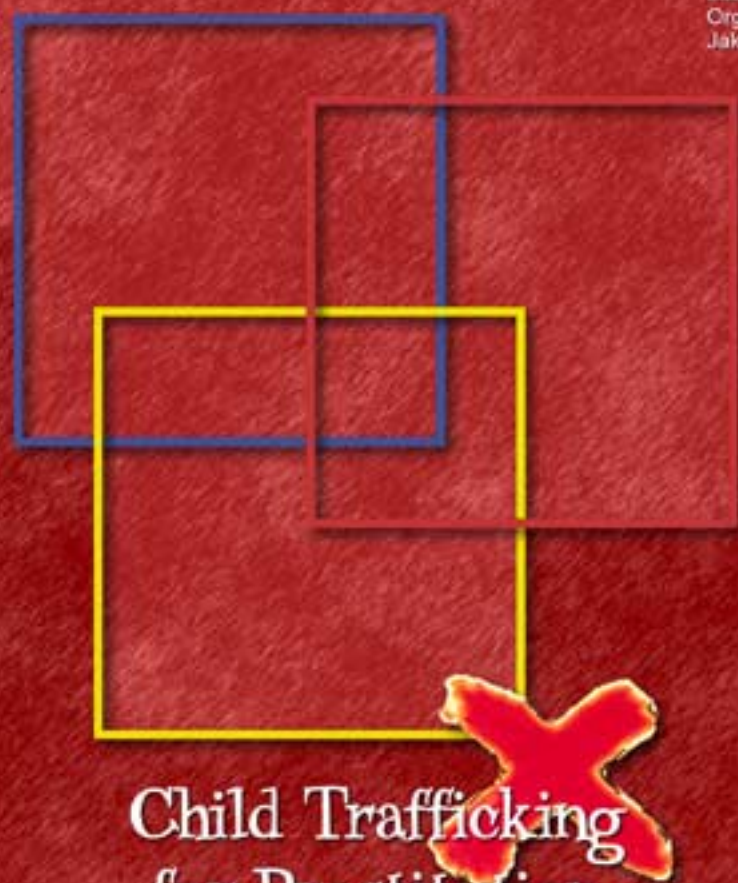




International
Labour
Organization
Jakarta



Child Trafficking for Prostitution in Jakarta and West 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 JAKARTA AND WEST 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.

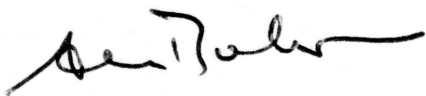
Although there is an increasing volume of information on child labour, there are still gaps in the knowledge and understanding of the various forms and conditions in which children work. The availability of data is crucial in order to ensure a good understanding of the child labour situation and the 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 Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation (Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia - YKAI). YKAI was established in 1979 and had carried out various researches and activities on child issues in general and on child labour issue in particular since 1983. Opinions expressed in this publication rests with the author and do not necessarily 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

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Acronyms and Terms

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
ILO	International Labour Organization
IPEC	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
MOH	Ministry of Health
MOMT	Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration
MONE	Ministry of National Education
MOSA	Ministry of Social Affairs
NAAECSEC	National Agenda for Action on the Elimination of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
NAAETWC	National Agenda for Action on the Elimination of Trafficking for Women and Children
NACEWFCL	National Action Committee for Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
NPA EWFLC	National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
WSRC	Women's Social Rehabilitation Centre
YKAI	Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia (Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation)
YKB	Yayasan Kusumabuana (Kusumabuana Foundation)
YPI	Yayasan Pelita Ilmu (Pelita Ilmu Foundation)
<i>dangdut</i>	A kind of Indonesian music that is very attractive and popular among communities in rural areas and the middle to lower economic classes.
<i>dongdot</i>	A local term (sundanese language) for commercial sex workers.
<i>Lebaran</i>	A Muslim holiday celebrated once a year after a month of fasting, based on the Muslim calendar.
<i>pesantren</i>	traditional Islamic education institution
reflexology	massage method
rupiah	currency in Indonesia

<i>simatupang</i>	from an Indonesian acronym for call girls who are “ day and night waiting for a call” from customers
<i>telembuk</i>	Sundanese term for commercial sex workers
under-the-table marriage	An illegal marriage based on legal regulation/state regulation because the marriage is not registered by the State but is considered legal, based on the Muslim religion. Usually this kind of marriage is performed by an under-aged couple who are not allowed to marry legally.

Acknowledgement from the Consultant

The Indonesian Child Welfare Foundation appreciates the hard works of the research team: Andri Yoga Utami (Team Leader), and all the field researchers: Yossa Agung Permana Nainggolan, Winita Rahmani Astradiningrat, Adhi Nugroho, Ahmad Swadhita, Darmono, Setiadi Agus Anggrahito, dan Ayi Nurmalaela.

Thanks also go to the following persons and institutions for providing the research team with valuable data and information:

1. DR. Sasanti Herlambang, Director of Social Rehabilitation, Ministry of Social Affairs
2. dr. Ratna Pertiwi, Head of Team 7 on the Elimination of Trafficking in Women and Children, Office of State Ministry of Women Empowerment
3. Ibu Sumarni Dawam Rahardjo, Expert Staff of the State Minister of Women Empowerment
4. Head of Data and Information Center, Ministry of Social Affairs
5. Head of Office for Social Affairs (Bintal Kesos), Province of DKI Jakarta
6. Head of Bangun Mitra Sejati Foundation
7. Head of Bandung Wangi Foundation
8. Head of Kusumabuana Foundation
9. Director of Save the Children, USA in Indonesia
10. Director of ACILS, in Indonesia
11. Director of ICMC, in Indonesia
12. Head of Rehabilitation Centre, Pasar Rebo
13. Head of Rehabilitation Centre, Cipayung
14. Head of Analysis Section, STOP AIDS Project

We hope, the research results would encourage various parties to take the needed actions to protect Indonesian children.

Executive Summary

The problems related to the trafficking of children for commercial and sexual purposes are complex as they involve many (economic and socio-cultural) factors that are both used and relied upon to exploit children. The Government of Indonesia recognizes the trafficking for sexual purposes or trafficking for prostitution as a contemptible violation of human rights and is one of the worst forms of child exploitation. Prostitution is one of the worst forms of child labour because of its exploitative nature, both in the process of drawing in young people and the working activities as well as the short-term and long-term impacts on the child's physical, mental and moral development.

Trafficking in children for sexual purposes covers widespread and complicated territory and issues and includes interstate, inter-island and international networks. There are indications that the end-use function is more solid, simple and direct while the recruitment function is complex, or semi-complex, involving intermediaries who are loosely connected to one another. Those intermediaries typically work individually, but the collective process is a network organization in nature. The initial intermediaries are generally someone familiar to trafficked victims, while the following stages of network individuals will most likely all be strangers to them.

Sexual services are supplied both openly and discreetly in Indonesia. Half of the places surveyed in Jakarta by researchers for this rapid assessment were covert sources of prostitution. Of the people estimated to be available for prostitution in those places (5,724 people), around 1,020 of them (18 per cent) were younger than 18. In West Java, the second focus area of this assessment, 6,276 people were estimated to be working in prostitution and a possible 1,800 of them were younger than 18. A total of 12 children (those younger than 18) were interviewed for this assessment about their experiences in being prostituted. In addition, six pimps/brokers, one broker/trafficker and five parents were interviewed.

The findings of this rapid assessment suggest that in addition to economic and social issues, the motivating factors for being vulnerable to being prostituted are desire for a materialistic lifestyle and an unfriendly

environment, especially for boys. There are cultural practices related to gender biases, such as pressure to marry at a young age, a perceived value in virginity and a view that women do not need higher education that generally disadvantage females and encourage the trafficking in children for sexual purposes.

Researchers for this assessment found prostituted children operating on their own as well as under the control of pimps or the management in night clubs, bars, massage parlours, street and malls. They worked long hours, between 6 and 13 hours; most of them worked at nights; and were of course vulnerable to physical, psychological and sexual abuse as well as sexually transmitted diseases, illicit drug use and alcohol abuse. They had minimal support, prevention and intervention programmes available to them. One child respondent is HIV positive. The respondents operating independent of a pimp or manager reportedly experienced less exploitation in terms of hours and income associated with the prostitution, but they were also less protected.

Not surprising, all the respondents in the assessment came from families in a low-economic situation; and in all but five cases, their sexual exploitation appeared to be supported by their families.

In reviewing government and civil society responses to the problems of trafficking and sexual exploitation of young people, the assessment researchers noted a positive trend: laws and policies now aim to punish customers (the demand-side cause of trafficking) and people caught involved in the trafficking process. Minimal law enforcement, however, remains an issue, especially as authority moves away from heavy central government to more regional and local autonomy. There is clearly a need for an in-depth familiarization process of relevant laws and policies in order to generate significant commitment from regional authorities to implement them.

Government programmes concentrate on law enforcement through *razia*, or raids, in which sex workers and prostituted children are apprehended and treated as criminals, not as victims. There are no actions directed at clients/customers, brokers or pimps. Also, the Government conducts rehabilitation programmes that aim to eliminate prostitution in general but this programme targets only sex workers in brothels and evades those in disguised prostitution, which is on the considerable increase. The few government programmes aimed at protecting young people don't include staff members who understand the principles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child. In addition, young people in prostitution continue to be regarded by law enforcement officials as criminals rather than victims. Disciplinary action against violators of the laws, such as the license holders of establishments where prostitution of children is found and the customers is

still rare. And there is little prevention effort established in areas from where prostituted children come. NGO programmes operating with support from funding organizations and the Government vary in nature. Unfortunately, those that concentrate their efforts to eliminate young people's vulnerability toward trafficking and sexual exploitation are still too few and typically not sustainable because they are project-based.



Introduction

The international community, especially the United Nations and the International Labour Organization-International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (ILO-IPEC), has condemned child trafficking for various purpose, including child trafficking for prostitution purposes. Many Conventions have been ratified to prevent and eradicate these practices and other international commitments have been initiated to combat the problems of trafficking into prostitution. The Indonesian Government has responded by ratifying the international Conventions that aim to eradicate the problems of child prostitution and child trafficking. These problems are tightly interconnected and cannot be separated. It is a fact that most child prostitution activities involve a child trafficking network, designed to support sexual exploitation (Suyanto, 2002).

Indonesia has ratified all Conventions related to child exploitation, including ILO Convention No. 29 on forced labour in 1950; ILO Convention No. 138 on the minimum age for employment by Law 20/1999; ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour by Law 1/2000; the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) by Law 7/1984; and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) by Presidential Decree 36/1989 (CRC); the Government also signed in 2001 the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography. Indonesia also signed in December 2000 the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and its supplemental Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children. All of these Conventions firmly forbid the coercion of children into sexual exploitation and other exploitative situations.

Ratification of the ILO Convention no 182 just mentioned requires participating countries to take immediate action to establish priority and satisfactory steps to eliminate the worst and most hazardous forms of child labour. Child prostitution is one of the worst forms of child labour, along with the trafficking of young people into the exploitation, to be eradicated without further delay.

Following the ratifying of ILO Convention No. 182, the Indonesian Government formed a National Action Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NACEWFCL) to eradicate the worst types of labour involving children by Presidential Decree No. 12/2001. The NACEWFCL includes all relevant ministries and employers' and workers' organizations, NGOs, academe and the media. The Minister of Manpower and Transmigration (MOMT) serves as the appointed chairperson of the NACEWFCL and the Ministry acts as the Secretariat. The NACEWFCL is responsible for coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the Convention, including the National Plan of Action on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour as demanded by Presidential Decree No. 59/2002. The national plan of action outlines steps to be taken over a period of 20 years to eradicate child prostitution and trafficking of children in stages.

In response to many cases of children and women being trafficked in Indonesia, the Government issued a National Agenda for Action (NAA) for the Elimination of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) through Presidential Decree No. 87/2002 and a National Agenda for Action on Trafficking of Women and Children through Presidential Decree No. 88/2002. Under both of the national agendas, laws, policies and programmes will be developed and strengthened to protect children from being trafficked within and outside the country and to punish traffickers. The National Agenda calls for humane treatment of child victims and effective coordination among sectors. Presidential Decrees No. 87/2002 and No. 88/2002 are implemented by a cross-sectoral team, known as Team 7, which members have been chosen to handle trafficking cases of children and women and to develop cross-border/transnational cooperation in combating trafficking. It is hoped that the proposed Child Protection Law, which has just been endorsed by Law No. 23/2002, can protect children's rights in general. This new law strengthens and challenges all involved parties, especially the Indonesian Government, to apply concrete action to save entrapped children from the worst forms of child labour.

What is known about trafficking into prostitution in Indonesia

The problem of children being exploited for sexual purposes is not a new phenomenon in Indonesia although it is difficult to ascertain when it actually began. Hull *et al.* (1999) reported that girls have been trafficked to be concubines since the beginning of the Javanese kingdom era. The girls were mainly from the lower classes and sold to the palace by their families in order that they may become related to the royal family and thereby raise the family's social status.

At the time of colonialism, women were typically viewed as sex objects to satisfy the needs of the European soldiers. The locals traded their women to the European colonialists for commercial gain.

The practice of trading women and children continued during the time of Japanese. The women were taken from cities and villages under the pretext of finding better jobs while the children were promised schooling in a big city or in Tokyo. However, there were neither jobs nor schools; instead, they were forced to serve the sexual needs of Japanese soldiers on a regular basis (Suyanto, 2002).

According to Suyanto, the widespread increase of trafficking of girls for sexual purposes was a response to many external factors: Because of HIV fears and the belief that having sex with a child will help a man stay young, virgins have been especially recruited by the child traffickers as a commodity for the sex recreation industry. There have even been cases of parents selling their daughter's virginity to pimps as a means of earning easy money. Irwanto *et al.* in a report on a village in Indramayu, commented on the cultural values of the area that accept prostitution, and parents, community figures and even the local military view the practice lightly.

Currently, there is no reliable data at either the national or local levels on the numbers of children prostituted and trafficked in Indonesia. As the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS) does not recognize prostitution as a profession or job on its surveys and data-collecting reports, it does not record any relevant data. Some information is collected through the Ministry of Social Affairs (MOSA), but it only covers workers who are within *lokalisasi* (red-light areas officially acknowledged as a prostitution area and controlled by the Government) or who are in rehabilitation centres for sex workers are run by the Government. As that data is based on relatively small populations, it does not reflect the true situation. Still, it is a start: According to data collection in 2000/2001 by the MOSA, there were 73,037 commercial sex workers in open prostitution.¹ However, recent data (2003) collected by the MOSA showed a dramatic increase of 78 per cent to 129,478 sex workers overall in Indonesia. The MOSA also estimates there are 3,641 sex workers in Jakarta and 6,276 in West Java; and according to an official from MOSA 60 per cent of them in Jakarta and 80 per cent of them in West Java are estimated to be younger than 18.²

¹ Annual publication from the MOSA's Data Information Centre (year 2000/2001)

² The percentage of prostituted children is an estimate, according to the Director of Social Rehabilitation, MOSA, in an interview.

At present, the Ministry of Health (MOH) through its Surveillance of Risky Behaviour for HIV and AIDS estimates the number of commercial sex workers in Indonesia to be three to four times greater than the figures issued by the MOSA. MOH officials estimate that between 190,000 and 270,000 women (this data excludes male sex workers) work in prostitution and that approximately 7 million to 10 million men avail themselves of their sexual services (MOH, 2002). However, neither the MOH or MOSA have been able to estimate the number of children younger than 18 years that have been prostituted.

In comparison, the State Ministry of Women's Empowerment estimates there are 650,000 commercial sex workers in Indonesia and of them 30 per cent are prostituted children (Media Indonesia, 12 December 2001:11).³ This estimate concurs with M. Farid's statement that the estimated number of prostituted children is 30 per cent of the total number of commercial sex workers (Farid, 2002). All agree that accurate data is difficult to obtain because the practice of prostitution is illegal, informal and disguised, similar to the iceberg phenomena where only a small percentage is actually exposed above the surface. Activists at the Kusuma Buana Foundation believe the number of prostituted children in open places or *red-light district* to be 15 per cent of the total number of sex workers; however the number of prostituted children operating from bars, discotheques, karaoke lounges and massage parlours is higher, at around 15-30 per cent.⁴

The complexity of the prostituted children is increasing in that numbers are increasing and the nature of it is changing to more disguised activities involving both boys and girls. Prostitution of boys has never been specifically researched; however, a survey in 1996 on gay behaviour in Indonesia turned up incidence of male prostitution among boys younger than 18 years (Richard Stephen Howard, 1996). The spread of disguised prostitution practices nowadays is influenced by the increasing demand for prostitution as well as by increasing permissive attitudes and city development that supports the mushrooming of entertainment places that provide sexual services.

The commercial sex industry in Indonesia has become more interwoven with the development of the wider "entertainment world", and prostitution is "disguised" in these so-called entertainment establishments. The

³ The source and means of attaining these figures are unclear.

⁴ An interview with a member of Kusuma Buana Foundation (Yayasan Kusuma Buana – YKB) revealed that this estimation was based on the percentage of prostitutes who have participated in HIV/AIDS-awareness training conducted by YKB in cooperation with the World Bank. Ministry of Health officials estimated that out of the 3,900 prostitutes in places of prostitution either openly or concealed in 1998-1999, 15-30 per cent were younger than 15 years.

vested interests of the parties involved, from the owners, workers and customers to others such as pimps, brokers and even security guards, etc. have contributed to the rapid expansion of disguised prostitution. Hull *et al.*, (1997) showed that this US\$3 million entertainment industry runs professionally with political backing. Even the arrest of the notorious pimp⁵ was unsuccessful in uncovering the network of the illegal sex business because of his connections to powerful people, many of whom were his customers (Irwanto, 1999).

Local governments have been closing down various establishments providing prostitution as a response to demands from some segments of society that are against the practice of institutionalizing prostitution. But that crackdown has encouraged the spread of street prostitution.

Disguised prostitution is expanding not only in big cities but across suburban areas. According to Suyanto, prostitution activities in East Java have spread from Surabaya to neighbouring areas, such as Tretes, Malang, Kediri, Jember and others. Although there is no official data, it is widely believed that children are being prostituted (Hakiki, September 1999). On the outskirts of Jakarta, prostitution activities are developing in Parung, Sawangan, Puncak, Bogor, Bekasi, Tangerang and Banten. And while Bandung, the capital of West Java, still has the heaviest concentration of entertainment businesses, which are used for disguised prostitution, many are springing up along the developing stretch of Pantura (North coast of Java) that reaches from Krawang, Subang and Purwakarta to Indramayu.

In addition to the increase in disguised prostitution locations such as spas, beauty salons, etc. in big cities, the trade of children is mushrooming at the borders with Singapore and Malaysia, especially at Batam, Riau, Medan and Pontianak (Suyanto, 2002). Prostitution services are expanding along with growth in big cities like Jakarta, Surabaya and Semarang (Hull *et al.*, 1997). What is more, according to Irwanto (as quoted by Suyanto, 2002), the practice in the smaller cities links with the tourist industry.

The problem of prostituted children has expanded with the mafia's involvement in child trafficking, which relies on fraud and kidnapping of young people, though it is not the only actor involved in trafficking activities (Irwanto *et al.*, 2001; Sofian, A, 1999). Other factors contributing to the spread of prostituted children are poverty, lack of parental attention, traditional superstitions and, at times, the local social culture that allows and even feeds

⁵A pimp who runs a disguised sex business in big cities, such as Jakarta, Surabaya and Bali, and operates through bars, discotheques and hotels. He has been taken to court for child trafficking cases but was set free as the cases could not be proved. The public suspects that he was not punished because he bribed the judges.

the practice of prostitution (Jones, 1994; O'Grady, 1994; Suyanto, B, 2000; Irwanto, *et al.*, 1998).

Several research projects have tried to create a broader understanding of the prostitution activities in the country: Lumoindang (1996) conducted a study of prostituted teenagers in big cities; Gertrudis Angsana (1999) looked at prostituted teenagers in Surabaya; M. Kemal Dermawan researched disguised prostitution in Jakarta (1998); Farid (1998) reviewed available literature and interviewed several prostituted children in Jakarta; Irwanto, *et al.* (1998) looked at prostituted children in West Java and Bagong Suyanto (1998) looked at prostituted children in East Java; the Kakak Foundation (2002) studied prostituted children in Surakarta; Ahmad Sofian (1999) produced a report on trafficking and prostituted children in Medan; Suyanto (2002) researched the trafficking of young girls for sexual purposes and the networking and policies in Semarang; and Irwanto *et al.* mapped the types of end purposes for trafficked children in a report entitled, *Child Trafficking in Indonesia*.

Objectives of this rapid assessment

In addition to better understanding the size and scope of child prostitution and trafficking in Indonesia, this research will be used to inform the planning of a time-bound programme that ILO-IPEC and the Government are creating to address specific child labour problems. Specifically this research was designed to produce:

1. Quantitative data to estimate the number of prostituted children in Jakarta and West Java region
2. Maps of potential regions of child trafficking for sexual purposes, and marked network routes of child trafficking from the child's home base to their destination
3. Qualitative data on prostituted children, including their type of prostitution, cause and reasons, conditions and risks of the job, motivation and perception, recruitment and processing
4. Information on government and nongovernment agencies' responses in forming policies and programmes to prevent the trafficking and prostitution of children and to help rehabilitate those already prostituted
5. Recommended policies for alternative solutions

Definitions for this rapid assessment

First, the definition of a child in this research refers to ILO Convention No. 182 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which state that a child is someone younger than 18 years.

Second, for the purposes of this assessment, the researchers have relied upon the definition of trafficking according to the supplemental protocol to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime (2000), which added a new dimension to previous definitions in terms of the social and legal perception toward prostituted children (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.

The protocol acknowledges the human rights of children and reinforces the concept that children have no legal capacity to provide informed consent.

Legal systems around the world consider children unable to give agreement consciously in many issues that require physical, mental, social and moral maturity to determine a choice. Consequently there is a legal age for voting in a political election, for sexual consent, to sign a contract, etc. In prostitution, “consent” of someone younger than 18 is not accepted and thus, the process through which they enter prostitution activities is regarded as trafficking and any actor assisting that process is considered a trafficker. This could include pimps, brokers, taxi drivers and even parents.

Trafficking victims

In line with their physical, mental and social development, children are classified within the CRC as “incomplete” individuals and are entitled to full protection from adults. The involvement of children in prostitution proves that adults and the social environment have failed in protecting them from degrading work or behaviour. Trafficked and prostituted young people are thus viewed as victims. A child’s decision to pursue employment in prostitution cannot be regarded as a voluntary choice. It is often influenced and induced by the environment. And a “child’s” decision process is therefore not considered comparable to an adult’s decision to become a sex worker. In terms of implementing international human rights protection, someone younger than 18 in prostitution is a victim while someone 18 and older is a legitimate worker; both are entitled to protection but each is distinctly different from the other.

As David Hachler (1997) emphasized,

“The term ‘child prostitute’ is really a misnomer. These children have been prostituted and the responsibility lies solely with their exploiters. For adults, prostitution may be a career choice and some may call it a ‘victimless crime’. But for children in sexual servitude, there is no choice and they are the victims.”

Method of research

The whole research process took about five months. The field research process took place from January to mid-March 2003 at two category of areas: receiving areas of prostituted children – Jakarta, Cirebon and along the Pantura (North Coast of Java) and sending areas of prostituted children – a village in Sukabumi, West Java.

Mapping activities to collect data on locations in Jakarta as a major receiving area and to estimate the number of commercial sex workers as well as prostituted children in each spot were conducted in the beginning of the rapid assessment. This process involved five researchers covering five areas of

Jakarta: North, East, South, West and Central Jakarta. Each researcher was responsible for one area accompanied by a supervisor.

After that research was completed and contacts with prospective respondents were established, the researchers selected and interviewed 12 prostituted children and six pimps and brokers from six location categories: hotels, malls/plazas, brothels, streets, massage parlours and night clubs/bars/cafes.

In the third month, three researchers then concentrated on the sending area, a village in Sukabumi, West Java. At the same time, another three researchers mapped out the prostitution locations in West Java, particularly in Cirebon and along the Pantura.

Research in the receiving area was to produce the map of prostitution activity, scope and conditions of prostituted children and a better understanding of sending areas. In-depth interviews took place with prostituted children, pimps and brokers.

Research in the sending area aimed to gain a comprehensive overview about the physical, geographical, economic and social conditions at places of origin, particularly the family background of prostituted children and the socio-cultural nature of the local society. This included the perceptions of prostituted children and beliefs or customs related to prostitution. The research also looked at the potential of the sending area as a base for an intervention programme. The researchers chose a village in Sukabumi, West Java, which informants had indicated was a sending area. They then conducted in-depth interviews with the parents of prostituted children not included among the rapid assessment's respondents.

Research strategy in general:

- Compiled secondary data from government and nongovernment institutions, previous research findings, published and unpublished literature, electronic and nonelectronic materials regarding prostituted children to gain a general understanding.
- Identified local key informants among researchers/academics, NGOs, regional government officers or concerned individuals, who understand the characteristics of prostituted children's issues in Jakarta and West Java.
- Officials in related government sectors both at the central and provincial levels as well as nongovernment institutions that have developed programmes to deal with child trafficking for sexual purposes were interviewed to identify their efforts and responses toward the problem of child prostitution. Among those interviewed were law enforcers such as local police and local and national officials of the Ministry of Social Affairs and the

State Ministry of Women Empowerment in the receiving area and social rehabilitation centres.

