

of marriage is a despicable and misguiding path to follow." According to Prof. Mutawalli Asy Sya'rawi, the clause "And avoid sexual intercourse outside of marriage" means that believers must abjure and shun all forms of sexual intercourse outside of marriage, which include not only sexual acts but also lustful looks at other persons. From this it may be concluded that God has given the choice to human beings to stay clear of sexual intercourse outside of marriage based on His command, and that believers must at all costs resist the temptations of Satan to flout this divine injunction (Mutawalli Asy Sya'rawi, 2000: 142). With regard to sanctions, both female and male are subject to the same punishments. However, the name of the woman is stated first as she is the one who tempted the man through her appearance and attitude. Thus, in Islamic thinking, it is the woman who is to blame for the sin that has been committed (Mutawalli Asy Sya'rawi, 2000: 155).

God's prescribed punishment for fornicators is set out in An-Nuur: 2: "A woman and man who have been found guilty of sexual intercourse outside of marriage shall each receive one hundred lashes." In Islamic law, sexual intercourse outside of marriage is defined as follows: "The insertion of the male's sexual organ into the sexual organ of the female in pursuit of sexual gratification (lust), which act is by its intrinsic nature prohibited (haram)." In a case where the element of lust is absent on the part of one of the parties, for example, in the case of an act of necrophilia, or where a man has sexual congress with his wife during menstruation, this shall not constitute sexual intercourse outside of marriage even though such acts are prohibited (haram). The same applies in the case of an act of bestiality (Sulaiman Rasyid, 1976: 412). Sexual intercourse outside of marriage under Islamic law may occur between a married or unmarried man and a married or unmarried woman, irrespective of whether one of them is still lawfully married or both of them are still lawfully married. In connection with the marital status of the person who engages in sexual intercourse outside of marriage, the is divided into the following two (2) categories:

1. Zina Mukhson, that is, sexual intercourse outside of marriage committed by a person who has a husband or wife, or is still lawfully married.
2. Zina Ghoiru Mukhson, that is, sexual intercourse outside of marriage committed by a person who is not married.

In the case of Zina Ghoiru Mukhson, the stipulations of An-Nuur:2, as quoted above, are applicable. Meanwhile, in the case of Zina Mukhson, the punishment is even more severe, with the perpetrator being stoned to death in a public place. This punishment is founded on the Hadiths (sayings) of the Prophet Mohammad. Ma'iz was stoned to death when he admitted his sexual intercourse outside of marriage. The Prophet Mohammad also participated in the stoning of a woman from the Ghamidiyah tribe (Mutawalli Asy Sya'rawi, 2000: 160).

Analogy equating prostitution with sexual intercourse outside of marriage

In Islamic law, analogy (Qiyas) represents the third source of law after the Koran and the Hadiths (pronouncements of the Prophet Mohammad). According to most ulemas, rulings arrived at by way of qiyas possess the full force of law. The definition of Qiyas is "the arriving at a determination of a legal issue that is not specifically provided for in the written sources of law by analogy with another legal issue that is so provided for based on similarities in the acts involved". According to the majority of Ulemas, the systematic discovery of law through Qiyas must be based on the following key criteria: the legal root (ashal), the branch of the legal root (Cabang), the governing root law (Hukum Ashal) and the act that was committed (Illat). It is based upon such a systematic discovery of law by analogy that prostitution is equated with sexual intercourse outside of marriage. Legal root (ashal): Sexual intercourse outside of marriage Branch of the legal root (cabang): Prostitution Root law (Hukum Ashal): Haram (prohibited) Act (Actus Reus): Sexual intercourse outside of lawful marriage

With the actus reus in the crime of prostitution being the same as that of sexual intercourse outside of marriage, that is to say, the substance of both crimes consists of illicit sexual congress outside of lawful marriage (as defined in the formulation of zina), the punishment for prostitution must be the same as that for adultery. Accordingly, whatever the name or the form of the sexual congress that takes place, whether it be simple adultery, prostitution, or cohabitation between a man and woman, or whether engaged in voluntarily or in return for payment, if it is committed outside of lawful marriage and the element of sexual intercourse outside of marriage as defined under Islamic law is present, then it is prohibited (haram) and the punishment must be the punishment prescribed for sexual intercourse outside of marriage in general.

Comparison between the provisions of the Criminal Code and the rules of Islamic law on sexual intercourse outside of marriage

In Indonesian criminal law, adultery is defined as follows: sexual congress between a man and a woman outside of lawful marriage, with one or both of the parties being married. The possible permutations of this offence may be formulated as follows:

1. Sexual intercourse between a married man and a married woman;
2. Sexual intercourse between a married woman and an unmarried man;
3. Sexual intercourse between a married man and an unmarried woman.

In Islamic legal doctrine, however, sexual intercourse outside of marriage is defined as any form of sexual congress between a man and a woman outside of lawful marriage. Thus, the permutations that may arise are as follows:

1. sexual intercourse between a married man and a married woman – both parties are lawfully married;
2. sexual intercourse between a married man and an unmarried woman;
3. sexual intercourse between a married woman and an unmarried man;
4. sexual intercourse between a man and a woman outside of lawful marriage;

In Indonesian law, sexual intercourse outside of marriage involves the completion of the sexual act, that is to say, penetration of the penis into the vagina and the emission of semen. However, in Islamic law sexual intercourse outside of marriage is defined simply as the insertion of the penis into the vagina (Farij) or anus (dubur). There is no requirement that the sexual act be completed and semen emitted. Under Indonesian law, sexual intercourse outside of marriage/adultery is a complainable offence, that is to say, it must be reported by a spouse who feels he or she has been prejudiced by the act. By contrast, in Islamic law it is sufficient if the offence is admitted by one of the perpetrators, who makes a sworn statement of admission three (3) times (Ikrar), and that evidence proving the commission of the offence (Syahadah) is adduced. The maximum punishment provided for sexual intercourse outside of marriage in the Criminal Code is a term of nine (9) months' imprisonment. Meanwhile in Islamic law, the punishment depends on the gravity of the sexual intercourse outside of marriage that was engaged in, with the specific categorisations being as follows:

1. In the case of Zina Mukhson involving a free person, the punishment is death by stoning;
2. In the case of Zina Mukhson involving a slave, the punishment is 100 lashes;
3. In the case of Zina Ghoiru Mukhson involving a free person, the punishment is 100 lashes and exile;
4. In the case of Zina Ghoiru Mukhson involving a slave, the punishment is 50 lashes; (Sulaiman Rasyid, 1976: 415).

In the Talmud (Eruvin 100b), it is stated that as a result of Eve's sin in heaven, women have been cursed with ten punishments by God, namely:

1. The menstrual cycle. Prior to sinning, Eve did not experience menstruation
2. Women feel pain when having sexual intercourse for the first time.
3. Women are condemned to suffer during the rearing and upbringing of their children. Children need to be cared for, clothed, cleaned and looked after until they reach adulthood. A mother experiences worry or disappointment if her children do not grow

- up as expected.
4. Women are embarrassed by their own bodies.
 5. Women have difficulty in moving around late in pregnancy.
 6. Women experience pain when giving birth.
 7. A woman is prohibited from marrying more than one man.
 8. The desire of the woman during sexual intercourse continues even after the man has ejaculated.
 9. Women experience a great deal of sexual desire, but it is very difficult for them to express this to their husbands.
 10. Women prefer to stay in the home.

03 RESEARCH FINDINGS

- 3.1 The Participants
- 3.2 Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Conditions of Families of Children Involved in Prostitution
- 3.3 Perceptions of Participants regarding the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
- 3.4 Perceptions of the Children regarding Places that are Considered Safe and Those Considered Dangerous
- 3.5 How Children become Involved in and Escape from Prostitution
- 3.6 Lifestyles of Children Involved in Prostitution
- 3.7 Risks Faced by Children Involved in Prostitution
- 3.8 Profiles of the Offspring of the Children Involved in Prostitution



"Although I am still alive, in reality I am dead inside. My mother does not know how difficult it is for me to earn money. She only gets angry at me if I am late in giving her some money."
(S... girl sexually exploited, 15 years old, Surakarta)

children who participated in Laweyan was the result of high mobility between Banjarsari and Laweyan Districts. Children involved in prostitution frequently changed their abodes between the two districts, both of which are very close to each other. One week they would be in Banjarsari District while the next week they would have moved to Laweyan District, and vice versa. At the time when this research was underway, it happened that many of them were living in Banjarsari District.

Figure 3.1 Distribution of Participants by District

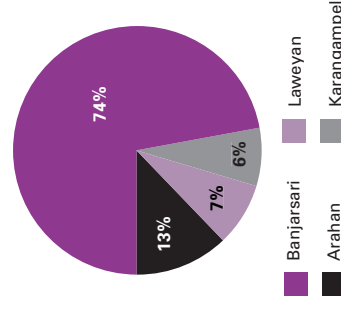


Figure 3.1 shows that 74 percent of the children involved in prostitution came from Banjarsari district, 6 percent from Karangampel district, 7 percent from Laweyan district and 13 percent from Arahah district. Meanwhile, Figure 3.2 shows that of all the categories of participants, the school pupil category was the largest, followed by prostituted children, then school drop-outs and former prostituted children categories.

The disproportionate number of participants between Karangampel District and Arahah District is due to a number of factors. First, it proved difficult to gain acceptance in those areas where prostitution was common, particularly as a clean-up campaign was underway targeting late-night coffee stalls (*warung wedang*) where sexual transactions are frequently negotiated. Second, the numbers of children involved in prostitution found in Karangampel and Arahah Districts were less than those found in Banjarsari and Laweyan. This was a result of the inherent differences between Surakarta and Indramayu described below.

The first significant difference is connected with geographic factors. The research locations in Surakarta are urban areas and trading centres visited by large numbers of people, both for tourism and employment purposes. These conditions are highly favourable for the sex industry. By contrast, the research locations in Indramayu consisted of rural areas, with little to offer in the way of entertainment spots, and with most outsiders visiting for employment purposes only.

The second significant difference is connected with rural-urban migration. Surakarta is surrounded by low-quality agricultural land and mountains. This means that agriculture is not a very profitable occupation, with local farmers finding it very difficult to make a living. As a consequence, many people from surrounding rural areas move to Surakarta in the hope of improving their prospects, and most of them end up in the informal sector. This results in their children also working in the informal sector,

03 RESEARCH FINDINGS

3.1 The Participants

3.1.1 Locations of Participants

The children who participated in this research came from Banjarsari District and Laweyan District in Surakarta Municipality, and Arahah District and Karangampel District in Indramayu Regency. The distribution of participants based on location and type is shown in Table 3.1 and in Figures 1 and 2.

From Table 3.1 it will be seen that a total of 21 children involved in prostitution participated in the research. In Surakarta, the overall distribution of participants was as follows: 17 prostituted children, 3 former prostituted children, 8 children who had been forced to drop out of school, 96 school children and 7 participants in the 'Other' category. The number of participants in the Indramayu research location was not very big, particularly in the case of Karangampel. The disproportionately low number of prostituted

Table 3.1 Location of Participants

Location	Participant Type					Total
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-out	School Pupil	Others	
Surakarta						
Banjarsari	15	1	5	92	7	120
Laweyan	2	2	3	4	-	11
Subtotal	17	3	8	96	7	131
Indramayu						
Karangampel	1	2	2	5	-	10
Arahah	3	4	7	8	-	22
Subtotal	4	6	9	13	-	32
Total	21	9	17	109	7	163

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

involved in prostitution. The local authorities in Banjarsari are concerned that these school students will eventually be influenced by the prostitution that they see daily. Accordingly, they requested that as many school students as possible be included in the research so as to obtain accurate information on the perspectives of the students about the prostitution and soliciting they encounter every day on their way to and from school. It was expected that this information could provide input for a program to prevent current school students being drawn into prostitution.

