

CLIENTS AND BROTHEL MANAGERS IN KRAMAT TUNGGAK, JAKARTA, INDONESIA: INTERWEAVING QUALITATIVE WITH QUANTITATIVE STUDIES FOR PLANNING STD/AIDS PREVENTION PROGRAMS

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Abstract. Clients and brothel managers are often the most powerful decision-makers regarding condom use in brothels, but since publicly promoting condom use is still "culturally" difficult in Indonesia, the most feasible way of reaching clients is through the female commercial sex workers (FCSWs) and their managers. The existence of quasi-official brothel complexes in many major Indonesian cities, however, does make the government a key player in promoting condom use within these complexes. Interweaving qualitative with quantitative studies, this paper, which is part of a larger study, reveals the FCSWs' client/managers-related determinants of condom use. Policies that will promote condom use in brothel complexes are critical to the prevention of the spread of HIV throughout this community, as well as from it to the greater community.

INTRODUCTION

As of November 1996 the official number of HIV-positive and AIDS cases in Indonesia was 449, 108 of which were full-blown AIDS (Ministry of Health, 1996). Although estimates and projections of HIV/AIDS cases in Indonesia made by various institutions predict a grim future, the present sero-surveillance system does not allow us to monitor them. Present data do show that AIDS in Indonesia is predominantly heterosexually transmitted (Ministry of Health, 1996). As such, due to the nature of their work, female commercial sex workers (FCSWs) are among the communities at high risk to contract and spread the HIV infection.

Previous limited studies in some major Indonesian cities between 1991-1993 (Jakarta Health Provincial Office, 1988-1995; Van der Sterren *et al*, 1995) shown that the prevalence of gonorrhea and syphilis among brothel and non-brothel FCSWs were high (30-60% and 3-15% respectively). Moreover, other studies (Basuki, 1991; Rahardjo, 1992) have shown that the condom-use rate was low in FCSW communities (13-26%). Taken individually and together, both rates indicate that the spread of HIV might indeed become rampant among FCSWs and their clients.

The Indonesian government's policies towards prostitution and prostitutes have largely been determined by health and public-order considerations (Jones *et al*, 1995). Besides some detention-like FCSW rehabilitation centers, many major cities localize prostitution and place it under the control of local/provincial governments. In these quasi-official brothel complexes, the FCSWs and brothel managers carry out their business under some restrictions. Health services and vocational training are usually provided in these complexes; in general, however, they are half-hearted attempts, at best.

Various studies from other parts of the world show that very often it is not up to the FCSWs whether the clients wear condoms or not during the sex they have purchased (Mhalu *et al*, 1991; Pickering *et al*, 1993): the two most powerful decision-makers are usually the clients themselves and the brothel managers. Unfortunately, in Indonesia, it is still difficult to promote condom use publicly, since it is not "culturally acceptable" (Indonesia Health Minister Suyudi, 1995). The easiest way to reach the clients therefore is, through the FCSWs. However, the structure of quasi-official brothels makes the government another important player in this scenario, and their policies and programs, or the lack thereof, potentially determine condom-use practice in the brothel setting.

Interweaving a qualitative study with a behavioral survey, in 1995 I investigated the determinants of the STD/AIDS-related behaviors of the FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak, the only quasi-official

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brothel in Jakarta. This was the first comprehensive study conducted of a brothel community in Jakarta and stress was placed more on factors that are modifiable. As the results of the study have been reported in several papers, this paper is mainly based on the qualitative study of the clients and the brothel managers.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Study site

Located near the harbor, Kramat Tunggak is officially divided into 8 neighborhoods, with a total area of 11.5 hectares (28.4 acres). The FCSW population fluctuates yearly; in 1995, when the study was conducted, there were exactly 1,600 women working for 228 brothel managers in this complex. The sociodemographic characteristics in Table 1 give a picture of the FCSW community in Kramat Tunggak based on the 1993 census. Government control is handled by the Jakarta Social Welfare Provincial Office (JSWPO), but the daily activities are handled by a JSWPO subsidiary referred to as *Panti*, whose office is located across the street from the brothel complex. Adjacent to the office are classrooms where the vocational training is held.

