

Delocalization of Adolescent Prostitution in Digital Era: Indonesia's Challenge to Bring SDGs into Reality

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Abstract: This research aimed to study: 1) inter-actor relation in prostitution industry, particularly between adolescent prostitute and client, and 2) Indonesia's challenge to bring SDGs concerning reproductive health into reality. Gidden's structuring theory was used to understand the changing relation through structuring principle, while Mahbub Ul Haq's human development theory to see direction of development policy reproductive health. Research method employed was qualitative one with phenomenological approach. Sample was taken using purposive technique, data collection was conducted using observation, in-depth interview, FGD, and document, data validation using source and method triangulation, and data analysis using interactive model encompassing data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing. Result of research showed: 1) prostitution delocalization is constructed with increased utilization of information and communication technology development. Relation dynamic in prostitution can be understood through a three-cluster structural principle analysis as social practice: signification, domination, and legitimation. Technology is facility realized and utilized as modality in domination cluster. Structural dualism changes social relation forms, but solidifies men's power in accessing reproductive health service, 2) strategy to realize target of SDGs is included in presidential instruction, presidential regulation and RPJMN, despite the need for intervention at implementation level.

1 INTRODUCTION

The tendency of prostitution industry is shifting in the term of motive today. Economic factor no longer becomes key factor encouraging an individual to be prostitute. Arivia (in Patnani, 1999) found interesting phenomenon in prostituting activity, many adolescents make sexual workers their profession for the sake of fulfilling consumptive lifestyle. It is the wish to enjoy lavish life without hard work that encourages adolescents to sell their body and sexuality.

It can be said that prostitution is the profession into which the women can enter most easily because they only need body and sexuality asset. The more attractive the physical appearance of a woman, the larger is the financial and material reward she can get. Therefore, Edlund and Korn (in Nanik, 2012) mentions that prostitute is a profession performed by women with low skill to get high salary.

Surakarta is a tourism city developing rapidly but remaining to be comfortable place to live in. As the tourism city, entertainment service develops rapidly including food and prostitution industries. Some old prostitution locations

remain to be glowing, followed by the less detectable development of new location. This research aims to study the phenomenon of adolescent prostitution delocalization in digital era, and the challenge to achieve target 3.7 of SDGs about reproductive health.

2 THEORETICAL 2.1 DIGITAL ERA

Digital era is the term used in the emergence of new digital media, internet network, particularly computer and information technology. Most human life aspects have been touched by this kind of technology, from personal affair, business affair, to very intimate matters (Kristakis, 2010). The rapidly developing and growing information technology today result in very broad implication either positive or negative, including among others pornography and prostitution using social media (Retnowati, 2018).

Mellisa Farley (2018) found there are some risks to those involved in prostitution: being infected with diseases and impaired physical, mental, and social health. On average, adolescents involved within it will get out of it difficultly without help from adults including family,

society, and government. Brown and Witherspoon (2002) propose some mechanisms to improve adolescent health and media use, involving government regulation, media advocacy, campaign for public health, and media literacy. The main objective of media literacy is to make the youth aware of how media is produced and advertised, to teach them critical thinking skill, so that they will be expectedly avoided from unhealthy behaviour promoted by media.

2.2 Structuration Theory

Structuration theory presupposes the importance of social practice in both action and structure. Structuration refers to a way by which social structure is produced, reproduced, and changed in and through practice. Structuration theory may be considered as a summary of Giddens's sociological main concern, involving actors' intellectual ability, spatial and temporal dimension of action, transparency and possible action in daily life, and wrong separation between agency and structure (Abercrombie, et al, 2010).

The heart of structuration theory is concepts including: structure, system, and structural dualism (Giddens, 2010). There are three big structural clusters in society: signification, domination, and legitimation. Signification structure pertains to symbolic scheme, addressing, and discourse. Domination structure involves the scheme of domination over people (politics) and object/matter (economy). The legitimation structure pertains to normative regulation revealed in legal order. "Signification" principle in turn also includes domination and legitimation schemata (Priyono, 2000). Social reproduction occurs through 'structural' and 'social practice' dualism that always reproduces itself naturally and repeatedly. "Practical consciousness" is the key to understanding structuration. Social reproduction occurs through social practice repetition we question again rarely. It does not mean that there is no change. Change is also involved in structuration process, even what a small change it is. The border between practical consciousness and discursive consciousness is very elastic and thin, unlike that between discursive consciousness and unconscious motives.

2.3 Human Development Theory

Human development is a process of expanding choice to populations, through empowerment attempt focusing primarily on improving human basic ability in order to participate in any development areas (United Nation Development Program/UNPD). The importance of human being in development is that it is considered as the subject of development, meaning that development is conducted intended to human or community interests. Human development concept indicates that the main objective of development is to increase the human's choice as the part of society to enjoy the feasible standard of life.

