No. 52

Prostitution in Indonesia

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Canberra 1995
ABSTRACT

Though described as the 'world's oldest profession', prostitution is recognized by society neither as a valid form of employment nor as acceptable activity on the part of the customer. Prostitution has a long and varied history in Indonesia, starting before the colonial era, through decades of Dutch attempts to control the practice, to the institutionalization of many aspects of the industry during the Japanese Occupation and in the New Order period. In certain areas of Indonesia prostitution is regarded by parents as an acceptable form of work for their young daughters, while religious groups in general condemn the practice. The government and the police take a more ambivalent approach—arresting and prosecuting pimps and prostitutes who disturb public order, but protecting and managing official brothel complexes (lokalisasi) where thousands of young girls work as prostitutes. Some of the complexes provide 'rehabilitation' and training intended to shift sex workers out of the activity, but the impact of these programs appears to be minimal. Official figures put the number of prostitutes at about 71,000 nationwide, but to this number must be added the many freelance sex workers and workers in various occupations who also sell sexual services, though they are not officially regarded as prostitutes.

This paper considers the historical record and the social setting of prostitution in Indonesia, in order to trace changing attitudes and approaches to prostitution over time, particularly with regard to issues of health and public order. The scale and mode of operation of the contemporary sex industry is examined, including case studies of particular cities and localities. Rough estimates are presented of financial turnover within the industry. The paper addresses a number of policy issues relating to the regulation of prostitution, the welfare of sex workers and the health risks arising from prostitution.

PROSTITUTION IN INDONESIA

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THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMERCIAL SEX SECTOR IN INDONESIA

The commoditization of women in Indonesian History

The origins of modern prostitution in Indonesia can be traced back to the time of Javanese kingdoms in which the commoditization of women was an integral part of the feudal system. Two of the most powerful and lasting Javanese kingdoms were formed in 1755, when the kingdom of Mataram was divided into two: the Kesultan Surakarta and Kesultanan Yogyakarta. Mataram was a Javanese-Islamic kingdom located in the southern hinterland of central Java. In this period the Javanese concept of authority of the king was described (Moedjiarto, 1990) as a power that was agung-bunutara (grand and powerful). The power of the kings of Mataram was indeed great. They were often described as the owners of everything; not only the land and property, but also the lives of their subjects. In the case of women, this was an attribution which was often taken quite literally.

The king had a godly glorification; 'everything in Java, the earth on which we live, the water we drink, the grass, the leaves, everything belongs to the king.' It was the king's duty to establish law and justice and all persons were expected to obey him unconditionally. The extent of the king's great power was represented by the large number of selirs (concubines) in the court. Some of the selirs were daughters of noblemen given to the king as a token of their loyalty; others were tributes from other kingdoms; and many were lower-class women sold or given over by their families to take minor positions in the royal household. Such women could achieve higher status by producing children for the king. Each of the Javanese courts drew selirs from particular regions, which came to be noted for the production of beautiful and alluring women. Such regional reputations have survived in folklore to the present day. Koenjoro (1989:3) identifies eleven Kabupaten (Regencies) in Java which contain communities famous in history as sources of women for the courts, and today noted as sources of urban prostitutes. These Kabupaten are Indramayu, Karawang and Kuningan in West Java; Pati, Japara, Grobongan and Wonogiri in Central Java; and Blitar, Malang, Banjarsari and Lamongan in East Java. Gabus Wetan subdistrict in Indramayu is famed as a source area for modern prostitution, but the foundations of the practice seem to date back to the time when young women from the area were sent to the court of the Sultan of Cirebon.

The accumulation of selirs was an effort to strengthen the position of the king. From the point of view of physical strength, the taking of many selirs meant a rapid reproduction of princely power and the proof of spiritual superiority. Only the king and nobles in the society had selirs. In giving out his sisters or daughters to the regents or other high officials, the king was motivated by the same desire to marshal power as was reflected in his own acquisition of a great number of selirs: that is, to
strengthen his political support and to develop his grandeur and power. Women's status under the Kingdom of Mataram was therefore reflected in their role as the currency of the *upeti* (tribute paid by subjects) and as *seliris* reflecting the power of the king. While commoner men were permitted by the Moslem religion to take up to four wives, economics prevented most of them from polygamy while their social status prevented them from taking *seliris*.

The treatment of women as commodities was not limited to Java, but in fact was common throughout Asia, where slavery, systems of indenture and lifelong servitude were common feudal forms. In Bali a low-caste widow without strong family support automatically became the property of the king. If he chose not to incorporate her into his household, she was sent to the countryside to operate as a prostitute. A share of her income was to be regularly returned to the king (ENI, 1902; 342).

Feudal systems did not contain the fully commercialized sex industry which we associate with modern industrial societies, but they did provide the foundation for the industry through the identification of the value of women as commodities to be exchanged and accumulated in the constant male quest for power and wealth.

The commercialization of sex during the colonial period

The more organized forms of the sex industry expanded greatly during the Dutch colonial period. Traditional systems of slavery and concubinage were adapted to the needs and mores of the European communities being established in port areas of the archipelago, with sexual gratification of soldiers, traders and emissaries becoming one of the priority issues in the clash of alien cultures.

From the outset this issue posed many dilemmas for natives and Europeans alike. On the one hand, large numbers of single men brought to Indonesia by the colonial businesses and governments produced a demand for domestic and sexual services which was readily satisfied by families with saleable daughters and women seeking material benefit from the newcomers. On the other hand, both the native and the colonial communities perceived dangers in unregulated intercultural liaisons. Formal marriage was discouraged or forbidden, and intermarial concubinage was frowned upon but accepted as a tacit necessity. In this context unstable and inequitable cohabitations and outright commercial relationships were options available to European men, and tolerated by their leaders.

This situation set Indonesian women in an invidious position and subjected them to many disadvantages with regard to the law, community disapproval and personal welfare and security. During the 1600s, the government passed laws forbidding Christian families from employing native women as housekeepers, and 'forbidding a person from inviting a virtuous woman into fornication', but avoiding the question as to which women were to be regarded as 'virtuous'. In 1650, a house of correction for women was established to reform prostitutes and protect the public order. One hundred and sixteen years later a regulation forbidding prostitutes from entering the wharves 'without permission' testified to the failure of the attempts at correction, and the toleration of commercial sex prevailing at the time (ENOF, 1919).

In 1852 the government introduced a new law which acknowledged the commercial sex industry but set out a series of regulations 'to avoid harmful consequences resulting from prostitution'. The legal framework established at that time remains basically intact to the present day. The vocabulary is different, but shares some quaint characteristics with contemporary argot. Today's *Wanita Tuna Susila* (WTS - women lacking morals) were referred to in the 1852 act as 'public women', and under the regulations were to be 'under the direct and strict supervision of the police' (Article 2). All registered 'public women' were required to carry a chart and to undergo weekly medical examinations to detect syphilis or other contagious diseases (Articles 8, 9, 10, 11). If such a woman was found to have a disease she was required to cease her practice immediately, and be isolated in an institution (*inrichting voor zieke publieke vrouwen*) established for the care and treatment of infected women. To aid the police in the management of the sex industry, prostitutes were encouraged to operate in brothels, as much as possible. Unfortunately the wording of the law confused many in the government and the sex industry, and in 1858 a further clarification was issued to say that the 1852 act should not be interpreted as having legitimized brothels as commercial institutions. Rather they were identified as places where medical consultation could take place 'to limit the harmful effects' of prostitution. While the distinction between 'acknowledgement' and 'approval' may have been clear to the government, it was a grey area to the public and the prostitutes.

Two decades later the responsibility for supervising brothels was shifted from the central to the regional governments; the 1852 central government regulations were effectively repealed, to be replaced by local regulations. Venereal disease was among the most serious of the consequences worrying regional governments, but the shortage of physicians, and the inefficiency of treatment options, made attempts to prevent the spread of disease virtually impossible (ENOF, 1919). Each Regional Government was to establish its own detailed regulations to control prostitution. In Surabaya at least, the resident established three brothel *kampung* (hamlets or villages) in an effort to keep venereal disease under control, and prostitutes were not permitted to operate anywhere else. All prostitutes in these *kampung* were registered and medical checks carried out (Inglessen, 1986: 127-128). In Batavia (present-day Jakarta) a regulation enacted in 1875 outlined the medical officers' responsibilities for checking the public women. Medical officers of the third rank were to visit the public women every Saturday morning, after city rounds, while officers of the second rank were responsible for management of the institutions for sick public women.

According to most accounts, despite these regulations, the extent of prostitution increased dramatically in the nineteenth century, especially after amendment of the Agrarian Laws in 1870, when the colonial economy was opened to private capital (Inglessen, 1986). The expansion of plantations, especially in West Java, the growth of the sugar industry in East and Central Java, the establishment of plantations in
Sumatra and the building of roads and railways involved considerable migrations of male labourers, some of them itinerant. This created a demand for the services of prostitutes. During the construction of the railway linking the Javanes cities of Batavia, Bogor, Cianjur, Bandung, Cilacap, Yogyakarta and Surabaya in 1884, not only did prostitution flourish to serve the construction workers, but also, at each major town served by the railway, the arrival of rail passengers increased the demand for board and lodging also for sexual services. Brothel complexes sprung up close to the railway stations in every city. For example in Bandung, prostitution complexes were developed in several locations close to the station, including Kebon Jeruk, Kebon Tanahk, Sukamah and Santri; in Yogyakarta prostitution complexes were established in the area of Pasar Kembang, Mbalakon and Sorowajaya. In Surabaya, the first red-light district was near the Semut station and near the harbour in the area of Kremil, Tandes, and Bangunsari. Most of these prostitution complexes operate today, even though the role of the railway in mass transport has declined, and the location of hotels in these cities has changed substantially.

The history of the sex industry in Surabaya is unique. As the second city of Indonesia, and the main focus of trade routes in Eastern Indonesia, Surabaya developed during Dutch colonial times as a major port city, naval base, garrison and railway terminus (Kunto, 1993; Dick, 1993). It was notorious in the nineteenth century for extensive prostitution.

Freighters and naval ships entering the outer harbour were quickly surrounded by a flotilla of preahu filled with local prostitutes touting for customers. Until the mid-nineteenth century prostitutes were allowed on board naval vessels, in the belief that it was better to keep sailors under some sort of supervision than to let them loose on the town (Ingleson, 1986:126).

An official history of Surabaya stated that in 1864 there were 228 prostitutes under the control of 18 brothel owners, but this was undoubtedly an underestimate reflecting only officially registered sex workers.

Writing in 1939, Simons divided prostitution in Surabaya into eight categories:

1. Prostitutes based in small cafes near the harbour and in the old port town;
2. Street prostitutes from local kampung;
3. Brothels in the centre of the city owned by Chinese and Japanese;
4. Brothel kampung on the outskirts of the city;
5. Discreet services of native female servants;
6. Even more discreet services of housebound Dutch women for young, unmarried Dutch men;
7. European prostitution in organized brothels;

The first of these categories, the cafes of the Tanjung Perak area, featured entertainment girls, dancing and drinking. The women had to remain in the cafes until the early hours of the morning, but afterwards could accompany customers home. The smarter cafes gave preference to non-Javanes women, particularly those from Manado, and the more expensive nightclubs featured Eurasian women (Hessling, 1987:214). In the second category, the street prostitutes were a group often harassed by police; therefore they were often accompanied by a pimp responsible for propositioning potential customers. Most prostitutes lived and worked in kampung along the Banju Urip canal. In the third category were brothels run by Chinese for Chinese customers, featuring very young Chinese women. Non-Chinese customers were admitted only on the introduction of a Chinese.

The social composition of colonial towns and cities was also conducive to prostitution. There was a high proportion of single males among the civilian and military Dutch population. Half the European men were living with local concubines up till 1890, and thereafter the decline in acceptability of concubinage appeared to lead to greater recourse to prostitutes (Ingleson, 1986: 124). As for the Indonesian population of the towns, as many as 40 per cent of the urban workforce in the last decades of colonial rule were regular prostitutes, and many of these were young girls drawn into prostitution. The situation was little different in the case of the Dutch supervisors and managers. One result was that in the areas south of Bandung, and in Subang, Garut, Sukabumi and Southern Cianjur, the location of the estates, many people have the physical characteristics of Europeans, due to the sexual liaisons between Dutch men and native women a century ago (Kunto, 1993). The sex industry in Bandung and other larger towns in West Java derived much business—usually at different levels—from estate managers and supervisory staff seeking entertainment at weekends, and from estate workers spending their pay and spare time in search of companionship.

It was obvious to the government and outside observers at the turn of the century that the local government regulations were hopelessly inadequate to meet the speed of development of the sex industry, or the rapidity of the spread of venereal disease. Haga (1901) summarized the medical challenges in three basic points: first, few of the operating prostitutes were registered, thus they were not examined; second, even if they were registered there were not enough physicians and facilities to process the large numbers of sex workers on a weekly basis; third, the government must be called upon to expand resources for examinations, and institute more rational priorities for detection and treatment of dangerous infectious diseases. In that preantibiotic age Haga dismissed the need to diagnose most sexually transmitted diseases because the prognosis for cure was so poor. Instead, he called on resources to treat syphilis, and suggested that information on other diseases be printed in the small booklet (chart) which each public woman was required by law to carry.
In 1908, Ruitenbach expanded on Haga's criticisms of medical attempts to regulate prostitution, citing the lack of police officers, as well as the dearth of physicians to enforce the regulations; the tendency of women to operate clandestinely to avoid vexatious regulations; and the absence of any rational evaluation of the impact of the regulations, as a guide to policy development. Instead, he advocated the tolerance of the institutions of 'housekeepers and concubines' as a means of meeting the sexual needs of large numbers of single (European) men, while still inhibiting the spread of venereal disease.

In part collapsing under the weight of its own irrelevance, the nineteenth-century model of regulation essentially ended in 1910 when routine medical examinations were terminated through a resolution of the Governor General. New 'Public Morality Laws', first enacted in the Netherlands Indies in 1913, thus effectively sweeping aside the local regulations enacted after 1874. Clauses 250 and 252 of the new laws made illegal the practices of those who 'purposely bring about the fornication of others with a third party and makes that his profession or habit'. This clearly referred to pimps and procurers, but provided no guidance as to how such charges could be proved or enforced.

Thus in the 1920s and 1930s, Indonesia faced the anomalous situation of having strongly worded laws but no effective means of dealing with the rapidly growing number of brothels. For a time, the police could not investigate brothels without the permission of the local government leader (ENOI, 1919: 514). Misset's estimate of the number of prostitutes in Jakarta in 1917 was 3000 to 4000, which he compared with the 2000 syphilis infections among soldiers reported each year, and the 5000 to 6000 cases of other venereal diseases. In placing the blame for these diseases on prostitutes, he reached a new height of moral outrage, declaring that the 'prostitute is like a vampire, she poisons, sucks out and ruins' young men (Misset, 1917:3). While no reliable data were available then, or over the next two decades, the conventional wisdom concluded that the numbers of prostitutes were growing rapidly as the cities expanded, and new industrial enterprises attracted clusters of young workers from villages.

The commercialization of sex in Indonesia was further entrenched during the Japanese occupation between 1941 and 1945. Women who were already working as prostitutes were rounded up and, after health checks, some were allocated to brothels to serve the Japanese soldiers while others continued to operate as before. But many adolescents and schoolgirls were deceived or forced into prostitution. The Japanese offered many Indonesian girls a good education and better life in Tokyo or in large Indonesian cities. Many attractive and intelligent candidates came from higher levels of society. The girls were brought from inland towns and villages, assembled in the harbour areas of Semarang (Semarang Club, Shoko Club, Hinomura, and Funabaso), Surabaya (Bangunrejo and surrounding area) and Batavia (Tanjung Priok) and were told to be ready to go abroad. In reality these girls never departed from the camps, but were instead forced to serve the Japanese soldiers and officers. They became virtual sex slaves, forbidden to leave the brothels and with little hope of escape (Tempo, 1992). Similar events occurred in Solo, where more than 50 adolescent girls, mostly brought to Solo from other areas, were forced to become prostitutes (Buana Minggu, 26 July 1992). Others were pressed by their parents to work in this way for the Japanese, in the hope of gaining some advantage.

Two former Japanese soldiers reported that during their duties in Southern Sulawesi in 1942 they knew at least 29 brothel houses with more than 280 prostitutes, including women from Toraja (111 persons), Java (67), Makasar (7), Mander (4), and Bugis, Chinese and other girls of unknown origin (Tempo, 1992: 17). The locations of these brothels were in Makasar (now called Ujung Pandang), Pare-Pare, Bulukumba, Makale, and Singkang. In these brothels, the pimps received half of the income of the prostitute. While not slaves like the women in the camps, many of the women in the brothels were forced to work as prostitutes because they had no alternative means of survival, and because their activities were encouraged by the occupying forces.

As well as forcing the prostitution of local and Dutch women, the Japanese brought women to Java from Singapore, Malaysia and Hong Kong to serve the officers. According to a report by one such Chinese-Malaysian woman who was taken to a brothel in Morotai, between one and three o'clock the women had to work for lower-level officers for a payment equal to ten US cents; and from three to five o'clock in the afternoon for middle-level officers for fifteen US cents. From eight in the evening until morning, they were scheduled for higher-level officers who paid between one and five dollars. Usually, one imported woman worker in the sex industry was able to serve five to ten men per day (Tempo, 1992: 18).

The condition of women in the sex industry under the Dutch and Japanese colonial regimes was thus quite different. One of the documents collected by the weekly newsmagazine Tempo (1992) mentioned that women who were prostitutes through both periods generally preferred their peacetime life under the Dutch, because a lot of kindly and rich 'Sinoy' gave them dresses, money, and jewellery, and also provided them with a place to stay. By contrast, their memories of wartime occupation were bitter, and they accused the Japanese soldiers and officers of being both very rude and stingy. It must be remembered that these were the reactions of the 'professionals' of two eras, and not the 'sex slaves' confined in camps or forced to work in brothels.

It must be assumed, though, that prostitution was condemned by the community in both peace and war, and in both colonial and republican times. A small example of the moralistic and condemnatory attitudes is contained in a newspaper article published toward the end of the colonial period by a senior indigenous government official in Batavia (Sudibyo, 1937). In addition to reviewing frightening data on the rates of venereal disease, and the terrible consequences faced by those infected, Sudibyo commented that one of the great dangers to society arose from the growing practice of late marriage which led males to take up with prostitutes. The practice, he argued, was particularly common among the intellectual classes who were seen not only to postpone their marriages, but also to live with women who were either active prostitutes, or part-time prostitutes. This meant that the reproduction of the
intellectual classes was both delayed (through delayed marriage) and threatened by the spread of venereal diseases. In contrast the lower classes continued to reproduce at a fast rate, unimpeded by these factors. Of course there are no data presented to back up the speculation about the impact of rising age at marriage on differential fertility, nor are there any facts about the practice of cohabitation among the unmarried, but the key to Sudibyo's argument, and an idea which can be found in many other publications of the period, is that prostitution is a major threat to social coherence and stability.

