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Trafficking of Women and Children in East Java, Indonesia

By Sutinah¹ and Karen Mwendu Kinuthia²

Abstract

This study investigated the patterns and modes of the occurrence of cases of women and child trafficking in East Java Province, Indonesia. This includes the factors that cause women to become familiar with the trade of women and children. This qualitative descriptive study was conducted in four areas of the East Java Province, known as regions, prone to have victims of trafficking. To collect the data, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with 115 respondents: 40 commercial sex workers (PSK), 4 transnational/contract marriage victims, 45 beggars, 25 housemaids, 1 victim of child trade trafficking, and 10 concerned experts (researchers and activists from nongovernmental organisations). The study found that economic factors, sociocultural factors and a brokers' proactive recruitment of new victims were the factors that led to the trafficking of women and children. The patterns and forms of the trafficking of women and children in East Java are (1) for prostitution, (2), for forced marriage across different countries, (3) to be employed as beggars, (4) to be employed as domestic servants and (5) to trade trafficked child victims to others. The modes developed by the syndicate to traffic women and children are increasingly diverse and this includes through persuasion, deceit, violence and the mode that uses 'gendam' or hypnosis.

Keywords: mode, prostitution, trafficking women, trafficking children, women and children in Indonesia

Introduction

The trafficking of women and children represents one of the world's most concerning problems and it requires immediate attention at the East Java provincial level, national level and international level. The Trafficking in Persons Report (2005) indicates that approximately 800,000 people per year are trafficked transnationally and millions more people are traded within various countries. A similar situation was reported by the Asian Development Bank in 2004. At least 1–2 million people are traded annually worldwide. Most of these trades originate in poor countries: 150,000 people from countries in West Asia and 225,000 in Southeast Asian countries (Arivia, 2004).

Indonesia is one of the 77 countries that have tried to stop human trafficking and the results have been unsuccessful. Indonesia is known worldwide as one the main traffickers of humans. The number of trafficked victims in Indonesia could increase to 75,000 to 1 million (Kesjer, 2005). Each year the number of trafficked women and children has tended to increase. For example, from 2011 until July 2015, 860 cases of trafficked women and children were observed. This can be reduced to 160 cases in 2011, 173 cases in 2012, 184 cases in 2013 and 263 cases in 2014. Until

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July 2015, the Indonesian Child Protection Commission (KPAI) reported 80 trafficking cases involving women and children. Kaylor (2015) revealed that the majority of human trafficking victims were women and children (i.e. boys and girls). Worldwide, according to an estimate, there are 20.9 million individuals trafficked to work in areas of sexual exploitation, forced labour, organ removal, and other forms of exploitation, including child soldiers and trafficking for rituals (<http://www.unodc.org/unodc/data-and-analysis/glotip.html>. 2015. Accessed October 24, 2015). Within the scope of psychological violence, violence by the United Nations is divided into two: emotional abuse and controlling behavior or can be said to be forms of exploitation (Yesyca et al., 2018).

Many factors are responsible for the annual increases in the trafficking of women and children in Indonesia. Poverty and low education, as well as ignorance, represent three of the most apparent factors. Additionally, brokers seduce young girls in public places (e.g. markets, schools and village) by offering them high salaries. This is an incentive with the potential to empower the young girls to improve their families' living conditions. In a stricken economic condition, many of these young women fall into the trap of false high salary offers without realising the risks. Weak law enforcement is also a contributing factor. In some cases, the local apparatus are involved in trafficking by charging levies (Arivia, 2004).

The factors that increase the women's vulnerability to becoming the victims of human trafficking, especially those working overseas, include a low level of education, no or limited access to legal protection and having an illegal status. When Indonesian migrant workers demand more rights from their employers who often force them to work overtime, these workers cannot obtain proper legal protection because often they do not have legal working permits. Women and children who are the victims of trafficking are often unable to break free from this oppressive situation. They may be forced to perform jobs that they do not desire, they are exposed to debt bondage, they have their documents such as passports confiscated, they have an undocumented immigrant status, they work long, gruelling hours and they are threatened with harm, physical assault and emotional abuse (Coppola et al., 2016).