Research strategy at receiving area:

- Identified locations where prostitution activities take place and observe by using snow-bowling technique (informants recommending other places to survey) and limited interviews with the key informants in these locations.
- Used an informal approach to establish rapport with key informants (affluent informal community figures, security guards, brothel and entertainment establishment owners, pimps, brokers, hoodlums, taxi drivers, reporters, activists implementing prevention and rehabilitation programmes) who are directly or indirectly involved in the prostituting of children, to obtain data and information on the numbers of prostituted children and commercial sex workers. As well, the relationship with key informants was used as entry to prostitution locations. Initially, the researchers operated as potential customers in order to understand various situations and establish relationships with prostituted children and pimps; at a later stage, they stated their research objectives to the informants.
- Involved researchers with a wide range of related research experience and NGO personnel dealing with prostituted children who have technical capability and sensitivity in extracting information from respondents and the ability to analyse findings in the field. A training was arranged so that all researchers understood the research objectives and what information they needed to obtain; there was also an introduction to ways of penetrating the prostitution areas. The team leader supervised activities in the field and assisted the field researchers in overcoming problems encountered in the field.
- Established relationship with chosen respondents (that were identified when the mapping of prostitution locations was conducted) through informal visits and free-form interviews before conducting a structured interview. Respondents involved 12 children – 9 girls and 3 boys. Researchers needed to be thorough in interviewing them to utilize the momentum and possible situation to extract information as to avoid bias and obtain accurate information. This required choosing nonworking times when the young person was more relaxed. Gender was considered because very few previous studies discussed it. The case study was intensified through in-depth interviews to disclose the qualitative aspects, particularly those of background, cause and incentive factors, work conditions and risks, motivation and perception and the recruitment network pattern and its process.

- Respondents also involved six people working as pimps and brokers (another broker in the sending area was also interviewed; of the seven respondents, five were women). These respondents were selected based on the variety of types and locales. The objective was to learn more about the pattern of child trafficking and the motivation in employing children and to study further the processes through which children entered prostitution and the strategies to deliver prostituted children to customers.
- Used male and female researchers in order to gain complementing perspectives for a more insightful overview of the issues in terms of gender.

Research strategy at the sending area:

- Collected information on the origin villages of prostituted children from local key informants, such as taxi drivers and hotel staff. With their help, the researchers were introduced to an intermediary/broker, an ex-hoodlum at the sending area and is quite a respected person in the researched village who is capable of resolving problems, especially youth issues, such as fights among them. This man is a well-known and knowledgeable middleman (there are two middlemen in the researched village) who has trafficked women and children into prostitution from this village and surrounding villages.
- Conducted interviews with several informants who are prominent figures and knowledgeable of the life of the people in the observed village. They included religious leaders, prominent and respected young figures, teachers and village heads. Interviews with teachers were conducted to have an overview about education and children in the village so as to explore the possibility of using education as prevention. The interviews with authorities and community leaders aimed to identify problems in the area in order to study the possibilities of alternative interventions. Teachers and religious leaders are the most respected figures in the village and they can become change agents or entry points in overcoming problems of prostituted children. The village heads provided monographic data of the village.
- Chose five families from the sending area whose children were prostituted but not among the young respondents in the rapid assessment as key informants to find out their children's activities in the city, the family background and the parents' motivation and involvement in child trafficking as well as their views on the prostitution of children. A description of the life pattern at the sending area – the place from which prostituted children come – was obtained, such as parental support of prostitution or community attitude toward prostitution.

- Conducted interviews with 20 prostituted children's siblings, particularly the younger ones to hear their views on the phenomenon of prostituted children and their own short- and long-term dreams and goals.

Selection of research locations

Jakarta

Jakarta, which is the capital city of the country, was chosen to represent a big city or metropolis area of Java province with a large number of prostituted teenagers, a phenomenon currently spreading through the country's big cities. Rapid development, compared to other cities in Java and even in Indonesia, has turned Jakarta into a huge magnet for outsiders, even foreigners. It is a metropolitan city full of entertainment establishments from dimly lit stalls, bars and Karaoke lounges to cafes, malls and massage parlours known for prostitution activity. Some reports show that Jakarta has become the main destination for female commercial sex workers to try their luck in the sex trade. Areas outside Jakarta, particularly along the north coast of Java, such as Indramayu, Cirebon and Pekalongan, are considered as main suppliers of commercial sex workers operating in Jakarta but also contain prostitution activities.

A village in Sukabumi, West Java

Several areas in West Java are known to be sending areas of prostituted children. They are Karawang, Indramayu, Sukabumi, Cianjur, Bandung Selatan, Subang, Kuningan and Banten/Pelabuhan Ratu. Indramayu is believed to be from where the largest number of young prostituted people come (Irwanto *et.al*, 1999; Koentjoro, 1999). Since previous research studies were conducted there; to avoid repetition, a village located in Sukabumi was chosen as a sending location to be researched.

Sukabumi is a hinterland with Sundanese cultural background, while Indramayu and its outskirts are a typical northern coastal area with a mixture of Javanese and Sundanese culture. Sukabumi was chosen because of its different topography and culture from those of Indramayu and thus can broaden the existing knowledge on the trafficked and prostituted children's origins in West Java. The researched village is just one of several villages sending women and child labourers to Jakarta and Batam Island and even as far as Saudi Arabia where they work as maids and in prostitution.

Based on the result of the mapping of prostitution locations in Jakarta and the Pantura, some areas in Sukabumi were identified as potential sending sources of prostituted children who concentrated in Hayam Wuruk (West

Jakarta), Jonggol and Cileungsi (part of Bogor district) and Bogor district (near to Jakarta city).

Figure 1.1. Map of Jakarta and West Java



Data collection

Research regarding prostituted children or prostitution in general must always face the fact that the participants are relatively disguised, illegal and socially unacceptable so that it hinders the exposure of the cases. Since this research is a rapid assessment and was limited to two and a half months of field research, some strategies were applied to anticipate the obstacles:

Literature review

Reading through previous research results on trafficking and prostituted children was the first step to identifying any discrepancies and to avoiding overlapping information. Other secondary data supporting the research for the rapid assessment came from government or nongovernment organizations’ databases of their estimates of the number of prostituted children, as well as from other published reports and electronic and nonelectronic media to cross check with direct data taken from the focus areas.

Limited participatory observation

This method required to the researcher to watch, listen and thus take stock of developing trends in the practice of child prostitution.

Interview and in-depth interviews

The interviews were conducted using open-ended questions; questionnaires were only used with the prostituted children. Thus, the primary data was collected through the limited participatory observation, in-depth interviews and interview using the questionnaire.

Limitations of the research

Despite the research strategies used to work with the inherent obstacles, a few issues as well as some field problems ultimately limited the research. Not all prostitution spots could be identified, especially the covert situations. The disguised operations required the researchers to penetrate each spot they found one by one to locate prostituted children. While conducting the research, some spots were inspected by government officials (raids), which reduced the number of available prostituted children – during these times the number of sex workers decreases because of the fear of being raided and arrested.

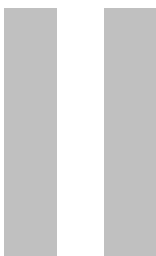
The informal approach, especially with prostituted children in discotheques, could not be established well enough because of time constraints and the introverted nature of the respondents. Some of the young people refused to be interviewed (particularly the ones younger than 15), hence the participating respondents did not vary much in terms of age. Heavy rain caused an avalanche that blocked the roads to some spots in sending areas. As a result, some interviews with informants were cancelled.

The time constraints impeded conducting focus group discussions, but also the researchers decided it would not be effective since the community tends to cover up the issue.

Presentation of data in the report

All names (persons, hotels, café, discotheques, etc) used in this report have been changed for privacy reasons.

The rate of the United States dollar exchange used throughout the report is 8,700 rupiah to US\$1.



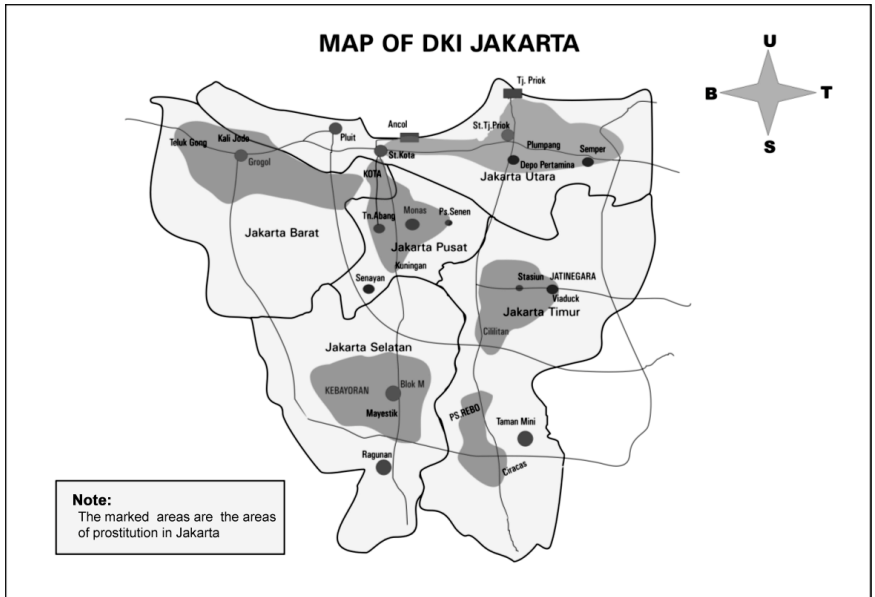
Mapping and Listing of Locations in Receiving and Sending Areas

Available data on the receiving and sending areas in previous research was city-based with no detailed map to assist the formation of an intervention programme. For that reason, the research for this assessment aimed to map the spots, or places, where prostitution involving children takes place in Jakarta and West Java and the areas at the subdistrict and village levels from where the prostituted children in the focus locations originated.

Jakarta and West Java as receiving areas

Based on observations made during the research for this assessment, a map of areas where prostitution operated in Jakarta is presented in Figure 2.1. The findings conclude that five areas in Jakarta harbour prostituted children who operate, at the least, in some 147 discotheques, bars, cafes, karaoke lounges, massage parlours, hotels, malls, streets, parks and red-light districts. While in West Java, receiving areas are as follows: Bekasi, Kerawang, Subang, Purwakarta, Bandung, Indramayu, Cirebon, Majalengka, Sumedang, Cianjur, Sukabumi, Depok, Bogor, Ciamis.

Figure 2.1: Map of areas of prostitution in Jakarta



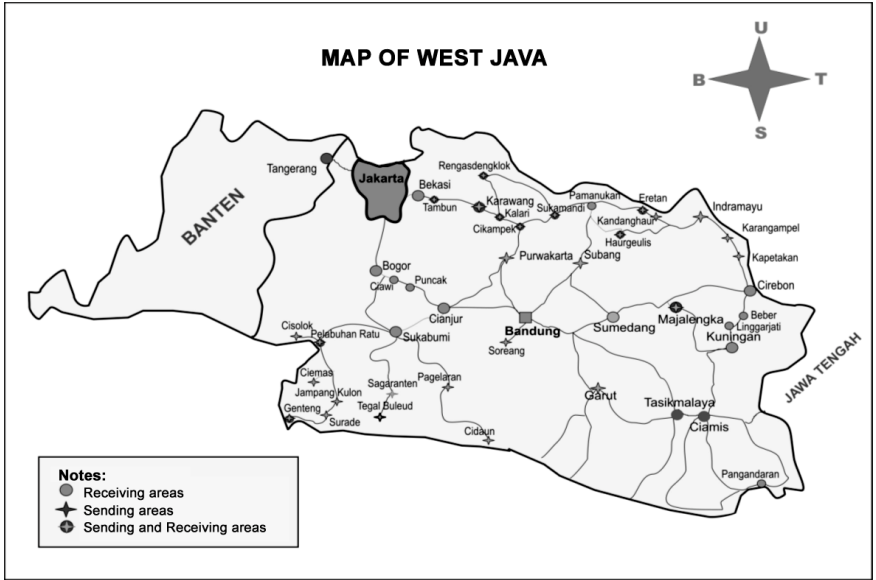
Sending areas

The assessment results indicate that prostituted children found in Jakarta come from the following areas (in order of the highest number): Indramayu, Subang, Cirebon, Banten, Karawang, Cianjur, Sukabumi, Kuningan, South Bandung. The areas of Central Java and East Java also send prostituted children to Jakarta even though the percentage is very small; they come from Solo, Puwokerto, Cilacap, Surabaya, Malang, Blitar, Pati, Jepara, Madura and Banyuwangi.

There is a map of the sending of commercial sex workers operating in West Java, based on data obtained from the Female Prostitute's Rehabilitation Centre (Pusat Rehabilitasi Sosial Wanita Tuna Susila) in Palimanan, West Java. Data from 1972 till 2001 reveals that the commercial sex workers operating in West Java mainly come from the following areas: District of Cirebon, Cirebon City, Bandung City, District of Bandung and District of Indramayu.

Combining that data with more recent information from the media and this assessments' field research, the following map of sending areas in West Java has been constructed:

Figure 2.2: Map of sending areas in West Java



The magnitude of prostituted children in Jakarta and West Java

Based on the research used to construct the maps and lists of receiving and sending areas, the researchers for this assessment estimated there are at least 4,704 adult sex workers and 1,020 prostituted children operating in 147 *observed* establishments in Jakarta (see Table 2.4). As already stated, the researchers did not observe all locations where prostitution takes place in the capital. In fact, according to data from the Tourism Office in Jakarta (June 2002), there are 1,120 entertainment business at Jakarta covering discotheques, bars, cafes, karaoke lounges, massage parlours and hotels. That suggests that this assessment covers only 15 per cent of the locations that are potential places for disguised prostitution.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the assessments' research, it is assumed the number of prostituted children in Jakarta is much greater. According to Farid and Irwanto (2001), the known phenomenon of prostituted children is like an iceberg where what is visible on the surface is only one fifth to one tenth of the real total. Using the minimum of that assumption and the assessment researchers' estimates of sex workers, it is further estimated that the real number of adult sex workers in Jakarta could be at least around 23,520, while the real number of prostituted children could be 5,100, at the least.

Table 2.1: Estimated number of commercial sex workers (CSW) and prostituted children (PC), based on location and types in Jakarta

1. Location	Unit	CSW	PC	TOTAL
Discotheque/bar/cafe/karaoke	81	2,035	450	2,485
Massage parlour	23	677	39	716
Hotel	12	329	122	451
Street/park/mall	26	833	224	1,057
Red-light district	5	830	185	1,015
Total	147	4,704	1,020	5,724

Source: Direct observation and interviews

Data from the Provincial Office of Social Affairs (2003) in West Java only identified open prostitution establishments and thus recorded 6,276 sex workers; of them, around 30 per cent were estimated to be younger than 18, or about 1,800 prostituted children. However, data from the Tourism Office in Bandung (June 2001), there were 1,530 entertainment businesses in West Java, which includes discotheques, bars, cafes, karaoke lounges, massage parlours and hotels and which could be potential places for disguised prostitution.

Based on that data, the MOSA's estimation of prostituted children and the assumption of Irwanto *et al.* that the real numbers are likely to be *at least* five times greater, the researchers for this assessment further estimated there are 22,380 adult commercial sex workers and 9,000 prostituted children in West Java.

Table 2.2: Estimated number of commercial sex workers and prostituted children in Jakarta and West Java, 2003

2. Province	CSW	PC	TOTAL
Jakarta			
Data based on field observation*	4,704	1,020	5,724
Guesstimate**	23,520	5,100	28,620
West Java			
Data based on official number	4,476	1,800	6,276
Guesstimate**	22,380	9,000	31,380

* The data only covers an estimated 15 per cent of potential places for disguised prostitution.

** Guesstimate: research estimate multiplied by 5, as a minimum guess of what the real total might be

*** Official number from MOSA, 2003

This research couldn't determine the magnitude of prostituted boys, even through guesswork. This is because the working style of male prostitution is more covert, often concentrated in disguised prostitution such as massage parlours that are more often using printed advertising to attract customers. This type of place, using printed advertisement, did not fall into the sampling categories. In a big city like Jakarta there are some streets, but very limited in number, where male prostitutes were found working, such as at Lapangan Banteng street (see street prostitution in Chapter 3 for more details).



Profile of Locations where Prostituted Children were Found

The sex industry can be divided into two main categories: organized and nonorganized. Organized operations are brothels and some massage parlours and the sex workers usually work with a pimp. In an unorganized operation the sex workers operate on their own, such as those found on the street or in shopping malls.

As well, there are two types of prostitution: i) commercial sex workers/prostituted children who operate independently without a broker or pimp and are also known as freelance prostitutes; and ii) sex workers/prostituted children under the care/control of a pimp, broker or several brokers interrelated in a hierarchy in an established foundation or organization, such as a massage parlour, salon, discotheque, hotel or other locale. This assessment report covers the activities of both types of prostituted children.

Two categories of establishments can be defined based on the economic level of the clientele. There are places where the location and building facilities attract lower-economic customers and there are those that appeal to the middle and upper economic classes or to exclusive executive types. The income to the prostituted children is distinctly different between the two types; prostituted children with customers from middle-income brackets and higher have a different lifestyle than those with customers from a lower-income level. Able to charge higher fees, their income is greater and they can afford to buy hand phones and to hang around places such as cafes, hotels, discotheques, etc. Those with lower-paying customers earn enough to meet their daily needs, such as food.

The term “red-light district” in this report is used to refer to an area where the prostitution activities are concentrated, including those with official recognition from the government, such as in Hayam Wuruk, Tanjung Priok, Kramat Raya, Boker dll.

General information on the receiving areas: The types of locations and prostitution

JAKARTA

Jakarta is the centre of the country's politics, administration, economy and communication network. Newcomers of all ages to the country's capitol come for many reasons. The attractions of the seemingly sparkling city and development encourage them to seek their luck there. During the period of the New Order (1963-1997), there was a huge growth in service jobs that attracted a large number of people from the provinces. The demand for services was fuelled, at least until the financial crisis, by the rapid development that increased some people's spending income. Newcomers went to the city because of the opportunities for work. But they also added to the increasing demand for entertainment and recreation. The emergence of entertainment and recreation places in Jakarta, like, gardens, shopping malls/plaza, discotheques, bars, pubs, hotels, cafes and massage parlours, can be seen as an effort to fulfil the demand.

But for upper economic levels of men, the demand entails wanting a place not only to relax but also to function as alternative places for conducting business with clients – hence the emergence of higher-priced massage parlours, karaoke lounges and night clubs. (“Conducting business” here means to create good relationships with clients or partners, not to discuss serious business matter.)

An interesting phenomenon coupled with the demand, not just in Jakarta but also in other big cities, is the appearance of entertainment and recreation places that also offer sex services to customers. More than half of these places, however, “disguise” the sex services that are available. The sex workers, including prostituted children, double as waitresses, waiters, masseuses, dancers, hostesses or other types of employees.

These “recreation” places seem to operate on the principle of “where there is sugar there are ants”. Law enforcement officers are aware of these operations and frequently conduct raids – but clearly with no significant impact on reducing the numbers of sex workers, even prostituted children.

Previous field research (Hull, 1996) distinguished many types of prostitution based on the characteristics of the workplace, the type of prostitution, the difference of location and the difference in economic class of customers. Field reports for the previous research revealed that in each adult prostitution location, prostituted children were found.

Open and disguised prostitution based on location

Prostitution takes place either openly or as a “disguised” activity. Open prostitution is conducted in places known in the community, such as *red-light district* (where sex services take place either on the premises or away). The disguised establishments are licensed to operate solely for health, beauty or entertainment services but in practice also offer sexual services. Typically disguised prostitution services take place on the premises; however, in establishments such as massage parlours, hotels and discotheques/bars/cafes, sexual services can be arranged in a customer’s home or hotel.

Open prostitution locations

- **Red-light districts.**

Open prostitution spots in Jakarta can be found in known red-light districts such as Boker, Rawa Malang, Rawa Bebek, Muara Angke and Pela-Pela in Tanjung Priuk (see Figure 2.1). In these areas, prostitutes base themselves in semi-permanent “stalls” or bars filled with young girls who sit or dance to *dangdut* (loud throbbing house music)⁶. These structures are semi-permanent, made quickly of wood, as the owners are aware that their business can any day be closed down by the authorities. The stalls typically are subdivided into many rooms, one per worker and about 1.2 x 2 m in size, where the sex service takes place, with a small common room up front. The employees both live and work in the stall – one stall accommodates between 5 and 15 sex workers.

Red-light districts range from low to high end. Boker, Rawa Malang, Rawa Bebek, and Bongkaran Tanah Abang can be characterized as low-end red-lights district while those in Tanah Abang cater more to middle-income type customers.

The typically young girls (13 to 17 years old) found there are fully made up and expose their bodies freely. There are also boys-only bars that offer prostituted boys for men seeking sex with males. The transaction and rate is openly negotiated between the prostitute and the customer.

In the red-light districts the role of pimps as facilitators is quite important. Not only do they own the location (stalls/bars in the red-light district) and rooms for the girls but also act as a caretaker for the prostituted children. Pimps are responsible for the safety and health of the

⁶ *Dangdut* is a type of music that is very attractive with a specific style of dancing. *Dangdut* is the most popular music in the rural area and the middle to lower economic classes of people.

prostituted children and liaise as the go-between for the children and the customers.

At the Boker red-light district, many of the residents' houses located behind the area are used for sex, even though they are just basic houses. Customers at lower-charging establishments rarely take sex workers to a hotel or local boarding since the customers tend to be tri-cycle drivers, cab drivers, construction labourers, low-ranking officials and military officers. Researchers for this assessment observed prostituted children hanging out at low-volume drink stalls.

The sex workers arrive at these red-light districts in early evening and stay until early morning. The in-house pimp, known as the madam, takes care of the prostituted children and helps them to find customers. Prostituted children in Rawa Malang (other than freelancers) both base their sex activity and live in the stalls. The fee charged to customers is 50,000-200,000 rupiah (US\$6.50-\$25), exclusive of the room rate. Room rental costs are between 10,000 and 50,000 rupiah (US\$1.2-6.5), depending on whether it is a short-time or long-time session. These prostituted children can be taken outside of the area by the customers for a special price (negotiated between the prostituted child and the customer).

"The market here is the same, 50,000 rupiah (US\$6.5) for short time – about 30 minutes. If overnight, from 12 a.m. until 6 a.m., the rate is about 200,000 rupiah (US\$25), but that depends on the girls' negotiations." – Madam Tina, a pimp

Moving up the economic and price scale, Hayam Wuruk red-light district is typical of the higher-end establishments that cater to affluent businessmen. Hayam Wuruk is a shopping and business centre in which the employees mostly come from middle and upper economic levels. The sex trade in this area is centred in cafes, bars, discotheques or massage parlours with luxurious facilities.

- **Streets and parks.**

In Jakarta, street spots are along Jalan Latuharhari Manggarai, Taman Viaduck Jatinegara, in front of Jatinegara train station, Jalan Mahakam Blok M, Jalan Lapangan Banteng, Jalan Medan Merdeka Barat and the East parking area of Kompleks Gelora Bung Karno.⁷ Different

⁷ Both Lapangan Banteng and Jalan Mahakam Blok M are known as male prostitution areas, and the rest are female prostitution areas (Jalan Latuharhari Manggarai, Taman Viaduct Jatinegara, Jalan Medan Merdeka Barat, and the east-side parking area of Kompleks Gelora Bung Karno).

street spots cater distinctly to either a lower-economic class customer or a middle-economic class customer.

Most prostituted children working the streets are freelancers and are therefore responsible for themselves. Transactions are direct and up front between the prostituted girl or boy and the customer. Although competition among the prostituted girls and boys is very tough, some will group together for protection to back each other up. There is an unwritten code that no member of the group may take another person's customers.

It is an open secret that the locations of streets and parks for low-paying customers are along Jalan Latuharhari, in front of Jatinegara train station, Viaduct Prumpung Park, Jalan Blora. At these locations, two types of transactions take place: The customer can just sit at a beer garden or street food stall and buy drinks while being entertained by the "waitress". Drinks sold are sodas, bottled tea or beer and the customer is obliged to tip the waitress around 20,000-100,000 rupiah (US\$2.30-\$12). The second transaction involves the customer booking the companion, or in the expression used by the prostituted child, "*ngajak jalan/bisa diajak*" (takes them for a ride). For prostituted children who "can be taken", the general tariff for the customer is between 70,000 and 200,000 rupiah (US\$8 and \$24), in addition to the room expenses. The prostituted child receives about 80 per cent of that fee and the other 20 per cent goes to a pimp.

The area of North Jakarta employs a different tariff and service. Here, customers will hire a prostituted child waitress after a period of drinking. The tariff for the prostituted children operating along the railway line, fish market and the street of Jalan Kramat Jaya (in stalls, semi-permanent tents, music lounges and rooms) range between 30,000 and 250,000 rupiah (US\$4-\$29). For the range of 30,000-100,000 rupiah, usually the customer bears the cost of the room. For tariffs above that, between 150,000 and 250,000 rupiah, the cost of the room is usually included. In the areas of Cim Jangkrik in Rawa Bebek, the tariff of 50,000 rupiah (US\$6.25) includes the cost of renting a room.

Streets and beer gardens appealing to more middle- and upper-income type of customers are found in Mahakam and Lapangan Banteng. Customers in these areas are charged rates between 100,000 and 400,000 rupiah (US\$12-\$48) for "dates" at hotels with room charges paid for by the customer. Often the customer will tip the prostituted child more than the set tariff. Most of the prostituted workers in this group are young attractive teenagers or young adults (up to 25 years old).

Disguised prostitution and locations

- **Massage parlours.**

There are many types of massage parlours available: male-only masseuses, transvestite or the most common – women-only masseuses. People frequent these places either for only a massage or for both massage and sex. The customer may choose a masseuse from photos posted at the front desk (especially for female masseuses). Each massage parlour sets its own tariff for the room rate, the massage charge and even the tips for the workers. The customer pays the massage charge to the cashier but negotiates a price for the extra service (sex) directly with the masseuse he has selected. He then pays the prostituted child (girl or boy) in the room after the service is finished.

The tariff at the massage parlour is around 100,000-250,000 rupiah (US\$12-\$30). However, for bookings outside the parlour, the rate is around 250,000-500,000 rupiah (US\$30-\$57) excluding hotel fees, return transport money and tips. The prostituted child receives 40-80 per cent of the paid tariff and tips average around 50,000 to 200,000 rupiah.