Social structural change and development of the sex industry

In the late 1940s the population of newly independent Indonesia was concentrated in the island of Java, with the vast majority living in rural areas. The 1950s were characterized by underemployment and poverty. Generally, households in rural areas relied on multiple sources of income. Household survival strategies in rural areas, especially among the poorest groups, usually involved having members working outside the agriculture sector, at least on a part-time basis. Non-agricultural work was also very common among middle level households, to improve their social status and take advantage of available opportunities. Because of the limited employment opportunities and keen competition in rural areas, many young women from poorer households migrated to the nearest cities or towns. The social values of these migrants tended to change once they arrived in the cities. Village social values favouring community solidarity and in some cases dominated by religious beliefs were often replaced by more individualistic values.

Geertz (1963) described two distinct kinds of economy in urban areas. First, the economy of commercial firms where trading and industrial activities are carried out in a relatively impersonal way, with a range of specialized jobs relating to the production and distribution of goods and services. Second, the bazaar economy which consists of a wide variety of activities governed by institutionally specific customs and managed by groups of traders in tight competition, who communicate with each other through ad hoc transactions. Over the colonial period, commercialized sex followed other forms of commerce, and developed as a branch of the urban economy, reflecting dualistic structures represented by firms and bazaars. These organizational forms shaped the commercialization of sexual relations in bazaar-like areas such as Jalan Braga, in the centre of Bandung, and the Matraman-Salemba area of Jakarta, in contrast to the more formally organized sex trade in brothels. Similar contrasts were found as workers left depressed estate complexes in North Sumatra (Kunto, 1993), to pursue new lives in either the streets or the bawdy-houses of Medan.

By the late 1960s and 1970s, the flow of settlers from rural areas had an increasing component of women in search of paid employment in the formal sector, especially in and around the largest cities. At the same time many migrants participated in circular flows, spending periods in the city before returning to their permanent base in the villages. The increasing number of women migrants in the big cities led to increasing competition among women workers, and between women and men workers. As most female migrants were young and inexperienced, with low educational attainment and limited skills, their opportunities were restricted to low-status occupations with low remuneration. The most common activities for these women workers were in the informal sector—as traders, unpaid family workers, or domestic labour, others became prostitutes.

Another factor facilitating entry of young women into prostitution in Java in earlier times was undoubtedly the very high rates of divorce. In the 1950s, rates of divorce in West Java may have been the highest in the world, and rates in Central and East Java were not much lower (Jones, 1994, Chapter 5). Divorce tended to be at very early ages, shortly after a parent-arranged marriage to a man unacceptable to the girl, and in most cases the girl could remain in her parents' house pending the arrangement of a second marriage. But there were enough cases of divorce where the outcome left the woman in difficult financial and, perhaps, emotional circumstances, to have been an important factor in the availability of young women for prostitution. The relatively high proportion of prostitutes who have experienced a broken marriage or love affair as recorded in the few available recent studies in Indonesia lends support to the argument that easy divorce was a factor behind the supply of prostitutes. However, in recent times, divorce rates have fallen to much lower levels (well below the levels in Western countries), and are therefore no longer the influence they once were.

Since the early 1970s, the structural transformation of the Indonesian economy has been dramatic. The primary sector's share of total employment fell from 74 per cent in 1971-73 to 49 per cent in 1990, and the urban population rose from 17 per cent of the total in 1971 to 31 per cent in 1990. There has been considerable displacement of women from agricultural activities (although perhaps not as much as often argued: see Manning, 1988): many of them have moved to cities in search of work. Jobs have opened for women in manufacturing, clerical activities, sales, hotels and restaurants, and domestic service. However, wages in many of these activities have been very low, and the possibility of earning five or ten times as much in the sex industry is very tempting. The relative anonymity and freedom from familial and village surveillance while in the city facilitates entry into prostitution.

The most obvious and overt locations of work in the sex industry are brothel complexes, call-girl establishments, and massage parlours, but a range of occupations in the services sector represent a shadowy area in which many, but not necessarily all, of the workers engage in the sale of sexual services: bar-girls, waitresses in certain kinds of restaurants, and workers in some barber shops and beauty salons, escort services, etc. There are also many 'free lancers' in the sex industry, including streetwalkers, and women who seek out customers in hotel coffee shops, discos, or food stalls known to be sources of 'pick-ups', as well as the group of perek discussed below.

Indonesia's sex industry is becoming increasingly complex, consistent with the increasing mobility of the Indonesian population, increasing pace of life, rising incomes and challenges to accepted mores. Mobile populations have more motivations and opportunities for infidelity, and the concentration of stalls where sex can be purchased near railway stations and roadside rest-stops for long-distance truck drivers is testimony to the demand from these sources. A survey of truck drivers on
the Surabaya-Denpasar route found that 68 per cent paid for sex at rest-stops (Suarinirtha et al., 1992). Concentrations of sex workers are also found near military bases, timber and mining camps, and universities.

The traditional official view of women's roles as good housewife (assisting her husband's career), socializing mother and good citizen are being increasingly challenged by the behaviour of educated youth in the large cities. The phenomenon, since the mid-1980s, of 'perek (perempuan eksperimental), meaning experimental or 'loose' girls, has received considerable media attention. The behaviour of these girls, many of whom are middle-class and still at school, represents a considerable challenge to official norms. It is strongly influenced by materialism and rising expectations fuelled by the media and advertising; it stresses individualism, having sexual relations with whomever they like, whether paid or unpaid, and a parodying of military-bureaucratic discourse in the organization of 'perek' groups (Murray, 1993:5). While the term shocked the older generation, it was quickly picked up by workers in the sex industry, especially those who sought clients in coffee houses and bars. To claim to be a 'perek' was to claim youth, adventurism, and a kind of obverse purity, that was missing from the term 'prostitute'.

GOVERNMENT POLICY AND THE SEX SECTOR

Legislation on the sex industry and its regulation

The attitude of the Indonesian government to prostitution appears to have changed little since colonial times: it is largely determined by health and public-order rather than moral considerations. Today, too, there is no law in Indonesia that prohibits the sale of sexual services as such. The criminal law prohibits those who help and facilitate illegal sexual activities as defined in articles 296, 297 and 506 of the Criminal Code (KUHP - Kode Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana). The KUHP also prohibits the trading of women and under-age boys. The relevant articles of the KUHP are as follows:

Article 296:

Those whose actions or attitudes intentionally lead to or facilitate illegal sexual activities with other people will be given a penalty of one year and four months imprisonment or a fine of Rp 15,000.

Article 297:

Trade in women or in under-age males will incur a maximum penalty of six years imprisonment.

It should be noted that the definition of 'under-age' for the purpose of the criminal code is under 21 years of age if single, but a woman is no longer 'under-age' if she is under 21 but currently or ever-married (Soesilo, 1960:169). In other articles of the KUHP, under-aged females are defined as being under 15 years of age, and for other purposes the legal age is given as 17 or 18 years of age.

Article 506:

Whoever as a mucikari ('souteneur' [pimp]) derives profit from the prostitution of women, will incur a maximum penalty of three months imprisonment.

This article prohibits the intermediary who intentionally organizes and facilitates sexual activities, such as pimps (the germo or mucikari), manasans, owners of call-girl establishments, but does not classify the commercial sex act itself as criminal. Prostitution per se is not an illegal activity under the KUHP.

Recent reports in the Jakarta newsmagazine Sinar (1994) comment on the difficulties of prosecuting pimps under the KUHP. In one case a well-known pimp named Harsono Setyawan operated high-class call-girl services in Surabaya and Jakarta. He was charged in 1986 under article 297, but the prosecution was unable to prove that he had indeed 'trafficked' in under-age girls. When he was brought to court again under article 506, which is taken as a misdemeanour, the judgment was that while the accused could not be proved to have 'trafficked in women' or 'operated a house of ill-repute', he was guilty of 'deriving profit from prostitution', and was sentenced to eight months imprisonment. On appeal, the Jakarta High Court reduced this sentence to a two-year probationary period. After the appeal was handed down, according to press reports, Harsono's brothel in central Jakarta was still in business with a clientele of foreigners and rich Indonesians, including high government officials. Reporters referred to him as being 'immune to prosecution'.

This appears to be a premature conclusion, since the police arrested Harsono in July 1994, and on October 12 brought him to court to face charges under both articles 296 and 506. There is great public interest in the case, and many religious and community leaders have called for very harsh sentences, often quite beyond those available under the law (Republika, 13 October 1994). The case is complicated by the fact that Harsono is an Indonesian of Chinese descent.

Frustrated by the difficulty of prosecuting pimps under articles 296, 297 and 506, a few years ago the State Prosecutor in Medan attempted to mount a prosecution under article 333, charging that the pimp had 'deprived a woman of her freedom', but given the fact that women are seldom actually incarcerated in brothels, such prosecutions are also difficult to sustain. In the case of the Jakarta pimp noted above, the police had once received a complaint from a woman who had escaped from his brothel by evading the security guards and climbing out a window, but while this resulted in one of the brothels being closed, there was never a prosecution of the pimp or the brothel security staff under this provision (Sinar, 1994: 16).

In theory, other articles of the KUHP could be applied to prostitutes who knowingly sell services to married men. Articles 284-288 specify a number of
conditions under which zina (adultery) is made illegal, and punishable by up to nine months in prison. In the criminal code the charge of zina can only be made against a married person. Two elements make prosecution of cases of adultery difficult in relation to prostitution. First, it would have to be established that the prostitute knew that the client was married. This would be difficult to prove in a court of law, even with third parties as witnesses. Second, and more important, the charge of zina must involve a formal complaint by the client’s wife, and the complaint should include evidence of a breakdown of the marriage as a result of the adultery. Given the clandestine nature of many commercial sex transactions, and the tacit acceptance by many women of the perceived ‘misdeanours’ of their husbands, the adultery provisions of the criminal code are almost never invoked to prosecute prostitutes.

In Indonesian society ‘law’ extends beyond the legislative determinations of government and includes both religious laws and customary regulations. While these generally are not open to prosecution in state courts, they do shape community norms and attitudes, and modify the way civil laws are carried out in practice. Because of this the analysis of Mu'thi (1965:15-16) is instructive in pointing out the basic difference between the meaning of zina (adultery) in the KUHP and in Islamic law. In the former, only a married person can commit adultery, because the purpose of the law was to support monogamous relationships rather than to pass judgments on premarital sexual behaviour. In Islamic law all sexual relations outside of a marital union are regarded as adulterous. This means that a polygamous man is not committing adultery by having sexual relations with more than one legal wife, but both men and women can only have sexual relations with their legal spouse. The implication, according to Mu'thi, is that a female sex worker cannot be prosecuted for adultery under the KUHP, so long as she is not married, but her actions would still be condemned as sin under religious law. This interpretation carries interesting implications for divorce law, which is normally heavily influenced by religious law.

In 1947 the High Court of Jakarta refused a request for divorce from a man who had accused his wife of zina, because it was shown that he had requested part of the money she had earned in her ‘adultery’.

Mu'thi's analysis leads him to question the moral basis for the KUHP, which he says is a Western product of limited relevance to Indonesian people, the majority of whom follow Islam. 'What's strange', he says, 'is the KUHP article 296' where the germa can be prosecuted, but the person who has sexual relations for money is free from restraint, except under the most unusual of conditions relating to sex with a mentally incompetent or under-aged client (Mu’thi, 1965: 15). Mu’thi’s conclusion, and that of many religious moralists, is that while the criminal law may not forbid the act, the religious law does, and this law provides a stronger basis for community attitudes and actions than does the criminal code, which is a legacy of colonialism.

Nonetheless, the criminal law remains the only consistent basis for regulation of the sex industry in a secular state such as Indonesia. Since prohibitions of the direct commercial sale of sexual services do not exist in national law, the regulation of the industry tends to be based on provincial and subdistrict government regulations and the actions and pressures of various social groups in support of or in opposition to the

industry. The local government regulations (see bibliography) vary from region to region. Streetwalkers are prohibited under numerous and varied Regional Regulations (Peraturan Daerah abbreviated as PERDA). These regulations prohibit soliciting and loitering in the street because this hinders the creation and maintenance of clean cities, and streetwalkers are perceived as an affront to the community. When they are caught in a raid by the authorities, the streetwalkers might be sent to a ‘Rehabilitation Centre for Immoral Women’ (Panti Rehabilitasi Wanita Tuna Sosial) for specified periods depending on the region, to be rehabilitated to ‘normal’ citizens. In most regions such rehabilitation programs take one year. The legal basis for their incarceration is the public-order provision of the law rather than a specific prohibition of sale of sexual services. The local government rehabilitation centres are often under-funded, and at times are essentially extensions of the lokalisasi system of official brothels. The central government Department of Social Affairs also runs 22 rehabilitation centres nationwide. Their structure and function are described in a later section.

The apparent acceptability of commercialized sex is belied by fairly general social condemnation of what is regarded as immorality, and named as such in the use of the term ‘wanita tuna sosial (WTS)’ or ‘woman without morals’ to refer to prostitutes. A majority of Indonesian politicians consider the subject taboo and generally avoid public discussion of the issue. At the bureaucratic level the Ministry of Social Affairs has established a Directorate of Social Rehabilitation (Rehabilitasi Tuna Sosial) with a subdirectororate responsible for planning and implementing the rehabilitation of prostitutes. This subdirectororate is financed by the central government budget and is specifically charged with the task of dealing with the problem of prostitution as one of a constellation of social problems tackled by the Ministry including street-beggary, physical and mental handicap, and criminal rehabilitation.

The lower the level of government administration, the more regulations are set. After all, it is at this level of administration that officials deal with the daily reality of prostitution. Existing regulations such as prohibition of soliciting, migration regulations, and the requirement for citizens to report changes of residence to local administration can be and are all used to control prostitutes. These local regulations can be considered a de facto reflection of the unstated central government policy. The regulations in a nutshell target streetwalkers for making the city ‘unclean’ but generally leave untouched both the clients and prostitutes working behind closed doors in approved areas. The pressure on streetwalkers thus drives lower-class women workers into brothel complexes, where they are controlled by pimps, procurers and the local government and police, but generally tolerated by the society.

Official prostitution complexes (lokalisasi WTS)

An important aspect of government policy which highlights the ambiguous legal status of prostitution in Indonesia is the establishment of official prostitution complexes (lokalisasi WTS). Though set against the background of government promotion of brothels in the last century, the modern lokalisasi were formed in the
early 1960s, as one element of promoting social discipline and control. In such complexes, a large number of brothels are clustered together along one or a few streets and control over order and security is maintained by an integrated group of local government and military authorities. The official complexes are under the auspices of the Dinas Sosial, the municipal social welfare office, while unofficial complexes often spring up with the tacit approval of local officials, but no formal link to the rehabilitation efforts of the social welfare officers. Lokalisasi cater to an almost exclusively Indonesian clientele, who tend to be poor to middle-class in their background.

In 1961 the city of Surakarta in Central Java declared the kampung of Silir to be exempt from the 1953 regulation forbidding prostitution in the city. It was thought that by centralizing prostitution in one small area, the city would prevent commercial sex activities from being transacted in main streets, residential areas or in the major hotel and tourist areas of the town. Moreover, by giving temporary and grudging recognition to the practice, the government was able to regulate the activities of the pimps and sex workers, and attempt to influence the behaviour of clients. The regulations for the administration of Silir, published in January, 1967, provide that newly arrived prostitutes must register with the local government within one day of their arrival and must strictly follow the code of conduct covering the hours of work, health examinations, educational activities, and social conduct in the area. Interestingly, the government also called on clients to 'remember that sex work involves norms, the same as you, but who find themselves in a weak social/economic/moral position' (Soedjono, 1977:191). The Silir complex set the pattern later followed by localized brothel areas in other cities of Indonesia.

Official lokalisasi in Jakarta were first set up in the early 1970s. One of the largest of these areas is near the port of Tanjung Priok, Jakarta, in an area called Kramat Tunggak.1 This area was set up under a decree from Governor Ali Sutkiss in 1970 for personalizing and 'resocializing' of prostitutes (see listing of Government Regulations and Laws, in the bibliography). The areas which were to be consolidated into the complex had 1668 women and 348 germo in 1969 when the first groups were moved to Kramat Tunggak. At the time of official implementation of the full rehabilitation functions of the lokalisasi in 1971 the complex housed 300 women and 76 germo, but the number grew rapidly so that by 1978 there were 1667 women and 231 germo (Amali, 1978:40). In the late 1980s and early 1990s there were more than 2,000 women working in the complex, along with around 230 pimps and about 250 security men. There were about 265 brothel rooms (Murray, 1991:106; Uwiyono et al., 1992:15). The number of prostitutes working in the complex was up slightly from the figure of 1,767 in 1978.

1 Murray (1991:106) describes Kramat Tunggak thus: it is a self-contained place with streets lined with bars and mobile vendors of drinks, snacks and meals. At night there is a party atmosphere with people drinking and dancing to disco music, and bands playing on open stages for jajang dancing in the streets. The rooms used by the women are behind the bars and are rented on a daily basis. Although Kramat Tunggak is rowdy, crime and drugs are strictly controlled by the pimps and their security guards.

Other well-known lokalisasi include the Dolly-Jarak area of Surabaya, dealt with as a case study later in this paper, and the Sunan Kunjung complex in Semarang, set up around 1966, which in 1981 had 120 brothels housing around 470 prostitutes. (Lerzan, 1983; see also Alam, 1984, Ch. 4). The Kalisari complex in Malang was established by moving a previous unofficially sanctioned complex to Kecamatan Blimbing in 1976. At the outset there were 80 women with 26 germo, but by the end of 1982 these numbers had risen to 160 women and 30 germo. During that period the police had registered 684 women entering the complex (Edris, 1982: 26). Much smaller towns also have their lokalisasi: for example, in Kupang, the lokalisasi of Karang Dempo had 132 prostitutes in 1988 (Panara et al., 1990: 22), and Tanjung outside Jayapura had perhaps 300 in 1994.

In Kramat Tunggak, the intention of 'rehabilitating' the workers out of prostitution was to be achieved through compulsory education, skill training and mental and social guidance to be carried out by the Panti Reabilitasi, to enable them to find work after leaving the complex; they are also supposed to save money in a government bank. Each prostitute in the complex has to pay Rp 3,500 a month, and each germo has to pay Rp 2,000 a month for each prostitute under his control, into a fund to cover costs of the rehabilitation program; those leaving the complex to re-enter normal life were entitled to receive a payment of Rp 250,000 from this fund (Uwiyono et al., 1992:16, 33-34).