The victims of human trafficking are also prone to becoming the victims of forced labour and commercial sexual exploitation. Those who become the victims of human trafficking are not homogenous and they have backgrounds comprised of various social levels, ethnicities and genders (Finkelhor and Ormrod, 2004; Greene et al., 1999; Schaffner, 2006). According to several studies, more young girls than adult men or women are trafficked (Estes and Weiner, 2005). This is because they are more helpless regarding becoming the victims of trafficking.

What should the provincial government of East Java do to prevent more people from becoming victims of trafficking? What can be done to prevent women and children from becoming human trafficking victims?

According to reports by ACILS and JARAK, Jember, Banyuwangi, Malang, Blitar, Tulungagung and Trenggalek are the regions in the East Java Province prone to the trafficking of women and children. These regencies are marginalised regions easily penetrated by trafficking syndicates, who recruit fresh workers for tourist areas and prostitution.

As one of the provinces in Indonesia that is the most prone to trafficking, the East Java Provincial Government is adamant regarding actively seeking the means to prevent the ever-increasing cases of the trafficking of women and children. This article intends to identify the patterns and modes of the cases of the trafficking of women and children in East Java and it seeks to reveal the causal factors.

Research Method

Several steps were taken to ensure the optimal results of this study. First, this study conducted a literature review of the studies on the trafficking of women and children in Indonesia, especially in East Java, in order to understand the various factors and conditions causing the increase in cases of the trafficking of women and children. Second, the data were collected and analysed. Information on the cases of the trafficking of women and children in East Java were gathered from the mass media and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), especially from the East Java Child Protection Institution (LPA). Third, the primary data was collected by obtaining qualitative data on the women and children who became the victims of trafficking. This primary data collection was conducted in the four areas in East Java prone to human trafficking: Jember, Malang, Tulungagung and Surabaya.

Similar to child trafficking, especially in the cases where children were used to beg, the data was collected from street children in the city of Surabaya who were at risk of becoming the victims of trafficking.

Table 1
Participants Divided into Categories of Human Trafficking

| Trafficking Categories | Jember | Malang | Tulungagung | Surabaya |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|-------------|----------|
| Commercial Sex Workers | 5 | 10 | 5 | 20 |
| Transnational/Contract Marriage | 1 | 1 | 2 | - |
| Begging | 5 | 15 | 5 | 20 |
| Domestic Helpers | - | 12 | - | 13 |
| Baby Trafficking | - | - | - | 1 |
| Expert Voice | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |

Fourth, in-depth interviews were conducted with experts such as researchers focused on gender and child rights, stakeholders and NGO activists who have studied or who have expertise in the cases of the trafficking of women and children in East Java and Indonesia.

All of this data was classified into several detailed topics and then analysed further in the context of the theories. This was followed by comparing the results with the literature.

Results and Discussion

The increasing trend of trafficking women and children is one of the most complicated problems for the East Java Provincial Government. The provincial government has conducted various efforts to minimise the number of cases. However, unfortunately, the situation has not improved because of the overlapping problems of poverty and decreasing employment opportunities in villages and the traditional patriarchal values strongly upheld by many people in the province. This undermines the position of women and children.

The police have investigated human trafficking cases involving women and children in East Java. However, more cases have been emerging.

After West Java and West Kalimantan, East Java has become the province in Indonesia with the third highest number of cases of human trafficking. This atrocity demands serious attention from all stakeholders (Wicaksono, 2015). Trafficking women and children is modern-day enslavement. In these supposedly modern times, trafficking women and children is not limited

to forced prostitution or the sex trade. It transcends to other forms of exploitation such as forced labour and slavery-like practices in informal sectors including domestic labour and contract marriage (GAATW, 2000, Wagner, 2015).

Human trafficking is the worst form of human right violations (Nurhenny, 2010). Based on Law Number 39 Year 1999 on Human Rights, women and children receive serious attention because they have always been the main victims of trafficking. Human trafficking undermines women and children and it is an embarrassment to society.

