

THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESS OF PROSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY IN AN INDONESIAN REGENCY PRIMARY SOURCE OF PROSTITUTES

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ABSTRACT

This research sets out to understand socialization of prostitution in the rural areas of Indonesia. This study seeks answers how and why socialization occurs in that community and factors which can be identified as contributing significantly to socialization of prostitution.

Data were collected at two separate of times in order to explore the complexity of prostitution. Different methods of data collection were utilized on the assumption that single method was insufficient. Methods included interviews, small group discussions, and observations. 25 respondents participated in this study. The data were analyzed by the descriptive analysis of the qualitative data.

Unhealthy social environment, material aspiration and the inadequacies of opportunity interact each other and are found to be the most significant factor leading to socialization of prostitution.

This study enables to develop suggestions on how to use legislation in controlling the rapid growth of prostitution in the best interests of all concerned. Consequently, the dignity of the nation, the quality of life of women and families in Indonesia can be enhanced.

As found in many studies prostitutes come from particular community (Kapur, 1978; Wihtol, 1982; Skrabonek, 1987; Mitsui, 1989; Koentjoro, 1989 and Truong, 1990). Why some particular communities do produce prostitutes more than other communities?

Prostitution is a product of socialization (Firme *et al.*, 1991). People learn from society's expectation and demands through a process called socialization (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1988). Socia-

lization is a process of transformation from an infant organism to an adult participant in the society (Levine, 1973). Family setting is the nursery of socialization (Ritchie & Koller in Dickinson & Leming, 1990), besides providing care and protection, furnishes the child with initial and basic instruction regarding attitudes, values, norms and skills. Family is an integral part of the community and the society in which it exists, and it reflects the society's values and norms (Kagitcibasi in Brislin, 1990). The family is the initial builder of

personality attributes (Dickinson & Leming, 1990). The correlation between parent's behavior and child's behavior is presumably strong when the influences of modeling are supported by expectations (Brophy, 1977). There are five reasons why parents are effective agents of socialization (Zigler *et al.*, 1982). They spend a great deal of time with their children, they are powerful in children's lives, they are big, strong, and control the environment, as well as nurturing the children. Vicar and Dillon (Weisberg, 1985) suggest that juveniles' relationship with their mothers is very crucial. Studies reveal that some prostitutes have prostitute mothers. Newman and Caplan (Weisberg, 1985) found that three in ten juvenile prostitutes had mothers who were also prostitutes. Vicar and Dillon (Weisberg, 1985) found that one in ten prostitutes had a mother who was also a prostitute.

Another source of socialization in the family is relatives. To some juveniles, relatives are influential in the decision to enter prostitution (Weisberg, 1985). James notes that 23 % of his sample, and Silbert reports 13 % of his sample, learned for the first time about prostitution from their relatives (Weisberg, 1985).

Ethologists emphasize that peer contacts are essential for the adaptive patterning of certain response systems such as aggression (Perry & Bussey, 1984). Cognitive developmental theory believes that peer contacts promote gains in social cognition, and these gains allow the child to behave and interact in increasingly mature ways (Perry & Bussey, 1984). Social learning theory views that peers play a vital role in teaching children new modes of behavior, in imparting information to children about what forms of behavior are

expected or appropriate under various circumstances, and in setting standards against which children's assess and evaluate their own personalities and competencies (Perry & Bussey, 1984). Altruistic, competitive and moralistic behaviors are usually susceptible to influence by the behavior of the models (Zigler, 1982). Peer influence is important around the time of puberty. Spanier and Cole (Feldman & MacCulloch, 1980) finds that informal sex education from peer group or other young people is much more powerful on premarital sexual behavior than formal sex education programs. Knox (1979) mentions that peer influence becomes more important and remains so until college years. Gibb (Schultz, 1986) has found that sexual activities among adolescent females correlate with peer group influences. Friends also play important roles in the juvenile's entrance into prostitution. Weisbergs (1985) show that many juveniles are encouraged to become a prostitute by their friends (Enablers: 16%, James: 13 %, Bracey: 60 %, and Silbert: 14 %).