The theory was that sex workers were operating in the complex only temporarily while undergoing rehabilitation and resocialization; therefore they are only permitted to stay in the complex for a maximum of five years or until reaching the age of 35. The minimum age to enter the complex is 17 years. The reality has turned out to be rather different. The minimum-stay regulation is frequently overcome by registering under another name when the five-year limit has been reached (Uwiyono et al., 1992:16). Official statements boast of the number of women who have left the complexes, supposedly also for 'resocialization' from 1972 to March 1992. The rehabilitation centre at Kramat Tunggak sent 11,624 prostitutes 'back to normal life', 2,795 of them into marriages, 6,229 to their families, and another 1,420 to jobs. According to press reports an average of 600 prostitutes leave the area each year (Jakarta Post, 1993). However, it has been claimed that most of those who leave the complex have simply moved to other complexes in other cities (Murray, 1991:106).

The regulators of the officially sanctioned brothel complexes are the MUSPIDA (Muyawarrah Pimpinan Daerah, Regional Executive Council) consisting of regional administrators, local prosecutor, police chief and military commander. Under the structure of localization, this group not only regulates but also participates in the management of prostitution, in areas such as Kramat Tunggak in Jakarta and Dolly-Jarak in Surabaya. This is why such areas operate relatively efficiently, with little trouble in the form of brawl, drug use or robbery. The local authority also controls the use of buildings for prostitution, requiring the renewal of the permit every four years. Such regulations by the local authority control the expansion of the brothel complexes.
The regulations in contemporary lokalisi  are very specific. From the field study conducted for the Sulistyawingsih and Swasono (1993) study it was found that the subdistrict administration in Sawahan, Surabaya imposes local regulations concerning the practice of prostitution in the Dolly area. These include the following stipulations for the owner and manager of a brothel: the brothel complex may open daily for business from 6 p.m. to 1 a.m.; owners must report and register all prostitutes working for them to the regional authority; owners must maintain all of the ‘business’ facilities including toilets and rooms; owners must encourage prostitutes to have medical check-ups and routine injections given by health personnel from the Local Authority; only prostitutes who have legal identity (residential cards) may be employed; it is prohibited to employ an under-age girl or a married woman as a prostitute; it is prohibited to sell alcoholic drinks, or accept overnight guests (unless they have a special permit).

There is also a regulation which prohibits the prostitute from changing her pimp or brothel without a special permit, or from staying outside the brothel complex. In addition, new prostitutes are required to report their presence to the local authority. This regulation promotes, but does not necessarily ensure, tight control over the movement of prostitutes, both between brothels and even inter-regionally. The data on numbers of prostitutes available in the Subdistrict Social Affairs Office are based in part on this compulsory reporting regulation.

In local authority regulations, many obligations are imposed on the prostitutes. In addition to legal citizenship, the prostitute is supposed to have regular injections of antibiotics as a preventive measure against venereal disease, and to avoid conflicts with the customers. The customers of the lokalisi  are also subject to special regulations; for example, they are not allowed to drink in the brothel complex, or to carry weapons, or to stay the night without authorization from the local security officer. The setting and enforcement of special regulations for the brothel areas are basically aimed to maintain order and protect both sex workers and customers from any violence or disruption.

The regulations governing the operation of lokalisi  such as Kramat Tungguk sit uneasily with other laws and with social realities on four counts. These can best be expressed as questions. Has the establishment of lokalisi  succeeded in reducing or eliminating prostitution in other areas? Have the programs succeeded in rehabilitating prostitutes? Is the official role given to mucikari in these complexes consistent with the article of the KUHP penalizing mucikari who profit from the prostitution of women? And is there consistency in the role of the state as both the regulator and manager of brothels?

On the first question, the regulations of 1970 for Kramat Tungguk mentioned specific areas of North Jakarta from which prostitutes were to be moved and where the practice of prostitution was to be subsequently disallowed: Keburhan Cilincing, Kalibaru, Koja Utara, Pejagalan, Pademangan, and Penjaringan. In 1972, more areas were added: Tugra, Semper, Legos, and ‘closures’ even reached West Jakarta (Angke and Jelambir) and East Jakarta (Rawabangke) (Uwiyono et al., 1992: 23-25).

However, prostitution in a variety of forms continued to flourish in many of these areas of North Jakarta, including Cilincing and the large recreation area of Bintara-Ascol, developed by the Jakarta government not very far from Kramat Tungguk. Critics of lokalisi  charge that prostitution has spread rapidly in areas outside lokalisi , and that police make only half-hearted attempts to confine the practice to the officially approved areas. In West Jakarta, the areas of Angke and Jelambir Baru, supposedly ‘closed’ to prostitution in 1992, were still the centre of activities of about 500 sex workers operating in illegal huts along the Kali Jodoh (Suara Karya, 6 February 1992: 12). The major wave of raids held in July-October 1994 have not prevented numerous instances of brothels reopening the day after a raid. Eventually the authorities took to closing down complexes by bulldozer but even then shackles were re-erected within a week, or brothels shifted to other nearby areas.

On the second question, there appears to be general agreement that the programs have succeeded to only a very limited extent in ‘returning prostitutes to the community’, in the sense that they leave the practice of prostitution. This is hardly surprising in view of the better earnings available from prostitution than in alternative occupations available to poorly educated women. Also, with a huge and varied sex industry beyond the bounds of the lokalisi , there is ample opportunity for women to move out of the lokalisi , but still maintain their incomes in another section of the industry such as massage parlours.

On the third question, the officially approved mucikari find it profitable to run a brothel in the lokalisi  with the prospect of making quite reasonable incomes from organizing prostitution activities: a net income of Rp. 100,000 to 250,000 per night, both from the rent of rooms and from the sale of beer and non-alcoholic drinks (Uwiyono et al., 1992:41). Pimps say that a major advantage of working in the lokalisi  is that the atmosphere is safe and they do not suffer threats or the exaction of heavy random payments from authorities as they would if operating in the general community. Higher incomes could be found in non-official brothels, but these are subject to potential official harassment, and possible prosecution.

On the fourth question, local government authorities gain substantial revenue through operating the prostitution complexes. Although the stated aim is to rehabilitate the prostitutes, were this to be successfully achieved, the lucrative source of revenue would dry up. This at least provides an incentive to local government to ensure the continued existence of the large brothel complexes and to avoid the enforcement of regulations which would reduce the profits. The sociologist Hotman Siahaan notes that the profits derived from lokalisi  are not treated as official state income, because to do so would open the transactions to investigations by the legislative branch, and this would expose the contradictory nature of the arrangement (Sinar, 1994:23). He depicts this as the ‘rather than’ approach to regulation. Localization is accepted ‘rather than’ having the community bothered by streetwalkers, but in doing so the government fails to remove the laws prohibiting pimping. Further, the concentration of economic power in the localization areas run by government agencies is ‘accepted’ ‘rather than’ facing the emergence of very wealthy pimps in an unregulated industry. Ironically the ‘rather than’ logic has turned
the government into a pimp, while not eliminating the growth of a large unregulated section of the industry.

Summary

Though there are clearly elements of injustice in the system, the quasi-legalization of prostitution in Indonesia is based on the reasonable presumption that prostitution cannot be stamped out, that it needs to be controlled in the interests of public safety and order. It is also argued that health and regulatory and rehabilitation services can be better supplied if prostitution is localized as much as possible. These principles, of course, have a long history in Indonesia, as was seen above in the discussion of colonial laws. There are, however, elements of hypocrisy in the system when many of the areas set aside for the localization of prostitution are justified on the grounds that they are being set up for the "rehabilitation" of prostitutes, but where strong incentives exist for the continued growth of the activity. Further, there are serious concerns about the basic concept of 'rehabilitating' the women and minor pimps, but ignoring the role of the local government officials and male clientele who benefit from the exploitative nature of commercial sex, but for whom rehabilitation or serious regulation is not suggested.

Even the terminology used to describe the women in the laws and regulations reveals much about official attitudes. Framers of the regulations avoid the term pelacur or prostitute, because it is considered to be pejorative. Instead they have promoted the term WTS or wanita tuna susila, which is literally translated as a 'woman lacking in morals', in a concept parallel to other terms such as tuna netra for blind people (lacking sight) and tuna wisma for the homeless. This wording indicates an unfortunate lack rather than an overt behaviour for which they can be blamed as individuals. In this sense, the terminology used in Indonesia is non-condemnatory; but, on the other hand, a double standard is revealed by the lack of a term to indicate that the customers of WTS are also lacking in morals. A number of women's groups in Indonesia, like their western counterparts, object to the use of terms like WTS or pelacur, preferring to talk of 'commercial sex workers' (pekerja seks). This terminology is rejected by government officials, particularly those involved in the collection of labour force statistics, on the grounds that it implies the acceptance of prostitution as a valid category of employment, an option they would like to avoid.

Economic and sectoral policies related to prostitution

The general development strategies adopted by the government can be expected to affect prostitution indirectly through their effects on both the demand for and the supply of commercially provided sex services. Levels of purchasing power, inequality of income distribution and community attitudes towards commercial sex can be expected to affect the demand for sex services. They will also influence the supply, as will availability of alternative job opportunities for women and the needs and opportunities for migration. Expansion of education, which has been one of the great achievements of the Indonesian government over the past 20 years, might be expected to lead to a decrease in prostitution, but only if it is matched by appropriate job opportunities for the educated.

A significant achievement of the Indonesian government has been the reduction of the proportion of the population living in poverty. Indonesia started the 1970s with 70 million people, or 60 per cent of the population, living in absolute poverty. By 1993, this had been reduced to 14 per cent of the population, or about 26 million poor people. This is a great achievement, but 26 million people are still enough to supply vast numbers of prostitutes if sheer poverty is the major cause of prostitution.

The supply of workers in both the organized and unorganized parts of the sex industry arises partly because of the inability of the formal sector to pay adequate wages to employees. For example, some of the low-level workers within the textille, garment, tobacco and electronics industries, in which 90 per cent of the workers are young females, do not earn enough money to cover their own living costs, much less to allow them to remit funds to their families. World Bank surveys show that women are paid far less than men in the same age group and educational category, confirming the finding of an ILO study (White, 1990) that women workers in manufacturing industries are plagued by very low wages, long hours and related health and nutrition problems. Shop assistants and market sellers also receive very low incomes. In all these occupations, then, low wages provide the incentive for workers to supplement inadequate incomes in other ways if the opportunity presents itself. Thus some workers enter the sex business in the evening to earn instant money. In Surabaya, even some of the sex workers who live in the prostitution complexes admit that they moonlight as street walkers to supplement their incomes as registered prostitutes.

It may be that wide income differentials, as well as poverty per se, make for prostitution, providing both customers from the better-off groups and potential prostitutes from the lower-income groups. Indicators such as Gini Coefficients estimated from the distribution of personal expenditures show an improvement, falling from 0.35 in 1970 to 0.32 in 1990, and there is evidence as well of some narrowing of regional income disparities. However, at the very top of the income range there has been a great concentration in the hands of a few large conglomerates and rent seekers with strong political connections, leading to envy and bitterness among many in the community. If it is a sense of relative deprivation rather than absolute poverty that fosters a willingness to put aside moral scruples in order to obtain a better income, then recent developments in Indonesia will not have helped allay the incentives for women to engage in prostitution.

Another aspect which has received some public attention, but little scientific study, is the use of sexual services as part of an unwritten 'rule of the game' in legitimate commercial enterprises. This may range from the overt expectation that a 'PR' (public relations) person should be a beautiful young woman with definite sex appeal, to the covert assumption that she should be willing to satisfy the sexual desires of clients to secure or maintain a contract. The September 1994 issue of the magazine Popular lifted the lid on these practices with a story titled 'Sexy Women Smooth the Way in Business', which contained a series of interviews charging that the
practices were not only increasingly common, but also increasingly elaborate and expensive. Although leading women in the public relations industry condemned it, it was agreed that the practice does occur, and presents dilemmas for young women wishing to develop a career in the lucrative public relations industry.

Social rehabilitation programs

Centres for the rehabilitation of female prostitutes in Indonesia are of two types: those run by local governments as official brothel complexes, and those managed by the Directorate General for Social Rehabilitation of the national Department of Social Affairs. Only the latter group can be regarded as having a serious objective of retraining prostitutes for work in other sectors of the economy, and encouraging them to leave the sex industry for good; for a full description see Siagian, 1987. There are 22 Panti Rehabilitasi Wanita (PRW or Women’s Rehabilitation Centres) nationwide with central government funding. In 1994 the Directorate estimated that there were just over 65,000 registered prostitutes in Indonesia, but targeted ‘rehabilitation’ of 940 people, at a cost of Rp 416,793,000 ($1193,857), or just on $200 per ‘graduate’ or under $3 per registered prostitute.

The government stresses that the rehabilitation programs are open to women who want to leave the sex industry, but who lack the skills or confidence to pursue other rewarding occupations. In fact many of the women in the PRW have been rounded up in periodic police raids on illegal brothel complexes, or hotels, and are strongly encouraged to join the program. Criteria for inclusion stipulate that a candidate must be an active prostitute under the age of 35, must be healthy (except for venereal disease which can be treated in the program), must be of sound mind, and must voluntarily agree to live in the dormitory and follow the program for a minimum of six months, and a maximum of 12 months. The rehabilitation program through PRW Mulia Jaya in Jakarta requires only six months, while for all other PRW the normal course takes a full year (Cf. Nitirinbarjo, Hikmat and Suradi, 1994: 20).

The first month of the program in Jakarta is used to select the target group, the second to fourth months for refutationization and development, and the fifth and sixth months for resocialization and placement. The PRW then monitors and evaluates the rehabilitation of the ex-prostitutes for a period of two years. The training curriculum includes practical elementary skills such as reading and writing, lectures on social norms and values, religious education, and basic skills or trades such as hair-dressing, sewing, home industries and secretarial work. The women are also given lectures to help them develop self-confidence and commitment to leave the sex industry.

Local government agencies also claim to be involved in rehabilitating prostitutes, but no consolidated statistics are kept on their activities. In any case they manage quite different rehabilitation programs from those in the PRW. The local government programs for female prostitutes appear to consist of training classes located in official brothel complexes (lokalisasi) or in a special location (room or house) provided by the community close to the complex. The ethical and religious lectures presented in these settings resemble the curriculum in the PRW, but, of course, the women are still active prostitutes throughout the period of ‘rehabilitation’, so it is questionable how much impact the course might have on their resolve to give up their work. Aside from other differences, it is noticeable that the women have to pay fees for the locally-run rehabilitation activities. The Department of Social Affairs also arranges special non-residential rehabilitation programs for pimps and transvestites, using facilities and trainers attached to local government agencies, but there are no published data on participation in such programs. Nonetheless it may safely be assumed that the major ‘rehabilitation’ effort is directed at female sex workers.

Health programs

Regular health checks are compulsory for prostitutes working in official brothel complexes and are common in many associated institutions of the sex industry, such as steam baths, massage parlours and nightclubs. It is not known how many of the workers in the sex industry comply with these requirements, since statistics on examinations carried out by the public sector services are not consolidated centrally nor published, and no attempt is made to collect any statistics on services provided by private medical practitioners.

Historically many of the legal initiatives to control prostitution were based on concern over the spread of venereal disease. Rates of syphilis and other sexually transmitted diseases were very high, and medical treatments were difficult and often unsuccessful. In the middle of the nineteenth century efforts were made to conduct physical examinations of registered prostitutes, but these were of doubtful impact. In 1874 the government codified the policy of isolating or quarantining prostitutes found to have venereal diseases, in ‘sick women houses’ which were overseen by medical personnel. Any woman unlucky enough to be put in such a facility was given two sets of clothes and some basic toiletries, and then condemned to wait until she could demonstrate good health and could be released. By the 1900s commentators noted that the system was doing little to prevent the spread of illness, and less to cure sufferers, and called for its disestablishment. Routine health checks were abandoned in 1911, but sex workers and the military remained the focus of efforts to fight sexually transmitted diseases.

With the advent of antibiotics in the 1940s the vision of conquering venereal disease loomed large in the thinking of policy makers. This was manifest in the Indonesian attempt to institute a system of Regular Mass Treatment (RMT) in 1957 (Soewarsro, 1988). The program was aimed at syphilis, and relied on the fact that women with a constant elevated penicillin blood level (above 0.03 units per ml) were found to be resistant to the treponema infections which caused the disease. To achieve this minimum penicillin blood level, a weekly injection of penicillin aluminium monostearate (PAM) is required. The program relied on the compliance of workers, and the co-operation of local leaders and pimps, to gather prostitutes in a convenient spot for a weekly health check and injection. Initially the dosage of PAM was 2 ml, but in 1967 this was raised to 3 ml in recognition that many of the workers
were skipping injections, and thus not maintaining the required penicillin blood level. Soemianto (1966:88) reported that the PAM dosage was 600,000 international units weekly and speculated that ‘if this could be regularly done with a 100 per cent coverage, venereal disease could surely be checked’. He also published figures for the approximate coverage of the program, showing only 13 cities and 3,348 injections in 1959, rising to 33 cities in 1962 and 1963, and 143,189 and 243,141 injections per year respectively. Assuming weekly injections this latter figure would imply only 4,675 women covered by the program. Susilo’s 1972 study of the sex industry cited data from Bandung indicating that 90 per cent of women picked up in parks had never been examined by a doctor or participated in the RMT program. He also noted that while 4,000 of the 6,000 prostitutes in Sunbaya were under doctors’ supervision, only 2,000 of Jakarta’s then 12,000 sex workers of all types were receiving regular medical examinations and treatments.

Bio Farma, which before World War II was called the Pasteur Institute, regularly collected samples of blood to test for the spread of syphilis in the population. While this did not constitute a random sample, the results over the years showed a dramatic decline in the proportion of the samples showing evidence of the disease. Where in 1959 the proportion was over one in ten, by 1951 this had declined to one in fifty, and in 1956 it was less than one in ten. The decline continued to just over six per cent in 1960, 1.3 per cent in 1965 (Soemianto, 1966:86-87). Different data sources reviewed by Soemianto consistently showed declines in the apparent rate of syphilis infection, but a stable level of gonorrhoea.

In 1987 the centrally funded RMT program was stopped because of budgetary constraints, but the Department of Health encouraged local government units to continue the activity on other funding. In practice this meant that the program switched to a ‘fee for infection’ system. Some attempt to ensure continued compliance was made through regulations and requirements that all prostitutes have the weekly injections, but these have had questionable impact.

