

THE LAST DANCE: VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILD SEX WORKERS IN INDONESIA

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Abstrak

Sebagai salah satu negara yang ikut menandatangani dan meratifikasi Konvensi Hak Anak, Indonesia memiliki kewajiban untuk melaksanakan ketentuan konvensi termasuk perlindungan khusus terhadap eksploitasi seksual dan pelecehan seksual anak. Indonesia termasuk dalam 10 besar negara dengan kasus pelecehan seksual anak baik online dan offline yang tertinggi (sejak 2005). Hal ini didukung oleh survei bahwa 3 dari 10 anak mengalami eksploitasi dan pelecehan seksual oleh organisasi internasional ECPAT (End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes) dan UNICEF (United Nations Children's Fund) pada tahun 2020. Krisis ekonomi dan kurangnya pendidikan telah mendorong banyak anak muda ke dalam prostitusi, membuat Indonesia menjadi sasaran perdagangan seks anak di wilayah Asia. Salah satu tempat prostitusi terbesar di Indonesia adalah Dolly yang berlokasi di Surabaya. Daerah ini memperdagangkan pekerja seks anak untuk tujuan dan kebutuhan seksual. Penelitian ini merupakan penelitian kualitatif yang melihat bagaimana kekerasan terjadi pada pekerja seks anak di Dolly (sebelum ditutup) Surabaya. Metode penelitian ini menggunakan penelitian kualitatif dengan pendekatan studi kasus. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa pekerja seks anak di Dolly Surabaya tidak hanya mengalami kekerasan fisik, tetapi juga mengalami kekerasan ekonomi berupa ketidakberdayaan pekerja seks komersial di bawah umur dalam mendapatkan upah setelah melayani tamu. Pekerja seks komersial anak di bawah umur hanya menerima bayaran tidak lebih dari setengahnya. Selain itu, mereka juga berkewajiban memberikan uang kepada penjaga bordil dan keamanan di kompleks tempat mereka bekerja. Kekerasan ini terjadi karena ketergantungan dan ketidakberdayaan mereka. Di sisi lain, pekerja seks anak tidak bisa melakukan perlawanan apapun. Selain itu, ada pembatasan interaksi dengan orang lain menjadi bentuk kekerasan psikologis yang dialami pekerja seks anak. Setelah Dolly ditutup, pekerja seks anak offline semakin meluas di berbagai wilayah dan beralih ke online untuk melanjutkan kesucian pekerja seks anak.

Kata Kunci: Kekerasan, Pekerja Seks Anak, Dolly, Pelecehan seksual

Abstract

Indonesia as one of the countries that signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It means that Indonesia has an obligation to implement the provisions of the convention including a special protection of child sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Indonesia is among the top 10 countries with the highest cases of online and offline child sexual abuse (since 2005). This is supported by a survey that 3 out of 10 children experience sexual exploitation and abuse by international organizations ECPAT and UNICEF in 2020. The economic crisis and lack of education has pushed many young people into prostitution, making Indonesia a target for child sex trafficking in the Asian region. One of the largest prostitution areas in Indonesia is Dolly, located in Surabaya. This area traffics in child sex workers for sexual purposes and needs. This research is a qualitative research that looks at how violence occurs to child sex workers in Dolly (before it was closed) Surabaya. This research method uses qualitative research with a case study approach. The results showed that child sex workers in Dolly Surabaya experienced not only a physical violence, the most crucial is economic violence that occurs in the form of the powerlessness of the underage commercial sex workers in getting payment after serving guests, the underage commercial child sex workers only received a fee of no more than half. Moreover, they also experienced economic violence at Dolly in the form of an obligation to give money to the brothel keeper and security in the complex where they worked. This violence happens because of their dependence and powerless. The other hand, crucial aspect that Child sex workers cannot put up any resistance from their own position automatically molded them trapped into latency. After Dolly was closed, offline child sex workers become massively broaden in different areas and turning into online to continue the hallows of child sex workers.

