers to a hotel or guest house. The females who reported using hotels or guest houses usually stay at home and a customer or pimp will call them to go to a hotel.

Earnings and how respondents spend it

On average, the respondents' monthly earnings ranged from 300,000 rupiah to 1 million rupiah (US\$36 to \$115). Three of the respondents stated that their income could reach 2 million rupiah (US\$230) per month and one girl said her average income was around 3 million rupiah (US\$345). These earnings are higher than the average wage for other informal sector jobs, such as housemaids who currently earn around 150,000-250,000 rupiah (US\$17-\$29) per month. The male respondents boys earn almost the same as the girls at 300,000-1.5 million rupiah per month. These figures represent net income after the respondents paid for fees to security guards, pimps and for rooms.

Differences were noted in how the respondents said they spend their earnings. The girls tended to send money to their parents, save a portion and to spend only a relatively small amount on "having fun". The boys said they spent nearly all their earnings on their own needs and on having fun. Having fun included smoking, drinking alcohol and use of illicit drugs.

Jio, 18

A boy in street prostitution

Yogyakarta, Yogyakarta Special Region

Jio* was born in Kutoarjo, a small town located in Central Java province, to a man with only four years of elementary school education and a woman who never went to school. They had little work and little income as farmers when Jio was born. In his second year in elementary school Jio dropped out. When he was 16 he had his first sexual experience with a girlfriend and left the village that same year looking for employment or any chance to earn money. Travelling on his own, he went to Surabaya City where he found a way to sell games on the street. He made friends with a prostituted girl. She didn't treat him well. After six months of feeling unlucky in selling games, he agreed to go to Yogyakarta, six to seven hours away by car in the next province with a friend who offered to help him earn money in sex work. In the year since arriving, he has been taking money from men for sex.

Homeless, he stores his trading merchandise in the train station. For sex services, he uses a motel. His first customer was a neighbour who invited Jio to his room to give sex service.

His earnings are about 300,000 rupiah (US\$36) a month, three times the amount he earned selling games and which he spends on basic needs, cigarettes and intoxicants. Though he said he intends to find a different way of earning income when he has enough money, Jio doesn't seem to save any. Nor does he care to look for a different work. He would consider something else if it were offered to him.

The sex customers, approximately ten per week, demand to be served in the "conventional" way – anal sex with customer-on-top position. Jio is aware of STDs and HIV thanks to information he heard from an NGO and said he uses condoms.

Jio has never told any one about his work. No one in his family nor his friends know how he earns money. This way, he feels no shame or worry. He said he doesn't want to go back home, but he doesn't want to stay prostituted either. It is not always easy; he has been physically assaulted by friends, he said.

*Not his real name

Violence and health problems

Two respondents experienced physical violence from customers, ten respondents encountered it from their friends and another ten experienced physical violence from their boyfriends. Various references were made to violence experienced by sex workers in the secondary data reviewed for this assessment. As well, there were reports of women being trapped in prostitution activities because of debts owed to pimps, such as the following:

One progressive agent owned a house used for training women to be "good sex service providers"] from the regions. They were locked up for one week. Once they'd given up hope they were channelled through to the pimps. If anyone rebelled they had to return the selling price that was set at 5 million rupiah. If they wanted to get out they had to pay 5 million rupiah. Of course to get that kind of money the women had to work. They were forced to service customers. It would take a minimum of one week to make 5 million rupiah. The income of the pimp agents was usually more than 5 million rupiah.

– Tabloid Gugat, No. 218, February 2003

Instigators of violence that respondents knew about were customers, pimps, street thugs or even the police. The respondents working for pimps were somewhat protected from violence from customers because if anything happened the pimps would help out. At the least, if they were not paid by a customer or a customer stole from them, the pimp would go after the customer. According to comments from resource persons and observations during the assessment, the strictness of the working hours and the low reward earned after the pimps took their portion of the fees was often the reason why sex workers, including prostituted children, choose to operate without a pimp.

Rita, 18

A prostituted girl in a lokalisasi Surabaya, East Java

Four months pregnant, Rita* was singing Malaysian songs, alone with a karaoke machine, while another girl/woman was having sex in a bedroom when the assessment researchers met her. Rita lives and works in a guest house (wisma) with three other sex workers in the house in the Dolly (a lokalisasi). The owner of the house, their pimp, is a woman who has a side income from selling food at a stall located beside the house.

In between songs, Rita explained she was 16 when first prostituted. In a few months she would turn 19. She graduated from junior high school in her village in Tulungagung district but didn't continue her schooling because she couldn't afford to. Her parents earn a low income as farm

labourers. Compared with others in her village, graduating junior high school was a high standard.

She had married a year or so ago but her husband was a migrant worker now in Malaysia and she missed him. While waiting for customers, she soothed her longing for her husband by singing.

Rita became prostituted when a friend invited her to join her at another guest house. But she didn't like that first place, she said. She felt uncomfortable and was forced into overly strict working hours. Rita decided to move to the current guest house. But to leave the other one she had to pay "damages" of 250,000 rupiah (US\$29) to the pimp there.

Now she had more clients than in the previous guest house. In one day she serves four to five men and is paid 50,000 rupiah each time. From that amount, she pays 5,000 rupiah (US\$0.60) for the room charge and splits 50-50 the remaining 45,000 rupiah (US\$5.40), with the pimp. Rita's monthly income ranges between 3 million and 3.75 million rupiah (US\$345 and \$431). She sends a portion of her earnings to her parents, uses some for living expenses and saves what she can.

According to an NGO worker who is monitoring Rita's health, her baby was fathered not by her husband but by a man she described as her lover. Rita may have stopped prostitution work when she married but when her husband went away, she returned to the guest house activity. Rita claimed her pregnancy seemed to be bringing her good luck – some clients ask for her especially on their next visit. "There are some clients who say that having sex with a pregnant prostitute turns them on," she explained. Some clients who ask for her do not realize that she is pregnant, she added.

Rita's pregnancy, which she tried to hide initially, was discovered recently when she went for an STD check and injection at the community health centre. Her pregnancy is now receiving special attention from a local NGO and paramedics from the community health centre. Rita has been advised not to serve any more clients when her pregnancy reaches eight months. The cost of the birth and raising the child will be subsidized by the local NGO.

*Names have been changed.

Prostituted children are vulnerable to various acts of violence and not only from their customers and pimps. Street thugs, even the ones claiming to be protection, can be violent toward them when pressuring for payment for security. It is not uncommon in the receiving areas for street thugs to help the

pimps detain someone who may try to escape from her pimp. Even the police who are expected to protect all citizens, cannot be always relied upon for help. Some are known to take advantage of the vulnerable position of prostituted children.

I'm scared of the police because I was once threatened with a pistol because I refused to accept half payment. What could I do? So I finally accepted just half the payment. – Yeni, 17, from Sunan Kuning and working in Lokalisasi Sunan Kuning in Semarang

An informant for this assessment who was a sex worker in Semarang reported that when the police raid prostitution establishments, some officers take advantage of the opportunity to ask for free service and threaten to arrest anyone who refuses.

Almost all the respondents experienced verbal abuse from pimps or customers but seemed to accept it as a kind of norm. In the perception of prostituted children, violence tends to mean acts of physical violence, so that the various forms of verbal abuse from pimps or customers are no longer considered as violence. Yet, almost all prostituted children experience this kind of abuse. In addition, competition between sex workers causes stress. Respondents operating in a *lokalisasi* in Yogyakarta talked of a specific group of people who protest the existence of sex workers and actually use physical violence to express their opinions.

Table 3.6 discloses the types of violence respondents reported experiencing. According to their questionnaire responses, more respondents suffered violence perpetrated by friends (27.77 per cent in terms of physical violence) or boyfriends (27.77 per cent in terms of physical violence) than by pimps or customers. The greater incidence of psychological abuse (38.88 per cent) was carried out by friends and boy friends (30.11 per cent), followed by clients (22.22 per cent) and by pimps (13.88 per cent).

Reports of sexual abuse, specifically rape, were low among the respondents and the perpetrators were boyfriends and customers, equally, at 8.3 per cent. However, as it is recognized that anyone younger than 18 is in need of protection, even acts of prostitution they may have sought out on their own are recognized as sexual violence.

Apart from physical health problems, the respondents reported experiencing psychological disturbances like sleeplessness, anxiety and difficulty remembering things.

In terms of health monitoring, sex workers and prostituted children who operate in a *lokalisasi* strictly receive more attention because those areas attract community health centres and NGOs who provide health service facilities. This makes it easy for prostituted workers to have health checks. It is

a different case for those operating outside of *lokalisasi*. Their access to health facilities is possibly quite good, however without suggestions and a proactive attitude from health service providers, their motivation to go for health checks is probably lower.

Table 3.6: Respondents experiencing physical, psychological and sexual abuse

Abuse	Pimp		Friend		Boyfriend		Client	
	N=36	%	N=36	%	N=36	%	N=36	%
Physical	0	0	10	27.77	10	27.77	2	5.55
Psychological	5	13.88	14	38.88	11	30.11	8	22.22
Sexual	2	5.55	2	5.55	3	8.33	3	8.33

Shelly, 16
 A prostituted girl
 From Tasikmalaya

Shelly* is the third of four children in her family. Her father is a debt collector and her mother is a small trader. Although both of her parents had junior high school education, they could not afford the same for Shelly. After entering second class of junior high in Taskimalaya, Shelley was forced to leave school because the family couldn’t afford the fees. Months later, she went to work as a housemaid in Bandung upon the invitation of a neighbour who was working as a housemaid also. She was 13. She stayed in the job for a year but never felt comfortable with the work and returned to her village. She thought that her monthly income of 150,000 rupiah (US\$17) was too low and not appropriate for the work that she was doing.

Shortly after she returned home, another neighbour asked her to consider prostitution work and she thought it was appropriate for her skills. By then she was 14 and though she had attended a training course on making handicrafts and sewing, she didn’t think her capability was sufficient to find related work. Prostitution made sense to her only because she thought there was nothing else she could do. Shelly claims there was no deception from the neighbour; she knew what was involved and was indeed interested.

There were other mitigating influences in her life at that time, she revealed. Shelley had sex for the first time with her boyfriend. But she felt deceived and disgraced by him and that the experience had been more of a sexual assault. And it was very painful, she said. The experience left her

with a sense of no direction in life, she explained. So the neighbour's offer to find her sex work seemed inviting.

Two years later, Shelly said she feels comfortable with the work. This is because of her independent work system, meaning that she has full freedom to determine when she will work (accept customers) and when she will take time off. In other words, she feels that she is not pressured and that the money she obtains is truly the result of her own efforts. On average, she serves one customer a day and works six days a week, except when she decides to take a rest or not accept customers for some other reason. Her earnings are to support herself living away from home. Shelly spends for her daily needs and tries to save what she can. But because she also buys cigarettes, alcohol and illicit drugs, she has trouble saving money. She never sends money to her family. She also very rarely contacts her family. In addition, she experiences many physical and psychological problems as a result of the smoking, drinking and drug taking) such as unstable emotions and difficulty sleeping, concentrating and remembering things.