Many massage parlours advertise in newspapers, magazines and flyers, such as these examples translated from a tabloid:

SELLA MASSAGE

*Beautiful young women, sexy, attractive with special energy
24 hours (Only in hotel) call Brando 0812-xxxxxxx*

MASKULIN MASSAGE

*Handsome man, tall, muscular, a model,
Indonesian-European-Arabian-Chinese for Man/Woman/
Husband and Wife Massage with full service, please call 0856-xxxxxxx*

This trend of advertising through the media has been practised since the 1980s. However, the billing back then was more discreet in comparison to the wording nowadays, which is much bolder and attention grabbing.

- **Salons (barbershops).**

These locations are advertised by word of mouth. These services are generally provided in spacious and luxurious premises. Not all hairstylists can be booked for sex services, but most of them have multiple roles. Fees range from 50,000 to 400,000 rupiah; the prostituted child receives 60-80 per cent of that fee and the remainder is paid to the salon owner.

- **Discotheques.**

Discotheques are licensed as entertainment places and are found in a range of quality and appearance and attracting different socio-economic crowds of customers. At first, prostitution in discos was disguised; nowadays more and more discos openly operate as prostitution venues, though many still maintain a level of discreetness.

The practice of prostitution in discos can be clearly seen in the North Jakarta areas (Cilincing, Enggano, Sulawesi, Bandengan, Kramat Jaya, Sunter, PRJ Kemayoran, Penjaringan, Teluk Gong, Tanjung Priuk, Pela-pela, Tanah Merdeka, Kali Baru) and West Jakarta (Hayam Wuruk, Jayakarta, Daan Mogot, Mangga Besar, Pasar Glodok, Gajah Mada, S. Parman, Kota, Tambora), in Central Jakarta areas (Jl. M.H. Thamrin, Jl. H.O.S Cokroaminoto, Menteng, Jl. Blora, Cikini, Senen, Jl. Teuku Cik Di Tiro, Jl. Tanah Abang Timur). The rate for booking sex workers from these places is more than 300,000 rupiah.

Workers in the discotheques usually become permanent sex service employees and are provided with accommodation (usually dormitory), health care, (monthly medical check-ups), security as well as sometimes a hand phone for easy communication. Not all hostesses, however, double as sex workers.

“Girls here are guaranteed everything. The accommodation is like a dormitory! They are checked by a doctor every month to keep fit, they even get a hand phone, not bad, heh. They get one day’s holiday per week but if they need to go home to their village they can. There are no contract letters at this place.” – Madam Ros, a pimp

- **Pubs, bars and cafes.**

Unlike the discos, the pubs, bars and cafes are elite places for the upper-income customers and they abound throughout Jakarta. Freelance sex workers come as customers and mix freely with the other customers. However, those familiar with the sex scene catch the signals and special codes sent out by the sex workers to lure prospective clients.

- **Hotels.**

At hotel locations the sex workers usually base themselves in a certain spot, for example a discotheque or cafe attached to the hotel. The child prostitutes are cared for by a pimp whose job it is to find customers for them. Although the freelance girls are based in the hotel they are free to move around the hotel. There is a general agreement between the hotel and the girls on tariffs. The girl will either put aside some of her earnings

to give to the pimp who has found her the customer or she could be given a ticket to submit to the hotel management.

Child prostitutes based at the hotel offer themselves at between 200,000 and 500,000 rupiah (US\$24 and \$60) excluding the hotel room price. There are also those who base outside the hotel and can be “called” if a guest requests sexual services. The tariff varies from between 200,000 and 1 million rupiah (US\$24 and \$115), because if a girl has to be called from outside the hotel then the madam or pimp will have to give fee to the hotel staff. The tariff set also depends on the reputation and class of the hotel.

- **Malls/plazas.**

It is not unusual for commercial sex workers, including prostituted children, to use these busy public places to lure a client. Child prostitutes at the malls/plazas are freelancers and are commonly known as *ABG*.⁸ They are very mobile, which means they are not found in any one particular spot at any particular time, but will be found wherever there are potential customers. The fee is agreed upon by the prostituted child and the customer around 50,000 to 200,000 rupiah (US\$6-\$24). Many prostituted girls use the services of a broker to liaise with customers in the malls. The broker’s tip is also agreed upon by the girl and the broker. The “date” takes place at a hotel near the mall or plaza, for which the customer pays. The difference between prostituted children working the high end and the lower-end locations seems to be the fee they charge.

Two types of prostituted children in Jakarta

Freelancers

Freelancing prostituted children have more freedom in their activity. They are not restricted to an area or workplace.

“Those girls [freelancers] move to and work wherever it is busy and full of guests. They say they spend 50,000 rupiah per night: 25,000 rupiah for entrance to the disco, the rest for transport and food. But the girls are here to do business.” – Madam Ros, a pimp

At red-light districts like Boker, Rawa Malang or Rawa Bebek, the freelancing prostituted children come each night and negotiate directly with the bar or stall (in the red-light district) owners to operate in their bars or stalls. Freelancers operating on the streets or in parks sometimes use the services of a broker to look for customers and tip them at the market rate,

⁸ *ABG* (*Anak Baru Gede*) is an Indonesian term meaning “young attractive teenager”.

around 10-20 per cent from the fee currently. If they are caught in a raid they must arrange their own bail, usually by contacting a friend or customer.

“Employed” or controlled prostitute

The second type of prostituted children, those in the “employ” of someone, is the more common. They are taken care of or in the control of a pimp, broker or several brokers or employed in an establishment, such as a discotheque, hotel, massage parlour or red-light districts. In most places, the prostituted children live with the pimp, except at Boker where the children have their own accommodations near the workplace.

“My children rent a room around here, it’s still in the same neighbourhood (RT); there is no communal house for them. The children cannot stay here because there is no space.” – Madam Tina, a pimp

The prostituted children must pay a portion of their fee to the pimp or broker who owns the room from where they operate. The children are also obliged to sell the goods at the stall (drink or snacks). They cannot refuse a client. However, if they have a problem with a customer, then the pimp, broker or madam handles it for them. The prostituted child working in the stalls have no official holidays. If they want to return to their home village, they are usually permitted up to a week’s holiday.

WEST JAVA

Cirebon District and Cirebon City

As a transit point and trade centre it attracts many visitors, many facilities for trade has developed rapidly in this city since around 1990. This development has included, as in Jakarta, a rapid growth of entertainment services, including *telembuk*, which is the local term for sex workers. Researchers for this assessment identified five areas of prostitution in the Cirebon city and two places outside the town (Cirebon district). The places were concentrated in the city centre, the city border transit areas and around the harbour. Based on observations of the five prostitution areas and interviews with informants, such as pedicab drivers, brokers, hotel staff, a school teacher and a police chief, the researchers further identified establishments providing some type of sexual service involving prostituted children.

Street

In Cirebon City, street prostitution can be found in Jalan Siliwangi and Jalan Kejaksan. Researchers observed about 50 prostituted teenagers operating

in this area; around 30 per cent are aged younger than 18 years.⁹ The prostituted children were from Cirebon and towns around the district such as Karangampel, Indramayu, Subang, Majalengka and Kuningan and as far as Central Java, such as Brebes, Purwokerto and Cilacap. In Cirebon District, this type of prostitution can be found in Rajagaluh area. This is a dimly lit food stall area for travellers heading toward Sumedang and Majalengka. These stalls are frequented by truck drivers looking for food and available sexual services. Prostituted children work at the stalls serving food and may conduct transactions on their own or link with customers through pimps who either work the area or own the stall.

Hotels

Many hotels in the city of Cirebon provide opportunity for short-time sex services. Sex workers in these places charge the customers 20,000 to 80,000 rupiah (US\$2.30 to \$9). Among “starred” hotels, the researchers found tariffs of more than 200,000 rupiah (US\$24) per night. The tariff, or fee, for short-time dates do not include the room charge; the customer pays for the hotel room. Typically the hotel management is aware of the business but pretends not to know; some even illegally set up a short-time usage of their hotel rooms.

Up-scale hotels usually offer entertainment venues such as a cafe, karaoke or discotheque, which are among the places where sex workers hang around offering their services. The prostituted teenagers (known as *ABG* here as well) operate on the streets sometimes use one of the hotels for their sex transactions.

Mall

According to interviews with informants, around 20 prostituted children are concentrated in a mall in Cirebon City on Saturday and Sunday evenings; there are less of them on weekdays.¹⁰ The prostituted children operate as freelancers; some are still students and some have dropped out of school, but others are workers at a salon or cafe in the mall who sideline in prostitution.

Park

Each evening in a park in Cirebon City, prostituted children offer tea to customers who sit at their stalls. Selling the tea is merely a cover for selling

⁹ The estimated number is based on direct observation and interviews with local informants.

¹⁰ The estimated number is based on direct observation and interviews with local informants.

other services. Most of the prostituted children work under a pimp who owns the stall, but the rest are freelancers. For services they go to a nearby hotel, depending on the customer. According to informants, the number of prostituted children operating in this area is around 20.¹¹

Harbour

Dimly lit stalls along Jalan Kalijaga, Terminal Ahmad Yani, Jalan Dukuh Semar are mostly for truck drivers and offer food and various goods. The waitresses also offer sexual services to customers, especially the truck drivers. Although informants had pinpointed this area as a place where prostituted children could be found working, most the workers here during the research period appeared to be older than 25 years.

A cafe is located in the vicinity of the harbour. Prostituted teenagers base there and wait to pick up customers or to be called by one on their hand phone. They are known as *simatupang* (an Indonesian abbreviation meaning “day and night waiting for a call”). According to interviews, these prostituted children were from Cirebon, Kuningan, Indramayu and Majalengka. After receiving a call, they meet the customer at a hotel/motel and charge 200,000-400,000 rupiah.

Discotheque

Prostituted children can also be found based themselves in discotheque which is attached to a hotel.

A Red-light village

A village located in Cirebon district is known as a red light district. The village is a residential area but almost every house provides sexual services. Most of the sex workers have been taken to the village by brokers. The village has “accepted” the prostitution activities and sex workers are regarded as ordinary residents.

This village is also known as the “wife warehouse” of officials or wealthy local Cirebon residents and is famous for its practice of “under-the-table” marriages. It is a safe place to keep a second or third wife (bigamous); the “wives” living here, including prostituted children, realize the situation involves an illegal marriage and will not complain or reveal the secret. This relationship lasts for as long as the man is willing to support it financially. When the “marriage” ends, the woman or prostituted girl typically finds prostitution employment in another house or becomes the wife of another man.

¹¹ The estimated number is based on direct observation and interviews with local informants.

The two types of prostituted children in Cirebon

There are two main types of prostituted children in Cirebon: freelancers based on the streets and those who live with a pimp or use a pimp in the Jalan Siliwangi area.

Freelance

Freelancers are not tied to a pimp and generally operate from 7 p.m. till 4 a.m. They are quite dependent on brokers, mostly pedicab drivers, who operate on that street. The prostituted children also use hotel staff or security guards to liaise for them with the hotel guests requesting sexual services. The brokers use many methods to sell the prostituted teenagers, usually by directly approaching a hotel guest and offering the sexual services, or they may take potential customers directly to a prostituted teenager's boarding house.

The pedicab drivers will pedal a prostituted teenager around Jalan Siliwangi and its vicinity while winking at men they pass and pointing to the girl as a sign that she can be booked.

“Usually if the guest is happy with the prostituted child then they book a room in the hotel or boarding house. The average rate is about 100,000 rupiah for the cheapest up to 200,000 rupiah excluding hotel room. Usually I and the hotel staff receive ‘cigarette money’.” – Budi, an informant in Cirebon

The tariff for the prostituted girl for short time is around 100,000-150,000 rupiah (US\$12-\$17) and for long time is 300,000-500,000 rupiah (US\$36-\$60). The pedicab drivers or hotel staff will receive only a tip (5,000-10,000 rupiah), though sometimes they are tipped as much as 50,000 rupiah.

Pimp-controlled

The prostituted children living with pimps stay in rented house/rooms. To find customers for the girls, the pimps work with the hotels, discos, cafes and pedicab drivers. The prostituted girls wait to be called by phone. If the broker is a pedicab driver, he may take a potential customer to a boarding house, run by a pimp, where the customer can select a girl from behind a window for a charge of 100,000-150,000 rupiah.

Pantura (NORTH COAST OF JAVA) OF WEST JAVA

Locations for prostitution activities in the West Java Pantura area start at Karawang district and run up through Cikampek, Subang, Indramayu until Cirebon. All along this stretch are locations in the form of food stalls (rice, sate, grilled fish) cafes, karaoke lounges and *dangdut* bars. Some sex workers

operate under cover as egg sellers and solicit from bus passengers or truck drivers passing through the Cikampek area. If the prostitute is attracted, she will give the prospective customer a signal to start negotiating. Most of the sex workers seemed to be older than 30 years, however. According to informants, prostituted children are known to work in some of these areas.

Along the West Java Pantura stretch, the largest concentration of prostitution activity in West Java is in the area of Patok Besi Subang. The researchers for this assessment identified more than 100 food stalls, cafes and karaoke bars facing each other along Patok Besi that offer young girls for sex service. Each stall has between 5 and 20 sex workers, most of whom are younger than 20 years old. The youngest prostituted child identified by the researchers was 14 years old. Overall, the researchers estimated that there were about 1,000 sex workers in this concentrated area and that about 80 per cent, or approximately 800 of them, were younger than 18 years.¹²

¹² The estimated number is based on direct observation.

IV

Profile of the Prostituted Children

The following is a qualitative description of 12 prostituted children only in Jakarta who were interviewed for this rapid assessment. Considering the limited number of respondents, the tables and statistics only provide a “snap-shot” of the situation and are not a generalization of the condition of prostituted children in the two focus areas.

Background of the prostituted child respondents

Geographical origins

Nine prostituted children were from West Java and three others came from Jakarta, Bulukumba South Sulawesi and Medan city.

Parents’ education

Fathers of six respondents barely finished junior high school (some even never went to school at all), fathers of three others finished high school, one of them finished a college diploma programme. Fathers with high school education are those of prostituted children operating in hotels and malls.

One mother had graduated from senior high school, two had finished junior high school and the other mothers of respondents had only an elementary school education (two did not graduate).

Table 4.1: Background education of respondents’ fathers

Education of father	Respondents				Total %
	Female	%	Male	%	
Never	1	11.1			8.3
Primary school	3	33.3	1	33.3	33.3
Junior High School	1	11.1			8.3
Senior High school	2	22.2			16.7
College			1	33.3	8.3
No data	2		1	33.3	25
Total	9	100	3	100	100

Parents' economic status

Parents of prostituted children operating in malls and hotels have a better economic status than those of the ones operating in the streets, bars, discotheques and massage parlours. They work in the formal sector as civil servants and employees of private companies so they can better provide for their families, unlike the parents of those operating in the streets, etc. who are unemployed or work as vendors and therefore are financially dependent on their children to provide for the family.

Table 4.2: Occupation of respondents' fathers

Occupations	Respondents				%
	Female	%	Male	%	
No job	2	22.2			16.7
Trader	2	22.2	1	33.3	25
Civil servant			1	33.3	8.3
Informal sector	2	22.2	1	33.3	25
No information available	3	33.3			25
Total	9	100	3	100	100

Prostituted children's educational level

The majority of the 12 prostituted children were poorly educated: six respondents graduated primary school but dropped out of junior high school; another two finished junior high but went no further; three respondents graduated and one is still attending senior high school. Two boy respondents finished junior high school and one is still in senior high school, with parents who are financially sound. Six respondents of prostituted girls, on the other hand, mostly only finished primary school or dropped out of junior high school.

Table 4.3: Background education of child respondents

Level of education	F	M	Total
Primary school	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Junior high school (DO)	4 44.4%		4 33.3%
Junior high school (completed)		2 66.7%	2 16.7%
High school (DO)	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
High school (completed)	1 11.1%	1 33.3%	16.7%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Previous research and data on education participation showed a gap between the level of education of boys and that of girls. According to that data, the higher the level of education is the lower is the girls' participation. A prevailing socio-cultural view that girls should play a domestic role and boys a public one has provided girls with fewer opportunities than boys to continue their studies. This view is strongly held, particularly among village families.

Reasons for dropping out of school

Half of the respondents left school because of boyfriend troubles: Three girl respondents dropped out because they lost their virginity, one of them became pregnant. One respondent was frustrated when her boyfriend left her. Another respondent contracted HIV from her boyfriend and was forced by him to prostitute herself to support him and buy him medication.

The issue of gender inequality as a result of unequal social relations between boys and girls plays an influential factor in girls' education attainment and the direction their lives take. Strong male domination causes females to experience a sense of weakness and of being cornered. Furthermore, the society's view regarding virginity as a commodity tends to punish women for "losing it". According to Saptari (1997: 392), views on sexuality tend to exaggerate the importance of a woman's virginity, but not a man's. Thus, girls who "lose" their virginity are not given a second chance by the society and therefore feel frustrated, ashamed and useless, which then tends to affect their hopes for their lives and may prompt them to quit school. The school system does not allow pregnant students to continue their studies either. Another contributing factor to gender inequality is male domination, force and violence in sexual relations, as a result of male dominance in the social relationship, that make women the weak and deceived party.

"I was desperate because I got pregnant and my boyfriend didn't want to have anything to do with it. I felt so ashamed and quit school and now I work in this hotel to support my child. My family doesn't know that I work as a prostitute." – Yuni, 16

"My marriage didn't last long. We were divorced after less than a year. We fought a lot. My husband did not want to provide for me so I divorced him. Actually I was forced to marry him after losing my virginity to him." – Isti, 17

Another primary reason given by three respondents for dropping out of school was their economic situation. Often times, the decision to quit school is based on multiple reasons. For example, Erma who worked in Prumpung, did not continue her studies after grade school because of the fees and because the next level of school was located far away.

“I dropped out of school because I couldn’t afford it, and I felt lazy. The school is very far; the closest junior high school from Saur Ledok village in Lobbener is the one in Jatibarang, about 10-15 km away. Children have to walk and then take a public transport to go that distance. Most girls work or get married instead.” – Erma, 18, a prostituted child

Table 4.4: Reasons for dropping out of school

Reason	Respondents		Total
	F	M	
Not enough money	1 14.3%	2 66.7%	3 30%
School is too hard	1 14.3%		1 10 %
Self-finance		1 33.3%	1 10%
Not a virgin	2 28.6%		2 20%
Infected with HIV	1 14.3%		1 10%
Pregnant	1 14.3%		1 10%
Frustration with boyfriend	1 14.3%		1 10%
Total	7 100%	3 100%	10 100%

The poor academic achievement is not balanced with adequate skills training in other fields, which leaves young people with almost no alternatives to make a living in the city. Only two respondents who had high school education said that they had some training in using computer and English. They worked in prostitution activity in a mall and a hotel. This means that ten respondents don’t have sufficient education or skills to pursue other options. Two prostituted boys, one who had finished junior high school and the other one who is still in high school, said they felt more confident in entering the sex trade because they understood what was involved.

Previous work experiences of respondents

Nine respondents were 17 and 18 years old when interviewed; three respondents were 15 and 16 years old. What is interesting is that nine respondents had no work experience prior to becoming prostituted children. Of the other three respondents, the two girls had worked as domestic helpers starting when they were 11 years old (Isti in Jakarta and Erma in Singapore) and the boy, Bimbim, had worked in a market stall since he was 16 years old. They said they had worked to help their family’s income. Erma, the girl from Lobbener district mentioned previously, said it was typical for girls from her

area to work as domestic helpers in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

“It’s common for girls in my village to work abroad. After finishing a training programme in one of the labour recruiter companies in Indramayu, I left for Singapore. I had just finished primary school back then. I only lasted there for two months since I couldn’t stand my master’s beating me. My monthly salary was 1.8 million rupiah. My sister also works abroad.” – Erma, 18, a prostituted child

Prostitution experiences of respondents

Three respondents became prostituted when they were 15 or younger. Erma, the 18-year-old who was working in a park when interviewed, has been working since she was 11 but lost her virginity when raped at age 15. When Erma was 11 years old, she worked as migrant domestic worker in Singapore for six months and returned to Jakarta and started selling tea (while providing “sex” services such as kissing, fondling, hugging, etc. but not sexual intercourse) at a street stall in the Prumpung area. Nine respondents became prostituted when they were 16 and older; three of them were boys.

Table 4.5: Age when prostituted

Age when became prostituted	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
11	1 11.1%		1 8.3%
13-15	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
16-18	6 66.7%	3 100%	9 75%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Seven respondents claimed to have had their first sexual experience with their boyfriends – before becoming prostituted, while five respondents said that their first sex was with a customer. Either way, nine prostituted children had sex for the first time when they were 16-18 years old and three respondents had sex when they were 13-15 years old.

“I was 15 when I first had sex with a customer. I was surprised at first, but served him anyway. Initially I didn’t want to go to bed with customers, I just let them touch, caress and fondle me. So far they’ve just wanted me to do the ordinary, but I never forced them to use condoms; it’s up to them.” – Erma, 18, a prostituted child

According to research by Fauzik Lendriyono (2001) of prostituted children who sell bottled drinks in Viaduct Park at night as a camouflage for offering sex services, there are various kinds of sexual behaviour and levels of sexual relationships. The longer a prostituted child worked selling bottled drinks, the more permissive they became in servicing customers. Newcomers without sexual experience would usually do the “light” service to the customers, such as holding hands. But they only were paid 1,000 rupiah (US\$0.12) per bottle sold. They became more permissive as the pimp and peer competition demanded them to get more money. The children next would allow kissing, hugging, fondling and petting (rubbing genitals) but not intercourse. For that kind of service, the children received tips of 20,000-100,000 rupiah, in addition to the bottled water earnings. Sex usually takes place in low-end hotels in the Rawa Bunga area nearby Taman Viaduct and for every transaction the prostituted child earned around 100,000-200,000 rupiah, excluding hotel fees. Freelance prostituted children usually get more money than those working under pimps, as experienced by Erma, who eventually had sex with a customer.

“I was 15 years old when my customer ‘raped’ me for my virginity. I know that it is the consequences of working here, as this also happened with others who work here. We are not only to sell the bottle drinks but also give sex services to customers.” – Erma, 18, a prostituted child

Entering the sex trade

The factors that lead the child respondents to being prostituted are various and probably universal: from being unable to find an alternative job, having poor education and no skills to being forced, tricked, impregnated outside of marriage to being lured by peers and looking for fun and new experiences. To reiterate the definition mentioned earlier, young people in prostitution are not seen as having chosen prostitution but rather victims forced by circumstance. So while the respondents were asked how they ended up in prostitution, they are not recognized as having exercised informed choice.

Table 4.6: Reasons for going into the sex trade

Reason	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
Earn money	2 22.2%	1 33.3%	3 25%
Couldn't get another job	2		2 16.7%
Trapped	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Not a virgin	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Frustration	1 11.1%		1 8.3%
Get new experiences		1 33.3%	1 8.3%
Life style*		1 33.3%	1 8.3%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Note: *Two respondents, both males, said that they were drawn to the urban lifestyle where they found more open attitudes toward homosexuality.

The process of being prostituted

Information on the process of children getting into child prostitution is crucial to determine the parties involved and to get a sense of how much deceit and coercion is used. The sample of respondents was too limited to find direct trading by parents. Family interviews revealed some parental connections, which are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7. The responses contained reference to people known by and close to the respondents, such as friends or people from their home village, boyfriends and relatives.

Table 4.7: Intermediaries (people who receive no money for helping someone find sex trade work)

Intermediary	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
Relatives	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Boyfriend/girlfriend	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Friend from village	3 33.3%	1 33.3%	4 33.3%
Other friend		2 66.7%	2 16.7%
Friend who work on another job	2 22.2%		2 16.7%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Asked whether the prostitution they were involved in was in accordance with what had been promised to them, six respondents said yes and six others said no. When the researchers asked more probing questions on whether the respondents received adequate information regarding the work offered to them and whether it was in accordance with the condition they experienced, one respondent said it was as promised and another one said the condition was even better than what was promised. The other nine respondents, however, said the conditions were worse than what they expected and/or they did not realize they would be prostituted.

Table 4.8: Working conditions compared to what was promised

Comparison	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
In accordance		1 33.3%	1 8.3%
Better		1 33.3%	1 8.3%
Worse	8 88.8%	1 33.3%	9 75.0%
Not bad, but no good – so-so	1 11.1%		1 8.3%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Respondents who said that the condition was worse than what they had been promised said so because they felt trapped, were often treated inhumanely or were actually lied to about what was expected of them. A prostituted child respondent was offered a waitress job in a discotheque and not told that she would have to engage in sexual activities as well. Vicka, a prostituted 18-year-old who contracted HIV from her boyfriend and felt deceived by him, operated from a shopping mall.

“I was trapped by my boyfriend. After we slept together, I got sick for a long time. He told me that I might have been infected by HIV. I got tested – it so happened that my boyfriend was a paramedic – and it turned out to be positive. I was devastated. HIV/AIDS medication costs a lot of money. So my boyfriend forced me into prostitution and I worked in malls. I have to do this to get money to buy medicine and daily needs for my boyfriend and me.” – Vicka, 18, a prostituted child

In these stories, the trafficking of the young people started with the person who introduced them to prostitution. The children were not clearly informed about the work they would be expected to do and felt exploited when faced with the demands. The parties who introduced them were people

close to them who should have been protecting them but instead exploited them.

Working conditions

Employment contract

Eight respondents said they had no employment contract and two worked as freelancers. Only two respondents who worked in a massage parlour signed a contract, albeit a simple one that made no reference to obligations. Those contracts were used as a means of keeping the young people from moving to other places of employment. Thus, sex-for-hire work relies largely on informal relationships. Respondents who worked in discotheques were asked to fill out a bio data form. Some discotheques and massage parlours also require an ID card.

Working hours

Prostituted children generally have to work 6 to 13 hours each night. In massage parlours the business hours are from 11 a.m. to midnight and sometimes later if there are remaining guests.