Key Words: Violence, Child Sex Workers, Dolly, Sexual Abuse

Masuk : 24 Maret 2023

Review : 30 Mei 2023 - 6 Juni 2023

Diterima : 26 Juni 2023

Introduction

Indonesia as one of the countries that signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It means that Indonesia has an obligation to implement the provisions of the convention including a special protection if children experience many kinds of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Indonesia is among the top 10 countries with the

highest cases of online and offline child sexual abuse (since 2005). This is supported by a survey that 3 out of 10 children experience sexual exploitation and abuse by Indonesia, one of the countries that signed and ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child, is committed to implementing the provisions of the Convention (Purnamasari, 2020).

The state has a moral duty and obligation to protect children's rights. Through the Convention on the Rights of the Child, international law has made children a legal subject that requires the protection of their rights. Legal protection under the International Convention on the Rights of the Child includes the right to special protection when children are used as child labor and the right to special protection. Protection when children are abused by drugs, the right to legal protection when children are subjected to sexual exploitation and abuse, the right to special protection against kidnapping, sale and trafficking in persons (Ibid).

The economic crisis and lack of education has pushed many young people into prostitution, making Indonesia a target for child sex trafficking in the Asian region. One of the largest prostitution areas in Indonesia is Dolly, located in Surabaya. This area traffics in child sex workers for sexual purposes and needs. Surabaya City is known as a place of prostitution which is a place to sell a prostitute's body. In the city of Surabaya there are several areas that are identified as places of prostitution such as Bangunrejo, Jarak, Moroseneng, Kremil, Diponegoro, Kembang Kuning, Dolly, and some other places are also used as a business of prostitution (Syam, 2010: 76).

Although it has been officially closed since June 18 June 2014, the practice of prostitution in the alley of Dolly and its surroundings are still operating. The difference is that in the past the execution could be directly done inside the embroidery house, if now is done in a number of inns outside the alley Dolly. The social network of pimps has existed since Dolly became a localization from legal or covert to centralized or covert to centralized or organized. According to Epstein and Michell, social networks are based on

basic assumptions, the first, that the social network created social networks limit or provide discretion to action, whether individual or collective individual or collective actions of individuals who are involved in interconnectedness and connectedness. And second, in attitudes and individual behavior is determined by the social context in which social contexts in which the action is realized (Agusyanto, 2007: 28).

The Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) noted, during the period January to February 2020, there were 60 children who were victims of exploitation. Of that number, around 40 children are victims of sexual exploitation to be traded for rupiah. After being exploited inhumanely for the satisfaction of customers, they also did not enjoy the money from the customers at all. Those who recruited them even made multiple profits, while the children were again burdened with debt (Ato, 2020).

Some violent treatments experienced by them are very complex. They not only experienced physical violence, but also violence in other forms such as psychological, economic, and cultural violence. For example, they experienced violence when they are forced by their madam to work every night without being allowed to rest because they must pay a money to the madam (Listinono, 2005). Besides those violence, the underage sex workers often get violent treatment from their customers. They are frequently paid not according to the tariff, sometimes a part of customers even did not pay them. They also receive psychological and cultural violence from the surrounding community. They are often disdainfully insulted and harassed due to their profession as child prostitutes (Ibid).

Children who are in their teens should still play and learn joyfully to pursue their dreams, but in fact they must work and fall into the abyss of humiliation. Moreover, in carrying out their work, they often receive harsh treatment from their madam and their customers. The situation is getting sadder, considering that they are the future women of the nation. Moreover, now the government is intensively protecting children and women

to avoid violence. But at the same time, incidents of violence against underage sex workers still often occur. This is ironic and miserable. Of course, the incidents and phenomena of violence against children and women cannot be tolerated. Moreover, this violence occurred in underage sex workers. Any efforts must be made to prevent violence against children and other women, particularly the underage women workers. Indonesia specifically has its own law on child protection, Law No. 23/2004 on Child Protection. Articles 81 and 82 of the Law on Child Protection stipulate that perpetrators of sexual abuse against children are sentenced to a maximum of 15 years in prison (Diza, 2023).

The purpose of this study was to find out some forms of violence against underage sex workers in the Dolly prostitution complex in Surabaya. In addition, it was intended to know the actions of underage sex workers in the Dolly Surabaya prostitution complex in dealing with the violence they experienced. While the significances of this research are to develop an understanding of respect for women, especially underage women and to have the improved insights and understanding of the importance of the state's actions for women, especially the underage sex workers.