Shelley said that she would stop this kind of work if a man came along who wanted to marry her. She currently has a boyfriend and believes that he will encourage or help her to get out of prostitution. Shelly's wish after leaving this work is to get married. She is hesitant about going back to her hometown or to her family, given that the community in her hometown will brand her as bad because of the work she has been doing. She is afraid of her siblings, especially her older brother.

*Not her real name

Knowledge of HIV, AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases

All sex workers are vulnerable to health problems, but because of their youth, prostituted children are most especially vulnerable. In addition to the grave risks of sexually transmitted diseases and HIV infection, there are reproductive health problems experienced by young people. Almost all respondents mentioned experiences with sore abdomens, nausea or itchy genitals. Data from several community health centres around the lokalisasi indicated that a large proportion of sex workers come for treatment of sexually transmitted diseases, including gonorrhoea and syphilis. Unfortunately, the data was not age disaggregated.

The respondents' efforts to overcome sexually transmitted diseases included having routine check-ups, both at the nearest community health

centre or at assisting NGOs such as Griya Lentera in Yogyakarta, Griya Asa in Semarang and Abdi Asih in Surabaya.

As the information presented in Table 3.7 indicates, awareness among the respondents on the importance of using a condom was quite high. However, they also admitted that they often do not explicitly ask their customers to wear one. Among the 30 responses, 73.77 per cent said they use a condom during intercourse and 10 per cent use both condom and antibiotics all the time. Five respondents admitted to doing nothing at all. And because six respondents said they had never heard about HIV or AIDS, they were not asked about what they use for protection.

Table 3.7: What respondents do to prevent HIV infection

Protection	Respondents	%
Use condoms	22	73.33
Condoms and antibiotics	3	10
Nothing	5	16.66
Total	30	100

Table 3.8: How respondents learned about HIV/AIDS

Source	Respondents	%
Friend	4	13.3
NGO	16	53.3
Media	4	13.3
Posters/ banners	1	3.3
NGO and media	5	16.7
Total	30	100

Respondents who had received various types of assistance from NGOs had good knowledge of various sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV. As many as 76 per cent of the interviewed children knew about HIV and AIDS. Sixteen of them said they learned about it from an NGO; 16.7 per cent learned from the media and 13.33 were informed by other sex workers.

In general they know that the best way to avoid the possibility of becoming infected by various sexually transmitted diseases including HIV is to use a condom. Nevertheless, their weak bargaining position means that they are not able to stand firm if a customer insists on not using a condom.

Respondents' hopes for their future

In general, the 36 respondents in the assessment do not like the condition they currently are in. Although 21 of them stated that they are used to working in the sex industry, the fact that the majority (30) want to end

their prostitution implies their dissatisfaction. According to the prostituted children's responses, around 23 of them see their work as a temporary means to gathering enough money to start a business that is more promising. After stopping, the majority said they wanted to go back to their hometowns, get married or look for other work.

Although the majority of respondents want to get out of prostitution, only a third want to go back to school. The length of time since they left school made them feel that it was no longer appropriate for them to resume their studies because their classmates would be much younger than them. To stop work, it was most likely they could ask for help from friends, they said. Efforts to seek other help, such as contacting family or other institutions that were able to get them out of prostitution seemed not to be an option. This is attributed to the feeling of shame if anyone in the family were to discover from where the money came. The respondents also were not ready to quit prostitution immediately, as they had no other suitable job to turn to.

Contact with family

Some of the respondents confessed that they were ashamed to admit their work to their family and neighbours and tried to cover it up. But it was also important to them to keep in contact with their family. They used various methods of communications from calling, sending letters and even sometimes taking leave to visit them.

IV

Profile of the Pimps

Pimps play a fairly dominant role in the prostituting of young people. They not only link them with customers, they also take proactive steps to look for others to be prostituted. This is sometimes done not directly but through various methods including i) ordering one or more people to find children to become residents of the brothel they own, ii) accepting a supply of children to be prostituted from various sources, and iii) ensnaring children on their own.

The majority of pimps observed in this research were women, although it is not uncommon for a female pimp's husband to work with her. Male pimps were found in several *lokalisasi*, although their number didn't seem as great as that of female pimps. The greatest number of male pimps were observed in the Dolly (a *lokalisasi*) in Surabaya. Pimps were observed operating in *lokalisasi*, on the streets, in *nisma* guest houses, among others. In general, the pimps relied on income from other people's prostitution activities. A few of them also sold food as an enticement to customers into the owner's prostitution activities. According to several NGO activists interviewed during the assessment, there are some 100 pimps, known as *muikari*, operating in Sunan Kuning, Semarang. And all of them are women. Some of them are former sex workers, though the exact number was not known.

Interviews with NGO activists in Surabaya indicated that almost all the pimps in Dolly are men. As for the Jarak prostitution centres in Surabaya, there are an estimated 400 pimps, and in the Moroseneng/Sememi prostitution centres also in Surabaya there are 150 pimps. However, the available data was not clear on how many of the pimps were women or men.

Generally speaking, the pimps that were interviewed had quite a lot of experience working in prostitution establishments. Some of the female pimps were previously sex workers, while the male pimps generally worked as guest house managers or street thugs in various prostitution places.

Rudy, 40

Manager of a guest house
Surabaya, East Java

The atmosphere in Dolly lane one night in February seemed busy. But the locals said activity was less than usual because of a heavy rain earlier in the day. A guest house has a good location in the Dolly area, though it doesn't have a parking area. The guest house "employs" seven sex workers, all younger than 27. Rudy,* the guest house manager insisted there were no workers younger than 18. But judging from their appearance, it seemed that some of them must be.

The guest house opens at 11 a.m. though the typical working hours are from late afternoon until about 3 or 4 in the morning. If any customers request service before 11 a.m., a worker will be awoken for the job.

The fee for services is not paid directly to the sex worker; customers pay at the cashier. The guest house charges 75,000 rupiah (US\$8.62) for a short-time service. From that amount, 7,500 rupiah is deducted for the room fee and the remainder is split evenly between the sex worker and Rudy, though the sex worker then has to split her take with the brothel owner. The sex workers are then paid once a month, though their earning are based on the number of customers they entertained. Cash advances are made to the women when necessary and deducted from the salary at the end of the month.

When Rudy needs new workers, he said people offer him women who want to work there. When he first started running the guest house, Rudy accepted anyone who wanted to work there. But after several new workers ran off after only a few days, Rudy started asking for a "guarantee" from the broker/trafficker. The guarantee means a delay of payment until after the new recruit has worked a month. The broker/trafficker is paid more than 500,000 rupiah for each person he delivers. According to one informant, the reason that several girls ran away was because they had been deceived by the broker/trafficker. Rudy said he didn't have a regular middleman and accept new recruits from anyone as long they could agree on the fee.

*Not his real name

The pattern of transferring children into prostitution

Young people who have been prostituted may have been “transferred” at least twice: i) They were moved from their area of origin to a destination area, and then ii) they may have moved from one prostitution place to another.

Transfer from sending area to receiving area

The child respondents in the assessment typically originated from an area outside the locale in which they were found operating. Some of them were from relatively nearby villages/towns while others were from a different province. In Semarang, for instance, the child respondents operating in the streets generally originated from that city or from an area around Semarang. But the respondents living in a *lokalisasi* in the same city were from areas quite far away.

Transferring places of operation

The child respondents reported moving frequently from one establishment to another because of “boredom of the market” or because of competition. If they think customers are declining or there are problems with where they are operating, they will generally move to another location. In shifting, sometimes there is a change in the type of operation, for example a prostituted young person who originally worked in a *lokalisasi* may take to the streets.

In Semarang, there is a tendency for large-scale swaps of prostituted young people who are “residents” of various prostitution places outside the *lokalisasi*. One informant explained that before the economic crisis occurred, the majority of prostitution places outside the *lokalisasi* were dominated by young people from areas outside Semarang, such as Jepara, Demak, Pekalongan, Purwodadi and other districts along the north coast. But now most of the prostituted young people working in a site (other than a *lokalisasi*) are from Semarang city and district. There are indications that those who were pushed out, typically young people from areas outside the city, moved to Jakarta.

In Surabaya the prominent trend discovered during the research was a shift due to ageing. In general, children who were being prostituted were typically taken to establishments in Tretes, Malang district. It is an area known for charging high tariffs because the prostituted workers are young. But as they get older, they are not in demand as much. When they are pushed out by new and younger faces, some of them move to the Dolly in Surabaya. If their customers start to drop off in Dolly, they then move to another *lokalisasi* in Surabaya, such as Moroseneng or Sememi, Jarak or even move to other cities or other islands, such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi or Papua.

In Yogyakarta, large-scale shifts in locations occur mostly when the Government closes down a *lokalisasi*. Because they no longer have a place in which to operate, the former residents of those *lokalisasi* tend to disperse, although the majority chooses Parang Tritis and Parang Kusuma beaches to operate. These beaches, about 30 km from the *lokalisasi*, are popular with visitors and the sex workers go there on their own to find customers.

Perception of the clients

Several informants stated that clients had the view that having sex with prostituted children was safer and carried a lower risk of catching sexually transmitted diseases, certainly when the prostituted young person is still a virgin. There are many other myths associated with having sex with younger female or male persons, such as retaining youthfulness. Several child respondents contended they had no qualm having sex with clients who were older or the same age as their parents.

One informant, a *becak* or pedicab driver, from Malang district who earns his living in Kalimantan, ran away from a sex worker when he discovered that she came from the same district. Even though they were far from home, the client didn't feel comfortable having sex with a near "neighbour".

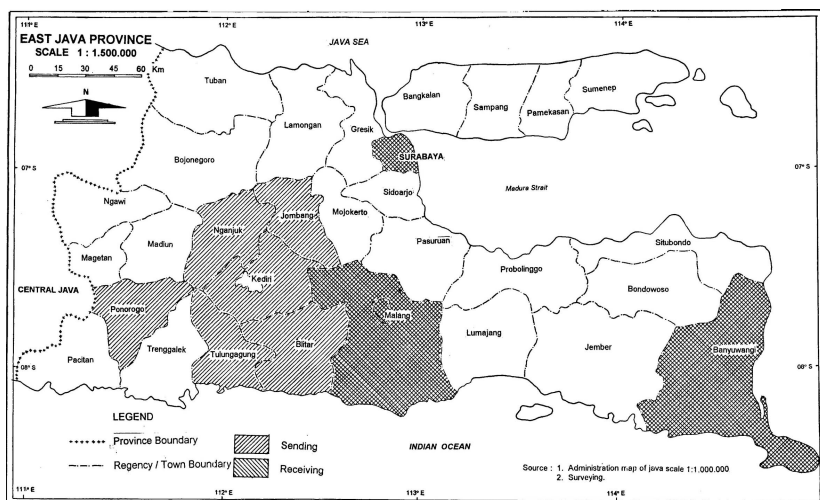


Profile of the Sending Areas and the Households of Prostituted Children

Economic pressure or poverty in an area of origin is often cited as a common factor in the prostituting of young people. This was reaffirmed in this assessment from the evidence that the child respondents usually originated from compromised areas. Even if they came from urban areas, they typically originated from poorer levels in society. It is usually poverty that creates a young person's vulnerability to trafficking. A poor quality village life in the area of origin makes young people and even their parents vulnerable to various tricks disguised as assistance in securing a job. In the end, unrealistic promises to secure a job deceive the children, and they consequently become trapped in prostitution.