Kramat Tunggak is a highly regulated place (Jakarta Social Welfare Provincial Office, 1993). For example, all the FCSWs are called *anak asuh*, which literally means "foster children," and the brothel managers are *Ibu/Bapak asuh*, or "foster mother/father," and only 18-to-35-year-old FCSWs may work in Kramat Tunggak. They may do so for a maximum of 5 years, or until they reach the age of 35, whichever comes first. Similarly, brothel managers are allowed to manage only one brothel, which they may do for a maximum of 8 years. To help prevent client violence towards the FCSWs, guns, knives, illicit drugs, and alcohol (except beer) are prohibited; every brothel has this announcement posted on its walls. On the doors to the women's rooms, some managers post another announcement, which says something like: "Sorry, for security sake, your door will be knocked on every half hour."

Study population and process

This paper gives some of the results of a one-year study conducted in 1995, whose objective was

to study the determinants of the FCSWs' STD/AIDS-related behaviors (other results are reported elsewhere). During April-November 1995, our team conducted 459 structured-questionnaire interviews, collected blood and urethral discharges from 282 FCSWs for gonorrhea and syphilis tests, and conducted the qualitative study. The methods used for the latter were participatory observation, interviews, in-depth interviews, and focus group discussions (FGDs). The characteristics of the study participants are listed in Tables 1, 2.

Two of my assistants were FCSWs, who had volunteered to help negotiate my entry to the community. They introduced me to their friends and to some of the brothel managers, which greatly eased my entry process. They also helped me in finding specific cases, such as women who gave oral sex (which is very uncommon there; see Table 5), and

Table 1

Sociodemographic characteristics of the FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak in 1993.

Characteristics	% (N = 1977)*
Age (in years)	
18-20	30.1
21-25	46.4
26-30	21.6
31-35	1.8
> 35	0.1
Educational attainment	
No school	8.8
Elementary	85.4
Junior high school	5.0
Senior high school	0.8
Marital status	
never married	35.1
divorced/widows	64.9
No of years working in KT	
0-1	49.7
1-2	31.1
2-3	13.2
3-4	4.4
4-5	1.4
> 5	0.2

*Source: Panti Kramat Tunggak Census, May 1993

Table 2
Participants selected purposively in Kramat
Tunggak brothels.

Population	N
Female commercial sex workers	30
Brothel managers	12
Vocation teachers	5
Panti officers (government employees)	6
Clients*	46

*Short-structured questionnaire

Table 3
Characteristics of the client participants.

Characteristics	N = 46 (%)
Age: range:	23-52 years
mean:	34 years
SD:	7.5 years
Occupation:	
Private org employee	24 (52)
Driver	8 (17)
Trader	11 (24)
Others	3 (6)
Marital status	
Never married	11 (24)
Married	32 (69)
Divorced	3 (7)
First visit to Kramat Tunggak	
range:	1970-1995
average:	1989
SD:	7 years
Visiting frequency to KT	
< 1-2/month	26 (56)
3-5/month	12 (26)
every day	8 (17)
Have sex with FCSWs in KT	
Yes	30 (65)
No	16 (35)
Condom use (N = 30)	
Always	4 (13)
Occasional	7 (23)
Never	19 (64)
Asked by the FCSWs to use condom	
Yes	7 (23)
No	23 (77)

the manager of the smallest brothel. While I conducted my interviews, they chatted with other FCSWs in the same brothel, and their stories complimented and validated my findings.

The clients were conveniently selected and interviewed in the evening. The interviews were conducted by four women, including myself; we would request that the brothel managers allow us to enter and mingle with the FCSWs and guests for about 30 minutes. We chose places where the music was not too loud and where the guests were not too drunk. Half of the guests we approached declined to be interviewed, but the others agreed to answer our short-structured questionnaire. Two older and one younger client agreed to talk more freely, provided they were not recorded. The characteristics of the 46 client participants are shown in Table 3.

Table 4
Characteristics of the brothel-manager
participants.