Literature review

Prostitution of child sex workers is a promising market demand. The dream comes true by making underage women victims of prostitution. The actions of adults who commit prostitution against children are a kind of community disease that arises from various demands of life. The practice of prostitution is categorized as a "social pathology" or a disease of society that must be addressed (Djamil, 2013)

When viewed from the child as a perpetrator of Commercial Sex Workers (PSK), there are various problems concerning the demands of his life so that he does not feel guilty and is reluctant to be protected. They seem to be happy with the act. One of the

factors causing this is the economic demands in the family so that sex as a commodity has fostered a profession that requires totality of self as working capital (Ali, 2016).

In Indonesia itself, the number of child workers have increased since the crisis hitting Indonesia. In several big cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Medan, their numbers are increasing rapidly. In general, they work in areas prone to violence, such as buskers, scavengers, sex workers, and domestic workers. Usually, these children work because of the poor economic conditions of their parents, thus making the children forced by their parents to work (Sulistyowati, 2003).

In carrying out their profession, these underage commercial sex workers often get violent treatment from their madams or brothel keepers. This happens because they are so dependent on their madams during their time at their boarding houses starting from the needs of boarding, food, and clothing. This is what makes the commercial sex workers dependent on the brothel keepers. As a result, the commercial sex workers are forced to work every night and must give the payment to their madams (Listiono, 2005).

Unfortunately, the Surabaya local government has not implemented the law strictly, especially the provincial regulation has not yet been implemented, even though a law for that matter in East Java province had been drafted by the Regional People's Representative Council (Ibid) in July 2005. Some of these things make Indonesia in a bad category in the eyes of the international community, which is in Tier 3, meaning that there are no adequate laws that can prevent trafficking in women and children and the government's indifference to this problem (Kalibonso, 2002).

According to Saraswati (1996: 2) a violence refers to a form of action perpetrated against other parties, whether the perpetrator is an individual and or more than one person, which may cause suffering to other parties. Violence may take two forms, including "physical violence" which can result in physical injury and death, and

“psychological violence” which does not result in physical harm to the victims, but results in prolonged trauma to the victim due to certain things they had experienced.

According to Tani (2001: 54), violence may take the form of discrimination by reasons of gender, such as roles restriction, exclusion or favoritism which results in violation of the recognition of human rights, equality between men and women, as well as basic rights in the social, political, economic, cultural fields, and others.

Violence constitutes a social construction, meaning that the behavior or acts of violence committed by men against women are not "something" derived from the sky, and they are not natural. Violence is perpetrated by men due to the ways that men learn to express their "masculinity" in their relationships or interactions with women (Arivia, 2002: 72).

The gender inequality is characterized as direct and indirect characteristics. Direct characteristics refers to direct and open discrimination, whether due to behavior/attitudes, norms/values, or applicable rules. Indirect characteristics may take the form of the same regulation, but its implementation benefits certain genders and is systemic. It is an inequality that occurs rooted in history, norms or community structures that bequeath discriminatory circumstances. Discrimination against women, including sex workers, is a manifestation of gender inequality (Fakih, 2003: 72). The forms of discrimination are: First, there is marginalization (economic impoverishment) against women. Marginalization mostly occurs in the economic field, for example, many women only get unworthy jobs, in terms of salary, job security or status of the work they get. This is because very few women get opportunities to pursue higher education. Marginalization can occur at home, at work, in the community, even by countries that originate from their beliefs, traditions/customs, government policies, and assumptions of science (technology). The second form of the discrimination is the subordination to one gender, assuming that women are weak, unable to lead, whiny and so on, resulting in

women being number two after men. The third form of the discrimination is the stereotype (bad image), representing a negative labelling of a certain gender. This stereotype brings about discrimination and various other injustices. In society, there are many stereotypes attached to women which may be restricting, complicating, impoverishing, and harming the women. For example, women who come home late at night are commonly labelled as prostitutes, bitches, and various other bad names. The fourth form of the discrimination is violence against a certain gender, generally women, because of gender differences. This violence includes physical violence such as rape and beatings, and more subtle forms of violence such as sexual harassment and dependency creation. Women are most vulnerable to violence, which is related to marginalization, subordination, and stereotypes above. The fifth form of the discrimination is the domestic chores-related tasks where because the gender role of women, they must manage the household affairs. Many women carry out more and longer domestic workloads. In other words, the gender role of women in managing, maintaining, and maintaining this home neatness has resulted in the growth of traditions and community beliefs that they must be responsible for the overall implementation of domestic works. The socialization of gender roles creates a sense of guilt in women if they do not carry out these domestic tasks. The workload will be doubled for women who also work outside the home. In addition to working outside, they also still must be responsible for the overall domestic works (Fakih, 2003: 72-76).