The last group of participants consisted of those deemed capable of supplying additional or supporting data to corroborate that provided by the children involved in prostitution. This group consisted of customers and boyfriends of the children involved in prostitution.

to be more respectable occupations, e.g. hairdressers or make-up assistants at weddings. This tendency toward concealment was particularly pronounced if the former prostituted children had grown-up children of their own, as was often the case in Indramayu. In these cases, the former prostituted children were very reluctant to talk to outsiders about their former lives. For example, when one was asked about what her previous work in a hairdressing salon involved, she replied, '... I liked it as there was plenty of work ... er ... I mean, lots of men would give me tips. But it was really tiring as I often had to work on Saturday nights to 12 mid-night or even later.' When questioned further about this work and why so many men would be present in the salon until midnight, she immediately changed the subject, obviously unwilling to divulge any further information.

In Surakarta, the principal difficulty lay in trying to find former prostituted children who had totally given up prostitution. During the initial investigations involving children who were still actively involved in prostitution, and from mentors working with the Kakak Foundation, it was ascertained that there were a number of former prostituted children who were no longer actively involved in prostitution, and that they might be willing to serve as informants. However, upon following up on these leads it was discovered that these 'former' prostitutes were actually still actively involved in prostitution. This was encountered time after time so that in the end the researchers were forced to simply accept the situation as it was.

The number of school students who participated in the research (109 children, or 63 percent) was much greater than the number of participants from other groups, with the majority of the school students coming from Banjarsari (92 children).

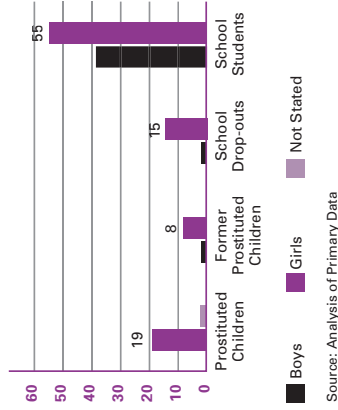
Banjarsari district plays host to a large number of schools, including elementary schools, junior high schools and senior high schools. School students pass through places where prostitution is openly practised every day, with many of the male students baiting or harassing the children

with many of the girls eventually being enticed into prostitution. In Indramayu, particularly in the research locations, agricultural production is dependent on rainfall, with only one rice crop being harvested per year. The number of farmers who own their own land is much less than the number of landless labourers. Thus, after the annual rice harvest has been brought in, these landless labourers have no other source of regular income. During this period, they normally live from hand to mouth, catching birds or making bird traps. The income they earn from these activities is far from adequate. These conditions encourage them to allow their children to migrate to other areas, particularly to Jakarta, where much better employment prospects are to be found. Thus, while Indramayu is widely known as a supplier of commercial sex workers and children involved in prostitution, not many of them actually work in Indramayu itself as most of them have migrated to other areas.

The third difference concerns the appearance of the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta and Indramayu. In Surakarta, it was easy to recognise prostituted children by their dress, manner of talking, and behaviour in public places. In Indramayu, however, the prostituted children were difficult to immediately recognise as their appearance and manner of talking was no different from those of other children of the same, or similar, age. They also tended to frequent places not readily accessible to the public at large. This difficulty in identifying children involved in prostitution was compounded by the attitude of the local community, which appeared anxious to conceal the existence of child prostitution in the area, particularly from outsiders.

The fact that a relatively small number of former prostituted children served as informants was due to a number of reasons. In Indramayu, they all generally had families and children, or had returned to their families. They were reluctant to let others outside of their immediate family circle know that they had once worked as prostitutes. Thus, they tried to conceal their backgrounds by moving to different areas or taking up employment in what the community considers

Figure 3.3 Distribution of Participants by Gender



Source: Analysis of Primary Data

3.1.2 Distribution of Participants by Gender and Age

Males as well as females were involved in the research, as shown in Figure 3.3, which gives the distribution of participants by gender. From Figure 3.3, it can be seen that there are three categories of response to the question on gender, namely, male, female and not stated. The "not stated" category accommodates those participants who were unwilling to categorically state their sex as either male or female. In reality, this category consists of transvestite and transsexual males. In Indonesia, they are frequently referred to as waria. Overall, the majority of the participants in the research were females.

Males working in the commercial sex industry are common in Surakarta. In Banjarsari, there are two locations where transvestites and transsexuals openly gather - Kijingan and Monumen 45. They are usually to be found either standing or sitting along the road in groups or alone between 5 p.m. and 3 a.m. In Laweyan, there are quite a few homosexual children involved in prostitution who engage in sexual activities with members of the same sex while continuing to act and dress like males, as opposed to transvestite or transsexual prostitutes. These gay prostituted children usually hang out around the Sriwedari Sports Centre. In Indramayu, this phenomenon was absent, mainly

The total number of participants was 163, with the breakdown by category being as follows: 109 school pupils, 21 prostituted children, 17 children who had been forced to drop out of school, and 9 former prostituted children. Most of the 21 prostituted children came from the Surakarta research locations (80.9 percent), while 19.1 percent came from the Indramayu research locations.

The relatively small number of children involved in prostitution from Indramayu in comparison with Surakarta is mostly due to the following factors: few entertainment centres in Indramayu, hence non favourable conditions for the sex industry, high levels of rural-urban migration, and difficulty in recognising children involved in prostitution in Indramayu due to their average appearance.

due to the different characteristics of prostitution in Indramayu as compared to Surakarta.

No male commercial sex workers were encountered in the Indramayu research location. However, homosexual men were found in both Arahan and Karangampel districts that acted as pimps in arranging liaisons between the child victims of prostitution and customers. Most of these pimps were over 18 and therefore no longer classified as children. In addition, most of them also had wives. In the cities homosexuals were more common, and often were to be found working in beauty salons. These salons also served as meeting places for homosexuals, where they went both to pass the time with their friends and to meet sexual partners. However, no homosexuals below the age of 18 were encountered in the town centre. The age distribution of research participants is shown in Table 3.2.

From Table 3.2, it can be seen that the majority of participants were between 15 and 18, and that all of the prostituted children came from this age group. Those who came from the 19 to 22 age group and the over 22 age group were either former prostituted children or members of other groups, usually the customers and boyfriends of the prostituted children. Only one school student and one school drop-out came from the 19 to 22 age group.

From this data, it is clear that the selection of participants, particularly the prostituted children, school drop-outs and school students, was in accordance with the recognised upper age limit for children. It turned out to be extremely difficult to find former prostituted children who came within this age group as those who were willing to relate their experiences had, in general, abandoned the world of prostitution some years before.

The distribution of child participants by gender is as follows: of 166 child participants, 66 percent of them were females, 33 percent male, and 1 transsexual.

In the case of the Indramayu research locations, all of the child participants in all of the child categories were female.

Meanwhile, in the Surakarta research locations boys were included in the former prostituted children, school drop-out, and school student categories. The vast majority of children in the prostituted children category were female, although there were also two transsexual children.

3.1.3 Educational Attainments of Participants

The educational level of the research participants ranged from elementary school up to senior high school. The distribution of participants by educational status is shown in Table 3.3.

Participant Type	Location	Participant Age Groups (%)					Total (% Number of Participants)
		10 - 14 Years	15 - 18 Years	19 - 22 Years	Over 22 Years		
Prostituted Children	Surakarta	-	15.3	-	-	-	11.6
	Indramayu	-	3.6	-	-	-	2.7
	Subtotal		18.9				14.3
Former Prostituted Children	Surakarta	-	-	22.2	11.1	-	2.1
	Indramayu	-	-	-	66.7	-	4.1
	Subtotal			22.2	77.8		6.2
School Drop-outs	Surakarta	5.9	5.4	11.1	-	-	5.5
	Indramayu	5.9	7.2	-	-	-	6.2
	Subtotal	11.8	12.6	11.1			11.7
School Students	Surakarta	29.4	65.8	11.1	-	-	54.1
	Indramayu	58.8	2.7	-	-	-	8.9
	Subtotal	88.2	68.5	11.1			63.0
School Children	Surakarta	-	-	55.6	22.2	-	4.8
	Indramayu	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Subtotal			55.6	22.2		4.8
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

and undergraduate students.

It is apparent that the children involved in prostitution in Banjarsari have a higher level of education than those in the other research locations. A total of 6 were junior high school graduates, 7 were junior high school drop-outs and 2 were senior high school drop-outs. In

Laweyan, however, only one prostituted child had managed to complete elementary school. Meanwhile, the highest educational attainment achieved in Indramayu regency was graduation from junior high school. These differences are principally due to the differing characteristics of the research locations. In Surakarta municipality, the research locations consisted of urban areas that are equipped with comprehensive educational facilities located near to where the participants live. Surakarta's socio-cultural environment also makes it possible for girls to continue with their education. In addition, while their parents tend to be employed in the informal sector, they are not dependent for their livelihoods on seasonal factors. Thus, they are more likely to be able to pay for the education of their children. The fact that many of the children had dropped out of school before resorting to prostitution was generally due to the disruption of their home environments as a result of the divorce or separation of their parents. This often meant that their mothers had to seek employment outside the home. The children were then frequently put in the care of grandparents or other family members. One grandmother of a prostituted child recounted: "The father and mother broke up, and the mother went off to work as a domestic in Semarang. The father didn't know that the kid had been given to me. My only source of income is selling vegetables in a small market. So, there is no way I could pay for the kid's schooling."

By contrast, the research locations in Indramayu consisted of rural areas, whose inhabitants are dependent on rainwater irrigated rice cultivation. They only have one opportunity of earning money per year – at harvest time – with the majority of them working for a pittance as agricultural labourers for the rest of the year.

Table 3.3 Distribution of Participants by Educational Status

Location	Participant Education	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
		Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Surakarta	Elementary School	5.9	33.3	-	-	1.8
	Elementary School Drop-out	-	-	11.1	-	0.9
	Junior High School	35.2	-	77.8	96.2	28.6
	Junior High School Drop-out	41.2	33.3	11.1	-	42.8
	Senior High School	-	-	-	2.5	-
	Senior High School Drop-out	11.8	33.3	-	-	2.6
	Other	-	-	-	-	28.6
	No response	5.9	-	-	1.3	-
	Subtotal for Surakarta	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Elementary School	50.0	50.0	33.3	38.5	-
Elementary School Drop-out	-	50.0	-	7.7	-	
Junior High School	25.0	-	55.6	53.8	-	
Junior High School Drop-out	25.0	-	-	-	-	
Senior High School	-	-	11.1	-	-	
Senior High School Drop-out	-	-	-	-	-	
Other	-	-	-	-	-	
No response	-	-	-	-	-	
Subtotal for Indramayu	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Elementary School	14.3	44.5	16.6	5.5	-	
Elementary School Drop-out	-	33.3	5.6	1.1	-	
Junior High School	33.3	-	66.6	90.1	28.6	
Junior High School Drop-out	38.1	11.1	5.6	2.2	42.8	
Senior High School	-	-	5.6	-	-	
Senior High School Drop-out	9.5	11.1	-	-	-	
Other	-	-	-	-	28.6	
No response	4.8	-	-	1.1	-	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: Analysis of Primary Data.

As a result, many of them find it very difficult to pay for the education of their children at a higher level. When asked about her daughter dropping out of elementary school, one mother of a prostituted child in Indramayu said: "How can we school our kids when it's so difficult just to put food on the table. We are only labourers. Sometimes there's work and more often there isn't". This situation is exacerbated by the fact that there is still a section of the community in Indramayu Regency that sees no point in educating girls beyond elementary school. For these people, as long as the girls can read and write, that is sufficient.