Referring to Haq (1995) as cited in Jamaludin (2016), the understanding on human development suggests the characteristics and the components composing it. The development focusing on human being emphasizes on the two sides the development has: formation of human

capabilities (improving health, knowledge, and skills) and people acquired capabilities (for occupation, productive activity, participation in political affair, and etc). Development process should empower the community by providing many institutions or facilities to improve human capability of doing activities amid society to support development.

The four important components are; Equity (the fairness in expanding human choice and opportunity) Sustainability (the level of wellbeing enjoyed in the present should be enjoyed by the next generation), Productivity (improving human resource capability through investment in people in order to use their maximum potency to be means of gaining the growth), and Empowerment (empowerment based on full public participation). A successful human development can also be seen from actor side or from target to be achieved, concerning people, for people, and by people (UNDP, HDR 1990).

3 METHOD

The research method employed was qualitative one to get a comprehensive and complete understanding about prostitute-client relation in Surakarta. Using phenomenological strategy, the author attempted to understand the meaning of events and its relation to the people in certain situation. Primary data was obtained directly from the source, adolescent prostitutes, recruiter, pimp, consumer, and client. Meanwhile, secondary data was obtained from Bapermas PP PA & KB and NGO Yayasan Kakak Primary data was collected using observation, in-depth interview, and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) techniques (Krueger, 1994, Irwanto, 2006). Secondary data was collected using documentation technique. Data validation was conducted using source and method triangulations (Moleong, 1995). Data analysis was carried out using an interactive model of analysis encompassing data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing (Miles and Huberman, 1992).

4 RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Prostitution delocalization in Digital Era

Delocalization borrows chemical concept meaning a condition in which the position of an electron is not permanent in 1 atom, but it always moves from 1 atom to another. In prostitution context, delocalization is the movement of location after Silir prostitution localization was dismissed in 2000s. Prostitution localization spreads irregularly to the areas close to or far from the original location. When it is categorized by place, it can include: street edge, café, beauty salon, massage house, brothel, telecommunication stall, mall (shopping center) and hotel. Individual locations have different character viewed from

the social status of prostitutes and clients (they usually use terms guest or client), and varying prices and services offered.

Prostitution delocalization (Luis, et al, 2014) can be understood through agency and structure dualism (Giddens, 2010), departing from the three-cluster structural principle analysis framework as social practice. The clusters intended are signification, domination, and legitimation. Agency's interacting ability through social practice is highly determined by practical consciousness and modality owned. Internal dimension constituting practical consciousness refers to interest and purpose directing individual agency's action. Practical consciousness of adolescent prostitute is the wish to get incentive, while the client wants to get service.

Structural dualism lies on the meeting point of practical consciousness (Pranawa, 2016), determining the construction of prostitution delocalization. However, it should be underlined that space and time are constitutive elements of social phenomenon. Norms underlying agency's behavior in daily practice will likely apply to the community only.

Entering the digital era with internet utilization, prostitution phenomenon keeps moving. The bond formerly strong and decisive particularly between pimp and recruiter (Humsona, 2015) weakens continuously and is replaced with an increasingly branching-out networking. The relation established is getting shorter, so that income is getting larger. New places emerging are utilized to establish sexual relation.

Prostitution industry digitalization has change gender relation and sexuality established by those involved within. The dynamic of relation particularly between prostitutes and users can be understood through three-cluster structural principle analysis framework as social practice: signification, domination, and legitimation. The change of gender and sexuality relation does not occur suddenly but through its actors' continuous reproduction.

Signification cluster includes the facility in the frame of interpretation on ruler discourse, the presence of pimp and recruiter. They are adults constituting the ruler exploiting prostitutes. In digital era, they role has been reduced more. They still exist but do not really master the prostitutes. Some prostitutes remain to be in the prostitution cycle for many reasons: they have been experienced and some of them can establish their own relation. They even can change gender and sexuality relation with their client. This discourse is reproduction continuously so that many more prostitutes bravely work independently.

Domination principle cluster at structural level can be seen from the authority the prostitutes have. The context of interaction between prostitutes, and pimp and recruiter as the ruler in turn involve domination cluster. The prostitutes getting out the domination of pimp and recruiter should have in-depth understanding and find out its consequence first. Prostitutes should have the same meaning with pimp and recruiter about the action they should take. They have freedom and weakness, the lost "protection" from pimp and recruiter. When the prostitutes encounter the wiliness of

users or are arrested by security guard, they should solve the problem or maximally along with their group.

