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*The Journal of International Women's Studies* is an online, open-access, peer-reviewed feminist journal that provides a forum for scholars, activists, and students to explore the relationships among theories of gender and sexuality and various forms of organizing and critical practice.

Dear JIWS authors and readers: the JIWS has received such a robust number of submissions that our issues are full through January 2024. We will continue to publish special issues through 1/15/24, as well as our regular issues in January 2023, August 2023, and January 2024. As a result, we are closing submissions until December 2023 when the submission link will again be opened. As many of you know, we are a small team; the Executive Editorial team and our Editorial Review Board are volunteer positions. This suspension period will allow us to produce high quality issues that we hope will educate and inspire. Thank you for your understanding—the JIWS Editorial Staff.

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The Journal of International Women's Studies is an on-line, open-access, peer reviewed feminist journal that provides a forum for scholars, activists, and students to explore the relationships among theories of gender and sexuality and various forms of organizing and critical practice. The journal seeks both multidisciplinary and cross-cultural perspectives, and invites submissions in the form of scholarly articles, essays, book reviews, and works of fiction. In addition, the Journal supports multi-media submissions through streaming audio capability, embedded video, and links to video sites to display short films and other visual materials. Through its diverse collection, the journal aims to create an opportunity for building bridges across the conventional divides of scholarship and activism; "western" and "third world" feminisms; professionals and students; men, women and all genders and the hegemony of ableism. Toward this end, the editors welcome your constructive and insightful comments in response to our publications.

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## “Grey Chicken”: Female Students as Exploitation Victims in the Commercial Sex Industry

Bagong Suyanto

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## **"Grey Chicken": Female Students as Exploitation Victims in the Commercial Sex Industry in Indonesia**

By Bagong Suyanto<sup>1</sup>

### **Abstract**

"Grey chicken" is a term used to describe female students involved in prostitution practices. The numbers and distribution of students who double as prostitutes are increasing in urban areas, thus requiring immediate attention. This study found a number of reasons why female students fall into prostitution. In addition to the pressures of poverty and dysfunctional families, other factors that encourage prostitution include the influence of destructive peer-groups and being victims of date-rape. Female student prostitutes are not only victims of economic exploitation, but also psychological exploitation through inhumane treatment from their customers. This study found that the modus operandi used by their pimps is the dependency method, including drug addiction. These girls are often treated as objects of experiments and unusual sexual perversions. Moreover, they also suffer from social exploitation in the form of submissive relations with their pimps and the customers.

*Keywords:* Date Rape, Exploitation, Female Students, Grey Chicken, Prostitution, Indonesia

### **Introduction**

Prostitution involving girls is a complex social reality that has historical roots and is intertwined with many factors including: gender roles and inequalities, patriarchal ideology bias, subordination, domination, exploitation, and also lifestyle issues (Berry, 1981; Aderinto, 2006; Banerjee, 1999). One form of prostitution involves young female students. In Indonesia, female students who concurrently work as prostitutes are referred to as 'grey chickens', referring to the grey color of the national high school uniform in Indonesia. These young girls experience the exploitation of the prostitution business in ways that are unique to this form of prostitution and which share features of other forms of prostitution.

Aside from pressures of poverty and lack of education, female students are caught up in the commercial sex industry because of their powerlessness when facing marginalization from patriarchal domination within the social structure (Davidson & Taylor, 1995; Baker, 2000 Wondie, Zemene, Reschke, & Schröder, 2011). As Brown (2001) has stated, prostitution is not just a product of poverty. For feminist materialist theorists, such as Delphy (1984), the sources of powerlessness experienced by these girls are the exploitative nature of the capitalist system and patriarchal ideology that oppress women.

The girls who fall into the prostitution business are victimized on three levels: as children who are powerless when faced with adults; as subordinated females in the context of patriarchal ideology; and as humans who are treated as commodities in the commercial sex industry. Because they are in a weak bargaining position against adults, prostituted girls are generally vulnerable to

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violations of their rights (Tautz, Bahr & Wolte, 2006; Sullivan, 2007). As children, they virtually have no future to grow and develop as they should (Irwanto et al., 1999).