The RMT has created the public impression that regular injections are a guarantee of health. Prostitutes routinely tell potential customers that they have had their injections and are ‘clean’, even though most do not have the injections weekly, and in any case the practice does nothing to prevent a wide variety of other sexually transmitted diseases, as common as fungal infections and candidiasis, or as deadly as HIV/AIDS. The links among these different types of infection are little understood by the people working in the sex industry, who regard penicillin dosage (kepatalan) as ‘normal’ but who also believe that HIV/AIDS can be transmitted by sitting near or sharing utensils with an infected person. They need to recognize that the common infections affecting the majority of prostitutes cause sores, abrasions and other wounds which increase their susceptibility to HIV transmission. Sex workers and the community at large also need to understand that HIV is transmitted through an exchange of blood or other body fluids during sexual relations, and there is no danger in routine, non-sexual contacts with infected people. Their mistaken beliefs and consequent high-risk behaviour make the women in the sex industry particularly susceptible to HIV infection, and, if infected, subject to irrational ostracism and rejection by the community.

The existing RMT carried out by local health offices are notoriously inadequate in terms of the quality of service provided. There are no national standards or comprehensive training programs for doctors and other health workers serving the sex industry. Seldom are health checks more than cursory, and routinely one disposable needle is used for up to six different women, sometimes with no pretence of even rinsing the device between injections. Since the transfer of responsibility for RMT from central to local budgets, the coverage of the program has declined, with some areas stopping entirely government-funded examinations and treatment altogether, while other areas have reduced budgets, and hence services, to minimal levels. In many kota butu and private brothels, women are encouraged or required to seek health check through private physicians, and if they are found to have a sexually transmitted illness they are expelled from the brothel and then left to their own devices to obtain and pay for treatment. Some brothel owners contract private physicians to provide medical care for the women including treatment of sexually transmitted diseases. No studies have been done on the quality of these services, but they are said to be of poor quality due to the lack of systematic application of standards of care, and to failure to ensure compliance with the treatment regimes. Preventive measures which rely on education of the community are hampered by lack of appropriate and thorough training materials. The national offices of the Health Department compile no statistics on the number of women covered by local programs of regular mass treatment or routinely treated through private physicians, so it is impossible to plan or monitor the needs for needles, medicines, and diagnostic materials.

Condom use is not a requirement of service, and most prostitutes and brothel owners regard the notion of required condom use as a classic ‘impossible dream’, because of strong-client preferences and tight competition in the industry. Research in Kramat Tungkap exploring the possibility of promoting the use of the female condom found women very half-hearted about the new device, partly because they could not imagine ways of discussing its use with their clients. Younger women in particular lacked the self-confidence to suggest using either the male or the female condom as an effective barrier to infection, and older women indicated that they could probably suggest the use of the methods with some clients, but would not be able to insist on use if the client was at all hesitant. In considering the issues surrounding condom promotion it is important to remember that many women have regular relationships with their pimps, or are expected to provide free services to male security employees, local government officials, or other service workers connected with the complex. The sexual networks in such complexes thus extend far beyond the simple client-prostitute commercial transaction.

The risk of sexually transmitted diseases is always present. The threat has become deadly serious since the introduction of the HIV/AIDS virus, but to date the risks have not been sufficient to induce a sustained change in behaviour on the part of customers or pimps, and the sex workers are thus virtually helpless to protect themselves from the threat of HIV, resorting instead to denial and attempts to
prevent infection through dietary or herbal means. Positive HIV cases in Indonesia are increasing at an exponential rate. Cumulative cases reported to the Department of Health rose from 47 at the end of 1991 to 83 at the end of 1992 and to over 235 in July 1994. These numbers only reflect the confirmed reports of HIV positivity resulting from the local testing program. Many more cases remain hidden, either because they have never been tested (as in the case of the customers of HIV-positive prostitutes) or because tests have not been done in the context of the established reporting system (including Indonesians who are tested abroad or through private or military laboratories). The Department of Health and the World Health Organization in mid-1994 estimated that the actual number of HIV cases is in the neighbourhood of 50,000 infected people, but later in the year revised this estimate down to 30,000 because of concern that the higher number could set off community panic, while there is really no firm basis for concluding that one number is more or less likely than another.

The government has responded to the epidemic by setting up in 1994 an interdepartmental working group to tackle the problem of HIV infection. The Coordinating Minister for People’s Welfare chairs the group, and in May 1994 issued the first national strategy to deal with the epidemic. The published strategy includes actions to improve surveillance for HIV, clinical management of HIV/AIDS cases, and prevention of transmission. In carrying out the strategy the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN) has been given the task of promoting greater public awareness of HIV/AIDS. It is developing a campaign based on the notion of ‘family resilience’ which would present messages on HIV in ways which encourage parents to educate their children about the nature of the epidemic and the measures to limit transmission: encouragement of safe sexual practices, including monogamous faithfulness and the use of condoms.

What impact the epidemic will have on the sex industry is unclear. In 1991, soon after two workers in the Dolly complex in Surabaya were found to be HIV-positive the health department planned to collect 400 blood samples as part of their surveillance program. Instead, 785 women stepped forward to have their blood tested, declaring that if the government was not able to pay for all the tests under the WHO-funded scheme, they would personally pay for the extra tests. They wanted to demonstrate that the AIDS threat had been overcome in Dolly, and attract back the half of their clientele who had been frightened off by news of the disease. At the same time, prostitutes in Kramat Tunggal staged a dance where 15,000 condoms were distributed, and throughout Indonesia pimps and sex workers made special efforts to fill in medical records and have check-ups. It seemed obvious, though, that these efforts represented attempts to win back business rather than serious changes in behaviour related to the risk of HIV infection. If so, AIDS continues to be the dark cloud over the health of the sex industry and its workers.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE SEX INDUSTRY

Different sectors of the sex industry may be categorized as organized or unorganized; however, even the organized category is not rigidly structured. Organized establishments have a manager and work relations are defined between the manager and the sex workers. There is frequently the use of intermediaries who are paid for putting the sex worker in touch with the client. Sex workers in the unorganized subsectors work alone to find and contact their clients. Groups such as call girls may act completely independently or may sometimes use intermediaries.

A male customer seeking commercial sexual services could expect to find them in the following locations or from the following categories of workers:

**Fixed locations where the sex transaction can be performed**

- Brothel complexes, Lokalisasi, both official and unofficial.
- Massage parlours, Pandi Pijat
- Brothel houses, Rumah bordil, lokalisasi, generally small units, or single dwellings.

**Established locations where the contact can be made (but the sex act generally takes place elsewhere)**

- Night clubs, Klub malam
- Salons, Salon kecantikan
- Discotheques, Disko
- Call-girl establishments; generally a single dwelling with a supply of prostitutes on the premises, or available to be called from nearby and sent to the client’s hotel or house. Lobbies, bars and coffee shops of certain hotels.

**Independent operators who can be contacted in various places**

- Call girls (upper class market), Wanita panggilan
- Street walkers, perek, wanita jalanan, from lower to middle class market.

Localities may be well known, such as brothel complexes or the areas where street walkers are likely to be found, or less widely known such as brothel houses known only to their special customers. In popular thinking the lokalisasi, night clubs and steam baths are post-1970 phenomena, attributed to Governor Ali Sadikin. In fact, Governor Sadikin succeeded in rationalizing and controlling aspects of the industry which had previously been disorderly and sometimes dangerous. By 1976 nearly 4000 people were working in night-clubs and steam baths, and the total number of establishments had declined (Dhakide, 1976:35).
The size of the sex industry

The increasing purchasing power of local consumers has made sex workers accessible to a growing number of potential customers, but poverty never prevented men from frequenting low-class prostitutes, whose fees were geared to the limited purchasing power of their customers. But increased purchasing power and the growing complexity of the Indonesian economy have resulted in a diversification of the forms of prostitution in evidence.

Unfortunately, no accurate statistics are available on the number of prostitutes in Indonesia, mainly because prostitution exists in various forms. Some observers are willing to make rough estimates: for example, Murray (1993:2) estimates that there are about 500,000 sex workers in Indonesia, though no basis is given for this figure. Uncertainty over the number of prostitutes is nothing new. There are no reliable estimates of the number of prostitutes in colonial times. Although all prostitutes were supposed to be registered, many were not. In 1912 Dr. Tjipko Manganakusumo, a doctor and prominent nationalist, estimated that for every registered prostitute in Bandung there were ten who worked clandestinely. Although this may have been an exaggeration, reports by the Dutch Residents and medical officers indicated that unregistered prostitution was extensive in many areas (Jagelsön, 1986: 128).

Susilo in 1972 reviewed what was known of the industry, looking at both the 'official' and 'wild' sectors. Relying on information from local officials he was able to piece together a rough picture of the situation in Java. For East Java in 1969-1970 he found 4,500 women of whom 1,000 were unregistered sex workers in Surabaya. Central Java reported 2,404 women in 486 brothels, while in Jakarta 6,500 women and 900 germo were found across the city, with 1,500 women in the then new complex of Kramat Tunggak.

In a path-breaking article in 1976 Daniel Dhakide reviewed both the international definitions and the Indonesian experience, to try to estimate the nature and size of the sex industry. Quoting the annual report of the subdirectory of moral rehabilitation, he noted that the official estimate of the total number of prostitutes assumed that one per cent of women in the age group 15 to 24 were engaged in the commercial sale of sexual services (though giving no justification for the assumption), yielding a total figure of 106,840 women in 1971. At the same time the report gave figures of 'registered' prostitutes as 27,716 for 1975-76, though noting that a number of provinces had failed to submit reports. Dhakide saw the gap between these two shaky figures as evidence of the difficulty of making any estimate of the total number of prostitutes in Indonesia.

The official data for recent times have been published annually by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The women recorded in these registrations are those in official lokalisasi, and in other brothel complexes routinely monitored by the Office and by the police. The national numbers of registered prostitutes fluctuate substantially. Over the past decade registration figures were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Financial Year</th>
<th>Sex Workers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1984/85</td>
<td>48047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985/86</td>
<td>56541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986/87</td>
<td>59290</td>
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<tr>
<td>1987/88</td>
<td>56524</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988/89</td>
<td>62660</td>
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<td>1989/90</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>47454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993/94</td>
<td>65959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994/95</td>
<td>71281</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Department of Social Affairs Reports.

The breakdown by province shows trends that are even more puzzling (see Table 1). It must be remembered that these data do not tell us how many women are working outside brothel complexes in massage parlours, bars or high-class call-girl establishments. They also do not include independent sex workers, for example, street walkers, women who occasionally pick up clients in hotels, bars and discos who are not necessarily regular sex workers but who may sell sexual services if they are attracted to the man or are in need of extra money. There is no available government estimate of the number of unregistered sex workers. Thus these numbers represent only a portion—and a fairly formally defined portion—of the commercial sex industry in Indonesia.

The data in Table 1 were submitted by the subregional officers of the Ministry of Social Affairs (from the subdistrict to the kotamadya-kabupaten level). The data are collected in the first instance by the Dinas Social (Subdistrict Social Affairs Office) which is the lowest level authority for the regulation of prostitution under the regional government (Pemerintah Daerah) and is thus not in a direct line of command from the Ministry of Social Affairs. Registered establishments are required to report quarterly on the number of sex workers employed, including their demographic characteristics (age, place of origin, family background) and provide photographs for the Minister's confidential records. These data are used by the Ministry of Social Affairs for preparing routine government budget proposals for action programs for the resocialization of prostitutes through PANTI and non-PANTI programs and also by the Ministry of Health for designing health programs.

According to Table 1, most of the total registered prostitutes were concentrated in Java (a somewhat higher percentage than Java's share of Indonesia's total population); the highest numbers (averaged over the three years from 1992/93 to 1994/95) were in East Java, Jakarta, Central Java and South Sumatra, though West Java and East Kalimantan also have large numbers registered. These figures are no
doubt related to the high levels of rural-urban migration of women in Java, and the lack of alternative job opportunities for unskilled workers in large urban areas (Jakarta, Surabaya and Semarang), except for low-prestige and low-paying domestic services. The sharp drop in numbers in some provinces and sharp rise in others over the interval of four years raise some questions about the volatility of employment in official brothel complexes or about the accuracy of the data collection process.

Table 2 shows data from various non-official sources about employment in official and unofficial brothel complexes in the 1980s and 1990s. Many of these numbers are quite comparable to the numbers for the province in which they are located, according to Table 1. What is clear to anyone with some knowledge of the sex industry in these cities is that the numbers in Table 1 seriously underestimate the total number of female sex workers. Moreover, as a glance at the sources of data confirms, much of our understanding of the scope and size of brothel complexes comes from investigative reporting, particularly at times of strong police action (raids) against prostitution. The fact that numbers are consistent across sources may indicate more about how reporters operate than any serious verification of estimates.

**How the sex industry functions**

Studies of the operation of the sex industry need to distinguish between unorganized and organized activities (Purnomo and Sirager, 1985). In unorganized activities, the prostitutes have a direct relation with their clients. Included in this group are street walkers and others who operate clandestinely in public or semi-public places such as markets, cemeteries, or railway marshalling yards; independent call-girls; and women who operate independently out of hotel coffee shops, discos, etc. In organized activities, the sex workers are under the immediate control of intermediaries, such as pimps, chiefs and mamason or mami. Included in this category are brothel complexes, massage parlours, night clubs and call-girl establishments.

The prostitutes in the unorganized sector make direct deals with the clients. Many of them rely on somebody to protect them from harassment by irresponsible clients. Sex workers in this category comprise not only those for whom prostitution is their sole activity, but also those who ‘moonlight’ in the occupation, their main activity being work in occupations such as shop assistants or even studying in school or tertiary institutions. The price of their service varies depending on the bargaining between the two parties. These sex workers are in a very weak position with regard to harassment by their clients or the authorities and the police; on the other hand, they are not subject to the regular sharing of their income with agents. Prostitutes in the organized sector rely on pimps, security guards, and other agents to assist them in dealing with clients and to protect them in times of need or danger.

Entrance into the sex trade may follow a variety of paths, each having a particular relation with different sectors of the industry. At one end are the women who weigh up the relative compensation offered by different types of work, consider the various benefits and drawbacks of selling sexual services to particular types of client, and then decide that they prefer prostitution to other occupations. This is apparently a rare form of entry into the business. More common are the women who are ‘forced’ by circumstance, a failed marriage or love affair, a lack of alternative opportunities, but ultimately, a desperate need to gain income to support themselves, their families and their children (e.g. Ntimi ltd et al., 1994:25). With luck and persistence prostitution can offer a good living to unskilled and relatively uneducated women, who seem to be the bulk of the participants. Finally, young girls or young divorced women are still sold into prostitution by their families. It is impossible to gauge the proportion of prostitutes who start off in this way, partly because of post facto justification of parental behaviour, and partly because the participants often see it as a simple ‘contract’, and do not acknowledge the parallels with slavery or trafficking in women, both of which are clearly against the law. Yet in 1994, nine decades after the Netherlands Indies ratified the International Convention Against the Traffic in Women and Children, it was still easy to find cases of parents selling 14-year-old daughters into two-year indenture periods in brothels in West Java, for the sum of Rp. 500,000 (field observation) or Rp 700,000 to Rp 1.3 million (Republik, 18 October 1994). While there is a continuum of methods of entering the industry, the ‘voluntary, deliberate’ end is very short, while the spread of semi-voluntary to involuntary recruitment based on exploitative pressures covers a wide range of conditions. However the women enter, we can see their participation in terms of the degree of organization typical of their particular segment of the industry.

**The role of pimps and other agents**

The sex industry has its own hierarchical power structure. The *germo* (brothel proprietor or madam), who is defined as somebody who is directly responsible for providing facilities that enable prostitutes to trade, plays a very important role in the formal sex industry. The *muckkari* (pimp or procurer) is a person who lics off the earnings of a prostitute and in return provides her with services such as protection and contact with customers. But there are many others whose income depends importantly on the sex trade, including taxi drivers, becak drivers, room cleaners and launderers in massage parlours, hotel security personnel, and procurers (calo) who hang around hotels and other places where potential clients are likely to be found. Some pimps run a sex business located outside brothel complexes, providing a house for sex transactions, usually with a stock of prostitutes on hand.

According to the surveys conducted for this study, pimps (germo or muckkari) running private brothels provide facilities and accommodation including rooms and daily meals for the prostitutes, and manage the contacts with clients. The women generally go to the client’s home or hotel room to provide the services. Prostitutes in this category sometimes must accept the pimp’s negotiations over price on trust alone. For marketing, pimps distribute photographs and information concerning their sex workers, to taxi drivers or other middlemen. After an arrangement has been agreed between the pimp and the client, the prostitute delivers the service. The arrangement with the clients, including the price arrangement, is often conducted by phone. In most cases the prostitutes remit 50 per cent of the payment to the pimps. But when a third-party intermediary such as a taxi driver or tout has been involved, the prostitute
will receive less, because the third party also requires a cut of the takings, though usually less than one-third. Germo in the lokalisasi have the same system of sharing the revenue from sex services. But in the brothel complex, the germo provide rooms and other accommodation for the sex services at the complex. They set a fixed price including both the service and the room. Germo in the organized sector usually conduct regular meetings with the prostitutes to discuss ways of improving the services and attracting more customers but these are not regarded as opportunities to discuss the prostitutes' interests or problems.

Taxi drivers lead the way in the marketing of sex services by providing information to clients concerning the location, rules of the game, types of services available and price of the prostitutes’ services. Sometimes taxi drivers can become mediators between the prostitute and the client. They may help to make telephone calls and, especially in the case of medium and high-level prostitutes, bring the prostitute directly to the client or bring the client to the location of the prostitute. In short, they not only give information concerning the existence of the sex industry but also provide transport and negotiation services to both parties. In this way they contribute significantly to the operation and development of the sex industry. In smaller cities, this service is frequently provided by becak (pedicab) drivers.

Prostitutes usually group together into clusters based on their towns or villages of origin. There is limited contact between prostitutes of different clusters. Sex workers in a brothel complex tend to form different groups based on their home region. Such groups are a very strong influence and important support to the women in the complex. During hard times these groups look after each other, for instance in cases of sickness, pregnancy or family crisis; a group may also act as a kind of informal union which can assist in bargaining for better conditions.

Regional specialization

As noted above, certain areas of Java have a longstanding reputation for supplying large numbers of young women as prostitutes, and at least in some cases this reputation is backed up by clear evidence (Koenjoro, 1989:2-6). Two well known sources of prostitutes are certain kecaminan of Indramayu in West Java (see Wilbowo et al., 1985; Jones, Ahsari and Djurrih, 1994; and the case study below) and Wonogiri in Central Java, which in 1981 was the source of 34 per cent of the prostitutes working in the official prostitution complex of Sunan Kuning in Semarang according to Lerman (1983:262). There are undoubtedly facilitating factors behind these specializations, including low rural incomes, large families, early marriage and high divorce rates, low levels of education and weak adherence to orthodox Islam. But it is not clear that these facilitating factors are more marked in these areas than in many other areas of Java, and they therefore cannot fully explain the specialization.