For a formal job such as in a massage parlour operating through the afternoon and evening, a one-hour break is provided at dinner time. Prostituted children operating in cafes, bars and discotheques have no breaks. The ones operating in malls and the streets as freelancers can decide for themselves when they want to work or take a break, but only if they are freelancers and not if they are controlled by a pimp.

In discotheques, the surveyed prostituted children worked approximately seven hours. Some discos are open from 8 p.m. until 3 a.m., others operate from 10 p.m. until 5 a.m. At Disco K, for example, the doors open at 10 p.m. and close at 5 a.m. Those prostituted children operating between the hours of 8 p.m. and 3 a.m. can still accept work out of their regular hours charging a tariff based on a direct agreement between the girl and the client.

The prostituted children operating through hotels (using the bars to meet someone or making arrangements directly in the lobby) were on duty from 10 p.m. till 1 a.m., or from 1 a.m. till 5 a.m. On average, they worked three to four hours – outside of their booking time. The prostituted children working in massage parlours who were interviewed had longer hours. They started at 10 a.m. and finished at midnight. Plus, they took bookings for after working hours.

Night shifts and long hours add to the exploitative nature of this form of labour.

Table 4.9: Working hours per hour per day

Working hours	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
> 6	2 25%	1 33.3%	3 25%
7-9	3 37.5%	1 33.3%	4 33.3%
10-12			
13 <	4 37.5%	1 33.3%	5 41.7%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Number of customers

Nine respondents said that on average they get one to two customers each night, while three respondents claimed to get three to four customers. This largely depends on the situation: There are nights when customers swarm in and there are nights when there is no customer at all. Time spent with a customer ranges from two to three hours for “short time” and the long-time date can be all night, around ten hours or so.

Table 4.10: Number of customers per day

Customers per day	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
1-2	7 77.7%	2 66.7%	9 75%
3-4	2 22.2%	1 33.3%	3 25%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Income

The lowest average income reported by a respondent was 50,000 rupiah (US\$6) per day, while someone with more than two customers per day could take in a net income of between 300,000 and 400,000 rupiah (US\$36-\$48) or more, depending on the tip they get from customers. Prostituted children servicing business people can be paid millions of rupiah.

Monthly, three respondents claimed to make around 4 million to 5 million rupiah; five respondents said they made between 2 million and 3 million rupiah on average; another respondent working in Prumpung, Jatinegara earned just under 1 million rupiah per month, after paying her pimp. For someone with only primary or high school education and no

particular skills or expertise, it is a considerable amount. A school teacher, for instance, earns a monthly salary of 750,000 rupiah while a policeman is paid 500,000 rupiah each month.

Table 4.11: Income per month

Income per month (rupiah)	Respondents		Total
	Female	Male	
<1 million	1 11.1%		1 8.3%
1 million -2 million	2 22.2%	1 33.3%	3 25%
2 million -3 million	3 33.3%	2 66.6%	5 41.6%
3 million -4 million	-	-	-
4 million -5 million	3 33.3%		3 25%
Total	9 100%	3 100%	12 100%

Almost all respondents stated that they sent a part (up to 50 per cent) of their income to their parents or families; only two prostituted boys said they spend all their income on themselves. What is not sent home is used to buy for body care, cosmetics, clothes and daily necessities such as food and lodging and certain fees. To work in a hotel venue, such as a discotheque for instance, sometimes requires the sex worker to pay a fee to the management.

“I’m the oldest child, so like it or not I have to help my parents put my siblings through school. My income is also spent to pay the pimp and daily living costs.” – Isti, 17, a prostituted child

Rest and spare time

There is a difference between the work pattern of freelance prostituted children and that of the ones working under pimps. The freelancers have more opportunities and freedom to set their own working time and days, including how they want to spend their spare time. Prostituted children working under a pimp have a tighter schedule, and it does not allow for rest time. Only certain massage parlours that operate through the afternoon and evening schedule in a one-hour dinner break. Other places do not give any specific rest time; however, the children can still have contact with their families by telephone, mail or taking a leave and going back home.

“The working hours are very tight. You will be punished for going out during business hours. But we are given one day off each week, as long as it is not Saturday or Sunday.” – Bimbim, 17, a prostituted child

Forms of sexual service and protective devices used

Conventional and oral sex are generally provided for heterosexual customers and prostituted boys provide a combination of oral and anal sex to male customers. In certain cases, prostituted boys working in massage parlours have to serve both heterosexual and homosexual customers. One male prostituted 17-year-old working in a massage parlour in Hayamwuruk street in Jakarta talked of female customers.

In servicing the customers, nine respondents said that they sometimes use protection, two respondents said always, one said never. Of all the establishments where respondents operated, only massage parlours provided condoms as part of their service. In other places it is the prostituted children or the customers who supply the condoms. One respondent received free condoms from an NGO (Pelita Ilmu Foundation), which provides advocacy for prostituted children.

Whether or not the prostituted children succeed in negotiating the use of protective devices depends on how good they are in convincing the customers. Basically, the children do not have much bargaining power and the decision lies in the customer's hands since he is paying and so decides the kind of service he wants. One respondent claimed to never use protection and two respondents said they always used condoms.

There are different views on what is meant by protective devices. Some said they meant condoms, others said herbs and antibiotics. Only one of the 12 respondents knew nothing about HIV/AIDS. The other respondents said that they learned about HIV/AIDS from friends, TV, clinics and NGOs. However, when asked further on how to protect themselves from contracting the virus, eight respondents said that they could do so by using condoms; the rest said that it could be done by taking concocted herbs or antibiotics, going to the doctor and screening clients – clearly a fatal misperception.

Abuse

The surveyed prostituted children each day face physical, psychological and/or sexual abuse from pimps, customers and fellow prostitutes. Three respondents reported being hit, slapped or thrown to the wall by their pimp and two respondents being physically abused by customers.

"I am often get slapped by Mang O (a pimp) when I don't feel like working. Even when I was sick I was forced to work because his only source of income is me and my two friends. Some of my other friends fled because they couldn't stand his treatment. They became freelancers or moved to other locations." – Erma, 18, a prostituted child

Psychological abuse, such as mockery, insults and terror, caused prostituted children to be depressed, as reported by all 12 respondents who received such treatment from pimps, friends and customers.

“Once I got so upset because I was abandoned and unpaid in a hotel room the morning after. I felt so offended and humiliated being treated that way.” – Dudi, 17, a prostituted child

“Once I was not feeling very well because I got my period. When a customer asked me for a date, politely I turned it down. But he got angry and mocked me and called me a whore. I felt embarrassed and felt so cheap because he did it in front of other customers.” – Isti, 17, a prostituted child

When the researcher came to meet Dudi in Banteng Square, he overheard him argue with a foreign tourist customer who happened to have booked him. Dudi was disappointed because the customer previously had not paid him and even when the customer tried to sweet talk him this time he refused to provide service.

Four respondents experienced sexual abuse. One respondent told of being raped by her pimp and three other respondents said they were beaten in such a way before the sexual intercourse that their genital area was injured. One girl described how only once she was sexually abused and it was by a military intelligence officer who beat her to get himself aroused.

Health

Only one respondent, a girl operating freelance, gets routine guidance, counselling and medication from Pelita Ilmu Foundation, the NGO that provides advocacy for prostituted children. The 11 others have nothing provided for them. One girl being prostituted in a hotel regularly visits a doctor on her own initiative. Because she graduated high school, she is more aware about health reproductive prevention. Some health complaints experienced by the prostituted children are stomach pain, itching in the genital area, Chlamydia, breathing difficulties and headache.

Prostitution typically involves the consumption of cigarettes, alcohol and drugs. Those working in bars, discotheques, brothels, parks or stalls are obliged to get the customers to buy drinks, either soft or alcoholic ones. The profit from the drinks goes to the discotheques and the bars as well as to the pimp. The more drink consumed, the more income for the bar owners and the pimp. Some prostituted children consume alcohol and snacks and put the charges on their client's tab. Since alcoholic beverages are expensive, the prostituted child consumes more of them when a client is paying; the more

alcoholic drinks consumed, the more profits to the establishment, and then the pimps and the prostituted children are paid a fee or bonus. Six respondents said that they smoked and drank alcohol, while six others said they did not.

Three respondents consume cigarettes, alcohol and drugs (Extacy, a popular methamphetamine), all of which they reported is easy to access.

The impact of physical, mental and sexual abuse manifested in some health complaints such as insomnia (three respondents), feeling of alienation and uselessness (five respondents), depression (six respondents), anxiety and fear (eight respondents), difficulty in concentrating (seven respondents) and forgetfulness (five respondents).

Respondents' opinions of prostituted children and future plans

Five respondents said that they were not happy but were forced to stay in prostitution, while four respondents said that they were used to it and three respondents were happy to do it. Regarding the intention to quit, only one respondent wanted to immediately, one had no intention of stopping at all, and nine respondents intended to quit but not immediately.

The choice to quit is not an easy option for prostituted children, especially those who work under pimps and who turned to prostitution to escape poverty. Prostituted children controlled by pimps are bound by strict rules and are dependent on them (see also Chapter 5). They are provided with lodging and food. Freelancers, on the other hand, have more freedom in deciding for themselves.

Respondents who want to stop being prostituted but not immediately stated that they were not financially ready to let go of the work. They needed time to save some capital or look for an alternative. Because of their limited education and skills, three respondents are not sure of what profession to have other than being a prostitute, and they are pessimistic about their future.

More (11) respondents expressed interest to take a skills training course than to receive help in returning to school (five respondents expressed interest). Another form of help of interest to them would be a scheme whereby they can get enough capital to start a business.



Profile of the Pimps and Brokers in Receiving Areas

Profile of pimps and brokers in the receiving area

Three pimps (all females) and three brokers (one male) in the receiving area were interviewed as informants for this rapid assessment. For this report, a pimp refers to the person who “employs” a sex worker or prostituted child and looks for customers or provides protection. A broker, however, looks for customers or look for sex workers ordered by customers.

One of the three pimps is Madam Rini, 30, a former sex worker with a bachelor’s degree from a university in Bandung and as yet unmarried. While working in a massage parlour that also provided sex services, it occurred to her that massage parlours were a good business prospect and she decided to open her own three years ago. People in the neighbourhood where Madam Rini operates her parlour know that the business also involves sex services. As a consequence, she has to make many “contributions”, higher than other types of businesses, for security, for cleaning the streets, etc.

Another pimp, Madam Tina, 45, only graduated from elementary school and has been involved in the sex trade for 26 years. She started as a sex worker when she was 19 years old and moved from one city to another. When she was 29, she started working as pimp and operates in the Boker red-light district.

The third pimp, Madam Ros, 45, graduated high school, has five children and works as a pimp in a discotheque. She said she turned to this line of work after her husband divorced her and she had to find a job.

Among the three brokers, Tuti, 40, graduated from junior high school. She first worked in the discotheque as a waitress who also gave sex service and after about 20 years became a broker for the place. She made the switch when she thought she was too old and not marketable anymore as a sex worker. She earns less now than as a sex worker – 100,000-200,000 rupiah (US\$12-\$24) per day. She looks for customers in the discotheque or in nearby hotels.

Yanti, another broker, graduated from elementary school only and has been working as broker for more than 15 years, prostituting girls and women from the front area of a mall in an upscale section of South Jakarta. She became friendly with most of the people who hang around the mall surroundings and when some of them asked her for help in finding clients, she turned to brokering. As a broker she earns 50,000-200,000 rupiah per day, the higher earnings on Saturday nights and in the holiday season.

Ramon (male), 34, works as a broker in the Prumpung area of East Jakarta. He graduated from junior high school only and has been working as a broker for 15 years.

By location

The details of how pimps and brokers conduct themselves as learned through observation and interviews for this assessment are presented in relation to the location where they operated, as each spot requires different demands.

Discotheques/bars/cafes

Prostituted children are bound by an unwritten agreement with a pimp to follow the pimp's command and in return the pimp will provide some facilities, such as a room to live in and a hand phone. The pimps' tasks are to take care of the sex workers' health and security and look for customers. A sex worker can not have more than one pimp and a pimp tries to maintain control to keep the sex worker from moving to another pimp. There are typically at least five pimps in a discotheque or bar. A pimp generally handles five "workers", which can be a mix of adults and prostituted children.

The pimp is paid a fixed amount, ranging from 40,000 to 60,000 rupiah per customer by the management. The price is higher for those underaged and virgin or those adults who are favourites. The exception among those underaged are the prostituted children who have been working for some time, and the rate is thus standard. There are also discotheques that ask pimps to operate in their discotheques; others move from one discotheque to other looking for customers for their "workers". Although the management of the discos do not acknowledge that the sex workers and pimps are part of the staff, the pimp routinely has to give some money to the management.

"We were recruited by a person from the discotheque, a Mr. U. There are about ten pimps like myself! ... The discotheque people need us for the prostituted children's income. ... I don't know anything about security money, but we paid the police several times! I don't know anything about contributions either, the management takes care of it." – Madam Ros, 45, a pimp

Massage parlours

Usually the pimp in a massage parlour is also the owner of the place. Typically, in a parlour with female staff, the pimp is female and in parlours with male staff, the pimp is male. The pimp manages “orders” received for house calls, from verifying the validity of the customer to determining the fee and regulations. It is commonly done via telephone. The pimp is responsible for the condition and safety of her team and arranges medical check-ups and provides condoms. When a parlour is raided by the police, the pimp is responsible for getting the workers out of detention. She is also in charge of the recruitment process. She recruits by contacting brokers in the sending area or friends in her network.

“I started this business after saving some money. I monitor everything. ... I also set the fee for the transactions, be it done here or somewhere else (booking). ... If I am looking for new workers I usually put up an ad or spread the information by word of mouth among friends.” – Madam Rini, 30, an owner and a pimp in a men-only massage parlour in Jakarta

The employees such as the front desk officer do the soliciting and help customers choose from among photos of the masseuses who are also available for sex and which include prostituted children. Profit sharing among the sex workers and the management is usually arranged by the management.

Recruitment in massage parlours is done through advertising in the printed media and by word of mouth recommendations (from friend to friend), as well as through brokers. There is no written contract system between the worker and the owner of the massage parlour.

Red-light districts

In Boker, which is known for its brothels, pimps typically live and operate from stalls (see also Chapter 3) and rent rooms in the surrounding area for a team of sex workers, although each worker must cover the rent expense. Rents run between 10,000 and 30,000 rupiah. The pimp, often female, is responsible to pay routine fees for rents, security, etc. In addition to the rent expenses, the pimp takes 2,000 rupiah from each worker to cover health care costs and an annual recreation trips, such as picnics (something done in Boker but not all red-light districts).

“From a short-time transaction I get 10,000 rupiah, and from the room rent of an overnight transaction I get 30,000 rupiah, no matter how much the customer pays for the service. ... Each time a [prostituted child] gets a customer, I ask for 2,000 rupiah for petty cash. If they don’t get customers then I don’t ask for the money. This money is for health or recreation

expenses. ...I pay 5,000 rupiah per week for security, 5,000 rupiah per week for garbage disposal, 4,000 rupiah per day for local security (hansip), 10,000 rupiah per day for patrol funds.” – Madam Tina, 45, a pimp

The pimps in Rawa Malang, Rawa Bebek operated similarly to those in Boker. The pimp finds customers for her team and is fully in charge of their health and safety. If one of her “children”, referring to her workers, not all of whom are prostituted girls, is arrested then she is responsible for getting her out of detention. She is also responsible to the boss who owns the house where they work.

Pimps in the street and parks

Pimps working with prostituted children take responsibility for lodgings and food, usually by giving them a meal allowance. If any of their prostitutes get arrested, the pimp will bail them out. Pimps typically have a drinks-selling business that the prostituted children, usually only girls, help to run. From every bottle sold, they give 1,000 *rupiah* to the child worker. When a customer “orders” sex from one of the young people, the pimp informs the customer about the fee and takes 20 per cent. Pimps pay monthly “contributions”, particularly for security. When a worker is arrested, usually the pimp will handle obtaining her release. They also schedule the rotating return trips of the workers to their hometowns, though the works pay their own expenses. The sex transactions take place in a cheap hotel/motel or in a plastic tent built under the bridge or even on the side of the road.

Brokers can also be found working the streets. They can be parking attendants, stall keepers or drink vendors. The street is categorized into “upper class” and “lower class”. For the upper end, customers usually come in their vehicles and directly approach a broker to negotiate. The bottom line is what kind of “a date” the customer desires. In all places, the broker knows every prostitute working in her/his area. The girls and boys usually hang around the broker during business hours. Profit sharing between the sex workers/prostituted children and the brokers varies from place to place, depending on their agreement. It can range from 50,000 to 100,000 *rupiah* (US\$6 to \$12). The lower-class brokers usually operate in drink stalls and sometimes also work as the stall keeper and arrange business for the freelancers working the street.

Malls are similar to the streets. The brokers will casually walk around the mall or hang out in restaurants and approach men, usually those who appear to be alone. Outside the malls, the brokers work as drink vendors, cigarette vendors or stall keepers. The broker will bring the customer out to the child or go get the child. The customer typically takes the child to his home or hotel.

Hotels

In this location the pimps are usually unattached to the hotel management. However, there are hotels that recruit pimps to take care of the sex workers. The pimp and the sex workers are not part of the hotel structure but the hotel allows pimps to do their activities in the hotel lobby to attract guests. There is an unwritten agreement between the hotel and the pimp that the pimp can find the sex customers in the lobby but they use a room in the hotel for the sex transaction. The sex workers will pay the pimp and some customers also may tip the pimp. Here the pimps have more freedom and do not have to manage or be responsible for the health and safety of the sex workers/prostituted children. They liaise between the sex workers/prostituted children and the customers and takes tips from both sides. They pay no levies and do not get involved when a sex worker is arrested.

The rampant advertising of “call girls” has prompted many sex workers to offer their services to a hotel on their own, by-passing the pimps. Prostituted children often have their own pimp who can be contacted via a telephone number that is included in newspaper ads.

Pimps’ and brokers’ perspectives of prostituting children

According to the six pimps and brokers in the receiving areas interviewed for the rapid assessment, prostituted children have more economic value compared to adult sex workers, especially when the girl is still virgin. Clients mostly look for younger sex workers. Moreover, prostituted children are less likely to make trouble to the pimp/broker as they are more obedient.

VI

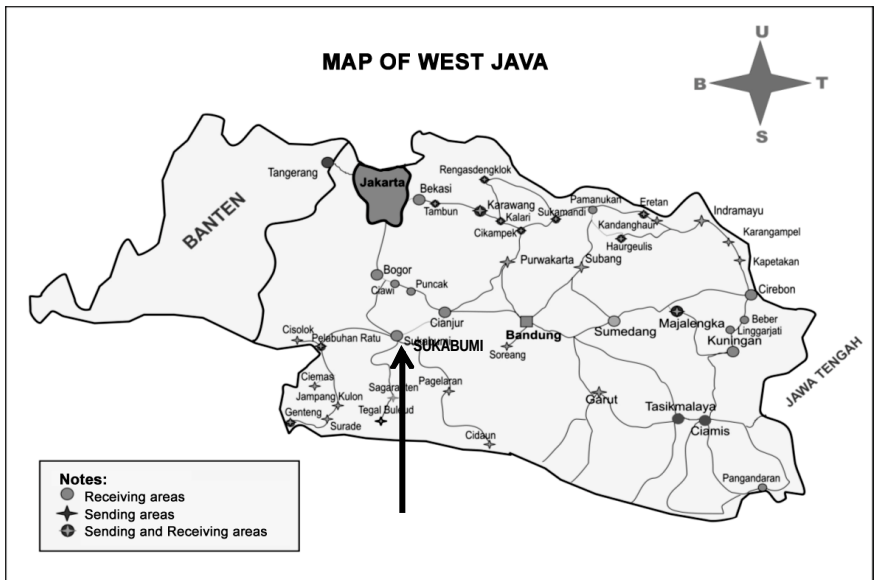
Profile of a Sending Area: A Village in Sukabumi, West Java

Focus assessment area

The researched village is located in District of Sukabumi. The village area is mostly flat with an average rainfall of 3,000 mm per year and is divided into four 4 smaller villages, 8 RWs (administrative level unit) and 33 RTs (neighbourhood associations).

The distance to the subdistrict city from the researched village is 3 km and can be reached in 15 minutes, while the distance to the District city (Sukabumi) is 150 km and takes four hours to reach.

Figure 6.1: Map of sending area of Sukabumi, West Java



Population

The population consists of 5,150 people (2,560 males and 2,590 females) and 1,416 family heads. The population has a higher number of young people than any other age group. The number of children aged 0-18 years is 2,930 of the total population. The largest age groups are those in the productive age group.

Table 6.1: Population by age of the researched village, 2002

Age group	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
0 – 1 years	297	343	640
1 – 4	236	302	538
5 – 6	294	283	577
7 – 12	191	276	467
13 – 15	142	136	278
16 – 18	278	161	439
19 – 25	258	217	475
26 – 35	249	223	472
36 – 45	210	231	441
46 – 50	218	319	537
51 – 60	134	120	254
61 – 70	25	96	94
> 70	10	11	21
Total	2,560	2,590	5,150

Source: Monography of the researched village, 2002¹³

According to the population data and the village chief, almost 85 per cent of girls aged 16-18 years work in Batam, Jakarta, Jonggol and Saudi Arabia. However, the detailed breakdown of the type of work they do is not recorded except from Saudi Arabia where they are employed as housemaids. A broker/trafficker revealed that in Batam, Jakarta and Jonggol the girls work in discotheques and bars.

The number of residents and family heads in the researched village is higher than in surrounding villages. There are 235 poor families and 72 destitute families registered at the Kelurahan.

The total work force in the researched village is 2,046 people consisting of 1,982 farmers and 60 traders who are the main income earners in the village.¹⁴ According to the head of village, there are 819 unemployed people.

¹³ Data from Monography of the researched, which is not consistent on the level of age.

¹⁴ The total work force means the number of people of labour force age who have a job and does not include those who are jobless/unemployed or housewives. The number of farmers includes people who also are teachers or local government staff (double profession). Meanwhile, motorcycle taxi drivers are mostly males as a side job. The

Religion

The main religion is Islam, which has experienced a rapid development surge. Since the early 1970s up till today, many Islamic boarding schools, mosques and prayer houses have been established throughout the village.

Health services and social welfare

There are many shortages in the local health care facilities and medical personnel: there is no full-time doctor; there are only two clinics and both are located in the same subdistrict; the distance and the poor quality country roads hamper medical staff in reaching remote villages. What there is in the village are 1 midwife, 1 health aide, 25 clinic staff, 2 clinic staff supervisors at the village level and 3 clinic staff supervisors at the subdistrict level.

According to the midwife, regarding matters of mother and child health the main area for concern is the high number of pregnant young mothers (younger than 17) in the researched village compared to other villages. Also according to the local midwife, reliance on midwives in the village is still quite high. The midwife aides usually attend regular deliveries while complicated deliveries are handled by the experienced midwife. Most women use oral contraceptives, except the girls who are married but younger than 17, who prefer to rely on injections. This is due to the side effects (vomiting) caused by the pill.

Regarding the sanitation, the local government has endeavoured to uphold environmental hygiene through many ways: The Healthy Village project in the village operating since 2002 has constructed public sanitation facilities, (toilets, waste disposal, rubbish disposal, etc) in the village. According to the village chief, many residents do not have sanitary facilities and use bushes, ditches and the coastline as their toilet.

Education levels of the population

Based on available data, the level of education in the researched village is low. According to an informant, this is because parents do not regard education as important for their children. The poor family economic situation is given as the main reason for why school-age children, both girls and boys, work to help their parents. Table 6.4 shows no real significant difference between the education levels of boys and girls and that both almost equally either do not finish or only graduate from primary school.

trader means the people who have a stall or warung, or sell goods directly at home or in the market.

Table 6.2: Level of education of population in the researched village, 2002

Level of education	Population		Total
	Male	Female	
Not finished elementary school	675	756	1,431
Elementary school	1,570	1,492	3,062
Junior high School	141	137	278
Senior high School	19	25	44
Higher education	2	-	2
Islamic boarding school	23	11	34

Source: Monography of the researched village, 2002

Discrimination occurs when girls are not permitted to further their education because they will be married at an early age. According to an informant, when a girl marries, the family economic burden is lightened because she then becomes her husband's responsibility.

The poor education of women in the village is illustrated in Table 6.5, which shows the education level of housewives. The lack of education restricts females and makes them unable to choose alternative work, which causes them to be trapped into typical work like prostitution. There was no indication that boys/men become prostituted. Boys who do not continue their schooling work in the paddy fields or if they have motorcycle they will use it for taxi services in the village. Those who choose to work outside the village usually become construction workers or work in the garment industry as tailors.

Table 6.3: Education level of housewives

Level of Education	Total
Unfinished elementary school	9
Graduated elementary school	526
Graduated junior high school	18
Graduated senior high school	7
Total	561

Source: Monography of the researched village, 2002

Even though the school offers discounts and flexibility in paying school fees, there are about 500 elementary school-age students not in school. The amount of school fee depends on a family's income; some must pay 5,000 rupiah (US\$0.63) a month, while others only pay 1,500 rupiah (US\$0.20) per month. Still, most parents choose not to spend their resources for school but for the family's daily needs.

Another obstacle to improving the education level in the researched village is the lack of suitable facilities. Education facilities and infrastructure are very limited. And the community does not have the funds to improve the situation.

“From all districts in Kabupaten Sukabumi, 90-95 per cent of the educational infrastructure is broken, many of the buildings are deteriorated and falling down from age. A lack of teachers is also a problem. There is one elementary school that only has one employee, who functions as teacher, headmaster and gardener. At the same time, appointing teachers is difficult due to the twisting of bureaucracy. Many honorary teachers are contracted without any explanation of appointment.” – A primary school headmaster in the researched village

The researched village lacks a junior high school. In the subdistrict there is one junior high school and one open junior high school. The open junior high school is open to elementary school graduates who live in such remote areas that they are unable to attend ordinary junior high school and to junior high school drop-outs. The teaching and learning process is carried out with the help of modules and media, like radio. There are not typical classrooms with teachers. The students depend on their own motivation and self-discipline. Most open school students are able to meet other students when there is a tutorial, which is usually led by a teacher. The open school, which is located at sub district level, however, cannot accommodate all the elementary school graduates. Only approximately 125 children can continue to junior high school (including children of surrounding subdistricts). There is no senior high school in the sub district where the researched village is located.