Violence can be committed by anyone, men, and women. Violence is so prevalent anywhere, not just against women. Violence can happen to children, adolescents, adult men, and women, as well as the elderly. The perpetrators can be peers in the case of teenagers, parents in cases of violence against children; spouse in the case of violence against women or men, people who are tasked with caring for such as violence against the elderly; oneself if the violence is intended to harm or commit suicide; or violence

collectively committed by countries, groups, and communities. Violence by a close partner refers to any behavior in a close relationship that hurts those in the relationship physically, psychologically, or sexually. Violent behavior can be in the form of physical aggression such as slapping, hitting, kicking, and punching. Violence can also take the form of psychological violence such as threatening, demeaning, and belittling self-esteem, and insulting. One of the violences that many people still refuse to recognize is sexual violence in the form of coercion to have sexual relations. Another violent behavior which is also rarely realized is controlling behavior such as isolating a person from contact with family and friends, monitoring partner's movements, and restricting the partner's access to information or assistance.

Research Methods

Concerning the violence of child sex workers in Dolly Surabaya, this research used descriptive qualitative methods, which tried to explain and describe how a violence is experienced by underage prostitutes in the Dolly prostitution complex in Surabaya. The qualitative research method used words or sentences in a logical structure to explain concepts in relation to each other (Danandjaja, 1990; 98).

Data and information on violence against underage prostitutes in the Dolly prostitution complex were collected by conducting in-depth direct interviews five informants. Those data were forwarded to the victims, and from one victim to another victim. This kind of data collection is often referred to as the snowball sampling model, which is finding out informants from previous informants. In-depth interviews were conducted by preparing structured questions. In addition, unstructured questions were prepared in accordance with the research data development. This in-depth interview is considered as primary data.

Besides primary data, the researcher also used secondary data such as literature studies, previous research, media reports or seminar results. These primary and secondary data were analyzed using three methods, including data reduction, data testing, and drawing conclusions as often used by Miles and Huberman (1992). Furthermore, Denzin's triangulation method (as written by Moeleong: 1991) was used to check the validity of the data. This is triangulation of sources and investigators by comparing the results of interviews and utilizing the findings of other researchers.

Results and Discussion

Trapped To The Violence

In order to obtain deep data due to the sensitivity of the issue of underage prostitutes, both concerning the subject (who is always judged negatively and considered despicable by the people in general), madam, and brothel keeper, this problem is so complex and trapped in the mafia network, ranging from bodyguards, brothel keeper, madam, and prostitute providers. Amid these difficulties, it was truly a stroke of luck when the researcher met Yola (21), not her real name. Initially, she offered the worldly pleasures to the researcher. She was ready to take off her clothes such as red panties and pink bra, "Come on, take off your clothes, let's have a sex," said Yola, ordering the researcher to have sexual intercourse with her.

However, with a full of apologies, the researcher told Yola that the researcher did not mean to say that the researcher was uninterested, and Yola was not beautiful and boring, but even more than that, Yola has everything any woman could dream of; having slim and tall body with long black hair and clean skin. However, the researcher did not come to have sex or to have intercourse, but the researcher came because they wanted to make friends and have a talk with her. Despite the fact that deep inside the researcher's masculinity, Yola is so sensual and stimulating. If it were not for religious values, the

story might have gone a different way. In this case, child sex workers are the most vulnerable and weak social beings who are often placed in the most disadvantaged position, do not have the right to a voice, and even they are often victims of violence and violations of their rights (Gosita, 1992).