It is more likely that some of these areas have a long history of supplying women for sexual services, such as the role of Indramayu in supplying women to the court of Cirebon, mentioned earlier. In other cases, adventitious factors may sometimes have been responsible for the development of a specialization in prostitution which then strengthened over time: a specialization comparable to the longstanding role of other localities in the supply of building labourers, or vendors of jamu, or becak drivers. Papanek (1975:15-17) explains the strong degree of regional specialization in certain ostensibly easy-entry occupations in Jakarta (including, for example, becak driving, scavenging, bus recruiting and kerosene selling) in terms of three related reasons: the preference given to those already employed, or in a position to give jobs to relatives, friends and others from the same group; the information provided to newcomers by established acquaintances; and the greater ease of allocating work or territories in a group with a common background. These reasons seem to be relevant, too, with regard to prostitution, but another could certainly be added: the demonstration effect of sex workers returning for visits to their home area flaunting symbols of affluence to show their success in the occupation (see Jones et al., 1994).

Regional case studies

Given the highly stratified nature of the sex industry, and the importance of regional regulations in determining the size and structure of the industry in each locality, it is important to consider the historic and cultural factors that are important in shaping commercial sex activities in each setting. For this purpose a number of case studies might be the best way to give an idea of the nature of prostitution in contemporary Indonesian society. The cases we have chosen tend to reflect the larger-scale settings such as Surabaya and Bandung, but we have also included Indramayu, as an example of a major source area of sex workers, and Batam, as a site of explosive growth of numbers of prostitutes in a tourist and industrial economy where the risk of HIV/AIDS is very high. These cases should not be taken as fully representative because they leave out the ubiquitous small-scale operations in small towns in Java, in mountain or beach resort areas (Sumbindo, 1993), and the roadside beer-halls catering to long-distance truck drivers, all of which are distinctive settings for the commercial sex industry. At the same time these cases reflect the face of large numbers of sex workers, and in this sense are typical of the Indonesian experience.

Surabaya: terms of transition

Prostitution has flourished in Surabaya, Indonesia’s second-largest city and the capital of East Java, in post-independence times. The Bangunrejo brothel complex, an area close to the harbour, was considered to be the largest brothel complex in Asia in the 1950s. This complex has now become a regular elite residential housing area as a result of the increasing price of land, and the brothels have moved to other areas, such as Jarak and Dolly. Many other areas in Surabaya, especially near the railway station, and in the slum areas such as Kremil, Tandes and Bangunussari, have developed pockets of prostitution catering to lower-income groups.

Overall, it is difficult to estimate accurately the total number of women in Surabaya who are exclusively engaged in providing commercial sex, partly because of the vastness and variety of the sector, but partly because unlike transvestites and homosexual male prostitutes who have formed groups for advocacy, companionship
and representation, the women have no open organizations. Data kept at the Dinas \textit{Sosial} are incomplete and often out of date, it is also nearly impossible to quantify the size of the informal sector which comprises regular and occasional sex workers. However, to get the size of the sector in some kind of perspective there are probably no fewer than 10,000 women working in prostitution in the main city area of Surabaya, and if metropolitan Surabaya is included the figure could reach 20,000. This is the estimate used by Esti Susanti Hudimo of the Surya AIDS Hotline Service when discussing the scope of heterosexual prostitution.

By way of comparison the estimated number of male prostitutes is 275. There are five male prostitute groups each with approximately 35 members, and an additional 100 or so to free-lance sex workers working primarily in the streetwalking subsector. Many of these male prostitutes offer sexual services to women in addition to those for men. There are also about 700 transvestites in Surabaya, nearly all of whom offer commercial sex services. However, only ten per cent of these work in set sites (e.g., as streetwalkers). It has been estimated that in any one day there will be at least 150 commercial sex transactions involving transvestites.

The largest concentration of female sex workers is in the brothel complexes. In Surabaya, only the major locations are listed and no attempt has been made to calculate the number of sites within each complex. Jank, for instance, has approximately 250 brothels of various sizes located in eight streets with roughly 2,000 sex workers. Dolly has 56 brothels, each with at least ten women. Tondel has approximately 500 sex workers; in the ten streets of Bangunrejo there are at least 2,750. Altogether it is estimated that there are 7,500 prostitutes operating in brothel complexes in Surabaya. There are also a smaller number of night club workers (approximately 1,000), call girls (approximately 450) and massage parlour workers (approximately 400). Finally, the number of street walkers is indeterminate. It may be high, but as most street walkers only seek occasional clientele, this sector is probably the smallest in terms of total client volume.

The empirical analysis of characteristics of prostitutes presented here is based on primary data collection from a survey of 52 women workers in the sex industry in Dolly Brothel Complex conducted during November - December 1992 (Sulistyaningsih and Swasono, 1993). The analysis also draws on an earlier study of 48 women from the same complex nearly a decade earlier (Purnomo and Siregar, 1985). The location of Dolly Brothel Complex is in Patut Jaya-Sawah Subdistrict, Surabaya, quite close to the city centre. The original area of Dolly complex was a small street 150 metres long and five metres wide which contained a Chinese cemetery. As part of the city plan the local government decided to relocate the cemetery and to permit residential development. The area was closed for new burials and some graves were relocated, though even today the large grave of the founder of the Sampoerna cigarette company remains in the area. When residential sites were offered one of the first persons to take up a block was Mrs Dolly. She developed her house for sex industry activities, especially serving lower-class men. Others followed the lead of 'Dolly' and nowadays, the sex industry complex reaches up to Jank, the neighbouring street, and is named after the founder.

Like other brothel complexes in Indonesia, Dolly caters to an almost exclusively Indonesian clientele. As in other brothel complexes, the workers are generally young, with less than one fifth over the age of 27, and about one in ten under 17. These figures indicate that child prostitutes (under 17 years of age) are not uncommon in Dolly brothel complex, despite the clear contradication of the criminal code. Moreover, when those over age 17 were asked at what age they began in prostitution, 17 per cent replied that they were under age 17. In other words, more than one quarter of the workers interviewed in the Dolly complex were under age when they took up the work. Child prostitution is difficult to prevent when the brothel owners and government officials alike seem confused over what exactly constitutes the minimum age for a prostitute. Sometimes it is suggested that an under-age person is one who has no KTP (Kartu Tanda Penduduk or Residential Registration Identification Card), because the KTP is usually given to a person who has already reached 17 years old, but this avoids a clear definition, because married girls under 17 can legally obtain a KTP, and false identification cards are commonplace in the social circles around a \textit{lokalitas}. Although the very early age at which some sex workers enter the industry is a matter of concern to the \textit{Dinas Sosial}, it is also important to recognize that the majority of prostitutes say they entered the industry at a slightly later age; 40 per cent were between 18 and 20 when they started work while just over a fifth were between 21 and 23 years old.

All respondents interviewed by the team were born outside Surabaya, and 75 per cent of them came from rural villages. Most can be considered newcomers to the city of Surabaya, because they had been there less than three years. In other words, 75 per cent of the women had been married. All of the ever-married respondents had one or two children, 70 per cent of whom were living with their grandparents. As might be expected most workers were from a farming background. Over half of their fathers, and one third of their mothers worked as farmers. A further third of the mothers were paid domestic servants; and a fifth were retail traders. Most of the respondents had not graduated from the six-year primary school while 36 per cent had only graduated from primary education; and only 8 per cent had gone on to complete the first three years of secondary education. The corresponding proportions for young women aged 15-29 in rural East Java according to the 1990 Population Census were 36 per cent, 44 per cent and 20 per cent respectively. In other words, the prostitutes were more poorly educated than young women as a whole in the areas from which they originated: rural areas of East Java. Economic factors were cited by more than 46 per cent of respondents as reasons for not continuing their education; most of the others left school because they got married or had to help support the family or failed the examination.

Most of the respondents in the Dolly complex visit their home village at least once a month because of illness or during their menstrual periods. The main reason for moving to Surabaya was to find a job (39 per cent) or to join their husbands (31 per cent). One in seven of the women had been specially recruited to prostitution by their current employer or an agent. Most of the respondents had worked in the trade for less than two years; in fact, 60 per cent of them had worked for one year or less. This response is quite consistent with the finding that 69 per cent of the workers, this
was their first job. Immediately before entering prostitution, 15 per cent of respondents were unemployed (with a waiting period of less than one year), another 42 per cent were in school, 29 per cent were factory production workers or domestic maids, and 12 per cent were doing housework. In all cases, prostitution is their only work: none of them have secondary occupations. Working in the Dolly complex is therefore a sort of training ground for the women before they move to other complexes or sectors of the sex industry. Most of the massage parlour workers around Surabaya, as a matter of fact, are ex-Dolly prostitutes.

Asked about the push factors for entering this trade 29 per cent of the respondents answered that they had no choice but were forced into the job; and 48 percent gave economic reasons such as that their parents were very poor (19 per cent); they needed to support small children (17 per cent) or they were supporting younger siblings (12 per cent). In the Purnomo and Siregar study, too, economic motives were dominant, but a further 12 per cent gave psychological reasons and 21 per cent said they did not know they were being brought to a place of prostitution. In the present study, the mother, father, spouse or other family members generally did not know the respondent's occupation. This was also the case in the Purnomo and Siregar study where 77 per cent of parents had not been told that their daughter was working as a prostitute.

Most of the respondents for various reasons were not comfortable with the job: about 96 per cent of them reported having plans to change the current job. Half of them (50 per cent) were trying to save money so that they could stop working in the future; some 23 per cent planned to find another job; and 13 per cent were planning to get married and stop working. These responses indicate that most of the sex workers were anxious to move to another occupation as long as the alternative provided sufficient earnings. When asked about their income prospects if they left prostitution, 79 per cent responded that they were not sure whether their income in the future would be more, the same or less than their current income. As with many questions, their responses seemed remarkably fatalistic.

The working conditions for the women can be indicated by the terms of employment, remuneration, working hours, working situation and benefits provided by employers. In general, working conditions of the sex industry are considerably better than those enjoyed by most of the Indonesian labour force at a comparable level. Some 85 per cent of the respondents stated that their employers clearly explained the terms of their employment, including duties of the job, remuneration system, payment for sex service, working hours, location of work, and other additional benefits or work facilities. About 58 per cent of the respondents stated that the expectation that they would have paid sexual transactions with customers was clearly stated and openly understood by the sex workers, but there was no target number of customers to be achieved. Another 15 per cent had expected to have sexual transactions, but this was not clearly stated by employers, rather they had obtained an understanding of the work from friends or fellow workers. Surprisingly, 27 per cent of respondents were not told clearly of the employers' expectations and said that they believed they had a choice whether to accept sexual transactions or not. (In the

Purnomo-Siregar study, 42 per cent of the prostitutes were allowed to refuse particular customers, but over half were not given a 'right of refusal'.) Most customers in Dolly brothel complex are local men; in fact, at the end of 1992 the workers in Dolly had signed a written agreement not to accept sexual transactions with foreigners in order to protect themselves from HIV/AIDS.

Almost half of respondents had between 11 and 20 sexual transactions during the week before the survey. About 12 per cent of the respondents reported having sexual relations more than 30 times during that week. When asked the normal number of sexual transactions they have in a week, there is a decreased proportion of respondents in the low-frequency range (4-10 times a week) and in the high-frequency range (more than 30 times a week), and a greater concentration in the middle frequencies. But interpretation is difficult because more than one third of the sex workers failed to respond to the 'usual frequency' question. The modal figure of 11-20 sexual transactions per week appears to be consistent with the Purnomo-Siregar study, which found that the minimum number of daily sexual transactions for most workers was zero or one, and that the maximum number of daily transactions varied between zero and 12, but the modal maximum frequency was between three and five transactions per day.

Normal working hours are from 6 p.m. till midnight with six working days, Wednesday being a holiday. All respondents are entitled to have time off, holidays or leave without pay, including one day off weekly, two weeks annual holiday, sick leave (requiring a doctor's note), 12 months maternity leave; and seven days per month menstruation leave. These leave arrangements are quite favourable compared with those of many Indonesian workers.

Working facilities provided by the employer are free accommodation (one room for one or two persons), free meals three times a day, regular medical check-up (paid for by the workers), easy loans with low interest, and assistance related to the line of work (laundry, security, etc.). The working operation was quite safe, with not a single harassment reported in the Dolly brothel complex during the month of the survey.

Obtaining reliable information on income and expenditure from respondents during the survey was difficult and responses could be misleading, because of the confidential nature of the information and the inability of the respondents to provide accurate information. Within this sector, most income comes to the workers from the pimps or brothel managers, who are paid by the clients. There are two main price systems, for short time and overnight bookings, but there are other prices for longer-term bookings, for example taking a prostitute on a trip outside the complex. In Dolly brothel complex overnight bookings are charged at three times the short-time rates. Overnight is normally available after midnight. In most brothels, the sex worker receives half of the fee paid by the client, but the payment is not always immediate. In the Purnomo and Siregar study, almost two-thirds received payment immediately after serving the customer, or later the same night, but in other cases, payment was postponed, and in 29 per cent of cases, payment was once a week or less frequent. This clearly opened up possibilities of the woman being cheated by the pimp, or at the
very least, the pimp having use of her money for a considerable period of time. On
the other hand, customers frequently pay a tip directly to the woman, and this is not
shared with the pimp or brothel manager.

More than one-third of respondents did not reveal their total earnings. Of those
who did report, 76 per cent reported that their gross earnings the previous month were
more than Rp. 300,000, which is much higher than the official salary of middle level
government officials. Not only this, but 52 per cent of all those who reported on their
income made more than Rp. 500,000. This finding suggests that the sex industry
workers are relatively well-off compared to workers outside the sector with the same
level of education and social background.

Although overall earnings were high, expenditures were also quite high, an
important expenditure being remittances to family or relatives weekly or monthly for
security and support for children, parents and other family members. All of the
respondents had free accommodation and free meals three times a day. But in general,
they had to give about 30 per cent of their incomes to the manager, and another 30 per
cent to the local government for security and for the various classes and activities
included as part of their 'rehabilitation'. In addition, most of the respondents had an
initial loan from the person who gave them initial capital for the job, including clothes
and cosmetics when they first entered the business. The majority of the prostitutes
have experience in borrowing money (50 per cent), mostly from the masakan or
pimp. The main reason for borrowing money is for supporting family members back
home, paying for medical check-ups. Twenty three per cent of the respondents have
cash savings in a local financial institution, while the remaining 77 per cent save their
money in the form of gold, jewellery, livestock, house, land and other valuables.

Before the intrusion of the AIDS epidemic into the Dolly complex, approximately 90 per cent of respondents had already received some kind of
information about the possible health danger of this disease. The main sources of
information were the Government health officers and mass-media including TV,
radio, and newspaper. The type of health-related information received by respondents
included AIDS (44 per cent); prophylactics (44 per cent); sexually transmitted
diseases (33 per cent); methods of family planning (27 per cent); and abortion (6 per
cent).

For prevention of disease or safety precautions, respondents reported that they
have monthly medical check-ups (85 per cent) arranged by their pimps or managers
(in 21 per cent of cases), the government (40 per cent) or themselves (31 per cent).
The majority of respondents go to private doctors or health workers to check their
health, consequently they personally pay the cost of their health and medical check-up.
This is because private medical doctors are perceived as providing better services than
the government doctors.

The sex workers claim to have good health. 85 per cent reporting to have never
had any illness related to work. Only a small group of respondents reported having
job-related illness including vaginal infection. Of course, it is in the interest of the
women to claim to be ‘clean’ even if they are bothered by symptoms of vaginal
infections. The total number of abortions was quite significant, 13 per cent of all
respondents having experienced at least one abortion related to their job. The
pregnancy risk for this type of occupation was high, and news of pregnancies among
prostitutes became major issues and talking points in the complex.

Information concerning AIDS was widespread but not universal among sex
workers: only 88 per cent of the respondents reported knowing about AIDS. They
learned about AIDS mainly from the mass media. In Dolly brothel complex it has
been reported that two persons are HIV-positive, but people believe that the actual
figure could be more. To prevent AIDS, the government has campaigned for using
condoms. The results were impressive, with 73 per cent of respondents claiming that
a condom is always used by their sex partner, and another 23 per cent sometimes
using a condom. Given the AIDS scare, it is not clear that condom use is really as
common as this. Condom use might be increased if establishments provided free
condoms, and pimps co-operated to enforce a ‘no condom no sex’ rule. But the main
reason for not using condoms during sexual relations was that the customers refuse to
use them.

Bandung

Bandung is Indonesia's third largest city with a 1990 population of over two
million. It is situated in the heartland of the Priangan, the upland region of West Java,
where the Sundanese ethnic-linguistic group predominates. This province is
considered to adhere more closely to orthodox Islam than many other parts of Java,
but this does not necessarily apply to the city of Bandung, which has long had a
reputation as cosmopolitan.

Bandung's sex industry is substantial, operating through the same kinds of
establishments as in other major cities of Indonesia: brothel complexes (although the
one such complex in Bandung-Sarirem-is quite small), brothel houses and call-girl
establishments, traditional massage parlours, pubs, billiard halls, disco and night
clubs. A recent study (conducted from January to March 1993) found only 437
prostitutes working in 94 establishments (Kompas, 1993). It is not clear whether
'establishments' referred only to officially registered brothels. The study was able to
divide the establishments into five categories by location and average gross earnings
of the prostitutes, the method being to multiply the average number of days worked
per month by average number of clients per day by average fee for a 'short-time'
transaction (all-night bookings are fairly rare). On the basis of this method of
calculation, average earnings for lowest-class prostitutes were estimated at Rp.
200,000 per month, for low-class prostitutes Rp. 500,000 per month, for middle-class
Rp. 1 million to Rp. 1.5 million a month, for high-class Rp. 2 to 3 million per month
and for the highest class Rp. 6 million a month. The study noted the exact locations
of these classes of sex establishments: the lowest class in Jl. Dewi Sartika and Jl.
Cineteu A; the low class in Jl. Sarirem; the middle class in Jl. Ciateur B, Jl. Jati and Jl.
Pasirkaliki: the high class in Jl. Cikawao, Jl. Champelas, and Jl. Padjadjaran; and the highest class in Jl. Setiaabadi.

These earnings are very good by the standards of alternative occupations. Expressed in equivalent US dollars they are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Earnings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lowest class</td>
<td>$100 per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low class</td>
<td>$250 per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle class</td>
<td>$500-750 per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high class</td>
<td>$1,000-1,500 per month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highest class</td>
<td>$3,000 per month</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The range is also striking: a more than ten to one difference in earnings between a high class and a very low class prostitute, and 30 to 1 between the very highest and lowest classes. The study stresses that although their incomes are quite good, there is a tendency for sex workers to borrow money from their pimp when they get into financial difficulties, and hence become bound to continue working for that pimp.