Coleman and Cressey (1987) say that sexual behavior is not solely biologically determined, but it is also satisfied, directed and controlled by social forces. Therefore, these social forces provide certain social factors that influence specific behavior such as sexual behavior. Cloward and Ohlin (Davis & Stasz, 1990) discovered that delinquent subcultures reflect the neighborhood and its ability to provide both legitimate and illegitimate means for success. In his analysis of delinquent subculture Sutherland (Davis & Stasz, 1990) said that deviance, such as prostitution, is learned most often within the context of primary groups, e.g., friendship circles or families.

To understand the role of culture in shaping behavior in more detail, it is useful to understand the *Ecology of Human Development Theory* that is basically developed from Lewin's theory, B f PE.

The central idea in the Ecology of Human Development Theory is that, in the process of shaping general behavior, the individual as a developing organism is placed at the central stage of all systems. As the central stage, the developing organism is viewed as an active force-shaping social experiences (Brofenbrenner, 1979 & Garbarino, 1992). Those social experiences then create many systems as a set of nested structures (Brofenbrenner, 1979 & Garbarino, 1992). Social experiences within the set of nested structures create differences in personality between one person and another. Brofenbrenner (1979) and Garbarino (1992) say that the interaction between the individual and the environment forms the basis of an ecological approach to human development. Human development is a product of interaction between the growing human organism and its environment (Brofenbrenner, 1979). The character of the individual organism (Garbarino, 1992) and social forces are the keys to ecological analyses namely to the interlocking social system (Garbarino, 1992). The ecological perspective views individuals and their environments as mutually shaping systems: each changes over time, each adapts as a response to changes in the other (Brofenbrenner, 1979 & Garbarino, 1992).

The major contributing factor of the ecological approach is its focus upon the relation between the development processes of the individual and the cultural environment (Garbarino, 1992). The ecological approach attempts to explain how the

whole society can function to raise children (Garbarino, 1992). In raising children there is a complex network of activities in the environment, and they interact with each other. When the child born the social world or culture is already established, it consists of customs, values, and rules, which need to be transmitted to the new born baby, so they can fit into that world and become part of it (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1988).

In the rural community primary sources of prostitutes, there might be ideologies or cultures, which influence the young women to become prostitutes. In the process of cultures within a culture, as another explanation, the family rejects a prostitute at the beginning, because of her *dirty behavior or dirty job*. However, as the prostitute brings opportunities to her relatives such as: sending money, finding jobs for them, supporting her child's, sister's or brother's education, gradually all members of her family know about her, and then they accept her "job". Eventually, she becomes a model in her family.

In summary, the role of child rearing practice and modeling is important especially in the communities that *produce* prostitutes. Children rearing practice and modeling are the essential ways to socialize children, and during the socialization process they are indirectly prepared to become prostitutes to fulfill the demand for a higher social status.

METHODOLOGY

Regarding the phenomenon being studied, the choice of appropriate methodology is crucial because of the complexity and sensitivity of the phenomenon of prostitution. This research adopted qualitative approaches. For the sake of

confidentiality fictitious regional names were used.

Naturalistic Inquiries or Qualitative Approach

Naturalistic inquiry is a part of post positivism where humans are treated as objects and studied objectively. Budi A Koentjoro (1995) mentioned that superficial data is one of the disadvantages of the positivist inquiry. Large-scale surveys using questionnaires can miss the important data.

Minichiello *et al.*, (1990) said that a qualitative approach is powerful to study how people attach meaning to and organize their lives and how this in turn influences their action; it contains information in words. In this method, the researcher can gain access to motives, meanings, actions and reactions of people in the context of daily live The data were collected through an unstructured interview, small group discussion and participant observation, which is according to Minichiello *et al.*, (1990), a qualitative approach.

Individual Depth Interview (IDI)

In depth interview is the oldest method and mainly used in surveys (Singleton. Jr. *et al.*, 1988). Respondents were selected by snowball sampling technique. A snowball sampling technique is a method in which the researcher keeps searching the valid respondents by referring to recommendations of the previous respondents (De Vaus, 1991). The use of the snowball technique is unavoidable. The assumption that prostitution is embarrassing, a dirty and sinful job causes people to avoid an open discussion on prostitution. Prostitutes do not do their job by themselves. They are

under a particular networking. Consequently, the valid sources of information should be traced carefully and bias may be occurred.