The most essential elements of human trafficking are related to illegal migration, immigration violations and smuggling or illicit transfer in the absence of consent. Additionally, and most importantly, human trafficking is a cruel crime against humanity because humans are commodified without considering their feelings and future (Wagner, 2015). International treaties contain three categories of human trafficking: (1) recruiting or transferring a person, (2) by using threats, force, deceit or kidnapping and (3) for the purpose of exploitation. All three elements must be observed to be deemed human trafficking (UN General Assembly, 2001). The most crucial element of human trafficking is when someone has no other options and where there are indications that he or she has been exploited (Skrivankova, 2010).

Women and children often become the victims of economic exploitation and they suffer psychologically because they have been moved to an alien environment and separated emotionally and physically from their families, friends, society, language and culture. Human trafficking also results in mental health problems. A study observed that women who were the victims of trafficking were at risk of depression and anxiety (Gibbons and Stoklosa, 2016; Oberteve and Cristina, 2018).

Modes

The trafficking of women and children is a major social problem. It is a form of exploitation and a violent act that violates the Convention on the Rights of the Child (GAATW, 2000, Roy dan Chaman, 2017). As a serious form of human rights violations, the trafficking of women and children must be eliminated because of its serious, short- and long-term consequences for the victims. Different from criminal cases where the victims typically suffer only material losses or physical injuries, in the cases of human trafficking, the victims have multiple sufferings. The victims lose their freedom, are forcibly overworked and are separated from their loved ones. Additionally, women and children who are victims of human trafficking must also manage damaging social stigma such as being considered prostitutes, extramarital affairs, fostered children and covert slaves.

The mode developed by the syndicates that traffic women and children has always been for commercial sexual transactions. Recently, the sophistication of this mode has increased. A common practice is to seduce and deceive the victim and her family. In various villages in East Java, brokers consistently recruit. According to an informant, these brokers sometimes cooperate with the local village officials to legalise and strengthen their operation of alluring women and children in front of their families.

In a situation where the work opportunities in villages are decreasing and economic pressure is increasing, these poor families have few choices to survive. This condition is apparently being misused by experienced brokers who take advantage of people in economic hardship. Offers of high salaries, a glamorous city life and other (supposedly) lucrative lures are what these women and poor families expect: work overseas for 2 – 3 years to bring home tens or even hundreds of

millions of rupiah. Notably, a study in Indonesia reported that the majority of trafficked women and children were lured by fraud and false promises (Roy and Chaman, 2017).

Experienced brokers easily recruit new victims by seducing them to work in cities or overseas. One effective mode is to captivate the potential victims psychologically. Debt-ridden parents, persuasion and high salary lures are the perfect combination used by these brokers to attract new victims. A girl from a poor, debt-ridden family is a target for the offer so then she can help her family. The following is an interview excerpt with one of the trafficking victims:

'If not due to a lot of debt, I would not dare to work in Jakarta. It is even difficult to get food. My husband only works as a farm worker. During the drought season, there is nothing to eat. I dared myself to work in Jakarta as a housemaid. There is a villager here whose sister also works in Jakarta. I was asked to follow her to Jakarta because her employer's relative needs a housemaid'.

Another mode developed by the syndicate to find new victims is using a young, handsome man to approach and ask the victim for a date. This mode requires patience. After the perpetrator is trusted by the victim's family, other strategies are implemented to entice the girl to follow him to find a job in the city. For the victims who cannot be easily seduced, the mode used is dating until they want to have sexual intercourse—a type of rape dating.

Females who, willingly or unwillingly, engage in intercourse with men have their choices severely diminished due to societal constraints. Some of the respondents said that this type of situation is experienced by those working in prostitution and entertainment places. Females who have sex are highly reliant on the first person, or perpetrator, that they have intercourse with. They will do anything to prevent that male from leaving them. The dependency is such that when they are together, the victim unconsciously feels that all of her social and economic needs are fulfilled (Suyanto, 2002).