Female students who are trapped as sexual service providers are not only at risk of facing the exploitative behaviors of their pimps, but also of dealing with brokers who always ask for compensation, in the form of money or free sexual services. Procurers and pimps prefer young girls as their workers not only because of their submissiveness (Brown, 2001), but also their effectiveness as money-producing machines: *prima donna* who are loved and extorted at the same time to make the pimps even wealthier. There is this irrational binding power that forces them to always be submissive to the domination and oppression of the pimps (Joni, 1998).

These girls are also at risk of being treated as commercial goods, asked to give any kind of services by paying male customers (Hipolito, 2007; Suyanto, 2010). In Asia, men who buy sexual services generally prefer teenagers to adult prostitutes for various reasons, including the pervasive perception that teenagers are still pure, unadorned, and easily controlled. From the point of view of the men who have paid for sexual services, these girls are nothing less than commodities, having no souls nor rights to refuse because they had been bought for a certain price (Berstein, 2007; Bachtiar & Purnomo, 2007; Hoigard & Finstad, 2008).

Usually, girls who are already caught up in prostitution will fall even deeper since they are victims of blackmailing and threats of violence from various parties. In addition, they also become victims of social stigma, making it impossible for them to find a way back into the world outside of prostitution (Phonix, 2001; McCoy, 2004; McAlpine, 2006).

As human beings, all prostituted children undergo a process of dehumanization, where they no longer have any power over themselves because their entire daily regime and activities are all determined by the pimps and clients (Rozario, 1986; Raymond, 2004; Seguin, 2008). In the life of prostitution, even menstruating or sick prostitutes are forced to serve customers, because they do not have the slightest ability to resist or avoid their obligations as moneymaking machines. Girls who fall into the life of prostitution do not have the opportunity for relief of their suffering, because the social environment in the surrounding areas binds and forces them to undergo tragic lives that seize their independence and rights as human beings and children.

The harrowing implication of prostitution for young female students is evident. Yet, the number of young female students who become grey chicken is reportedly increasing. This paper studies the realities of young females in prostitution, or 'Grey Chicken' in Indonesia. It explores the factors that push these young girls into prostitution, the *modus operandi* of the pimps that trap them in, and the different exploitations that they experience.

## Literature Review

In general, prostitution is the practice of short-term sexual interaction, which is done for financial rewards. Purnomo and Siregar (1984) explain that the definition of prostitution, *pelacuran*, or *persundalan* (harlotry) is an act of physical submission of a woman to have sex with men in exchange for a payment, and as a lust-satisfying instrument for the client that takes place outside marriage. Gognon (1968) looks at prostitution as the provision of sexual access on a non-discriminatory basis to earn rewards, in the form of goods or money, depending on the complexity of the local economy (Truong, 1990). Meanwhile, W.A. Bonger states that prostitution is a social phenomenon in which women sell themselves to perform sexual acts for a living (Hull, Sulistyarningsih & Jones, 1997).

Prostitution is therefore any behavior or act, linking sexual activities with money. Prostitution is a labor-intensive job that does not require skill and is high paying. Even women who work as prostitutes on the streets are relatively higher paid than those who have highly skilled jobs (Hoot, Tadesse, & Abdella, 2007; Suyanto, 2012). Three main elements in the practice of prostitution according to Truong are payment, promiscuity, and emotional indifference toward clients (Truong, 1990).

While prostitution is usually hidden from plain sight, it is a sizeable industry. According to a study conducted by Labour International, as cited in Edlund and Korn (2002), in Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines and Thailand, women working in the prostitution sector are estimated to be between 0.25 and 1.5 percent of the overall population of women in those countries and account for 2 to 14 percent of the state income or Gross Domestic Product.

A study conducted by Truong (1990) shows that the involvement of women in prostitution is not solely driven by poverty and economic vulnerability. Several studies conducted thus far indicate that sex workers' earnings are relatively higher compared to other types of women workers with low educational levels. However, in truth, the reason why women engage in sexual services is not solely due to economic motives. Many cases show that women are often forced into prostitution by men through a variety of means, ranging from a grandiose promise of work or marriage, in the guise of love, to physical kidnapping and captivity. Rowbothan (1973) states that aside from existing economic reasons, prostitution is actually an expression of cultural hegemony of men over women (Truong, 1990)<sup>2</sup>. Prostitution in many cases is also influenced by a variety of socio-cultural factors, which are connected with one another. Poverty, early marriage custom, divorce custom, and women's relatively lower social status can also become driving factors why women prostitute themselves. For example, one of the non-economic factors that encourage young women into prostitution was due to high divorce rates, especially among families in Java.