Besides junior high school students and junior high school drop-outs, the "Other" category consisted of two third level students, both of whom were the boyfriends of children involved in prostitution working in Banjarsari.

Of the prostituted child participants in Surakarta, 5.9 percent had just an elementary school education, 41.2 percent had dropped out of junior high school, 35.3 percent had graduated from junior high school, and 11.8 percent had dropped out of senior high school. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 50 percent had just an elementary school education, 25 percent had dropped out of junior high school, and 25 percent had graduated from junior high school. None of the prostituted children in Indramayu had graduated from senior high school. Thus, the educational attainments of the prostituted children in Surakarta are relatively higher than those of the prostituted children in Indramayu which is mostly due to availability and accessibility of education centres in Surakarta as opposed to lack of higher level schooling facilities in Indramayu.

3.1.4 Places of Abode of Participants

Table 3.4 contains data on where the research participants lived:

In Surakarta, a total of 41.2 percent of the children involved in prostitution lived with their parents, 5.9 percent with an uncle or aunt, 23.5 percent with a friend, and 11.8 percent in rented rooms. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 75 percent of the children involved in prostitution lived with their parents, and 25 percent in their grandmother's/grandfather's house.

From the above table, it is obvious that almost half of the children involved in prostitution (10 children) live with their parents, while the 11 others have varied places of abode – 3 of them live with family members (in the homes of aunts or grandmothers), while 7 others live alone or with other people (with friends or boyfriends, in rented rooms or in other places)

In Surakarta, some of the children involved in prostitution lived with their parents or grandmothers, while others lived with other people or alone. Meanwhile in Indramayu, all of the prostituted children lived with their parents or grandmothers. One prostituted child in Surakarta gave her reason for living with another person as: "There's always problems at home with dad". Given the problems faced in their own homes, children involved in prostitution often in the end decide to live with other persons or alone. In Indramayu, although the children involved in prostitution frequently slept away from their own homes, they still continued to live with their families. Some of the parents of the children involved in prostitution felt embarrassed by the fact that their children often came home late at night. However, the children frequently tried to overcome such unease on the part of parents by acting like model children when within the home environment. For example, they would refrain from smoking or drinking in front of the neighbours, and avoid bringing customers home. They often also tried to win over neighbours by distributing little gifts and other acts of generosity.

With regard to the "Other" category, for the participants this meant the places of abode of their boyfriends, while for school students this term implied the homes of other families, but not the homes of aunts/uncles or grandparents.

The position as regards school drop-outs and school students was not marked by any major differences. Almost all of the participants from the school drop-out category lived either with their parents or their grandparents, with only one among them living in a rented room. As for the school students, almost all of them lived with their parents, with only one of them living with grandparents, and two of them living with other families.

In Surakarta, 41.2 percent of the children involved in prostitution lived with their parents, 5.9 percent lived with their

Table 3.4 Places of Abode of Participants

Location	Participant's Place of Abode	Participant Type (%)					Total (% Number of Participants)
		Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	Others	
Surakarta	With parents	41.1	33.3	55.6	96.2	14.3	78.1
	With aunt/uncle	5.9	-	33.3	-	-	3.5
	With grandparents	5.9	33.3	-	1.3	-	2.6
	With a friend	23.5	-	-	-	14.3	4.4
	Rented room	11.8	-	11.1	-	14.3	3.5
	Own House	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Brothel	-	33.3	-	-	-	0.9
	Other	11.8	-	-	2.5	57.1	7.0
	Subtotal for Surakarta	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Indramayu	With parents	75.0	33.3	88.9	100.0	-
With aunt/uncle		-	-	-	-	-	-
With grandparents		25.0	-	11.1	-	-	6.3
With a friend		-	-	-	-	-	-
Rented room		-	16.7	-	-	-	3.1
Own House		-	33.3	-	-	-	6.3
Brothel		-	-	-	-	-	-
Other		-	16.7	-	-	-	3.0
Subtotal for Indramayu		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total		With parents	47.6	33.3	72.2	96.7	14.3
	With aunt/uncle	4.8	-	16.6	-	-	2.7
	With grandparents	9.5	11.6	5.6	1.1	-	3.4
	With a friend	19.0	-	-	-	14.3	3.4
	Rented room	9.5	11.1	5.6	-	14.3	3.4
	Own House	-	22.3	-	-	-	1.4
	Brothel	-	11.1	-	-	-	0.7
	Other	9.6	11.1	-	2.2	57.1	6.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

uncles/aunts, 5.9 percent lived with their grandparents, 23.5 percent lived with friends, and 11.8 percent lived in rented rooms. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 75 percent of children involved in prostitution lived with their parents and 25 percent lived with their grandparents.

3.1.5 Profiles of Participants' Families

From the data presented above, it is clear that there is a tendency for prostituted children and former prostituted children in Surakarta to live apart from their parents. The reason often given for this is that they face too many problems living with their parents. As a result, they feel constrained to leave the family home. Their discomfort living at home is often also

Table 3.5 Number of Family Members

Location	Number of Family Members	Participant Type (%)					Total (% Number of Participants)
		Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	Others	
Surakarta	2 - 4 persons	47.0	33.3	22.2	43.6	57.1	43.0
	5 - 7 persons	41.2	66.7	66.7	51.3	42.9	50.8
	8 - 10 persons	5.9	-	11.1	3.8	-	4.4
	More than 10 persons	5.9	-	-	1.3	-	1.8
Subtotal for Surakarta		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Indramayu	2 - 4 persons	25.0	-	11.1	7.7	-	9.4
	5 - 7 persons	75.0	83.3	77.8	76.9	-	78.1
	8 - 10 persons	-	-	11.1	15.4	-	9.4
	More than 10 persons	-	16.7	-	-	-	3.1
Subtotal for Indramayu		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Total	2 - 4 persons	42.9	11.1	16.7	38.5	57.1	35.6
	5 - 7 persons	47.5	77.8	72.2	54.9	42.9	56.8
	8 - 10 persons	4.8	-	11.1	5.5	-	5.5
	More than 10 persons	4.8	11.1	-	1.1	-	2.1
Total		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

connected with the number of family members sharing the home. Table 3.5 shows the number of people living in the family home at the time the participants were enticed into prostitution.

In Surakarta, 47.1 percent of the prostituted children's families consisted of between 2 and 4 persons, 41.2 percent between 5 and 7 persons, and 5.9 percent between 8 and 10 persons. A total of 5.9 percent of their families consisted of more than 10 persons. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 25 percent of the families comprised between 2 and 4 persons, while 75 percent consisted of between 5 and 7 persons.

The term "number of family members" as used in the above table means the participants, their siblings and their parents. In the case of children whose parents were divorced or separated, it could well be that the number of family members only amounted to 2 persons.

From the above data it is apparent that 9 prostituted children came from families with

between 2 and 4 members, while 10 came from families with between 5 and 7 members. Meanwhile, a total of 7 prostituted children came from families with between 5 and 7 members. Only one prostituted child and 3 former prostituted children came from families with between 8 and 10 members. With regard to families with 10 or more members, only one prostituted child and one former prostituted child came from such homes.

Based on this data, we may conclude that the majority of the participating prostituted children and former prostituted children came from families with between 5 and 7 members. In normal circumstances, that is to say, where the parents are not divorced or separated, this means that the majority of their families have between 3 and 5 children.

If we connect this data with that for school drop-outs and school students, the majority of whom also come from families with between 5 and 7 members, it can be seen that family size is not an

Table 3.6 Participants Representing Institutions

Location	Program	Participant	
		Governmental Agency	Non-Governmental Agency
Surakarta	Directly Involved	Health Agency	Kakak Foundation PKBI Panti Karya GOW Wanita Utama
		Local Government	PKK Karang Taruna Muhammadiyah Nahdlatul Ulama Nasyiatul Aisyah Pemuda Muhamadiyah GP Ansor Fatayat NU
	Indirectly Involved	Department of Religious Affairs National Education Service	
Indramayu	Directly Involved	Social Welfare, Employment and Transmigration Agency	-
		Public Order Agency Police	
	Indirectly Involved	Local Government PKBI MUI	PKK PKBPI MUI
		Local Development Board National Family Planning Board Community Empowerment Service Education Service	Humamid Foundation Suaka Foundation Abjadi Foundation Islamic Religious Schools

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

relatively small compared to the number of non-governmental organisations concerned with trying to assist the children indirectly. This, however, is not only true in the specific case of the commercial sexual exploitation of children, but also applies to all commercial sex workers, the majority of whom are over 18. In general, the problem of prostitution is taken to include the issue of child victims of prostitution – the focus of this research. Among the efforts undertaken by the government are preventative measures, such as the work being carried out in Surakarta by the Health Agency which involves monitoring the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases in places where prostitution is commonplace. Other efforts are rehabilitative in nature, such as the provision of vocational training courses by the Public Welfare and Women’s Empowerment Agency in Surakarta, and the Social Welfare, Employment and Transmigration Agency in Indramayu Regency, as well as the protection provided by the police in Indramayu Regency.

Finally, some government agencies such as the Public Order Agency in Indramayu Regency take repressive measures such as raiding and demolishing places of prostitution like late night coffee stalls (warung wedang) that are considered to serve as fronts for prostitution.

Non-governmental organisations directly involved in attempting to help child victims of prostitution are relatively plentiful in Surakarta but are completely absent in Indramayu. This is probably due to the fact that the problems of prostitution and child neglect are particularly glaring in Surakarta so that there is a relatively high level of public concern. The fact that the problem is clear for all to see has encouraged people to get involved in trying to do something about it. Nevertheless, only the Kakak Foundation is actually directly involved in trying to help child victims of prostitution, with the other non-governmental organisations in the field tending to focus more on outreach activities, monitoring the incidence of sexually transmitted diseases, and providing vocational training. In Indramayu, public participation in attempting to deal with the problems faced by marginalised children

overriding factor in encouraging children to turn to prostitution. In fact, there may well be many other more dominant or mutually influential factors motivating them to do so.

The participating prostituted children were grouped in accordance with the sizes of their families. The precise figures were as follows: In Surakarta, 47.1 percent came from families with between 2 and 4 members, 42.2 percent from families with between 5 and 7 members, 5.9 percent from families with between 8 and 10 members, and 5.9 percent from families with more than 10 members.

Meanwhile in Indramayu, 25 percent of the children’s families consisted of between 2 and 4 members, and 75 percent between 5 and 7 members. In Indramayu no prostituted child’s family consisted of more than 8 persons.

3.1.6 Participants Representing Institutions

The adult participants from government institutions consisted of the representatives of those government agencies/offices which have to date been involved either directly or indirectly in dealing with the problem of child prostitution. In both Surakarta and Indramayu, the number of government agencies involved in handling this particular social problem is relatively small compared to the number of non-governmental organisations that are indirectly involved in trying to help the children.

In more detail, the government and non-governmental organisations that are involved either directly or indirectly in dealing with child victims of prostitution are given in Table 3.6.

From the above table, it can be seen that in both Surakarta and Indramayu the number of government institutions involved in dealing with the problem of child prostitution is

through non-governmental organisations has not yet manifested itself due to the fact that these sort of social problems tend to remain hidden, or are deliberately swept under the carpet. While prostitutes operate in many places in Indramayu Regency, they do not do so as openly and brazenly as they do in Surakarta. Thus, the local community feels less concern about the problem. In fact, some people who have been long-time residents of Indramayu claimed they had never encountered commercial sex workers soliciting on the streets.