Women and girls who are victims of trafficking perpetrators only realise their mistake after leaving their villages and arriving in the cities where they are sold to pimps or to the owners of entertainment places. The pimps then provide housing, trick them into signing contracts and force them to work as prostitutes. To make matters worse, these pimps ensnare the victims with debt, take their wages and forcibly overwork them. The victims typically have inadequate access to proper amounts of rest and food (Yentriyani, 2004). Thus, the victims of human trafficking experience multiple types of exploitation.

The most current mode observed in human trafficking cases is feared by women and girls. According to an informant, this mode uses so-called *gendam* magic. *Gendam*, a term used by the Indonesian people, makes the victim unaware of what she is doing and they follow the command of the person using *gendam*. Although the modes that involve magic are inherently difficult to prove and no victims are observed, the respondents said that this mode has started to spread in East Java. The *gendam* mode has been investigated by Indonesian law enforcement and it has caused fear among the parents with teenage daughters who are cautioned not to walk alone in public places.

The Patterns and Forms of Trafficking Women and Children

Various efforts have been taken to reduce and stop trafficking cases. However, the annual development of these cases is increasingly more worrisome. In various places in East Java,

examples of trafficking cases include fraud and coercion to force women and girls into the sex trade. Additionally, other practices are used to ensnare new victims, including more complex patterns and forms of trafficking.

These increasingly complex patterns and forms of trafficking women and children require attention because the number of cases is observed to be increasing annually. The literature has presented at least five forms of trafficking women and children in East Java.

First, there is the practice of trafficking women and girls by employing them in places, both domestic and abroad, that offer prostitution. Compared with other forms of trafficking, this form of forced prostitution constitutes the largest number of cases. In East Java, a study conducted by ILO-IPEC demonstrated that several regions in the province were identified as the origins of the trafficking victims involved in prostitution (i.e. the regencies of Jember, Banyuwangi, Situbondo and Sampang). Notably, other regions had trafficking victims related to the first pattern (Darwin et al., 2004).

Domestically, according to the respondents, the trafficking victims were sent to cities such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, Malang and Pasuruan as well as to other places with known prostitution spots. For example, Batam, Balai Tanjung Karimun in Kepulauan Riau and Medan. When sent overseas, the victims were exported to Malaysia, Hong Kong, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, Singapore, Australia and Saudi Arabia.

The age of the women and young girls forced to work as prostitutes ranged from 14 to 25 years old. In the business of prostitution, the younger the prostitute's age, the more sought after they were by customers. Thus, the most valuable assets of the pimps are the youngest victims. The workplaces of the victims include bars, massage parlours and salons (Bintari et al., 2015).

Second, women and young girls are trafficked for transnational arranged marriages. Although the number is not high, according to one researcher, the cases in East Java are alarmingly qualitative. In regions such as Pasuruan, Malang, Tulungagung, Jember, Probolinggo, Lumajang and Surabaya, a small number of residents have been trafficked through subtle methods to marry expatriates or foreigners to then live overseas.

For the victims who married foreigners and then lived overseas, life was not as wonderful as they had hoped. One respondent said that at first, everything was wonderful, and she was proud to have married a foreigner who she thought could fulfil all her needs and save her from poverty. Unfortunately, the situation that she experienced was not as she expected. Economically, her husband had only a mediocre income. Additionally, she realised her husband was an alcoholic who liked to say dirty words when drunk and who abused her physically. He also treated her like a prostitute because she had been bought with money.

What differentiates the victims of trafficking who become prostitutes from this pattern is only the number of men that they must serve. A prostitute must serve a number of men every day and her life is controlled by a pimp. A woman involved in a transnational contract marriage must serve the one husband who had purchased her. Nonetheless, both situations result in maltreatment because the women or girls were purchased as a commodity.

Third, children (including infants) are trafficked to become beggars. Nearing Eid al Fitr, the fasting month of Ramadan, Christmas and other festive holidays, the number of child beggars in cities usually increases. Most of these children are brought by their parents or relatives to beg or to work to help improve the economy of their families. However, studies of cases like this have also reported that it is not unusual for some of these children to have been kidnapped and forced to work as beggars.