Small Group Discussion (SGD)

Actually SGD is another interview technique in gathering much more valid and reliable information from interviewees. The differences between IDI and SGD are: 1) in the SGD topic of discussion can develop by itself. 2) The role of interviewer is less active. Other participants in the SGD can function as interviewers. 3) Cross-checking information can also develop in the SGD. Because of that the SGD can function as an effective medium for gathering more data and save more time and energy. This technique is a good method in minimizing social desirability. To avoid the power domination of the SGD, researcher acted as a mediator.

Participant Observation

Jorgensen (1989) said that participant observation is appropriate for studies of almost every aspect of human existence. Although, it is used in all social sciences, it originates from anthropology (Friedman & Steinberg, 1989). Jorgensen (1989) added that this method is appropriate for scholarly problems when the phenomenon is somehow obscured from the view of outsiders (*e.g.*, teenage sexuality) and the phenomenon is hidden from public view (*e.g.*, prostitution). The approach of this method involves direct, firsthand observation of people in their natural surroundings. Because the observer is involved in the phenomena being observed, it is called participant observation. The sample of observation in this study is events. Events

are occurrences of a specific phenomenon; are situations that include the variable(s) to be observed. The sample event is a subgroup of events from population of events specified by the researcher (Sproull, 1988). The event observed was *Tan* village. By participation observation most of the data from previous key informants can be proved in the fieldwork. In addition, it minimizes social desirability.

Population and Samples

The population of this research is residents in rural communities which "produce" prostitutes. Information on the selected communities was insufficient and lacked detail, e.g.: It is believed that Indramayu is a regency which "produces" prostitutes, but it is not 100 per cent correct. Not all of the communities in Indramayu "produce" prostitutes, perhaps there are only two or three communities which "produce" prostitutes. This inconsistency and lack of detail information may cause difficulties in determining valid locations for the research. Consequently, the data on targeted rural communities in this study was searched using various sources, such as: literature, key informants, and then finally selected by checking and rechecking. So, the selection processes of the communities will be a very crucial step.

Ideally the population of the communities which "produce" prostitutes and an adequate sample for the purpose of this research design should be clearly known. To select the communities is very difficult. Given the complexity and sensitivity of the research topic, this study has limitation on validity. However, these limitations are unavoidable.

The Procedure

As mentioned before that the aim of naturalistic research is to understand constructive realities, which can be achieved throughout in-depth data collections. However, an established research design cannot only be determined prior to the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The interaction between the inquirer and the context at the site will influence the steps to be taken further. As a consequence, an inquirer has to engage in continuous data analysis. New hypotheses and questions may arise to be explored further at the next step. New facts or information coming from the accumulated data may lead to a more focused inquiry as the inquirer reaches insights about the phenomenon studied. For this reason a snowball sampling technique could be applied in this study.

A small group discussion consisted of 3-5 people. There are several steps in establishing small group discussions as follows. First, appropriate and valid informants should be found. Second, informants are interviewed about the phenomena of socialization of prostitution in their own communities. From this information several topics or themes can be found, and then should be followed. Third, two or three other people who involved on prostitution in their own communities are invited. The researcher gives a stimulus question to the participants and then ask responses from other participants until it develops into a small group discussion in several topics about socialization of prostitution in their own communities. Fourth, the inquirer found other related people mentioned on the previous discussion, invited them to the more focused inquiry. Finally, the inquirer

checked and re-checked the information utilizing observation or home visit.

The writer met the criterion of prolonged engagement in at least four ways. The first was establishing a good rapport. In many occasions the writer and the participants were together visiting the object of the study or focus of the discussion. The good rapport between the writer and participants in Mojokulon has been established since 1989. The second was familiarity with the culture and speaking the languages of participants. In terms of language problem, even the language almost the same, the writer made an effort in two ways: (a) by using Indonesian language and (b) using an interpreter. Thirdly, the writer used the small group discussion method and conducted interview two times. Finally, by doing participant observation (in this case together with the informants) beside to check and recheck the data, it can also minimize the effects of social desirability.

Data Collection

A number of small group discussions were conducted in Mojokulon. Participants mostly are primary school teachers, police official, *ex-lurah*, youth activists and a prostitute broker. Most of them at least have stayed in that area for 10 years; so, they have enough information about prostitution in that community.