“Up till now children that wish to pursue a senior high school education go to other sub district or to the city (Sukabumi). They usually stay there with relatives, which means they need extra funds for lodgings and food. As an example, schooling in Sukabumi needs an extra cost of 750,000 rupiah (US\$95) per year, transport of 4,000 rupiah (US\$0.50) per day plus food at 75,000 rupiah (US\$9.5) per month.” – An elementary school master in the researched village

Also, among the students who can study, many are absent at harvest time because they are helping their parents work in the fields. The schools usually try to overcome this by giving the students extra assignments and lending them school books to catch up on their studies.

Marriages and divorces

Early marriage is not unusual. However, there are official records for only a few marriages with the KUA (Office for Religious Affairs) because

most young couple marry illegally, or “under the table”.¹⁵ There are many motives for parents to marry their children, especially their daughters, at an early age.

One motive is family pressure to free the girl from the parents’ responsibility. Some believe if a girl doesn’t marry quickly after reaching puberty she will become an old maid. Another motive, and more extreme, is that it is easier for girls to work in foreign countries as labourers if they are married or divorced. According to an informant, those wanting to work in Saudi Arabia, however, need a permit letter from their husbands (or parents if single) to facilitate the bureaucracy. This is another reason why they marry early.

Apart from the high number of young marriages, according to an informant, the incidence of divorce in the researched village. This is mostly due to the couple being mentally unprepared. Many domestic problems occur when the wife leaves the village, such as the husband having affairs with other women or the husband immediately marrying under the table again.

It is not surprising to find many young girls married in the researched. And it is also not surprising that women will admit to having been married and divorced two or three times and are at present single again.

Economic profile of the village

Farming sector

Farmers in the researched village are without irrigation technology and rely entirely on managing the rainfall. Therefore, the fields can only be harvested once a year, after the rainy season. Most of the crops are used to sustain the daily needs of the farmer and his dependants. If there is a long drought, a supply of clean water for daily needs is very difficult to obtain and the residents have no choice but to search for water from the river or springs in the forests. The paddy plants also have difficulty surviving because of the lack of rainfall.

In a long drought many residents are forced to change their daily staple food from rice to sweet potato, cassava or corn. Vegetables, such as *kangkung*,¹⁶

¹⁵ Under the table marriage means illegal marriage, or marriage without a legal letter from the Government through the KUA (Office for Religious Affairs). In this kind of marriage, the important thing is that both families allow the couple to marry. Usually, this kind of marriage is performed by under-aged couples who are not allowed to marry legally.

¹⁶ Kangkung is leafy vegetables, grown in water.

eggplant, cucumber, chilli, etc., are planted in the gardens around the house and are eaten as raw salad with *sambal* (chilli sauce).

Table 6.4: Ownership of paddy fields and fields

Ownership size (ha)	Paddy field (person)	Field (person)
< 0.1	524	-
0.1 – 0.5	1,014	1,538
0.6 – 1	324	324
1.1 – 1.5	107	275
1.6 – 2	1	212
> 2	-	1

Source: Monography of the researched village, 2002

Most of the population in the researched village earn wages from working on another person’s farm. Other than farming, which is dependent on rainwater for irrigation, other sources of income for the community are coconut oil and palm sugar. The economic crisis in 1997 seriously affected the community. The closing of the coconut oil business in the village resulted in some of the population losing their source of income. Large businesses that in their heyday employed many local workers are now deserted buildings.

In an effort to provide social welfare for the community, the Management of Plantation VIII lent the community some money to cultivate 500 ha of land over the next 30 years. The use of this land was given entirely to the community to decide on how to divide it and what crops to grow there. According to the village head of the researched village, many seeds have been prepared, such as teak, mahogany, rice, peanuts and others, distributed to the village residents and planted.

Fruit and vegetables cultivated at The researched village include banana, mango, orange, papaya, watermelon, rambutan, kedondong, starfruit, soursop, eggplant, beans, shallots and chilli.

Nonfarming sector

Although most of the residents admit to being farmers, they also declare that their main source of income is in fact from outside the village, mostly from the daughters working abroad in Saudi Arabia as housemaids or in other undefined work professions. Most of the men, if they are not farmers, are unemployed or are motorbike taxi drivers. However, almost all of those interviewed for the assessment worked as taxi drivers is a pastime. But this is because the number of drivers are high, competition is stiff and the earnings are minimal.

Compared to the women, there are a very small number of men working outside of the village. To go to Saudi Arabia, men need more money than women because in Saudi they are not in an employers' responsibility; as domestic helpers female workers live in the homes of their employers and their daily needs are covered.¹⁷

In addition to natural resources, people in the researched village have the following nonagricultural possessions: mining materials and animal husbandry. There are also some medium and small industries: fermented soya bean, soya bean curd, palm sugar, bricks, plaiting, tiles, carving, furniture making, and bamboo.

Communication and transportation

The population has not yet been able to overcome the problems of communication and transport. To telephone anyone living outside of the village requires travelling to the other subdistricts, which is two hours away and costs 4,000 rupiah (US\$0.50) to reach. The far distance and difficult territory are the main obstacles hampering the Government or private companies to install telephones. Although there is a two-way public transport line with a fixed timetable from the subdistrict to the researched village, the conditions are quite appalling.

Perception of prostituted children within the community

For the people of the researched village, it is common for girls aged 14-19 to work. Their earnings can help the family's economy, which for the most part is below the poverty line. Nowadays it is rare to meet girls aged 14-18 who are not at school or sitting around at home. They usually work outside the village either as housemaids, seamstresses or shop/supermarket assistants.

The fact that some children prostitute themselves is almost unknown to the family or surrounding community. Only certain people know for certain where their friends are working in Jakarta or Batam.

"My daughter says she works in a cosmetic shop in Jakarta. She picks up the phone when it rings and goes out. That's what she says." – One parent whose daughter works in Jakarta but did not know that she was in the sex trade

¹⁷ Men need specific skills to work in Saudi Arabia, such as driving a car (to be a driver). Meanwhile, women don't need any skills other than household because they take work as maids.

After cross-checking with many other informants (friends of the prostituted child) in the village, it was found that the daughter who told her parents she worked in the cosmetic shop just mentioned actually worked at an entertainment place as a “call girl”, who can be called for sex transactions. Another parent said that she had no idea where her daughter worked or as what.

From many interviews with informants in the village, it seems that having children work to supplement the family income is commonplace, even if it means the child must move out of the village to do so. The families’ naivete regarding the true work of some of their children is a typical reflection of village people whose knowledge of the city is very minimal.

However, for the researched village residents the profession of *dongdot*, the local term for a sex worker, is not openly accepted but it causes no problems because as several informants explained, “Every person has their own life to live.”

Local belief toward sex workers

People in the researched village believe that implants¹⁸ are effective in increasing their attraction or protection. They believe implants of gold, diamonds or rice (each with its own power) can turn a person into someone beautiful or protect him/her from harm. Each implant type has its own taboo prohibitions: For example, gold implant users must not eat *sate* from the stick. If they do, the implant will disappear. Each implant costs around 50,000–100,000 rupiah, depending on the material and its length of effectiveness. They can be positioned anywhere on the body; if someone wants her lips to look “sexy”, for instance, the gold will be implanted in the lips.

Taboos

Although the one mother previously mentioned does not stop her daughter from prostitution work, it cannot be assumed that others in the community encourage their children to prostitute themselves. On the contrary, most residents regard the topic of sexual conduct as something taboo and inappropriate to discuss. A teenage girl is married after she is courted by a boy because the family wishes to avoid any unwanted occurrences such as premarital pregnancy.

The community of the researched village can be said to be religious. The norms and teachings of Islam have been passed down in childhood with

¹⁸ In this case, implant is not for family planning contraceptive but it is a magical implant (from gold) to make somebody more attractive.

the hope that it will become part of their daily way of life. For the people of the village, the sex trade is perceived as immoral within the Islamic way of life and they will never tolerate such practices.

It is not known for sure when children were first sent into the sex trade, but what is known is that the demand for prostituted children is booming in this time of financial crisis. There is a difference between the exporting of domestic workers, which has existed since the 1980s, and the phenomena of sending children to become prostitutes, which one informant claimed had been happening only since the late 1990s. Estimating the numbers is difficult because sometimes a girl returning home will take friends back to the city with her without using a broker. The departure of these children to be prostituted is concealed by the brokers because the norms of the community will not allow them to openly declare themselves.

Five Prostituted Child Respondents' Families in the Researched Village

Socio-economic condition

The five families of prostituted children interviewed for this assessment have a slightly better household economic situation than the other families in their community. This is due to the fact that these five families receive money from their children's earnings working outside the village. They own permanent houses that stand out from the others in the community because of the better quality and more expensive building materials, such as ceramic floor tiles, paint, iron fences, etc. As well, these families own a variety of good quality household items that are considered luxury items in the community: television, video, sofa and refrigerator. Three of the five families own satellite dishes for better television reception.

Each family received remitted money differently, either once a month or once every three months. The money they receive from their children is usually used for additional daily expenses and school fees for younger children. All the parents said that the earnings of their children working in Batam or Jakarta had greatly impacted the family economy, though none claimed to have knowledge of the true source of that income.

Family relationship and communication patterns

The most common means of communication between families and working children is by mail, maybe once a month, every three months or six months. All the parents revealed that initially they were afraid to let their children go to work in Batam or Jakarta.

Usually the parents must spend a lot of money to make a telephone call because of having to travel to the public phone stall in other subdistricts.

*Lebaran*¹⁹ is the time when the whole family gathers together and working children return home with money. Usually they start coming home a week or two before *Lebaran* and return to the city after a month.

Parents' views of their children

Using children as commodities to improve the household economy is common practice in The researched village. Rather than having to educate children at a relatively high cost, parents believe it is better that their children go out of the village to work or get married. All parents in the five families explained how the family lived in poverty and lacked many things before their children started working in the city.

And having many children means prosperity to parents. Daughters are more profitable than sons because it is easier for girls to go to Saudi Arabia, Batam or Jakarta. Even though there are age restrictions for girls wanting to work abroad, there is no age minimum for working in Batam and Jakarta. Within the community there is a preference that girls going to Saudi Arabia be married, but for girls going to Batam and Jakarta – the younger they are the better chance they have to get jobs, according to one broker's comments.

Parents in four of the five families interviewed said that if their child worked in prostitution it would be disgraceful because it would bring shame to the family. No one in those four families seemed to have any idea that their child was being prostituted in the city. Most of them did not know either that their daughter was working in a discotheque, massage parlour or wherever it was that she truly was earning the money she remitted. Their ignorance is due purely to the fact that they know nothing about these places. It appears that the traditional norms force the children to lie and claim to work as store assistants, waitresses or seamstresses.

Siblings' responses toward prostitution

Siblings in four of the five interviewed families seemed not to know where their sister was working. The family that did know made efforts to keep it a secret from the neighbourhood community.

All female siblings of the prostituted girls whose families were interviewed claimed to not want to follow their sister's footsteps to work

¹⁹ A Muslim holiday celebrated once a year, *Lebaran* will always fall on different dates when based on the lunar calendar.

outside the village, either as a prostitute or in the alleged profession pretended by the girl.

The interviews showed that the majority of female siblings of prostituted girls had hopes to someday become involved in religious work, as a religious teacher in traditional Islamic educational institutions (*pesantren*) or teaching Koran reading. Some of them also wanted to become teachers in elementary or junior high schools. Their desires are rooted in the socio-cultural condition of the local community, which is religious, as shown by the many mosques, prayer rooms, Muslim clerics and *pesantrens* in the area.

None of the female siblings of the prostituted girls wanted to work as domestic helpers in Saudi Arabia, either, even though there are a lot of women from the village who have improved their families' welfare by doing that work.

One interesting point is that the majority of the female siblings of the prostituted girls think that what they want will not materialize unless they continue their studies to junior high school or *pesantren* after finishing elementary school. Before deciding what they want to do when they grow up, most spontaneously said that they wanted to continue studying. One reason for this spontaneity is the scarcity of junior high schools in their area, so that being accepted in the school is considered a prestige due to the fierce competition.

To the young siblings interviewed, particularly the girls, prostitution is shameful and contemptible because it is against the norms valued by the community. This was revealed through their answers and expressions when asked about whether they were willing to work as a *dongdot*, the local term for a sex worker.

Siblings' perception of their future

As a result of the family's poverty as well as the low value of education, most parents in The researched village cannot afford to send their children to higher education schools. Many children say that there is a difficulty in getting into junior high schools but this is what they hope for.

Parents of prostituted children seem not to value education even though they have more funds available to do so. Four informants said that they can not afford to send their children to high school and yet their house and home appliances suggest a level of income sufficient to send children to high school.

The 14 siblings of the prostituted girls from the researched village have a range of hopes and ambitions including becoming a Koran reading teacher and policewoman. But even though they are quite well off economically now

because of their sisters' help, most of them still think that it is difficult for them to achieve their ambitions. And yet they believe it is important for them to have ambitions. As mentioned, none of the sisters want to leave school and go work in the city or abroad. The boys have a different perception and are confused when asked about their ambitions. As the majority of male youths in the researched village are unemployed, it is easy to understand their pessimism as they do not have the same opportunities to work as the girls who can more easily leave the village, even if that means going to Saudi Arabia, Batam or Jakarta.

Consequences of having a prostituted child in the family

All parents in the five interviewed families agreed that children working in prostitution (without their parents' knowledge) can bring financial benefits to the family. The other consequences were difficult to obtain because only one family admitted that their daughter was in prostitution. Their seeming ignorance begs the question, Are the parents truly unaware of their child's work or because they know it to be disgraceful they simply refuse to accept the truth and consequences?

The one female parent who admitted knowing how her daughter earns money did talk of the psychological and social consequences that her daughter experienced.

"My daughter's job has many risks, because a guest could be rough and mug her or even murder her. This makes my daughter scared of working. Now she has a boyfriend so he takes care of her. At first my daughter used to look at who her guests would be. Also, my daughter says that in Jakarta she rarely mixes with others because her work keeps her occupied from evening to night and she rests in the morning and afternoon. Also my daughter lives in a dormitory-like place so she rarely mixes with other people. She has never been abused by anyone, but she said that she had been chased by the police in a kind of raid." – A mother, 55, in the researched village

VII

Patterns of Child Trafficking for Sexual Exploitation

Types of trafficking

As mentioned earlier, this assessment's research framework is based on the definition of trafficking according to the supplemental protocol to the UN Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime. From that definition there are at least three important components that define the trafficking process: i) false recruitment, ii) involving deception or force, and iii) the purpose to gain profit by means of exploitation.

In the recruitment, there is an element of crime or violence in the form of fraud, coercion, false promises, etc. There may also be molestation, sexual harassment, rape, etc., regardless of whether the end purpose is for labour or sexual exploitation. Violence can take the form of physical, psychological, sexual or economic violence. As there is a constant demand for young workers in prostitution, the false procuring of them through trafficking becomes necessary.

In their report on trafficking of women and children, Sri Wahyuningsih *et al.* (2002:11) mentioned several big cities where the sale of children is most prevalent: among others are Jakarta, Batam, Bali and Medan. The trafficking network varies depending on the end purpose. Children trafficked to Jakarta, for instance, are sold for i) prostitution; ii) begging gangs; iii) domestic servitude; iv) adoption; and v) factory labour (Irwanto, 2001).

Sri Wahyuningsih *et al.* also profiled the women and children trafficked for prostitution: aged between 12 and 24 years old, coming from poor families, in need of work, living off the streets and victims of abduction. They come from the following areas/provinces and cities:

- Greater Jakarta
- Banten
- West Java, including Bogor, Bandung, Sukabumi, Cianjur, Cirebon, Bekasi, Indramayu, Garut and Banjarnegara.
- Central Java, including Semarang, Solo, Wonogiri, Pemalang and Boyolali.

- East Java, including Gresik and Nganjuk.
- Outside Java, including Medan, Palembang, Makassar, Bali and Samarinda.

The transit areas for trafficking in children for prostitution, again according to Sri Wahyuningsih *et al.*, are Batam, Jakarta, Bandung, Lampung, Sarawak and Medan, while the receiving areas are:

- *Within the country*: Riau, Batam, Belawan, Jakarta, Tanjung Balaikarimun, Dumai, Palembang, Bandar Baru, Sibolangit, Deli Serdang, Tanjung Batu, Solo, Surabaya, and Yogyakarta,
- *Outside the country*: Japan and Malaysia.

The pull and push factors that make people vulnerable to being trafficked are:

- poverty
- dysfunctional home life
- early marriage and divorce
- sexual abuse at an early age
- rape
- job scarcity
- influence from friends who have been successful in working in another city

Some typical components in the false recruitment of prostituted children are:

- Victims are put under pressure by having their needs fulfilled.
- Victims are offered jobs in restaurants, factories, convection garment industry and homes.
- Agents or brokers go to villages and entice parents to send their children to work without telling them the type of work.
- Agents or brokers sometimes give the parents money, which will have to be reimbursed from the children's salaries.

According to Sri Wahyuningsih *et al.*, 2002, the network of trafficking in children takes several shapes:

1. Simple – victims are sold by a seller (parents, foster parents, husbands) directly to a buyer or through a certain broker.
2. Semi-complex – victims are lured by friends/neighbours/relatives/boyfriends to look for a decent job with a big salary in stores, cafes or restaurants in cities. In reality they are sold directly to buyers in the destination city or brought to a transit area where they are raped and then sold to buyers.
3. Complex – brokers (people who find teenage village girls to transfer or sell to collectors or straight to pimps) go to villages with promises to get the girls decent jobs with big salaries in cities with all transportation and accommodation provided, which eventually will have to be reimbursed by the victims at a much higher price.

The Trafficking Process

The many actors who play a role in the trafficking of children from the sending areas to the receiving areas has been described in previous reports and is well known in a general sense: from the family (parents/husband) who give permission for working elsewhere, even in prostitution, or who sell the girl/boy; friends/neighbours who work as intermediaries; brokers who transfer young people to receiving areas; formal and nonformal community leaders in the sending areas who may participate as intermediary or at least tolerate the trafficking practices to the bosses/pimps and consumers in the receiving areas who hire the prostituted children.

In the field research for this assessment, those more or less universal actors were profiled in search of any Indonesian distinctions or to identify how they specifically operated in the areas focused upon for the assessment. The following describes the findings:

Parents

Poverty is the most prominent push factor in the process of prostituting children. Job scarcity and the growing number of school drop-outs in villages in Sukabumi make the condition worse. Hence the predominant characteristic among parents is a poor economic situation in which they cannot afford to put their children through school and push them to marry or work early instead.

In the researched village it is not common for parents to directly sell a child to a broker. However, according to one broker and one interviewed respondent, some parents' in Sukabumi have played a role in the trafficking process (see Lani's story in Chapter 8). The parents took the child to the brokers and provided permission for them to go to Jakarta or Batam to be sex workers. The parents also signed a letter of contract from the broker that they give permission for the child to be taken for employment and will not complain later about what has happened to their child. At the minimum, the parents facilitate or comply with the process unwittingly by being unable to adequately provide for their children or put them through school. Those parents who relieve themselves from the responsibility of providing for their children by forcing them to marry at a young age play a hand in opening the door to traffickers. Another form of complicity is allowing their children to work without considering the type of work and its consequences on the child's well-being.

The more significant contribution is when parents, due to poverty, try to survive by borrowing money from others and pay back their debt either by

marrying off their daughters or by agreeing to employment of a child whose future earnings are taken as payment.

Husbands of sex workers

From the socio-economic point of view, the profile of husbands is similar to that of parents: poor and unable to provide for their wives. A common situation in the village, they don't seem to mind that their wives work in prostitution and actually live on the wife's earnings. Meanwhile, it is not clear what kind of job the husbands work.

A work permit from the family as well as from the local village authority is one of the requirements for all people looking to migrate for work in Saudi Arabia (such as for domestic work). Such a permit is issued by a husband for a married woman and by the parents for an unmarried one. A work permit from a husband facilitates the paperwork for an underaged girl on the grounds that a married girl is considered an adult. For those girls who are sent off to work within Indonesia, no work permit is needed but the husband need only sign an agreement with the broker that he will not sue the broker if something bad happens to his wife. According to a broker interviewed for the assessment, there are many women work in the Batam sex trade with their husbands' permission.

Friends and neighbours

The success of friends or neighbours in making a lot of money by working in Batam, Jonggol or Jakarta attracts other girls from poor families to follow their footsteps. There are girls who after seeing a friend/neighbour come home from Batam with a lot of money and luxuries, such as pretty clothes, hand phones, gold jewellery, etc., tagged along to work with the successful friend in Batam. For the past six months, brokers have not taken young girls to Batam, Jonggol, etc. since lots of girls now go there on their own. Usually when working girls return home they take back friends or neighbours with them to work in Batam.

Brokers in sending areas

The researchers interviewed only one broker in the sending area, who is 40 years old and is considered the most prominent broker/trafficker in the researched village and surrounding areas. The most major actor in the trafficking process is the broker in sending areas who keeps the market supplied.

For sending girls to Jonggol or Cileungsi, the broker gets 200,000 rupiah (US\$24) per girl; while for those being sent to Batam, he earns 750,000 rupiah (US\$86) per girl if he takes them as far as the airport/harbour and 1.5

million rupiah (US\$172) per girl if he takes them all the way. In Batam he delivers them to a hotel.

The broker also told the story of another broker in the village, who rented a Kijang van to take six girls to Batam over land once. The trip took three days and three nights to Riau and from there they went to Batam by ferry. This broker was paid 1,5 million rupiah per person. Another time, this broker took a girl to the airport in Jakarta only. At the airport an intermediary sent by the boss to arrange the 11 a.m. flight to Batam was waiting to accompany the girl the rest of the trip.

According to the broker, his relationship with the prostituted children who mostly come from the same hometown can remain friendly.

“Some girls came to me begging for work in Batam. After I took them to Batam and they worked there, when they saw me there again they didn’t even say hello, they just ignored me. Maybe they thought I came to ask for money from them. In fact, I went there to deliver new girls to the boss and not for their money. People have different attitudes. Some who cannot spare their time to go back home and have a lot of money trust me to deliver their money to their family. Some others who have worked in Batam for a long time and earned a fortune, drop by my house when they go back home. Some gave me things, money or just dropped by before going back to Batam.” – a broker in the researched village

Brokers in the receiving areas certainly have different characteristics than those in the sending areas. Basically, however, brokers in the receiving areas, as described in Chapter 5, have more to do with finding customers, although in some locations the brokers also act as pimps.

Formal and nonformal community leaders

It was found in this research that the role of formal and informal community leaders, such as religious leaders, in sending areas is quite significant in helping the sex trade. Formal leaders mean government officers, including police, at the village level, immigration officers, village chiefs.

“Once I got caught by the police patrolling the Sukabumi area. I was on my way to send six girls to Batam. Then I was with Daday, renting a kijang car to take the girls to the airport. On the way to the airport, the police told us to pull over. They checked our papers and on seeing young girls in the car they questioned us about where we were from and going and for what purpose. One of the girls replied that we were on our way to the airport to find work in Batam. The police asked for 600,000 rupiah or they would confiscate the car. I paid them and when we got to the airport, the intermediary was waiting and called his boss. The boss instructed that the money I gave to the police was to be reimbursed plus my share for the girls of 4.5 million [6 × 750,000 per

girl] rupiah as well as all expenses during the trip, such as car rent, gas, food, etc.” – a broker in the researched village

Further investigation revealed that neighbourhood chiefs, village chiefs and members of the village security in sending areas take part in facilitating and legalizing the “outsiders” coming into and out of the village to collect girls. The involvement of the police in facilitating and legalizing the commercial sex business also can be found in other locations. They are involved in providing the work permit and I.D. paper, as well as receiving money from brokers who get caught on the way to receiving areas in exchange for looking the other way and letting the brokers/traffickers do their job.

“There was once a case of a girl I took to Batam, who had been there for only three days when a Singaporean booked her for a week, for 7 million rupiah a day. Afterwards, she immediately went back home by ship to Tanjung Priok and then to Sukabumi. She was supposed to split the payment by half with the boss. Since the girl ran off, the boss called the police station in Sukabumi and told me to find her in her hometown. I saw the girl and she told me she would go back to Batam on her own. So I called the boss and told him that the girl was nowhere to be found.” – a broker in the researched village

Intermediaries

The researchers found that the role of intermediary was restricted to airports or harbours. The intermediary usually worked for a boss in Batam and was responsible for preparing flight/ship tickets and escorting children to receiving areas as well as paying the brokers the agreed amount of payment. This happens if the broker does not take the children all the way to the receiving area. The intermediaries are people who usually hang around the airport or harbour and understand their role very well. Confirmation on the identity and role of the intermediary is done between the broker and the boss in Batam via telephone in Sukabumi, before the broker and his entourage leave for the airport.

Pimps or bosses

In the white book of Social Rehabilitation of Female Sex Workers (MOSA, 1996:2) the definition of a pimp is:

“People who live on, whether part time or full time, facilitating and funding as well as opening, leading and managing prostitution places, i.e. getting prostitutes to meet with their clients, and for this service the pimp takes a share of what the prostitutes get from their clients.”

According to this definition of a pimp, the owners of brothels in the red-light districts and the owners of discotheques, karaoke lounges and

massage parlours who provide facilities for commercial sex also belong to the pimp category. The role and function of pimps are: i) to provide protection to the prostituted children and other employees for a cut of their wages, ii) to give loans as a way of sustaining the relationship between a pimp and his suppliers, i.e. by giving them loans or tabbing their expenses and counting them as debts payable by the prostituted child from her/his earnings, and iii) to take care of the apparatus as well as institutions in sending areas to create smooth-running operations from sending to receiving areas.