Several areas in Java are suspected of being areas of origin for prostitutes: Jepara, Semarang, Wonogiri, Klaten, Purwodadi and Wonosobo in Central Java; Malang, Jombang, Kediri, Banyuwangi, Tulungagung, Nganjuk, Blitar and Ponorogo in East Java. For the purpose of this assessment, the researchers focused on a sub district in Jepara District, Central Java and a sub district in the district of Malang, East Java.

Figure 5.1: Map of sending and receiving areas of prostitution in East Java



CENTRAL JAVA PROVINCE

SCALE 1 : 1.500.000

0 15 30 45 60 Km

N

JAVA SEA

WEST JAVA
08° 2'

EAST JAVA

INDIAN OCEAN

LEGEND

- Province Boundary
- - - - - Regency / Town Boundary
- [Hatched Box] Sending
- [Dotted Box] Receiving

Source : 1. Administration map of java scale 1:1.000.000
2. Surveying.

Natural and physical conditions in the focus areas

The sub district in Jepara is a lowland area, approximately 500 m above sea level. The pattern of land use in this sub district can be categorized as buildings and yards (38.4 per cent), rice fields (27.9 per cent), state forest (15.7 per cent) and crop fields (11.6 per cent). Agriculture is not the main source of income for villagers because the rice fields tend to be not so fertile. There is only one crop of rice a year and secondary crops are planted for the remainder of the year. Most farmers, anyway, own a size of land so small that yield a limited amount of production. Farmers often run at a loss because the production costs are higher than the revenue they obtain from farming.

39

Village public transport connects the villages in the sub districts. As such, people have relatively easy access to leave the area. According to several informants, the high number of people who migrate to work in other places accelerated the development and progress in terms of infrastructure and transport facilities in this area. The construction of infrastructure and transport facilities has even reached the remote areas because the number of residents who are leaving the village are relatively high. Those migrants usually give some amount of their remittance to fund the construction of infrastructure.

Population

Comparatively, the sub district in Jepara is smaller in population than the sub district in Malang. Young people and young adults make up the largest population age groups in both subdistricts. In an environment of limited income resources, such a large workforce-age group presents challenges and opportunities for exploiters.

Table 5.1: Population according to sex and age

Age group	The sub district in Jepara			The sub district in Malang		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
0 – 4	4,354	4,620	8,974	4,785	4,508	9,293
5 – 9	5,116	4,779	9,895	4,733	4,547	9,280
10 – 14	5,046	4,763	9,809	5,373	5,165	10,538
15 – 19	4,697	4,623	9,320	5,865	5,436	11,301
20 – 24	3,472	3,605	7,077	5,261	5,246	10,507
25 – 29	3,212	3,432	6,644	5,207	5,047	10,254
30 – 34	3,355	3,434	6,789	4,345	4,416	8,761
35 – 39	2,671	2,671	5,342	4,523	4,698	9,221
40 – 44	2,432	2,383	4,815	4,040	3,924	7,964
45 – 49	1,979	2,052	4,031	3,423	3,040	6,463
50 – 54	1,726	1,855	3,581	2,414	2,427	4,841
55 – 59	1,524	1,399	2,923	2,100	2,119	4,219
60 – 64	1,414	1,382	2,796	1,910	2,139	4,049
65 +	997	1,145	2,142	3,651	4,371	8,022
Total	41,995	42,143	84,138	57,630	57,083	114,713

Source: The sub district office in Jepara, data from year 2000 and The sub district office in Malang, data from year 2001

Education level of the population

The lack of natural resources appears to help keep the education level of the people in the two research areas low. Secondary data obtained during the assessment research showed that approximately 12 per cent of the school-age population, 5- to 14-year-olds, did not attend school last year. The Government initiated compulsory education of nine years (to the end of

junior high school) to reduce the numbers of children in not in school. (Children usually start schooling at the age of 5 or 6 for kindergarten; they attend primary school from the age of 6 to 12, and junior high school from age 13 to 15.) Enrolment rates in the two focus areas seem to run parallel with the national situation, with similar trends for boys and girls (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2: National population aged 5-18 years, according to highest completed level

Age	No school	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	Diploma	No response	Total
Males							
5 -6 years	4,196,584					37	4,196,621
7 - 12 years	11,677,088	985,047				317	12,662,452
13-15 years	1,178,186	4,250,188	817,174			816	6,246,364
16-18 years	551,737	2,110,752	3,212,312	591,631	13,514	1077	6,481,023
Number	17,603,595	7,345,987	4,029,486	591,631	13,514	2247	29,586,460
Percentage	59.50	24.83	13.62	2.00	0.05	0.01	100
Females							
5 -6 years	4,045,793	-				7	4,045,800
7 - 12 years	11,103,054	1,001,971	-	-		173	12,105,198
13-15 years	987,902	4,149,890	875,984	-		694	6,014,470
16-18 years	488,903	2,065,713	3,160,820	646,014	11,697	958	6,374,105
Number	16,625,652	7,217,574	4,036,804	646,014	11,697	1832	28,539,573
Percentage	58.25	25.29	14.14	2.26	0.04	0.01	100.00

Source: Population of Indonesia. BPS-Statistics Indonesia, Jakarta, 2000

In the sub district in Jepara, 10 per cent of children aged 7 to 15 years work (see Table 5.3). Although the data is not available for the sub district in Malang, a village head in this sub district believed that the percentage of child labour in his area was higher than 10 percent.

Table 5.3: The population of the sub district in Jepara aged between 7 and 15 years who attend school or work (some do both)

Activity	Population	Percentage
Attend school	14,647	89.7
Work	1,679	10.3
Total	16,326	100%

Source: The sub district in Jepara in figures, 2000.

Parents' incentive to send their children to school can be heavily affected by the poverty in which they live. There is a perception for many people that after a certain grade level, a child's education will not impact significantly upon the type of job that they can find. Some parents in the sub district in Jepara, for instance, think that there is no difference between

graduating from junior high school and graduating from senior high school in respect to getting a job and to the perceived level of income.

At the same time, parents' ability to pay the necessary costs for higher levels of education is also affected by poverty. While some parents would like their children to get as much education as possible but can't afford the fees, others believe that because of the perceived lack of economic payoff they won't invest their limited household resources in income. And in terms of gender influences, if they have to choose among their children for investing, then boys in the Indonesian countryside have a greater chance of higher education.

The Government has tried to address this problem by building more education facilities in rural areas (Table 5.4) and making education free for primary school-age children. However, in reality, free education still includes expenses: People have to pay money for educational funds that cover a variety of expenses, such as teacher, uniforms, building maintenance, books, etc. The fees that must be paid for the different schooling needs vary greatly and range from 100,000 to 1 million rupiah (US\$12 to \$115). For the higher level of schooling, the costs are higher.

The only education facility in most of villages in the sub district in Malang is primary school. To study in secondary school, children have to join *SMP Terbuka*, the distance education programme for secondary school. Those who want to enter secondary or senior high school that are available in the sub district centre, have to commute every day at a minimum cost of 3,000 rupiah for transportation. The situation is better in the sub district in Jepara where there are both a primary and secondary schools in village level; but to attend senior high school, young people have to go to the sub district centre that is 15 km from the village. The expensive transportation fees are another reason for the children to not pursue their studies.

Table 5.4: Number of schools (primary, junior and senior high), classes, students and average class size

School	The sub district in Jepara				The sub district in Malang			
	Buildings	Classes	Students	Average number of pupils in each class	Buildings	Classes	Students	Average number of pupils in each class
Primary	47	276	6,553	24	67	427	13,044	30
Junior high	3	29	1,054	36	11	71	2,851	40
Senior high	4	39	1,083	28	4	29	920	38

Source: Office of the sub district in Jepara, data from year 2000, and Office of the sub district in Malang, data from year 2001

Sources of income

The limited natural resources in the two research areas also are not conducive to many lucrative economic activities for the residents. Consequently, many people migrate in search of a better life. Job opportunities are also limited. More than half of the people in the two research areas rely on the unpromising agricultural sector (Table 5.5). But most villagers fail to provide for their basic needs.

Table 5.5: Population aged 10 years and older, by source of income

Source of income	The sub district in Jepara		The sub district in Malang	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Farming	15,422	26.0	7,444	28.5
Farm labourer	15,019	25.2	8,699	33.4
Quarrying	1,196	2.0	-	-
Industry	10,474	17.6	2,829	10.8
Construction	4,113	6.9	1,725	6.6
Trade	5,259	8.8	2,024	7.7
Transport	1,602	2.6	1,919	7.4
Civil servant/military	792	1.3	795	3.1
Pension	336	0.5	263	1.0
Services/Other	5,420	9.1	385	1.5
Total	59,291	100.0	26,083	100.0

Source: Office of the sub district in Jepara, data from year 2000, and Office of the sub district in Malang, data from year 2001

Relationship of socio-economic development in the areas of origin to prostitution

The high mobility of the people in both sub districts has had a positive impact on the development of various transportation facilities. These transportation facilities even reach the most outlying areas. Almost all the roads to the villages have been hardened. Village transportation is available in the two subdistricts so that people can travel outside of their area more easily.

In the district capital of Jepara, economic development in general has increased, especially in the past few years. Many courageous entrepreneurs in Jepara have expanded their markets internationally with orders for products larger than domestic demand. Although many businesses experienced a decline in production during the economic crisis, they have slowly begun to grow. The industrial furniture market, in particular, is growing. Previously the furniture makers were located in a few areas but now almost all villages in the district, including in the sub district where the assessment was conducted, contain furniture-making businesses. Due to the development of this industry, many foreign investors have come to Jepara to set up furniture-making

operations. In turn it has positively impacted other businesses, such as hotels, restaurants, services, commerce facilities and the property market.

The development of the furniture business in Jepara has become a motivating factor that pulls prostituted young people out of prostitution. Prostituted young people who have saved some money want to use that capital to build a furniture enterprise because they think that type of business can give them an income comparable to prostitution.

At the same time, economic development, particularly in the researched sub district and surrounding areas, cannot be related to the mobility of the population of that region heading to urban centres. Since the late 1980s, many female residents of this sub district have gone to cities (mostly Jakarta) to work in the sex trade. This phenomenon started with a pimp in Jakarta who came from the sub district and when he needed a lot of new workers drew on the supply of females in his hometown. This in turn created the opportunity for men and women in the sub district to become brokers or traffickers to supply recruits to prostitution establishments elsewhere, though usually in Jakarta.

The furniture-based economic development has brought a variety of people to the area. And similar to the urban experience, people involved in the atmosphere of expanding development look for entertainment. Because villages like in the researched sub district became known as a resource of potential prostitutes, prostitution became a familiar if not somewhat accepted activity that soon was being offered in what used to be sending areas only. The researchers for this assessment found it both in the open and hidden. Several new trends were identified by the researchers, such as the phenomenon of girls selling themselves to truck drivers, or the willingness of female workers in furniture factories to sell sex services to their supervisors, bosses, furniture buyers and other guests. The “sideline” allowed them opportunity to obtain more money without having to tire themselves out working overtime in the factory. The researchers also found that an increasing number of people seek more money not only to cover their own daily needs as well as those of their family, but also to support their addiction to narcotics and other addictive substances, which seem to have new-found popularity among some teenagers in the provinces, following the trend seen in the big cities.