Two types of fieldwork have been carried out for this study. The first was held between July and September 1995, and the second was carried out from 19 to 30 August 1996. The interviews and small group discussions was tape-recorded.

a. First Round Data Collection

The first field work was held in two counties (*Kra* and *Karang*). The numbers of respondents in the first stage of the interview consisted of three Government officials and four key informants. The first government informant was a police officer. He was 36 years of age and had been working in this Department for 12 years, working in the area for four years. The second informant was a Religion Department official. He had lived in this area for 52 years, and had worked in this department for 26. Another government informant was an Internal Affair Department official. He was 39, had been working in this department for 15 years, and in this area for six years.

Four key informants were involved in this study. They were teachers, prayer leaders, pensioners, and students. They were in the range of 40 - 60 years old, only one of them under 30. All of them lived in their area for at least 20 years. Even though the participants are varied and know well about their environment the bias may still occur.

b. Second Round Data Collection

The second round data collection was carried out by using IDI and SGD. To enrich the quality of the data and to recheck information from the IDI and SGD, participation observation was conducted. The second field work was held between July and September 1995 in eight counties of Mojokulon (*Kra*, *Ami*, *Lea*, *Jun*, *Karang*, *Sli*, *Ked* and *Jaya*). The IDI and SGD were applied in this second data collection and were held in July-September 1995. Eigh-

teen participants were involved in this study as seen in Table 1.

Table: 1
Distribution of Respondents According
Age and Gender

Age	Mojokulon	
	Male	Female
< 24	1	2
25 - 34	1	-
35 - 44	5	3
45 - 54	2	1
55 - 64	2	-
> 65	1	-
Total	12	6

The composition of the 18 participants is shown in Table 2.

Table: 2
Composition Small Group Discussions
And Individual Depth Interviews

Mojokulon	
Group	ID
I	63

Respondents were identified by asking people some questions, such as "who knows a lot about many aspects related to socialization of prostitution? To whom should the investigator talk to?" By asking a number of other key informants, the sample grows.

Recording Data

In term of collecting data, subjects were interviewed in an unstructured format. As well as the interview, the small group discussions were also held in unstructured

one. The interview and the discussion were tape-recorded.

FINDING

Family Environment

Socialization of Material Value to Daughter

In Indonesia, parents usually have several wishes and expectations to their newly born babies. They expressed their wishes and expectation through what in Javanese called as *ngudang* or *kudang* as an activity, which is playing, or enjoying baby, making wishes about the future of their baby. However, According to the participants, in Mojokulon, the most common *ngudang* their daughter is to become the wives of rich people, bosses, live comfortably in the future and hold high parents' status. Since babies they had directed with materialistic aspiration. Parents expect their daughter to take a passive social role.

It was observed that some of them adorn their daughter until she looked like mobile jewellery shops. Gold is likely to be used as a symbol of wealth and a criterion to measure success. People adorn their toddler daughter with expensive gold jewellery indicates that a toddler has become a tool for parents to show off their success. The toddlers have become familiarised and socialised with materialism. Even the reason of adorning the toddler as a kind of saving is reasonable.

Daily Life Socialization

Based on the IDI and SGD people in Tan village, without any reluctance talked

about sex in front of their children. Children's sexual behavior is not peculiar, they have already been indoctrinated with such stories, had already familiar to such scenes that their mother's had been intimate with somebody. As a consequence, it is not strange that a young child has understood adults talk in bedroom and did something what adult did, i.e.: it was a child has *sexual intercourse* with his peer partner, when he was four years old. Other informants added that parent talk about sex freely in front of their children.

These phenomena indicate that the social norm of this community is different from many other communities in Indonesia. This social environment is not healthy for the development of the *ego ideal* for the children. Children become familiarized with unhealthy sexual knowledge at an early age. This information will create particular misconceptions about sexual values and sexual norms. Therefore, children may have difficulty in differentiating the *good* and bad things to do, especially when people give rewards and are proud of successful prostitutes who become rich by saying, "... *wah mekayahe dadi*" (wow... she makes a successful effort) and parents take successful prostitutes as models. This *rewarding job* consequently creates a perception, which gradually develop to become individual norm that prostitution is socially acceptable.