Quite a lot of activities indirectly related to the prostitution problem are undertaken by non-governmental organisations in both Surakarta and Indramayu. These non-governmental organisations in general are involved in preventative efforts, such as participating in Women’s Empowerment Sub-agency’s seed/working capital program in Indramayu, where working or seed capital is provided to the parents of girls who have been forced to drop out of school. This is done in the hope that they will be able to start small businesses and in

way avoid being enticed into prostitution. Vocational training programs are also provided for teenage school drop-outs, such as the one run by the Wanita Utama Foundation in Surakarta Municipality. What is particularly interesting about Indramayu Regency is the existence of a scheme run by representatives of both non-governmental organisations and governmental agencies. This scheme is co-ordinated by the Local Development Board (Bapeda), and is known as the Mother and Child Protection and Growth Scheme (KHPPIA). It is directly concerned with the handling of children's problems. The scheme's executives are currently awaiting the findings of this research to serve as input for the formulation of programs to address the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

In both Surakarta and Indramayu, there are as yet no government agencies that have instituted special programs for dealing with the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In Surakarta, there is, however, a non-governmental organisation that provides mentoring and counselling to child victims of prostitution. No such organisation exists as yet in Indramayu.

3.2 Socio-economic and Socio-cultural Conditions of Families of Children Involved in Prostitution

3.2.1 Socio-economic Conditions of Families of Children Involved in Prostitution

3.2.1.1 Surakarta

The indicators that may be employed in ascertaining the socio-economic conditions experienced by the children involved in prostitution include their parents' sources of income, conditions in the home, the condition of household equipment and furnishings, and the physical condition of family members. These indicators are based on the assumption that the condition of the home, the amount of household

equipment and furnishings possessed and the health of family members reflect primary and secondary needs. Primary needs may be said to be fulfilled if a family has managed to satisfy the minimum requirements as regards such needs. Where a family has achieved a higher level of fulfilment in respect of these needs from the perspective of quantity and quality, then there will be additional money available that can subsequently be used to satisfy secondary needs.

The most visible indicator of socio-economic circumstances is the condition of the houses of the parents of children involved in prostitution. There are three categories employed to describe the condition of houses, namely, permanent, semi-permanent, and non-permanent. A permanent dwelling is defined as one in which all of the walls are constructed of brick or masonry, and are plastered or finished off with cement; the roof is constructed from tiles or asbestos; the floor is cemented over or tiled, or in the particular case of Surakarta, is made of compacted earth; and the house is divided into a number of rooms, with at least a guest room, bedroom, kitchen, bathroom and lavatory. A semi-permanent dwelling is defined as one where up to half or one quarter of its walls are constructed of brick or masonry, with the remainder being made from plaited bamboo or plywood; the roof is constructed of tiles or asbestos; the floor is cemented over or consists of compacted earth; and the house is divided into rooms, with at least a guest room, bedroom, kitchen, bathroom and lavatory. This category also includes those houses that do not have their own bathrooms and lavatories but have access to public washrooms and lavatories, which the occupants share with their neighbours. Finally, a non-permanent dwelling is defined as one where all of the walls are made of plaited bamboo or pieces of plywood, or where all of the walls are made of bricks or masonry, but these are not cemented over so that they appear crude or half-finished, with the mortar crumbling or disintegrating; the roof is of tiles, plastic sheeting, or planks; the house only contains one room which simultaneously functions for receiving guests, and as the bedroom and kitchen, while

the bathroom and lavatory are generally found outside the house at the rear.

The household equipment and furnishings indicator involves three categories: good, fair and poor. The situation is said to be good where the household equipment and furnishings are in good order, their parts or components are still intact, their paint or colour is still bright, and they still retain their original shape or form. The situation is categorised as being fair where the household equipment and furnishings are still functioning but where some of their parts or components are missing, or their colour or paint has faded. Meanwhile, the situation is described as poor when the household equipment and furnishings are no longer usable, many of their parts or components are missing, their colour or paint has faded, and they are warped or out of shape.

The physical condition of family members is ascertained based on the condition of their skin, eyes and teeth. Once again, the categories of good, fair and poor are employed. Skin condition is said to be good when the skin appears as fresh and elastic as it should be given the age and health of the subject. It is classified as being fair when it appears less than fresh, with brown or black discolorations being in evidence, and where it is insufficiently elastic based on the age and the health of the subject. Finally, the skin condition is said to be poor where it appears dirty, is insufficiently elastic based upon the age and there are indications of skin disease. The condition of a subject's eyes is said to be good where they appear clear, healthy and the eyesight of the subject is as one would expect for his/her age. The condition of the eyes is said to be poor where they appear clouded, there are indications of disease, for example, reddening, continuous watering, or where the eyesight of the subject is less than one would expect for his/her age. Finally, the condition of the eyes is said to be poor where they appear lifeless; there are indications of disease, or where the eyesight of the subject is less than one would expect from a person of her/his age. Regarding a subject's

teeth, these are categorised as being in good condition when they are clean and healthy, and the subject still has a full set. They are said to be fair when they are less than clean, and where the subject has a full set but they appear unhealthy, for example, the subject experiences frequent toothaches or bleeding of the gums. Meanwhile, the teeth are said to be in poor condition where they are neglected, and the subject has many teeth missing and experiences frequent toothaches.

In general, many of the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta municipality come from migrant families, often hailing from the regencies surrounding Surakarta, such as Klaten, Boyolali, Sragen, Blora, Purwodadi and Karanganyar. There are also migrants who come to Surakarta municipality from East Java province, including Pacitan and Jember. They migrate to Surakarta to search for a better life. In general, they find employment in the informal sector, including working as meatball hawkers, pedicab drivers, scavengers, snack vendors, traditional masseurs, and togel and cap jiki ticket sellers (both of these are illegal lotteries or numbers rackets popular with people from the lower income brackets).

Of the 11 prostituted child participants in Surakarta, 55 percent of them came from migrant families who had come to Surakarta from Klaten (a regency located 30 kilometres north of Surakarta), Sujuharjo (a regency located 25 kilometres east of Surakarta), and Purwodadi (a regency located 70 kilometres west of Surakarta), and even from Jakarta (the capital of Indonesia, which is located 500 kilometres away). Their families had migrated to Surakarta in search of a better life and to escape the poverty that had dogged them all their lives. A total of 40 percent of these families squatted on state land along the banks of the Pepe River, which divides Banjarsari from Laweyan, while one family, or 10 percent, lived in the cigarette kiosk/stall they had established in front of the Balapan railway station in Surakarta (in Banjarsari). All of them eked out an existence in the informal sector, working as scavengers, pedicab drivers, beggars, and vendors. Some of the mothers had also become

Table 3.7 Places of Origin, Places of Abode and Sources of Livelihood of Parents of Children Involved in Prostitution in Surakarta

Participant No	Place of Origin	Place of Abode	Parents Source of Livelihood
01	Klaten	Riverbank	Father scavenger/mother beggar
02	Surakarta	Residential Area	TNI Pensioner
03	Surakarta	Residential Area	Garment Factory Employee
04	Surakarta	Residential Area	Father passed away, mother unemployed
05	Surakarta	Residential Area	Civil Service Pensioner
06	Surakarta	Residential Area	Living with unemployed grandmother
07	Punwodadi	Kiosk	Pedicab Driver
08	Surakarta	Residential Area	Odd jobs
09	Sukoharjo	Riverbank	Parents divorced, mother working as commercial sex worker
10	Jakarta	Riverbank	Parents divorced, mother working as vegetable vendor
11	Sukoharjo	Riverbank	Father pedicab driver, mother commercial sex worker.

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

commercial sex workers. Fifty percent of the prostituted children's families lived in residential areas.

In Indramayu, 100 percent of the prostituted children's families were originally from Indramayu. 80 percent of their parents worked as agricultural labourers, while 20 percent of them worked as drivers and lived in Jakarta.

The general circumstances of the families of the participant prostituted children can be seen in more detail in Table 3.7.

The data presented in Table 3.7 shows that a total of six of the prostituted children came from Surakarta and lived in residential areas in Banjarsari and Laweyan. Three of their families had regular incomes as their parents worked or had worked in the formal sector, namely, an Indonesian Military pensioner, a civil service pensioner, and an employee of a garment factory. Two of the families were without a regular income as the fathers had died or the child had been left with a widowed grandmother. However,

the incomes earned by the parents of the children involved in prostitution, particularly those parents who worked in the informal sector, was always inadequate to support the families' extravagant lifestyles. In fact, many of the parents were gamblers or drinkers. Furthermore, many were not serious about their work so that the income they were able to earn was frequently less than what they should have been earning given the opportunities. Their lifestyles encouraged them to rely on their children to supply the additional money they needed, including for purchase of secondary requirements, such as furniture, televisions, radio-cassette recorders, clothes, etc. Nevertheless, they tended not to hold on to these secondary goods for long, as they were frequently sold in order to pay for more pressing and urgent needs, including everyday necessities, as well as for other activities such as gambling.

These conditions had an impact on the capacity of the prostituted children's families to supply their needs, particularly those connected with the socio-economic indicators referred to above. Of the 11 prostituted children in Surakarta,

Table 3.8 Physical Circumstances of Families of Children Involved in Prostitution in Surakarta

Participant No	House Classification	Clean Water Sources	Household Utensils			Physical Appearance		
			House	Utensils	Skin	Teeth	Eyes	
01	Non-Permanent	Hosepipe from neighbour's house	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	
02	Permanent	Own well and pump	Fair	Good	Good	Good	Good	
03	Non-Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Good	Fair	
04	Semi Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Good	Good	
05	Permanent	Own well	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	
06	Semi Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	
07	Non-Permanent	Station well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	
08	Semi Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Good	Fair	
09	Non-Permanent	Own well and pump	Poor	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	
10	Non-permanent	Own well	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	
11	Non-Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Good	Good	

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

54 percent of their parents worked in the informal sector as pedicab drivers, stall holders, commercial sex workers, scavengers, and beggars. Nine percent worked as textile factory employees, 18 percent were pensioners, and 19 percent were unemployed.

The physical condition of their houses, including the structure of the houses, ventilation and access to daylight, water supplies, and household utensils, can be seen in more detail from Table 3.8.

A total of 18 percent of the parents of the children involved in prostitution lived in semi-permanent constructions while 55 percent lived in non-permanent constructions. The above data shows that more than half of the homes of the children

involved in prostitution were non - permanent, three families lived in semi-permanent dwellings, while only two families lived in permanent dwellings with cement floors. The situation regarding ventilation and access to daylight in some of the house was only fair – for example, only the guest room had a window, while the only light available in the other rooms came through open doors. In some other dwellings, there was only a tiny window in each room which was insufficient to provide adequate ventilation. In some of the dwellings, the ventilation was poor as there were almost no windows at all, or if there were windows, they only admitted daylight and could not be opened to provide ventilation. Only a very few of the dwellings provided adequate ventilation and light, where there was a window in every room that could be opened and could

admit sufficient daylight. With regard to water supply, almost all of the dwellings relied for water on their own wells, with one case where water was obtained via a hosepipe from a neighbouring house, and another where water was obtained via a hosepipe from the railway station.

The cleanliness of the houses was also inadequate. In some of the houses goods were stored willy-nilly so that the houses appeared untidy and disorderly. In the case of those dwellings that had dirt floors or where the walls were not plastered, dust was a major problem. In addition, household furniture was usually in a bad way – old and worn out. Only a very few families maintained their homes in a clean and neat fashion. Meanwhile, the homes of a very few were classified as being filthy.

Most of the household equipment and furnishings in the homes of the Surakarta participants were in poor condition or broken. In Indramayu, the majority of the parents of the participants possessed old, poorly maintained or broken household equipment and furnishings. Only in the case of two families was the condition of the household furnishings and utensils classified as good.