Characteristics	N = 12
Age (in years)	
≤ 35	1
36-45	4
46-55	5
> 55	2
Sex: Male	8
Female	4
Years of working as manager in KT	
Less than 5 years	5
5 years or more	7
Type of brothel	
Pure brothel	4
Bar-like brothel	3
Bar-brothel	5
Brothel-related status	
Owner	5
Lessee	2
Caretaker	5
Overall attitude towards condoms:	
Provide condoms in his/her brothel	2
Pro condoms but did not provide them	3
Indifferent	7
Anti condoms	0

For this study, an even distribution among the brothel-manager participants was planned based on age, sex, ethnicity, and years of working in Kramat Tunggak, and I asked the Panti officers to provide a list of those who matched each criterion. Some of the managers refused to participate, however, while others were very hard to meet; I therefore ended up with 12 managers whose characteristics are shown in Table 4.

Univariate, bivariate, and multivariate analyses were performed using STATA 4.0 (Stata, 1993) for survey data. All transcripts were analyzed using categorization and contextualization method (Kirk and Miller, 1986; Miles and Huberman, 1994).

RESULTS

Types of clients

From the FCSWs' point of view, clients can be divided into 3 categories: occasional clients (*tamu*), whom they have served once or twice; regular clients (*kenalan*), who have visited them 3 or more times over a relatively short period of time; and lovers (*gendak*), whom they treat as their husbands. To become a regular client, not only must a man be satisfied with the FCSWs' appearance and service, but the FCSWs must also like the man's condition (eg his cleanliness, kindness, generosity).

Many of the *kenalan* treat the women as their concubines, whom they visit once or twice a week. Having a *gendak* is also common in Kramat Tunggak, even though it is formally forbidden, due to the troubles it can cause. The *gendak's* payment system was different from that of the other clients: they only paid the manager's share when they visited, and would pay the women monthly, or at greater intervals. The women did not mind this, because when the *gendak* did pay, it was usually a lot of money. Many said they did not calculate how much the men owed anymore, and that they would understand it if the men had no money. I found some women who not only supported their *gendak*, but his family as well. One FCSW strongly maintained that life in Kramat Tunggak without a *gendak* is "saltless."

In contrast to what is commonly believed, only a few brothels served foreigners. FCSWs and brothel managers both said that they refused for-

eigners (white and Asian) because they were afraid of disease, and because they didn't know how to communicate with them. This seemed to have long been the practice, but it was not clear whether the fear of AIDS had increased it even more. In Kramat Tunggak, foreigners were usually guided by local people, who know exactly which brothels were open to them.

Our survey showed that during the previous two weeks more than 80% of the FCSWs had had one client or less every night (Sedyaningsih, unpublished), although 2% said that they had received more than 3 clients per night. Our interviews with the 46 conveniently selected clients indicated that only about 43% of them visited Kramat Tunggak 3 times or more per month, while 17% said that they visited every night (Table 3). This client frequency per month, plus the fact that there were 1,600 FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak who on average received one client per night, indicates that a vast number of men frequent FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak.

Both the client and FCSW data showed low condom use: 64% of the 46 clients had never used condoms in any of their sexual contacts with the FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak (Table 3), and 25% of the 459 FCSW respondents had never used condoms over the previous two weeks (Table 5). Noteworthy points in this regard were that most of the clients said that the women did not ask them to use condoms, and in-depth interviews with 30 FCSWs revealed that many of the women were too embarrassed to put the condom on – the clients had to do it themselves.

A small number of interviews with clients gave the impression that older men were more reluctant to use condoms than younger ones. A mid-forties client laughed at the idea:

I came here to have fun, to enjoy myself! Using condoms is not normal. No normal men will wear that. I ask you now: do you, yes yourself, use a condom?!

On the other hand, a young man said hesitatingly:

Well, if it is a must, I mean if it is the regulation here, I think I won't mind using a condom.

The brothel managers in Kramat Tunggak

There were no ready data about the sex distribu-

Table 5
Selected characteristics of the FCSW survey respondents in Kramat Tunggak.