Of course, that situation made a 4X3 purple-colored room become awkward and uninteresting. The loud music of kucing garong (Indonesian song) and private television broadcasts of soap opera programs could not lighten the atmosphere. Silence reigned. Nevertheless, because of a professional contract, Yola had to talk. If not, the researcher can complain and do not have to pay. Yola said that she is not originally from Surabaya. Yola admitted that she was born in Indramayu, West Java. Yola finally decided to work at Dolly due to economic reason. Yola did not think whether she was young or not. She never thought about school as well, let alone think about sin. "Never think about sin in this room," Yola said angrily. This last statement made the researcher feel guilty and regret asking about sin. Children who lack or do not receive affection, care, guidance and guidance in the development of attitudes, behavior, self-adjustment and supervision from parents, guardians or foster parents will easily be dragged into the flow of society and the environment that is less healthy and detrimental to their personal development (Soedjono, 2006).

While working as a commercial sex worker at Dolly, she admitted that she had never experienced any violence. However, Yola forgot or did not know that violence is not only physical, but it can also take the form of economic, cultural, psychological, or even political violences. After the researcher explained about the forms of violence, Yola realized that she experienced economic violence because every time Yola worked, she could not get direct payment. The madam who accepted her would first receive the payment. Yola could do nothing because all necessities; food, shelter, or treatment are provided by the madam. The problem of prostitution is a structural problem. The

fundamental problem that occurs in society is that they still understand the problem of prostitution as a moral problem. They do not realize that this moral perception will lead to victim blaming, which in turn makes the victim even more oppressed. Among the important reasons for this is poverty, which is often structural in nature. The policy structure does not favor the weak so that the poor get poorer, while the rich accumulate more wealth (Aripurnami, 1997).

Understanding The Economic Violence

Yola suffered this economic violence. This economic violence is in accordance with the analysis of Fakhri (2007), stating that marginalization, as experienced by Yola, is a form of violence experienced by women, in this case commercial sex workers. The example of economic violence against women is that many women only get a subsistence job, both in terms of salary, job security or status of the work they get. This is caused by the fact that a lot of women do not have educational opportunities. Marginalization can occur at home, at work, in the community, even by countries that originate from beliefs, traditions/customs, government policies, and assumptions of science (technology). People often react to the subject of abuse with a lack of understanding because they cannot imagine that someone would harm children. So, they just try to avoid the problem or worse, just look away. But it is precisely this attitude that leads to the fact that many abuse victims are still left alone with their problem and have no one to talk to about the abuse. However, the help and support from adults and an understanding of the victims are basic requirements in order to free those affected from the abusive.

Brannigan and Van Brunschot (1997) agreed that some young prostitutes ran away from physically and sexually abusive home situations. However, they argued that in terms of the prevalence and nature of the link between childhood sexual abuse and prostitution "evidence is inconsistent and contradictory". This condition stated that it is

more important to address the delinquent situations a youth encounters after running away from home rather than searching for “unobservable traumas and psychiatric disturbances” due to sex violence.

Yola was not only experiencing economic violence, but she also had been subject to psychological violence. The psychological violence was in the form of a madam prohibiting Yola from hanging out. As a teenager, of course hanging out with friends of her age is a basic need that must be satisfied. However, it is not for Yola. She said, "I was not allowed to hang out to play with friends", Of course, this prohibition to play with her peers is also considered a form of violence experienced by Yola and other commercial sex workers at her age. Her madam did not permit Yola to hang out because she wanted to control Yola, monitor her movements, and restrict any access for Yola. Most of commercial sex workers do not realize the psychological violence behavior. Whereas as affirmed by Fakhri (2007) that controlling behavior such as isolating a person so as not to have contact with family and friends, monitoring a partner's movements, and restricting a partner's access to information or assistance, including being prohibited from hanging out are categorized as violence.

Even though time will take her away from Dolly's complex, Yola can do nothing at this time when she is facing economic and psychological violence because she does not have any strength but to surrender and just hope that there will be hope out there tomorrow. Later, on the third day of September two thousand and seven at 9.00 p.m., Dolly was again full of people with passionate behavior, glittering lights, cigarette smoke, and alcoholic drinks while many people continued dancing in the late-night area. As usual, in the corner of a room, the researcher again enjoyed the night with a bitch, Sarah (21), her nickname. The changing era that is increasingly developing is a form of the result of development, which in this case creates various changes and lifestyles that certainly raise several social problems in society. Various changes and lifestyles that certainly give

rise to several social problems in society, with the rapid changes causing self-adaptation to be not easy, this will cause many individuals to find it difficult to adjust to these developments. This will cause many individuals to find it difficult to adjust to these developments (Ananda, 2016).

