

prostituted children had become victim to commercial sexual exploitation as a result of economic factors, the influence of friends, family problems and boyfriend problems.

### 3.3.4 Perceptions of the Participants regarding the Risks Faced by Children Involved in Prostitution

Some of the prostituted children and former prostituted children had made their original decisions to turn to prostitution without being aware of the risks they would face as a result. However, most of the participants were actually aware of the risks of becoming involved in prostitution, including the dangers of disease, the risks arising in respect of customers, boyfriends, the community, the police and family members, the stigma of being branded a "fallen woman", dependency on drugs, and the lack of a future.

In order to facilitate analysis, the responses of the participants have been grouped into the following ten categories:

- 1. Health Risks**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: contracting a disease, AIDS, general decline in physical health (weight loss, frequently ill), pregnancy outside marriage, vaginal pain or pain when urinating, vaginal bleeding, frequent illness due to being out late at night on a regular basis.
- 2. Social Risks**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: social ostracism, no friends, loss of respect in the eyes of the community, being verbally abused by neighbours, being avoided by former schoolmates, being treated as dirt, being baited by neighbours.
- 3. Police**  
The response that came within this category

was as follows: being arrested or rounded up by the police.

- 4. Family**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: being avoided by family members, tarnishing of the family's good name, the family is embarrassed in front of neighbours and relatives.
- 5. Boyfriends**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: being taken for granted by boyfriend, being used by boyfriend, often being dumped by boyfriend (boyfriend only interested in satisfying his sexual desires).
- 6. Moral Risks**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: money obtained through forbidden means, sinful.
- 7. Customers**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: being conned by customers (not paying, leaving without paying, paying but not as agreed, rough treatment at the hands of customers, problems with "big" customers (customers with large penises), demands for repeated sexual intercourse, customers inviting the girl to take drugs, being deceived, becoming a concubine.
- 8. Lack of a Future**  
The response that came within this category was: uncertain future.
- 9. Risks of Drug Use and Addiction**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: using illegal drugs and becoming addicted to illegal drugs.
- 10. Miscellaneous**  
The responses that came within this category were as follows: being raped or gang raped, high turnover of customers, need for a strong and healthy body, being verbally abused by customers.

The data obtained from the participants is set out in more detail in Table 3.14.

From Table 3.14, it will be seen that health dangers are the primary risks faced by children involved in prostitution, followed by social stigma and bad treatment at the hands of customers. The threat of violence or abuse at the hands of customers was also one that put the children in quite a lot of danger. In order to learn more about the risks faced by the children involved in prostitution, the reader may refer to the chapter on "Risks faced by Children involved in prostitution", where the health risks and risks of violence faced by children involved in prostitution are described in greater detail.

One of the prostituted children in Surakarta described the risks faced by children involved in prostitution in the following terms: "You have to deal with raids, rough treatment by customers, diseases, the big boys (customers with large penises), customers who don't pay, customers who want to go at it repeatedly (intercourse)."

A former prostituted child in Surakarta said that,

"You are always being dumped by boyfriends (they are only interested in satisfying their sexual needs). Another response was, "The risks faced by children involved in prostitution are far too great, like raids, customers who don't want to pay, nasty customers, customers who want to use drugs, bleeding because the customers use cobra oil to maintain their erections, catching diseases, being ostracised by the community."

Responses given by the prostituted children were less open compared to those given by the former prostituted children. Most of the responses given by the prostituted children were very general in nature, as was the case with the school drop-outs and school student participants, who of course had little knowledge of the world of prostitution. Based on the researchers' observations, this was probably due to the fact that the prostituted children were still actively in prostitution and were still running all of the risks described above. Thus, they were reluctant to talk about such things normatively. By contrast, the former prostituted children were no longer running these risks and so they felt free to discuss all of their past experiences.

Table 3.14 Perception of Participants Regarding Risks Faced by Children Involved in Prostitution

Perception	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Number of Participants	17.6	23.5	37.3	21.6	100.0
Health Risks	40.0	18.2	63.6	22.2	29.1
Risks from Customers	30.0	30.2	-	-	18.1
Social Risks	10.0	18.2	27.3	33.2	22.2
Risks as regards Police	20.0	15.2	-	-	9.7
Risks as regards Family	-	6.1	-	16.7	6.9
Moral Risks	-	-	9.1	16.7	5.6
Risks as regards Boyfriends	-	6.1	-	-	2.8
Lack of a Future	-	-	-	5.6	1.4
Drug and Drug Addiction Risks	-	3.0	-	5.6	2.8
Miscellaneous Risks	-	3.0	-	-	1.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

The primary risks faced by child victims of commercial sexual exploitation, according to the child participants, could be grouped into ten categories: health risks, social risks, risks as regards police, risks as regards families, risks from boyfriends, risks to morals, risks from customers, lack of a future, risk of drug addiction, etc. The prostituted children felt that the greatest risk was to health, followed successively by risks associated with customers, the police and social risks/possibility of being ostracised.

From the perspective of the prostituted children, the greatest risks they had to face were those connected with health, such as risks to their reproductive health, sexually transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, pregnancy and abortion (40 percent) and the risks from customers, including sexual and other forms of violence, failures of the part of customers to pay what was agreed on, being forced to have sex with a number of customers at the same time, not being paid, and being dumped in lonely or isolated places (30 percent).

**3.3.5 Perceptions of the Participants regarding how the Problems Faced by Children Involved in Prostitution May be Resolved**

It appears that eliminating the commercial sexual exploitation of children will not be as easy or straightforward as many people imagine given the variety of factors that encourage children to become prostitutes, including both internal and external factors. The participants identified the following external factors as being involved: "Providing employment for the parents of children involved in prostitution. Eradicating poverty, such as through the distribution of cheap rice, and the provision of free education and medical care"

"Regulations should be enacted banning prostitution in certain areas. The procurers and pimps should be prevented from employing

children."

As regards the internal factors involved, during a focus group discussion with former prostituted children, a number of the girls spoke to the following effect: "There's no point doing anything if the kid herself doesn't want to improve herself. What's most important is that the kid wants to leave the world of prostitution behind her was as better herself and get out of prostitution."

During an interview using the visual stimulus method, one of the former prostituted child participants said that the way to get a girl to leave the world of prostitution behind her was as follows:

"Get her a husband, give her a job, and give her a shaking-up; clean out her mind by counselling her every day about the risks she is facing as a prostitute."

In the opinions of the participants, the measures that need to be taken to deal with the commercial sexual exploitation of children are as follows:

1. Preventative measures
  - a) Among the preventative measures suggested by the prostituted children were the following:
    - a) Issuing regulations prohibiting prostitution in designated places;
    - b) Distributing leaflets warning children involved in prostitution of the dangers of prostitution;
    - c) Providing guidance and counselling in schools;
    - (l) The issuance of regulations against the worst forms of child labour;
    - e) Eradicating poverty (distribution of cheap rice, and provision of free education and medical care);
    - f) The provision of jobs for parents and school drop-outs;
    - g) Procurers/pimps prohibited from hiring children.
2. Measures to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children
 

By the term "measures to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children" as used here, we mean measures that need to be taken after the situation has occurred,

that is to say, after a child has become a prostitute. These measures include both repressive and rehabilitative measures. The repressive measures proposed by the participants were as follows:

- a) Conducting raids and roundups in places where prostitution is common.
- b) Issuing ultimatums to Warung Remang-Remang and entertainment centres not to permit prostitution on their premises.
- c) Imposing fines or prison sentences on those who are proved to have been involved in prostitution;
- d) Stamping out sexual exploitation;
- e) Eradicating the worst forms of child labour;
- f) Eradicating the trafficking of children.

3. The rehabilitation measures proposed by the participants were as follows:

- a) The provision of rehabilitation programs in women's centres
- b) Motivating prostituted children to get out of prostitution (through daily counselling, and giving explanations of the risks and dangers involved, such as disease, pregnancy and abortion).
- c) Getting married;
- d) Providing suitable skills and employment, such as hairdressing and sewing skills, coupled with decent pay.
- e) Providing start-up capital for those who want to start businesses.
- f) Ensuring social support through

discouraging the community from ostracising children involved in prostitution/such children need to be embraced rather than excluded.

- g) The children themselves must want to be "cured", and escape the world of prostitution;
- h) Return to school;
- i) Parents need to take their children, bring them home, and make them stay at home (if the child goes missing, she should be searched for and found).
- j) Education needs to be provided on the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases.

The distribution of participants giving the above responses is shown in Table 3.15.

From Table 3.15, it will be seen that rehabilitation is the most popular choice among the participants, even though this is not something that is easy as it also requires a desire on the part of children involved in prostitution to be rehabilitated. This should make adults consider what strategies may be adopted so as to motivate children involved in prostitution to leave the world of prostitution behind them.

The former prostituted children gave the most comprehensive responses in this regard compared to those of the other participants. This was probably due to the fact that they had first-hand experience of the situation themselves but were now no longer involved in prostitution

**Table 3.15 Perceptions of Participants Regarding Measures to Combat the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children**

	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Repressive	-	28.6	-	9.1	13.2
Rehabilitative	66.7	50.0	100.0	90.9	73.6
Children must want to get out of prostitution	-	14.3	-	-	5.3
Getting married	33.3	7.1	-	-	7.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

so that they felt free to relate their experiences. There were also indications that the active prostituted children wanted to follow their example. This may also have encouraged the former prostituted children to focus on repressive measures plus the need for a desire on the part of the prostituted children themselves to give up prostitution. These responses were not given by the prostituted children, probably because the very words "raid" or "roundup" were enough to make them frightened. Also, they did not yet have the will or volition to give up their lives of prostitution.

**With regard to the perceptions of the prostituted children on how the commercial sexual exploitation of children should be tackled, 66.7 percent said rehabilitative measures should be employed, while 33.3 percent said marriage would be the best solution.**

### 3.3.6 Perceptions of Participants regarding the Attitudes Required of Parents to Prevent their Children Falling Victim to Prostitution

The perspectives of the participants regarding the attitudes and approaches that needed to be adopted by parents so as to prevent their children falling victim to prostitution varied greatly. In general, the participants said that the parents had to adequately provide for the needs and rights of their children, such as providing them with love and attention, and schooling/education.

A number of the prostituted children in Surakarta spoke to the following effect:  
 "Parents need to give their children freedom, but there must also be rules. The problem arises when the child is left to her own devices or is neglected. In cases like this, the child will frequently rebel against her parents and make problems so as to attract their attention."

The following statements were also made:  
 "The parents should not overdo anything. If

to be adopted by parents so as to prevent their children becoming prostitutes.

From Table 3.16, it will be seen that the participants tend to say that in order to prevent a child from turning to prostitution the parents must provide attention and education/schooling for their daughters. Some also stated the need for parents to supervise the company kept by their daughters so as to prevent them from running out of control.

From the statements made by the children, it is clear that what the children want is not something out of the ordinary. All they are asking for is the normal care and attention that every parent is required to provide, as stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

**The majority of the prostituted children were of the view that parental attention (80 percent) and a proper education (20 percent) were the two most important things that parents need to give their daughters to prevent them from becoming involved in prostitution.**

### 3.4 Perceptions of the Children Regarding Places that are Considered Safe and those Considered Dangerous

According to the child participants, a safe place is a place where children can feel free to play, learn, joke, pass time with their friends, enjoy love and affection, and do everything safely without encountering any risks or danger.

Children need various facilities so that they can properly survive, grow and develop. There is a great divergence in the facilities available in Surakarta as an urban area, and those that are available in Indramayu Regency, a rural area. Surakarta is a major city so the various facilities needed by children, like schools - from elementary to senior high - are in much greater supply than in Indramayu. Also in Surakarta, there are a number of foundations/non-governmental organisations that are involved in helping children with the problems they face. By contrast, the research areas in Indramayu Regency lack any special organisations that are involved in trying to deal with the problems faced by children. The research locations in Indramayu consist of rural areas that are far from the nearest city so that the facilities available are limited.