Domination cluster involves legitimation within it. Departing from domination cluster, in turn the repeatedly social practice between pimp or recruiter and prostitutes within it creates a set of norms. As a result, a set of norm is created from this social practice through continuously repeated process. Prostitutes have legitimation power and should not be subjected to pimp and recruiter, but they are prohibited from using the pimp and recruiter's area or otherwise they will get sanction from them. Structure and agency (actor) dualism occurring as the means of social practice through continuously repeated process in turn becomes a kind of norm governing behavioral order during undertaking social practice in community. So, it should be underlined that space and time are constitutive elements of social phenomenon. Norms underlying agency's behavior in daily practice will likely apply to the community only. Agency's interacting ability through social practice is highly determined by practical consciousness and modality owned. Internal dimension constituting practical consciousness refers to interest and purpose directing individual agency's action. Practical consciousness of adolescent prostitute is the wish to get incentive, while the client wants to get service without harming the areas of pimp and recruiter. Technology is facility realized and utilized as modality in domination cluster. Structural dualism lies on the meeting point of practical consciousness (Pranawa, 2016), following the change of relation agreed.

4.2 Indonesia's Challenge to Achieve SDGs target in Health Sector

Unequal relation in prostitution delocalization makes reproductive health service inaccessible to the prostitutes. Meanwhile, reproductive health becomes the 3rd goal of SDGs agenda, to ensure healthy life and to improve all people's wellbeing in all age groups. Target 3.7 mentions that 2030 universal access should have been guaranteed to sexual and reproductive healthcare service, including family planning, information and education, and integration of reproductive health into national strategy and program. To achieve such target, National Medium-Term Development Plan (RPJMN) of 2015-2019 in Chapter 6 about National Development Agenda will re-present the state to protect all nations and give the feeling of secure to all citizens. The fulfilment of access to high quality maternal, child, adolescent, and elder healthcare service can be accomplished, among others, through improving reproductive healthcare service among adolescents. National target of RPJMN 2015-2019 is age specific fertility rate/ASFR of 38 in 2019 (2012-2013: 48).

RPJMN 2015-2019 is embodied into Healthy Indonesia Program. One of its primary programs is to lower maternal mortality rate (MMR) and infant mortality rate conducted according to life cycle. For adolescence level, reproductive health program is held Ministry of Health in secondary school. In addition, BKKBN addresses Planned Generation (Indonesian: *Generasi Berencana* or *Genre*) program

(Susanti, 2014). It focuses on keeping adolescents far away from early marriage, free sex, and drug.

This development strategy aims to increase the human's options or choices as a part of society to enjoy the feasible standard of life. The objective of development is concentrated on human being, by emphasizing on two aspects the development has: formation of human capabilities (ensuring the universal access to sexual and reproductive healthcare service, including family planning, information, and education) and people acquired capabilities (to work better, to improve productivity, to participate in many other activities in order to enjoy life).

Healthy Indonesia and GenRe programs indicate human development components. The components include equity (fairness in expanding choice and opportunity to live healthily), sustainability (reducing healthcare fee and to improve wellbeing that can be enjoyed by the next future), productivity (healthy life can improve human resource's productive capability as a means of achieving growth), and empowerment (participating fully in community activity).

To measure the successful attempt of building human life quality, human development index (HDI) can be used. Despite not achieving the target of 71.5, Indonesian HDI was 71.39 in 2018, increasing by 0.82 from 70.81 in 2017. BPS mentions that the increase in HDI is due to the increase in birth life expectancy rate, expected length of study at school, per capita expense. There is an increase in life expectancy rate (determined by infant mortality rate, internal family health and environment health), the mean length of study at school and per capita expense per year (Alika, 2018). However, reproductive health service for people has not been accessed by all adolescents. The target of HDI has not been achieved because, among others, reproductive healthcare is still inaccessible to all classes of society.

5. CONCLUSION

Reproductive healthcare condition and sexual health of adolescent prostitutes are related to gender and sexuality factors. UNGASS' Declaration has paid special attention to women, as the most vulnerable group. Declaration also confirms that their vulnerability can be reduced only through gender equality and women empowerment attempt (UN 2001). Women's quality of life is a determinant of HDI and GDI. Considering that although the change of gender relation not followed with the increasingly change of access to reproductive healthcare among adolescent prostitutes, the achievement of SDGs target is the challenge to be faced by Indonesia. This research recommends the expansion of adolescents' opportunity of accessing reproductive healthcare. Prostitutes delocalization requires the officers' willingness to work harder with strategy of reaching the adolescent prostitutes with vulnerable and unequal position within society.

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