The physical condition of the members of the children's families varied from good to poor.

The skin condition of the members of three of the families was classified as being good, while it was categorised as being fair in the case of seven families. Meanwhile, the skin condition of the members of one family was classified as being poor. The teeth of the members of seven families were deemed to be good, the teeth of three families were classified as being fair, while the teeth of the members of one family were described as being poor. With regard to ocular health, the eye of the members of 5 families were classified as being good, five families were classified as being fair while the ocular health of one family was described as poor.

3.2.1.2 Indramayu

Of the five prostituted children involved in the research in Indramayu, all came from Indramayu itself and their families had been living in the area since time immemorial. Almost all of their parents made their living by working as agricultural labourers, while one worked as a driver in Jakarta. This was not actually the child's natural father but rather her stepfather, whose relationship with the participant was distant. As labourers, the parents of the Indramayu participants could only look forward to a certain income once per year at harvest time. From the time the new crop had been planted until harvest time, they worked doing odd jobs, catching wild birds or fish for sale, working as construction

labourers or in brickworks, with no guarantee of how much they would earn, or whether they would earn anything at all. Whatever money they managed to make went on meeting their basic necessities, and the money that they were given by their children also went towards covering the cost of such necessities. In some cases, however, the money sent by children was used to buy farmland or build houses. One prostituted child recounted: "I do this work to make my family proud. I can't bear to see my father and mother having to work in the rice fields, and I want to be able to build a house for them. Look at our old house, it's falling apart. Once the new house is built, I want to get married and then I'll get out of this line of work".

Their socio-economic circumstances have also had an impact on the physical condition of family members. Two of the families live in a slum while three others live in a poor residential area reached through a narrow alleyway. The details of the physical condition of the families of the children involved in prostitution are given in Table 3.9.

In Indramayu, 100 percent of the houses of all of the parents of the children involved in prostitution were classified as being semi-permanent. All of the houses had earth or cement floors. There were differences in the size of the dwellings, however, with some of them measuring 5 x 6 meters, while others measured 6 x 7 meters. They had their own bathing facilities, while water was obtained from muddy and saltwater-contaminated wells. Only two of the families used public wells, that is to say, wells that were used jointly by a number of families.

Ventilation and access to daylight was inadequate in most cases, for example, only a window in the guest room while the other rooms received daylight and ventilation through open doors. Sometimes there was a tiny window in each room but these could not be opened to provide ventilation. Only a few of the houses had adequate ventilation and access to daylight, with a window in every room that could be opened. Cleanliness was poor in all of the homes due

to the fact that they had dirt floors and unplastered walls. Thus, dust was a major problem. Household furnishings were generally old and poorly maintained, while household equipment was usually in poor condition or broken. The physical condition of family members as shown by the condition of their skin, teeth and eyes ranged from fair to poor. They were usually dark-skinned in line with their work in the open air as farm labourers. Their eyes also tended to be dull, listless or even cloudy, especially when talking about the lives led by their children. Their teeth were poorly maintained. In fact, the teeth of some of them were very dirty and stained.

From the above description of the socio-economic circumstances of the families of children involved in prostitution in Indramayu and Surakarta, it will be seen that there are a number of similarities as well as differences, both as regards the socio-economic conditions themselves and the factors that influence these socio-economic conditions.

The most striking similarity concerns the physical circumstances of the family members, particularly the condition of their homes, the situation as regards ventilation and access to daylight, and their sources of clean water. Both in Surakarta Municipality and in Indramayu Regency, these physical conditions tend to range between fair and poor. Only two families were classified as living in good conditions. Nevertheless, it is apparent that the families of the children involved in prostitution always strive to fulfil the primary needs of their families, such as having their own house. The same applies to clean water supplies – the majority of the families of the children involved in prostitution have wells and their own bathrooms. They seem to understand the importance of having access to clean water and having their own bathrooms so as to meet their daily requirements.

Another similarity is the high level of dependence on the part of parents on the children involved in prostitution. Everything is left up to these children, from supplying basic necessities to building houses.

Table 3.9 Physical Condition of the Family Members of Children Involved in Prostitution in Indramayu

No	Participant Code	House Classification	Clean Water Sources	Household Utensils	Physical Appearance		
					Skin	Teeth	Eyes
01	K	Semi Permanent	Public Well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair
02	R	Semi Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair
03	T	Semi Permanent	Public Well	Poor	Fair	Fair	Fair
04	C	Semi Permanent	Own well	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair
05	E	Semi Permanent	Well and Pump	Fair	Fair	Good	Good

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

One of the significant differences between Surakarta and Indramayu involves the character of the families of the children involved in prostitution. In Surakarta itself, there are two different types of family - migrant families and families that are originally from Surakarta. This difference in the character of the children's families has particular importance as regards sources of livelihood, the work ethic and outlook on life. The migrant families tend to work in the informal sector, have a poorly developed work ethic but highly extravagant lifestyles given their income, and tend to have a short-term approach to life. This means that what they earn now, they also want to spend now. The parents are aware that their children are involved in prostitution and frequently encourage this as it provides additional money to sustain their extravagant lifestyles. By contrast, the families who originally come from Surakarta tend to be employed in the formal sector, have a more highly developed work ethic, and have an outlook on life that accords with the generally prevailing norms in society. If their children do tend to stray into prostitution, this is primarily because of their urban lifestyles and the fact that they need additional money in order to participate in the sort of social life that is normally found in the city. Their entry into the world of prostitution is frequently unplanned or is something that their parents are unaware of as the children often cover up what they do by telling their parents they work in a shop or a salon.

In Indramayu, almost all of the parents of the children involved in prostitution work in the agricultural sector and have quite a highly developed work ethic. They work hard and always try to do their best. This is the result of the challenges they face in their lives, where their work depends on the elements and they have only one certain opportunity of earning income in the year, i.e., at harvest time. These conditions mean that they have also learned how to save and to live frugally. Their outlook on life is dominated by the norms and traditions that shape their environment. If their children resort to prostitution, this is generally due to the desire of the children to do something to

improve the economic lot of their families. Nevertheless, there are some families who avail of these circumstances and permit their children to become prostitutes so as to benefit from the remittances they send home. However, both families and children consider that what they are doing conflicts with prevailing social norms and feel embarrassed in front of their neighbours. In addition, the children from Indramayu involved in prostitution have usually set themselves clear targets that they wish to achieve from the fruits of their work as sex workers, and intend to get out of prostitution as soon as these targets have been met. This is shown by the number of former prostituted children in Indramayu who, since abandoning prostitution, have married and raised families of their own.

The socio-economic conditions experienced by the children involved in prostitution were assessed based on the occupations of their parents, places of abode and access to potable water.

Occupation of Parents: In Surakarta, 54 percent of the prostituted children's parents work in the informal sector, e.g. as pedicab drivers, stallholders, commercial sex workers, scavengers, and beggars. Meanwhile, 9 percent worked as textile factory employees, 18 percent were pensioners, and 19 percent were unemployed. In Indramayu, by contrast, 80 percent of the prostituted children's parents worked as agricultural labourers, while 20 percent worked as public transportation drivers.

Place of Abode: In Surakarta, 55 percent lived in non-permanent buildings such as in their cigarette kiosks, or food and other stalls, or in illegally erected dwellings on riverbanks, while 27 percent lived in semi-permanent dwellings and 18 percent in permanent dwellings. In Indramayu, 100 percent of the prostituted children lived in

semi-permanent dwellings with dirt floors.

Access to Potable Water: In Surakarta, 91 percent used wells for their potable water needs, while only 9 percent received their water supplies from the local water utility. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 100 percent of the prostituted children's families used wells for their potable and other water requirements

3.2.2 Socio-cultural Conditions of Families of Children Involved in Prostitution

3.2.2.1 Surakarta

The system of power/authority prevailing in Java is focused on the Javanese princely houses, or sultanates, and is based on a concentric concept. The political system adhered to is a monarchical one focused on the sultan. The people believe that the sultanate, embodied in the reigning sultan, is akin to a giant that radiates light and makes the world go around. This unscientific or irrational concept is matched by an equally unscientific, irrational political system. Within it, all roles, figures, concepts of perfection and behaviour focus on the sultan. All the sultan's subjects must submit absolutely to his will, and it is inconceivable that subordinates could oppose or attempt to deconstruct the monarchy. In its heyday, this culture is often considered to have been anti-sexual, something that R. A. Kartini tried to change (Sukatno 2002).

The Javanese culture is special and unique, and possesses a special and unique dialectical system as well. One of these dialectics is manifested in the system of symbols that surrounds sexual life. During the golden age of the Javanese sultanates, the theme of sexuality was a dominant one, in addition to the themes of ethics, morality and spirituality. During that period, sexuality was also an integral part of Javanese artistic and cultural expression. From the Centhini manuscript, it is apparent that the issue of sexuality was spoken of openly and without reserve, something that at

first sight would seem to be out of keeping with the puritanical and orthodox system of social mores in Javanese culture. In this manuscript, various types of sexual activity and positions are discussed. In fact, sex is portrayed as something to be enjoyed in an open, almost hedonistic manner.

Heine-Geldern, as quoted by Frans Magnis Suseno in his book *Etika Jawa (Javanese Ethics)* (Sukatno 2002:78), shows us that the sultans were regarded as being the source of the cosmic energy that suffused the earth and ensured order, justice and fertility. The sultan's power was manifested in various ways – one of which was the number of concubines he possessed. Being surrounded by feminine beauty was regarded by the sultans of Java as an adornment or accessory that served to increase their majesty and power. Meanwhile, in the Cemporet manuscript, written by R. Ng. Ranggawarsita in Pupuh Asmaradana, it is stated that a woman is like the receptacle or holder of a precious jewel, while the precious jewel itself is the man. For a woman to go to heaven, she must hitch a ride on the coat-tails of her consort.

For the Javanese, sex is primarily about its essential purpose, that is, the production of offspring and heirs. However, aside from this essential purpose, it is also to be enjoyed and ritualised as a source of hedonistic pleasure (Sukatno 2002:3).

Surakarta is widely known as one of the cultural centres of Central Java. It is home to two princely houses – the Kasunan Paku Buwono and the Kraton Mangku-negaran. At present, with social change taking place everywhere, the people of Surakarta have found themselves not to be immune. The pattern of marriages between couples of equal rank or class, which was still predominant only a few decades ago, has slowly but surely begun to change. Also the system of social hierarchy has been changing from a closed to a more open one that now enables those of lower class or status to improve their position based on the skills and gifts that they possess.

Many of Surakarta's inhabitants still practice various traditional rituals and continue to adhere to traditional beliefs, such as revering heirlooms like ceremonial daggers, spears, and other sacred objects, which they believe are capable of providing protection for them and their families. These sacred objects are presented with offerings once a week on Fridays, which usually take the form of flowers, such as orchids and magnolias. This is why flower sellers do such a good business in Surakarta. In fact, Surakarta has a special market devoted entirely to supplying flowers to be used as offerings. This market is located in Laweyan.

Many people in Surakarta still believe in the categorisation of the days and months of the year based upon their propitiousness for particular activities according to the Javanese calendar. For example, the month of Suro, which consists of 35 days, is regarded as being unfavourable for the undertaking of important enterprises or activities, such as marriage, moving house, etc. By contrast, the month of Syawal is regarded as being highly propitious for the undertaking of major or important enterprises, such as weddings, engagements, etc. The month of Maulud is the time when the inhabitants of Surakarta, particularly the palace communities, palace retainers and the more traditional sections of the community, take out and clean sacred heirlooms, such as ceremonial daggers, spears, and so forth. One of the traditional ceremonies staged in Surakarta is the *arak-arakan*, when the sultans, nobility and retainers of the Kraton Mangkunegaran and Kasunanan Paku Buwono princely houses parade around the city in carriages. The royal heirlooms are also paraded before the people of the city. During this ceremony, the streets of Surakarta are lined with eager spectators. This obviously presents a great opportunity for food and beverage vendors, and other hawkers – all of whom do a roaring trade as crowds of spectators enjoy the carnival atmosphere.