**Table 3.16 Perspectives of Participants Regarding Attitudes to be Adopted by Parents to Prevent their Children Falling Victim to Prostitution**

Perception	Participant Type (%)				Total (% Number of Participants)
	Prostituted Children	Former Prostituted Children	School Drop-outs	School Students	
Parental Attention	80.0	34.8	7.7	25.1	30.1
Company the child keeps	-	17.4	30.8	58.3	28.3
Education	20.0	13.0	61.5	8.3	24.5
Trust	-	13.0	-	-	5.7
Employment	-	8.8	-	8.3	5.7
Miscellaneous	-	13.0	-	-	5.7
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

**Table 3.17 Responses of Participants Regarding Places Considered Safe**

Safe Place	Participant Type	Location			Total (% Number of Participants)
		Banjarsari	Laweyan	Karang-ampel	
Places associated with religion	School Drop-outs	-	-	-	9.5
	School Students	-	-	18.2	-
	<b>Subtotal</b>			<b>18.2</b>	<b>9.5</b>
Home	Prostituted Children	18.2	8.3	18.2	-
	Former Prostituted Children	-	41.9	-	19.0
	School Drop-outs	27.2	8.3	18.2	23.8
	School Students	-	8.3	36.3	28.5
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>45.4</b>	<b>66.8</b>	<b>72.7</b>	<b>71.3</b>
Work Place	Prostituted Children	9.1	8.3	-	4.8
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>8.3</b>	-	<b>4.8</b>
Places for Play	School Drop-outs	9.1	-	-	-
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9.1</b>	-	-	-
Other	Prostituted Children	-	-	-	4.8
	Former Prostituted Children	-	-	9.1	4.8
	School Students	-	-	-	4.8
	<b>Subtotal</b>	-	-	<b>9.1</b>	<b>14.4</b>
No Response	Prostituted Children	18.2	8.3	-	-
	Former Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	-
	School Drop-outs	-	8.3	-	-
	School Students	18.2	-	-	-
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>36.4</b>	<b>24.9</b>	-	-
	<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

and the offices of foundations/non-governmental organisations involved in dealing with the problems of children. The participants who stated that their home villages, village offices, non-governmental organisations/foundations (Kakak Foundation), and the local police station were safe did so because it was in these places that they could find protection if they were in trouble.

Those participants who stated that places with trees were safe did so because it was in these areas that they could find peace, and enjoy a cool, shady environment. Participants who mentioned the Office of Religious Affairs did so because here they could register their marriages and obtain marriage certificates so that their marriages would be recognised by society.

It will be seen that the majority of participant types stated that home was a safe place, meaning their parents' home. To them, home is safe because this is where father, mother and brothers and sisters are available to guard and protect them. Home is where they can experience peace, enjoyment and protection, and the affection of people who love them. This shows how important the home is to a child – a place where the child can grow and develop, and receive the affection of those they love. As one participant said: "Home is a safe place because at home there is dad, mum, and my brothers and sisters to love and protect me. At home, the place where I sleep doesn't flood or become too hot. When you don't have a home, you have to sleep anywhere".

School was regarded as a safe place by the school student and school drop-out participants as this was a place where there were a lot of good people, and they could be protected by their teachers. Places associated with religion were also considered safe places by the school students, school drop-outs, former prostituted children and prostituted children. They all felt that they could feel at peace and ease in places of worship, and could ask for forgiveness for the sins they had committed. These places were also frequented by good people who could guide them and show them a better path.

Information on the places that were regarded as being safe or dangerous for children was elicited through the mapping area, location observation and photo title instruments. The processes by which these instruments were applied and how the data subsequently obtained was processed differed as between each instrument. With regard to the mapping area instrument, the participants only indicated where safe places and dangerous places were, while the location observation method involved going directly with the participants to these places. In the case of the photo title method, the participants were asked to photograph the places that were dangerous and those that were safe. In the discussion on the perspectives of the children as regards which places were dangerous and which places were safe, the data employed was that collected using the location observation method. A description of the places that were considered safe or dangerous by the children follows.

**3.4.1 Perceptions of Children regarding Places that are Considered Safe**

The proper growth and development of a child needs safe places where the child can spend time alone. A child will only be able to properly grow and develop if such safe places are available to him or her. In order to ascertain which places were considered safe by the children, the mapping area instrument was employed. There were four anticipated responses regarding safe places for children. However, in actuality the children did not always give one of these responses. Table 3.17 shows the responses of the participants regarding safe places for children.

From Table 3.17, it can be seen that every participant type gave from three to four responses regarding places that the participants considered safe. By places of education and places associated with religion were meant schools and their grounds. The responses in the 'Other' category given by participants referred to the village office, police station, home village, places with trees, the Office of Religious Affairs,

Prostituted children regarded their places of work as safe places. The places of work they were referring to consisted of warung remang-remang, cafes, discotheques, the sidewalks of Banjarsari, and the grounds of RRI in Surakarta. According to these children, they could help each other out in the places where they worked, and the owners protect them from violence and other dangers. If there was a customer who started to get rough, the other girls and the owner would provide assistance. According to one participant, "If a customer tried to force me to drink, I would tell my friends and they'd all come to my assistance. They would tell the customer not to force me to drink. If he kept persisting, then I'd tell the owner of the café".

When discussing places for play, the participants referred to the grounds of the village offices, school grounds, and grounds of the mosque. These were regarded as safe places by the participants as it was enjoyable to play in these places, they had lots of friends there, and they would be protected by village officials, teachers and religion teachers. A number of participants gave responses in the "Other" category. These included their home village, village offices, the offices of non-governmental organisations/foundations (Kakak Foundation), and the local police station. All

sleep or laze around whenever they wished – not like if they were living at home with their parents, where they would have to get up early in the morning and do household chores.

of these were also regarded as safe places as they would receive protection there, besides the protection they received from their siblings and parents.

The places deemed safe by the prostituted children were as follows: In Surakarta 37.5 percent of them said they did not know if any place was safe for them, 37.5 percent said that home was a safe place, and 25 percent said that the places where they worked were safe. Meanwhile in Indramayu, 50 percent said that home was a safe place, 25 percent said the places where they worked were safe and 25 percent referred to places in the "Other" category.

A safe place, according to the majority of prostituted children, is a place which is easily accessible and where they can get protection and resolve problems. The prostituted children participants in Indramayu had great difficulty in finding safe places, other than their parents' homes, as there were no non-governmental organisations or foundations operating in the research locations that could help them deal with their problems, let alone provide them with protection. In addition, in Indramayu the children involved in prostitution were often not able to seek help from the officials of the government agencies that are supposed to help children to resolve their problems. Many of the participants said that if they did approach such officials, they would be asked to pay more bribe money than other members of the public. In Surakarta, there are various non-governmental organisations available to protect and help children involved in prostitution. However, once again they found it difficult to seek protection and assistance from government agencies. According to the participants, the government agencies in Surakarta tended to focus on raids and roundups, thus making the girls afraid.

Some of the places that were stated to be safe could also be dangerous. This was particularly the case for the prostituted child participants. For example, cheap pensions (losmen) were stated by the prostituted children to be safe but simultaneously dangerous as they could be treated roughly or violently in such places by customers. Such treatment could take the form of beatings, sexual violence or psychological violence like failure by customers to pay what had been agreed upon. In addition, such places were also considered dangerous due to the frequent quarrels among the children involved in prostitution. However, at the same time pensions were considered safe as the participants could

Table 3.18 Responses of Participants Regarding Places Considered Dangerous

Dangerous Place	Participant Type	Location				Total (% Number of Participants)
		Banjarsari	Laweyan	Karang-ampel	Arahan	
Recreation Place	School Drop-outs	9.1	8.3	-	-	3.6
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>8.3</b>	-	-	<b>3.6</b>
Home	Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	-	1.8
	<b>Subtotal</b>	-	<b>8.3</b>	-	-	<b>1.8</b>
Work Place	Prostituted Children	36.3	8.3	9.1	9.5	14.7
	Former Prostituted Children	-	17.0	9.1	9.5	9.1
	School Drop-outs	-	8.3	-	-	1.8
	School Students	-	-	-	4.8	1.8
	Others	18.2	-	-	-	3.6
	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>54.5</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>23.8</b>	<b>31.0</b>
Place for Play	Former Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	-	1.8
	School Drop-outs	9.1	-	-	-	1.8
Streets	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>8.3</b>	-	-	<b>3.6</b>
	Prostituted Children	-	-	9.1	-	1.8
Graveyards	Former Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	-	1.8
	School Drop-outs	-	-	9.1	4.8	3.6
	School Students	-	8.3	9.1	-	3.6
	<b>Subtotal</b>	-	<b>16.6</b>	<b>27.3</b>	<b>4.8</b>	<b>10.8</b>
Rivers	School Drop-outs	9.1	-	9.1	28.6	14.7
	School Students	-	-	18.1	28.6	14.6
Other	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>9.1</b>	-	<b>27.2</b>	<b>57.2</b>	<b>29.3</b>
	School Students	-	-	18.2	-	3.6
No Response	<b>Subtotal</b>	-	-	<b>18.2</b>	-	<b>3.6</b>
	Former Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	14.2	7.3
Total	School Students	-	-	9.1	-	1.8
	<b>Subtotal</b>	-	<b>8.3</b>	<b>9.1</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>9.1</b>
Total	Prostituted Children	9.1	8.3	-	-	3.6
	Former Prostituted Children	-	8.3	-	-	1.8
	School Drop-outs	9.1	-	-	-	1.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>Subtotal</b>	<b>18.2</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>7.2</b>

Source: Analysis of Primary Data

be drawn into the world of prostitution. There were also many temptations to be found in such places, such as alcohol and drugs. For the prostituted children and the former prostituted children, the places of work were dangerous

places as they frequently encountered problems here, such as drunk and disorderly customers. Even more worrying for the prostituted children and former prostituted children was the possibility of raids by the authorities.

For the prostituted children, their places of work were important to them, and were regarded as safe places rather than dangerous places. This shows that their places of work hold two meanings to the children involved in prostitution: on the one hand they represent important places for them to earn money, meet with friends, and to feel secure and protected by friends and owners of such places. On the other hand they represent danger due to the possibility of raids and roundups by the authorities (police and public order officers), as well as the possibility of being annoyed or harassed by customers.

The street was a dangerous place for all participant types. The school students and school drop-outs said that if the street was busy or crowded, they were afraid of being hit by a car or other vehicle, while if the street was deserted, they were afraid of being robbed, or even raped. The prostituted children and former prostituted children stated that besides being afraid of being hit by a vehicle on the street, there were also friends of theirs who had been hurt by customers, such as being abandoned on the street with insufficient money. Some children involved in prostitution had also been raped on deserted streets.

Cemeteries and vacant lots were considered dangerous by the children because they believed that cemeteries were haunted. Most of the children still firmly believed in the supernatural. Places included in the "Other" category in the above table were bus terminals, train stations, ATM outlets, overgrown gardens/plantations containing large or mature trees, strange places, lonely or deserted places, seram trees and gambling dens. These places were considered as dangerous because crimes were frequently perpetrated in such places by adults. If the children were attacked, it would be difficult for them to put up a fight or to get assistance.

According to the participating school students, places of recreation were dangerous because they were frequented by large numbers of people. Some of those people could be dangerous, with the result that children could be

subjected to extortion, abduction or even rape. The participants also said that empty houses and ravines were dangerous places – the former because they would be afraid to stay there on their own or were afraid that evil persons could be lurking there. In the case of ravines the children were afraid they might fall into them. Those who mentioned rivers as being dangerous places were afraid they might be swept away by the current or drowned. They also said that many people drowned in rivers.

During the application of the mapping area and location observation instruments, one of the Surakarta participants said that her home was a dangerous place as she was not accepted by her parents and siblings. According to her parents and siblings, her being a prostitute was an embarrassment to them and violated religious and social norms. Thus her family were angry that she had become involved in prostitution. Another participant identified her home as being dangerous as her younger and older siblings, and her parents were always demanding money from her. If she did not provide them with money, they would become enraged and sometimes even hit her.

Another participating prostituted child in Surakarta said that there were no places that were safe for children like her. Everywhere was dangerous. At home, they were either rejected or constantly being asked for money by their siblings, parents, and people in the neighbourhood. In the places where they worked there was always the danger of raids or aggressive or violent customers who would not hesitate to force the children to do what they wanted them to do, even pulling their hair or hitting them. In the apartments or pensions where they lived, they were also at risk from raids. The same applied on the street, where they were also at risk of assault.

The children took the view that the government had failed to provide enough facilities and safe places for children. The public places that were deemed safe by the children consisted of recreation places, places where they could

develop their talents, such as sports facilities, play areas and city parks. In 2003, however, of the total area of Surakarta only 0.7 percent was allocated to public space, even though under international landscape recommendations at least 3 percent of the area of a city should be made up of urban parks.

**The participating prostituted children in Surakarta principally associated the places where they worked with danger (56 percent), followed by those who did not know what places were dangerous (23 percent), recreation places and places for play (11 percent). Meanwhile, in Indramayu the prostituted children identified the places where they worked as being dangerous (75 percent), followed by the street (25 percent).**

**Safe places could also be regarded as dangerous places for the children. This was particularly true of the places where they worked. Places of work were regarded as dangerous as there was always the possibility of sexual or psychological violence, being forced to have sex with more than one person, not being paid, being abandoned in a lonely or isolated palace, or not being paid in accordance with the agreement that had been made.**

### 3.5 How Children Become Involved in and Escape from Prostitution

#### 3.5.1 How Children Become Involved in Prostitution

The processes by which children become sex workers involve many different parties, including the children's parents, friends, middlemen, and procurers and pimps. Each of these parties plays a different role, but they all get a cut from the earnings made by children involved in prostitution.