A study conducted by Edlund and Korn (2002) identifies several factors that affect female's involvement in prostitution. These include a labor market with few decent job opportunities for women; a high value associated with their services by clients, some of which may be found embarrassing to wives of the customers; coercion by peers, pimps and brokers, who trap them in their, which in turn forces them to engage in and endure their lives as prostitutes until their debts are paid off. In addition, the loss of their virginity as well as divorce can also become factors that drive women into prostitution. Saptari (1997) also highlights the system of violence that forces women into prostitution. In Thailand, for example, Saptari notes that poor parents often send their children to labor brokers who then incorporate them into red light districts—centers of prostitution—where they are victimized by violent pimps and clients. Moreover, the money that should be paid to them is paid to their parents. Meanwhile, parents who send their children into prostitution do not fully understand the work they carry out (Saptari & Holzner, 1997: 392).

### **Problem Statement and Methodology**

This study sets out to understand the problematic situations behind the increasingly widespread practice of prostitution involving female students in urban areas in Indonesia. The study is important because involving female students in the practice of prostitution is a human rights violation of children. Therefore, there is a need to formulate precautions and measures to prevent this phenomenon. Some of the key questions examined include, (1) what are the forms of

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<sup>2</sup> While male prostitutes exist in a range of cross-cultural settings, this paper focuses on female prostitution, which is the most widespread.

exploitation experienced by female students who are involved in the commercial sex industry? (2) What is the modus operandi developed by pimps to maintain dependency and attachment of female students in the commercial sex industry?

The study was conducted in Surabaya and Malang, two of the many areas where female students are involved in prostitution. In this study, the definition of female student prostitutes are middle school and high school students under the age of 18 who are involved and caught up in prostitution as grey chickens. The study interviewed 13 high school female students and one middle school female student as key informants for a total of 14 young female informants who became grey chickens. Finding grey chickens as informants was not an easy task, because of their semi-closed ways of working and operating. At the time of the research, throughout Indonesia including the two cities where the research was being conducted, regular government raids were occurring as a method to eradicate prostitution in Indonesia including grey chickens. Therefore, prior to the completion and the success of the researchers finding informants was a monumental task. Researchers conducted in-depth interviews to explore the life story of these girls, to obtain deep life history data, and to be able to answer the posed questions for this study.

In addition to the girls who got caught up in work as grey chickens, this study also conducted interviews with three males who booked dates with these female students. Among these customers, one is a business person in Surabaya, one is a corporate executive in a sizable company from Jakarta, and another person is a bureaucrat in one of the East Java Provincial Offices. Other important informants in the study were pimps, two who were successfully interviewed. These pimps who manage these female students are seasoned players. Both have been in the business between 5-10 years; one was male and the other female.

### **Prostitution in Indonesia**

In many big cities in Indonesia, female students engaging in prostitution has long been observed. Unlike adult prostitutes who operate in specific areas such as red light districts, hotels, discotheques, massage parlors, and other known places, prostitution among female students is generally more discreet and has specific customers: men who are sexually obsessed with female students. Perhaps because several known sites of prostitution in some cities have been forcibly shut down by the government, prostitution with students seems to be on the rise. In Surabaya, for example, after Dolly and Jarak (two famous prostitution spots) were forcibly shut down, illegitimate businesses involving female students allegedly thrived precisely because sustained demand. Children who engage in this student prostitution have evolved into a semi-enclosed network. Although infrequently, they can also be found in various discotheques, bars, or hotels. There are reports that the Surabaya Municipal Government has conducted several raids and managed to apprehend several illegitimate sex businesses involving female students in order to decrease the grey chicken phenomenon.