Social Environment

Social treatment

Informants concerned that since primary school age, girls have been teased by men in public "...Girl, give me your love a little" "...Give just a little Kiss". Widuri told her experience that it is quite

often mature aged men tease her by saying "... *hey Widuri ... give me your love just little bit*". In other situations many young couples have mutual agreement and live together in their parents' houses without being married. To find a partner in play, primary school children fool around until late midnight, when *dongbret* occurs. *Dongbret* is a kind of traditional dance that is usually held at parties, celebrations or fish auctions. The dancers are mostly around 13 years of age. The attendants are allowed to kiss the dancers but they have to pay Rp. 500,- per kiss. Joining *dongbret* means attending a short course of prostitution, because men already accustom them' life and it is very easy for them to earn money.

Being a Prostitute is Social Rewarding

Successful prostitutes become the centres of attention because of their wealth. When they were poor nobody looked at them, but when they have a lot of money and the perception from their community is different. Many people ask them legally or illegally for donation. It is easier for the village official to collect donation from those women than from common people or peasants. Because many people have benefit from the existence of prostitution, they develop a tolerance to it. Prostitution does not disturb the environment. This is rewarding for prostitutes and make prostitutes feel sinless and being *proud* for their job. On the other hand, this can also develop to become a good model to the community, especially for people who are dominated by power motive. What people say about *mekayahe dadi* indicates that to become a prostitute is acceptable to that community.

Modeling

According a key informant, their neighbors who works as prostitutes in *Cirebon* can build a good house. An *ex-kuwu* showed another case that there is a family with four daughters, all of them are successful prostitutes and become models in that village. From the observation it is found that in 1989 *Matsaeri's* house was a dirty old bamboo shut, is now a modern luxurious house, after *Matsaeri's* sister become a prostitute. This attracts people to imitate the *model* has done.

The greater the number of the successful prostitutes exists in that community the stronger is their influences as models. People see their neighbours, who worked as prostitutes affording luxurious and extravagant livings. The facts that they can afford to buy cars, beautiful houses, luxurious houseware, will attract people without strong morality to follow these models. Consequently, religious value gradually changes into materialistic ones, with high tolerance to illegal sexual behavior.

The study found that because to become a prostitute is promising, many parents wish that their daughters would be like them in the future or directs their daughter to be like their neighbours. Parents expect girls to help them lighten their economic burden.

The illustration above indicates the failure of social institutions to counteract the facilitation of incorrect choices that can gradually lead young women to become prostitutes. This can be classified as the socialisation of the power motive. Therefore, there is a fatalistic thinking that has already developed among the parents in

Mojokulon that only by prostituting one can build house and fulfil her daily needs.

Peer Group

According to youth activists that every Saturday night teenagers sit around in front of someone house until late midnight. An ex-prostitute, *Suminah*, became a prostitute because her peers influenced her. A key informant stated that peer group in secondary school has a strong influence on free-sex orientation. Because of that strong influence, he had his first sexual intercourse in grade two secondary school with a grade five primary school girl. This is supported by another informant that when he was in grade six primary school his classmates were 16 pupils: eight boys and eight girls, five out of that eight girls were married. When he was in grade one secondary school, one of his girl classmates left school to get married, another one followed at grade two. At the beginning of grade three a male student had sexual intercourse with a grade-three primary-school girl before graduation. Then, his female classmate at grade three got an abortion later.

Instigators

Five participants stated that there are three main instigators: prostitutes talent scouts, parents and husbands. There are many women in *Mojokulon* who become pimps in Jakarta. This indicates that the links between *Mojokulon* as prostitutes supplier and the pimps as the mediators to the demand has been established. There is an indication that most of pimps became prostitute talent scouts.

Parents support their daughters to become prostitutes because they are lazy.

According to ex-prostitute, *Suminah*, the terminology is: *sekelip geni manasi, setetes banyu ngademi* or permission from parents will support their daughter forever. Besides parents, husbands also have significant roles as instigators. When a husband cannot afford to pay his loan, he will also sell his wife, like *Suminah's* and some of her friends. The husband supports his wife to become a prostitute. Due to the commission they will receive, each prostitute then creates networking by searching another novices.