Behind these child beggars are usually syndicates or local criminals who employ the children or take money from them in return for protection. According to some of the child beggars interviewed in Surabaya, they never imagined that they would beg in such a big city. The promise given to them is employment in factories or as office cleaners in the cities. According to one child beggar, if they routinely give money to the criminals who ask for it, then they will be free from violent threats.

Fourth, women and children are trafficked as domestic helpers or housemaids. In large- and medium-sized cities, becoming a housemaid is one of the easiest jobs for village girls because they have a low level of education and few marketable skills. In various villages in East Java, teenage girls, if they are not married immediately, eventually work in cities as domestic helpers. This phenomenon occurs in the large cities (e.g. Surabaya, Denpasar-Bali, Bandung and Jakarta) and in neighbouring countries. The countries where Indonesian women and girls are most likely to be employed as housemaids include Malaysia, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong.

The recruiters of the women and girls to be employed as housemaids are brokers and senior housemaids who recruit in their hometowns. Although no written agreement is provided, senior housemaids or brokers usually receive a commission if they recruit new recruits. The commission ranges from 100,000 to 500,000 rupiah per new housemaid that works domestically.

To work as a housemaid overseas, the procedures are the same as for other migrant workers. Through official or illegal methods, the prospective housemaids must pay transportation costs, training fees and additional fees, which are essentially the fees for their recruiter, namely the brokers or syndicates.

Causative Factors

Economic factors, such as poverty and the scarcity of job opportunities in villages, contribute to trafficking. Sociocultural factors are also thought to cause this grave societal problem. These sociocultural factors include the institutional factors and societal constructs that create inequality between men and women, the high rate of youth marriage, the high rate of abuse victims, low levels of education and poor opportunities for education (Hernandez and Rudolph, 2015). Herdiana, Chusairi & Zein (2014) found that poverty, family disintegration and insufficient family support when it comes to providing for the well-being of the family members were among the many factors contributing to human trafficking. Studies have also found that 85% of girls involved in commercial sex were from homes with a history of domestic violence and sexual abuse (Alvarez, 2010; Brawn and Roe-Sepowitz, 2008; Estes and Weiner, 2005; Harris et al., 2006; Kotrla, 2010; Schwartz, 2009; Unger et al., 1998; Weisberg, 1984).

The reviewed literature also indicated that some of the trafficking victims, especially those involved in commercial sex, were recruited by brokers and that others had no other choice. Nonetheless, most of these women and girls became trafficking victims because of poverty and other economic hardship, insufficient education and skills, and the scarcity of job opportunities in their hometowns. Some of the victims also had family members who depended on them which makes escaping from the victimisation scheme almost impossible because they must provide financial support to their family members.

The literature has also revealed that the female victims of violence have very weak positions in society (Priyanto, 2013). Thus, their minimum income is a contributing factor to human trafficking.

In various research locations, information was obtained that indicated that most of the parents of trafficking victims believed the brokers when they handed over their daughters because they had been lured by the high-paying job offers without considering the risks.

Similar to the findings in the literature on trafficking, the brokers generally know the victims well and they were the victim's boyfriends, uncles, friends, neighbours, relatives, parents, or husbands. Mitchell Finkelhor and Wolak (2010) showed that from data of the apprehension of prostitution perpetrators, 57% involved third parties, 31% did not involve third parties, and the remaining 12% were from the victims' families.

In the Regency of Tulungagung, the author of this study found one trafficking victim who managed to return from Malaysia after 3 years full of misery. Her female employer was very stingy and cruel. Every day she had to work for an average of 20 hours and she was scolded harshly by her employer. When her work was considered incorrect, she was assaulted with a slap. The victim was 20 years-old but she was already a divorced widow with one child and aging parents that she had to support. She had worked illegally in Malaysia through a broker who had persuaded her that she would receive a salary of approximately 3–4 million rupiah per month. Her job was said to be nursing her employer's infant son. In the end, she was unable to save the amount of rupiah that she had been promised and she was obliged to pay the broker 5 months of her salary for the transport fee to Malaysia. Her misery was added to by the abuse from her employer.