Finally, although somewhat unfriendly, Sarah also admitted that she came from Jombang. Even though the researcher had doubts, the researcher accepted it as an honest answer from a friend. "I have been working here since a year ago," Sarah said irritably. Despite her annoyance, Sarah kept telling the background that led to why she came to Dolly. "I came here just to make money because I was stuck, and I needed money. My husband divorced me," Sarah said while telling me to leave quickly.

Yes, the divorce made Sarah must choose Dolly as her place. Divorce ultimately makes women's position in a powerless condition. For strong women, divorce is not a problem, but for a vulnerable woman like Sarah, divorce brings her on a shortcut that sometimes does not solve the problem. Realizing her anger, the researcher immediately left and apologized for what had just happened. However, Sarah, I hope we can further be friends. However, that was not what the researcher wanted. The researcher only wanted to get acquainted and have a chat, not more than that. Even though Yana did not believe it at first, in the end she was happy because at that time Yana had served 6 men, and the researcher was the seventh man. At Dolly's complex, Yana was indeed a prima donna. Yana said "Well, let's just talk. I am tired either," while lying on the bed naked with the researcher.

We must recognize that economic factors are one of the main drivers of exploitation and violence against child prostitution, but they are not the only determinants. This condition shows that in addition to economic factors, there are also social and cultural factors that influence the exploitative and violent behavior of prostituted children. In this case study, the exploitation and violence of prostituted

children is also driven by several non-economic factors, such as the low level of education of prostituted children and patriarchal social structures that tend to objectify women. Marginalization of women's role in society, prejudice against girls, cultural belief that having sex with children keeps them young and avoids venereal diseases, part of Indonesian society. These economic and non-economic factors are interrelated and influence the practice of violence against sexual exploitation and child prostitution in East Java, Indonesia.

In fact, when she arrived in Surabaya, Yana was offered to one of the madams at Dolly. Yana told me, "At that time, I did not know how much he sold me", She could not understand why her husband had the heart to sell her as a commercial sex worker. On the other hand, she left her only child in Pekalongan. Since then, Yana has started working as a commercial sex worker. She serves as a commercial sex worker and a wife at once for her husband in Pekalongan. Her husband's action was undoubtedly a form of psychological violence by man against woman. This happens because in a patriarchal culture, men think they have rights and control over their wives. In addition, in a patriarchal culture there is often a labeling of women in society. People must blame that, in Yana's case, she must be wrong and dishonorable because she works as a commercial sex worker. Some people certainly do not wonder or refuse to know why Yana became a commercial sex worker.

According to Fakhri (2003), this happens because there are stereotypes and discrimination and various injustices against women. In society, there are many stereotypes attached to women which result in restricting, complicating, impoverishing, and harming women. For example, women who come home late at night are considered sex workers, bitches, and various other bad names. Moreover, she works as a commercial sex worker.

Yana was tragically already a victim of her husband, and she also must cope with stigma from communities. However, it did not end in that point. During her work as a commercial sex worker, Yana also often experienced violence from a customer. Especially from customers who are drunk. "I really hated drunken customers due to their rudeness. Their mouth smelt of alcohol and they always did not care about my condition," Yana explained.

Besides customers, Yana was also in a circle of economic violence in doing her work as a commercial sex worker. The violence occurred when Yana was stuck in facing the mafia circle in the prostitution complex. This is economic violence; from one service with a duration of one hour, customers usually pay the madam IDR 85,000. However, Yana only received IDR 35,000 from that money. Yana is required to give the brothel keeper IDR 6,000 per one customer (guest). Yana must pay IDR 10,000 for one time guest for security. Yana told me, "So, I may receive less than IDR 35,000 because I have to pay for the brothel keeper and security". According to Saraswati (1996: 2) a violence refers to a form of action perpetrated against other parties, whether the perpetrator is an individual and or a group of people, which may cause suffering to other parties. Violence may take two forms, including "physical violence" which can result in physical injury and death, and "psychological violence" which does not result in physical harm to the victims, but results in prolonged trauma to the victim due to certain things they had experienced.