Ritual exorcism ceremonies (*ruwatan*) originate in pre-Hindu culture, and are designed to pay homage to ancestors or to mark initiation

ceremonies. According to W.H. Rassers, the staging of shadow puppet performances during such ritual exorcism ceremonies is intended by the Javanese to free people from the power of evil spirits that threaten the existence of human beings on the Earth.

According to Subalidinata, the *Murwakala* story and ritual exorcism ceremonies originally developed in ancient Javanese culture, and principally concerned the question of transforming tarnished gods into holy gods, or the transformation of gods into non-godlike creatures, such as human beings or animals who were condemned to live on Earth for a time before being transformed back into gods and subsequently existing happily. According to Sunarno Siswaharjo, *ngruwat* means overcoming or avoiding some spiritual difficulty (*ngadari rewet renteng*) by staging a shadow puppet play relating a story that is relevant to this difficulty. Thus, in essence, the staging of such plays represents, to one degree or another, an attempt to provide entertainment so that the spiritual difficulty may be exorcised.

In Javanese tradition, a person who is burdened by sin (*nandang sukerta*) must have his sins exorcised or he will have the potential to endanger his environment and those around him. The strength of the supernatural dangers involved do not just put the sinner, whose unfortunate existence in this world is normally referred to as *wong sukerta*, at risk, but also threatens his entire family.

Persons who find themselves in a state of sin or who are abnormal in some way will become the prey of *Batara Kala*. *Batara Kala* is the child of *Batara Guru*, and was conceived out of uncontrolled lust. The semen of *Batara Guru* fell in the ocean, and in the end *Batara Kala* grew up to be a giant, which in *wayang* (shadow puppet play) tradition is referred to as “*karma salah kendang gemulung*”. This giant then confronted his father, *Batara Guru*, demanding food. *Batara Guru* told him he could eat human beings who found themselves in a state of sin.

The categories of persons in need of exorcism (due to complications regarding their souls, such as a shared soul in the case of twins) according to the writings contained in the “*Pakem Pangruwatan Murwakala*” are:

1. Anak Kember (twins), i.e. two boys and two girls, or a boy and a girl (born at the same time)
2. Kembang Sepasang (pair of flowers), i.e. two girl twins
3. *Gedana-gedini*, i.e. a boy and a girl child from the same mother.
4. *Ontang-anting*, i.e. a sole boy or girl child.
5. *Saramba*, i.e. four children, all of whom are boys.
6. *Srimpi*, i.e. 4 children, all of whom are girls.

The traditions, rituals and ceremonies described above are not followed by the entire community. However, for those sections of the population who still believe in and adhere faithfully to tradition, these are essential parts of their lives. Those who do not participate are generally newcomers from other cities or areas, rather than born-and-bred residents of Surakarta.

The acronym “*MEOK*” (*Mangan Enak Omong Kosong* – nice food and plenty of gossip), accurately sums up the tradition of a large part of Surakarta society. When the sun has gone down, or after 7 p.m., the city's men have the habit of going to a local *HIK Warung*. Such *warung* are, in fact, simple pushcarts made out of wood, which are equipped with a stove for boiling water at one end of the cart. The carts have two wheels and are pushed by their owners to the places where they do business. Pushcart vendors sell a wide variety of take-away meals, including *nasi bedeng*, fried rice, rice and vegetables, *tempeh*, fried bananas, noodles, potato patties, *rissoles*, fried yams, sticky rice, pork *sate*, chicken *sate* and intestines *sate*. All of these dishes are sold at affordable prices – normally around Rp 500. Hot and cold beverages are also provided – hot beverages consisting of coffee, milk tea and ginger drinks (*wedang*); cold beverages comprising bottled drinks served with ice. The men frequenting such *warung* discuss various topics of interest to the community. At the end of

a long evening spent chewing the fat, and well-fed and watered, the thoughts of some of them start to turn to sex.

Cafe Bambu (Bamboo Cafes). The *warung* remang phenomenon in Indramayu is similar to but not exactly the same as the *warung remang* phenomenon in Surakarta. In Surakarta, such *warung* are known as bamboo cafes, and are mostly found in the vicinity of Manahan stadium. Almost the whole length of the road to the stadium is lined with these *warung*, which are illuminated by 5-watt red lamps and furnished with low tables where drinks and food are displayed. The customers sit on the floor on mats. While children involved in prostitution are not directly employed by these bamboo cafes, there is nevertheless a symbiotic relationship between the owners and these children. The children are free to approach the customers in the cafes. In general, these customers come from all social backgrounds, from those who walk from place to place, those who use public transportation and those who have motorcycles, right up to those who have their own cars. Unlike in Indramayu, the children involved in prostitution and commercial sex workers who frequent these bamboo cafes do not depend for their income on the number of bottles of beverage they sell. In fact, the bamboo cafes only serve as venues where they can meet and importune potential customers, a manner of soliciting that the children involved in prostitution consider superior to working the streets. While the prostituted children are given tips by the cafe owners in return for the drinks that are sold as a result of their presence, this is not a fixed percentage that is agreed up in advance by the cafe owner and the prostituted children. Normally, the maximum tip given to the prostituted children will amount to between 5 and 10 percent of the cost of the food and drinks that have been sold.

3.2.2.2 Indramayu

In Indramayu, there is a kind of social order or arrangement that regulates social relations between people of different social groups, identities and roles. This social order is possible as the entire community shares the same culture.

Culture may be regarded as the sum total of the knowledge possessed by human beings as social animals – something that within itself contains knowledge models that can be employed to understand and interpret the environment where we live, and to encourage necessary actions.

According to Parsudi Suparlan (1995), a culture represents a collection of concrete guidelines that are of use in helping a community to deal with the challenges it faces. Culture may be seen as the manifestation of the way of life of the community in its attempt to survive and improve the lives of its members. In everyday life, the culture of a community is reflected in the social structures of that community, something that is made possible by the existence of social institutions in the community.

The socio-cultural conditions of the communities studied in Indramayu, both in Arahau District and Karangampel District, were almost identical. These are both agricultural areas where the majority of the inhabitants make their living from the land. Thus, their socio-cultural conditions are similar, and are inextricably linked with their agricultural lives. The results of semi-structured interviews with community leaders, government officials at the village level, and district officials, indicated that the following socio-cultural traditions still persist in the community:

1. Mapag Sri
Mapag Sri is a traditional ceremony still held by village communities in Indramayu. "Mapag" means "collecting" or "bringing in" while "Sri" means "rice" or "harvest". As one would expect, Mapag Sri ceremonies are held at harvest time with each village holding the ceremony when the harvest has finally been fully saved.

The Mapag Sri ceremony involves a ceremonial meal in the village hall or pavilion. The cost is covered by the members of the community, with the money being collected by the village officials. Normally, shadow puppet shows are staged telling the story of Dewi Sri, a woman who was forced to marry against her will. In the end, Dewi Sri committed suicide. From her grave rice

started to grow. Dewi Sri took her own life using a "Jungkat" or "ani-ani", a type of tool used to harvest rice.

2. Sedekah Bumi

The Sedekah Bumi is celebrated by village communities at the time when the farmers are preparing to till their fields. It is generally held when the dry season is giving way to the wet season. The word "Sedekah" means a ceremonial meal to welcome the arrival of the wet season, and the ceremony is normally held in the village hall or pavilion. During the ceremony, shadow puppet performances are staged telling the story of Bumi Loka, the son of King Prabu Natakawaca, who is blessed with supernatural powers. The cost of this ceremony is borne by the community, the money being collected by village officials.

The story of Prabu Natakawaca involves a beautiful girl (Dewi Supraba) from Suralaya, who rejected Prabu Natakawaca's offer of marriage. The latter then becomes enraged and rains down chaos on Suralaya. Prabu must then fight with Arjuna, a nobleman from Amarta to whom Dewi has given her heart, who eventually kills Prabu Natakawaca.

Prabu's son, Bumi Loka, now sets out to seek vengeance for his father's death. He cursed the land of Amarta, causing the fields to dry up and crops to fail. The people of Amarta suffered greatly. There was no water to irrigate their fields, and even water to drink was hard to come by. In the end, Bumi Loka fought Arjuna and lost. With Bumi Loka's death, the rain began to fall again. The dry and parched land once again began to blossom, and the people of Arjuna were able to plant their rice.

3. Ruwat

Ruwat is a ritual that is carried out in order to cleanse oneself of sin and stave off divine punishment. It is normally conducted on an individual basis in places believed to possess spiritual significance. Ruwat must also be accompanied by a shadow puppet show.

4. Organ concerts

These are a form of entertainment provided by

a sole organist. Such concerts are usually held before important events such as weddings, circumcisions, and important national holidays, such as Independence Day on August 17 and New Year. These organ concerts are greatly enjoyed by the local populace.

There are many traditional rituals and ceremonies still practised and held by the rural communities in the research locations in Indramayu. However, the Ruwat ritual has become less frequent as it is quite difficult and the people are beginning to lose their belief in its value. For young people in Indramayu, the favourite form of entertainment is the organ concerts. In fact, a discotheque in Indramayu also puts on such organ concerts.

Mapag Sri, Sedekah Bumi and organ concerts are awaited with great anticipation by the local people, and provide the opportunity for teenagers to seek out boyfriends and girlfriends and to go dancing. According to local community figures and the participants in this research, particularly the prostituted children, young people are allowed to go out at night to enjoy the entertainment provided during these events. This is because their parents are also participating in performing in or watching the events. However, such nocturnal adventures on the part of young people frequently lead to unwanted pregnancies, and this plays a role in the high rate of prematurity (under 17) marriages in Indramayu Regency.

Based on the results of the semi-structured interviews, in the rural areas of Indramayu Regency, particularly in the locations that were studied, it is common after the harvest has been saved for people to get married and to hold circumcission ceremonies. This is because it is at these times that they have enough money to stage these ceremonies. In order to show social status, these events are accompanied by various types of entertainment and diversions, such as organ concerts, traditional plays, and sermons by local Muslim preachers.

5. Warung Remang-Remang

In the research locations, most of the children involved in prostitution and other commercial

sex workers tend to congregate in cafes and late night warung remang-remang. The results of semi-structured interviews conducted with local community figures reveal that such Warung Remang-Remang have been present in Karangampel District since the early 1960s, when it became common for young men and women to gather outside their villages for guitar and flute performances, plays, and fishermen's parties. At such times, teenage girls and young divorcees would hawk boiled peanuts in their shells, boiled soybeans, coffee and tea so as to earn additional income. These wares would be displayed on mats, with illumination provided by hurricane lamps. Men then started to congregate around these places, chatting with their friends and sometimes playing chess.

Around the time when women started to use makeup in the early 1970s, they also started to upgrade their stalls by providing tables (their wares would be laid out on the tables with illumination still being provided by hurricane lamps). These stalls sold boiled peanuts and soybeans, snacks and beverages such as tea, coffee, etc., and began to be transformed into places where men regularly gathered to pass the time.

By the 1980s, the number of these Warung Remang-Remang had exploded, with many of them selling alcoholic beverages, such as beer.

Then in the 1990s, Warung Wedang/Warem began to emerge (these are stalls selling soft drinks such as Fanta, Coca-Cola, Sprite, Iced Tea, energy supplement drinks like Kratindeng, and beer/other alcoholic drinks with an alcohol content of less than 15%, and light snacks, such as peanuts, fruit, etc.). Many of the Warung Remang-Remang by this stage were also providing disco music.