**3.5.1.1 Role of Family and Friends**  
Immediate family members and close relatives (aunts/uncles, nephews/nieces), near neighbours and others have all been identified as playing a role in prostitution networks in Indramayu.

Stories of the success achieved by young women "working" in the city are one of the reasons that children are tempted to migrate to urban centres from their home villages. When the extended family gathers together for important occasions such as religious holidays, the children interact with other members of their family. During this interaction, the children will be encouraged to follow in the footsteps of those family members who show all the signs of having made it good in the city. This encourages the children to also go to the city as they see that their relatives working there have been able to bring home a lot of money and gifts for the rest of the family (food, clothes, electronic goods, etc.).

On one occasion, the researchers met with a prostituted child who had returned home from Jakarta (she said she was on vacation). As soon as she arrived at her parents' house, she presented her mother with a big basket full of imported fruit. Soon afterwards, the basket was brought over to show off to the neighbours and shortly thereafter, a crowd of neighbours gathered to enjoy the fruit. The girl from Jakarta was dressed in tight jeans and a skimpy top. She was equipped with a cell phone, and she was also sporting headphones from the Walkman she had hanging from her belt. All eyes were on her and there were profuse expressions of gratitude for the fruit. To the children assembled to witness the spectacle, the girl from Jakarta with her Walkman and cell phone must have seemed like a goddess from another world.

This sort of experience encourages both parents and children to pack their bags and head for the bright lights of the city. The success stories they hear from those who have returned from the city make parents and children eager to follow in their footsteps. The children involved in prostitution related the following stories about their first experiences in the city:

"I went with my uncle who worked as a taxi

driver in Jakarta. He offered me work and it seemed to be OK. At the start I was afraid, but as I was making a fair bit of money, I decided to stick at it."

"My aunt invited me to work in a restaurant when she was at home for Lebaran (I don't remember exactly what year). I went with her as dad and mom told me to go out and find work. I had been out of school for two years by that stage."

These two tales from participants show that at the start the children do not realise that they are going to end up working as prostitutes. However, in the end they cannot avoid it as they feel that they profit materially from it.

In another case in Indramayu, a participant (school drop-out) from a poor family was left together with her mother (a divorcee). This child, and a younger and elder sister (there were 11 in the family), were invited by their aunt to go to work as sex workers, like the aunt herself. The money that the aunt had earned as a sex worker was on display for all to see in the form of the physical condition of her house, her household furnishings and equipment, and the expensive clothes she wore. All this was in marked contrast with the pitiful living conditions of the participant's family. In fact, the participant's mother had to borrow food from other families or run up a bill in the shop if no work came in on a particular day.

The fact that close relatives encouraged girls to enter the world of prostitution was, according to the participants, spurred by the relatives' desire to help resolve the economic problems of the family. The knowledge on the part of these close relatives of the family's economic circumstances, and the fact that these relatives were often sources of income or loans, encouraged them to invite other children in the family to follow in their footsteps. They made no material gain by persuading other girls in their families to follow the same road they had travelled. A commercial sex worker in Indramayu said that she was more than happy to help her relations and neighbours find "employment" in the city. In addition, she

always brought lots of gifts with her and gave her family money whenever she returned to her home village.

By contrast, in Surakarta no evidence was found that close relatives were directly involved in encouraging girls to become involved in prostitution. Nevertheless, the influence of close friends who had previously resorted to prostitution was found to be important, as shown by the following flowchart made by one participant: (Figure 3.4)

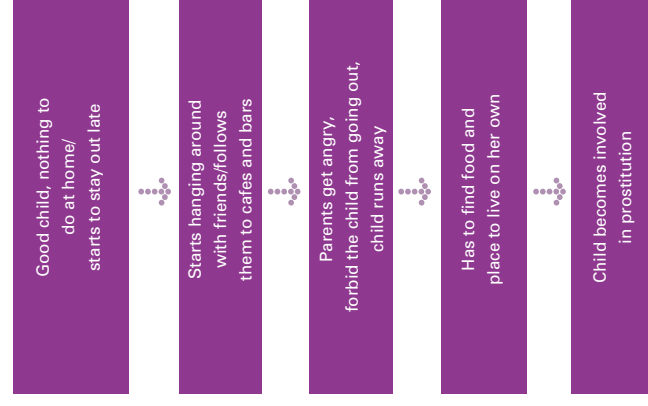
From Figure 3.4, it will be clear that the lack of entertainment at home (for example, the child's parents do not have a TV) encourages children to seek entertainment outside the home in the company of their friends. In the case shown in the above flowchart, the friends that the child starts to hang around with are already involved in prostitution. Thus, when a conflict occurs between the child and her parents it is easy for her to decide to become involved in prostitution herself - just like her friends.

Another participant described the influence of friends using the following flowchart (Figure 3.5)

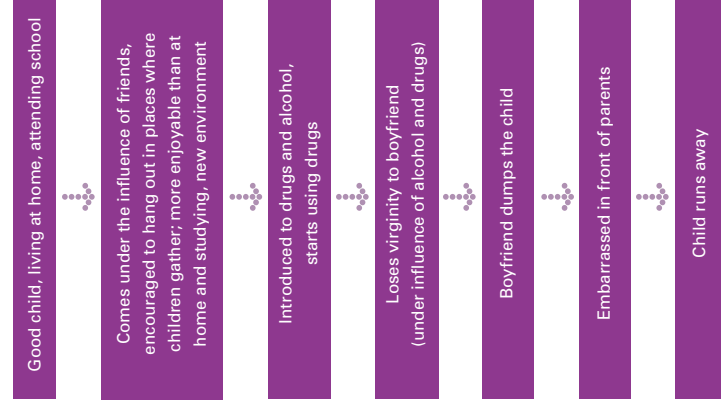
As with the sequence of events described in Figure 3.4, the story told by Figure 3.5 shows that the initial entry of the child into the world of prostitution was the result of peer influence. In this second case, the use of drugs (narcotics, psychotropic substances, and other prohibited drugs) is also apparent. Besides increasing the child's range of entertainment options, her friends also introduced her to drugs and alcohol. The child then engaged in sexual relations under the influence of these substances. As a result, she was embarrassed in front of her parents and decided to run away. The next step was that she became involved in prostitution.

Friends of the same age are an important part of the life of a child, and frequently the influence of these friends can be greater than that of the other parties involved in her life. The investigation into participants' social networks indicates that the role of peers is dominant when children need

**Figure 3.4**  
Role of Close Friends in Encouraging Children to become Involved in Prostitution



**Figure 3.5**  
Role of Friends in Involving Child in Prostitution



The children involved in prostitution in Indramayu acknowledged that their uncles, aunts, and elder cousins had played direct roles in their falling victim to prostitution. Meanwhile in Surakarta, friends played tangible roles in introducing children to prostitution.

to complain about the pressures they face. Of the total number of 133 participants (prostituted children, former prostituted children, school drop-outs and school students), 53.4 percent said they would turn to a friend as a person to confide in when they felt unhappy. The same applied when they were happy, with 42.9 percent of participants saying they liked telling their stories to their friends.

### 3.5.1.2 Family Cycle

One of the causes of children becoming victim to prostitution is previous involvement by family members in the world of prostitution. In Surakarta there were 4 prostituted children who had become involved in prostitution because of their family backgrounds. In fact, there was one prostituted child whose mother had come from a family of commercial sex workers. The grandmother of this prostituted child had herself been a prostitute in her younger days<sup>4</sup>. Now, her grandmother worked as an itinerant masseuse going from house to house. The mother of the prostituted child and her sister, although both lawfully married, were still active as commercial sex workers in the Cebongan Randu Alas area of Gilingan sub-district.

Another prostituted child, who was an only child, also came from a family of commercial sex workers. Both of these children admitted that initially they had not wanted to follow in their mothers' footsteps. However, when they were teenagers their parents had not been able to meet their needs, and eventually they had decided to seek their own money by selling sexual services.

One of the parents of a prostituted child stated that "when E was small she used to sell rissoles in the bus terminal. As she got bigger she became more and more embarrassed about this job. I didn't want her to become a bad girl like me, but she needed money while I couldn't provide it. I then found out that E was working at night in a hotel. She started staying out till 3 a.m. She never gave me any money at the beginning. But later, if E came home, I would ask her for some money to buy the ingredients to make the nasi rames (traditional dish) that I sold."

E's mother felt powerless to stop E from becoming involved in prostitution, like she herself had been. This attitude of acceptance is also

shown by the fact that E's mother looked forward to E coming home so that she could ask for some money to help with her nasi rames business.

#### "Umbrella Massage"

At night some of the streets leading to the Tirtoneadi bus station in Randu Alas are characterised by large numbers of multicoloured umbrellas forming semi-circles in front of the walls of buildings and on the terraces of shops that have closed for the night. The umbrellas are arranged in such a way as to allow sufficient space for a mat measuring 1 meter by 1.5 meters to be laid out. There is also enough room for a person to sit down (normally between 10 and 15 umbrellas are used). It is behind these umbrellas that the "massages" are given.

One "massage" costs Rp 10,000 and lasts for one hour. The masseuses are adult women, and are normally heavily made up and dressed in skimpy outfits. The umbrella "salons" are usually located along dimly lit stretches of the streets, and are open for business from 7 p.m. until 3 a.m. These "umbrella" masseuses provide prostitution services to men in the lower income brackets, such as porters in Legi market and pedicab (becak) drivers.

The children involved in prostitution in Indramayu were also influenced by their family environments. One participant entered the world of prostitution because her sister had already done so previously, even though the sister did not work as a sex worker in the area from where the family hailed. The parents also encouraged this participant to become involved in prostitution as they would compare her with her sister, who had a livelihood and contributed money

to the parents. Another participant had been encouraged by her aunt to become involved in prostitution so as to help her parents buy land, repair their house or even build a new, modern house.

Those values adhered to by a family are always passed on to the next generation (the children). The traditions, customs and way of life of the parents are implanted in their children so that what is deemed to be good for the family by the parents is also regarded as being good for the family by the children. In the families of children involved in prostitution, there is often a history of members of the preceding generations being involved in prostitution. In Surakarta, there were children involved in prostitution whose grandmothers had also been prostitutes in their younger days. Other children said that their mothers had been prostitutes when they had been young.

In the research locations in Indramayu Regency, there were three children involved in prostitution who had been working since before they were 18. (These sisters were not involved as participants as they were already over 18 at the time of the research). One prostituted child (in Indramayu) had a sister working as a prostitute on Batam Island (information provided by the child's mother).

The family cycle was also apparent in Indramayu as regards the Warung Remang-Remang business. One Warung Remang-Remang owner, (a woman), who also worked as a procurer at the time of the research, helped arrange work for her daughters in the same business. Meanwhile, her own business went bankrupt in the middle of 2002 when her Warung was burnt down, along with all of her assets, by an enraged mob of local people.

Based on the information given above, it will be apparent that the participants' family members were frequently involved in prostitution in one way or another both in the Surakarta and Indramayu research locations.

**The family cycle phenomenon is found both in Surakarta and Indramayu. In Surakarta, the mothers and daughters of some of the children involved in prostitution had worked as commercial sex workers themselves. Meanwhile in Indramayu, the sisters and aunts of some of the children involved in prostitution had also worked as commercial sex workers. The family cycle is obviously one of the key reasons for children getting involved in prostitution.**

### 3.5.1.3 Role of Parents

Children do not become involved in prostitution because that is what they desire. Their parents also play a role in encouraging or causing their children to turn to prostitution.

The role of parents in supporting the decisions of their children to become involved in prostitution is obvious in those cases where initially the parents were unaware that their children had become so involved. In such cases, after parents became aware that their daughters were working in prostitution, instead of prohibiting it, they came to depend on their daughters' earnings. Everything, including the cost of living and traditional ceremonies/events, eventually came to be the responsibility of the children involved in prostitution.

Such conditions make child victims of prostitution believe that they are responsible for the survival and well-being of their families. When they come home to visit their families, they feel an obligation to bring gifts and provide money for their parents.