Nonetheless, once again, Yana could do nothing about the economic system that was so detrimental to her. Notwithstanding the reasons, Yana does not have any power. She is dependent. Yana's basic needs ranging from food, shelter, to other family needs is met by her madam. In short, Yana became economically dependent on the madam. Yana explained, "So does the security. If I do not give it, he will scold me. At the end of the day, I give it for the sake of myself," That is how the dependency system is developed in

Dolly's prostitution complex to make the commercial sex workers unable to do much other than to obey and surrender. However, in her work environment at Dolly, playing and hanging out were nowhere near to be found. Yana is restrained, not allowed to hang out, and is obliged to obey the rules. Once she tries to go out and play, she will be scolded and threatened. This psychological violence was committed and established by her madam in order that Yana was always under her possession and control. This condition also found that the economic factor often becomes the main reason for children falling into the prostitution business. Family poverty, convoluted debt, the difficulty of finding jobs, and the temptation of the high amount of wages as prostitutes have encouraged some children to get involved in this prostitution business. However, the economic factors are not the only factor that encourages the involvement of children in prostitution. This issue found some interesting facts that non-economic factors also play a role in encouraging children into prostitution. Some of these non-economic factors are, for example, low levels of education (education), patriarchal social structure (social), the social position of marginalized women (social), erroneous cultural views about sexual relations with children (culture), and the power of rules that still exists in specific communities in Indonesia (culture).

Conclusion

Regarding the results of the research elaborated in this research, it is concluded that the underage commercial sex workers experienced violence at the Dolly prostitution complex in Surabaya. Most of the violences experienced by underage commercial sex workers are not only get a physical violence, such as being slapped or kicked, but those experienced by the underage commercial sex workers are commonly including the economic and psychological violences. Economic violence occurs in the form of the powerlessness of the underage commercial sex workers in getting payment. After every

work (serving guests), the underage commercial sex workers only received a fee of no more than half. Moreover, the underage commercial sex workers also experienced economic violence at Dolly in the form of an obligation to give money to the brothel keeper and security in the complex where they worked in prostitution arena.

In face of these matters, the underage commercial sex workers at Dolly could do nothing because of the dependency system developed by their madam. This dependence continues to take place because their madam satisfies their basic needs such as food, shelter, and others. At worst, what the madam gives is not free but is considered a debt. Consequently, the commercial sex workers cannot complain when the amount of income is determined by the madam. On the other hand, these commercial sex workers can do nothing because they need money. In addition to the needs of the family members they left at home, they are also required to pay their installments owed to the madam. Therefore, they just surrendered to the economic violence. About resistance to the system requiring her to pay for the brothel keeper and security, the underage commercial sex workers at Dolly even could do nothing because if she does not pay the brothel keeper, they will lose customers due to the fact that the brothel keeper offered her a job.

Furthermore, the government of Surabaya should have the courage to cope with the mafia syndicate that exploits teenagers, especially those who become commercial sex workers at Dolly. If the mafia at Dolly's prostitution complex does not break up immediately, it will continue to be an intricate problem in the future. For other stakeholders, such as NGOs, it is time to provide more frequent and bold assistances to them in Dolly. If necessary, an empowerment model that can free the underage commercial sex workers from the snares of injustice should be established. In carrying out their profession, these underage commercial sex workers often get violent treatment from their madams (brothel keepers). This happens because they are so dependent on their madams during their time at their boarding houses starting from the needs of

boarding, food, and clothing. This is what makes the commercial sex workers dependent on the brothel keepers. As a result, the commercial sex workers are forced to work every night and must give the payment to their madams (Listiono, 2005). Unfortunately, the Surabaya local government has not implemented the law protection strictly, especially the provincial regulation has not yet been implemented, even though a law for that matter in East Java province had been drafted by the Regional People's Representative Council in July 2005 this condition made the phenomena broaden and massively transformed to the other area even turning into online prostitution.

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