Clients

Clients or customers are the “market” ultimately being served by the other actors in the commercial sex industry network and essentially their demand is the only “cause” of trafficking. From the study done by Hull *et al.* (1996), it is the consumers who determine the location for having sex, privacy and comfort. In several red-light districts, in addition to paying for the room, the customers are also expected to pay for and consume drinks and snacks offered.

Customers’ preference is one of the most prominent factors in the management of the commercial sex industry. Not all but obviously many customers believe that prostituted children are considerably cleaner and safer because they are still young and inexperienced in sex, thus less likely to spread sexually transmitted diseases. Clients also believe that having sex with children will keep them young (Bagong Suyanto, 2000).

Patterns of Trafficking from the Sending Area

There are two patterns that have been applied by the one broker interviewed in the sending area for this assessment in terms of moving children from sending areas to receiving areas: i) direct pattern and ii) through an intermediary in the airport/harbour. The first pattern is preferred because it yields more money for the broker. This pattern is also applied by brokers to meet orders from local pimps/bosses such as in Jonggol (Bogor) or Bantar Gebang (Bekasi) and Hayam Wuruk (Jakarta), whereas the second pattern is applied if the broker feels lazy or cannot find the time to take the children to the receiving area (Batam).

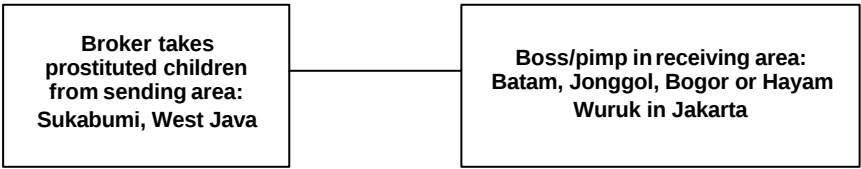
Direct pattern: Straight from the sending to the receiving areas

In the researched village, the process begins with broker receiving an order from the boss to find girls younger than 18 and send them to the receiving areas (such as Batam, Hayam Wuruk-Jakarta and Jonggol-Bekasi). The broker then looks for child candidates in the villages. He tells them they

will be employed in discotheques, or somewhere legitimate sounding, but does not mention sex work. The children will ask permission from their families saying that they will work in factories or stores in Batam. Some children only ask permission, not knowing what and how the job is, so long as they can work and earn money to help the family's economy.

The direct pattern can be summarized in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Direct pattern one broker in Sukabumi uses to move young girls to receiving areas

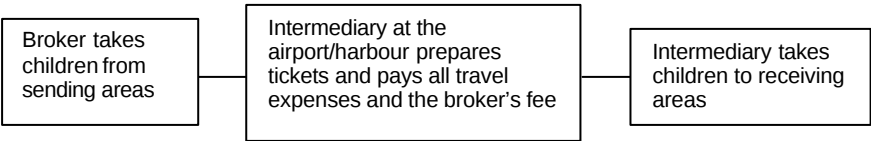


Note : ————— = “transferred to”

Indirect pattern: From sending areas through an intermediary to receiving areas

The second pattern is when the broker only takes the children as far as the airport/harbour and hands them over to an intermediary who arranges the ship/flight tickets and pays the broker. The intermediary is known only to the boss in Batam. The identity and meeting spot between the intermediary and the broker is arranged between the boss and the broker via telephone back in the area of origin.

Figure 7.2: From sending areas through an intermediary to receiving areas



For each child delivered in this way, the broker gets 750,000 rupiah plus reimbursement for travel expenses. On each delivery, which takes place every one or two months, the broker delivers four to six people, not always children.

The study in the sending area in Sukabumi suggests that the trafficking network available is a complex one, involving a broker, intermediary and boss/pimp in a receiving area. The nature of this network, from Sukabumi to

Jakarta and West Java, however, is still fragile and not yet well organized; it is an informal process in which various individuals contribute to the movement of people from sending to receiving areas.

VIII

Young People's Stories

Case studies of prostituted children and their families

All names have been changed.

A boy seeks foreigners

BIMBIM, 17

Enrolled in a senior high school in Jakarta, Bimbim, also provides sexual services to tourists as well as locals, sometimes searching for clients outside certain shopping malls in the capital city. He started working a year ago, when he was 16, to have more pleasures and experiences and to improve his English, he said.

Bimbim, who was born in Jakarta, comes from a middle class Muslim family. His father is 40, a university graduate and works for a private company. His mother is a high school graduate and a housewife. He is the first child of three children; his younger brother and sister are still in junior high school and elementary school, respectively. No one in his family is aware of his work, which he pursues after school.

To hide the sexual work, Bimbim says he is a tour guide for foreigners. His first sexual experience was with his girlfriend when he was 16. A friend suggested he could sell sexual companionship and, lured by the potential earnings and the sexual enjoyment, he accepted the proposition. However, Bimbim had to give his friend 200,000 rupiah without any contract or receipt to help him get started. He began to offer himself in various places and now operates with his friend's help.

He keeps his working hours flexible and only in the nonschool time. He usually starts around 5 p.m., after having had a nap and finishes around 10 p.m. He looks for two customers daily, although he does not work everyday.

He refuses to state how much he charges but says he earns about 1.5 million rupiah each month. He did finally allow that the most he ever received was 500,000 rupiah in a night. He spends the money he earns on personal needs such clothing, hand phone vouchers and travelling.

Bimbim says he enjoys the work and doesn't care to quit. He is interested in the field of public relations and thus tries to save money to use for further studies.

The sexual service typically wanted by his customers is oral sex. He has no experience of either physical or sexual abuse, except that people who know what he does to earn money give him looks of scepticism. He also never experiences health disorders of any kind. He heard about HIV/AIDS from a television programme and thus tries to avoid infection by persuading his customers to use condoms; but he provides the condoms. He does smoke, drink alcohol and use illegal drugs.

Although in the past month he has had no trouble sleeping and or feeling alienated, he does sometimes feel upset, anxious and afraid and has difficulty concentrating or remembering things. He says that people he knows view his occupation indifferently and that makes him feel that there is nothing wrong with it, nor does he have any inhibition in socializing or interacting within the society.

Living now with HIV **VICKA, 18**

Vicka, lives in Depok where she graduated from a senior high school of economy last year; she attended a computing course for a short while afterward.

She is the youngest of four children. After her mother died, her father remarried and Vicka acquired three step-siblings. Vicka lives with her boyfriend, with whom she had her first sexual experience – in her third year of high school, though they are not married. After she was ill for a long time about a year ago, her boyfriend, who worked in a clinic, examined her and determined she was infected with HIV, as he is also. He started to bring her medicines to take each day. To cover the expenses, he told her to sell sex services.

She started first seeking clients in a mal in Senen, Central Jakarta as there were many potential customers. When she was caught in a police inspection, she tried to move to the Manggarai area but she didn't feel she fit

in and moved to the Salemba area. Tired of moving around, Vicka settled on a mall in South Jakarta.

She works from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m. She entertains one to two customers per day, most of whom are employees in the shopping mall and from whom she earns 100,000-300,000 rupiah, or about 3 million rupiah per month. She gives most of the income to her boyfriend to pay for their medicines and daily needs. She feels exploited and restrained by her boyfriend as she has to go home at a designated time with cash in hand. She is allowed to not work on Sundays but is not allowed to contact her family.

She provides only traditional sexual intercourse and is not comfortable with oral sex. She uses condoms and takes pills “for her safety”, both of which she gets from YPI, an NGO providing assistance to sex workers. Vicka goes to YPI for health services, including medicines, counselling, contraceptives and information on living with HIV and AIDS.

Vicka would like to quit the sex trade and find a job as a sales promotion girl at a mall. If there was an offer to join a training course, she would accept it, though she'd prefer a job offer. She is eager to quit to get away from what she says is physical and psychological abuse from her boyfriend and customers. She once suffered from a bleeding and menstrual problem. Vicka is proud and feels fortunate that she has kept away from smoking, alcohol and illegal drugs.

For the past few weeks, Vicka has experienced insomnia and felt alienated, upset, anxious and frightened. It was hard for her to concentrate on doing certain things as well. She regards her work and thus her image as bad and is embarrassed about it. As a result, she doesn't have the courage to participate in social activities. She is also ashamed to return to her family and worried they will find out what she has been doing. She is not able yet to face going home.

Selling tea at 12 and sex at 15

ERMA, 18

When Erma finished grade school at age 11, she decided to work instead of continuing her education, against her parent's wishes that she stay in school. The school was far away from where she lived. As well, it is quite common in her village that girls become labourers (in fact, almost all villagers) in Hong Kong, Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Erma's father is a farmer and an elementary school graduate. Her mother has never attended formal school and currently trades gold in the Jatibarang

market. Her older brother, now 20, works at a car repair centre and her sister, now 24, works as a maid in Saudi Arabia. Using an official employment agent, she was sent to Singapore in 1997 as a maid. Before leaving, the agency trained Erma in cooking, house cleaning and English. But Erma quit the job after working for only two months because her boss was temperamental and brutal.

She returned to her village but six weeks later her uncle took her to Jakarta and given over to a friend of his. She was told she would work with him as a waitress in a small shop selling tea with a salary of 100,000 rupiah per month. She refused it at first but her uncle insisted that working with his friend would be good. Soon after, she was told to take a shower and rest. Quite strangely, she said that she just listened to anything that his uncle's friend told her even if she really did not want to.

Erma usually starts at 6.30 p.m. till about 1 a.m. During her seven hours of working, she spends her time at the park near Kejaksaan Street. In its peak, she could get four to five customers wanting "company" along with a drink; otherwise she entertains one or two customers. The customers range from military, police, truck drivers, students and passers-by. She is free to go out with the customers if she can sell many drinks and if still within the working hours. His uncle's friend who now becomes his pimp will charge 50,000-100,000 rupiah for a "parking" fee.

She can sell 15-20 bottles of tea, other soft drinks or beer daily and earns 1,000 rupiah per bottle as her commission. She also earns about 50,000 rupiah from selling snacks and 20,000-100,000 rupiah from customers' tips. For going out with a customer, she is paid around 150,000-200,000 rupiah. Presumably, she earns about 300,000 rupiah monthly, in addition to her salary of 100,000 rupiah. Therefore, her average income per month, or 20 days of working, is about 800,000 rupiah. She usually sends 500,000 to her family and spends the rest for clothing, cosmetics, accessories and food.

Erma had sex for the first time when she was 15. When it happened, she did not realize that her customer wanted not only to be accompanied for a drink and going out but, moreover, wanted to have sex. From then on she started offering sex regularly. She never practises safe sex unless her customers supply the condom.

Erma is not really free to leave her house for hanging out; however, she is allowed to go shopping once a week. She is also allowed to spend two weeks maximum going home once a year, but she only stays for a week. She regards the sex work as something ordinary and performs it freely even though initially she was forced into it.

She said that she had planned to get out of this sort of business she was doing and that she wanted to work in a factory. She has a boyfriend who is

willing to help her find a job in a factory. Erma did not wish to continue her study and said she would refuse such offer if any was given. However, she was willing to join training courses that could equip her to work in a factory.

She claimed that she never experienced physical, psychological or sexual abuse committed by her customers or friends; however, her pimp slapped her a couple of times when she was sick and indolent to go out and work; despite of her illness, she still had to work anyway.

Erma's pimp does not allow her to visit Bandungwangi, an NGO that deals with prostituted children, as he is afraid that she would be influenced to leave her job. Thus, she admitted that she never knew of HIV/AIDS. She started smoking when she was 17 but only during work, about five cigarettes daily. She doesn't drink alcohol or use illegal drugs. She does not know where to go if she needs medical services.

For the past several weeks Erma has not been able to sleep well, feels anxious, distressed and quite often feels alone even when she is among friends. She often has felt sad without knowing why and as a result, she has had a hard time concentrating and remembering things.

Erma feels that other people look down on her because of the work she does. Sometimes people yell things at her when she leaves her house for the park. She ignores interaction with others to avoid feeling offended. But when there is a social event such as Independence Day, she often participates with the community. When she is working together with community members, she feels no different from them.

Erma said that she did not feel worried or frightened if she had to return to her hometown since she still had a family and that she could return anytime she wanted to.

Most prostituted children (99 per cent according to data collected by Bandungwangi) in Taman Viaduct Prumpung come from Indramayu.

“You have to be good in oral and anal sex”

DUDI, 17

Dudi, a trendy, clean-looking boy, operates nightly in Banteng Square in Central Jakarta. It is no secret that the area is alive with homosexual sex transactions. It is located at the heart of Jakarta with many hotels where the sex servicing takes place.

The second child of five, Dudi comes from a middle-income family in Medan, where he graduated junior high school. He dropped out from school to earn his own money. His father is a civil servant in a government department and his mother is a homemaker. His older sibling studies in senior high school, while the three younger ones are studying in junior high and elementary schools.

Peer pressure and the desire to earn his own money pushed Dudi into the night life of gays. Before working in Banteng Square, where he has been for four months now, Dudi worked along Merdeka street in Medan, when he was 16. A colleague took him to Jakarta. His hopes started to materialize after three months working in Jakarta (especially around Banteng Square and Atrium Mall area). He earns a monthly average of 2.5 million rupiah, an increase from the 1 million rupiah he earned in Medan. He starts working between 10 p.m. and 12 a.m.

As a freelance sex worker, he is free to negotiate with customers and to decide for himself when and where to work. The night Dudi met the researcher, he had an argument with a foreign customer. Despite the foreigner's cajoling and coaxing, Dudi was refusing the customer because he had not paid him as agreed the previous time. Dudi had been very upset then, but there was little he could do.

Dudi's first sexual encounter was with a customer in Medan when he was turning 17. Gay customers demand oral and anal sexual services. The use of condoms depends on negotiation with customers.

He still keeps in touch with his family by phone. None of them know about his work. He feels safer operating in Jakarta because it is far away from his home town so there is little chance of his family finding out.

Dudi wants to quit his current job and work as a factory or sales clerk, though he has not done anything about it. He also wants to continue his studies or take an English course, should anyone be willing to pay for it for him.

Dudi has never experienced any sexual or physical violence. Being a city boy and quite intelligent, he understands information about HIV/AIDS from friends and television. In each anal sex activity he tries to use condoms, though the negotiation largely depends on the customer's wants.

Dudi is not bothered by the image of the work he does because nobody knows what he is doing, especially because he lives in a boarding house in Jakarta where nobody cares about other people's business. Dudi does not get involved in his neighbourhood social activities.

Keeping the truth from her family

TIKA, 17

Tika, who is about to turn 18 has completed her senior high school. She used to attend computing and English courses. She was born and lived South Sulawesi, till her parents divorced, when she was in junior high. She came from an inharmonious family. When her parents divorced, her mother, 40 years old now who is from Purwokerto, decided to stay in Sulawesi while her father, now 49, settled in West Jakarta to work as a trader. Tika lived with an aunt in Depok and started school there.

After graduating from senior high and urged to support her parents, Tika applied for job in a store as a sales promotion girl (SPG) but she was not accepted. Soon after, she was offered a waitressing job in a discotheque, in Hayam Wuruk, with a salary of 700,000 rupiah. After she got a job, she rented a house for 250,000 rupiah monthly. With tips, she earned up to 2 million rupiah per month. She kept half for her personal needs and sent the remainder to her mother. She enjoyed her work but her six-month contract was terminated. When she was walking around Cijantung Mall, she became acquainted with a 16-year-old female parking attendant and they became friends. Her friend offered her a job to tend a small shop in the known-prostitution area of Boker. She could not refuse when customers were attracted to her and asked her to have sex and soon after that she got involved more deeply and began prostituting in that area. Her new job was worse than that of tending the shop but she stayed with it.

Her family is not aware of her occupation. In Boker, Tika works from 8 p.m. till about 3 a.m. with no designated break time; she rests while waiting for customers. She usually serves four to five customers of different backgrounds, including college students each day. She earns 200,000 rupiah daily and about 400,000 rupiah during peak hours, or about 6 million rupiah per month. She keeps half for her personal needs such as clothing, house rent and savings. She sends 1 million to 2 million rupiah to her mother in Makassar and a part of the earning she gives to her pimp.

She provides standard sexual intercourse although occasionally a guest demands oral sex. She makes customers use condoms, which are supplied by her pimp.

Even though she works at a prostitution house, she is free to wander, travel and even take some days off. If the workers in the house were restrained, they would run away, which in turn would disadvantage the pimp, she explains. Tika is also free to write letters to or telephone her family and visits her mother once a year. Even with the freedom she has, she still feels sad

and forced in performing her job. Hence, she is still determined to quit if only a customer was willing to take her. Or she would like to work in a store or even to continue her studies, provided that someone offers to help her do so. She would accept all offers to join any courses of some kind.

While working, she experienced both physical and psychological violence, such as when she had to argue and fight with her fellow worker at the complex. Apart from that, she was also sexually abused a couple of times by customers into sadomasochistic practices. She has suffered from stomach aches, vomiting or queasiness, menstrual illness and typhoid. In regards to HIV/AIDS, she urges her customers to use condoms to avoid getting infected. She received the information on HIV/AIDS from a doctor whom she visited once a week. The service includes medical care, counselling, the provision of contraceptives and vaginal and a blood check. As a prostitute child, she started smoking and drinking alcohol, but says she has never used illegal drugs.

In the past month Tika has suffered from insomnia and felt gloomy when remembering things. She sometimes feels alienated, anxious and frightened but has no problem concentrating. She admits that her image is negative in the society and that this upsets her. For that reason, she is not comfortable with participating in social activities. Nevertheless, she does not worry about going home as her parents think she has a decent job.

Forced to marry ISTI, 17

Isti, a Muslim from Subang, West Java, dropped out of school at the age of 14 when she had sex for the first time with her boyfriend and was asked by her parents to marry him. Her parents are farmers who do not own any land. She has an older sibling who is married and two younger siblings who attend junior high and elementary school.

She only started working at Rawamalang complex a month ago. Previously, she had divorced her husband when he was not able to provide for her well-being. A neighbour suggested to Isti she could work as a housemaid in charge of baby-sitting in Central Jakarta. She agreed, needing the work to be independent. The maid job lasted only five months because she could not stand the hardship and the work load, which became heavier after another maid left. She was 15 when a friend asked if she wanted to work in a discotheque in Jakarta as a waitress whose job was to accompany guests. Not knowing that this sort of job involved sex work, she agreed because she needed the money. And she could not find any other job.

While working, she had to wander from one bar in Jakarta to another for more than a year until finally her neighbour's aunt who happened to be a pimp at Rawamalang took her in to work at the complex. She found that the work condition was not as her friend had explained. In fact, it was worse in that she was not allowed to go anywhere and there were less customers than in the bars.

At Rawamalang, she and the others work from 11 a.m. to 2 a.m. Much of her day time is spent resting as there are not too many customers. In the evening, customers start arriving around 9 p.m. As a new member at the complex, Isti has served one to two guests who, as far as she can remember, are police officers. She earns 100,000-200,000 rupiah daily, or around 2 million rupiah for the month of working. She pays 700,000 rupiah for her rent and divides the rest for her daily needs and sending home to finance the education of her two siblings.

The type of service that most customers want is ordinary sexual intercourse and a few demand oral sex. She does not use condoms unless they are provided by the guests. The rules at Rawamalang required the workers to live there, therefore, they are not allowed to go anywhere unless for medical purposes. However, in case of family urgency, workers can take time off to return home.

As she has been working only a month, she does not intend to quit working immediately. Isti also hopes to meet a customer who would marry her. She also thinks that nobody can help her quit. She does not have any other job in mind even if she was given the options. She is not interested in continuing her studies, even if offered to be financed. She is willing to join training courses sometime in the future. If someone wanted to assist her, it would be better if they donate their money for the education of her two siblings, she said.

She has rarely experienced any sexual abuse while working. She gets scolded by her pimp once in a while. However, while in a bar, she was once caught during police inspection and brought to the police station where she was forced to give sex service to the officers who arrested her. Isti heard about HIV/AIDS from a doctor in a clinic where she went for medical services. The clinic provided health care and contraceptives. She would think that she was safe from being infected just by checking her health to a doctor regularly. She smokes, drinks alcohol and uses illegal drugs.

She does not suffer from insomnia or feel alienated, anxious or afraid. She never had a hard time to concentrate or remember things either. Psychosocially, she never pondered about what the society think of her and how she would deal with it. Since she worked in isolated area, she never interacted with

the members of society or participated in social activities. She also was not concerned if she had to return to her hometown as her community there did not know what she did.

Limited freedom of movement

RISA, 17

Risa, a Muslim, was born in Sukabumi Selatan, West Java. She dropped out of school after the third year of junior high school in 2002. She was 16 at the time and had to quit because of the family's inability to pay the fees. She is the third of four children and lived with her birth mother and step-father, who was an entrepreneur. Her parents were elementary school graduates. Other people living with the family included a brother-in-law and a nephew.

She started working as a waitress available for sex at a disco club only two months ago for financial reasons. It was her first job, which a friend, who worked there, helped her to get. At the disco club she had to sign a one-year contract and fill out some forms. She knew what was expected because her friend had explained the work. Later on, however, she realized that it was a lot worse than she had first expected.

She works for seven hours without any break, from 8 p.m. to 3 a.m. and entertains one guest daily. She earns about 1 million rupiah per month, or about 40,000 rupiah a day. She used 30 per cent of her income for her daily needs and sends the remainder to her mother. Her daily needs include house rent, clothing and hanging out (she was unable to specify further).

Most of the customers are entrepreneurs. She had sex for the first time with her boyfriend when she was 17 and still living in Sukabumi. Her customers normally asked for standard sexual intercourse and oral sex. For her safety, she uses condoms, which the customers supply.

The disco club management requires her to comply with the strict rules such as not leaving the premises. She is allowed to take a maximum of four days off a month that she can take any time. Despite the strict rules, her boss did not restrain her from contacting her family by phone.

She intends to quit working in the sex trade by asking her friend to find another job, such as a shop attendant in a supermarket. She also is willing to go back to school if there is someone to help. The kind of support she needs to study is money and that could only be possible after her contract at the disco club finishes. She would accept any support that enabled her to join training courses.

Risa says she was once physically abused by a customer when he slapped her and banged her head against the wall. She experiences psychological abuse from her pimp, friends and customers. She has suffered from stomach aches, vomiting/queasiness, menstrual problems and chest pain, which she treats with gastric pills. She heard of HIV/AIDS from a television programme and thus uses condoms and consumes traditional herbal drinks. She smokes and drinks alcohol but says she hasn't used any illegal drugs.

She does not have access to any medical service and so has never had a medical check-up or counselling. In the past month, she has felt alienated, restless and sad. She is sad because of what she sees as the sinful business of sex work. She also feels restless by the risk of getting infected from HIV. Without knowing why, she has a hard time sleeping and focusing on things she wants to do.

She says she must accept that society looks down on this type of job. She has troubles participating in social activities because of that perspective. She is afraid to return home for fear her parents would discover her real job and that her community would keep a distance.

Feeling embarrassed at losing her virginity YUNI, 16

A Muslim, Yuni is from Bekasi and dropped out of school a year ago. She has been working in the sex trade at a discotheque in North Jakarta for the past six months, her first job however. She quit school because of feeling embarrassed at losing her virginity to her boyfriend; as well, her parents couldn't afford for her to study any longer.

Her father is unemployed and her mother is a housewife. Yuni has two sisters: the older one, 25 years old, has only a grade-school education and now works in a factory. The other sister is 11 and still attends grade school.

Yuni came to the discotheque when she was 15 through a friend who was working there. There was no contract or fee paid; Yuni needed to submit her identity card though. She remembers the friend telling what would be expected of her and how she would have to provide sexual services to guests. But it turned out worse than she had expected – with the work finishing at dawn.

She works from 10 p.m. until 5 a.m. without any break. She entertains one to two customers each day, providing standard sexual intercourse and occasionally oral sex; she describes most of them as agriculture entrepreneurs.

She earns 80,000 rupiah daily, or about 2 million rupiah a month. Half of the money she sends to her parents and the rest she spends on herself.

During the working period, Yuni is under the control of a pimp; she is not allowed to move or shift to another pimp or boarding house. At the house where she stays with the pimp, she is well guarded and as a result, her freedom of movement is limited. She can take some days to visit her family, however.

Yuni said she is happy doing the work she does. She also said she would like to quit working or to find another job, although she doesn't know what she really wants to do. She also would like to continue her studies. The kind of help she would prefer is money to help her back to school or join training courses.

She never experienced physical, psychological abuse nor did she have any health problems. She has heard about HIV/AIDS from her fellow workers and says that to prevent infection she just has to wear condom. Using condoms was important for her, she said, though she also says that only some of her clients use a condom, which they supply. She does not smoke, drink alcohol or use illegal drugs and she does have access to medical care.

For the past month, Yuni has not had any trouble sleeping or felt alienated or upset. She never feels anxious, afraid or have difficulty concentrating or remembering things.

Yuni thinks society has a bad image of her and her job but she doesn't let it disturb her. She never has trouble participating in social activities as she rarely does it anyway. Yuni doesn't fear going home because people there, including her parents, do not know her real occupation.

Left by her boyfriend DIAN, 17

Dian is from a Muslim middle-income family in Jakarta. Her father is a high school graduate and works for a private company. Her mother is also a high school graduate and a housewife. Dian is the second of four children; her younger sisters are still in junior high school and elementary school. Her old sister is a university graduate and works for a private company. She dropped out of school in her second year of high school a year ago (2002) because she could not afford to pay the tuition fee. But even so, she once enrolled in English and computing courses (Lotus 1, 2, 3 and Windows application). She no longer lives with her parents, but live on her own in a rented house.

Last year, when she was 16, Dian's boyfriend broke up with her, leaving her broken hearted, she said. He had been her first sexual experience. Afterward, she spent a great deal of time hanging around with her friends. One girlfriend worked in prostitution and suggested Dian should join her. She had never had any type of job and agreed to this work. She now works around the Mahakam and Melawai area. After having worked for almost eight months, she feels quite happy in the sex trade.