At a seminar at which the results of the study were presented, the representative of the West Java Office of the Department of Social Affairs stated that his office was surprised by the information that there were 94 places of prostitution in Bandung, because it had only been aware of four or five locations. Apparently his office had not bothered to consult any local taxi drivers, most of whom know many places of prostitution, or the brokers who wait on Jl. Asia Africa to guide potential clients to the higher-priced establishments (Matra, 1993b).

Fieldwork conducted in Bandung for the present study revealed that massage parlours (of which there were about 15) employed more sex workers than did call girl establishments and brothel complexes. Most massage parlours appear to employ about 30 workers, some of whom might not engage in sex with customers, but almost all of whom in fact do, because they typically earn very little from regular massage. For example, in one establishment, the worker receives only Rp. 5,000 from the Rp. 40,000 charged for body massage (performed by a naked girl in this establishment) but Rp. 45,000 from the Rp. 70,000 charged for sexual intercourse. In another establishment, massage is cheaper, Rp. 12,500 to Rp. 20,000 depending on the room, of which the worker receives only Rp. 2,000, but she receives the entire amount of the difference if she agrees to have sexual relations with the customer. Since the charge is usually Rp. 70,000 for sexual intercourse, this means that she will clear about Rp. 50,000, compared with only Rp. 2,000 (probably plus a tip from the customer) if she only gives a massage.

Thus the massage parlours can preserve the pretence of offering only massage, while arranging charges in such a way that the workers will almost certainly serve as sex workers. The establishments make good money from the hourly room charges and the sale of drinks. They would do much less well, however, if they really offered only massage, for which demand is more restricted.

Discos are another source of sex services in Bandung, serving as a locus of operation of free-lance sex workers, especially on the nights designated as ‘ladies’ nights’, on which women are admitted without paying a cover charge. Some discos run three ladies’ nights a week, on nights that would otherwise be quiet. It is very difficult to estimate how many free-lance sex workers operate out of discos, and an indeterminate proportion of these are undoubtedly women who offer commercial sex only occasionally.

It seems clear that the total number of sex workers in Bandung is much lower than in Surabaya despite the fact that Bandung is not much smaller than Surabaya. Rough estimates based on the fieldwork suggest that the total number of sex workers in Bandung may be only about 1,500, although another report (Kompas, 1994) put the number at 6,000. The main source of uncertainty concerns the number of free-lance operators in poor areas of the city, as well as the number of free-lancers operating out of salons, discos and bars or through contacts organized by taxi drivers and hotel employees.

**Indramayu: a source area for sex workers**

It is part of Indonesian folk lore that Indramayu is a major source of prostitutes. There is a strong basis in fact for this belief: the kabupaten of Indramayu has a population of only 1.4 million, or 3 per cent of the total population of West Java and Jakarta combined: yet in a study conducted in the large official prostitution complex of Kranantunggak in North Jakarta, officials at the complex reported that more than half the prostitutes in the complex originated in Indramayu. And of the prostitutes interviewed, 28 per cent were from Indramayu (Wibowo et al., 1989: 5).

Indramayu has long been characterized by poverty, low education, parent-arranged marriages at young ages, and very high divorce rates. It is not noted for the strength of its adherence to orthodox Islam. It is also accessible enough to Jakarta so that women employed in the sex industry can return to Indramayu occasionally without undue difficulty or expense. All these are factors conducive to the entry of young women into prostitution. On the other hand, these factors also characterize other parts of West Java where prostitution is much less in evidence; although divorce rates in Indramayu are certainly higher than anywhere else in Java (see Jones, 1994, Chapters 5 and 6). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, the prominence of prostitution in Indramayu could well contain elements of historical accident: the development of a specialization which builds on itself, just as other villages or districts develop their particular occupational specializations.

A journalist, Her Suganda, writing in Kompas on 16 September 1979, noted that women from Gebus Wetan who enter prostitution are mostly young, divorced, uneducated girls. They work in cities such as Jakarta, Bandung, Sukabumi, and Tanjung Pinang, and typically return to Gebus Wetan before lebaran (the Muslim
The social-cultural factors mentioned by the community respondents were: the very low age at marriage, to somebody chosen by their parents, and a tolerant attitude to divorce as a way out of an unsatisfactory marriage (indeed, many parents are proud of a daughter who has been divorced and remarried a number of times, because it demonstrates her desirability to men); a wasteful way of life, and concern to demonstrate status by holding expensive ceremonies beyond what people can really afford, thus making for a tolerant attitude towards ways of making money to sustain such expenses, including prostitution, a 'couldn't care less' attitude towards neighbours' behaviour: this people do not feel community or social constraints on their behaviour, and even parents frequently do not object to their daughters working as prostitutes; poorly developed moral standards, thus allowing gatherings to take place such as the Jaringan ceremony and the 'kaget' market where young people can meet at night free from parental and social control, and this freedom can be abused and also used by prostitutes to seek out customers.

Whether these respondents have fully understood the factors behind the development of prostitution as a speciality of the Indramayu region is open to question. But their responses certainly appear to reflect the prevailing social norms of officials in the Indramayu region, and in the nation as a whole, concerning the causes of prostitution.

**Batu**: sex in a growth zone

In recent years, the sex industry has developed in the island of Batam, about 30 kilometres south of Singapore. This is a unique case for Indonesia of a sex industry based mainly on the higher incomes and strong restrictions on prostitution in the neighbouring country, akin to the development of prostitution in Padas Besar and Hat Yai in southern Thailand mainly to serve visitors from Malaysia and Singapore. The tight control of the sex industry in Malaysia and Singapore provides a ready market, and a strong motivation, for the development of the sex industry in Batam. Because of much lower income levels in Indonesia, prices of prostitutes in Batam are about one quarter of those in Singapore (Tempo, 1993).

Batam has been developed as an industrial and tourist area as part of the growth triangle comprising Singapore, Johore and Batam and Bintan islands in Riau. Batam's population has risen from a few thousand 20 years ago to over 100,000 in 1994, and is projected to reach 700,000 in 25 years' time. Part of Batam's growth has been based on recreational services for nearby Singapore, including golf courses and high-class hotels. Because of its proximity (a 30-minute ferry ride away), day visits from Singapore are also possible. The tourist industry currently handles 500,000 visitors a year, and is growing rapidly.

In the small island of Babi (Pig Island), a kampung of prostitutes, consisting of approximately 120 women mainly serving Singaporeans and Malaysians, has been developed. In Batam itself, in 1993 there were officially 348 prostitutes operating in the official lokalisasi area of Bukit Girang (Tempo, 1993). Almost all of these women come from Java and North Sumatra, and a high proportion are
Sundanese from Indramayu and Cirebon. They live in a highly controlled, fenced-in community, complete with very rough health facilities, and a program of government-sponsored activities which includes sport, literacy classes and religious education. Germs are in the positions of village head, security officer, etc. and appear to take their roles very seriously: they run a tight ship, fully sanctioned by the government (Hull, n.d.).

Outside the fence, Hull (n.d.) found a different situation: about 350 prostitutes who, with their germs, de facto partners, children etc. live in a ramshackle settlement with little official support or approval. This group includes one hundred who are formerly in a 'lokalisasi' on a neighboring island which was torn down to make way for new developments. Having nowhere else to go, they migrated to Batam and built thirty-one houses outside the Bukit Giri Gung lokalisasi. The newcomers do not receive the health checks or religious education of the 'official' brothel group. They are representative of the large group of sex workers in Batam who do not work in official establishments, and who are unofficially said to number 1800, or five times the number of registered sex workers inside the complex. Because the women both inside and outside the fence at Bukit Giri Gung are largely drawn from Malay or Javanese ethnic groups, their clientele consists mainly of local workers, visitors from Medan, Pekanbaru or Jakarta, and Malay tourists from Singapore or Malaysia.

In town, and especially in the small centre of Naga, the sex industry is totally different in character. Sex workers operate in massage parlours, discotheques, nightclubs and bars: more than 300 in the Golden Million nightclub, karaoke, massage and restaurant complex alone, and another 300 in the Golden Star area according to Tempo (1993). These women are largely of Chinese descent, and their clientele mainly Singaporean and Chinese descent who come to Batam from West Kalimantan. The charge for an overnight booking of hostesses from the Golden Million is Rp. 150,000, much cheaper than the cost of a similar service in Singapore. It would provide a good income for the woman except that the charges are paid direct to the Golden Million management, which subtracts laundry costs, food, medicine, beauty parlour costs, and various fines before handing over the money (Tempo, 1993).

The total number of women working in the nightklub-massage-discotheque sector in Naga is difficult to estimate, but some local officials put the figure at 1000 in 1992. Thus, in all, the sex industry in Batam probably employed between 2000 and 3000 women, or around one-tenth of the women of childbearing age on the island at the time. The rapidly growing and largely migrant population creates a frontier atmosphere promoting a highly differentiated sex industry, supported by the buying power and appetites of the rapidly growing number of unattached workers and tourists on the island. The threat of HIV/AIDS in such a situation is real, and to tackle it effectively will require appropriate counseling and services to deal with the very prevalent reproductive tract infections, to promote condom use, and to increase the control prostitutes have over their situation. These efforts will need to be directed not only at workers in the official brothel complex, but also at the free-lancers and those working in nightclubs and massage parlours.

It has been argued that a major cause of prostitution in Batam was the low level of wages of the female industrial workers. In 1992, the office of the Ministry of Women's Affairs received a report from the Ministry of Social Affairs that some factory workers were engaging in 'double occupations'. To solve these problems, the Ministry of Manpower, Ministry of Women's Affairs and the Batam Authority conducted meetings with the Batam business community to persuade businesses to increase the welfare (including board and lodging) of their women employees, in order to reduce the 'side effect' of women working in undesirable occupations in Batam. However, given the clear market for sex services in Batam, it seems likely that most of those working in the sex industry have come to Batam from other parts of Indonesia specifically for that purpose.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE SEX SECTOR

Earnings of sex workers

Studies on prostitutes in Indonesia are consistent in showing relatively high earnings compared with workers in other occupations in which women with low levels of education are likely to find work (see Papazek, 1975; Kriis, 1979; Lerman, 1983; Purnomo and Siregar, 1985; Rompas, 29 July 1995; Sinar, 1995:16-19). Indeed, in the upper end of the range, free-lancers operating out of bars, discos, and karaoke in cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya and Bandung may be making Rp, 3 million to 5 million a month (US$1,500 to 2,500), and top-class call girls even more. This is much more than is earned by middle-level civil servants and other occupations requiring a high level of education. The earnings recorded in many studies on Indonesian prostitutes are high enough to be very tempting indeed. On the other hand, there is sharp social disapproval and strong religious condemnation of prostitution, so some of the earnings might be regarded as a 'premium' required to overcome the stigma associated with the occupation and for other unpleasant aspects of the work, including the dangers of serious disease, including HIV/AIDS.

It is likely, though, that many of the available studies tend to overstate the average earnings of women who engage in prostitution, because they tend to be focused on brothel complexes, and when they deal with the informal parts of the sex industry, they tend to concentrate on the upper end of the market, for example those who work the bars, hotel coffee shops and discos in cities such as Jakarta and Medan, who can make very good money.

Table 3 shows a compilation of data from a wide range of sources on prices of sex services and earnings of sex workers in different parts of the sex industry. These studies refer to different time periods, and therefore comparison of prices must allow for inflation over time. However, when these data are cross-checked further against price-prevalence data in the different sub-markets in 1994, a reasonably clear picture emerges. This is described below for four categories of sex industry activities: the low-class end of the market, the middle range, the upper range and, finally, the top end of the market. This discussion focuses on prices paid by customers. The actual
earnings of prostitutes will depend on what proportion of the charge they are able to keep for themselves.

The low-class segment

In the organized sector, this includes the brothel complexes serving the low end of the market, such as Kremlin and some of the brothels in Jakarta, Banunrejo and Tandes in Surabaya, and Encim Jangkrik and Boker, Cijantung in Jakarta. Short-time prices here can be as low as Rp. 3,000 (US$1.50) but the average is about Rp. 5,000. The facilities in these brothels are very basic indeed (on Boker, Cijantung, see Krisna, 1979: 93-101). Murray (1991, 1993) claims that Kremlin Tunggak and Encim Jangkrik are at the bottom end of the prostitution range. This may be true if only official prostitution establishments are referred to, but certainly not true if consideration is given to independent operators on the streets, under bridges and in markets in the seedy parts of town and even in areas such as Ancol in the 1970s.

In the unorganized sector, prices are very low for the low-class streetwalkers and others who operate in slum areas, markets, cemeteries, along the edge of railway lines and other areas where there is more difficulty, and sometimes danger, in contacting them. Earnings of those in the unorganized sector are almost certainly lower, on average, than those in the organized sector (see Lerman, 1983:255), though apparently not lower than those in the low-class end of the organized sector. The going rate for streetwalkers in Medan, Jakarta, in the early 1980s was Rp. 5,000 (Yodhita, 1983:55). Streetwalkers in Surabaya and Yogyakarta in 1992 were still charging only Rp. 5,000 - Rp. 10,000 (US$2.5 - US$5), thus serving lower-income customers. In fact, in the Jiaigran area of Yogyakarta, the charges were as low as Rp. 3,000 (Pardomuan and Iswando, 1994), and in a beach area near Yogyakarta, only Rp. 2,000 (Suniyono, 1993).

The average-price brothel complexes should probably be included in the low price end of the market. These were charging around Rp. 10,000 (US$5) in 1994. They included some of the brothels in Dolly, Banunrejo and Tandes in Surabaya, the Sunan Kuning complex in Semarang (where charges in 1980 were Rp. 3,000 to 5,000, or US$4.70 to 7.90 at that time), brothels in Ujung Pandang where the going rate was Rp. 2,000 to 3,000 in 1980 (Atam, 1984:146), and the Kalisari complex in Malang where the going rate was Rp. 3,000 in 1982 (Idris, 1982).

The middle-class segment

The middle-class sector of the sex market comprises the higher price brothel complexes, including Dolly, Surabaya, where some brothels were charging Rp. 25,000 or 30,000 per transaction in 1994, and Sarin in Bandung and Kramat Tunggak in Jakarta, where such prices also prevailed. Further up the market, massage parlours in Surabaya charged between Rp. 30,000 and Rp. 60,000 (US$15 - US$30). Massage parlours in Jakarta and Bandung had similar charges, for example, Rp. 70,000 'all in', or Rp. 50,000 plus Rp. 15,000 or 20,000 for the room (which is often charged separately to preserve a pretence of a legitimate massage). The price may double if the women is taken out for an overnight booking. Some of the women who could be picked up in bars or discotheques or brought to hotel rooms also charged around 30,000 to 50,000 rupiah.

The high-class segment

Throughout Indonesia the high-income customers mostly use night clubs for initial contact or call-girls contacted through call-girl establishments or known exclusively by a restricted clientele; for each transaction they have to pay quite a high price: typically, Rp. 100,000 to Rp. 500,000 (US$50 to $150), which is doubled for an all-night booking (Mitra, 1993a). Similar prices can be found in a few very high-priced massage parlours. In most sex establishments prices vary according to the age and physical attractiveness of the workers. Most establishments have their 'prima donnas' for whom the going rate is higher than for other workers. Thus in one disco in Medan, the normal price of Rp. 50,000 to 100,000 was raised to Rp. 200,000 (and Rp. 300,000 for all night) for two young women 'moonlighting' from their status as kept women of businessmen (Mitra, 1994a). In Surabaya in the early 1980s, two private call girl establishments which normally charged Rp. 35,000 charged Rp. 75,000 and Rp. 150,000 respectively for their 'top' attraction (Punomo and Siregar, 1982:28-29).

The highest-class segment

At the very top of the market, even at the end of the 1970s, some TV and film actresses and models were said to charge Rp. 500,000 to 1 million, which at the exchange rates of the time was equivalent to US$ 780 to $1560 (Krisna, 1979:131). Nowadays, certain screen actresses and models charge millions of rupiah (Mitra, 1993a:64). Until the arrest in August 1994 of the so-called 'super-pimp' Hatori Setyawan, the high-class call-girl establishments which he ran (Sinar, 1994) were organized in a network covering Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Semarang and Bali. The call-girls could be moved from place to place depending on demand. Charges here were Rp. 700,000 for a three-hour session or Rp. 1.5 million for all night; payment could be made by cash or credit card, with the billing slip being filled in to appear that the client had visited an expensive restaurant. The very large incomes of some Indonesians, whether derived from legitimate enterprise or from corruption, and the tendency to engage in 'conspicuous consumption' means that there will always be a market, albeit limited, for sex services at such inflated figures.
Actual earnings

The actual earnings of sex workers depend on the proportion of the charge paid by customers that they are able to keep. This varies considerably between different parts of the sex industry. In brothel complexes, the worker typically receives half the fee charged, but less if an intermediary is involved in bringing the client. In some high-price massage parlours, the worker receives half the fee paid, but in many massage parlours, the worker keeps the entire fee (apart from tips she gives to waiters and the mami, as the establishment makes its money from the hire of rooms and sale of drinks). In call-girl establishments operating from private houses, typically the worker keeps half, but less in some high-price establishments, or if a third party was involved in bringing the client. Streetwalkers and free-lancers operating out of hotel coffee shops, lobbies, discothèques, etc. may be able to keep all of the fee charged, but in many cases have to make payments to pimps, taxi or becak drivers, hotel security staff, officials, or others. Finally, the group of perek mentioned earlier may commonly accept gifts rather than monetary payments because they do not consider themselves to be prostitutes.

As noted earlier, on the whole the earnings of prostitutes appear better (sometimes much better) than they would be able to earn in any other occupation potentially open to them. In addition, despite the obvious disincentives against entering this occupation, some aspects of working conditions are quite good. For example, most workers who live in brothel complexes and massage parlours are given free accommodation, and free meals are usually supplied to workers in brothel complexes. Menstruation leave is given, and usually the chance to return to their place of origin for a few days if it is not too far away. Although hours ‘on call’ can be long, much of this time is spent with friends, talking, watching TV, playing cards, and seeking other ways to fight off boredom.