The direct role that parents and families play in a child's involvement in prostitution was described by the child victims of prostitution in Surakarta and Indramayu as follows:

According to the stories told by the children involved in prostitution, their mothers would frequently ask them for money if they had been away from home for a prolonged period. In

4. E's grandmother is a good example of a poor woman who had to struggle hard to bring up two girls and one boy by working as an "umbrella" masseuse in Legi market (See box below). When E's mother was young, she worked as a commercial sex worker in a number of areas in Jakarta, including Kramat Tunggal (North Jakarta), and around bus stations and Pasar Senin Railway station. E's mother suffered swelling to her face after she got silicone injections in her nose and chin. At the present time, she is still active as a commercial sex worker in the Gilingan red-light area, which is located to the east of the Tirtoneadi bus station in Surakarta. E's grandmother no longer works as an "umbrella" masseuse.

fact, the children would often not have much money or would be unable to give any to their mothers. Frequently, the mothers of the children involved in prostitution would compare them with other children of their own age who had already become prostituted children, saying that these other children had managed to build houses while the participants had done nothing. The mothers also often demanded money from the participants for such purposes as paying for family parties or the education of the girls' younger brothers and sisters. One prostituted child said that every time she came home her parents would always ask for a financial contribution. This would vary between Rp 10,000 and Rp 40,000. Now and again the parents would borrow larger sums of money. Sometimes these would be repaid, but more often than not they would never be repaid. Another prostituted child said that she had turned to prostitution after she was divorced. Her parents told her to go out and earn money so as to feed her siblings, cover household expenses, and even build a new house and buy new household furnishings and equipment. The parents also asked her to buy agricultural requisites for them, like a sprayer and water pump, and requested her to pay for the education of her siblings as their father could not find work.

The indirect role played by parents and family in the process leading to a child becoming involved in prostitution was described by one of the prostituted children from Indramayu in the following terms:

"At the start the parents did not know that their daughter was working in Jakarta as a sex worker. When they discovered what was going on, the father asked her, 'Why are you working like that, what are you looking for?' The child responded, 'It's time for dad to take it easy. We don't want you to work yourself to death in the fields'".

This statement reveals that the indirect role played by parents and families in the processes leading to their daughters becoming involved in prostitution is primarily economic in nature. Another indirect role can be seen from the

diagrams given above, which show the problems that arise when a child quarrels with her parents, feels bored at home, suffers from family problems, lives in a disharmonious home, or is kept under too tight a rein by her family. A parent of one of the participants explained the dilemma facing the family in the following terms: "Honestly, there was nothing I could do to stop my daughter becoming like this as my own income was not enough to support the family. Before we could buy something to eat, we would have to do a day's labouring first. There was never any certainty." The inability of parents to provide for the needs of the family, whether primary or secondary, results in them permitting their daughters to get involved in prostitution. This is particularly the case where the child wishes to follow in the footsteps of, for example, an older sister who is already working in the prostitution industry and has proved herself capable of improving her economic circumstances.

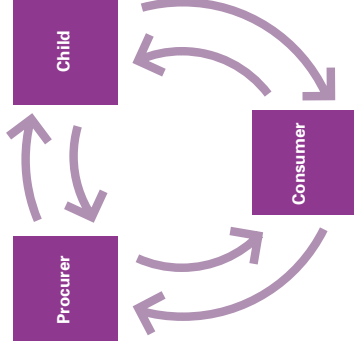
**The parents of children involved in prostitution have both direct and indirect roles in encouraging the children in Indramayu and Surakarta to become involved in prostitution. On the one hand, some parents directly encourage their children to become involved in prostitution while on the other hand, parents, due to inability to provide for their children themselves turn a blind eye to their children's occupation.**

### 3.5.1.4 Role of Procurers

The role played by procurers is a strategic one regarding the conditions in which children involved in prostitution work and what the customers want.

A procurer is a person who acts as a middleman or go-between for the procurement of sexual services. Regarding the recruitment of children, the procurer puts girls who become victim to sexual exploitation in touch with potential customers. In cases like this, the procurer sells

**Figure 3.6**  
**The Role of Procurers in Prostitution Networks**



his services to the girl. Nevertheless, the situation may be reversed, with the procurer seeking out a prostituted child based on an order from a consumer. In cases such as this, the procurer sells his services to the consumer.

The work of procurers in the prostitution industry normally takes the form of a side job – a way of supplementing their regular incomes. In Indramayu and Surakarta, those who seek out children usually work as drinks vendors, pedicab drivers, taxi drivers, parking attendants, motorcycle taxi drivers, and hotel staff. Nevertheless, there were also persons in Indramayu whose primary sources of livelihood were working as procurers. In fact, these persons had no hesitation in admitting that they were full-time procurers.

According to information provided by community figures and prostituted children, procurers often also worked as go-betweens for brothel-keepers ("Boss" was the term used for a brothel-keeper by one of the prostituted children) in seeking out new children for their brothels. In such cases, the brothel-keeper would give money to the procurer to entice girls into the sex trade. This process could also be reversed, with the procurer seeking out girls at his own initiative and then introducing

them to a brothel keeper/pimp for employment. There was one case where the procurer promised girls that they would be employed on Batam Island, but in fact they ended up being detained in a brothel and were forced to service customers. (Information given by a community figure involved in uncovering this case).

No information was elicited on how much the procurers earned for their services. The procurers who had successfully enticed girls into the world of prostitution were unwilling to divulge any information about how much they received from those who availed of their services, whether brothel keepers/pimps, consumers or prostituted children themselves.

One procurer when asked how much he earned for his services replied as follows: "There's no going rate, it all depends on the person and the type of service involved. The important thing is that the work is good and I make lots of friends." However, according to information furnished by the children involved in prostitution, he received Rp 10,000 per customer, plus transportation expenses.

**The procurer's job is to find customers for the children involved in prostitution and the children to be prostituted by pimps. The procurers played a similar role in both Indramayu and Surakarta.**

### 3.5.1.5 Role of Brothel-keepers/Pimps

#### Fact Box

In Indramayu, the term Germo (brothel keeper/pimp) is used to describe a person who controls a number of children involved in prostitution working in one place, and who provides various facilities for them (a place to live, food, healthcare, protection, rooms in which to entertain customers, etc.). Other terms frequently used to describe such persons in Indramayu are muckkari and induk semang. The terms used to

describe the girls working together in a particular establishment as anak semang and anak asuh. On an everyday basis, the brothel keeper/pimp may be referred to and addressed as Mummy or Pappy, or simply as Boss, by the girls working in his/her establishment. The house in which the girls live and work is known as a rumah bordil, which directly translates as a brothel.

In the research locations in Indramayu, the brothel keepers/pimps to whom the researchers were introduced lived in the brothels that they ran (in Tugu Nunuk, Blok Waru, and Eretan). While the term brothel normally means a relatively permanent establishment, the brothels in Indramayu consisted of Warung selling various types of beverage. These Warung are equipped with audio systems that are normally illuminated with quite high at night, and are dimly illuminated with 5 watt red (in Karangampel) and blue (in Tugu Nunuk and Blok Waru) light bulbs. These Warung are equipped with rooms where the customers can drink in the company of the girls, and if an agreement is reached, special rooms are available for sex.

The brothel keepers do not permit their girls to service customers outside of the brothels (for example, in hotels) if they do not know the customer. They say that the reason for this is to protect the girls. However, another reason may be the fact that the drinks sold in these brothels are twice as expensive as elsewhere, so obviously the brothel keepers have an interest in ensuring that neither the customers nor the girls leave the premises.

The girls have the right to avail of all of the facilities (water, electricity and rooms) available in the brothel. In addition, the brothel keeper/pimp feeds them twice a day for free. Even if a girl does not receive a customer on a particular day, she will still be able to use the facilities provided by the brothel and will continue to be provided with food. When asked about the losses they suffered if there was a prolonged period without customers, the brothel keepers/pimps replied:

“it’s the same as looking after the goose that lays the golden egg”, that is to say, the girls will continue to be fed and watered as they are the mainstays of the business.

The brothel keepers/pimps normally receive Rp 10,000 for every customer serviced by the girls. In turn, the girls get a cut from the income produced in the brothel from the sale of beverages and the other items available for sale there. Profits are divided up each day after the brothel closes for the night. Thus, the amount that each girl receives will depend on how much was sold over the course of the evening. For example, from the price of each large bottle of beer sold at Rp 18,000, the girls get Rp 6,000, while from the sale of a soft drink costing Rp 5,000, the girls are entitled to Rp 2,000. On average, their share from the sale of snacks amounts to around Rp 2,000.

A brothel keeper/pimp also provides protection for his girls from rough or violent behaviour on the part of customers, and against raids by the authorities. With regard to protection from customers, this can take the form of a warning to rough or violent customers and may eventually include calling in the local police.

Efforts to protect the girls from raids and roundups involve forging good relations with the various elements involved in the local social system. These efforts include giving tips in the form of money, and free cigarettes and drinks, to those who are in a position to help or provide protection. In addition, they also provide contributions to various community activities in the area. If one of his girls is detained during a raid or roundup, the brothel keeper/pimp will do his best to have her released. If necessary, the brothel keeper/pimp will pay to have her released, although this will be treated as a loan that must subsequently be repaid by the girl.

A brothel keeper/pimp will also normally provide emergency financial assistance for his girls. These interest-free loans are repaid by instalment whenever the girl entertains a customer, and are extended frequently. The brothel keeper/pimp is the first recourse for the girls whenever they

need additional money to, for example, pay for the cost of bringing their baby to the doctor, covering educational expenses, or buying makeup or clothes. One prostituted child said that she had borrowed Rp 10 million from her brothel keeper/pimp to pay for the building of a house. Repayments are made by instalment, with deductions being made from the girl’s charge every time she entertains a customer until such time as the money is fully repaid.

**In both Surakarta and Indramayu, the brothel-keepers/pimps play a role in providing accommodation for the children involved in prostitution, protecting them against being arrested during raids, ensuring their release if they are arrested during raids, paying fines to the authorities, protecting them from violent or emotionally abusive customers, extending loans in the case of emergencies, and assisting the girls in moving to other areas so as to ensure that new faces are always available in each brothel or prostitution location.**

### 3.5.1.6 Role of Friends

In Surakarta, it was found that friends play a major role in introducing children to the world of prostitution. In general, the children are usually acquainted with these friends before they decide to become prostitutes. Many reasons are put forward by these friends justifying prostitution, so that eventually the children concerned decide in turn that they too want to become prostitutes. Take, for example, the story recounted by Cd:

“Before, I used to be a street singer, and slept in the market with my friends. I had lost my virginity by that stage. Then I met up with Nh, who was already working as a prostitute. Nh encouraged me to become a prostitute as I would be able to earn a lot more money than I could as a street singer”.

Then there is the story related by Tq: “I started working like this after being encouraged by T. At that time, I was fed up as my boyfriend

had gotten one of my friends from the village pregnant. I had lost my virginity by this stage. I lost it to the same guy who got my friend pregnant.”

Another participant recounted as follows: “I knew from the beginning that I was going to be working like this. Before I used to be a domestic with a family in Bekonang, but the money was terrible. After Lebaran, my friend persuaded me to start working in this business. My parents still don’t know that I’m a prostitute.”

The reasons advanced by the friends of the participating prostituted children in encouraging them to become involved in prostitution were generally speaking to the effect that as the participants were no longer virgins, they might as well make money out of sex. In other words, the primary consideration put forward by their friends was money.

The role of friends in involving children in prostitution in Indramayu normally revolved around the desire of the participants to follow in the footsteps of friends and acquaintances, whom they saw as able to earn their own money and help their families out. The participants would question their friends about their work and ask them if they could see for themselves how they earned money. They would then often follow their friends to the places where they worked. As the participants had no other skills to offer, in the end they felt unable to resist the temptation and became involved in prostitution.

**The reasons advanced by the friends of the participating prostituted children in encouraging them to become involved in prostitution were that, as the participants were no longer virgins, they might as well make money out of sex. In addition, the participants would follow in the footsteps of friends in order to earn large sums of money and help their families out.**

I started to work in this business.”

### 3.5.1.7 Role of Boyfriends

The role of boyfriends in the process that leads to children becoming involved in prostitution generally involves some form of deception. According to Tp, she had never wanted to get involved in prostitution. In fact, she only became acquainted with discotheques, cigarettes and alcohol after she had been introduced to prostitution. When she was still living at home in her village, she had known nothing of alcohol, cigarettes or discotheques. She also said that whenever she returned to her home village, she still participated in routine religious activities.

At the start, her boyfriend had encouraged her to come with him to the city<sup>5</sup>. After they had started to have sex, he then forced her to have sex with other people so as to pay for the cost of his trip home. A similar story to this was related by Wt. In both cases, the girls felt worthless as they had lost their virginity. And both of them had decided to turn to prostitution after having been abandoned by their boyfriends.

Tp's story was as follows:

“I was invited by my boyfriend, JK, to go to Yogya. I lost my virginity to him when we were staying at Parang Tritis beach. After three days in Parang Tritis, he ordered me to start sleeping with other men so as to pay for our trip home. After a couple of days in JK's house, he told me to stay in Parang Kusumo, where he sold me to a brothel keeper/pimp. JK then disappeared. I've no idea where he went. The last I heard was that he already had a new girl.”

Nd told the following story:

“At the beginning I was working in a garment factory. I started to go out with a guy from the sales department. He invited me to Tawang Mangu, and I lost my virginity there. As I was away from work for a week, I got fired. My boyfriend then got me a job in a salon in Tipes. This salon also provided sex, and it was there that

when they get something to hold on to that convinces them that there is life after prostitution. A total of 13 former prostituted children participated in this research. At the time the research was conducted, 2 were under 18, 6 were between 18 and 21, and 5 were over 21.