As with other practices of prostitution in general, prostitution involving female students can also be distinguished by classes with different tariffs (Ditmore, 2006). In Surabaya, based on an initial assessments conducted by the researchers, we determined that there are at least three groups of students who also work as prostitutes. These include: Grade A, the top level, consists of female students who concurrently work as prostitutes at the rate of 1.5-2 million rupiah for one date. These students are those who attend highly rated, favored schools and meet cultural standards of beauty. Grade B, the moderate level, with a rate of about 750 thousand-1.5 million, consists of those who are quite beautiful but attend non-favored schools. Grade C, the lowest level at the rate

of 500-750 thousand, consists of female students who are average looking and attend schools in the outskirts of the city.

Factors that either encourage female students to be involved in prostitution are certainly manifold. The majority of students who are implicated and work as prostitutes are influenced by the demanding lifestyle exerted by poverty, and their desire to escape the pressures and miseries of poverty. In Sukabumi, West Java, for example, it is reported that about 25 percent of the 239 commercial sex workers are students who desire to live in luxury (Antaranews-Jakarta, December 2, 2009). Meanwhile, in Serang, Banten, one raid found that dozens of high school and university students are actively engaged in the practice of shrouded prostitution. Some of the high school and university students admit that their participation in the commercial sex industry is caused by the pressures of everyday necessities that cannot be provided by their parents.

In addition to economic factors, we also found additional factors (suffering from their boyfriends' betrayals, victims of date rape, child abuse and sexual disorders such as hyper sexuality. Sometimes the students who have themselves been prostitutes can get "promoted" and become pimps for their own friends, offering their friends to men who used to be their customers.

Based on the research by ILO-IPEC (2004) conducted in Surabaya, there were about 2,329 children younger than 18 years working as prostitutes, either those who dropped out of school or are active students. Compared to only 975 children in Semarang and 104 children in Yogyakarta, the number of children prostitutes in Surabaya is extremely sizable. Children who work as prostitutes are scattered in various places. Prior to the shut-down by the municipal government, many brothels in Surabaya were predicted to house at least 1,086 girls who were victims of commercial sex exploitation, 412 girls on streets, 49 girls in cafes, 38 girls in discotheques, and 88 girls in hotels. Others are scattered in various places: 38 girls were found in billiard halls, 216 in massage parlors, 165 in karaoke bars, and 237 in beauty salons. While the shut-down of local prostitution spaces has led to a decrease in adult women prostitutes, in the case of grey chickens, the number has not receded. Instead, there several indications showing an increase in number.

### **Exploitation Experienced by Grey Chickens**

For students who concurrently work as prostitutes or grey chickens, offering themselves to men and charging for short sexual encounters can indeed be a shortcut to obtain large amounts of money quickly. Being grey chickens, these female students have the opportunity to earn money, manage their own incomes to buy various luxury items, and to help alleviate the insufficient economic conditions of their parents and families. Our research subjects indicated that being grey chickens helped them deal with pressures of everyday necessities more flexibly. However, apart from the ease of obtaining large amounts of money, their profession is full of risks and violation of their rights as children, (Julianto, 2002; Jeffreys, 2009).

#### *Economic Exploitation*

The first form of exploitation is economic, particularly if they operate under the management of pimps. Based on the informants' accounts, the average dating tariff for ranges from 500 thousand to 2 million rupiah, depending on the popularity of the school and students' appearance. For students who attend well-known schools and have attractive appearances, their rates often reach millions of rupiah. One informant admitted that she charges 2 million for a short-term booking of about 2-3 hours. Grey Chickens who become *prima donnas* usually only receive appointments (bookings) in starred hotels or luxury apartments. The 2 million, of course, does not



entirely go to the students. Pimps or brokers who find the customers typically earn a share of about 25% or 500 thousand to 750 thousand rupiah, so the money that goes to the students is only about 1,250,000 to 1,500,000 rupiah.

For grey chickens with a rate of 750 thousand to 1 million, their income is usually also deducted by about 25% by the pimps. Some informants said that in order to avoid depositing their money to the pimps, sometimes their strategy is to establish direct contact with their customers. Several informants claimed to sometimes make appointments by themselves with the men who have booked with them many times, and who have become trusted customers, so that they are not exposed to the pimp's fee cuts. Of course, these student prostitutes keep their direct contacts with clients secret to avoid punishment and scolding.