The economic significance of the sex industry

It is difficult to give even a rough estimate of the economic significance of the sex industry, and the amount of money that changes hands over the course of a year through its activities. What is certain is that prostitution plays a substantial role in the Indonesian economy and is a substantial contributor to government revenue, particularly at the local level. For example, it has been estimated that in the Harmoni-Kota area of Jakarta, centred on Jl. Gadjah Mada and Jl. Hayam Wuruk, as much as Rp. 1 billion changes hands in one night related to sex services (Sinar, 1993). Even if we halve this figure because it appears to relate to busy nights such as Saturday night, the implication is that in this area of Jakarta alone, there is an annual turnover of US$91 million from activities related to the sale of sex. In Surabaya, rough estimates based on the number of establishments, daily sexual transactions per establishment and price per transaction suggest a daily turnover of some Rp. 380 million in the middle and upper-class sex industry (Berita Buana, 1991), or US$ 69 million a year. The annual turnover of the five call-girl establishments operated by Hartono Setyawanc was estimated to range between Rp. 600 million and 1 billion (US$3.6 million to 6 million) (Sinar, 1994:17).

The uncertainty about the total turnover of the sex industry relates to three matters: the total number of prostitutes, their average net earnings, and the income earned by others as a result of their activities. This is the basic approach taken by the magazine Infobank, in July 1990. Using this basic idea Sabariedin (1991:16) took the Department of Social Affairs total of 62,660 prostitutes and 6,368 pimps, each assumed to earn on average $5.13 per day, to estimate a total annual personal earnings of $129,251,478. This is, of course, a very rough notion of the economic significance of the sex industry.

Nevertheless, a rough estimate may be better than none at all, at least for purposes of opening up discussion and providing a starting point for efforts to develop a more accurate estimate. In order to enable the estimates to be refined, they are presented as a range, with the assumptions clearly spelled out. A low estimate and a high estimate are presented. The basic calculations are given in Table 4.

1. The assumption is that the number of prostitutes is somewhere between 140,000 and 230,000. The lower figure is based on the assumption that the officially registered prostitutes in 1993 (see Table 1) are mainly concentrated in the middle-class sector and to some extent in the lower-class sector, and that they must be multiplied by two to take account of all other forms of prostitution in these sectors not covered in the official estimates; and that the official figures barely include any prostitutes in the high-class sector, who are assumed to number 10,000, or less than one-tenth of the number in the low and middle-class sectors combined. The higher figure assumes a greater undercount in the official figures, and a substantially larger number of women operating in the high-class sector.

2. Average net monthly earnings are assumed to range from Rp. 200,000 in the low-class sector to Rp. 1.2 million in the middle-class sector and Rp. 2 million in the high-class sector. The average net earnings for all workers in the sex industry, according to this set of assumptions, are Rp. 757,000 a month. This is far below the earnings of high-class sex workers, and well below the earnings of middle-range sex workers, but it is assumed that the majority of Indonesian prostitutes fall in the low-class category, where earnings are much more modest. The reason for the relatively small difference in average monthly net incomes in the middle-class sector and the high-class sector is the assumption that fewer transactions take place per sex worker per month in the high-class sector: 20 on average compared with 40 in the middle-class sector.

3. Income earned by others as a result of the activities of prostitutes is assumed to be equal to the net earnings of the sex workers themselves for the low estimate, and double the net earnings of the sex workers for the high estimate. This refers to the earnings of pimps, brothel owners,
proprietors and other workers in massage parlours, bars, etc. where sex services are the main focus of the enterprise; payments to police, security workers etc. to enable the prostitution to continue; payments to toasts, taxi drivers, bacak drivers, etc. who put clients in contact with sex workers or with the brothels in which some of them work; but not the earnings of food, drink and cigarette sellers etc. who tend to congregate in such areas, because presumably they would continue to make some kind of living elsewhere in the absence of the sex industry activity.

On the basis of these assumptions (and an exchange rate of Rp. 2,150 to US$1), the estimate of the financial turnover of the sex industry in Indonesia ranges from US$ 1,180 million in the low estimate to US$ 3,300 million in the high estimate, or between 0.8 and 2.4 per cent of Indonesia's Gross Domestic Product. This estimate does not allow for male prostitutes and transvestites.

One other aspect of this table might be mentioned. If the number of sex workers in each category is multiplied by the number of transactions per month, then an estimate is obtained of the total number of commercial sex transactions per month. This number is 5.4 million in the low estimate and 8.6 million in the high estimate. If it is assumed that the average user of sex services has two transactions per month, this implies that each month, between 2.7 million and 4.3 million men are frequenting prostitutes. If all these men were Indonesians, they would constitute about 5 to 8 per cent of Indonesian males aged 15-64. This highlights an important, if obvious, point: the Indonesian sex industry is large because of the large number of males seeking to purchase sexual services, but at the same time it involves only a minority of Indonesian men.

CONCLUSIONS

This study is a preliminary attempt to provide a comprehensive picture of heterosexual prostitution in Indonesia based on serious studies to date, and some limited field observations in selected locations. It has been hampered by a lack of data and by lack of clarity in many of the available studies. Even so, some reasonably clear findings emerge. The important findings include the large scale of the sex industry, the relatively high earnings made in commercial sex and associated activities (albeit with an enormous range), the wide diversity of forms of prostitution, and the close involvement of local government and the military in overseeing, and in many cases running, heterosexual prostitution.

Despite efforts to stamp out under-age prostitution, workers below the age of 17 are commonly found in brothel complexes and elsewhere. The most disturbing cases are those where young girls are sold into prostitution by their parents, or brought into the industry by force or deceit, without clear knowledge of the nature of the commitments they or their families are making. However, in the majority of cases, entry into the industry is voluntary, and motivated primarily by the desire to obtain the relatively good incomes that can be made through prostitution.

The health aspects of the sex industry are among its most worrying features, particularly with the threat of HIV/AIDS. Without a concerted and high-profile campaign for condom use, and regulations to strengthen the negotiating position of prostitutes in requiring condom use by their clients, there is a great risk of rapid growth in the number of HIV cases among both prostitutes and their clients and associates. Though they might be seen as holding a central role in the sexual networks through which the disease could quickly spread among prostitutes, their clients, and clients' other partners, including monogamous spouses, the prostitutes cannot be regarded as responsible for the disease. As many studies have found, the women working in the sex industry are under the control of pimps and governments to such a degree that they have little scope for taking actions and enforcing behaviour which would protect themselves and their clients. They have no effective union to represent them in negotiations with management, and have scant protection by government in cases of dispute with clients or pimps.

The quasi-legality of prostitution in Indonesia may be a reasonable response to the impossibility of wiping out the practice, proved over four centuries of inadequate attempts at rehabilitation and regulation. Strong emotional arguments for the elimination of prostitution take on religious overtones and induce support or at least lip-service from political leaders periodically, while the moralizing provokes police raids and mobilization of community complaints against sex businesses, generally the community at large reacts negatively to actions which are meant to shame the sex workers or small-scale pimps or clients, and calls for limits to what they regard as official 'over-reaction'. There are long-standing, reasoned arguments for tighter regulation of the business (e.g. Parduman, 1977), or the promotion of strong family values to overcome immorality, but both education and regulation lack consistent, widespread community support, or adequate funding to achieve the ambitious objectives set by social engineers. Koentjoro (1989:11) also notes how the culture of the major cantonments producing prostitutes depicts these as 'heroic women whose work and sacrifice support the family unit'. In this context efforts to regulate or eliminate prostitution imply the undermining of an important set of family-based values.

The close involvement of local governments in running significant sections of the sex industry, and protecting much of the rest through regulation or inaction, raises many issues. Except for the rehabilitation programs run by the Department for Social Affairs, which can provide training for only a tiny proportion of all prostitutes, claims to be using local efforts to rehabilitate prostitutes are at best naive and at worst hypocritical. The hypocrisy is compounded when reference is made to the numerous members and former members of the police and military units charged with regulating the industry who are found to be running brothels or providing protection to brothel owners. Reports in the daily press, in social research, and through direct interview indicate that the men in positions of power in the industry often receive part of their benefits in terms of free sexual services. (See, for example, Bellinda GT, 1992). A

2 Prawirohardjo, 1960 discussing the Keluarga Makmur, or the Ministry of Population in 1994 promoting the Keluarga Sejahtera program.
time of HIV/AIDS and drug-resistant STDs threatens grim retribution for the exploitation, but one unfortunately predicated on the compounded suffering of the primary victim of the system, the woman sex worker.

Will increasing prosperity reduce prostitution? The answer to this question depends on the nature of the market for sexual services. On the supply side, the availability of a pool of young women prepared (or forced) under some circumstances to engage in prostitution, the first point to note is a demographic one: the number of women aged 15-24 is about to stop growing very much. After increasing in number by 23 per cent in the ten years after 1985, the growth over the 20 years following 1995 will be less than 9 per cent. The number of poorly educated young women entering this age group will actually decline drastically. The increasingly better educated entrants to the age group should be enjoying improving job prospects as the economy continues to grow and diversify. Therefore, the pressure on women to enter prostitution as a means of escaping absolute poverty should lessen.

But many women will remain poor, and attractive earnings in many parts of the sex industry will continue to provide a strong incentive to take up prostitution. Although there is certainly a universally-recognized tendency for the uneducated and poorly educated to be over-represented in the ranks of sex workers, reasonably high levels of education do not prevent women entering the sex industry if other factors are conducive, as the experience of the Philippines testifies. The path of poverty may lessen with time, but the pull of promises of easy affluence may grow with economic prosperity.

On the demand side, increasing prosperity increases the capacity of men to buy sexual services, and to be more discriminating about the setting in which these services are purchased. Therefore among the extraordinarily diverse range of sexual service settings in Indonesia, the balance will tend to tip towards those in less 'basic' settings. However, whether the overall demand for commercial sex will increase or decrease will be strongly influenced by trends in social norms and government policy. What will be the attitudes towards prostitution among the rising middle class? What position will influential women's magazines and women's organizations take? Will religious movements strongly opposed to commercial sex gain in influence?

These are not new conclusions. Susilo (1972:82) quoted the Chief of the Municipal Health Service in Kuala Lumpur who argued that 'prostitution will not automatically disappear through improvement of economic and social conditions alone, because it also constitutes a question of demand'. But Susilo saw prostitution as an activity fraught with injustice and exploitation, which, he said, Independence was meant to tackle. 'Must we wait 20 years more to achieve social justice?' he asked (Susilo, 1972:83).

As far as official central government attitudes are concerned, there are no signs as yet of change in the current situation: the Department of Health acknowledges the existence of prostitution in order to carry out health programs to prevent sexually transmitted diseases; and the Department of Social Affairs accepts quasi-legalization and lokalisasi in order to mount rehabilitation programs. The Department of Manpower will not give recognition to prostitution as an occupation, and thus essentially excludes prostitutes from the protections offered through the labour laws and regulatory structures. The Department of Women's Roles continues to promote marital fidelity and oppose prostitution. At the local government level, tacit recognition is given as the taxes, fees and complimentary services of the industry are collected. In the Sixth Five Year Plan, there is very little mention of prostitution either in terms of programs of control or as a source of government revenues. What little there is follows the bureaucratic structure of the Department of Social Affairs in categorizing prostitutes with former jail inmates, the homeless and beggars as nuba social, needing to be converted to a condition where they become useful, high-quality and productive. Though the Plan was written nearly a decade after the advent of HIV/AIDS in Indonesia, it made no mention of the threat of the disease to those who practice risky sexual behaviour, including unprotected commercial sex. This may be a good example of silence speaking volumes, and obfuscation having a purpose.

The future of the market for commercial sex in Indonesia therefore remains highly speculative but the potential role of policy should not be underestimated. Different interest groups have been demanding clearly developed and sustainable official positions on the issue, but their calls have been contradictory, with moralists calling for closure and pragmatists calling for more effective regulation and reform. The absence of open, direct public debate, on this as on many social issues, is justified in the name of stability, but such stability is bought at the cost of egregious instances of exploitation of girls and women by industry managers (including governments) and clandestine customers. Even attempts to reform the industry tend to focus attention—and blame—on the women sex workers despite the fact that there are no prohibitions to the sale of sexual services in the criminal code. By contrast little is said of pimps and protectors profiting from the sale, or married men purchasing such services, but in both cases the prohibitions under criminal law are clear.
KUPU - KUPU MALAM

Ada yang benci dirinya
Ada yang butuh dirinya
Ada yang berlutut memintanya
Ada pula yang kejam menyiksa dirinya

Ini hidup wanita si kupu-kupu malam
Bekerja bertaruh seluruh jiwa raga
Bibir senyum kata halus merayu memanja
Kepada setiap mereka yang datang

Dosakah yang ia kerjakan
Suciakah mereka yang datang
Kadang dia tersenyum dalam tangis
Kadang dia menangis didalam senyum an

Oh, apa yang terjadi terjadi pada
Yang dia tahu Tuhan penyayang umat-Nya
Oh, apa yang terjadi terjadi pada
Yang dia tahu nyalah memyambung nyawa

Composer and singer: Titik Puspa

A Lady of the Night
(A Night Butterfly)

There are those who hate her
There are those who need her
There are those who kneel begging her
There are those who cruelly torment her

Such is the life of a woman, a lady of the night
working she yields her body and soul
with a smile on her lips, she coaxes with gentle words
everyone who comes to her

Is what she does a sin?
Are those who come to her sinless?
Sometimes she smiles amid her tears,
Sometimes she weeps amid her smiles

O, whatever will be will be
What she knows is that God loves His people
O, whatever will be will be
What she knows is that she is only keeping body and soul together.

Translated by Yohanni Johns

APPENDIX: TERMINOLOGY

Sites of the sex industry

klub malam
Localized brothel complex,
managed under local government regulations

lokalisasi or lokasi

LOKARES (Lokalisasi, Rehabilitasi
dan Resosialisasi)
Officially sanctioned and
regulated brothel area aimed at
localization, rehabilitation and
resocialization.

panti pijat
Massage parlour. Some, but by
no means all, massage parlours
encourage their workers to offer
sexual services to clients.

People in the sex industry

anak asuh
Term used for prostitute in the
Kramat Tunggak lokalisasi.

'ayam-ayam'
Lit. 'chickens', a term used in the
popular press to refer to call-girls

banci
Transvestite.

bondon
Bandung word for perek.

calo (tjalo)
'Go-between', who both seeks out
clients for sex worker, and serves
as bodyguard and security guard
(see Susilo, 1972:72).

germo
Pimp.

karyawan sex
Sex Worker (term used by
Dhakide, 1976:30ff).

lady escort
High-level, highly educated
woman contracted to accompany
business client, providing
secretarial and companionship
services as well as sex.

langganan pelacur
Lit. regular customer (subscriber)
of a prostitute. Note that
lelaki hidung belang (LHB)  
Womanizer, customer of prostitute.  

linte (Javanese)  
Prostitute.  

Mami, Ibu, Tante  
Terms used day-to-day to refer to madams in massage parlours or brothels.  

muci  
Prostitute  
mucikari, munzikari  
Pimp, Madam.  
Papi  
Term used by sex workers to refer to the male owner of massage parlour or brothel.  

pekerja seks (komersial)  
pengasuh  
Term used for geroy in the Kramat Tunggal lokalisasi.  

peniaga cinta  
Love seller.  

perek (perempuan eksperimental)  
‘Experimental’ girls, referring to the young unmarried women, sometimes in high school, who are said to offer sex freely.  

preman  
Standover man who demands protection money from entertainment establishments.  

pria tuna susila (PTS)  
Lit. 'Man without morals'. Sometimes refers to a client of a prostitute, but in some newspapers the term is used to refer to a homosexual prostitute.  

prostitut, pelacur  
Prostitute.  

'souteneur' (French)  
Synonym for pimp used by Soedjono, 1977: 46  
sandal, sundel  
Whore - epithet.  
tamu  
‘Guest’, most common term used by sex workers to refer to their clients.  

wanti kavlingan  

wanti panggilan (WP)  

wanti pengasih  

wanti tuna susila (WTS)  

waria (wanti-pria)  

Special Terms  

bobok-bobok siang (BBS)  

karaoke  

kencan  

Mandi kucing  

soat lampu merah  

salome = satu lobang, rame-reme  

Prostitute turned into a mistress (cited in Kalyanamitra, 1988:13).  

(lit.) Call-girl.  

‘Entertainment woman.’  

Lit. ‘Woman without morals’, most common term for prostitute in administrative announcements, popular discussion and the press.  

Lit. trans-sexual, but used to refer to transvestites and bisexual cross-dressing prostitutes.  

Term for sexual liaisons conducted at lunchtime in rented rooms in karaoke clubs, pubs, coffee shops etc. usually with clients drawn from nearby offices. Suara Pembaharuan, 11 August 1994.  

Oral sex  

Lit. a date, but widely used as a euphemism for sexual relations.  

Lit. ‘cat bath’, licking the client from toes to neck. Said to be a technique to attract clients in a very competitive market. Pos Kota 28 July 1994.  

Menstruation  

Servicing multiple clients at the same time: ‘One hole, serving everybody’


Ministry of Social Affairs, 1990, *Data on Registered Prostitutes in Indonesia by Province* (mimeo).


Regional Regulations (Peraturan Daerah or Abbreviated as PERDA) and Decrees (Surat Keputusan) Referred to as SK, and Instructions (Surat Instruksi) or SI are arranged according to the date and the title of the official issuing the decision.

Regulations for the establishment and regulation of Kramat Tunggak, North Jakarta.


Surat Keputusan Walikota Jakarta Utara, No. 25/III/DU/1970. The legal basis for the *lokalisasi* at Kramat Tunggak.

SK Gubernur KDKI No. Ca.7/1/32/71 set out the form of ‘Educational Centre’ which aimed to fulfill the rehabilitational aims of the localization of prostitutes.

SI Gubernur KDKI No. Ca.7/1/39/71 and SI Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 8/III/DU/72, SI Gubernur KDKI No. 299/Instrk/KDKI/72, and SI Gubernur KDKI No 7/III/1972. Made prostitution illegal in six local government areas, and provided the basis for moving prostitutes to the Kramat Tunggak *lokalisasi*.
SK Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 27/SKPTS/II-4/DU/72 set aside 20 hectares of land in Kelurahan Tugu for the establishment of the Kramat Tunggak complex, and specified that the area would be divided and distributed to the *germo*, who would make the compensation payments to the original landowners.

SK Gubernur DKI No. Ca.7/1/54/1972; SK Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 64/SKPTS/JU/1972 and SK Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 104/SKPTS/SD.SOS/JU/73 set the administrative structure for running Kramat Tunggak, including a provision recognizing the role of pimps in the daily administration, and making them responsible to the local authorities of North Jakarta.

SI Gubernor No. Bd.13/3/7/1972 set the basis for co-ordinated regulatory action at the provincial level.

SI Gubernor DKI No. 1685/Inst.A/BKD/73, further directed the four Walikota and the head of the Social Affairs section to join in the effort to centralize and regulate the industry.

Further restructuring of the organization of the complex was enacted in SK Walikota Jakarta Utara No. 15/SKPTS/JU/74 (Uwiyono et al. 1992: 21 ff.).