Malang district in East Java is different from Jepara, which increasingly derives its new economic development from furniture exporting. Malang has a higher rate of female migrant workers. Because the conditions of the area are not conducive for starting a business, some of the villagers, mostly women, migrate seeking jobs as housemaids. Their destinations are countries such as Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, Hong Kong and Taiwan. In this situation, women have more success than men because the demand for female household employees is higher.

The easy access to go abroad is connected with the many agents or international labour brokers, known as Indonesian Workers Service Companies or IWSC (*Perusahaan Jasa Tenaga Kerja Indonesia – PJTKI*), that operate in the area. The IWSC do not just operate passively but through the field workers actively go to villages looking for girls or women who want to work overseas. The field workers are better known as “labour brokers” among the locals. In their sales pitch, the IWSC guarantee that a person can depart for overseas without having to pay any money upfront (payment is made by wage deductions after the person is working). In addition to the “labour brokers” who work for an IWSC, there are also freelance agents. They also recruit potential workers but on their own and channel them through an IWSC. These freelance agents may be people who once worked abroad and have returned to recruit others; they obtain a commission from an IWSC for each prospective worker presented.

Another factor encouraging high population mobility is the ease with which people can register in different areas, especially in making identity cards or travel documentations. All people must carry a residents identity card, called a KTP (*kartu tanda penduduk*) in order to travel outside of their district. But to obtain an identity card, a person must be at least 17 years old, or married – in theory. In practice, many people younger than 17 and not yet married have a KTP, which enables them to leave their home villages. The age restriction presents many difficulties to the public officials who provide the cards, especially when applications are made by parents for their children. One official, or *pamong desa*, told the assessment researchers it is difficult to say no when impoverished parents argue they need their children to work for the family’s survival.

“If I can’t get the KTP for my child, and my child can not work, will you provide my family with a sufficient means to live on?”

– A public official retelling the case made by a parent for falsifying a child’s identity card

The falsification of age that allows many people younger than 17 to obtain a legitimate, although falsified, identity card jeopardizes enforcement of laws against pimps and traffickers. If young people appear to have a legitimate KTP, then they have the right to migrate and to work in any type of employment they choose. Pursuit and prosecution of people who prostitute children holding falsified papers is made quite hard.

The poverty oppressing them, the informants explained, triggered the phenomenon of prostituted young people. And even though nearly all the child respondents in this assessment said they were not initially deceived, there is a general assumption that middlemen deceive young people into prostitution work. But that they stay being prostituted because their earnings are much

higher than in other jobs. Take for example a job in one of the furniture factories new to the sub district in Jepara. The average wage per day, say, for a job sandpapering wood, is only 7,000 rupiah. This salary is reduced further to cover costs associated with transportation and food. In addition, the work is usually only casual as it depends on the number of orders. Because of the low salary that they receive, these workers can be easier to deceive. The temptation of having a better job with a higher salary tricks or encourages young people into being prostituted.

Perceptions of prostituted children

During the studies of the two subdistricts, the researchers found that people in each area have very different perceptions of prostituted children. In the sub district in Jepara, wealth derived from prostitution is considered sinful and there is a tendency not to think too highly of a family who has a child in prostitution. On average, residents of this sub district were not interested in having wealth derived from prostituting their child. That type of work they considered unnatural. However, the stigmatization of prostituted young people was not too strong. And in everyday public interactions, the families of these prostituted young people were treated the same as others. People even joked that if they want to be rich, they can send their child into prostitution. Guests that daughters invite home with them on days of special celebrations and whose appearance gives the suggestion of involvement in prostitution are accepted. Most people just kept quiet about the issue.

In the sub district in Malang, families of prostituted children tend to hide from their neighbours. They seldom join in community activities, even in the reading of the Koran. This is because there is stigmatization of families that send their children into prostitution.

These differences in attitude and acceptance between the two communities in the focus areas is connected to several factors, including the beliefs or myths (discussed later), religion and the perpetuation of prostitution itself.

The people of the sub district in Jepara are more open than those in the sub district in Malang in admitting that children in their villages have been prostituted. A religious public figure in the sub district in Jepara explained to the researchers that the community is essentially divided into two groups: those who are money oriented and those who are religious. Historically, this division was founded by two brothers who had different priorities in life. Their descendents each followed the different priorities. Despite those difference, the two groups live harmoniously side-by-side, said the religious official. Hence, it is not unusual to find a prostituted young person joining a religious studies session along with other villagers.

Beginning in the 1990s, many cars with Jakarta license plates began to appear in the researched sub district in Jepara on special days, such as *Eid-ul-Fitr* (Muslim celebration after the fasting month of *Ramadhan*) popular for visits home. According to informants, daughters who returned from Jakarta on those special days with a car were, and continue to be, considered as a success by their parents and society.

Known current and former prostituted workers socialize with other members of the community. Those who give up prostitution and return home are easily accepted into the community. It is not too difficult either for a young for prostituted woman to find a man who will marry her – though it is made easier if she has a lot of money. That said, according to informants, there do remain men who have no intention of marrying a girl once prostituted.

The prostituting of children from the sub district in Jepara has been ongoing for several decades, while in the sub district in Malang it has only recently increased along with the number of females moving from the village as migrant workers who work overseas. The persistence of sending children into prostitution appears to be related to the level of acceptance in the society. In an environment more sexually open the rate of prostituted young people is generally higher than within communities with a low level of acceptance. Many factors affect people's permissiveness in terms of acceptance of child prostitution.

People's myths relating to prostitution

The persistence of sending young people into prostitution from the sub district in Jepara must be considered in conjunction with the villagers' growing belief that this work has become a legitimate means for a family to improve its financial position. This acceptance is made easier by the argument that prostituted young people from this sub district suffer from a curse made on this living in the area. According to informants, perhaps half the population of this sub district believes that in the old days there was a princess named Kalinyamat who fell in love with a man named Jaka Tingkir. But when he refused to love her, she began to practise asceticism naked so that she could kill Jaka Tingkir some day.

People's belief in this story shapes their view that the descendents of Kalinyamat are fated to become prostitutes. Some people also believe that Kalinyamat once said that the women who work as prostitutes would not be trapped permanently. Thus they also believe that Kalinyamat is capable of

giving blessings. So on *Friday Wage*,² sex workers worship at this area where Kalinyamat is said to have lived because they believe they will have more clients.

Aside from this myth of a curse, the poor economic conditions in some areas and the distinctively different physical characteristics of certain children make them targets of prostitution traffickers. As one informant explained:

“Historically, Jepara was colonized by Portugal. It was famous for the Sima Kingdom. The Portuguese, who are generally tall, bigger and have whiter skin, married the local people. Their offspring were beautiful daughters. If we look at people from Jepara, they look like us Javanese, but those who live in areas such as the researched sub district look like Indo-Portuguese people. Besides, in general they have beautiful faces and they live in poorer areas. There are rocks there, which are not fit for farming and they can only become fishermen. I think this is the reason why girls who have beautiful faces but who can not develop within their area go to Jakarta to find jobs.” – Ant, 38, Jepara

Those three features – the opinion that women from this sub district are distinctly beautiful, the poverty and the mythical history of Kalinyamat – have influenced people’s acceptance of the prostituting of young people. Compared to other places where families of prostituted children have been rejected by society in many ways, in this area even people who dislike the profession can accept the families of a prostituted child and they can comfortably attend many social activities together.

In the sub district in Malang, there is no belief related to an historical event that can legitimize the people’s acceptance of child prostitutes. The phenomenon of child prostitution increased with numbers of people working as female migrant workers abroad. Some sources stated that there are three groups of female migrant workers. The first is the real female migrant workers who are contracted with a signed deal, the next group is female migrant workers who work as real household servants, but in their free time work in the sex trade, and the third is the group who has been deceived. They have been promised a job as a household servant or as a factory employee but in reality they are sent to work within the prostitution industry.

² In the Javanese calendar, there are in addition to the seven weekdays also five types of days known as Pon, Wage, Kliwon, Legi and Pahing on specific weekdays. As such there is a Monday Pon, Friday Wage and so on. Friday Wage comes around every 35 days.

Household profiles of prostituted children

For the assessment, the research team interviewed 15 informants from different households in the two focus villages. Of those 15 households, three did not contain any prostituted young people. The research team had some difficulty in determining the target respondents because it was not easy to discuss this issue openly. At times the researchers met villagers who tried to cover up the incidence of prostituted children even though it is already known these communities are sending areas.

The informants who were successfully interviewed included the parents of 12 prostituted girls (the father, mother or both). The researchers had difficulty in finding siblings of the prostituted children who could be interviewed because they were at school or working or out of town. The four that were found were the younger brothers and sisters who were still of primary school age. At first the researchers used several assumptions based on information from the community, and finally by cross-checking or confirming with various parties they determined that the household being interviewed did have a child being prostituted. This information included three households that the researchers realized after interviewing the family did not have a prostituted child.

The information also indicated there were no boys from either village being prostituted.

Economic conditions of the households

As previously mentioned, the economic condition of the two focus communities is relatively poor. Based on comments made by community leaders, in addition to the poor economic conditions and low levels of education, the people lack ambitious motivation to work. In general, the leaders opined in interviews with the researchers, they want to make money easily and quickly. This desire sometimes outweighs the values held by society, so that people are willing to do work that doesn't need education or skills and is easy to find, such as prostitution.

Because of the poverty they experience, six of the parents interviewed for the assessment mobilized their household to work. To this end, daughters were viewed as an asset who could more easily be involved in "easy" activities, such as prostitution, that produce sufficient earnings. This is particularly true if the parent of a prostituted child also once worked in prostitution. In this case, they are likely to hand this kind of work onto their daughter. As for boys, male prostitution is still uncommon, at least in the research sites. Moreover, male prostitutes usually earn money for themselves, not for the family.

The family backgrounds of prostituted young people varied as much as the overall makeup of the village community. They came from very poor, poor and middle-income households. Some parents whose children were prostituted had low or no education at all. However, there were some with an intermediate education as well. Most parents did work as farm labourers – although they have some cultivatable land, it is so small that it cannot sustain the family's subsistence.

In terms of religion, it was difficult to evaluate the extent to which religious devotion of the household influenced a young person's outcome into prostitution. The parents that were interviewed could be characterized as being religious, on par with the rest of the community.

In general, there was no distinguishing feature, with respect to education, religion, economic, social and culture influences, applicable to households from which a young person went into prostitution.

When asked about their child's employment, some parents became quite edgy. Some seemed to work quite hard to not reveal any knowledge or suspicion of from where their child's earnings actually come. Those parents probably are aware of what their children are doing and it is possible it was those parents who encouraged their children to do it. Their hesitancy to be honest may be a reflection of their feeling that society views them harshly because their children are in prostitution. Other parents openly answered the researchers questions with no apprehension. These parents, the researchers suspected, did not know what their daughters were doing other than working outside the home region. Some parents thought that their children worked as housemaid overseas, some thought that the children worked as employees in fabric or other shops or in a department store. It may be that their daughters had lied effectively to them.