3.5.2.1 Own Volition

The participants who were under 18 (in the Surakarta research locations) stated that their decision to get out of prostitution had been primarily based on the fact that they were bored with their nocturnal existence. They felt that their lives were monotonous, with the same thing happening day after day. In addition, they were also tired of being stigmatised by their neighbours, who normally kept a close eye on their comings and goings. One participant said that she wanted to live like a normal person. This, plus the fear of disease, had encouraged her to get out of prostitution.

As for the participants in Indramayu, they generally decided to get out of prostitution as a result of a desire to settle down and start a family, to get married and have children. One of the prostituted children in Indramayu said that she would leave the world of prostitution behind her if she met a man she liked who would take her as his wife.

### 3.5.2.2 External Encouragement

The decisions made by prostituted children to get out of prostitution do not depend solely on their own volition or wishes. Encouragement from the people they meet while working in the prostitution industry can also play a role. Such people provide them with advice regarding the risks of working in prostitution, and inform them about the opportunities available for leading a better and more fulfilling life.

Some of the participants stated that they decided to get out of prostitution when they got married. Some of them had married former customers. In the Indramayu research locations, it was found that the overriding hope of the children involved in prostitution was that they would meet the right man - from outside their home areas – as

this would provide them with the opportunity to escape from prostitution.

One former prostituted child in Indramayu had been married three times, with her second and third husbands being former customers. Her matrimonial history started with her first marriage to an older man at the tender age of 15 (according to the child). Four months later they decided to get divorced as things were not going well, and the man's first wife had found out about the marriage. (At the time the participant was married she was aware that her new husband was already married and that his first wife knew nothing of this second marriage). Immediately after her divorce, the girl started working in a Warung Remang-Remang offering sexual services. One year later, she married one of her customers. However, this second marriage only lasted for 6 months as once again the husband's first wife found out. After her second divorce, she went back to prostitution. Now she is married for a third time, once again to a former customer and once again her husband is already married and has not informed his wife.

External factors encouraging a child to escape the world of prostitution may take the form of, for example, advice from a person known to the child when working in prostitution (whether a blood relative or person other than a blood relative, such as older children involved in prostitution). These persons can serve to inform the girls of the dangers of working in prostitution. Children are also helped to escape prostitution through marriage.

## 3.6 Lifestyles of Children involved in Prostitution

### 3.6.1 Places of Abode

Among the community of children involved in prostitution in Surakarta, some of them live

Boyfriends played both direct and indirect roles in introducing children to the world of prostitution in Surakarta. The direct role the boyfriends played involved forcing the children to have sex with other men for profit or selling them to customers. The indirect role involved the girls losing their virginity to their boyfriends and then being dumped by them. As a result the girls felt worthless, and eventually became involved in prostitution.

### 3.5.2 How Children Escape from Prostitution

The child victims of prostitution who participated in this research had come to be increasingly dependent on prostitution for their survival. Normally they start wanting to get out of prostitution when they get bored or fed up, or

5 Tp lived in a village located in the western part of the old Residency of Surakarta. During the time when the study was underway, Tp was hit by a car on 17 April 2003 as she and two friends were fleeing a raid mounted by city public order officers at 2 a.m. At the time of the accident, Tp and her two friends were riding on the same motorcycle. Tp, who was driving, was the most seriously injured. To date (as of the time this report was being written), Tp was still unable to walk normally. Both of her legs were badly injured in the accident so that she now walks with a pronounced limp.

in small hotels or pensions in the vicinities of the Tironadi bus station and Solo Balapan railway station. Banjarsari district in Surakarta is particularly conducive to prostitution and there are 77 small pensions (losmen) that can be used to entertain customers. They tend to migrate between these small hotels and pensions, staying in each for a couple of days at a time. The daily room rates in these hotels vary greatly, but based on the observations carried out by the researchers it was ascertained that an “economy” room cost between Rp 15,000 and Rp 20,000, a “standard” room between Rp 25,000 and Rp 45,000, and a “VIP” room (equipped with air-conditioning and colour TV), between Rp 45,000 and Rp 60,000. In addition to staying in these hotels, there were also children involved in prostitution who lived in rented rooms – which could be classified as relatively luxurious by local standards – with the monthly rental ranging between Rp 200,000 and Rp 400,000. The children involved in prostitution were generally highly mobile as far as their places of abode were concerned, moving from hotel to hotel and rented room to rented room regularly. There were some who also moved between hotel rooms and rented rooms, and vice versa. During the time the research was underway, it was seen that there were five main reasons that gave rise to such a high level of mobility.

**The first reason** was to share a room with a fellow prostituted child due to lack of money. **The second reason** was eviction from a hotel due to a failure to pay for the room, which would normally have been occupied for around a week. **The third reason** was that they were bored with the place where they were staying or had found themselves in conflict with other guests. **The fourth reason** was that they were provided with rented rooms by a customer, while **the fifth reason** was that they were asked to go to another city by a customer.

Of these five reasons for the high level of mobility among children involved in prostitution, the predominant reason was that they had failed to pay for their room for up to a week or even two weeks.

The main reasons why children involved in prostitution chose to live in hotels were the lack of obstacles presented by hotel staff as regards administrative requirements and the fact that telephones were available in hotels. In addition, the children had enough space and time to hang out with their friends (including getting drunk with other prostituted children). Thus, hotels were very popular places of abode among the children involved in prostitution even though they were frequently evicted and the cost of a rented room would normally be much cheaper. According to one prostituted child:

“If you live in a rented room, sure, it’s cheap – only costs Rp 200,000 per month, has a bathroom in the room. But you’re not free to bring your boyfriend home, not like in a hotel where you’re free. You can go out at night and nobody will say anything to you. Not like if you are staying in a rented room. Also, there’s no telephone ... makes it difficult to make dates ...”

The small hotels and pensions described above are the mainstay accommodation of the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta. This may be seen from the fact that each of these hotels host at least one prostituted child. The fact that no difficulties are presented when checking in also helps, as does the fact that most of them will allow the children to run up bills for as long as one week. Even if one of the girls is not able to pay the bill after a week, she will usually be given up to three more days to sort it out. However, if the bill is not paid after the elapse of these three days, the clothes and other belongings of the girl, as well as her identity card, will be kept by the hotel as collateral to ensure that the bill is eventually settled.

This tendency for groups of children involved in prostitution to stay in hotels provides business opportunities for itinerant hawkers, such as the vendors of medicines, snacks, and pornographic books and magazines. These hawkers periodically visit the hotels where the girls are staying. The itinerant medicine hawkers also offer cosmetics, beauty aids and both men’s and women’s clothes. The medicines sold by the hawkers includes antibiotics, penicillin, and local jamu (traditional

medicines and tonics), and cosmetics, none of which are licensed by the Department of Health<sup>6</sup>. In addition, the itinerant medicine hawkers also sell licensed, over-the-counter medicines, such as headache tablets, etc. including Bodrek, Ultra Flu, Nafasin, and Air Mancur jamu.

Itinerant hawkers of racy or pornographic books, magazines and tabloids also avail of the opportunities presented by the presence of the children involved in prostitution in local hotels, often slipping racy tabloids under their room doors if they are still asleep. Later that afternoon, the hawker returns to the hotel for payment.

This sales strategy is regarded by the hawkers as being highly effective as the girls rarely reject the tabloids. The same applies to pornographic books, which are also in high demand from the children involved in prostitution. Should a girl have checked out of the hotel by the time the hawker returns in the afternoon, he will not have too much difficulty in tracking her down to the place where she normally works. Although there is a possibility that they will not be paid, the hawkers say that this sales strategy is based upon a sort of unwritten agreement between themselves and the girls.

#### Story Box

He’s hefty, dark skinned, and he has thick hair that he wears down to the shoulders. His name is Bambang and he is the owner of a boarding house for prostitutes in Laweyan District, Surakarta. Bambang’s boarding house has 10 rooms, and is located at the side of a main road in Surakarta. Bambang’s “girls” come from various cities and towns in Central Java.

One of them comes from a district in Surakarta. Ani is her name and she is 16. She is a junior high school graduate. Olive-skinned, and with an oval face, her actions and behaviour reveal that she is still a child. She met me wearing a pair of the sort of pyjamas that are popular among young girls in Indonesia. Even though it was already 9 a.m., most of the occupants of Bambang’s boarding house were still fast asleep.

“Normally, I’m taken somewhere else. We don’t entertain customers here. Usually, the customer takes me to a hotel, villa or somewhere out of town.”

“The girls staying here change all the time. They often move to other cities, like Semarang or Magelang. Usually, the girls don’t stay here any longer than 3 months, although Nina has been here for more than a year.”

It is clear that Bambang is held in high regard by the girls, and even by the authorities.

Unlike in Surakarta, the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu Regency live with their parents, or if they have been recruited to work in other areas they normally stay in a brothel or boarding house owned by or provided by their pimp. The participating prostituted children who lived with their parents behaved like normal children during the day – they played, chatted with their friends and neighbours and looked and dressed like ordinary children. It was this that made it very difficult during the day for the researchers to distinguish the children involved in prostitution from other girls of the same age.

<sup>6</sup> Among the items sold by these itinerant medicine hawkers are the following: an “erection-strengthening” lubricant sold under the brand name Samsu Super Oil Long Time, which is produced in Kliten, Central Java (sold at Rp 12,500 for 10 cc); another such lubricant sold in unmarked cartons; various types of condoms; concoctions designed to improve female lubrication, including one sold under the Strong Drink brand (Rp 10,000 per cc.); local products, such as Moralisia – a powder that is said to strengthen the vaginal muscles if used regularly; Cap Weyang, a traditional remedy for late menstruation; Sari Rapat, a powder said to reduce vaginal emissions; and male aphrodisiacs and tonics believed to increase sexual prowess, including King Sex (Rp 2,000 per capsule), King Coins (Rp 3,500 per capsule), and Viagra (Rp 50,000 for 6 capsules). In addition, a number of traditional remedies (unlicensed by the Department of Health) are also sold, including tonics, appetite enhancers and remedies for late menstruation.

Those children who live with a pimp or in a brothel work in Jakarta. These girls receive orders via their mami, and are brought to meet their customers, and subsequently brought back to the place where they live again, by a driver. The facilities provided by the pimps are very good, both as regards living conditions and payment.

**In Surakarta, the children involved in prostitution besides living with their parents also live in cheap pensions (losmen). Both the owners of the pensions and the girls benefit from this arrangements. The girls do not have to worry about check-in requirements, they are allowed to run up bills, they can come and go as they please, and telephones are available so that they can keep in contact with their customers. Meanwhile, for the pension owners, the girls are regular residents. In Indramayu, most of the children involved in prostitution continue to live with their parents. Those children who live with a pimp or in a brothel work in Jakarta. These girls receive orders via their mami, and are brought to meet their customers, and are subsequently brought back to the places where they live again, by a driver. The facilities provided by the pimps are very good, both as regards living conditions and payment.**

### 3.6.2 Mobility

In the research locations in Surakarta, the children involved in prostitution are free to do more or less whatever they want. They are free to decide where they want to live or to move to another city. These children had a very high level of mobility and were moving back and forth between Surakarta and neighbouring cities, such as Yogyakarta and Semarang. This high level of mobility was the result of the natural desire of young people to visit new places as well as orders from customers. The length of time they would spend in one place was unpredictable. For

example, during the course of the research, some of the children were living in the Pension SD. Two months later they moved to the Pension KU, and by the end of the research some of them moved to the Pension KS. Some other children moved to Klaten (30 kilometres from Surakarta) and Yogyakarta (50 kilometres from Surakarta).

The situation regarding the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu was very different as they still lived with their parents, or in brothels or boarding houses outside of Indramayu. As a result, they were not free to do what they wanted, to decide to move to another town, or to decide how long they would stay in another town. This was because those who had stayed in Indramayu were under the control of their parents while those who had moved out of Indramayu were under the control of the brothel-keepers/pimps. Thus, the level of mobility of the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu was nowhere near as high as that of the children involved in prostitution in the research locations in Surakarta.

#### Fact Box

- The sexual activities of the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu were engaged in outside of the research locations – in hotels/pensions in Jatibarang and Jakarta.
- The price for two hours of sexual services varied between Rp 100,000 and Rp 200,000.
- Sexual services were not always provided at night. In addition, girls were collected by their pimps for liaisons with customers in the pimps' homes. At night, the children frequented warung, cafes/bars and discotheques.
- The parents of the children involved in prostitution were aware of their activities as they lived at home.