The SK Ca.7/1/32/71 was rescinded and replaced by SK No. 1659/1989 on 5 December 1989, restructuring the *Panti Rehabilitasi Wanita Tunggak Sosial* including Kramat Tunggak, to give greater stress to the rehabilitation activities of the Social Affairs office.

The Governor issued an Instruction (No. 142) on April 18, 1990, to deal with the problem of over-consumption of alcohol, and attendant disruptions, and called on local officials to prevent the uncontrolled expansion of the numbers of brothels in the complex.

In 1991 an additional instruction was issued by the Governor (No. 195/1991) requiring all prostitutes who had either worked in the industry for more than five years, or had reached 35 years of age, to be sent back to their homes and families for reintegration. Further all prostitutes and pimps were required to participate in the programs of education and social guidance presented by the government, in an effort to increase the rate of rehabilitation.

SI Nomor 147/4/1.844 issued by the head of the Office of Social Affairs of Jakarta on August 1, 1991 specified that children, animals and roaming sellers were forbidden to enter the complex, and that newly arrived prostitutes (anak asuh) must register within two days of arrival. All prostitutes are required to pay Rp. 1,500 for health and welfare services, while pimps are to pay Rp. 1,000 per prostitute under their management. The payments for educational services were set at Rp. 2,000 and Rp. 1,000 respectively.

SK No. 1196 of 14 August 1991 set out revised responsibilities for the Dinas Sosial for control of 'each person who carries out immoral activities on the street or public places'; and persons or institutions who provide facilities for immoral activities.

SI No. 1954/1.844 of 14 September 1991 from the Kepala Dinas Sosial setting out responsibilities and a schedule of punishments for breaking the rules or regulations of the Kramat Tunggak facility.

**Other regional regulations**

SK Gubernur DKI No. ca. 3/1/16/71, concerning 'Steam baths in the Jakarta Region', 22 February 1971.

PERDA No. 3 for Jakarta, 1972.

Perda Kota Bandung, 25 November 1931, Passed by the College van Gedeputeerden van de provincie West-Java on 18 January 1932, No. W.63/1/10. A regulation to forbid street-walking for commercial sex (Soedjono, 1977: 172-173). This replaced previous regulations passed on 9 May and 2 October 1917, and 23 August 1922.


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Acknowledgements

First in priority for recording our gratitude is Dr Yudo Swasono, Chairman of Planning and Development Board, Ministry of Manpower, who took an active role from the outset in designing and implementing many aspects of the fieldwork which formed the core of this report. He generously provided encouragement and support at all stages of the research, and would have continued as a joint author of this project had other important duties not intervened.

We would like to thank the following people for supplying advice and unpublished data for the paper: Dra Istikana Supardo, Director of the Direktorat Jenderal Bina Rehabilitasi Sosial, Department of Social Affairs provided valuable comments and criticisms of a draft of this report while one of her staff members, Dra. Nina Karinina provided clarification of the procedures and data of the Directorate. Dr. Nyoman Soesman, PPM&PLP, Department of Health, advised us on the Ministry of Health program for the regular mass treatment of prostitutes.

Ms Natalie Koolman, for research assistance on Dutch material.

Yayasan Kalyanamitra library, and Ms Sita Aripurwani, for contemporary materials, and unpublished papers.

Dra Elly Julia Bazi, Pusat Kajian Wanita, who provided copies of many important reports, as well as advising us on other researchers working on the topic.

Dr Ross Steele, for additional information on Surabaya’s sex industry.

Dra Guritmaningisih A. Santosso shared some of the early results of the “Female Condom” trials at the Kramat Tungkak complex and commented on a draft of the report.

The following institutions and their staff who assisted in tracking down reports and unpublished papers: Perpustakaan Nasional, Arsip Nasional, and the Libraries of the Faculties of Social and Political Science, Medicine, Arts, Law (Pusat Dokumentasi Hukum), and Psychology of the University of Indonesia.

Finally, we would like to thank Dr Lim Lin Lean and Dr Robert Whirol, who conceived and co-ordinated the research project on the sex sector in South-East Asia, of which the present study forms a part.

<table>
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<td>52389</td>
<td>47454</td>
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</table>

Note: Registered Prostitutes include women working in lokasiari managed or regulated by the local Office of Social Affairs (Disnors), or working in identifiable clubs monitored by the Disnors and the police. They do not include workers in ‘high-class’ establishments, or hidden behind legitimate fronts, like massage parlours, bars or karaoke establishments.

Figures in bold type indicate unusual patterns or trends needing to be verified against original records.

Table 2. Published estimates of numbers of prostitutes in various places in Indonesia between 1980 and 1994.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Prostitutes</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Pejompongan Indah</td>
<td>4240</td>
<td>Media Indonesia, 24/4/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>1807</td>
<td>Media Indonesia, 24/4/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Jodoh</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Suara Karya, 6/2/92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Jodoh (sic), Kec. Tambora, Jakarta Barat</td>
<td>202 WTS and 27 germo</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 9/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvinas</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Republika, 23/12/93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap</td>
<td>500 women and 87 germo</td>
<td>Kompas, 15/1/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>1,667 women and 231 germo</td>
<td>Amali, 1978:40 based on registration with the Social Affairs office.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>1,600 women in 270 houses with 250 germo</td>
<td>Kompas, 24/6/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>1923 women, 243 germo</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 26/7/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangga Besar</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>Matra, July 1994: 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>Kompas, 12/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kali Perancis</td>
<td>350 women in 36 houses</td>
<td>Republika, 10/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap</td>
<td>750 women in 150 houses</td>
<td>Republika, 10/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvinas, Cibitung, Bekasi</td>
<td>700 women</td>
<td>Republika, 1/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>130 pimps (mostly women)</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 5/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pejompongan Indah, Jakarta</td>
<td>202 women, 27 pimps</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 9/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boker, Ciracas, Jakarta Timur</td>
<td>300 women</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 11/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jl. Perancis, Jamtunyala, Tanggerang</td>
<td>300 women forced out and 48 houses bulldozed in August, 29 rebuilt houses bulldozed 12/9</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 30/8/94 and 13/9/94, Republika, 13/9/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap, Kec. Kosambi</td>
<td>500 women (est.) forced out, and 57 houses bulldozed</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 13/9/94, Republika, 13/9/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hartono syndicate</td>
<td>200 women over ten years registered with local government</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 1/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>City-wide estimates</td>
<td>12,000 WTS, of whom 2,000 in Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>Forum Keadilan 18/8/94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cikupa and Balaraja, Kab. Tanggerang</td>
<td>250-300 WTS in 50 houses. Previously in Dadap and Kali Perancis</td>
<td>Republika, 8/10/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boker, Ciracas, Jakarta Timur</td>
<td>300 women and 15 germo</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 19/10/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malvinas</td>
<td>150 germo currently active</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 29/8/1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malvinas</td>
<td>133 germo each with 5-20 WTS implying between 665 and 2660 women. Since August they have been forced out</td>
<td>Kompas, 30/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap, Kec. Kosambi, Tanggerang</td>
<td>89 (or 57, or 53) houses knocked down, and 400 (or 500) WTS forced out.</td>
<td>Republika, 12/9/94; Pos Kota, 13/9/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kali Perancis, Jamtunyala</td>
<td>21 rebuilt houses knocked down for second time.</td>
<td>Republika, 13/9/94; Pos Kota, 13/9/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Event Details</td>
<td>News Sources</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pantai Dadap, Kec. Kosambi, Tanggerang</td>
<td>64 houses destroyed, including 3 torn down by hand by women members of PKK. Est. 200 WTS flee.</td>
<td>Kompas, 21/10/94; Republika, 21/10/94 and Pos Kota, 21/10/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boker, Kec. Citracas, West Java</td>
<td>Provincal estimate 6000</td>
<td>Kompas, 29/9/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Puncak and Bogor</td>
<td>New brothels operated by people displaced from Malvinas</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 90 to 120 WTS in 30 houses, 10/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bogor</td>
<td>Four streets: Semen, Motor, Sempiit and Lujina, and 17 massage parlours. 21 germo and hundreds of women</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 23/10/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Subang and Purwakarta</td>
<td>New brothels set up by pimps displaced from Jakarta and other big cities. 130 germo with 2 to 6 WTS each.</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 10/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serang, West Java</td>
<td>Sangkanila, Merak 175 women, 13 pimps</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 3/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Serang, West Java</td>
<td>Kepandaian, Serang</td>
<td>Closiu of 22 warung behind bus terminal with ‘tens’ of women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandung</td>
<td>94 Bordil 437</td>
<td>Kompas, 29/7/93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandung</td>
<td>City-wide 6000</td>
<td>Kompas, 29/3/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Karawang</td>
<td>Cicalung 300, plus ‘thousands’ in other areas</td>
<td>Republika, 7/12/93</td>
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<tr>
<td>Purwokerto</td>
<td>HIV test in the Baturaden lokalisasi 102 WTS, 2 positive</td>
<td>Republika 30/4/94</td>
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<td>Magelang, Jawa Tengah</td>
<td>HIV testing of Bangunsari lokalisasi 107 women</td>
<td>Republika, 17/9/94</td>
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<td>Magetan, Jawa Timur</td>
<td>Routine raid 16 WTS ‘liar’</td>
<td>Republika, 12/2/94</td>
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<td>Ujung Pandang</td>
<td>11 brothels 145</td>
<td>Alam, 1984:132</td>
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<td>Lampung</td>
<td>Bandarlampung</td>
<td>700 WTS and 97 germo</td>
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<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>6 Lokalisasi</td>
<td>Kompas, 3/6/90</td>
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<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>5 Lokalisasi 4000 WTS</td>
<td>Berita Buana, 30/5/1991</td>
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<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>95 brothels 2375 WTS</td>
<td>Berita Buana, 30/5/1991</td>
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<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>300 massage parlours and the like offering commercial sex services</td>
<td>Republika, 2/8/94</td>
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<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>Metropolitan Area 20,000. Est. by Esti Susanthi Hudiono</td>
<td>Srawijaya Post, 5/10/94</td>
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<td>Batam</td>
<td>Pulau Babi 116</td>
<td>Tempo, 13/11/93</td>
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<td>Riau, Pekanbaru</td>
<td>Bukit Girang 348</td>
<td>Tempo, 13/11/93</td>
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<td>Denpasar, Bali</td>
<td>Island-wide police raid to check identification of women apparently operating as prostitutes 200 women detained each year</td>
<td>Kompas, 11/8/94</td>
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</table>
Table 3: Summary of economic data available through studies of prostitution in Indonesia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location, Year of study</th>
<th>Price in rupiah</th>
<th>Average monthly income in rupiah</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Citation source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bandung, 1993, brothels: Low-class medium-class high-class</td>
<td>200,000-500,000</td>
<td>1-1.5mill. 2-3-mill.</td>
<td>Estimated earnings only; may be gross earnings as based on estimated no. of transactions per month times average fee per transaction.</td>
<td>Kompas, 1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandung, 1993, Call-girl houses</td>
<td>10,000 to 600,000 for short time</td>
<td>200,000 to 6 million</td>
<td>Study by Carolina Nitimiharjo, STKS, Bandung, 1993.</td>
<td>Republika 7/8/94</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandung, 1993, Massage parlours</td>
<td>150,000 to 300,000 for short time</td>
<td>300,000 to 600,000 for overnight. Highest class call girls including film actresses charge 2 to 4 million per night.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Matra, May, 1993.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bandung, 1993, police raids on high-class locations</td>
<td>200,000 to 500,000 for short time, to 750,000 for night</td>
<td>Jalan Cihampelas, Babureka, Caisel, Dewi Sartika and Burangrang. 38 WTS and 9 germo arrested.</td>
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<td>Pos Kota, 5/8/94</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1978</td>
<td>50,000-75,000</td>
<td>450,000</td>
<td>Rate out of town per night 150,000</td>
<td>Krisna, 1979: 16-18</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location, Year of study</th>
<th>Price in rupiah</th>
<th>Average monthly income in rupiah</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Citation source</th>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1978</td>
<td>400,000-1,000,000</td>
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<td>High-class prostitutes operating out of apartment house. Of 400,000, the woman got 150,000.</td>
<td>Krisna, 1979: 39</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1978</td>
<td>50,000-75,000</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>Operating out of hotel coffee shops.</td>
<td>Krisna, 1979: 54-55</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1978</td>
<td>30,000</td>
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<td>Kramat Tunggak, net earnings</td>
<td>Amali, 1978: 92-93</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1983, Jalan Matramaan</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<td>Street walkers</td>
<td>Yoedha, 1983</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1984, Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>5,000</td>
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<td>Clients expected to pay tips</td>
<td>Sunaryo, 1985</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1991, Encim Jangkrik</td>
<td>2,000-5,000</td>
<td>75,000</td>
<td>Daily 3000, tips range from 7,000 to 10,000</td>
<td>Bahtiar, 1991</td>
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<tr>
<td>Location, Year</td>
<td>Number of Working Girls</td>
<td>Establishments</td>
<td>Details</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, High-class brothels and call-girls (Jl. Prapanca No. 4) and Surabaya, Bali (Jl. Romen 2)</td>
<td>750,000-1,500,000</td>
<td>3 million</td>
<td>Women contracted for six months to work on regular schedule of 20 days straight, followed by 10 days free. Each month moved to a new location across network of establishments in Bandung, Semarang, Surabaya, Bali and Jakarta.</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1994, Hotel Jayakarta Tower, Disco</td>
<td>50,000 to 100,000 per hour</td>
<td>Forum Keadian 18/8/94:96</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1994, Hotel P. Jalan Hayam Wuruk</td>
<td>25,000 to 50,000 per hour</td>
<td>Forum Keadian 18/8/94:97</td>
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<td>Jakarta, 1994, Dukuh Atas and other lower-class areas in Jakarta</td>
<td>7,500 to 10,000 per time</td>
<td>Forum Keadian 18/8/94:97</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Pejompongan Indah</td>
<td>25,000 to 75,000 per time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Arrest of 60 women, 17 pupils and 20 customers in an area of 26 small bar-brothels</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Kali Perancis and Pantai Dadap</td>
<td>25,000 to 50,000 per time</td>
<td>Republika 10/8/94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Bokor, Cincas, Jakarta Timur</td>
<td>25,000 to 50,000 per time</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Tanah Abang and Penjaringan</td>
<td>100,000 to 200,000 per time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Massage parlours, based on reports of 21 women arrested during crack-down</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Karaoke, lunchtime</td>
<td>75,000 to 100,000 for 1 hour</td>
<td></td>
<td>During the crackdown on brothels and discotheques in August, 1994, some Karaoke clubs started opening at lunchtime to attract business clients</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, 'Cinema girls'</td>
<td>10,000 to 20,000 per time</td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginning in the early 1990s girls hanging around cinemas showing erotic Indonesian films would service customers picked up in the lobbies.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1978, Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>2150</td>
<td>29,700</td>
<td>Government resocialization center</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Kramat Tunggak</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>General price throughout the complex. The germo generally takes Rp 3,000, and the woman retains the rest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta, 1994, Kali Perancis and Kali Dadap</td>
<td>10,000 to 15,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>Report at time of the bulldozing of the complexes and the sending home of over 700 women</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Number of WTS</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Source</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malang, 1982, Kalisari</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>Lokalisasi with 160 registered WTS</td>
<td>Idris, 1982</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Semarang, 1980, Sunan Kuning Complex</td>
<td>3,000-5,000</td>
<td>Alam, 1984: 116-117</td>
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<tr>
<td>Semarang, 1994, Puri Anjasmoro, Aloha massage</td>
<td>250,000 per hour</td>
<td>Hartono-run hotel</td>
<td>Pos Kota, 29/7/94</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Solo, 1994</td>
<td>750,000 to 300,000 for short times, 500,000 to 1.5 million for night</td>
<td>High-class call-girl establishment</td>
<td>Liberty, 11-20/8/94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo, 1994, Jl Simrat Ryadi and Jl Adi Soekito</td>
<td>150,000 to 300,000 for short time</td>
<td>52 women and 2 pimps arrested.</td>
<td>Pos Kota 3/8/94</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1980-81, Dolly Complex</td>
<td>3000-7000</td>
<td>Purnomo &amp; Siregar, 1983: 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>25,000</td>
<td>High-price lokalisasi</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Average-price lokalisasi</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>Low-price lokalisasi</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>High-price massage parlours</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>50,000</td>
<td>Medium-price massage parlours</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>Hotel call girls</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1991-2</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>Street walkers</td>
<td>Blowfield, 1992:24</td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1992, Dolly Complex</td>
<td>Over 500,000</td>
<td>Large medium-class brothel complex</td>
<td>Suristyansinh and Swasono, 1992</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1994, Jl Cempaka 27A, Jl Mawar 34, Jl Raya Ariyono 39</td>
<td>300,000 to 500,000 for 3 hours (short time)</td>
<td>33 women arrested by police, gave evidence that they received 60% of fee.</td>
<td>Republika 1/8/94</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Surabaya, 1994, Cipto Soen, Jl Cempaka</td>
<td>100,000-150,000</td>
<td>Third-class call girls, divide 50-50 with germo</td>
<td>Berita Buana, 1991</td>
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</table>
Table 4. Alternative calculations of financial turnover of the Indonesian sex industry (key assumptions in boldface)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Low Class</th>
<th>Middle Class</th>
<th>High Class</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Low Estimate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of workers</td>
<td>70,000</td>
<td>60,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>140,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clients per month</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Net income per client (av.)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly income (Rp.)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of all workers (Rp. mil.)</td>
<td>14,000 mil.</td>
<td>72,000 mil.</td>
<td>20,000 mil.</td>
<td>106,000 mil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Multiplication factor (turnover)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total turnover (Rp. mil/month)</td>
<td>28,000 mil.</td>
<td>144,000 mil.</td>
<td>40,000 mil.</td>
<td>212,000 mil.</td>
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<tr>
<td>US $ equivalent per month</td>
<td>$106 mil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>US $ per year</td>
<td>$1.18 bil.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>High Estimate</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of workers</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clients per month</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net income per client (av.)</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>30,000</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average monthly income (Rp.)</td>
<td>200,000</td>
<td>1,200,000</td>
<td>2,000,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income of all workers (Rp. mil.)</td>
<td>20,000 mil.</td>
<td>120,000 mil.</td>
<td>60,000 mil.</td>
<td>200,000 mil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiplication factor (turnover)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total turnover (Rp. mil/month)</td>
<td>60,000 mil.</td>
<td>360,000 mil.</td>
<td>180,000 mil.</td>
<td>600,000 mil.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US $ equivalent per month</td>
<td>$300 mil</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>US $ per year</td>
<td>$3.3 bil.</td>
<td></td>
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