'I once wanted to work overseas due to the high salary that I would receive. A friend of mine, a near neighbour, has a good house because she constantly receives money from her daughter who works in Malaysia. So, I am interested to join. She also bought her little brother a motorcycle. I heard that when she came home, she brought more than one hundred million rupiah. I also wanted to try my luck. It turned out that my employer was very mean. I had to work all the time. And I did not receive any salary for 5 months because it was taken by the broker...'

The brokers' use of tempting salaries as tools of deception and seduction attracts women and children to accept the job offers promised. The pressure of increasing poverty, a low level of education and the inability to access the employment opportunities offered by the existing factories have left those trafficked with few options to improve their well-being.

This study found that in various villages, the factors that made the respondents more likely to be the victims of brokers' recruiting schemes pressure the parents who want their daughters to marry immediately, domestic violence and the temptation of an urban lifestyle. A low level of education was another factor that increased the vulnerability of these girls to human trafficking. Insufficient employment opportunities and unstable family structures also played a role. Traffickers hone their skills because they repeatedly target the most vulnerable and least visible people. Veerendra (2013) called these factors of trafficking occurrence 'push and pull factors.'

A similar situation has been observed in Bangladesh, where female trafficking occurs because of strong gender inequality. Dysfunctional and fragile family relationships, marital disputes, physical violence, sexual abuse, substance abuse, family pressure, gender discrimination and desertion by their husbands increases women's vulnerability to suffering and trafficking (Amin and Sheikh, 2011; Sen, 2004). This result from the literature is understandable because in a community that promotes patriarchal values, girls are second class citizens and boys are prioritised for receiving higher education (Firdous, 2004: 13). With only a low level of education,

it is easy for them to be deceived by brokers who promise 'good' jobs with handsome salaries but who are actually tricking them into working in a place or location of prostitution.

In various cases, poverty is the main impetus for children and women to eventually become victims of trafficking. Objectively, impending poverty and other factors such as insufficient attention from their parents, certain traditional beliefs, a consumptive urban lifestyle and various forms of abuse are the causes of children and women leaving their homes, becoming the victims of trafficking and becoming involved in the world of prostitution (Jones et al., 1994; O'Grady, 1994; Muntarhorn, 1996).

One activist from an NGO in Surabaya who was accustomed to handling female victims of commercial sexual exploitation stated that some women and girls were forced to work as prostitutes because they ran away from home as victims of child abuse. Others became prostitutes because of poverty, a desire to purchase trendy fashion, and to fund their drug addiction.

Teenage girls in rural areas do not have many life choices. Some of these teens are urged by their parents to get married immediately, to work or to help their parents complete various domestic jobs at home. In East Java, in several areas around the so-called the Horseshoe Region and Madura Island, it was still common to have children aged 14 to 16 years married to older men chosen by their parents. According to Ben White and Indrasari Tjandraningsih in their book 'Child Workers in Indonesia' (1998), some girls ultimately prefer to go overseas to become migrant workers or to go to cities to find work because they wanted to gain experience because of psychological distress at home or because they wanted to earn an income like adults.

The majority of the girls victimised by the prostitution mafia had an elementary or junior high school level of education and some have never attended school (Amiruddin, 2003). A similar situation still occurs in Surabaya and East Java Province in general. The study conducted by ILO-IPEC (2003) identified that the age of the average child trafficking victim was 10 to 12 years old. The victims had not known about sex because of their young age and they were forced by pimps or brokers, or tricked by the prostitution mafia, to work as prostitutes. One study found that 2.2% of 200 respondents interviewed were forced to perform acts of prostitution at 7 years old (2004). A girl who has not yet menstruated and who is younger than 10 years old has to fulfil the sexual desires of a man with a similar age to her father. This is unimaginable. Other victims reported that their first acts of prostitution were at 14 years old (10.9%), 15 years old (32.6%) and 16 years old (45.7%). The results of a study conducted in the United States found almost the same data: most adolescents in the commercial sex industry entered before the age of 15 (Gibbons and Stoklosa, 2016).