The economic condition of the households that included a prostituted young person tended to show improvement because of the income contribution made by the child. Money handed over to the parents is used to build houses, buy land or rice fields, livestock, motorcycles or a car, television and furniture.

Certainly there are households with a prostituted child in the family but there is no noticeable improvement in the family's economic well-being, which is attributed to the minimal or lack of success by the prostituted young person or a failure of the child to save money. The more "successful" a young person is in earning money, the bigger and better is the house of their family.

There is an obvious difference between residences of some families in the sub district in Jepara and the sub district in Malang and those in other villages in Java. Most village houses tend to look the same and reflect middle-to low-economic conditions. But in these two villages, there are several

luxurious houses recently built that clearly stand apart from the typical houses. The informants in the villages explained that this is a new phenomenon not seen before the 1990s. Even road facilities were still poor back then. Before the 1990s, most of the people's lives depended on agriculture and poor income earned as farm labourers. It was presented as an open secret among the villagers that these luxurious houses were built from the earnings of a family member in prostitution.

"If they weren't working as a prostitute it would take quite a long time to be able to build a house as luxurious as this." – A food stall vendor, 30, Jepara, Central Java, commenting on village houses and working children of those families

However, many women and girls from these two communities also go abroad to Taiwan, Saudi Arabia and Hong Kong. The conditions of their family houses was also considerably improved from their remittances. So in reality, it is not so possible to identify the improved or urban-looking houses as those of prostituted children.

Still, a family that suddenly becomes rich not long after the departure of their daughter is suspected by the neighbourhood as having sent their child into prostitution. Some girls are suspected of working in domestic prostitution, but others are suspected of operating as sex workers under the guise of being a female migrant worker.

While the houses may improve and the lives of the prostituted young people alter greatly, the parents' lifestyle and that of the other family members remains about the same. The parents still maintain their same job, be it farming or labouring. Although, it was noted that parents who were farm labourers before their daughter was prostituted now worked on their own farms, which were bought with their daughter's earnings.

The perception of parents of prostituted children about their daughter's work

Based on information obtained from the community and the parents of prostituted young girls, the researchers categorized households of prostituted children in three ways: i) parents who know about their daughter's prostitution and do not really care about the neighbourhood's perception; ii) parents who know about their daughter's prostitution but hide it from the public while pretending not to know; and iii) parents who really do not know about their daughter's prostitution.

Some children are prostituted by strangers, some by familiar people and some children are prostituted by their own parents.

In the sub district in Jeparo it seemed that on average parents knew about their daughter's prostitution and so did their neighbours. Some people were willing to talk about it. But people typically kept quiet about the issue in public. One parent talked openly with the researchers and admitted that two of her three daughters had become sex workers. It started when her eldest daughter was 16 years old and was deceived by a man who was her boyfriend, or pretended to be, and encouraged her to go to Jakarta with him. Once there he called some customers and pushed the daughter to prostitute. The girl stayed with the boyfriend, however. When the parents realized what had happened, they felt defeated. But day by day they began to accept it. They even visited their daughter, taking along another daughter. When the second daughter was nearly 16 and about to be married off by her parents, she ran away with her sister's boyfriend. She claimed to be in love with her sister's boyfriend. They still live together in Jakarta. But she also took to prostitution; and her boyfriend finds her customers. Considered beautiful, she operates in several famous hotels in Jakarta and is paid well. She supposedly has many material possessions, such as a house, car, television, refrigerator, furniture and motorcycle. She often sends large amounts of money to her parents. She even bought her parents two farms. The first cost 20 million rupiah, and the second cost 30 million rupiah.

In the beginning, parents said they felt sad and shy to receive money from their daughter, but gradually they grew accustomed to the money and what it could provide and ignored the source.

Sibling's opinions about prostituted children

In the researched sub district in Malang, more parents tried to hide from the public the reality of their daughter's prostitution; they even tried to keep it from their other children. The number of women and girls who go abroad as migrant workers makes it easier for them to cover up the true nature of their daughter's labour.

Of the three siblings the researchers were able to interview, none knew about their sister's prostitution. They saw the income she shared with the family and what it could buy. Because of this, the siblings said they wanted to get a job just like their sister so that they too could buy luxurious things. As these younger people, especially for girls, considered that working in prostitution was contemptible and an embarrassment, it seemed to the researchers that the siblings were not aware of their sister's actual labour. They told the researchers that after finishing school they wanted to work in a factory or as a housemaid.

VI

The Movement of Young People into Prostitution

As previously explained, all sexual acts committed upon children younger than 18 is considered exploitation, and thus all persons younger than 18 in prostitution are regarded as trafficking victims, according to the Supplemental Protocol to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, regardless of how they arrived in the sex trade. “Children” younger than 18 are not considered able to make decisions regarding their own safety. Even though a young person knows beforehand that he or she is being recruited for prostitution, the act is still considered a violation of the rights of the child. It is a multidimensional problem that needs concern from a variety of parties.

All the respondents in this rapid assessment started out as migrants, seeking employment to earn income for several reasons, as pointed out earlier. However, not all of them intended to enter the sex trade. Many relied on a broker to direct them to a decent job. In some cases, as explained, the young people were taken to a shop or some other workplace in an urban centre, which they eventually transferred from into a sex work establishment. The others using a broker were taken directly to a sex work establishment, sometimes with their knowledge but many unwittingly. The process or network of trafficking young people directly into the sex trade is outlined in the following sections.

Modus operandi of trafficking

Among the respondents, some brokers/traffickers had tricked the girls and some had tricked the parents of the girls. Several approaches are used to mislead, intimidate or coerce people into the channel that will take them to a destination of exploitation. In the focus areas, the researchers found the following approaches:

Manipulation

In this mode brokers/traffickers recruit young people by making unrealistic promises, such as employment in the city or a posh place, easy work or work similar to what is done at home, work that requires no

education certificate and quite magnificent wages. The type of work promised in most cases is either as a domestic worker/houseboy or waiter/waitress in restaurants or hotels.

The broker/trafficker conducts his work so flawlessly that it does not at all arouse any suspicion that the children who are to be taken to large cities, such as Jakarta and Denpasar, will be forced into prostitution. The brokers seek the permission of the parents ostensibly to find work for the children; parents are often asked to sign some form of approval. Brokers also process the necessary supporting documents such as an identity card from the local officials, if the young person has not done this already, either legally or not.

"I explain to them that in Jakarta, work will be found for them, of course with the proviso that one is not allowed to be choosy about the jobs." – Ed, 45, a former broker/trafficker in Jepara

Trafficker waits in public areas or looks for job seekers

It is often the case that a broker/trafficker hunts for vulnerable young people in such places as bus stations where he meets people who are seeking jobs. Some of these young people may be accompanied by their parents who seek assistance from the broker to find jobs for their children. The trafficker is not directly involved in seeking children from the villages to avoid being linked to the practice of recruiting them for exploitation.

Once an agreement is made between the broker/trafficker and the young person, departure may not be immediate. They agree on a date to meet again, usually in the bus or train station. This gives the broker/trafficker time to recruit others to then take as a group to the destination. The process of recruiting a person may take about one week.

"...Yes, that depends on our need. There is no need to wait for long, if within one week there are four or two children, we set off to the destination." – Ed, 45, a former broker in Jepara

Again, these young people are typically told that there is household, hotel/restaurant or factory work at the other end, when in fact they are to be taken to a brothel or red-light district.

Females become girlfriends

This approach can work in two ways. Male traffickers feign a love interest and make a young female his girlfriend. He convinces her to go away with him and once in a city or whatever his destination, he sells her to a prostitution establishment or to a pimp. In Semarang, the researchers met such a case of a 26-year-old girl. She had left her home village of Purwodadi to find a job in Karanganyar. In Karanganyar, she fell in love with a man who became

her boyfriend. After a while, he asked her to go with him to find a job, but the boyfriend then took her to the prostitution area and handed her over to a pimp. The other situation involves a husband or boyfriend who forces his wife/girlfriend into prostitution.

Promises of overseas work

Efforts to procure victims also include promises of jobs abroad. Jobs usually in domestic work are dangled as a way to obtain the permission and acceptance of a young person's parents. The researched sub district in Malang District, East Java is known for being a source of female immigrant workers, which makes it easy for traffickers to recruit victims – who do not actually get sent abroad but are taken somewhere within Indonesia for prostitution purposes.

Such a story came to light when a father in this sub district boasted that his daughter was working in Hong Kong as a housemaid. But a neighbour of the family happened to be someone who visited sex establishments in Kalimantan and in one of his evenings there ran into the daughter. Whether the family was lied to or was covering up what they knew to be the truth is unknown.

Family members are misled into believing a daughter is abroad because of the large sums of money she sends back home.

Those who facilitate the trafficking process

In moving young people, whether individually or as groups, to a far away destination for the purposes of prostitution, brokers/traffickers often engage the assistance of others. Initially, they may rely on someone close to a young person to convince her or him to take the job, however it is described. This makes the practise so disguised and thus difficult to detect as it does not arouse any suspicion in both the young person or her parents. Several distinct types of “trafficking facilitators” were identified in the research for this rapid assessment. It is emphasized that usually the individual is someone close to a young person. There are even some people who sell their own family members.

Individuals who are close to the victim (neighbour, friend, relative, parent)

Oftentimes, the boss of a prostitution establishment uses the services of those who are already enmeshed in the practice to seduce new workers. These include friends, neighbours and brothers of the potential victim. Friends promise similar achievement of their success, which makes persuading a potential victim to go to a city far away much easier. The father of a prostituted girl in Malang district, East Java, knew his daughter was working

outside the region (in Kalimantan, though he didn't know precisely where) after being taken there by her friend, a village neighbour. Because he knew the friend well, he told the researchers, he allowed his then 15-year-old daughter to leave with her.

The coming back of the sex workers is often used as an opportunity to attract new recruits to places where they work. The operator of a prostitution establishment judges this form of recruitment as more effective because there is no need for paying a commission or special wage.

As is the case with other individuals who work outside their regions, a sex worker or prostituted young person who returns to her place of prostitution may also take along someone from her family back to her workplace. One prostituted girl told the researchers that she had taken one of her sisters back to the city for the same type of work. And a parent disclosed how after one prostituted daughter came home for a visit she left taking another daughter with her. The parent had no idea what type of work her children were engaged in but she knew they were somewhere in Sulawesi. However, a neighbour who has visited Sulawesi indicated the daughters were working in prostitution there. It is common for children to conceal from their parents what type of work they are doing.

The parent can become the trafficker. This is the case when individuals work as sex workers and pimps and push their daughter into the sex trade. In other cases, parents send their children to pimps in order to pay off debts. However, in the cases where parents send their children to brokers in order for the children to find a nonsex worker job, which is necessary to earn money for the family, the parent becomes a victim also if the girl is then sent into the sex trade.

Recruiters

In this research, there was evidence of a trafficker using recruiters or middlemen who reside in a village or live in close proximity. The broker is often bankrolled by a pimp for the purpose of finding new girls to prostitute and he pays the recruiters for delivery of girls. Once recruited, in whatever way, the broker then accompanies the young people to the destination.