### *Psychological Exploitation*

Psychological exploitation refers to treatment from clients that affects them emotionally in negative ways as the result of experiencing sexual experimentation, perversion and psychological abuse. Admittedly, they also sometimes obtain customers who treat them well with kind gestures such as buying them things and not being abusive (Davidson, 2002; Darwin, 2004).

Iin (17 years), a grey chicken from Surabaya, said that she had been serving clients who have very high libidos. These clients, who are allegedly hypersexual, not only ask to have sexual intercourse multiple times, but also ask for an assortment of styles and acts including oral sex. Iin found that customers' requests are hard to refuse because they usually have paid generously. Therefore, she was willing to accept requests of all sorts. However, Iin has asked her pimp to be cautious of hypersexed customers because not only are they are physically tiring, but they also tend to have sexually transmitted diseases.

Some informants said that they understood that their clients would not eventually fall in love with them and treat them as girlfriends. Their clients would not be men who would protect them and keep them safe. Therefore, obtaining a kind-hearted customer is something they are thankful for, because not infrequently they have customers who inflict pain.

*"Kalau yang tamunya pejabat atau om-om, biasanya memang suka aneh-aneh. Mintanya macem-macem. Kalau royal sih mereka royal. Suka mbeliin macem-macem. Aku pernah dibeliin handphone bagus. Ada juga yang pernah mbeliin aku jam tangan bermerk. Tapi, setelah itu ya aku harus ngerti sendiri. Ya... aku harus ngerti sendiri gimana mbalesnya.....Kalau aku sih, asalkan ndak kasar aku sudah seneng.....",* tutur Intan (17 tahun).

If the client is an official or *om-om* (middle aged man), he usually likes weird things. They asked for various things. They are generous, indeed. They buy us things. Someone once bought me a nice cellphone. There was also a client who bought me a branded watch. As a consequence, I have to understand. Yes...I have to understand how to pay it back...As for me, I will be happy as long as they don't treat me bad..." said Intan (17 years old).

One client we interviewed stated that he has specific reasons that he books these students. Experienced prostitutes no longer pose any challenges. The thrill he gets from booking female students who are cute and innocent makes him feel more in control, macho, and dominating.

*"Kalau main sama yang sudah pengalaman, mereka sudah pinter pura-pura. Kita ini sudah bayar mahal dibohongi aja. Ha haha.... pura-pura puas. Padahal diam-diam mentertawakan kita. Mereka kan yang dicari cuma duit kita aja. Tapi kalau sama anak-anak ini ada seninya. Ha ha ha. Kayak pacaran dulu..."*

"Experienced prostitutes are clever in pretending when we use their services. We pay a lot but get fooled, instead (laughter). They pretend to be satisfied. While secretly, they laugh at us. They only want our money. But with these girls, it is an art (laughter). Just similar to dating..." Said one grey chicken customer who is a businessman from Surabaya.

### *Social Exploitation*

Social exploitation is a third form of suffering. Students suffer subordination when they are dealing with pimps or clients who book them. As students who concurrently work as prostitutes, these girls are very aware that their position depends on the pimps or customers who pay them (Koentjoro, 2004). Concerns of being exposed, of their parents finding out what they had been doing, lead these young women to be careful not to provoke anger or offense, especially of their pimps.

Pimps, commonly referred to by our informants as GMs (pimp in Indonesian: Germo/Mucikari), are usually the ones who are portrayed, according to some informants, as ambivalent figures. On the one hand, they recognize that their pimps are often kind to them: they always protect them and find them customers, but on the other hand, when the pimps feel betrayed or hurt, they are likely to snap or subtly threaten them.