Variable	N = 459 (%)
Types of sexual services over the previous 2 years	
Vaginal sex	
Never	27 (6)
Seldom	7 (1)
Sometimes	8 (2)
Often	30 (7)
Always	387 (84)
Oral sex	
Never	452 (96)
Seldom	2 (1)
Sometimes	2 (1)
Often	2 (1)
Always	2 (1)
Anal sex	
Never	459 (100)
Manual sex (<i>ie</i> , hand masturbation)	
Never	388 (85)
Seldom	43 (9)
Sometimes	15 (3)
Often	11 (2)
Always	2 (1)
Number of clients* (within previous 2 weeks)	
None	27 (6)
< 7	264 (58)
7-14	31 (26)
15-21	39 (8)
> 21	9 (2)
Condom use with clients** (within the previous 2 weeks)	
Never	108 (25)
Seldom	96 (22)
Often	74 (17)
Always	154 (36)
Number of clients rejected due to refusal to use condoms** (within the previous 2 weeks)	
None	192 (67)
< 7 clients	132 (31)
7 and more clients	10 (2)
Gonorrhea tested positive***	
Yes	32 (2)
No	236 (88)
Syphilis tested Positive***	
Yes	16 (6)
No	252 (94)
Consistent condom provision by the manager	
Yes	156 (36)
No	276 (64)
Perceived clients' and managers' attitudinal barriers towards condom use (score: 4-12)	
Low (10-12)	172 (40)
Med (7-9)	150 (35)
High (4-6)	110 (25)

* Including occasional and regular customers, and lovers

** N = 432 (excluding the FCSWs who had no clients)

*** N = 282 comprised samples who were tested for gonorrhea and syphilis

tion of the managers; however, the 1993 Panti census noted that about 17% of the managers were widows, and Panti officers estimated that 50% of the managers were women (Hardjono, 1995). It is uncommon for male managers to have sex with their own FCSW employees in Kramat Tunggak, since it was believed that this practice brings bad luck to the brothel's business. Some may have FCSW lovers from other brothels in Kramat Tunggak, but many have wives who are also active in managing the brothel.

The characteristics of the 12 purposive brothel-manager participants are shown in Table 4. Most of them were indifferent about condom-use practice, and only a few supported it by providing condoms in their brothels.

Types of brothels

In general, the brothels in Kramat Tunggak can be divided into 3 types. The first is a "bar-like brothel" with loud music and flashing disco lights, where the managers make money from selling beer and other drinks, and by providing women for sex. The women have to pay the manager monthly for electricity, and in some, for water and food, as well. The room rents are paid by the women's clients; an overnight client has to pay about 3 times as much as a short-time client. Clients pay the FCSWs directly; the room rent is about one-third of the amount actually paid to the women. In bar-like brothels, women can also make money from tips, for accompanying the guests in drinking and dancing, which they don't have to share with the manager.

The second type is the "bar-brothel" type, which is also characterized by music and dancing, though not as much as the first, and is usually smaller. The managers mainly make money from the sex trade, although they also sell drinks. The third type could be called a "pure-brothel." Usually small (though not necessarily so), it has no music and no dancing; it is a place where men go solely for sex.

Kramat Tunggak has market prices for both short-time and overnight clients. When this study was done, short-time and overnight clients paid Rp 15,000.00 (US\$ 7.00) and Rp 40,000.00 (US\$ 18.00) respectively. These prices are not written down anywhere, but are widely known and followed.

How the brothels were run in Kramat Tunggak

After analyzing my interviews with the managers and the FCSWs, as well as the FGDs with FCSWs, I ended up with a categorization that divided the brothels into 4 types of management. The characteristics of each category were based on the strength of the regulation, the amount of the managers' attention given to the FCSWs, and the FCSWs' autonomy in a particular brothel. However, one can find brothels that have the characteristics of more than one category. It should also be noted that the way the brothels are managed has little to do with its type; consequently, one can find, for instance, bar-like brothels, bar-brothels, and pure-brothels, that are managed in a paternalistic style.

Paternalistic brothels

These brothels are characterized by strict regulations for their FCSW employees, and by the managers paying close attention to them. Women in these brothels have little autonomy; the managers think they know what is best, and admit that they are sometimes hard on the women. They maintain, however, that this is for the women's own good.