**The children involved in prostitution in Surakarta have relatively high levels of mobility characterised by frequent changes of residence, and the places/cities they visit. They are free to decide what they want to do and when they want to do it.**

**By contrast, the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu do not have high levels of mobility as they are still subject to the control of their parents, or are under the control of a pimp.**

### 3.6.3 "Susuk"

The myth of the Susuk is of great importance among commercial sex workers as well as child victims of prostitution. A Susuk Pemikat is believed to have supernatural powers that are connected with appearance and beauty, and to be capable of changing the perceptions of other people with regard to the user of the Susuk. Children involved in prostitution learn about the myth of the Susuk Pemikat from their parents, the members of their family or from their friends.

In the research locations all the participants were using a Susuk Pemikat as a way of increasing their attractiveness to potential customers. In fact, in Indramayu some of the children involved in prostitution had been encouraged by their parents to use a Susuk.

In general, the children involved in prostitution believed they had a Susuk Pemikat inserted (magically) in those parts of their bodies that were connected with the sexuality of women. The types of Susuk Pemikat used by the children involved in prostitution generally consisted of precious stones, or objects made from gold or silver. The successful use of a Susuk Pemikat depends on the fulfilment of various conditions and compliance with a number of prohibitions. If these conditions and prohibitions are violated by the user, then the imagined beneficial effect of the Susuk will be lost. The Susuk is generally

"inserted" magically into the bodies of the girls by a shaman. The value of the Susuk depends on the financial means of the user and the fee charged by the shaman will depend on the type and value of the Susuk employed.

**The children involved in prostitution in both Indramayu and Surakarta believe in the power of the susuk. This charm is "inserted" by a shaman. The susuk normally consists of a precious stone or an object made of gold or platinum, depending on the financial means of the person concerned. By having a susuk inserted in their bodies, the girls believe that they are rendered more attractive to men so that they will never run short of customers.**

### 3.6.4 Appearance of the Children Involved in Prostitution

The physical appearance of children involved in prostitution makes it easy for the public at large to recognise the type of work they are involved in, particularly when they go out at night. The efforts made by the children involved in prostitution to exude sex appeal are exactly the same as those made by adult sex workers. The fact that the children involved in prostitution dress and act like adult sex workers means that they are frequently not recognised for what they are – children.

During a focus group discussion involving the stakeholders, it was found that there was a lack of understanding as regards the commercial sexual exploitation of children, which seemed to be primarily due to the similarity in appearances between the children involved in prostitution and adult sex workers. Thus, for many of the stakeholders, this focus group discussion was the first time they had become aware of the particular problems associated with the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

The children involved in prostitution in Surakarta had a number of special characteristics, such as tattoos on various parts of their bodies, having

their ears pierced more than once, having their noses and eyebrows pierced, and having their eyebrows plucked. In Indramayu, however, no special characteristics were discernible that distinguished children involved in prostitution from other children. This was because they lived at home with their parents and would be embarrassed if their physical appearances were dramatically different from other children. It was only when they went out at night to seek customers that they would do themselves up and wear revealing or tight clothes. However, even then they would not be particularly noticeable as they were not up to date with the latest fashions and styles.

**The children involved in prostitution in Surakarta have a number of special characteristics, such as tattoos on various parts of their bodies, having their ears pierced more than once, having their noses and eyebrows pierced, and having their eyebrows plucked. In Indramayu, however, no special characteristics were discernible that distinguished the children involved in prostitution from other children.**

#### 3.6.4.1 Dyed Hair

Dyed hair is another characteristic feature of the children involved in prostitution in the Surakarta research locations. Over the last couple of years,

it has become popular for them to dye their hair blonde. However, this is also fashionable among teenagers in general.

For the public at large, having dyed hair is not a characteristic particularly associated with commercial sex workers, and many other children in the areas where the children involved in prostitution operate also dye their hair blonde or auburn. Table 3.19 shows the frequency with which the child participants dye their hair:

Table 3.19 shows that 64.3 percent of the children involved in prostitution dye their hair to enhance their appearance. The next biggest groups to dye their hair were school drop-outs, former prostituted children and, finally, boyfriends of the children involved in prostitution.

According to the prostituted children, dyeing one's hair was an expression of style and a way of saying that they were "with it", as reflected in the statement, "a trendy kid always dyes her hair!"

The process of applying the hair dye can be carried out by a friend of the girl, or in a beauty salon. The cost of having one's hair dyed in a salon varies, and greatly depends on the brand of dye used. According to the prostituted children, the cost of having one's hair dyed in a salon varied between Rp 25,000 and Rp 60,000. Accordingly, the children preferred to have the

dye applied by a friend as this was cheaper, and they could do this for each other. They also said that hair dye was easily available in pharmacies, drug stores, or in supermarkets.

By contrast in Indramayu, the only prostituted child who dyed her hair was one who worked in Jakarta. She often went to the salon for beauty treatments at the bidding of her brothel-keeper/pimp, who said he wanted her to look trendy and modern. As to how much these beauty treatments in the salon cost, she said she did not know as this was between the salon and the brothel keeper/pimp. However, a deduction was made from her earnings. As for those children involved in prostitution who still lived in their home villages in Indramayu, none of them dyed to have their hair dyed as they would be teased by neighbours and friends if they were to change their hair colour. If village people were to see a girl who looked conspicuous or different, which would be the case if she had her hair dyed, they would get the impression that she was a "bad girl".

**The children involved in prostitution normally dyed their hair auburn or blonde, although there were also those who dyed their hair blue. A total of 64.3 percent of the children dyed their hair. In Indramayu, only**

**children who worked outside of the area, such as in Jakarta, dyed their hair, while in Surakarta the majority of the children involved in prostitution did so. If they had enough money they would have their hair dyed in a hairdressing salon, if not they would take turns at dyeing each others hair using cheap, low quality dye widely available in stores.**

#### 3.6.4.2 Body and Ear Piercing

Having various parts of their bodies pierced is also a characteristic of the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta. These girls not only have their ears pierced, as is normal for Indonesian women in general, but frequently also their noses, in the style of Indian women. Many of the children involved in prostitution also have their eyebrows pierced.

Table 3.20 shows that there are three types of participants who have pierced their ears more than once:

Prostituted children most frequently answered "yes" while none of the student participants responded when asked whether or not they had their ears pierced more than once.

According to the prostituted children, it was only after they had become involved in prostitution

Table 3.19 Participants Who Dye Their Hair

Participant Type	Participants Who Dye Their Hair		Total (% Number of Participants)
	Yes	No	
Prostituted Children	64.3	27.7	38.0
Former Prostituted Children	7.1	33.3	26.0
School Drop-outs	21.5	16.7	18.0
School Students	-	16.7	12.0
Others	7.1	5.6	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Body Map Data

Table 3.20 Participants Whose Ears are Pierced More than Once

Participants Type	Piercing (%)		Total (% Number of Participants)
	Yes	No	
Prostituted Children	70.0	30.0	38.0
Former Prostituted Children	10.0	30.0	26.0
School Drop-outs	20.0	17.5	18.0
School Students	-	15.0	12.0
Others	-	7.5	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Body Map Data

that they had their ears pierced a second time. When having their ears pierced, they hold an ice cube behind the earlobe to dull the pain. The coldness of the ice cube numbs the nerves so that they feel less discomfort during the piercing process. Another method used to numb the pain is getting drunk. The same applies for having a tattoo done or having the nose pierced.

**In order to make themselves trendier and increase their self-confidence, 70 percent of the prostituted children in Surakarta had their ears pierced a number of times, as well as their noses and eyebrows. This was also the case among the children involved in prostitution from Indramayu who worked in Jakarta. Meanwhile, those children involved in prostitution who lived and worked in Indramayu only had their ears pierced once, as is normal for women in Indonesia.**

#### 3.6.4.4 Arm Scarring

##### Fact Box

A large number of scars were found on both the right and left arms of the children involved in prostitution. There were more than five scars on the arms of some of these children. According to the girls involved, they would often slice their arms with a razor if they felt upset, if they felt deceived by their boyfriends or their boyfriends were angry with them. They were usually drunk when they sliced their arms and thus felt little pain.

"This was because my boyfriend was jealous, and said I was a whore who would sleep with anyone. I was drunk and didn't feel a thing. It's all because of Nm – he's always making me upset".  
 "Last year, my boyfriend got married to a girl from my village. I was really upset. I got drunk and then started slicing my arm with a razor. I was lucky I didn't die!

#### 3.6.4.3 Plucked Eyebrows

The children involved in prostitution also displayed a habit of plucking their eyebrows in the fashion of adult sex workers in those areas where the children involved in prostitution start working as new arrivals. In these areas, the majority of the children involved in prostitution pluck their eyebrows and then draw new eyebrows in the shape and form they desire using a special pencil. While the majority of the children involved in prostitution are still using this method, it was found on the ground that many of the adult sex workers now have new eyebrows tattooed.

**Both the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta and those in Indramayu who work outside of Indramayu pluck their eyebrows and draw false eyebrows using special pencils. However, the children involved in prostitution who live and work in Indramayu do not pluck their eyebrows.**

arms, she replied:  
 "I've got these scars because I once had a run-in with the wife of my boyfriend when she discovered that I was going out with her husband. I got into a lot of trouble at home and it was really embarrassing in front of the neighbours. I even got my hair pulled. So, I made a date to meet my boyfriend. I was drunk and sliced my arms in front of my boyfriend. I told him that I really loved him and that if he loved me, then he would divorce his wife as soon as he could".

Another participant said that she too had once sliced her arms out of frustration at finding out that her boyfriend had got engaged to another girl, and the fact that he had failed to put in an appearance at the participant's birthday party. The scars were not so apparent as she afterwards applied medicine to make sure that they would not be too pronounced. She was intoxicated at the time she cut herself.

**A tendency to inflict self-harm by slicing their arms with a razor when angry, depressed, under stress or confused was observable both among the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta and Indramayu.**

#### 3.6.4.5 Dress Styles

Wearing tight or revealing clothes and high heels were common characteristics of the participating children involved in prostitution both in Indramayu and Surakarta. The children involved in prostitution who took part in this research tended to be those who worked in public places and were mostly in the mid to low prostitution classes. In general, they worked in cafes or solicited on the sidewalks.

They tended to wear a great deal of makeup, tight or revealing clothes, and high heels. In Surakarta prostitution goes to pay for their accommodation in hotels (between Rp 20,000 and Rp 50,000 per day), and on purchasing food and cigarettes for themselves and their boyfriends. They spend quite a lot on cigarettes, going through between 2 and 5 packs of 10 cigarettes each working day. They also spend a lot of money on alcohol, including both local brews<sup>7</sup> and national bottled brands.

Another big percentage of the earnings of children involved in prostitution go on purchasing cosmetics, perfume, clothes (blouses, trousers, and skirts), and high-heeled shoes and sandals.

The children involved in prostitution, particularly those working in public places, expend relatively little money on looking after their health. In general, if they suffer from health problems, they attempt to treat them using the methods that they have heard of by way of gethok tular<sup>8</sup> and which are normally employed by the commercial sex workers. These include taking antibiotics every day, and ramuan lokal<sup>9</sup> if their periods come late. It is rare that any form of professional medical advice is sought.

The cost of living of a prostituted child does not just involve covering her own and her boyfriend's needs, but also helping out her family<sup>10</sup>. The exception to this are those children involved in prostitution who have run away from unhappy or disharmonious home environments, and who have no further connection with their families. In such cases, they feel no further obligation to help their families financially.

7 The local hard liquor is known as Ciu, which is produced from fermented rice. Ciu is also known by many other names, including Tiga Huruuf, Putihban and Pulosan.

8 Information passed by word of mouth

9 Ramuan Lokal – pineapple scrapings mixed with pepper – is generally used to overcome the problem of late menstruation or induce a miscarriage.

10 In this Surakarta research locations, some of the prostituted children who came from outside Surakarta told their parents that they worked in factories or large stores. They did not work continuously in Surakarta, but returned home every month to their villages to provide financial assistance for their parents and pay the costs of their siblings' education.

The children involved in prostitution tend to have very high living expenses, and to spend money extravagantly. This mostly due to the fact that most of them are not yet able to budget and to control their expenditure, as well as the fact that they tend to think in a very short-term manner, believing that they will be able to solicit customers, and thereby earn money, every night for an indefinite period of time. However, their expectations that they will have never-ending supply of customers are not always fulfilled. As a consequence, they build up debts with the people with whom they come into contact – they owe money for their hotel rooms, in the places where they eat, to cigarette vendors, and even to pedicab drivers.

In Indramayu by contrast, the clothes worn by the children involved in prostitution who still live with their parents are similar to those worn by other village girls. However, when they are receiving customers or going out to solicit customers, they do themselves up and dress in a more seductive manner, although not excessively seductive. Usually they wear high-heeled sandals. As for those who live in brothels or boarding houses in other areas, they dress in a much more seductive and modern manner. In general, those children involved in prostitution in Indramayu who live with their parents purchase their clothes in local stores or markets. The clothes in these places are less modern but are also much cheaper.