Hendro (54 years old), one of the pimps interviewed, stated that in the business of prostitution, the most important thing is how to maintain the confidentiality of customers and provide services that would satisfy those who are willing to pay for sexual services. Grey chickens are not allowed to display rude behaviors to their pimps or to be offensive to their customers. Hendro said,

*"Kalau ada anak buah saya yang membuat pelanggan tersinggung, ya saya beritahu. Tapi, kalau tetap tidak mau saya atur, ya kadang-kadang saya ancam. kerja seperti ini kan harus tahu resikonya. Kalau mau uang banyak, ya harus tahan. Saya sih ndak pernah kasar, mai tangan ke anak buah saya. Paling cuma saya marahi saja kalau mereka macem-macem. Soalnya saya kan saya dikomplain pelanggan kalau anak buah saya mengecewakan..."*

"If those girls deliberately or not deliberately offend or make customers unhappy, I would remind them. If they keep doing the same thing over and over again, it usually pisses me off and I would remind them that they have to know what they got themselves into. They have to realize the

consequences. If you want them to pay you, then being rude is a big no-no. I want those customers to come back and I don't want to receive any complaints from them"

### **Patterns of Operation Developed by the *Germo/Mucikari* (Pimp)**

Compared to finding prostitutes in local spaces, discotheques, or hotels, looking for grey chickens is tricky. It is difficult without access to the discrete networks of prostitution among students. Clients who wish to book these female students typically go through promotion by word of mouth or through the intermediary of a pimp. The risk of being arrested by law enforcement officers or getting caught by family or friends are some of the reasons why prostitution networks among students are discreet.

Several experienced grey chickens, according to our research, secretly offer their sexual services via the Internet, especially on social media such as Facebook. Mass media often reported cases of police arrests of veiled prostitution networks that make use of social media (Oke Zone News, February 15, 2018). Grey chickens who do not want to be bound to pimps and already know the intricacies of selling themselves through cyberspace sometimes try selling their services themselves via the Internet. Just as girls who work under the coordination of pimps, they can usually be booked at will by customers. There is a "short time" (three or up to six hours) and a "long time" (overnight or 12 hours). However, a "long time" booking rarely happens because as female students, they do not want to cause concern to their parents or families if they are not home until late at night. Some informants stated that if they are forced not to go home, they usually choose to do so during the holidays. They will then make excuses to their parents, such as sleeping over at a friend's house to study or play. The pimps who can also be friends of the informants usually help cover their tracks by saying that these girls stay over at their home.

Some of the pimps we interviewed admitted that among students they manage, the experienced ones are likely to choose to work independently in order to earn more income. Anto (34 years, an alias), one of the pimps interviewed, stated that the majority of the young women were working independently, while others left the profession to marry or to find other jobs. Anto admitted that if a female student decides to leave and offer sexual services on her own, it would obviously reduce his earnings. Therefore, he resorted to several preventative measures. First, the pimps develop a close relationship and mutual trust with the female students, building a sense of solidarity, as if both parties are mutually dependent and bonded to each other. Students who become prostitutes because of their peer group's encouragement usually work within a more egalitarian atmosphere. However, there is still an invisible dependence because the entire secrecy of the subject is in the hands of their pimps. Although they used to be friends, several informants confessed that they were worried that their secret would be leaked, so they work to sustain good relationships with their pimps.

Linda (17 years), a grey chicken operating in Malang, said that she works as a prostitute because of an invitation from her own schoolmate. Linda's friend, who used to work as a grey chicken, is the first person who introduced Linda to the life of the commercial sex industry. Linda suggested that her friend had convinced at least six other students to become prostitutes. The friend, despite her status as a coordinator, also serves clients, while managing others. Linda admitted that while the relationship with her friend was maintained, she also knew that the friend harbored her secret, and also attends classes with her. They sometimes also share life stories, so they're socially close.

In addition, pimps create dependency using various strategies so that the students who work for them will not be able to leave, including the use of drugs (Sullivan, 2007; Suyanto, 2012). Two students, Dana (17 years) and Indung (17 years), who work under the management of a professional pimp, frankly admitted that they are addicted to drugs. Thus, some of the money they earn from serving clients are used to buy drugs. Both, students in Surabaya, admitted to using drugs after becoming grey chickens. Initially, they were introduced to drugs by their pimp, a man of approximately 35 years, who apparently also work as a drug dealer. Indung and Dana confessed that they became acquainted with their pimp when they used to go to a discotheque in the West Surabaya area.