Nowadays, these Warung Remang-Remang are small stalls that are weakly illuminated (usually with only a 5 watt bulb). The light is either red, yellow or blue, with red predominating. The insides of the Warung Remang-Remang are also illuminated with a red bulb (also only 5 watt), with the walls normally decorated with beer advertisements. During the day, it is not

<p>easy to distinguish these Warung Remang-Remang from normal Warung (selling food and beverages). However, one distinguishing feature nowadays is the fact that they often have a lot of Kratindeng bottles stacked outside, as well as their ubiquitous beer advertisements.</p> <p>The massive increase in the number of Warung Remang-Remang in the 1990s is closely connected with the development of the Balongan oil refinery in Indramayu by Pertamina (Indonesia's state oil and gas company), which is located only 10 kilometres away from Karangampel District. However, there are also a large number of Warung Remang-Remang along the length of the main north coast highway as it passes through Indramayu.</p> <p>The fact that disco music is normally played in the Warung Remang-Remang is due to the influence of the many discotheques in the area. In order to prevent their customers being drawn to these discotheques, the Warung Remang-Remang owners have decided, that if they can't beat them, to join them. According to community figures and Warung Remang-Remang owners in Karangampel District, a large number of Warung Remang-Remang went out of business in 2000 due to a lack of patrons resulting from the absence of any large projects being developed in the Indramayu region (the development of a large project always draws a lot of newcomers, who also seek entertainment of the sort provided by the Warung Remang-Remang). In addition, there were also too many Warung Remang-Remang for all to survive.</p> <p>Unlike in Karangampel District, the observations conducted in Arahah District found no Warung Remang-Remang. There were only a number of general stores that also sold alcohol, and provided space for it to be consumed on the premises. As a result, the prostituted children from Arahah always leave the district when seeking customers. In order to facilitate this, a number of procurers or middlemen operate in Arahah. Consequently, the people in the area have little interest in what the prostituted children do as they do it outside of the district. They feel</p>	<p>that to prohibit them to leave the area would be an infringement of their rights. In addition, it is difficult to prove what they are actually up to when they are away from Arahah.</p> <p>From the results of the semi-structured interviews, it was found that the existence of the Warung Remang-Remang have had an impact on improving the livelihoods of those living in their vicinities due to the fact that they employ quite a lot of people. Each Warung Remang-Remang has between five and nine waitresses, and the work requires no special skills or formal education. All that is needed is good looks and a willingness to do what is expected. With the Warung Remang-Remang being to some degree fronts for prostitution, many local people are worried about the effects they have on young girls, particularly those who have dropped out of school. However, while there is no guarantee that sexual transactions will not take place in the Warung Remang-Remang, there is no other alternative employment available to young village girls, other than helping out in the rice fields. As a consequence, the local people are reluctant to take action against the Warung Remang-Remang as they play an important role in the economic life of the community, and in increasing local people's incomes. Local people claim that there is no prostitution taking place in the Warung Remang-Remang (no places provided where sexual relations can occur between males and females who are not married to each other).</p>	<p>water containing the petals of seven types of flower. During this ceremony, the husband also inserts two coconuts into the sarong the mother is wearing. The faces of shadow puppet characters are drawn on the coconuts – usually Arjuna and Srikanthi. It is believed that at the age of seven months the sex of the child can already be determined, and this ceremony permits the husband to request a boy child or girl child in accordance with his preferences.</p>	<p>circumstances they faced.</p> <p>The parents in general accepted that boys and girls were basically the same, the only differences being physical and the sort of life preordained for the two sexes. A child was viewed as a gift, one that had to be maintained and looked after until the child got married and left the parents to establish a new family. However, according to the parents of the children involved in prostitution, a girl child also held out the prospect of her someday marrying a man of wealth who would be capable of assisting the parents in their old age as well as the girl's brothers and sisters.</p>
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sufficient. Other parents of children involved in prostitution stated that they wanted to see their daughters married young in order to prevent them from falling into bad company. Many parents have hoped that after marriage the girls would be able to financially help their parents and siblings.

As mentioned earlier this combination of premature marriages and arranged marriages has led to a very high divorce rate in Indramayu. The semi-outcast status of young divorcees, never-ending economic difficulties at home, the lack of skills possessed, and the company they keep all tend to encourage these girls to turn to prostitution.

The permanent, solid and modern houses built by many former and still-active commercial sex workers, which stand side by side with the small, dirt-floored hovels that are characteristic of the area, has encouraged many parents to point

their daughters in the direction of prostitution so that they too may someday have such houses. Given such a socio-cultural situation, many girls are tempted to follow in the footsteps of other girls from the area who have made good as commercial sex workers.

The children involved in prostitution set great store by traditional and mystical beliefs, such as the susuk (a diamond-shaped or gold object that they believe is placed magically inside the body), which they are convinced will help them get a lot of customers and maintain their beauty. All of the prostituted child participants in Indramayu believed in the power of the susuk. In fact, the parents of some of the participants had found shamens to “insert” susuk into their bodies.

When one of the prostituted children in Indramayu was asked by the researchers if she used a susuk and, if so, where it had been inserted in her body, she replied: “Oh, I’ve

forgotten where exactly. I had so many problems I couldn’t count them. The susuk was so as to make sure I’d get customers and stay pretty”.

The general characteristics of the nightlife scenes in Surakarta and Indramayu are shown in Table 3.10.

<p>The socio-cultural conditions described above are still generally prevalent in both Surakarta and Indramayu. However, the majority of the prostituted children’s families in Surakarta tend not to adhere too closely to the prevailing socio-cultural norms. Among the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu, the local culture and traditional ceremonies still play a major part in their lives. The differences between Surakarta and Indramayu in this regard are mainly differences between the typologies of the two areas. Indramayu is a rural area while Surakarta is an urban area with large tourism and textile (particularly batik) industries.</p> <p>The warung remang in Indramayu and HIK warung in Surakarta are resorted to by men for relaxation purposes. Some of these men achieve such relaxation through enjoying the sexual services provided by children involved in prostitution and commercial sex workers.</p>
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3.3 Perceptions of Participants regarding the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

This section describes the views of the participants regarding the concept of a child, a child victim of prostitution, the causes of the commercial sexual exploitation of children, the risks borne by child victims of prostitution, ways in which the commercial sexual exploitation of children may be addressed, and parents’ attitudes towards their daughters being sex workers.

3.3.1 Perceptions of Participants regarding Children

From the information that was elicited, it was seen that the perceptions of the participants regarding the concept of a child vary. In order to facilitate categorisation, the responses given have been divided into four groups, namely, flesh and blood of father and mother; gift from God; must be maintained; and miscellaneous (for example, in the case of small children, under-17s, under-16s who are unmarried but are working). The responses from the participants regarding their perceptions of the meaning of the word “child” sometimes consisted of more than one perception. This means that more responses were given than the total number of participants.

The majority of the participants in Surakarta regard children as being the flesh and blood of their parents, while in Indramayu the majority of participants see children as being gifts from God. This difference between Indramayu and Surakarta may be the result of the fact that the research locations in Indramayu consist of rural areas, where the local inhabitants are reliant on agriculture and have a low level of mobility. As a consequence, their access to information from outside is also limited. In addition, the influence of religion is still very pronounced in rural areas. This is reflected by the number of children in Indramayu attending Islamic religious schools or attending religion classes after having attended public school in the morning. By contrast, Surakarta is an urban area where many of the children’s parents go out to work, thus frequently leaving their children to their own devices

If these perspectives are related to the attitudes of parents in Indramayu towards their daughters becoming involved in prostitution, the majority of the participants responded that a child must be educated, particularly as regards religion. This is not reflected in the responses from children in Surakarta.

In greater detail, the responses of the participants regarding the concept of “Child” may be described as follows:

Table 3.10. Description of Bamboo Cafes in Surakarta and Warung Remang in Indramayu

Description	Surakarta	Indramayu
Name	Kafe bambu	Warung remang
Identifying Characteristics	Red paper lanterns	Red light-bulbs, lots of stickers and posters advertising Bintang Beer
Beverages Available	Bintang and other brands of beer	Only Bintang Beer (exclusive agreements between Bintang Beer and warung owners)
Status of Children and Payment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children are not employees of the cafes Children are given tips by the cafe owners in respect of the beverages and food that have been sold to customers as a result of their presence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children are employed in warung remang The children are paid a percentage of the cost of the food and drinks purchased by the customers
Motivation of child or woman	The solicitation of customers to engage in sexual activities	Not all children are willing to provide sexual services
Operating Hours	23.00 – 05.00 Western Indonesian Time	21.00 – 02.00 Western Indonesian Time

Source: Analysis of primary data produced by in-depth interviews (probing) and observation techniques

The prostituted child participants took the view that a child was the flesh and blood of the parents. Some of them said that this was still the case between the ages of 15 and 20. Another section of the participants said that childhood was the happiest time of their lives as they had nothing to do except play. However, children still needed guidance from their parents and parents had to accept responsibility for bringing children into this world. They were of the opinion that happy children were those that received sufficient attention from their parents, had all their needs met, and who were not treated roughly or abusively. Some of them said they had longed for this sort of care but their needs had never been met. One child said: "I used to be like that, but then dad and mum split up and that was the end."

The former prostituted children took the view that children were gifts from God, the flesh and blood of parents, and had to be maintained. They believed that a happy child was a child whose needs were fulfilled by his/her parents. One prostituted child described a happy child in the following terms:
"A child that is quick to smile, and doesn't get angry with her friends easily, one that receives

enough attention and love, and is provided with what she needs and an education by her parents."

In general, the views of the school drop-out participants in Indramayu on the concept of a "Child" revolved around the flesh and blood of the parents, gift from God, and the need for protection and care. Age categories, for example, 15 or 16, were also given. There were participants who responded using one key word, such as: "A child is the product of the marriage between a man and a woman", with two key words, such as: "A child is the fruit of the love between his parents and is a gift from God", and with three key words, such as: "A child is something that has been given by God for safekeeping to the child's parents. So, the child must be cared for and protected up until the age of 16."

The views of school drop-outs in Surakarta were more diverse. Besides mentioning the four key words referred to above, the Surakarta participants also employed a number of other key words, such as the sex of the child, adoptive/foster parents, and the need for a child to obey his/her parents. Among the more interesting responses were the following:

"A child is a boy or girl who has parents, whether natural parents or adoptive parents".
 "A child is the dream of his/her parents. But, there are also parents who don't want their children."
 "A child is a boy or girl, and must obey his/her parents. If a child doesn't do so, then he/she is being rebellious."

The perspectives of school students in Indramayu were not so very far removed from those of the school drop-outs in Indramayu. However, there were differences between the views of school students and school drop-outs in Surakarta, with other key words being used, such as the child's dependency on parents/child's inability to live on his/her own. One response was as follows:
 "A child is a person who is as yet unable to determine his/her own future and is unable to differentiate right from wrong".

The term "child" was defined by the child participants within the following four categories: a child is the flesh and blood of his/her parents, a child is a gift from God, a child must be maintained and looked after, and the miscellaneous category. In Surakarta, 70 percent of the child participants defined a child as being the flesh and blood of his/her parents, while in Indramayu the majority of child participants (54 percent) defined a child as being a gift from God.