She works from 10 p.m. till about 1 a.m., taking breaks as she pleases. She does not work regularly, but perhaps sees one to three guests each day she does work. Feeling tired is the reason she gives for not working every day. To her knowledge, most of her customers are government officials and college students.

Dian says she earns about 3 million-4 million rupiah a month, or about 300,000-500,000 rupiah daily. She spends about 500,000 rupiah for discotheque-related expenses, another 500,000 rupiah for clothing. The rest she spends for meals and sends to her parents and sisters.

Her customers usually demand both standard sexual intercourse and oral sex. She claimed to consume three unidentified pills to keep her healthy. She works independently without a pimp. As a result, her time is more flexible and she can visit her family as she chooses, often once in three days.

Dian appreciates the life experiences she gains from the job; she said she has picked up a lot of knowledge. What makes her feel sad about the work is the occasional ill treatment from customers. Even though she intends to quit working, she has not tried very hard. And she admits she's waiting for someone to help her quit working in the sex trade. She would rather run her own business, just like her father, she says. Or she would like to continue her education. Even if she was assisted to do so, she says she would not do it immediately. She will quit this type of work when she has a certain level of savings.

She welcomes anyone willing to finance her training courses. But what she needs most, she thinks, is useful advice in how to live her life.

She has experienced sexual abuse from her customers and psychological abuse from her friends. She has health problems such as stomach aches, menstrual problems and headaches from time to time. She has heard of HIV/AIDS from her friends. She knows to be safe she should make her customers wear condoms.

In case of health problems she has access to health care, from which she has received medicine, counselling and contraceptives. She smokes and drinks alcohol.

In the past month, she has experienced feelings of alienation from her community. She often feels downhearted because of her work being looked down upon by the society. However, as she does not get too involved in social interaction, she does not feel judged. So far, she has no trouble in socializing as the community in which she lives did not know her actual work. Dian doesn't worry about going home because no one knows what she does, but she expects to experience traumatic feelings if she would meet her former boyfriend.

Supporting the family IRA, 18

Ira is from Southern Bogor. She is a Pentecostal Christian and dropped out of a school when she was in the second year of senior high in 2001 because she was pregnant.

She refused to provide her parents' details other than to say her father is dead and her mother lives in Bogor. She is the fifth of six children; two of her older brothers are diploma graduates and another brother has graduated from senior high school. All of them, however, are unemployed. Only Ira and another brother work to support their family.

She and her boyfriend married and her grandmother took care of the baby in Bogor. But there were problems between her family and her husband, so she left him. Desperate and needing money, she turned to the sex trade when recruited by someone a school friend knew. She has worked at a discotheque in Central Jakarta, for a little more than a year.

Being engaged in sex work gives her a chance to interact with a wide range of people, but it is a profession she is not proud to be a part of. But she considers only herself responsible for being here.

Ira works from 1 a.m. to 5 a.m. without any break. She is required to entertain only one guest each day. She does not work everyday, but only two to three days a week. She is never curious about what her customers do for a living. She earns about 200,000 rupiah daily, or about 2 million rupiah a month. From that she sends money for her child's necessities and pays house rent of 300,000 rupiah, discotheque entrance fees of 250,000 rupiah, taxi fares, meals and clothing. She has opened a savings account as well and hopes to quit the sex trade and open a beauty parlour, which she is determined to accomplish by herself. If she had a choice, she would rather attend training courses in banking or computing.

Apart from running a beauty parlour, she intends to continue her studies. She would accept any offer but money to join training courses. She

requested everyone prayed for her so that she could make her dream come true because prayer was what she thought she needed.

The man she married when pregnant was her first sexual experience. Ira will only provide standard sexual intercourse and refuses to perform oral or anal sex. So far she never practised safe sex with customers. She has not experienced either physical or psychological abuse from her pimp, friends, and customers. Her health has remained good. She has heard about HIV/AIDS from the newspaper. To her knowledge, to prevent infection she should be using condoms and recommends it to her customers. So far, she does not smoke, drink alcohol or use illegal drugs. She seeks regularly medical and blood check-ups to avoid sexually transferred diseases.

She seldom interacts with the community members and is not concerned with what people think of the work she does. If she were to return home, however, she worries that people would find out her actual job.

One mother who knows Lani's family

Lani, 16, currently lives in Batam, Riau, Sumatra. The eldest of three children, she used to live with her mother, Mrs. Yunarni, 35, and two siblings: Rani, 13, and Hardi, 9, in the researched village, Sukabumi. Mrs. Yunarni has married and divorced three men.

Mrs. Yunarni and her children moved to the researched village a little over two years (in 2001). Mrs. Yunarni went to school only up to fourth grade and then dropped out for financial reasons. Before she married the first time, at the age of 10, she worked as a farmhand to help her parents. From her first marriage Lani was born. After divorcing her first husband, Mrs. Yunarni remarried and gave birth to her second child. The third child was born from the third marriage, but Mrs. Yunarni left her husband when she was four months pregnant. She lived in the house of a kind neighbour who felt sorry about her condition. Previously, she lived in a stall and had moved into it after the small shack she had been living in collapsed out of shabbiness. To pay for her family's daily needs, Mrs. Yunarni washed the clothes of the family with whom she was living.

She lived a destitute life because whether or not she ate then depended on other people's mercy; whether they would give her a paying job to do or some food to eat with her children. Before Lani went to Batam, Mrs. Yunarni's income from doing the laundry and becoming a farmhand during harvest time was only 150,000 rupiah per month – just enough for them to eat

for several days. Being poor, Mrs. Yunarni really hoped that her children would work and earn money because she could no longer afford to put them through school. To her, what mattered was for her children to work and earn money for the family to eat. When a broker came to see Lani at home and offered her a job in Batam, Mrs. Yunarni let her go because Lani insisted on doing so, feeling sorry for her mother and siblings. Working in Batam is Lani's first job after finishing junior high school in Sukabumi.

During her almost two-year stay in Batam, Lani has written frequently to her mother and has sent money home every month. When she was leaving for Batam, the broker (Lani's sponsor) paid for her trip fare and meals; her mother did not receive any form of payment. According to Mrs. Yunarni, before her daughter left for work, Lani was ordered to sign a letter stating that she wanted to work in Batam.

Before working in Batam, Lani stayed home to help her mother take care of her siblings. She did not follow the habits of other girls her age who often went with men to the estuary to "make out" in exchange for 50,000 rupiah each time. To Mrs. Yunarni, the girls' behaviour is unacceptable because it is condemned by religion.

Lani's work in Batam has not brought about any changes in her family's financial condition nor social status. Mrs. Yunarni actually knows that Lani is in the sex trade in Batam. According to the broker's wife, Mrs. Yunarni has been boasting to the ladies in the Koran study club that her daughter is working in Batam, earning about 5 million rupiah a month and living a comfortable life. The broker explained that Lani works in a discotheque or a bar waiting for calls in the evening and resting in the dorm during the day. If she gets a call then she works, going out with the caller, for which she receives a lot of money – up to hundreds of thousands of rupiah. If there is no call then she just hangs out, waiting for clients to book her.

Mrs. Yunarni's wish is that her children do not end up living the way their mother does: poor and miserable. She hopes that they get a decent job and a good husband/wife and live a good family life. Her wish for Lani, who is working in Batam, is that she would come home with lots of money for her siblings' education and their daily needs.

A daughter's Brunei earnings change the home life Darmi's family

Mrs. Lusi, 30, is the mother of Darmi, 17, who is currently working in Jakarta. A Muslim with a fourth-grade education, Mrs. Lusi is divorced from Darmi's father and lives with a man she married three months ago. She is a homemaker and has been living in the researched village for two years. Previously she lived in another village in Sukabumi with her first husband.

Her husband works as an ojek driver and sometimes, during the harvest time, works as a farmhand. Her youngest child, Ratna, 12, is a first year student of Buni Asih junior high school in the researched village.

Before living in her current house, Mrs. Lusi stayed in her mother's house. Before Darmi left for Brunei a year ago, Mrs. Lusi and her family were dependent on her parents. Now that Darmi sends money from Brunei, Mrs. Lusi and her family can live comfortably in their new 28-million-rupiah house.

As a homemaker, Mrs. Lusi said she was quite busy taking care of her grandchild, Darmi's daughter. When still in junior high school, Darmi became pregnant and then married. Several months later Darmi divorced her husband for not being able to support her and their child. Every month Darmi sends about 200,000 rupiah for her daughter.

Mrs. Lusi said that Darmi used to work in a supermarket in Jakarta before one of her relatives took her to work in Brunei. She doesn't know exactly what kind of work her daughter does in Brunei, but she says Darmi is happy working there.

According to neighbours, every time Darmi comes home from Brunei, she always brings a lot of stuff, such as electronic appliances, food, clothes – all “brilliant”. There are changes in Darmi as well: the way she dresses and uses cosmetics. And what is more sensational is that Darmi bought a house and the furnishings (TV, refrigerator, sofa) for her mother.

According to a broker in the researched village, before leaving for Brunei, Darmi came to his house asking for a job. It so happened that he had a contact with someone in Brunei, and he arranged for her to work there. The broker said that Darmi had been informed about her having to serve the clients with sex if she were to work in Brunei and that Darmi had agreed to it. According to the broker, Mrs. Lusi does not know that Darmi works as a waitress providing sex in an entertainment centre in Brunei.

Mrs. Lusi said Darmi visits only around Eid-ul-Fitr, usually a week before the celebration, and returns to Brunei a week after. The whole family will gather and have a good time celebrating the festivities.

Regarding education, Mrs. Lusi thinks it is important for children to continue their studies. After all, who does not want his or her children to succeed, she said, but added that if there is no money, you cannot force it. For her what is important now is that if her children cannot continue their education, they can marry and have a good life. Ratna, her youngest child, told her that she wanted to continue her studies to be a police officer. Darmi pays for Ratna's schooling.

A daughter's income buys a house Surti's family

Mrs. Marini, 35, has two children: Surti, 17, and Asep, 15. Mrs. Marini moved to the researched village after she married – at the age of 10. Her parents forced the marriage even before she had her first period. That husband died ten years ago and Mrs. Marini married and divorced twice since.

Sometimes Mrs. Marini farms on her land, but when she feels lazy she hires others to do the work for 10,000 rupiah a day plus breakfast and lunch. The harvest is only enough for her family's daily needs for six months. To make ends meet for a year, she depends on what Surti, her daughter, sends home from Jakarta.

The 200-sq m house she lives in (furnished with sofa, a satellite dish, ceramic tiles, a refrigerator) is considered luxurious compared to the surrounding houses. She acquired these things from Sari's income over a two-year period. Now whenever she receives money from Surti, she invests in jewellery.

Being a widow with two children to raise, Mrs. Marini claimed to have lived a hard, destitute life. Before owning her own land, Mrs. Marini used to work as a farmhand, earning 5,000 rupiah a day, and the job was only available in harvest times. She used to resort to loans from neighbours and relatives to provide for her family.

The house and a motorcycle were also bought with Surti's income. No longer in school, Asep drives the motorcycle as an ojek; he would prefer to continue his studies to senior high school. However, he – according to Mrs. Marini – wants to work first before going back to school. After finishing elementary school, Surti did not want to continue her schooling and opted to help her mother around the house. Mrs. Marini said that Surti dropped out

because she knew the education costs were a burden to her mother. Mrs. Marini still thinks that education is very important for children to get what they want in the future, though poor people like herself will have to settle with the fact that they cannot put their children through school.

Mrs. Marini knows that Surti works as a waitress serving clients sexually in the Mangga Besar area in West Jakarta. Mrs. Marini does not mind her daughter's profession, as long as it is for a good cause. What matters to her is that her daughter does not commit any crime, such as theft, robbery or use drugs and drink alcohol, like what she sees on the television.

About sex work, Mrs. Marini said that it was an individual matter and that people should mind their own business. In the village there are *dongdods* (sex workers), she explained, and they should not be shunned.

To communicate with Surti, her mother uses the mail and telephone. To make a call, she has to go to another sub district, about 40 km away. Usually the call time is set first in the letter. Surti always comes home for *Eid-ul-Fitr*, when the family gathers together.

Another mother who doesn't know Indri's family

Mrs. Aida, 35, a Muslim, only finished third grade. Married to a Mr. Ikrom, she has three daughters: Indri, 17; Noneng, 16 and Rusti, 11. Noneng is married to a local young man and lives nearby. Mrs. Aida was born in The researched village and her parents were farmhands. Both she and her husband work as farmhands on somebody else's rice field.

Mrs. Aida's family migrated to Irian Jaya in 1985 but then returned to the researched village because the land in Irian Jaya was not suitable for farming. In addition to working somebody else's field, Mrs. Aida plants crops on another person's land. Both harvests are divided between her and the landlords – usually she gets a fifth of the one-season harvest. The income is not enough for her family's daily needs. According to Mrs. Aida, in 2002 she only took 400 kg of dry rice (worth 400,000 rupiah) from working the rice field. Wet rice would yield even less money, about 300,000 rupiah.

Indri has worked in Jakarta for almost three years now, and the money she sends home makes a difference in the family's daily life. Indri found her job through a neighbour of the family's, Mr. Iwan, who arranges work for people in Jakarta. When Indri left for Jakarta, Mrs. Aida did not sign any papers and neither did Indri. As a token of gratitude, Mrs. Aida gave one month of Indri's salary to Mr. Iwan.

Mrs. Aida said she values education for her children's future, but she could not afford to educate her two eldest daughters. Indri and Noneng only finished elementary school and Rusti is in junior high school because of Indri's income. Rusti wants to continue her studies through senior high school. Happy moments for her are during Eid-ul-Fitr, when all her children are with her. But having them work and contribute to the family's well-being is what she hopes for.

Mrs. Aida said Indri works in a cosmetic shop in Jakarta. She is quite happy with what Indri has been telling her in her letters. Moreover, Indri now has a hand phone so Mrs. Aida can reach her from a pay phone. When asked, Mrs. Aida said she believes that prostituting oneself is bad behaviour and violates the religious teachings. To villagers, dongdots (sex workers) are bad people and they want to keep away from them.

A father who doesn't know Armi's family

Mr. Purwa, 35, was born in the researched village where he married Sri. They have three children: Armi, 17; Eman, 13 and Ayuna, 2. Mr. Purwa went to school through second grade only. In addition to working as a farmhand, he also operates a motorcycle ojek (taxi) and sometimes fishes in the sea.

Even though he can do many things to earn money, Mr. Purwa's income is never enough for the family's needs. He farms only at certain times and operates the motorcycle ojek when he doesn't farm, even though there is immense competition for business. He fishes only during the west wind season when there are not many fish because the sea current drives the fish away from the shoreline.

Mr. Purwa and his family live in a half-finished, dirt-floored 100-sq m house. The building began with earnings the eldest daughter, Armi, sent back from where she worked in Jakarta. Mr. Purwa said he does not know where exactly or what Armi is doing in the city to earn money. Nor does he want her to work there for fear of things that might happen to her. However, Armi was insistent to follow a friend. She had not gone to junior high school and had found no work around the village and was restless. According to Mr. Purwa, Armi is very concerned about her family's poor condition and determined to earn money to help the family.

Mr. Purwa actually wants his child to finish senior high school, but realizing his capacity, he accepts the fact that the child is now working instead of studying. Education is very important to Mr. Purwa, especially in this era.

He does not want his children to live a poor and hard life. Now he has his hopes on his son, Sulaeman. Sulaeman wants to continue his studies as far as possible.

What is most important for Mr. Purwa now is that his children are not into anything criminal. He would be very sad if his children were doing anything sinful. Being a prostitute is contemptible because it is against the religion.

While working in Jakarta, Armi sends money to her family – 200,000 rupiah a month. The money is used to build the house and buy a motorcycle to rent. Every Eid-ul-Fitr Armi comes home bringing all festive goodies like clothes and food.



Policies and Intervention Programmes on Child Prostitution and Trafficking

Policies and programmes of the central Government

Previous research of the policies and programmes on child prostitution and trafficking has been done either directly or indirectly, the most recent of which was conducted by Irwanto in 2001. Although the contents of the research reports do not particularly elaborate clear policies and programmes, there is some relevant information on government policies, programmes and laws formulated by the Government and NGOs across cities in Indonesia up to 2001.

Irwanto (pp 82-86) quoted sections of the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP), namely Articles 287 (1), 290, 292, 293 (1), 294 (1), 295 (1), 297 and 301. He also drew attention to other supporting sections, particularly Article 297 that states: “The trafficking of women and men under age will be subject to a maximum of six years imprisonment.” According to Irwanto, Article 297 had never been enforced for at least three reasons: First, trafficking of women has been connected (or supposedly connected) to prostitution even though in fact it is not connected to prostitution alone. Such issues are discussed in other Articles 330-335 with severe punishments attached. Second, the trafficking of under-age females and adults are not distinguished. Third, law enforcement rarely finds cases of trafficking of men.

Policies and other laws that are indirectly connected to issues of trafficking and prostituted children about which Irwanto brought attention to are the Minister of Manpower’s Decree No. KEP-204/MEN/1999, which replaced Minister Regulation No. PER-02/MEN/1994 on the domestic and overseas placement of Indonesian contract workers; and the Minister Regulation No. KEP-44/MEN/1994 on general guidance concerning labour placement. Other policies are Law No. 4/1979 on child welfare, Law No. 22/1997 on illegal drugs, Law No. 20/1999 on the ratification of ILO Convention No. 138 on minimum age for admission to work and Law No 1/2000 on the ratification of ILO Convention No. 182 on the elimination of the worst forms of child labour.

When it comes to a programme, Irwanto cited several government programmes that indirectly relate to child prostitution and trafficking. Among them he noted KUKESRA (Credit for Business for People's Welfare), which was introduced in 1997; SPSPD (Social Protection Sector Development Programme) and HNSDP (Health and Nutrition Sector Development Programme), both of which aimed to deal with the problems of street children, and several other NGO programmes.

Other research conducted by Hull (1997) and Soedjono (1977) also mentioned government policy in detail. However, they did not focus on children issues but on prostitution in general and its history. Several laws and policies analysed were articles contained in the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) where such policies and laws proved to be ineffective to nab the persons responsible for prostitution and the trafficking of women and children. The policies being discussed were local regulations in some regions that forbid prostitution on the streets and policies on prostitution areas in certain regions.

Policies on protecting children, including children who work in Indonesia, have a long history that date back before the East Indies' occupation. There was Staatblad No. 647 in 1925 that forbade children younger than 12 years to work at workplaces and carry out tasks that would impede their development. After independence, Indonesia ratified ILO Convention No. 29 regarding forced labour in 1950 and then the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1984. And as already mentioned, there are the laws ratifying ILO Conventions No. 138 and No. 182. Most recently, there is a positive progress with the new Manpower Act, which was passed by the Parliament on the 25 February 2003, and has special provisions for restricting child labour.

The followings are several new policies formulated as a result of recent studies that are related either directly or indirectly to prostitution and child trafficking and have not been mentioned in previous research:

1. Law No. 23/2002 on Child Protection
2. President Decree No. 12/2001 on National Action Committee for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NACEWFCL)
3. President Decree No. 59/2002 on the National Plan of Action (NPA) for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour
4. President Decree No. 87/2002 on the National Plan of Action (NPA) on Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC)
5. President Decree No. 88/2002 on the National Plan of Action (NPA) on Trafficking of Women and Children

The Government agreed to accept regional and international commitment to standardized instruments by signing:

1. Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, September 2001
2. Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplement to the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, December 2002
3. Regional Commitment and Action Plan of the East Asia and Pacific Region Against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC), Bangkok, October 2001
4. World Declaration II to Combat CSEC, Yokohama, December 2001 after the signing of 1996 World Declaration I on CSEC in Stockholm, Sweden.

These new policies are now being introduced to all levels of society. The following describes more detailed information of some of the just-mentioned recent policies:

Law No. 23/2002 on child protection

This law was formed in 2002 after 13 years of conceptualizing and formulating it. It states that as far as the legal aspect is concerned, to actualize the child protection and welfare programmes needs institutional support and laws that will guarantee its enforcement. Many of the laws formed previously only govern certain child issues but not all relevant aspects of child protection in particular. As for child protection, especially for the child as a victim of prostitution and trafficking, the law has nine articles contained in Chapter IX on implementing the protection and Chapter XII on criminal charges. Such articles are as follows:

■ Article 13:

- 1) Each child in the custody of parents, guardians or others responsible for the child deserves the rights for protection from the following misconducts:
 - a) discrimination;
 - b) commercial and sexual exploitation;
 - c) abandonment;
 - d) cruelty, violence, and abuse;
 - e) injustice; and
 - f) other misconduct

- 2) Parents, guardians or child caregiver that carries out all forms of misconduct as stated in article (1), they are all subject to criminal charges.

▪ **Article 59:**

States government institutions are obliged to and responsible for the provision of special protection for children in emergency situations, children facing legal aspects of law, children of minority groups and in isolation, **sexually and/or commercially exploited children, children as victims of trafficking, children as victims of illegal drugs, alcohol, psychotropic and other addictive substances**, children as victims of abduction, sale and trafficking, physically and/or mentally abused children, disabled children and children as victims of misconduct and abandonment.

▪ **Article 66:**

- 1) Special protection for sexually and/or commercially exploited children as stipulated in Article 59 is the obligation of Government and community.
- 2) Special protection for the children mentioned therein as stipulated in verse (1) is conducted through:
 - Spreading and/or socializing regulations and laws related to the protection of sexually and/or commercially exploited children.
 - Observation, reports and sanctions; and
 - The involvement of various government institutions, corporations, labour unions, NGOs and communities in the elimination of commercial sexual exploitation of children.
- 3) Each individual is not permitted to place, ignore, perform, order or participate in the exploitation of children as stipulated in verse.

▪ **Article 68:**

- 1) Special protection for children as victims of kidnapping and trafficking as stipulated in Article 59 is conducted through observation, protection, prevention, care and rehabilitation by the Government and community.
- 2) Any individual is not permitted to place, ignore, perform, order or participate in the abduction, sale and trafficking of children as stipulated in verse.

▪ **Article 78:**

Any individual who is aware of and deliberately ignores children in emergency situations as stipulated in Article 60, children facing legal

aspects of law, children of minority groups and in isolation, **sexually and/or commercially exploited children, children as victims of trafficking, children as victims of illegal drugs, alcohol, psychotropic and other addictive substances**, children as victims of kidnapping, trafficking, physically and/or mentally abused children, disabled children, and children as victims of violence as stipulated in Article 59, while the children under these circumstances require support and aid will be subject to a maximum of five years of imprisonment and/or a maximum of 100 million rupiah fine.

▪ **Article 81:**

1. Any individual who deliberately resorts to violence or violently threatens children to engage in sexual intercourse with oneself or others, shall be imprisoned for a maximum of 15 years and a minimum of 3 years, and shall be fined for a maximum of 300 million rupiah and a minimum of 60 million rupiah.
2. These charges as stipulated in verse apply to any individual who deliberately deceives, lies or persuades children to engage in sexual intercourse with oneself or others.

▪ **Article 82:**

Any individual who deliberately resorts to violence or violently threatens, forces, deceives, lies or persuades children to perform pornographic practices or ignore such practices shall be imprisoned for a maximum of 15 years and a minimum of 3 (three) years, and shall be fined for a maximum of 300 million rupiah and a minimum of 60 million rupiah.

▪ **Article 88:**

Any individual who commercially or sexually exploits children for the benefit of himself/herself or others shall be imprisoned for a maximum of 10 years and/or shall be fined for a maximum of 200 million rupiah.

▪ **Article 90:**

1. If such criminal acts as stipulated in Article 78, Article 79, Article 80, Article 81, Article 82, Article 83, Article 84, Article 85, Article 86, Article 87, Article 88, Article 89 performed by corporation, the criminal charges shall be born by the management and/or the corporation itself.
2. The corporation shall be fined with an addition of one third of the corresponding fine as stipulated in verse.

Of all the substances in the Articles on implementing the protection, it is quite clear that special protection particularly for sexually and commercially exploited children, and children as victims of abduction, sale and trafficking are the responsibility of the Government and community. While the forms of responsibility and obligation vary from socializing the laws and regulations, observations, reports and sanctions to involvements of a wide range of government institutions, private sector and the entire elements of society. Furthermore, they also take place through supervision, protection, prevention, care and rehabilitation.

These Articles concerning child protection that directly relate to prostitution and child trafficking clearly indicate punishment toward all violators with imprisonment and/or fines. Both are intended for individuals and corporations involved directly or indirectly in the sale of children for sexual purposes.

Parties that can be identified as persons involved directly in the sale and trafficking of children for sexual purposes are pimps, intermediaries and their network of various individuals, who can include parents, local officials or corporations that practise covert businesses to sexually exploit children. Parties who are indirectly involved are those who let the children be the victims of sale and trafficking for sexual purposes and allow such practice to take place. This will include officials and members of community.

Articles related to prostitution where children become the victims contain provisions for punishing those parties directly involved in such practice, namely pimps, intermediaries and corporations that perform covert operations for this purpose. Consumers or patrons as the end user are subject to punishment as well.

The punishment in terms of imprisonment and fine as stipulated in the Articles within the Law on Child Protection is more severe than that contained in the Articles within the Indonesian Book of Law. This indicates a strengthening of measures to protect children as victims of sexual exploitation. The Articles within the Law on Child Protection have a clear interpretation that it is essential that the State take responsible action toward the rehabilitation of children as victims. Moreover, fines (apart from imprisonment) are imposed to support the rehabilitation. Nevertheless, there is doubt about whether or not the law can be enforced and upheld consistently and justly.

President Decree No. 59/2002 on the National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NPA).

To implement Law No. 1/2000, a NPA was drafted. It was drafted by involving all elements associated with the National Action Committee on the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labour (NACEWFCL) that was formed under the President Decree No. 12 in 2001. The NACEWFCL is responsible for coordinating and monitoring the implementation of ILO Convention No. 182. The NACEWFCL contains all relevant ministries and employers and workers organizations, NGOs, academe and the media. The Minister of Manpower and Transmigration is appointed as the chair of the NACEWFCL and the Ministry acts as the Secretariat.