### *Indung's Story*

Indung's parents live in Bali, and because of the distance, she admitted that she had engaged in these behaviors since middle school. Indung lives in an apartment in West Surabaya. In fact, Indung's parents' economic status is relatively well established. Both parents are fairly successful in the garment industry in Bali. However, Indung herself chose to attend school in Surabaya because she was almost expelled from her middle school in Bali. She neglected her homework and was caught kissing her boyfriend at school. Indung's situation got out of hand and her parents were asked to come to the school. Soon after graduating from her middle school in Denpasar, her parents moved her to attend school in Surabaya.

When she first arrived in Surabaya, Indung was entrusted to her aunt who lives in the Wonokromo area. However, for several reasons, mainly because of the distance of the school, Indung's parents then bought a middle-class apartment in West Surabaya—closer to her school. Everyday Indung would take her motorcycle to school. Indung's aunt herself also agreed to send her out immediately, because not only did she come home late from school, Indung admitted that she is lazy, often overslept, generating ill-will between herself and her aunt, who feared she would be a poor influence on her cousins. Since that time, she has lived in her apartment, her lifestyle becoming more permissive. When she is flush with money, Indung occasionally spends time going to the discotheques. Her boyfriend, who is her senior in a private middle school in West Surabaya, is a child from a fairly wealthy family. Because of his hobby of going to discotheques, Indung quickly picked up the same lifestyle.

However, Indung's relationship with her boyfriend did not last long. In less than a year, Indung chose to break up with him because she felt that he broke his promises. Indung knew that her boyfriend cheated on her and had another girlfriend in a different school. Since breaking up with her boyfriend, Indung's behavior and social environment became even more excessive. In a discotheque where she usually went with her ex-boyfriend, Indung finally got acquainted with her current pimp, who then offered her drugs. Although she was afraid the first time she took them, Indung slowly entered the pimp's trap: to use methamphetamine and get addicted to it.

When the money from her parents was no longer sufficient, (and Indung did not dare to ask for more because she feared their suspicion) her pimp offered her the solution to concurrently work as a prostitute. From her pimp, Indung knew that the tariff for student prostitutes is more expensive. Physically, Indung meets some cultural standards of attractiveness: although she is an average looking girl, her appeal lies in her culturally valued fair skin and curvy physique. Her pimp assured her that many clients are looking for grey chickens like her. For one date, Indung gets paid about 500 thousand, and the other 250 thousand goes to her pimp.

Within a week, Indung serves three to five clients. She actually makes quite a lot of money. However, since most of the money is used to buy drugs, eventually nothing much is left for her to

save (Pisani, 2008). Indung also admitted that she is already broken and has drug addiction, making it difficult to break away from what she is doing now because she needs a lot of money to satisfy her addiction. As a student who concurrently works as a prostitute, Indung has fallen into the trap of her pimp who intentionally creates dependency in his workers through drug use. Clearly, those most disadvantaged by the situation are the student prostitutes who become increasingly dependent on their pimps, and less able to disentangle themselves from their situations (Perschler-Desai, 2001).

### **Summary and Recommendations**

The participation of several female students in prostitution grey chickens is one form of forced prostitution in urban areas in Indonesia. The number and distribution of students who concurrently work as prostitutes is increasing, thus requiring immediate measures.

In addition to parents' and relatives' difficult economic circumstances leading to prostitution, there are several other factors that give rise to the practice. These include broken homes, difficult social environments, the influence of peer groups, or being victims of date rape by their romantic partner who then abandon them. Forms of exploitation that are often experienced by female students who are concurrently working in prostitution are not only economic. These girls also experience psychological exploitation. They are treated as objects of experiments and sexual perversions. Moreover, they also suffer from social exploitation through submissive relationships with the pimps and clients who book them.

To reduce the likelihood of female students getting involved in illegitimate prostitution activities, schools should design and implement constructive programs of sexual education. In Indonesia, sex education for adolescents is a controversial issue because it is considered to contradict the norms and values of the country. The majority of schools in Indonesia do not openly teach sex education to students. Consequently, the Internet and peer groups become the ultimate sources education for adolescents. Beyond this, educational campaigns about drug abuse, sexually transmitted diseases and sexual violence should be integrated into school curricula, government and NGO action.

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