Paternalistic brothels:

- the managers strongly regulated the FCSWs, *eg*,
 - = strict working hours
 - = FCSWs had to keep their savings with the manager
 - = FCSWs had to eat in the house (pay more for food)
 - = FCSWs had to "behave well" (be polite to clients, etc)
- the manager paid close attention to the FCSWs, *eg*,
 - = provided funds for health emergencies
 - = cared about the FCSWs' families
 - = cared about the FCSWs' safety
- the FCSWs had little autonomy, *eg*,
 - = could not leave as they liked
 - = could not have a *gendak*
 - = could not drink beer outside the house

The Red Dusk brothel: This brothel (not its real name) was a typical example of a paternalistic brothel. It was run by a couple, *Ibu* and *Bapak* (mother and father), who received the brothel as a

gift from someone *Bapak* had helped about 4 years previously. Since then, the couple has worked hard to make it a success, and they have bought and renovated several adjacent buildings. Their brothel was of the bar-like type, with 3 floors (the upper floors were the women's rooms), a spacious dancing area, and flashing lights.

There were about 16 FCSWs working there, all of whom were from East Java (both *Ibu-Bapak* came from that province, as well). There were also 2-3 males who worked as waiters, and a transvestite who worked as the bartender. *Ibu* told me that every other month she would visit their hometown. Everybody in their area knew that they had a brothel in Jakarta, so *Ibu* often found that women, either alone or with their parents, were waiting to apply for work as sex workers. She liked to choose the beautiful and obedient ones. On rare occasions, when she had to find new FCSWs by herself, she would do so among the small illegal brothels along the roads near her hometown.

Bapak-Ibu provided rooms furnished with a large spring-mattress bed, mirror, fan, lamp, and a small corner in which the clients and women could wash themselves. *Ibu* provided food, but the women could either eat inside (with payment), or find their food outside. *Ibu* also provided laundry service. The FCSWs did not have to pay for the room, but each woman had to pay Rp 50,000.00 per month (US\$ 22.00) for the electricity (lamp and fan) and laundry. If a woman had other electronic appliances, such as a TV or radio, she had to pay about US\$ 10.0-US\$ 20.0 more.

Bapak had had military training when he was young, and he had formulated a number of regulations that he tried to apply to his brothel. The women had to wake up early, and by 08.00 hours everyone had to have finished their bath and breakfast and open their rooms. He said this was to "let the sun kill the bacteria inside". The women could nap in the afternoon, but by about 19.00 hours everyone had to be ready for the guests. The women were allowed to drink beer with the guests, but they were not allowed to get drunk. The women were not supposed to smoke in their rooms, and they had to pick up their clients' cigarettes stubs for cleanliness and to prevent fire.

For safety, *Ibu* would hold the women's roomkeys at night, and each time a FCSW received a guest she would get the key from *Ibu*. In this way,

Ibu could count all the clients who had sex and see how long it was before the key was returned. After the sexual encounter, the guest was not allowed to walk out by himself: the woman had to accompany him, so that *Ibu-Bapak* would be sure that nothing had happened to her. *Ibu-Bapak* did not mind if a woman refused to serve a client, so long as it was courteously and wittily done, and they even taught the women how to do it. In short, there were a lot of regulations in this brothel, including some very minute ones, and if *Bapak* found that a FCSW had broken the rules, he would fine her.

Bapak had a private paramedic to whom he sent his employees for check-ups, but being a good citizen, he also required the women to attend the JSWPO's monthly health check-up. *Bapak* said he advised the women to use condoms, but he did not provide them. I think that *Ibu-Bapak* believed that the paramedic could solve any STD problems better than any condom could.

As usual, clients would pay the woman directly. She had to give half to *Bapak*, but could manage the other half herself. *Bapak* would take two-thirds of his share for "managerial costs" and keep the other third for the woman's savings. If she needed money for medical treatment, she could use these savings. The women could also ask *Bapak* to keep more than the compulsory amount, because he would only let his employees go home to visit their villages after their saving had reached one million rupiah (US\$ 444.00; usually after 3-4 months). *Bapak* said it was no use for the women to bring less than one million rupiah home, as she would not be able to buy a cow. He liked to see the women give their parents substantial economic help. His own monthly income from the brothel (from the women and from selling drinks) was an average of Rp 6,000,000.00 (US\$ 2,666.00), and this brothel was indeed one of the busiest in Kramat Tunggal.