The clothes worn by the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu who live with their parents are normally simple, and similar to those worn by village girls. However, when going out to solicit customers they dress up in a more seductive manner, although not excessively seductive. Usually they wear high-heeled sandals. As for those who live in brothels or boarding houses in other areas, they dress in a much more seductive and modern manner.

Children involved in prostitution in Surakarta are easy to recognise from the clothes they wear: strong colours, tight tops and torn jeans. They also normally wear a lot of makeup, high heels, and a perfume.

3.6.4.6 Tattoos

Table 3.21 shows the number of children involved in prostitution who have tattoos

A total of 61.5 percent of the children involved in prostitution said that they had tattoos somewhere on their bodies. The former prostituted children and school drop-outs also gave positive responses to this question, but the percentages were much smaller than those for the prostituted

Table 3.21 Participants with Tattoos

Participant Type	Tattoos (%)		Total (% Number of Participants)
	Yes	No	
Prostituted Children	61.5	29.7	38.0
Former Prostituted Children	7.7	32.5	26.0
School Drop-outs	15.4	18.9	18.0
School Students	-	16.2	12.0
Others	15.4	2.7	6.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Analysis of Body Map Data

children. Meanwhile, the school students did not have tattoos.

According to the children involved in prostitution who had tattoos, they saw themselves as being “trendy”: “How can a hooker afford not to be trendy? A tattoo makes a girl trendy ... like smoking and drinking”.

Various tattoos were encountered, but the most frequent was the name of the girl’s boyfriend on her upper arm. In addition, tattoos of orchids and eagles were also quite common on the girls’ backs or chests.

The children involved in prostitution normally had their bodies tattooed when they were drunk or had made themselves drunk to kill the pain. The price of a tattoo varied between Rp 10,000 and Rp 15,000. Sometimes these children were tattooed by their boyfriends so that it cost them nothing.

While not all of the children involved in prostitution said that they had tattoos, it was found in the field that the vast majority of the girls had a tattoo on some part of their bodies. Having a tattoo was regarded as being stylish, and what was expected of them in their life on the streets.

By contrast, the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu did not have tattoos. This was due not only to a lack of tattooists, but also to the fear that having a tattoo would lead to them being considered as “bad girls” in the places where they lived. They also saw no point in getting a tattoo as it would only hurt them.

Of the four categories of children studied, 61.5 percent of the prostituted children, 7.7 percent of the former prostituted children, and 15.4 percent of the school drop-outs had tattoos. None of the school students admitted they had tattoos.

Tattooing was popular among the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta.. They believed that having a tattoo was stylish and trendy.

The children involved in prostitution in Indramayu did not have tattoos. This was due not only to a lack of tattooists, but also to the fear that having a tattoo would lead to them being branded as “bad girls”.

3.6.5 Social and Affective Networks among Children Involved in Prostitution.

3.6.5.1 Prostitution Networks

3.6.5.1.1 Brothel-keepers/Pimps

A brothel keeper/pimp plays a key role in the prostitution industry by organising mechanisms through which commercial sex workers are made available to potential customers. The networks that exist between the brothel keepers/pimps and children involved in prostitution and customers represent commercial networks. However, the position of a child victim of prostitution is always that of an object as a result of which the child has little or no bargaining power. From this perspective, the brothel keepers/pimps are also disliked by the children involved in prostitution due to the strict rules that they lay down and enforce.

In the research locations in Surakarta, the children involved in prostitution preferred to operate on their own and not depend on a brothel keeper/pimp, unlike the girls who lived in boarding houses or brothels. Thus, the pimps who were found in the research locations did not have direct control over the children involved in prostitution, and acted more in the fashion of procurers. They were generally speaking former commercial sex workers, boyfriends of the girls, pedicab drivers or taxi drivers who found potential customers from among hotel guests staying in Surakarta.

With regard to children involved in prostitution in Indramayu Regency, they were highly dependent on the brothel keepers/pimps when engaging in sexual transactions. In fact, the safety and protection afforded to these was, relatively speaking, much better than that enjoyed by the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta who operated independently of pimps. If the children had any problems with their customers, the brothel keepers/pimps would immediately step in to protect the girls, as happened in the case of YK:

“The customer wouldn’t pay me and I had a fight with him. The pimp stepped in and sorted the whole thing out, and in the end I got paid.”

Besides providing protection for the children involved in prostitution, the brothel keeper/pimp also plays a major role in fulfilling the girls’ hopes, such as their desire to build houses for their families. In these cases, children involved in prostitution frequently seek the assistance of the brothel keeper/pimp. The debt is usually paid off through deductions from the girls’ earnings. In Surakarta, by contrast, the role of the brothel keepers/pimps in the boarding houses and public places where sex workers operate is not significant. The process of meeting and arranging liaisons with customers is carried out directly by the prostituted children themselves, and is very brief. The children prefer it this way. When they first meet, the children often cannot care less who their customers are. After a price has been agreed upon, they will immediately go to a hotel. However, if no price is agreed upon the girl quickly loses interest in her “date”.

The directness with which the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta communicate with potential customers depends very much on the attitude of the customer towards the girl in question. Customers who are gentle and generous will receive a great deal of attention from the girls, and will be quickly sought out again by the girls if they return to the same location.

“I’m not fussy about who my customers are. Young or old, it’s all the same to me. What’s

important, though, is that they are not tight-fisted, are not rough and are handsome ...”

In the field, it was found that communication between customers and the children involved in prostitution was not solely confined to the issue of sex. Sometimes the customers invited the girls to go out with them for a meal outside of Surakarta. Sometimes, too, the girls would be taken to shopping centres and have clothes bought for them.

In order to facilitate their communication with the children involved in prostitution, the customers sometimes gave them their cell phone numbers, or set the girls up in hotels or rented rooms with telephones so that they could be quickly contacted whenever their services were required.

If a customer really liked a girl, he might establish her as his mistress or lover, with all the girl’s expenses subsequently covered. Those children who accepted this status usually had rented rooms provided for them. Notwithstanding this, they would continue to go out at night to seek additional money, or meet with their friends. However, in such cases the “sugar daddy” would always be given priority over other customers.

If a prostituted child was hurt or abused by a customer, she would reveal this only to her closest friends and confidants. However there were also children who would tell those in their groups about what they had experienced and warn the others not to go out with the man in question. The children would also frequently bring along male friends to provide protection for them while soliciting customers – in such cases, the boys would come along for a good time but would not act like boyfriends.

The pimps in Indramayu primarily play the role of intermediaries between the girls and their customers. However, they also provide protection for the girls. For each transaction that is arranged, a pimp receives between Rp 10,000 and 20,000 from the girls.

**Both the Surakarta and Indramayu pimps had not only professional relationships but also affective relationships with their “girls”. They would provide help if the children had financial difficulties or were sick, and protect them from abusive customers.**

### 3.6.5.1.2 Transportation

The fact that the children involved in prostitution work at night means that they do not have many choices when it comes to transportation. At night, there are only 3 choices of transportation available: pedicab, taxi or motorcycle taxi.

Of these three forms of transportation, the children involved in prostitution prefer to use taxis because they are safer, quicker, more “prestigious” than pedicabs or motorcycle taxis and the children are not subjected to annoyance by passers-by.

Generally, the drivers of taxis, pedicabs and motorcycle taxis play a dual role – on the one hand they provide transportation to the children involved in prostitution, and on the other they put the children into contact with potential customers. In return for these services, the drivers receive “tips” from the girls if they find a customer who is prepared to pay above the going rate. This dual role of transportation providers can be seen from the statement of one of the children involved in prostitution “if you want to find me, it’s easy. All the taxi drivers know where I live”.

A taxi driver gave the following account: “I provide transportation. Sometimes I get orders to pick up the girls from their rented rooms or boarding houses. Often I get to know them well, and sometimes I get up to Rp 30,000 per customer.” The researchers also discovered how close the taxi drivers were to these children when they asked a taxi driver one night to bring them to a number of different brothels. The taxi driver had no difficulty in fulfilling this request, and even assisted the researchers by introducing them to the owners of the brothels.

The children involved in prostitution do not only use taxis for transportation in the city, but also to bring them back to their home villages. A taxi trip outside of Surakarta city but within the boundaries of the former Residency of Surakarta (Purwodadi, Wonogiri, Sragen, Boyolali, Klaten Blora, and Karanganyar), costs between Rp 60,000 and Rp 95,000, while if the taxi is ordered to wait, this will cost an additional Rp 20,000 per hour. The cost of the trip home depends on the length of the trip and how close the girl is to the taxi driver. Trips outside of the former Residency of Surakarta, for example, to Yogyakarta, cost around Rp 175,000, while a trip to Semarang costs Rp 250,000.

The girls normally use pedicabs for short journeys, for example, between their homes and the places where they work. Just how close the pedicab drivers and the girls are may be seen from the fact that the drivers frequently trust them to pay later if they are short of money. The relationship between the children involved in prostitution and the pedicab drivers is a mutually beneficial one. For the pedicab drivers, the girls are regular customers, while the girls can still travel to and from the places where they work even if they do not have enough money. This also applies to motorcycle taxi drivers.

The children involved in prostitution in Indramayu Regency in general use motorcycle taxis for transportation purposes when travelling to the places where they solicit customers, or for meeting customers by prior arrangement at a hotel. The motorcycle taxi drivers come back to collect the girls at an appointed time. The children are forced to use motorcycle taxis as the places where they solicit or meet customers are usually far from where they live, and there are no other forms of public transport available. A trip by motorcycle taxi normally costs the girls between Rp 10,000 and Rp 20,000 every time they go out to solicit or meet a customer. Thus, they have to pay between Rp 20,000 and Rp 40,000 per day on transportation services. In the case of the Indramayu participant who worked in Jakarta, transportation provided by her pimp brought her

to and from the places where she was to meet her customers.

### 3.6.5.1.3 Cafes and Discotheques

The lives led by the children are inseparable from the nocturnal world they inhabit, particularly the cafes and discotheques they frequent. Being present and being seen in the discotheques and cafes of Surakarta is one of the means to show social status vis-à-vis fellow prostituted children. Some of the girls seek customers in discotheques. They feel that they are higher class than the children and adult sex workers who solicit on the streets or in small cafes.

Those girls who do not deliberately use discotheques for solicitation purposes, still frequent them after they have finished working, whether they have already found customers or not. The reasons they give for frequenting discotheques are to seek additional customers, forget their troubles and to consume drugs (which they describe as “tripping”).

The operating hours of discotheques – normally between 10 p.m. and 2 a.m. – are shorter than those of the cafes which the children involved in prostitution frequent, some of which are open from 10 p.m. to 5 a.m. West Indonesian Time. Thus, those who go to discotheques but who do not find what they are looking for, or who have not had enough of “tripping”, can always continue “tripping” in the late night cafes up to 5 a.m. In general, these cafes start getting crowded after the discotheques have closed. Almost half of the participants who regularly go to discotheques continue their night out in such cafes afterwards. Here the girls are frequently treated to alcoholic drinks in large quantities by male customers as the prices are much cheaper. The price of a bottle of beer in a discotheque ranges between Rp 33,000 and Rp 37,000, while in one of these cafes a bottle of beer (lager or stout) costs between Rp 14,000 and Rp 17,500.

The relationships between the children involved in prostitution and the discotheque and café owners and staff does not just consist of the normal relationship between a discotheque/

cafe and a customer. The discotheque and café owners tend to protect the girls from being netted in identity card raids – if the girls are caught on the premises without identity cards the owners will bargain with the authorities so as to prevent the girls from being detained. The cost of paying off the officials so as to prevent the girls from being hauled off to the police station will be treated as a debt to be subsequently repaid by the girls. This is not regarded as a problem by the children involved in prostitution, but rather as an extraordinary boon.

Discotheque and café staff play a direct role in procuring customers for children involved in prostitution. For every customer pointed in the direction of one of the girls, the procurer in the discotheque or café receives Rp 20,000. This figure of Rp 20,000 is accepted as more or less the going rate among the children involved in prostitution as the services provided by the discotheque and café staff save the girls a lot of hard work seeking out customers.

In order to attract patrons, the discotheques stage various programs that are of great interest to the children involved in prostitution. These include the Ladies Nights, when ladies are given free admission. However, each male patron is charged for two persons. Ladies Nights are usually held on Saturdays, and are promoted by banners at the junctions of main thoroughfares. The children involved in prostitution receive special printed free-admission cards valid for one person only, which set out the specific conditions that apply for that particular event, such as an exhortation to wear party clothes, prohibition on drugs, etc. Those possessing these invitations do not have to buy a ticket and also receive a free soft drink upon entry. Should a girl arrive for such a party without one of these special invitations, the discotheque staff will usually check with those who do have invitations whether they know and can recommend the newcomer. These Ladies’ Nights are normally held once per month on the first Saturday of the month or on the fourth Thursday of the month.