One broker originating from the sub district in Jepara in Central Java acknowledged that he often receives orders from pimps in Jakarta to recruit girls who are younger than 18. In one week he can recruit two girls. He is paid per person he takes to Jakarta plus expenses.

Indirect traffickers

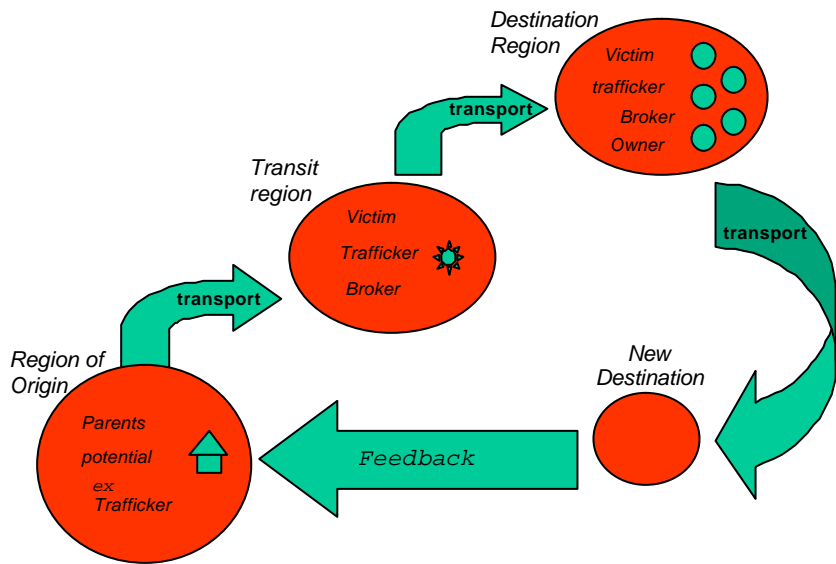
It is often the case that bus and taxi drivers and tri-cycle taxi (*becak*) drivers who operate around prostitution locations become part of the process that prostitutes young people. As one prostituted girl pointed out to the

researchers, she was able to find the Sunan Kuning a *lokalisasi* in Semarang because a bus driver took her there personally once the bus arrived in the city.

These drivers carry out their daily activities in the vicinity of prostitution locations. When confronted with young people who show signs of confusion, they are known to direct them to brothels while pretending to offer assistance. This often occurs to children who come to Semarang for the first time – they become confused and hopeless upon arrival and are then tricked.

Transporting young people to a sex trade destination

Figure 6.1: Map of trafficking pattern



As Figure 6.1 illustrates, there are several phases involving traffickers:

Moving phase

The process of carrying a young person into prostitution involves a transit point, though in some cases it is a direct journey from the place of residence to the final destination. This transit point is used by brokers to exploit young people. Such exploitation takes two forms:

a. The journey from the child's place of origin

The journey from the home of the child to the final destination often involves the parents and broker. The permission given by the parent to the broker is to allow the child to work. Often, the parent is not honestly informed and rarely do they realize the migration is for prostitution work. Village officials are known to take part in the process by authorizing identity cards with falsified information, particularly the person's age.

Brokers tend to schedule meetings with potential victims at bus or train stations. Once an agreement is made to leave the area, another meeting time is scheduled and tickets are bought for that date. According to Ed, the former broker/trafficker interviewed during the research, there is also agreement made between the trafficker and the young person that should there be any intervention by authorities, the two parties will claim to be related to each other, such as the trafficker is taking his sister to visit an older sibling.

The journey to destination cities such as Jakarta and Denpasar is typically long from most sending areas. Brokers exploit this by offering the children several stopovers. It is not uncommon that the victim is forced to serve the sexual desires of someone during the stopovers, which the broker may arrange.

As the home area from which a child comes is often very far and remote from the destination, arrangements are made for making stopovers. Such a place can be a hotel or a house specially rented for the occasion. It is in such places that children who are on their way to a prostitution destination suffer maltreatment, such as sexual violence. With no possible protection, the children are forced to have sex with men (usually friends of the trafficker). The purpose, explained one trafficker, is to prepare the victims for the real thing.

"Actually I felt so pity to those children, but I have no power to refuse my friends' wants. As they are close friends, I told them to pay the children for the service, however little the money they have. Poor girls!"

– Ed, 45, a former trafficker in Jepara referring to his friends who ask to "use" the girls when he is staying overnight in a motel their small city

b. Temporary concealment

Before the child is surrendered to the person who placed the order (pimps, procuress), brokers take the children to some transit place, ostensibly to let off some steam or make the necessary preparations. The broker or pimp arranges such places beforehand.

Before they begin their prostitution, the trafficked children are placed in temporary locations with the purpose of teaching them how to serve clients. Victims are forced to serve clients or friends of the pimp's and broker's. When the trafficker thinks that the children are able to give good service, they are then taken to what will become their place of work. These are places where charges are higher than in the transit locations.

Reception phase

Brokers/traffickers deliver young people to typically three types of destinations:

a. Lokalisasi, or localizations

The children are handed over to the individuals who hold responsibility in the house (pimp, procuress). The sale of the children to such centres is quite common because of the high frequency of work, which demands many rotations of workers. New workers are needed to prevent clients from feeling bored with the same sex workers and prostituted children. Lokalisasi the size of Dolly in Surabaya offer many prostituted young people. The young ones are also sought after to replace older workers who are relegated to other centres such as Jarak and Moroseneng.

b. Open parks, street stalls

The broker delivers to pimps in such open places as parks or streets with houses known for sex trade services. The prostituted children will be forced to serve as sex workers in groups with other sex workers such as in Simpang lima, Pandanaran Street, Pemuda Street, all located in Semarang. At a plaza Surabaya. In Yogyakarta, on the other hand, this practice is common along Pasar Kembang street, and Parang Kusumo beach, especially on certain days, such as weekends and other holidays.

Open places such as Simpang Lima in Semarang, which used to be known for street vendors called lesehan teh poci,³ now are notorious for being the location where prostitution involving children continues unabated. These places are dominantly occupied by prostituted children who are called "ciblek". According to Suyanto, ciblek is an abbreviation

³ *Lesehan teh poci* is a street shop where tea is sold. The vendors are pimps. Pimps sell tea to attract clients. When the buyers, usually men, come to buy tea, the pimps and prostituted women who stay in the place where the tea shop is located, will seduce and flatter them in order to solicit them as customers of sexual services.

of cilik-cilik betah melek (literally meaning “though young can stay all night”) or cilik cilik iso digembrek (meaning “still young but can be booked”). Despite being an open place, the prostituted young people do not work on their own as they are under the control of a pimp.

Prostituted children who work in open places are susceptible to all types of exploitation by clients and even members of the security forces from the police or military working at such locations. Clients can dispense exploitation and violence by taking the prostituted young people to any hotel to satisfy their sexual desires.

The exploitation committed by members of security on the other hand is carried out under the threat of facing certain punishment if sexual service is not offered.

c. Dormitory, special residences

Among the prostituted young people, some choose to stay in special houses with friends and a pimp/owner. This place is often located in areas outside the lokalisasi and the workers are contacted for service via mobile phones. This practice gives prostituted young people a feeling of more freedom, especially from police raids. But it adds to the concealment of the practice from law enforcement. Clients are obtained by placing advertisements in newspapers. However, this is not a common practice nor is it in vogue in many large cities in the country.

Prostitution carried out in such places is considered high level because the clients come from a certain social class and are attracted by the pricey advertisements. Children who are still in school often become easy victims of such a practice. Easy targets are young people who live with someone who is involved in the sex trade. The friend working in the sex trade may offer the roommate/housemate to a customer. Others will invite a young girl to go shopping and buy some luxurious items as a way of tricking her into prostitution.

There is a network operating also that makes use of prostituted children found in such locations and sends them to outside or up-country areas; for instance, clients in hotels in Semarang can be served by prostituted children from Yogyakarta and Solo.

VII

Policy for Dealing with Prostituted Children

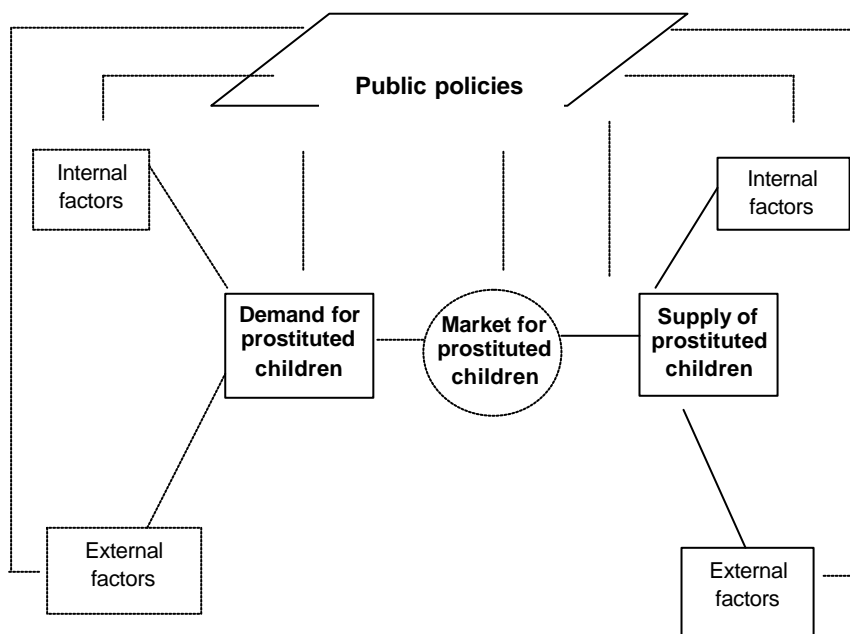
The need for policy

Child prostitution is one part of the problem of child labour that demands serious and immediate attention. Prostitution is one of a number of the worst working conditions from which children must be protected. This means that for whatever reason, it cannot be justified or allowed for a child (younger than 18) to work in prostitution. Eliminating child prostitution is no easy task, however, as this multidimensional problem is connected with many other factors that are also not easy to change.

There are many internal and external factors that make children vulnerable to prostitution. Internal factors may be in the form of sexual violence, sexual experience at an early age, family disintegration and children being abandoned by their families. As well as these internal factors, a number of external factors also contribute to the supply of prostituted children. For example, poverty, a permissive culture in a number of sending areas and insufficient opportunities for education, skills training and work are all important push factors in the supply of children for prostitution. This is compounded by the weakness of government controls over the practice of trafficking children for prostitution.

On the other hand, the demand for child prostitutes is high. In the sex trade, the age of a sex worker has a marked economic significance. The tariff for sexual services tends to have a negative correlation with the age of the sex worker. Such high tariffs may be connected with the belief that having sex with children can make a person ever youthful (Julianto, 2002: 23). As such, it is logical that the majority of prostitutes enter their profession when they are still children (younger than 18).

Figure 7.1: The complexity of child prostitution and alternatives for public policy



In terms of demand, there are a number of factors that encourage customers to choose a prostituted child when conducting sexual transactions. These factors include the availability of a prostituted child at reasonable rates and the weakness of legal control over the practice of prostituting children. In addition, the high demand for prostituted children, especially from foreigners of developed countries, is caused by the strict legal sanctions for paedophilic behaviour in those countries. In their own countries there is no place for paedophiles to fulfil their desires so these men, mainly, seek satisfaction in countries that do not have severe legal sanctions for the actions of paedophiles. Indonesia is included as a nation prone to the practice.