All the above information indicates those parents and husbands give pressure and encourage their daughters and wives to become prostitutes. This suggests those parents and husbands possess weak morality, without being reluctant they make their daughters and wives to become the victims. Thus, the role of parents and husbands in the growth of prostitution is significant.

In summary, there are five types of instigators who have significant roles to the growth of prostitution: prostitutes, ex-prostitutes, pimps, parents and husbands. Another instigator is the invisible instigator who is common people who instigate women to become prostitutes. The instigators develop perception in the community that prostitution does not disturb the social environment, prostitutes are poor women who struggle for better livings. They use successful prostitutes as models to attract their targets.

To influence or instigate young women to become prostitutes is not an easy job. The instigators put a prostitute candidate as the main target, while her parents and husbands become the facilitating targets. This is approved by the statements of the

key informants that good-looking women are the main targets, that parents and husbands is the second target. To the main targets the pimps or/and prostitute talent scouts usually say: "*...You are beautiful, are not going to school anymore and not working either. You want many things do not you? Your parents and husbands cannot afford your need and you do not have money either, why you do not come with me?*"

DISCUSSION

According to Ingleson (1986) prostitution in Indonesia had occurred since 1870's, and growth further in the 1880's when sugar industries were established, building road and railways along Java (Jones *et al.*, 1995). If prostitution have already grow up for more than one century and each prostitute then developed to become the center of the prostitute developments means that *the culture* of prostitution have been spread in that community. Degree of tolerance for prostituting may also high, and prostituting has become apart of their daily lives. However, based on the finding of the study it is likely that there is no other choice for young women in the village to become prostitutes in Mojokulon. Prostitutes likely become the result of "social-engineering" of unhealthy environment. When they were baby, parents *ngudang* or make wishes to them to become the wives of rich or prestigious people. When they were toddlers their parents adorn them with expensive jewelry. When their intellectual started to work at the beginning primary school year, parents proud about successful prostitutes and without reluctant talking about sex in front of them. When they were grade three and/or up primary school men

already teased or harassed verbally (such as: *give me your love*) and sexually.

All of those above factors facilitate women in that village to become prostitutes. Moreover, because of chain reaction or may be influence by instigators, the condition will be getting worse, whenever prostitution have already developed in their community. Once in this village there is a prostitute it means the central development of prostitutes has already established. Because of that complex networking has already established in that community then may develop to become a primary sources of prostitutes. The existence of many prostitutes in particular community according to the writer will also create equity feeling to the new comer prostitutes and their parents. Prostitutes and parents will not feel guilty because many people have already done the same things, so they share that guilty feeling and hence it is minimized. Based on the finding, according to the writer those women to become volunteer prostitutes because of poverty, materialism, instigators, socialization and unhealthy environment. The interaction of these factors may create misconception about prostitution and women' role.

Parents treatments (such as *kudangan*, proud of successful prostitutes) and societal treatments (such as increase social status economic and being a prostitute is rewarding) will create difficulty to the daughter to differentiate "*the good*" and "*the bad*" according to social and religious norms. They lived in unhealthy environment where parents did not give enough supervision; it is found there are many cases of children sexual intercourse. When all of these factors interact through daily process of socialization in poor community with no real alternatives and education not leading

to jobs, prostitution may become the only alternative to enhance better quality of life. Consequently, young women, then voluntarily to become prostitutes to fulfill not only her own need, but also her relatives, such as schooling her brothers and sisters.

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion above it can be concluded as follows.

1. The role of socialization in creating a woman to become a prostitute is very significant.
2. Prostitution originate in particular community because of several reasons such as:
 - a. Since there is a prostitute occurred in a village means she may become the center for the development of prostitution in that community.
 - b. The long history of the development of prostitution encourages prostitution is accepted as part of the culture. When this situation correspond to the benefit of prostitution it will create permissive and unhealthy environment that facilitate the fast growing of prostitution.
2. There are sets of significant factor to the fast growing of prostitution in particular community. The set factors consist of unhealthy social environment, materialism, socialization and instigators.
3. Factors of instigators networking, family factors, social control, religious norms, and the role of education are important criteria related to the development level of prostitution in particular community.

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