The children involved in prostitution in

Indramayu generally seek out customers in cafes and Warung Remang-Remang that are far away from their home villages, or even outside the district altogether. It is in these cafes and Warung Remang-Remang that they normally conduct their prostitution activities. As for the local hotels, the children involved in prostitution are not so well known there and do not have close relationships with the staff. This is because the party who always checks in is the customer. Thus, the children involved in prostitution are not personally known to the hotel staff. The girls in Karangampel District also use local discotheques as places to solicit and meet up with customers. In contrast to Karangampel District, there are no discotheques whatsoever in Arahm District.

**The lives led by the children are inseparable from the nocturnal world they inhabit, particularly the cafes and discotheques they frequent. They go to these places to seek customers, enjoy themselves, dance, drink alcohol and take drugs. In Indramayu, the children involved in prostitution normally solicit in cafes and Warung Remang-Remang. As for the local hotels, the children involved in prostitution are not so well known there and do not have close relationships with the staff. This is because the party who always checks in is the customer. The owners and staff of cafes and discotheques normally do their utmost to protect the girls during ID card raids.**

### 3.6.5.1.4 Pharmacies and Hospitals

The children involved in prostitution primarily use pharmacies to get their hands on prescription drugs. They know which pharmacies sell such medicines over the counter without a doctor’s prescription. For the children, there is no difference between a pharmacy and a drug store, and they have little difficulty in getting the medicines they need. They also avail of the services of itinerant medicine hawkers, who supply them with the medicines they need to deal with illnesses of a sexual nature. These itinerant

medicine hawkers go around the hotels occupied by children involved in prostitution, knocking on their doors to let them know they are doing their rounds. The itinerant medicine hawkers usually visit the hotels housing the children once per week. They get their supplies of medicines from an agent – whose identity is a closely guarded secret – somewhere on the outskirts of Surakarta.

The children involved in prostitution in the research locations in Surakarta appeared to have little interest in using the services of doctors and hospitals for their healthcare needs. This is primarily because the girls are afraid that the cost would be prohibitive, and because of the difficulties they think they would face in communicating with hospital staff.

With regard to family planning services, the children involved in prostitution tend to prefer to use the services of midwives and doctors rather than public healthcare facilities, such as the Community Health Centres (PUSKESMAS) and hospitals. This is because the children involved in prostitution have been introduced to these midwives and doctors by the adult commercial sex workers operating in the area.

In the Surakarta research locations, two children involved in prostitution regularly received contraceptive injections once per month, 12 were on the pill.<sup>3</sup> relied on the supernatural powers of their Susuks. The reasons adduced by these children for using a particular form of contraceptive injections did so as they had greater trust in their effectiveness compared to other methods of contraception.

According to L and Tw:

“The contraceptive injection is safe and you don’t have to take a pill every day. If you don’t take the pill every day, then you can get problems, like it happened to me before. Now I just go to the midwife for an injection once a month. This way I still have periods. But, if you get the one that lasts for three months, then you’ll stop having periods ...”

The reasons given by the children involved in prostitution who used the pill were that it was easy and practical, and they did not have to queue up in the family planning clinic. This form of contraception was widely available in pharmacies, drug stores or from itinerant medicine hawkers. In fact, there were three participants who did not actually know where their supplies of the pill came from, as they were given them by adult commercial sex workers with whom they were close.

"I never buy the pill myself as I'm always given what I need by Gn. I've never bought my own supply and I don't really know where Gn gets her supplies, although I think she's given them by a customer."

In Indramayu, the children involved in prostitution used the services of general practitioners if they fell ill. They would rarely avail of the services provided by hospitals, community health centres (PUSKESMAS), or pharmacies to have medical check-ups or to obtain contraceptives. Those children who continued to live with their parents used the pill and contraceptive injections so as to avoid becoming pregnant. Those children who lived in brothels or boarding houses run by brothel keepers/pimps were provided with contraceptives by their brothel keepers/pimps and once a week were examined by a doctor paid for by the brothel keeper/pimp. Thus, the detection of health problems among those children who lived in brothels or boarding houses was better than among the girls who lived in the villages in the Indramayu research locations.

**The children involved in prostitution in Surakarta availed of pharmacies to obtain tranquilisers, antibiotics and over-the-counter medicines for such ailments as flu, headaches, stomach upsets, and skin diseases. They would only visit a hospital if they were seriously ill or had been involved in an accident.**  
**In Indramayu, the children involved in prostitution generally used general**

in general), her boyfriend can turn nasty. The boyfriends pick up the girls at the hotels after they have entertained their customers. There are two main reasons why they do this: First, they are concerned that their girls might be deceived by the customers – for example, a customer refuses to pay so that the girl does not have enough money to get home. Second, there is a possibility of violence being inflicted by the customers. In addition, the boyfriends worry that their girls might go out with the customers after the sexual transaction has been completed. If this were to happen, it is quite possible that the boyfriend could turn violent<sup>11</sup>.

The longest-lasting relationship among the children involved in prostitution in Surakarta was between Bw and Rz, who at the time of the research had been together for 10 months. The next longest-lasting relationship between a prostituted child and her boyfriend was seven months. However, such relationships normally only lasted between 1 and 4 months. Splitting up is usually a relatively simple matter and after separating the child will usually find a new boyfriend within the circle of former boyfriends of her fellow prostituted children.

This tendency for the girls to seek their boyfriends from among a closed circle frequently gives rise to conflicts, and the establishment of new groups or gangs – separate from the group or gang of which the girl in question was previously a member.

"Cnd had no shame at all. He was really into giving all the girls a go. He started with Dra, then moved on to Wt, then Re, and most recently Hn. Hn split up with Ed to go with Cnd. So now, Cnd and Hn can't come here anymore as their former lovers are still here ..."

It is always difficult to predict how long the relationship between a prostituted child and her boyfriend will last or what will happen after they

split up. But in general, new partners are sought within the same community. The rate of turnover is such that it is quite conceivable that after they split up, a prostituted child's boyfriend will start sleeping with her roommate.

"Ed cleared off back to his village. H is now with C. So, H is afraid to meet A as C used to be A's lover. So C went off to Yogya to look for H and H split up with Ed."

**The boyfriends of the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu do not depend on them for their livelihoods. They do not demand money from them to cover their living costs. In fact, the opposite is often the case, with the boyfriends helping the girls and their families financially.**

**In Surakarta by contrast, the boyfriends of the children involved in prostitution depend on them for accommodation, food, drink, cigarettes, petrol and other needs. In return, the boyfriends transport the girls to and from the places where they work, and help to resolve any problems that they may face, such as quarrels with other children involved in prostitution.**

### 3.6.5.2.2 Fellow Prostituted Children

The findings in the field in the Surakarta research locations show that the children involved in prostitution in seeking work and places to live rely greatly on their fellow prostituted children. The question of whether they form a group or gang depends on how compatible they are with each other, in particular, as regards their attitudes and behaviour in the places where they work, as well as their physical appearance. The children involved in prostitution will normally tend to select and bond closely with friends whom they feel do not differ significantly in appearance from them.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the case of L and her boyfriend F. F dragged L from a pedicab in which she was riding home from a hotel where she had just spent more than 4 hours with a client. As a result of this she suffered severe bruising and grazing.

Various gangs or groups of children involved in prostitution exist in the field. The name of each group or gang is closely related to the places they frequent. Among the groups operating in Surakarta are the following:

"The Banjarsari girls, café girls, sidewalk girls, RRI girls, Srikayaan girls, brothel girls and hotel girls".

The attachment of the name of the place where the group members work also serves to show their social status to their fellow prostituted children<sup>12</sup>.

The places where the children involved in prostitution work have an emotional impact on their self-confidence and their social status in the eyes of their fellows. The high level of self-confidence among those children who work in cafes and discotheques frequently manifests itself when disputes with other children involved in prostitution arise through statements such as:

"You're nothing more than a common street tart".  
 "Even though I work as a hooker, there's no way I would walk the streets. At least in the cafes not everyone is going to know what I do, besides the customers. But if you're walking the streets in Banjarsari or in front of RRI ... no way ... you've got to have some self-respect."  
 "S will do it anywhere. She's a tart through and through. Those tarts in Banjarsari never want to work together. It's dog eat dog out there. They don't care a fig about how they look. I don't want to have anything to do with them".

The difficulties the children involved in prostitution face and the fact that they are far away from their home environments give rise to a strong feeling of sisterhood and shared destiny among them. They frequently use the term "sister", when referring to their fellow prostituted children and friends. The familial feeling that

exists between them is often clearly evident when they are, for example, out sharing a meal together.

"At times like this, I always think of my sisters in the hotel, what are they up to? I normally bring some food home for them. Wt is really like a sister to me. I can't tell you how much this means to me. Wt is very patient, never tells lies ... she's good fun ... not like the other kids here ... they're all so selfish ... just out to get whatever they can for themselves".

Normally, when one of the girls makes a special friend with whom she feels comfortable, the two of them make a pact to always stay together. For example, they share hotel rooms. The fact that they both have boyfriends seems to be no problem, and they appear quite happy for the four of them (the two girls and their boyfriends) to share the same room. These friendships between the children involved in prostitution usually spring up when they are living together in a boarding house or brothel, or when they meet in the locations that they work. According to the participating children involved in prostitution, they decide to share a room to save money, and they can also share such things as clothes, towels, etc. The same applies to cigarettes and food, with close friends sharing whatever they have and taking turns to buy.

However, the girls tend to quickly become bored, and find it difficult to control their emotions. Thus, what seem initially like unbreakable friendships often disintegrate in acrimony – usually after only between 2 and 4 weeks.

There are many factors that lead to such disputes between erstwhile friends, such as a situation where one of them decides for some reason to leave her friend and go off to join another group or establish a new group.

<sup>12</sup> The prostituted children who usually solicit in Banjarsari are known as "the Banjarsari girls", while those who solicit customers on the streets are known as "the street girls". An "RRI girl" is one who solicits on the street in front of the RRI building, while a "Srikayaan girl" is a sex worker who solicits clients on the street in front of Balapan station, where there are many stalls selling sweetsops. In addition, there are also "the brothel girls" and "the hotel girls", with the latter normally operating in star-rated hotels.

moved to another hotel. I'm not too comfortable now if I meet Ka."

Despite the tight competition between the children involved in prostitution in various fields, it was found that they were still generally willing to help out if one of them found herself in difficulties.

**A child's story**

D was sick and had to go to the hospital. The other children involved in prostitution who lived in the same hotel as D tried to help her out as best they could. They took turns watching over her in the hospital, sleeping underneath her bed and using their jackets as pillows. While these girls stayed with her in the hospital, the others would go out to the cafes to try to earn money to pay for D's medication, and to buy food for those watching over her in the hospital. D's friends willingly gave up their time to stay with her so that she would not feel lonely, and make sure she did not try to leave the hospital. They also looked up her regular clients, who they thought might be willing to help pay for her treatment. The researchers were also asked to help out by contacting one of D's customers and informing him that D was sick and needed money for her treatment. In addition, they contacted the Kakak Foundation, which works with child victims of prostitution in Surakarta, to seek assistance.

The relationships between the children involved in prostitution in Indramayu were mainly good. They mutually helped and understood each other. However, as in Surakarta, disputes and quarrels often occurred. However, such quarrels in Indramayu generally arose when one of the children went out with a customer whom the other children involved in prostitution did not like, or at times when the competition for customers was particularly tight. The relations were also good between the children involved in prostitution who lived at home and those

**A child's story**

Js is a prostituted child who has a close friendship with NH. They live in a rented room on the banks of a river in Banjarsari District, Surakarta. They help each other out in whatever ways they can. They share cosmetics, soap, and toothpaste. They refer to these as "our" soap and toothpaste, and consider themselves to be joint owners.

"NH is my best friend. We have known each other for three years, and really want to always remain friends, no matter what. Sometimes we quarrel but we always make up. I get on well with NH and she gets on well with me. NH needs a good friend and so do I. Whenever NH has a problem, myself and my boyfriend are always there to advise her. We all live in one room with NH's boyfriend."  
 "NH thinks like an adult, even though she's only 17. She is able to advise me as good as my mother. She's also really generous. If someone has no money, NH will always lend them some. She's also really responsible. She has a younger sister in class 5 in elementary school. NH helps pay for her sister's education."  
 "I live in room No. 7 in this pension. NH pays most of the rent. She has lots of customers so she gets more money than I do."

**Fights and quarrels between the children**

involved in prostitution are phenomena that are inseparable from their nocturnal lifestyles, including the facts that they are frequently intoxicated and there is competition between them regarding customers. Quarrels over sharing clothes are also frequent occurrences between the children involved in prostitution.  
 "I fell out with Ka. She was angry with me because I slept with her boyfriend. Well, what do you expect given that we really liked each other. Anyway, before Ka had stolen Ri's boyfriend. At first I didn't want to start anything with Ka's boyfriend, but I fell in love with him. In the end, I