This national plan of action serves as guidance to implement the national action programme on the respective issue. The objective of the national plan is to prevent and eliminate all of the worst forms of work for children in Indonesia through an integrated and overall approach and by using the following strategy:

1. To determine the priority to eliminate the work gradually;
2. To involve all elements at all levels of society;
3. To develop and utilize domestic potential thoroughly; and
4. To cooperate multilaterally and use technical assistance from international organizations.

The worst forms of labour targeted in the national plan are prostitution (with emphasis on trafficking into prostitution), offshore fishing and deep-water diving, mining, shoes manufacturing and the distribution of illegal drugs, precursors and other addictive substances. To support the action programmes, the National Plan is structured in three stages. In the first stage, which aims to be accomplished within five years, activities include research and documentation, awareness campaigns, observation and model development, juxtaposition of laws and regulations, increasing awareness and advocacy, capacity building and integrating programmes into participating institutions. The second stage activities, yet to be formulated, should reach their goals in ten years and the third stage has 20 years to achieve the aims.

The NACEWFCL has been instructed to implement as well as monitor the programmes. As extensions of NACEWFCL, Provincial Child Labour Committees (PCLC) are being established. The first committees have been established in North Sumatra and East Java. There are also (not very advanced) plans to establish similar committees in West Java and East Kalimantan. In a

preparatory workshop conducted in February 2003, trafficking was identified as one of the priority areas for the PCLC in East Java.

President Decree No 87/2002 on the National Plan of Action for the Elimination of Commercial and Sexual Exploitation of Children (NPA CSEC).

This national plan is a programme to prevent and eliminate commercial and sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in Indonesia. The definition of CSEC itself is "the use of children for sexual purposes in forms of cash payment or others between the children, consumers, intermediaries or agents or other parties benefiting from such practice."

The statement released by participants to the Stockholm World Congress against CSEC contained a description of CSEC with the following classifications:

1. Prostitution of children, or the use of children in unlawful sexual acts by receiving cash in return or other methods of payment
2. Child pornography
3. The sale and trafficking of children for sexual purposes

This national plan is perceived as having strong aspects of policy as it contains provisions for the formation of a task force/national committee. More importantly, its implementation strategy and five-year agenda has been based on the recommendations from the Stockholm Action Agenda, as follows:

1. The development, coordination and cooperation between government and nongovernment agencies, including children's groups
2. The provision of access to basic education and medical service to all children
3. The development of national legislation to protect the children
4. The development of unjudgemental approaches to prostituted children
5. The children's' capacity building so they can participate optimally

In addition, the five-year programme includes aims for coordination and cooperation areas, prevention, protection, recovery and re-integration as well as child participation.

President Decree No 88 on the National Plan of Action (NPA) for the Elimination of Trafficking in Women and Children.

This decree on a national plan was established as a result of deep concerns about various cases of trafficking in Indonesia. The National Plan implicates persons who traffick in women and children by one or more means of recruitment, interstate and international transportation, transfer, departing, receiving and temporary shelter or shelter at the place of destination. The practices are done by using threats, verbal and physical force, abduction, fraud, tricks, vulnerability condition (i.e. when the children have no choice, are isolated, drug dependent, in debt, etc.), benefiting or profiteering where women and children are utilized for prostitution, sexual exploitation, legal or illegal migrant labour, adoption, *jermal* work, pre-arranged bride, housemaid, begging, pornographic acts, illegal drugs distribution, sale of body organs and other exploitation of the kind.

The objectives of the national plan are as follows:

1. To guarantee the development and the improvement of efforts to protect the victims of trafficking
2. To carry out preventive and repressive tasks as part as the effort to prevent and overcome such practices
3. To stimulate efforts to formulate and/or amend the related laws and regulations

The policy aims to eliminate all forms of trafficking in women and children through:

1. Normative laws and law enforcement against the criminals.
2. Implementation of legal rehabilitation and re-integration into the society for the victims.
3. Implementation of all possible prevention against such practice.
4. The establishment of cooperation and coordination on the elimination of such practice.

Similarly to the national plan on CSEC, this national plan has provisions for the formation of a task force either at the central or local government level to ensure its implementation in 2003-2007.

In regards to prostitution and child trafficking, the State Ministry of Women Empowerment was instructed by the President to deal with children's issues in 2000. Two years later, the ministry once again was instructed to deal with trafficking in women and children, including prostituted children. However, the MOSA was in charge of implementing the rehabilitation

programme for prostituted women and children while the State Ministry of Women Empowerment in cooperation with other related institutions dealt with the trafficking of children into prostitution.

In dealing with the trafficking of women and children problem, the Government has formed a cross-sector team, called Tim Tujuh (the Team of Seven) as it consists of seven members of related institutions in recognition that the issue is an inter-sectoral problem. In this case, the team under the leadership of the Coordinating Ministry of People's Welfare (CMOPW) deals with the return of those being trafficked abroad. Tim Tujuh consists of representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Social Affairs, CMOPW, the police, the Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration (MOMT), the Ministry of Transportation and the State Ministry of Women Empowerment in cooperation with Polisi Diraja Malaysia (Malaysia's Police Department). Tim Tujuh sent the victims home from Malaysia.

Team Tujuh was not officially founded as there was no appointment letters (decree). But its members are individuals who represent their institutions and are those who are concerned and highly committed to the issue of women and children trafficking and were considered to be able to take decisive action on behalf of their institution. This team is the evident result of the National Plan, which has a President Decree. The team has operated since November 2002 and its operation and existence are still in question as it was founded conditionally. The team is an informal team with no official appointment and thus no clear mandate. Nevertheless, Tim Tujuh can be regarded as a model. Other similar teams previously faced coordination problems and served merely for the sake of formality and as a result, could not perform to full capacity. The Tim Tujuh can make a solid team as each member has concerns and high commitment toward the issues and has the authority for decision making.

Apart from the ongoing monetary crisis that increases the number of commercial sexual workers, including prostituted children, the regional autonomy policy of not admitting there are sex trade problems has also contributed to the spread of it. By not tackling the existing problems, they are allowed to grow. The expansion of certain areas as part of the programme of regional autonomy may affect the readiness of regions in handling the sex trade problems as new regions may not have the qualified human resources.

Officials in the MOSA believe that handling issues related to commercial and sexual workers has become even more complicated especially after implementation of the regional autonomy policy. New regulations (Acts No. 22 and No. 25, 1999) have devolved central authority to local governments in all government administrative sectors, except for security and defence, foreign policy, monetary and fiscal matters, justice and religious

affairs. The implementation of these laws on regional autonomy is considered as contributing to the complexity of handling the problem of sex workers. There was a case of a decree jointly issued by the Ministers of Home Affairs, Social Affairs and State Ministry of Women Empowerment, but it was not followed by officials in the district level as they were not structurally under the ministers and thus did not feel obliged to follow the Minister Decrees. Other problems lie in the cooperation between the place of transfer and the place of destination. Prior to the implementation of regional autonomy, it was easier in terms of coordination or in giving instructions to tackle as the central government had support regionally. The Government has only the authority to provide assistance and guidance for the regions while the local district administration has the right to decide to implement it.

Other efforts from the MOSA in terms of policy is the drafting of the Law on Anti- Trafficking (Prohibition on) in Persons, especially women and children, in 2003 in cooperation with the State Ministry of Women Empowerment as the leading sector. This draft law aims to clarify and affirm the national plan of action on trafficking, which contains more severe punishment than the Indonesian Penal Code. The draft is based on the provisions in the supplemental Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children. Most importantly, it copies the broad definition of “trafficking in persons” from the Protocol 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.

Policy analysis

The problems of prostitution and child trafficking are not just national problems any more but have become international issues. This is so not only because the problems exist in every country but also because the practice of trafficking in children has been operated internationally between countries. Therefore, at the international level, policies and laws have been regulated to overcome prostitution and child trafficking either indirectly or directly.

The latest development has seen the Indonesian Government improve significantly in dealing with such issues. This is influenced by the political nuances during the post-New Order period. During the New Order period, the Government only ratified a few international Conventions on related issues. And even if signed, there were no actual effort to follow up. In addition, in 1996 the Government agreed to sign the Stockholm Declaration and Action Agenda on CSEC. Yet, up to the time when the New Order fell, no actual efforts had been done to implement any new policies and programmes.

After the New Order collapsed, in a relatively short time there was significant improvement up to 2002. This can be seen by the appearance of new policies related directly and indirectly to prostitution and trafficking issues. Six international agreements, already mentioned, were ratified or signed during that period. As well, several policies (as previously mentioned) were issued at the national level that directly or indirectly related to the problems of prostitution and trafficking in children. The various policies issued by the Government in a relatively short period of time, which is very positive, clearly indicate that there is political will to counter all problems.

The initial problem against the implementation of the policies related to prostitution and trafficking in children is obvious when it comes to the response from local government, particularly social institutions and the police department, which are not well aware of the new policies. What is more, the operation of regional autonomy, which according to the Ministry of Social Affairs poses problems, is another challenge to face. There are questions on whether the decree can be implemented and whether it automatically binds all regional governments to follow the National Plans of Action issued by central government. The answer depends on the policy and priority of the regional government in determining whether or not such issues and problems are their priority.

Government programmes

Socialization activities have been making officials in regional governments familiar with the decrees for the two National Plans of Action related to prostitution and trafficking. In 2003, the State Ministry of Women Empowerment in cooperation with the National Commission on Child Protection and the Department of Social Affairs, aided by UNICEF, prepared familiarization campaigns and materials. The State Ministry of Women Empowerment attempted a pilot project to deal with issues on CSEC in Indramayu and Jepara by developing partnerships with the local government and community. The project proved successful only in Indramayu.

The pilot project involved the State Ministry of Women Empowerment using local university researchers to create profiles of children, including problems and solutions. The results recommended the establishment of a Section of Child Welfare and Protection in Indramayu. The local district of Indramayu was willing to allocate 1 million rupiah for preventive action by focusing on education for women on the grounds that women in Indramayu are culturally the breadwinners in the family. The State Ministry of Women Empowerment emphasized law enforcement by inviting the district government to disseminate awareness of the Law on Children Protection in which there are punishments against persons exploiting children. The district

of Indramayu is initiating operational activities through a Forum Komunikasi Perlindungan Perempuan or Communication Forum for the Protection of Women, whose aim is to serve as a communication and consultation place about issues brought by the community on violence toward women.

At the end of 2002, the State Ministry of Women Empowerment developed a model programme on the welfare and the protection of children in nine provinces by involving the district office for women empowerment, the Child Protection Institute at the provincial level and the local university.

The MOSA has preventive programmes aiming to familiarize the NPA on the elimination of the worst forms of work for children in cooperation with Ministry of Manpower and Transmigration(MOMT) and mass media. Another preventive effort was to collect data on the number of neglected children and areas that became the source of child trafficking. MOSA also carried out some community-based programmes in collaboration with the Ministry of National Education (MONE) by providing free schooling and training. In collaboration with local government and local NGOs, community-based prevention programmes were carried out in Karawang, Indramayu and Yogya. But still, the sustainability of the programme depends on the local district's commitment. Through cooperation, detection can be made early, problems identified and resources and local potential can be developed. MOSA carried out a family empowerment programme for the families of prostituted children through its directorates so that the workers could find work "socially" accepted according to the norms of the society. Sex workers and prostituted children who have been working a long time in what is now regarded as unacceptable employment will be guided at the rehabilitation centre to switch jobs and be independent or be taken back to their hometown.

The development of a centre called Panti Sosial Karya Wanita Mulya Jaya Pasar Rebo has become the model centre in which research and training are conducted to find new and better methods and ways of rehabilitating former sex workers. Entrepreneurship training proved to be difficult for the sex workers after attending the course for six months. Being comprehensive in nature, the programme of dealing with rescued prostituted children at the centre includes counselling, therapy, technical training and loans aiming to keep people out of the sex trade. This is different with the approach by NGOs that are working to empower and protect prostituted children while remaining in prostitution. MOSA has 36 centres across Indonesia, all of which are still managed and controlled by the central office for training, research and national reference.

The Jakarta municipality runs Panti Mulya Jaya Pasar Rebo, a rehabilitation and training centre for prostituted females aged 16 to 35 years

who have been infected with a STD and are unmarried. Using a social work approach, the centre employs a psychologist and two other staff members to assess women clients. Medical and psychological services can be arranged. After four months of therapy-like sessions, the women are directed toward a training programme in food production, catering, hair styling, embroidery and sewing.

The centre operates with limited human resources but relies on assistance from psychologists at a nearby university. The centre provides a post-service programme that involves apprenticeships in various workplaces. The programme is run in cooperation with the State Ministry of Women Empowerment, which provides dormitory facilities for the women. The number of prostituted children who participate in the centre's services is small. The centre does not apply different intervention programmes for children and adults and tends to treat them the same way.

Policies and programmes in the sending area (district of Sukabumi)

Sukabumi district officials, as well as case officers in the Office for Social Rehabilitation Prevention, claimed when interviewed by researchers for this assessment not to be aware that their area is considered a source of prostituted children as well as adult sex workers. However, a centre has been established in the nearby district of Cibadak for former prostitutes who have been rescued or arrested in police raids in West Java by the MOSA. Because the centre is operated by the provincial government, the local government does not allocate any budget to help cover operational costs.

The local government in Sukabumi has a policy to maintain peace and order by arresting and disciplining people with social problems. However, this programme is rarely done since the situation in this district is considered good.

As there is no agreement between the government and the local parliaments (DPRD), a Regent Decree has been issued instead of local laws. The last Regent Decree, No. 232/2002 was made in 2002 and concerned the founding of a Coordination Team on the prevention of illegal drug abuse, juvenile delinquency and prostitution. People found with these problems are sent to the MOSA centre where they receive psychological counselling and skills training for six months. After the training, loans are made available to them for start-up businesses and they are returned to their hometown.

Training outside the centre is available through cooperation with social, medical, religious, industrial and trade institutions. Former prostituted women/girls who participate receive assistance to encourage them to seek new types of employment and they are returned to their parents or hometown.

But still, the frequency of police seizure has been minimal (two to three times a year) and even if there is one, the number of people apprehended is small (ten persons). For the past few years, no one younger than 18 has been apprehended in these raids.

Kantor Penanggulangan Masalah Sosial (KPMS) or Office for Social Affairs perceives prostituted and trafficked children as victims who need a rehabilitation programme. KPMS does not believe the numbers of young people in prostitution because of economic or psychological reasons or as victims of fraud is increasing.

There are no NGOs in the area with programmes related to the prevention of prostitution.

Policies and programmes in the receiving area (Jakarta)

Policy and programmes of the regional government

The latest development on policy and programmes of the regional government in Jakarta in preventing prostitution was the issuance of DKI Jakarta Governor Decree No. 6485/1998, which ordered the closing of the red-light district in Kramat Tunggak, North Jakarta. As the consequence of this closing of authorized red light district, the women's centre called Panti Sosial Karya Wanita (PSKW) of Teratai Harapan, which provides a rehabilitation programme for the sex workers in the red-light district, was also closed. The centre was built on order of Jakarta Governor Decree No. CA VII/1/13/1970 for the resocialization of homeless women of Kramat Tunggak area. The centre closed because the community believed it had a bad influence on the neighbourhood, especially the young generation. A plan to relocate the centre was opposed by communities in the proposed areas.

Local Regulation (Perda) No. 11/1988 does not specifically regulate prostitution but is used for creating orders that are implemented through raids on prostitution businesses. Sex workers apprehended in those raids, as well as other types of people having social problems such as homeless people, will be sent to a centre to receive treatment. The Provincial Office of Mental Development and Social Welfare of Jakarta are the responsible institution for the implementation of the above local regulation. The programme of this office, in dealing with prostitution issues though not focusing on prostituted children, addresses (1) prevention, (2) law enforcement and (3) rehabilitation. Awareness-raising activities, done through meetings with target groups or face-to-face communication and that aim to build a healthy mental outlook through religious preaching and on the risks of sexual behaviours, have been organized six times a year in areas of prostitution in North Jakarta.

In terms of law enforcement, officials with Dinas Ketentraman, Ketertiban dan Perlindungan Masyarakat (Bureau of Public Protection, Peace and Order and Dinas Pembinaan Mental dan Kesejahteraan Sosial (Bureau of Mental Treatment and Social Welfare) patrol with the police areas where social disorder activities take place. Patrols take place at least twice a month and target establishments such as all-night entertainment places, with the aim to eliminate prostitution, illegal drugs use and distribution, gambling and other criminal acts. According to the data from Panti Ceger Cipayung, there is an average of 30 prostituted people arrested in each operation, most of whom are teenagers. Those arrested and who are from Jakarta can join the Panti Cipayung centre for skills training and counselling services. Those from outside of Jakarta are returned to their hometowns.

Rehabilitation programmes

The Panti Cipayung rehabilitation centre started its operation in 1959; there are no special intervention programmes, however, for prostituted children. The centre functions as a temporary shelter for people with social disorders, but is mainly intended for homeless people and beggars. The centre provides a variety of social welfare services, including referring arrested prostituted workers to other centres for skills training. Prostituted workers arrested for the first time are sent to the Panti Kedoya PSBKW Harapan Mulya where they participate in short-term education and training programmes (about three to four months). Those with a history of arrest are sent to Panti Pasar Rebo to attend a six-month education and training programmes, referred to previously. After completion of courses, participants are expected to get out of prostitution. The Panti Cipayung also help prostituted workers return to their hometowns.

At these three centres, prostituted children and adults receive the same treatment, though the focus is more on the mental and spiritual development.



Conclusions and Recommendations

Research summary

Based on interviews with 12 prostituted children, the five families of prostituted girls, six pimps and brokers and observations of 147 establishments in Jakarta and West Java, the research for this rapid assessment shows that:

- The problems that cause children to be vulnerable to trafficking involve economic, socio-cultural, multi-interest factors, but the bottom line is that all prostituted children are victims.
- The distributions of areas of trafficking in children for sexual purposes are vast, widespread and complicated and include interstate, inter-island and even international trafficking networks. Prostituted children are found in cities, the outskirts of towns and in villages (Rajagaluh, Ciasem, Patok Besi dll).
- Based on the mapping and listing of prostitution locations observed by the researchers in Jakarta, 50 per cent of establishments are obvious, or open, prostitution places. The other locations harbour covert, or disguised, prostitution activities. An estimated 20 per cent of prostituted workers estimated to be operating in the establishments observed by the researchers were children younger than 18. This means that the researchers estimated 4,704 adults and 1,020 prostituted children were working in the establishments observed for this assessment in Jakarta. In West Java, they estimated 4,476 adults and 1,800 prostituted children were working in establishments observed by them during this research.
- There are two types of trafficking in terms of networking functions: i) the arranging function and ii) the marketing function. The network of marketing function is more solid, simple and direct while the arranging function is complex or semi-complex involving intermediaries that are loosely connected to one another. In the trafficking process, there are intermediaries that are loosely connected to one another.

- The initial brokers in the recruitment or trafficking process were generally someone whom prostituted children were familiar with but then the next intermediaries are strangers. In some cases, fraud or deception was used in promising certain job opportunities so that the children become victims. Those facilitating the trafficking process were parents, relatives, husbands, close relatives and acquaintances, pimps, intermediaries, neighbours, friends and even local officials in the places of origin.
- Besides economic and social factors, the desire for a materialistic lifestyle and an unfriendly environment, especially for boys, served as motivating factors for young people to seek work or enter the sex trade. There are cultural factors that discriminate females, such as pressure to marry early, the value of virginity as a commodity and the view that women do not need higher education.
- The prostituted children interviewed for this assessment worked relatively long hours – 6 to 13 hours, typically at night. A few talked of physical abuse and psychological impacts and have minimal support, prevention and intervention programmes available to them. Their health is also threatened by sexually infected diseases, illegal drug use and alcohol addiction. One girl is HIV positive.
- Of the 12 prostituted children who were interviewed, those working “freelance” were more independent and free to arrange working hours. This makes their level of exploitation lower than the other prostituted children who worked under the control of pimps or in nightclubs, bars, massage parlours, etc. that are time- and income-oriented.
- The prostituted children whose clients are those from lower economic level were at greater risk of harm as they generally come from a low-income family background and their working is supported by the family. They are of lower education background, have inadequate knowledge about prevention programmes and a low bargaining position with the customers, intermediaries and pimps. They have limited access to social and medical services.
- In the profile of one sending area, the researched village, the prostituting of girls is related to a low standard of economic and social prosperity. Despite being a highly religious area, daughters there are regarded as alternative “assets” for the family and are pressured to work, even abroad as maids in Brunei or Saudi Arabia, or to marry early in order to ease their parents' economic burdens.
- Positive response from the Government can be seen by the issuance of laws and policies that include punishment for those who involve in the trafficking of children, from brokers to customers. Several rehabilitation

programmes targeting young victims of prostitution and trafficking is being promoted through relevant institutions.

- In relation to regional autonomy, all laws and policies need an in-depth familiarization process as there is no significant commitment from the regions to implement them. Besides, some gaps in the responses to the problem still exist and only become issues at the central level not the regions concerned.
- Government programmes concentrating on law enforcement is limited and in practice centres on open-prostitution activities and the sex workers. Little is done to target covert, or disguised, prostitution. There is minimal disciplinary action taken against violations of operating license of enterprises that illegally provide sexual services; criminal charges rarely are filed against the violators or end user of prostituted children's sexual services. As well, prevention efforts in the sending areas remain minimal.
- Government programmes for either disciplinary inspection or rehabilitation are not yet specially designed to treat child victims; staff who understand the Convention on the Rights of the Child principles are few. Intervention programmes and law enforcement make no distinctions between adults and children found in prostitution.
- The NGO programmes under cooperation with funding organizations and with the Government vary; the number of NGOs conducting elimination and rehabilitation programmes is still limited. Their programmes emphasize more on increasing awareness of prostituted children through counselling and community campaigns, as well as legal protection, prevention to minimize health risks and improve institutional capacity. The programmes are not sustainable for they are still project oriented.

Recommendations

At the central level

Considering that the recent Government's efforts are quite progressive in ratifying and issuing various laws and policies that promote the total elimination of the trafficking of children for sexual purposes, priority now needs to focus on the next step. And that involves ensuring the effectiveness of laws and policy implementation through the following efforts:

- Elaborate and regionalize national policies, either regulations or though national plans of action on the worst form of child labour to ensure total commitment to implementing all policies in both destination places and potential sending places of prostituted children.

- Create special approaches involving the regional government of areas known for prostitution activities; recruiting/trafficking activities need to be developed to increase sensitivity toward prostituted children's problems and trafficking.
- Develop synergetic power and cooperation that are complementary and well coordinated. This can be done in consultation with all related parties, either government or nongovernment, especially at the destination places and potential sending areas of prostituted children. This is necessary to mobilize resources and to assure actual implementation that can be followed up by monitoring and evaluation and measurable accomplishment indicators. Most importantly, the prevention, law enforcement and rehabilitation of the victims should be comprehensive as well as integrated.
- Emphasize the active role of leaders in implementing the NAP policy, which targets trafficking for prostitution as needing urgent intervention to eliminate it. It is also necessary to encourage local government to establish a committee/task force either at the central or regional level. In so doing, sufficient and planned fund allocation is required.
- Formulate special integrated standard operating procedures (SOP) to deal with the trafficking of children for sexual purposes and involve government organizations and NGOs. Furthermore, a strong network should be developed and then spread widely to be alerted to and to prevent the trafficking of children. All parties involved should perform according to the SOP and should be the ones who understand and apply the principles of the CRC.
- Establish a data collection system and accurate mapping of prostituted children's problems and child trafficking, especially potential and identified areas as destination places and sending places. It should be conducted regularly since the mobility of victims is high, which makes it easier to build new prostitution locations and develop covert locations that can operate untouched by officials' supervision.
- Arrange international cooperation to ensure the elimination of child trafficking for prostitution and the punishment of criminals involved in the prostituting of children.
- Mainstream the efforts to eliminate the trafficking of children for prostitution into programmes from relevant institutions, such as *Education for All* and *All for Education*, poverty elimination programmes, social and health programmes.

At the regional level

- Regionalize all implementation and elaboration of laws and policies through the creation of local regulations to eliminate trafficking of children for sexual exploitation and followed by concrete actions.
- Establish a comprehensive prevention programme in sending places at the municipal and district levels by facilitating and developing educational facilities, providing cheap or free education of high quality in order to avoid drop-outs. Conducting counselling of the risks and other issues encountered by prostituted children, prevent early marriage and promote gender equality.
- Establish a surveillance mechanism at the lowest level (in villages), especially the vulnerable areas, that are destination and sending places (such as the Philippines' Child Rights Watch built by the local community in the village, or *barangay*).
- Develop an intervention model leading toward empowering the surrounding community as well as developing local potential to prevent illegal migration and labour absorption.

Recommended action programmes

- Determine regional priority for areas not yet reached by the programme or possibly a programme in the same area that complements with another programme conducted by other parties.
- Set priorities on intervention, whether it is intended for prostituted children working at an open prostitution area or covert area. It is noteworthy that up to now, the Department of Social Affairs and NGOs have concentrated more on dealing with the victims of open prostitution and of low-economic standards. Prostituted children operating at covert areas have not yet been focused upon.
- Aim proposed action programmes to reach micro aspects, namely prevention, law enforcement, and victim's rehabilitation accompanied by macro aspects, such as policy advocacy focusing onto the elimination of trafficking and prostitution at the regional level.
- Develop comprehensive and well-coordinated action programmes between the sending and destination places within the framework to create a solid, synergetic and sustainable effort.
- Arrange campaigns on the importance of education and the promotion of gender equality.

- Make the documentation of all research findings on prostituted children easily accessible so that it can serve as a reference for further research and avoid overlapping. It will also help to identify gaps in understanding.

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