Government interventions can be directed at cutting off the sources of supply and demand. If this can be done successfully, then the market for prostituted children will be eliminated of its own accord. However, eliminating child prostitution can also be done directly through efforts to cut the existing flow of demand, for example by giving severe sanctions to the customers. Conversely it can be done through efforts to cut the supply, for example by giving severe sanctions to traffickers and brothel keepers. Raids of prostituted children in prostitution places, that are commonly done to sex workers in general, are not recommended by this research. Prostituted children must be seen not as criminals but as victims.

In general, it can be said that to deal with the problem of child prostitution, holistic, comprehensive and cohesive steps are needed. Control of child prostitution will never be achieved if attempted incrementally. Rather, attention must be paid to factors of demand and of supply and factors that encourage the emergence of this supply and demand. In other words, policy must address the root of the problems that encourage the supply of and demand for prostituted children and simultaneously be curative. It must limit the operating space for prostituted children and take steps to apprehend sex businesses that involve prostituted children.

Government's commitment to the problem of child prostitution

Dealing with the problem of child prostitution is already on the policy agenda for the Republic of Indonesia. Indonesia has ratified all major conventions related to trafficking, including ILO Convention No. 29 on forced labour (Ratified by the Government of Netherland on 1933 through Ned. Stbl. No. 26, 1933 jo Ned. Stbl. No. 236 and brought into force for Indonesia by State Gazette No. 261 of 1933); ILO Convention No. 138 on minimum age for employment (in 1999); ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour (in 2000); the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, or CEDAW (in 1984); the Convention on the Rights of the Child, or CRC (in 1990); and signed the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography (in 2001). Indonesia has also signed the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplemental Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children (in 2000).

Following the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182, the Government of Indonesia set up the National Action Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NACEWFCL) under Presidential Decree No. 12/2001 in January 2001. The NACEWFCL is responsible for coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the Convention. The NACEWFCL involves all relevant ministries, employers and workers organizations, NGOs, academia and the media. The Minister of Manpower and Transmigration serves as the appointed chair of the Committee and the Ministry acts as the secretariat.

Provincial Child Labour Committees are being established as an extension of the National Action Committee. A first committee was established in North Sumatra in late 2002 and a second committee is being established in East Java. There are also (not very advanced) plans to establish similar committees in West Java and East Kalimantan. In a preparatory

workshop in February 2003, trafficking was identified as one of the priority areas for the Provincial Child Labour Committee in East Java.

The NACEWFCL prepared a National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Children Labour (NPA) that was endorsed by Presidential Decree No. 59/2002 in August 2002. The NPA identifies five forms of child labour as targets for progressive elimination in Indonesia in the first five years of its implementation: trafficking of children for sexual exploitation; the sale, production and trafficking of drugs; offshore fishing; mining; and footwear production. A National Plan of Action of Trafficking of Women and Children has been prepared by the Ministry for Women Empowerment. The NPA was also endorsed by Presidential Decree (88/2002) in December 2002.

The Ministry for Women Empowerment – the government focal point for CSEC– and UNICEF developed a National Agenda for Action (NAA) on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) that was endorsed by Presidential Decree No. 87/2002 in December 2002. Under the NAA, national law, policies and programmes will be developed and strengthened to protect children from trafficking both within and outside the country and punish traffickers. The NAA calls for humane treatment of child victims and effective coordination among all relevant sectors. Cross-border transnational cooperation and sharing of information will be encouraged. The NAA also has a special action on rehabilitation and reintegration.

The current criminal legislation against trafficking in persons in Indonesia is weak. The main law is the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP), which prohibits the act of trafficking in females and children in Article 297. However, as there is no definition as to what acts constitute “trafficking”, enforcement is reportedly problematic. Acts associated with trafficking can be prosecuted under several other articles in the code that deals with rape and other forms of sexual violence and abuse, abduction and begging.

A new child protection law based on the principles contained in the CRC was enacted in October 2002 (Law No. 23/2002). The law has a separate section on children in need of protection, which includes among others, children who are being exploited economically or sexually and children who are victims of kidnapping, selling and trading. Additionally, it provides for the establishment of a Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Children that can monitor and supervise the protection of children’s rights and advise the President. The law also specifies certain criminal offences, among them prohibiting the trade in children.

The new Manpower Act was passed by the Parliament on 25 February 2003, which has a special provision for child labour. A New Law on Anti-

(Prohibition on) Trafficking in Persons is currently being developed by the Ministry for Women Empowerment and a first draft is available for comment. The draft is based on provisions in the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish the Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. It copies the broad definition of trafficking in persons and includes measures to protect victims. If enacted it has the prospect to provide a good legal base to strengthen law enforcement and prosecute traffickers.

Through Law No. 20/1999 the Indonesian Government officially ratified ILO Convention No. 138 concerning the minimum age for admission to employment and ILO Convention No. 182 concerning the prohibition and immediate action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labour through Law No. 1/2000 in March 2000. These laws emphasize the rights of children to protection from various forms of negative behaviour, including both economic and sexual exploitation (Article 13).

To cover the development of action in the field, Law No. 23/2002 on Child Protection contains a chapter concerning the Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Children (CPIC). Article 74 states, "In order to increase the effectiveness of actions to protect children, under this law a Commission for the Protection of Indonesian Children will be formed." It is also mentioned that the Commission will be independent and its members will include government personnel, religious leaders, community figures, social, community and professional organizations, NGOs, business and groups in the community concerned about the protection of children.

The existence of article 74 about the CPIC indicates that community participation is recognized as an important element in any efforts to deal with child prostitution. In reality, as this research disclosed, there is not yet any concrete proof that efforts of this type have been released. First, each of the groups mentioned above are still dealing with the problems of children, especially child prostitution, on an individual basis, each with their own biases. Up to now, cases of child prostitution are handled by various agencies such as the Office for Social Welfare (*Dinkesos*), Police Bureau of Public Service (*Dinas Polisi Pamong Praja*), Child Protection Centre (*LPA*) and Department of Religion (*Depag*). However, these agencies have not shown any cooperation or coordination, so that cases seem to be handled incidentally and are dependent on the interests of the respective agencies.

In fact, Law No. 23/2002 already provides regulations and strict sanctions for traffickers. For example, article 81: "Any person who deliberately inflicts violence or threats of violence to force children into sexual relations with him/her or with any other party will be imprisoned with a maximum sentence of 15 years and a minimum sentence of 3 years, and a fine of a maximum of three hundred million rupiah and minimum of sixty million rupiah." Further along, article 83 states, "Any person who trades, sells or

kidnaps children for themselves or to be sold will be imprisoned with a maximum sentence of 15 years and a minimum sentence of 3 years, and a fine of a maximum of three hundred million rupiah and minimum of sixty million rupiah.”

Although such strict passages already exist, the police are not brave enough to apprehend people who are suspected as traffickers. An officer at the Yogyakarta police headquarters explained that in that law there is no statement of the legal evidence that can be used to round up traffickers. The legal evidence of buying and selling commonly used in prosecutions are receipts. It would be difficult if not impossible to find trafficking of children that is recorded with receipts. If this is the logic the police follow, it seems almost impossible that traffickers will be apprehended and prosecuted.

Furthermore, some policy stakeholders are still not aware of child prostitution and have not yet demonstrated any concrete steps in dealing with this problem, be they curative or preventative. For instance, an interview with an officer from the Yogyakarta police headquarters illustrated the low level of knowledge police have about cases of child trafficking:

[About children who are tricked with promises of being employed in a specific field but end up being prostituted:] “Oh, there’s never been such a case...there’s never been a problem of children being taken...being forced to become prostitutes...in Indramayu, yes there was...they were invited to Jakarta, where they were going to look for work. But in Jakarta they were employed as commercial sex workers. I don’t think there has ever been a case like that in Yogyakarta.” – A police officer, Yogyakarta

From the field studies for this rapid assessment, it appears that the police tend to view prostituted children in the same way as the problem of prostitution in general, and the pattern of control that they envision for this is no different from the existing practice, which is conducting raids on prostitutes (regardless of age) in public places or in lokalisasi. The humanitarian aspect of this problem, or the aspect of trafficking attached to it, seems beyond their comprehension.

[Concerning children who are prostituted on the streets:] “Yeah, it’s like before...if we know it is there, we’ll raid it. We’ll bring them in. They are not static in where they work...For example, on Saturday night, there’ll be lots there... Their technique is probably like that because if they were there everyday and society in general knew about them, well, the local community would surely raid them.” – A police officer, Yogyakarta.

This assessment has also disclosed that one of the weak points in dealing with the issue of prostituted children is the lack of empathy from the police and the social stigma toward them. Prostituted children are not viewed as the victims of sexual exploitation but rather as criminals who must have measures

taken against them and face legal sanctions. The humanitarian aspect of prostituted children escapes attention, and as a consequence there are still not many preventive efforts being made to protect children from being caught up in the sex trade. In the future, control of child prostitution needs to focus on preventive efforts, which as much as possible can address the roots of the problem, not the problems appearing on the surface.

VIII

Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

Conclusions

The 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child that was ratified through Presidential Decree No. 36, in 1990, stresses that children must be freed from all forms of work that are exploitative and high risk, either physically, mentally or sexually. Prostituting children is one form of child exploitation that cannot be tolerated. Indonesia is not free from the problem of prostituted children. On the contrary, there are indications of a development of this problem in a more serious direction, both in terms of its magnitude and also its health and humanitarian implications. In calculations about prostituted children in the three cities of Yogyakarta, Semarang and Surabaya, it was estimated that the number of prostituted children might be as large as 3,408, or 22 per cent of the 15,504 commercial sex workers in those three cities.

Child prostitution is a social, economic, legal, development, migration, health, gender and humanitarian problem that requires serious attention. The prostitution of children can be laden with violence from the beginning of the process of recruiting children in their regions of origin, when they are in transit locations, when they are sold and in the practice of serving sex to the customers.

The majority of prostituted children come from poor villages. Their earnings typically are at a high degree that is difficult to obtain through other jobs. Prostituted children on average earn between 500,000 and 3 million rupiah (US\$60 and \$345) per month, and some prostituted children earn even more than 5 million rupiah (US\$600) per month. This level of income is very high for the standards of children with backgrounds of limited education (on average, primary school or junior high school). Comparatively, a housemaid earns 150,000-200,000 rupiah (US\$17-\$24) per month or a labourer earns 200,000-300,000 rupiah (US\$24-\$36) per month. This high income would certainly be meaningful for the families of the prostituted children who are usually living off low income. In reality, the prostituted children often send remittances to their families and in doing so improve the prosperity of the

whole family. This experience of success is often imitated by the siblings of the prostituted children or by other children in their village, so that over time, the number of prostituted children tends to rise.

Children from poor families and poor villages are very vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking for prostitution. Traffickers have many strategies to lure victims into their traps and have tight trafficking networks that in some cases involve members of the police or Government. If not directly involved, at least the government officials do not have a pro-active attitude to protect the children who will potentially become victims of trafficking for prostitution.