Both *Bapak-Ibu* believed that it was bad luck for a manager to have sex with his employees, and in this brothel, even the male workers were not allowed to have sexual relations with the FCSWs. They were, however, allowed to have lovers from other brothels. In accordance with JSWPO regulations, *Bapak* strictly prohibited the women from having lovers (*gendak*) among the clients.

Familial brothels

The second type are brothels that have a family

atmosphere. The managers are like parents to the women: full of regulations for the sake of the women, and full of kind attention. The difference between this type and the paternalistic brothel is that in this system the women have more autonomy: as in many Indonesian families, they can argue and break some of the rules if they do not like them.

Familial brothels:

- the manager moderately regulates the FCSWs, eg,
 - = no strict working hours
 - = drinking was allowed, but to get drunk was forbidden
- the manager paid close attention to the FCSWs, eg,
 - = cared about the FCSWs' health and safety
- the FCSWs had more autonomy:
 - = they could leave as they liked after discussing it with the manager
 - = they could save their money anywhere they liked (or not save it)

The Soft Wind brothel: Soft Wind (fictitious name) was a medium-sized, bar-brothel type, that was run in a familial way. The manager was an elderly *Ibu*; her husband managed another brothel not far from there. Neither brothel was theirs; they leased them from a Mr J, a Chinese-Indonesian businessman who owned about 12 brothels in Kramat Tunggak. *Ibu* had started in the brothel business 17 years ago outside Kramat Tunggak. She was an ex-FCSW herself; she did not do it for long, however, because she immediately recognized that managing a brothel, even a very small one, was more profitable. She started out leasing a small room near a train station, and employed two FCSWs. Their previous brothel, located outside Kramat Tunggak, was in an area where the government had planned to build a highway, so they were offered a space in Kramat Tunggak and given a small amount of money in compensation. They had now been in Kramat Tunggak for 8 years. Besides leasing the brothels, the couple owned a house outside Kramat Tunggak, where their children lived. Their children (adults now) knew that their parents managed brothels, and they sometimes came to visit.

Located in the middle of Kramat Tunggak, Soft Wind was not a very busy brothel. It had 7 FCSWs and one male worker. Although *Ibu* came from

Central Java, her employees were from West, Central and East Java. She never tried to recruit new workers, because there were too many times that she had paid the woman's travelling expenses, only to have her work for a short time before returning to her village. *Ibu* just waited, and from time to time, a woman would come and ask to work for her: either somebody from another brothel in Kramat Tunggak or from other brothel complexes. *Ibu* was not choosy, as long as the women had a letter proving that they were widows/divorcees, or (this was her term) "blemished girls."

Ibu provided only modest beds for each room. The FCSWs could get up at any time they liked, but they had to be ready for the guests by early evening. They were free to drink and smoke, but *Ibu* would not tolerate illicit drugs. She did not strictly knock on the women's door every half an hour when they had clients with them, but she did watch over them carefully for their safety. She would take the women to the hospital if they were sick, and she did not mind if the women rested up in her brothel during the illness. *Ibu* also advised her workers to use condoms, and she did provide them; whether they were actually used or not, she left to the FCSWs and their clients to decide.

Ibu was very strict about *gendak*, as she had seen too many of them take advantage of the women. If she saw that a woman had started to become too close to a client (if the man stayed several days and nights with her, for instance), she would ask them whether they were planning to marry. If not, she would reprimand and threaten the woman.