Table 3.11 Perceptions of Participants regarding Children

Locations	Participant Type	Flesh and Blood of Parents	Gift from God	Must be Maintained	Misc.	Total
Surakarta	Prostituted Children	-	-	2.0	-	2.0
	Former Prostituted Children	-	-	6.0	-	6.0
	School Drop-outs	-	2.0	2.0	-	4.0
	School Children	-	-	-	1.0	1.0
Subtotal for Surakarta		-	2.0	10.0	1.0	13.0
Indramayu	Prostituted Children	3.0	-	4.0	-	7.0
	Former Prostituted Children	1.0	5.0	1.0	-	7.0
	School Drop-outs	5.0	4.0	4.0	1.0	14.0
	School Children	4.0	5.0	2.0	-	11.0
Subtotal for Indramayu		13.0	14.0	11.0	1.0	39.0
Total		13.0	16.0	21.0	2.0	52.0

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

influenced by their environment.
 Some of the boys were of the opinion that a prostituted child had to be below 18 years of age. However, others took the view that a prostituted child could be under the age of 20. According to the participants, children started to get involved in prostitution around the age of 15, and the majority of children involved in prostitution were girls.

In discussions between children involved in prostitution in Laweyan, one of the participants refused to take any further part due to the use of the term "prostitute". Her friends suggested that the term be changed to "night kids", "kids who work at night", or "kids who go out at night".
 From the wide variety of responses given re perceptions of prostituted children, a total of seven categories were decided upon. These are as follows:

1. Self-reliant
 Prostituted children were viewed as children who had to look out for themselves, if they wanted anything they had to get it for themselves, they had to work like this to survive, they had to earn their own money, no point in asking for money from parents, were able to help/give money to their parents and siblings.
2. Lacking parental care
 Prostituted children were viewed as children who were neglected by their parents.
3. Irresponsible parents
 Prostituted children were children who had resorted to prostitution because of the irresponsible behaviour of their parents, such as: divorced parents, left behind by parents working long-term outside the area (for example, 2 years), child forced by parents to go out to earn money for the family.
4. Environmental influences
 A child became involved in prostitution because of the influence of friends and the

3.3.2 Perceptions of Participants regarding Children Involved in Prostitution

The perceptions of the participants regarding children involved in prostitution varied greatly. Some of the participants responded that children involved in prostitution were boys or girls of between 15 and 20, were sinners, trash, sought money in forbidden ways, had strayed from the right path, were involved in commercial sex, serviced men, were self-reliant, lacked parental care, had irresponsible parents, and were

Table 3.12 Perception of Children involved in Prostitution by Participant Type

Perception	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Self-reliant	23.1	13.1	-	13.0	13.4
Lacking parental care	7.7	26.1	-	4.3	11.9
Irresponsible parents	7.7	17.4	37.5	-	11.9
Environmental Influences	-	13.1	12.5	8.8	9.1
Services men	-	4.3	37.5	39.1	19.3
Strayed from the right path	15.3	-	-	-	3.0
Sinner	23.1	-	-	8.8	7.6
Seeks money in forbidden ways	7.7	-	-	4.3	3.0
Trash of society	7.7	4.3	-	-	3.0
Miscellaneous	7.7	21.7	12.5	21.7	17.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

family environment, keeping bad company, the influence of drugs, promiscuity, visiting disreputable places, desire for sex, forced by adults.

5. Servicing the sexual needs of men
Prostituted children were seen as children who slept with men, sold their bodies, sold their honour.
6. Sinners
Prostituted children were seen as children who had strayed from the right path, sought money in forbidden ways, were involved in immoral work, lacked morals and ethics, bad children, lacked upbringing, often ridiculed or ostracised by others, were worthless, were the trash of society.
7. Miscellaneous
One prostituted child expressed the opinion that a prostituted child was a child that had been betrayed by her boyfriend, was unhappy, was prostituted by a procurer, a child who could be deceived by men as she lacked education/was stupid, a child who worked in a brothel.

In more detail, the perceptions of prostituted children by participant type are shown in Table 3.12

From Table 3.12, it can be seen that the former prostituted children were able to explain more about the concept of a prostituted child. This may be seen from the fact that of the 23 questions responded to by 12 former prostituted children, on average each participant gave two responses. This is not without reason as according to Waligito (1997), the factors that influence a person's perceptions are connected with the physiological condition of the senses and the person's psychological condition, including experiences, feelings, mental capacity, range of references, and motivation. In addition, age differences and employment also played a role in producing variations in the perception of a particular stimulus.

Waligito's view is borne out by the results of this research as the majority of former prostituted children were over 18. As they were older, they had a greater range of experience, and, even more importantly, they were individuals who had been strongly motivated to leave the world of

prostitution. This was proved by the fact that they had successfully changed their lives for the better.

Another interesting finding is that prostituted children are self-reliant individuals. However, a child should not have to become self-reliant. Article 32 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child states that a child should never be forced to work. Rather, a child, as stated in Article 5 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, has the right to be cared for and loved by his/her parents in a happy family environment until he/she reaches the age of maturity. This obviously does not happen in the case of prostituted children. Prostituted children, as pointed out by the participants, are children who are deprived of love and whose parents are irresponsible.

On the other hand, the responses of all groups of participants, including the prostituted children and the former prostituted children, revealed a tendency to see prostituted children as children who had strayed from the right path, sinners, children who were seeking money in forbidden ways, and as the trash of society. This shows that the stigma attached by society to children involved in prostitution is so strong that it even emanates from among the prostituted children and former prostituted children themselves.

Whatever the case in this regard, the fact remains that child victims of prostitution are still children who have the right to live and grow as human beings (Article 6 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child). Whether a person is a prostituted child, former prostituted child, school drop-out or school student, as long as he or she is still under 18, then he or she must continue to be seen as a child who is entitled to all the rights of a child.

Other interesting responses came from among the ranks of the school drop-outs and school students, who tended to adopt a more balanced view of prostituted children. They saw prostituted children as being self-reliant individuals, and took the view that these children had become prostitutes as a result of having irresponsible parents and environmental factors.

The various views are summarised in more detail below:

The views of the participating prostituted children regarding commercial sexual exploitation of children were very interesting. Sometimes their responses were like those of the other children, such as what was said by one participant from Surakarta: "A prostitute is a woman who provides sexual services to men so as to earn easy money", or one of the participants from Indramayu: "A child who has strayed off the straight and narrow, a sinner".

Sometimes, however, there was also a note of poignancy in their responses, like: "A prostitute is not as big a sinner as those who are living comfortably in their homes think". What were their feelings when sitting around in cafes or soliciting on the street? One prostituted child in Surakarta responded as follows: "Sometimes I'm happy to meet up with and hang out with my friends, but sometimes it's really boring".

A former prostituted child in Surakarta explained in more detail feelings that she used to have when working: "These prostituted children are children who have to look after themselves and to provide for their own needs. They don't get any attention or love from their parents, they're often abused or ostracised by others, they are worthless, they're treated like dirt by society and are thought to have no morals or ethics".

Unlike the children who already had experience of the twilight world of prostitution, school drop-outs took the view that prostituted children were "children who are still young (under 17) who work as prostitutes because of the influence of their friends and family environment." Meanwhile, school students viewed prostituted children as a "children who were forced to sell their bodies as a result of keeping bad company."

themselves. Sometimes, there were those who were forced into prostitution by their parents. After analysing the various reasons identified by participants as to why children become involved in prostitution, the researchers grouped the reasons into the following eight categories:

1. Economic difficulties
Children become involved in prostitution because of: poverty, lack of money, not enough to live on, lack of work, no one to support them.
2. Family factors
Children become involved in prostitution because: they are concerned about the conditions in which their families have to live and want to help their parents, they are ordered by their parents to make a financial contribution to the family, lack of parental care and attention, lack of love from parents, frustration, encouragement by family members/parents, family problems.
3. Desire to make "easy" money
Children become involved in prostitution because: they want to live well - like people who have money, they want lots of money, no other employment available, they want to make their own money, parents are incapable of supplying the things that they want.
4. Influence of Friends
Children become involved in prostitution because: they keep bad company, they fall into the wrong crowd, they use or are addicted to drugs.
5. Problems with boyfriends
Children become involved in prostitution because: they had been dumped by their boyfriends, they have lost their virginity to their boyfriends and were then dumped, betrayed by a boyfriend, they are promiscuous.
6. Social Factors
Children become involved in prostitution because: of encouragement they receive from other people in the environment in which they lived.
7. Sexual Factors
Children become involved in prostitution because: of different sexual orientation, they are used to watching pornography from an

The perceptions of the child participants were divided into the following 10 categories: self-reliant, lacking love and attention, irresponsible parents, influence of environment, services the sexual needs of men, on the wrong road, sinner, seeks money in prohibited ways, trash of society, and miscellaneous. The majority of the participating children defined a prostituted child as a child who provides sexual services to men.

From the perspectives of the prostituted children in both Indramayu and Surakarta, 23.1 percent (the majority) defined a prostituted child as being self-reliant as she was able to earn money for herself, survive on her own (buy her own food and clothes, and pay for her accommodation), while 23.1 percent said a prostituted child was a sinner as the life she led conflicted with religious teachings and social norms. Meanwhile, 26.1 percent of the former prostituted children said that a prostituted child was an unloving person, 37.5 percent of the school drop-outs said that the prostituted children had turned to prostitution due to the irresponsibility of their parents, while 39.1 percent of the school children said that a prostituted child was someone who provided sexual services to men.

3.3.3 Perceptions of Participants regarding the Factors that Lead to the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children

Among the various factors that cause the commercial sexual exploitation of children, the most frequently identified were economic necessity and the desire to earn "easy" money. Other reasons given were family disharmony or a broken home, problems with boyfriends, the influence of friends, and drug use or addiction. The children became involved in prostitution so as to help their families survive, although there were those who also did so only to support

8. Miscellaneous
Children become involved in prostitution because: they always want to be on the road, out dancing, and socialising.

Table 3.13 shows the various views among the participants as regards the factors that encourage the commercial sexual exploitation of children in the research locations.

From Table 3.13, it will be seen that economic reasons are the principal causes identified by children. This is borne out by National Family Planning Board data for 2002 in Indramayu, which reveals that 62 percent of the community in Arahau District and 30 percent of the welfare families. It is because of these economic circumstances that parents permit their children to become involved in prostitution, believing that by doing so the children will be able to assist their families financially. In fact, there were participants in Indramayu who admitted that they had been ordered to get involved in prostitution by their families so as to provide additional income. Here we can see the relationship between economic and family difficulties. Other sorts of family problems and the influences exerted by friends

The principal causes of children becoming involved in prostitution were divided by the participating children into 8 categories: economic difficulties, family factors, the desire to make quick, "easy" money, the influence of friends, problems with boyfriends, social factors, sexual factors, and other factors. The majority of

are also of significant importance.

An interesting finding here is the social/cultural influences that encourage children into prostitution, i.e. encouragement from the community where the child lives. As with the perceptions of participants regarding the concept of "child", their perceptions of prostituted children were also dominated by responses from the prostituted children themselves. The twelve former prostituted children who participated in the research produced a total of 27 responses, with each participant giving more than one response. This strengthens our earlier conclusion that as the former prostituted children are in general over 18, they possess wider life experiences and were strongly motivated to leave the world of prostitution behind them.

Table 3.13 Perceptions of Participants Regarding what Causes Children to Become Involved in Prostitution

Perception	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Economic factors	35.7	37.0	35.3	38.8	36.8
Family problems	14.3	14.8	23.5	22.2	18.5
Problems with boyfriends	7.1	11.1	5.9	-	6.6
Influence of friends	28.7	18.6	23.5	16.7	21.1
Drugs	-	-	-	5.6	1.3
Want to make "easy" money	-	7.4	-	-	2.6
Social factors	-	7.4	5.9	-	3.9
Sexual factors	7.1	3.7	-	-	2.6
Miscellaneous	7.1	-	5.9	16.7	6.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Analysis of Primary Data