Indonesia has ratified the Conventions for children and already has law No. 23 of 2002 that sets down strict sanctions for instigators of exploitation, violence and trafficking of children for prostitution. Nevertheless, this rapid assessment research did not find any strong empirical evidence that this is being implemented in the field, so that the problem of prostituted children is in fact increasing to a more worrying level. In the future, a breakthrough in policy or action is needed get this complicated problem under control.

The weakness of government agencies' ability to handle the problem of child trafficking is not only caused by the lack of evidence in cases of trafficking children, it appears that it is also connected with a lack of concern toward the problem. The concept of trafficking itself is also not yet well understood by the police. It is a common occurrence for trafficking of women and children to be seen as a transaction between prostituted women and children and their customers. The minimal knowledge about these concepts indirectly influences the concern of agencies toward the issue of trafficking children. This also reflects the minimal discussion of cases of child trafficking in police circles. It appears that the agencies do not realize that the problem of trafficking children is happening right before their eyes.

Policy recommendations

Ideally, the issue of child prostitution needs to be tackled from several angles, namely from the side of supply and the side of demand. From the supply side the action emphasized is to change the conditions in the areas of origin that become push factors for the supply of prostituted children. Meanwhile on the side of demand, the action emphasized is to change the situation in the receiving areas, including creating stricter law enforcement to prevent customers from taking prostituted children as the objects to fulfil their sexual needs. Strict law enforcement also must apply to all parties, from parents to traffickers, even the civil and military officers who are directly or indirectly involved in the network of trafficking children into prostitution. Tough measures like bringing the recruiter to the court should be made

without exception. This kind of law enforcement is aimed at breaking the links in the chain of trafficking children for prostitution.

One thing that must be avoided in addressing the problem of prostituted children is the tendency to make them into the targets of raids. This kind of action does nothing at all to solve the problem. Those young people are victims who need help, protection and counselling either from the State or the civil society, or both. Those who have been a victim may need rehabilitation either physically, mentally, economically or socially.

Controlling the problem of prostituted children requires strong institutional cooperation between various organizations, government and non government, central and regional, as well as domestic and international. Policy stakeholders must be able to develop a similar vision and mission so that there are no contradictory actions in the field. Each institution can focus their attention on specific actions that are geared to achieve specific goals, and if this is done in a large-scale, coordinated way, the problem will be eliminated. The elements intended here include law enforcement toward those involved in trafficking, the establishment of complaint posts, socialization of the laws on child trafficking and sexual exploitation of children to the community, and so on. ILO-IPEC is a nongovernment international organization that can play a part by inviting counterparts to make intervention in sending, receiving and transiting areas. Action by ILO-IPEC can be directed toward one part of the problem; no one agency can take on all the necessary interventions.

Action by ILO-IPEC must be concrete action in a limited area and also with a limited target group. The action chosen must have quite specific and operational short-term goals but with significant implications for solving the long-term problem. Action like this can be made into a kind of pilot project and if successful can be applied in other regions.

As a basis for planning a pilot project, detailed research is needed on the core problems connected with prostituted children. One reason supporting the involvement of children in prostitution is poverty. The majority of prostituted children come from families with weak economic backgrounds or from poor villages. On a macro level efforts must be made to develop the poor villages that supply prostitutes by effectively utilizing their existing economic potential. Meanwhile, on a micro scale efforts must be made to help poor families get out of the poverty trap without having to sell or push their female children into prostitution. Preventative steps are also needed to keep traffickers away from deceiving and sexually exploiting children.

One example of these goals can be taken from an experiment by the Big Brother Foundation (*Yayasan Kakak*). This foundation endeavoured to empower families through a scholarship programme and income-generating activities. These activities aimed to help the prostituted children and their

families get back on their feet by facilitating an increase in their income. This programme provided scholarships for prostituted children, their younger sisters, children who were victims of rape and indecent assault as well as their younger sisters with the hope of preventing them from being plunged into the world of prostitution.

This foundation has given scholarships to 18 of the 50 children targeted. These 18 children consist of nine prostituted children, five child victims of rape or indecent assault and four children who are the younger sisters of those prostituted children or rape victims.

In addition to providing a scholarship programme, the Big Brother Foundation also runs a harm-reduction programme. This programme is an effort to lessen the negative effects of the losses inflicted by exploitation activities that are often difficult to eradicate. In this programme the foundation tried to separate the children from the source of their exploitation. They did this by renting for them rooms in a boarding house. Besides this, the foundation tries to lessen the children's risk of commercial sexual exploitation by minimizing the opportunity for them to meet clients. They do this by running study and work activities at the Big Brother Foundation (Julianto, 2002: 90-92).

This experiment by the Big Brother Foundation is not yet a proven success. First, the foundation faced difficulties to meet their target for the number of children from the target group to be assisted (18 out of 50 children, or 36 per cent). Second, not all of the action programmes achieved their desired goal. The scholarship programme, for instance, did not succeed in keeping the target group at school. Meanwhile, not all of the harm-reduction programmes were successful in keeping the children from the source of their exploitation. The programme achievement, which was not optimum, was due to weaknesses in the implementation process.

As such, it would be interesting to imitate this experiment, although of course with a number of revisions. There are several reasons why this programme should be continued and imitated: First, these programmes do not position the prostituted children, their younger sisters and families or children who are rape victims as objects to be blamed but rather as victims who must be protected. Second, this programme emphasizes the economic empowerment of children and in doing so touches on one of the core problems of child prostitution. Third, this programme takes constructive steps at isolation, to keep children away from the source of their exploitation. Fourth, this programme uses the medium of theatre in its guidance of children and thus is very popular with the children.

Nevertheless, if this programme is to be attempted in other places, there are several weaknesses that must first be rectified: First, the economic

empowerment of children is only done at an individual level (the children themselves). No attention is given to empowering the community or organizations within the community. Second, the method of guidance for the children still needs refining. Third, this programme doesn't really involve or invite other connected parties to cooperate.

The researchers for this rapid assessment recommend adopting the model from the Big Brother Foundation and refining it through a multidimensional approach. This experiment by the Big Brother Foundation was an action at the individual level where the target group was children who have been or have the potential of being prostituted, as well as their parents. It seems that this target group needs to be widened to include the community where the children live and grow up. This means that a combination between an individual and an institutional approach is needed. Plan International has already applied an action model similar to this one for a different goal, not to overcome child prostitution but to increase the prosperity of poor children and families through a foster parent programme. Applying the Plan model to the problem of child prostitution means that the programme would not be limited to the prostituted children, their younger sisters and parents or child victims of rape but would also include the communities from where the prostituted children originate. For the individual target group (prostituted children, their younger sisters and parents) action can be taken in the form of various programmes on income-generating, harm-reduction, awareness raising about child trafficking and guidance for child victims of trafficking, including help with the litigation process, psychological consultations and health services. Awareness and empowerment of society is also needed so that the community has the power to protect children from sexual exploitation. Parties who have an interest and a significant role in the community, both government and nongovernment institutions, should be invited to work together in assisting these children.

In implementing these actions, ILO-IPEC could work together with organizations that have previously been involved in similar work, such as the Big Brother Foundation or Plan International. With their human resources and programme experience, these organizations can develop action plans for dealing with the problem of child prostitution in a more comprehensive way. ILO-IPEC could determine a specific area for a pilot project, such as Indramayu (West Java), Jepara (Central Java) or Malang (East Java). Monitoring and evaluation activities can be carried out after the programme is up and running. If this experiment succeeds, conducting this programme in other regions can be recommended.

These micro level interventions from the supply side should be linked with other interventions from the demand side, such as actions to socialize specific legislation, actions to strengthen law enforcement, actions to

rehabilitate the victims, and so on. There must be routine meetings among the groups in handling cases and coordination among sectors in such a way that makes all the actions to combat child trafficking for prostitution more effective.

References

- Brock, Rita Nakashima and Susan Brook Thislethwaite. (1996). *Casting Stones: Prostitution and Liberation in Asia and United States*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press. BPS. 2000. Population Census. Jakarta.
- Dzuhayatin, Siti Ruhaini and Hartian Silawati. (2001) “Indonesia; Migration and Trafficking in Women” in Janice Raymond, *A Comparative Study of Women Trafficked in the Migration Process*. Coalition Against Trafficking in Women (CATW-International), 16-18, 75-90.
- Hull, Terence, Endang Sulistyaningsih and Gavin W. Jones. (1997) *Pelacuran di Indonesia: Sejarah dan Perkembangannya (Prostitution in Indonesia: History and Its Development)*. Jakarta: Collaboration between Pustaka Sinar Harapan and Ford Foundation.
- Irwanto, et.al. (2001) *Perdagangan Anak di Indonesia (Trafficking in children in Indonesia)*. Jakarta: ILO-IPEC.
- Irwanto, Fentiny Nugroho, and Johanna Debora Imelda. (2001). *Perdagangan Anak di Indonesia (Child Trafficking in Indonesia)*. Kantor Perburuhan Internasional, Programme Internasional Penghapusan Perburuhan Anak. (International Labour Office. International Programme for the Elimination of Child Labour).
- Julianto, Irwan (Editor). (2002) *Anak-Anak Yang dilacurkan: Masa Depan Yang Tercampakkan (Prostituted Children: A Disposable Future)* Kakak, Kinderen In De Knel & Pustaka Pelajar.
- Kuntjoro. (1997) *Understanding Prostitution from Rural Communities of Indonesia*, a doctorate dissertation, Melbourne: La Trobe University.
- Mantra, Ida Bagoes. (2000) *Langkah-langkah Penelitian Survey, Usulan Penelitian dan Laporan Penelitian (Survey Research Steps, Research Proposals and Research Report)*. Yogyakarta: Badan Penerbit Fakultas Geografi Universitas Gadjah Mada.
- Raymond. (2001) *A Comparative Study of Women Trafficked in the Migration Process*. Coalition Against Trafficking in Women. CATW International.

- Sudaryanto. (1988) *Metode Linguistik: Metode dan Aneka Teknik Pengumpulan Data (Linguistic Methods: Method and Any Techniques of Data Collection)*. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Suyanto. (2002) *Perdagangan Anak Perempuan: Kekerasan Seksual dan Gagasan Kebijakan (Child Prostitution: Sexual Violence and Policy Proposal)*. Yogyakarta: Pusat Studi Kependudukan dan Kebijakan.
- Truong, Thanh-Dam. (1998) *Seks, Uang dan Kekuasaan: Pariwisata dan Pelacuran di Asia Tenggara (Sex, Money and Power: Tourism and Prostitution in South-East Asia)*. Jakarta: LP.
- Wagner, Lola and Danny Irawan Yatim. (1997) *Seksualitas di Pulau Batam; suatu Studi Antropologi (Sexuality at the Batam Island)*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan bekerjasama dengan Yayasan Perspektif dan The Ford Foundation.



www.ilo.org/childlabour



**International Labour Organization
Jakarta Office**

**International Programme
on the Elimination of Child Labour
(IPEC)**

Menara Thamrin, Suite 2201
Jl. M.H. Thamrin Kav. 3
P.O. Box 1075
Jakarta 10250

Telp. (62 21) 391 3112

Faks. (62 21) 310 0766

Email: jakarta@ilo.org

Website: www.un.or.id/ilo,
www.ilo-jakarta.or.id