This study found many factors that cause women and girls to be the victims of trafficking and exploitation by prostitution syndicates. These factors are complex, such as fraud under the guise of finding work, poverty, frustration, escape from psychological pressures, guilt, family separation, debt traps, divorce, the impact of marriage at an early age and so forth. Poverty is considered to be a critical factor that causes the trafficking of women and children. People considered poor based on their income have limited choices regarding their sources of livelihood and they have limited social power to control the environmental conditions that pressure them. The desire to improve such conditions forces many women to migrate and their insufficient information regarding the new destination and their sincere desire to improve their fate and their families' fate, increases their risk of being a victim of trafficking (Hanifah, 2008).

The respondents in this study also reported having intercourse for the first time under circumstances that involved being raped. Other respondents had premarital sexual relationships, but their boyfriends refused to be responsible. This situation was observed to cause the girls

psychological stress. The following is the narrative of a respondent who was the victim of her irresponsible boyfriend:

'I work like this because I used to be wrong. My boyfriend was brash. After he slept with me, he left me. It often happened. I tried to resist. But, my boyfriend acted like a crazy person. I was raped. I was afraid to tell my parents. Finally, I work here because I don't think there are men who still want a non-virgin woman.....'

Additionally, not living up to the societal expectation of having no sex before marriage forced some girls into prostitution.

'The first time I came here, I was deceived. I didn't know anything about Surabaya. It was already 11 o'clock at night at the terminal. There was a good man. He offered help. He said that he would find me a job. His boss happened to be looking for an employee. I just followed him. All of a sudden, I stayed in a prostitution place and at night I was forced to obey him. I was afraid to reject him because he threatened to kill me. Now I just accept my destiny. It has happened. That time I was no longer virgin anyway. My boyfriend did not want to take responsibility....' (Sri, 20 years old from Lumajang).

In addition to the stigma from communities who tend to discriminate against women, an economic lure, permissive social relationships, the waning of moral boundaries, and the slick mechanism used to recruit prostitutes by brokers or experienced prostitutes are the factors that cause young girls to fall into the trap of a 'dream job' that they actually have never dreamed of.

Conclusion

This study on the trafficking of women and children in various regencies and cities in East Java has found that the trafficking was conducted in increasingly diverse and sophisticated modes, including persuasion, fraud, debt, bondage, the use of boyfriends, *gendam* and violence. The modes are developed by syndicates, brokers and criminals who engage in crimes of trafficking women and children.

The patterns and forms of trafficking women and children that occur in East Java Province are diverse and include (1) trafficking women and young girls to force them to work in the domestic and international prostitution sectors, (2) trafficking women and young girls for transnational forced marriages, (3) trafficking children to force them to work as beggars, (4) trafficking women and children to forcibly and willingly work as domestic helpers and (5) trafficking infants to sell as a commodity.

The causes of women and children becoming the victims of trafficking include economic factors (e.g. the pressure of poverty and scarcity of jobs available in the villages), sociocultural factors (e.g. the institutional and traditional unequal treatment of men and women), high marital rates in reference to early marriages (i.e. younger women marrying older men), being the victims of abuse, a low level of education, social constructs regarding the so-called value of virginity, discriminatory behaviour towards the sanctity of women, and the proactive attitudes of syndicates or brokers who continually recruit trafficking victims in various villages.

To reduce the increasing number of women and children who are the victims of trafficking, the East Java Provincial Government must implement preventive measures by socialising the Law on Domestic Violence and the Law of Child Protection prohibiting early-age marriages, protecting and rehabilitating the victims, providing legal assistance, creating a social climate that does not penalise trafficking victims, and taking necessary action against the perpetrators and local officials guilty of trafficking or aiding and abetting trafficking.

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