For every sex client, no matter how much he paid, the FCSWs had to pay *Ibu* Rp 5,000.00 (US\$ 2.50); on average, this was about 25% of what the client paid. The women did not have to share their tips; if *Ibu* saw that a client had already drunk for hours with a woman, she would give the client a hint, so that he would not forget to tip the sex worker. This was necessary, because many of the women were too shy to ask for tips. They told me that it was up to the clients; they just hoped that the men "understood" them. The FCSWs had to pay about US\$ 1.50 more per month for electricity. They were free to manage their own money, and all of them bought their own food, paid for their own laundry, and bought the water for their baths. *Ibu's* principle in running the brothel was: "*The manager and the sex workers should work together for the benefit of both.*"

Laissez-faire brothels

This is the most lax type of brothel. I did not find any bar-like brothels in Kramat Tunggak that were run in this manner, though this does not mean that there weren't any. The managers did not regulate the women strictly, because they basically cared little for them. The FCSWs had the greatest amount of autonomy here, though there were some restrictions.

Laissez-faire brothels:

- were usually run by caretakers
- no strict regulations
- the caretakers did not really care about the FCSW's health
- the FCSWs had strong autonomy; basically, they were on their own

The Wild Horse brothel: This brothel (not its real name) was strategically located on a corner. It was of the bar-brothel type, and the manager, an elderly woman, did not live there. She leased it, again, from Mr J, her ex-husband (they had divorced not too long ago) leased a brothel close by. Both had previous brothel-management experience elsewhere, and her nephew managed the brothel's day-to-day business for her. This young man did not live inside either, but he came everyday, from morning till evening. He had 2-3 male workers who stayed all the time in the brothel, and they functioned as bartender, disc-jockey, waiters, and bodyguards.

There were 9 FCSWs working in this brothel, most of whom came from a small island in East Java, the same as *Ibu* and her nephew, who was called *Kakak*, which means "brother." With about 15 clients per day, this brothel was not a very busy one. As in familial-style brothels, the FCSWs shared approximately 25% of what the client paid with the manager. The FCSWs also had to pay for electricity, which varied according to what appliances they had—this is the most common system in Kramat Tunggak. Most of the clients came from the same small island; these men, even in a place like Kramat Tunggak, were notorious for their bravado and rudeness. Some of the FCSWs informed me that the clients from this island often initiated fights in brothels, but when I asked about this, *Kakak* assured me that they all behaved nicely in the Wild Horse, because the owner was from the same tribe.

Kakak had only been in this business for two months, and he said that he would only help his aunt for a year. He did not enforce any regulations beyond the formal ones; he did not care whether the women woke up early or not, whether they were ready for the guests on time, whether they drank, smoked, or took illicit drugs. Here, each FCSW was on her own.

(What about condoms?) *Sure, the women could use them if they and the clients wanted. (Do you advise them to use a condom?) Heck..., no! It's too personal. I don't talk about such matters with them.*

(May the women have a *gendak*?) *Why not? It's also a personal matter. As long as the men pay for the room each night they spend here.*

(What if a FCSW gets sick?) *Well, they better go see a doctor, and....take a rest in their own village.*

Kakak told me that he was not interested in the women in Kramat Tunggak. He had a wife, who did not know about his job here, and a child.

Business brothels

The last category consists of bar-like or bar-brothel types that are managed more professionally. On average, they have strong-to-moderate levels of regulations, the managers pay a moderate amount of attention to the women, and the women have a correspondingly moderate level of autonomy. The emergence of this category of brothel within the last 5 years or so indicates that prostitution is starting to be seen as a safe business in Jakarta.

Business brothels:

- usually big or moderately-sized
- relations between the manager and the FCSWs were strictly business
- strong/moderate regulations
- the manager cared about the FCSWs' health and safety for the sake of his/her business
- the FCSWs had little autonomy

The Dream Castle brothel: Dream Castle (fictitious name) was a very big, bar-like brothel. It had about 60 FCSWs, and the owner, Mr A, was a man of about 45. He set a new precedent in Kramat Tunggak about two years previously by buying-up 7 or 8 brothels at once. Being a successful businessman in several other sectors, he felt challenged to

try his luck in the sex industry. Besides owning brothels, he also managed some of the beer distribution in Kramat Tunggak. He lived outside the complex and refused to tell me how much he earned from his businesses in Kramat Tunggak.

Mr A employed several men and women as managers of his brothel, and he married one of them, a young woman from Indramayu. The one who managed Dream Castle was a woman of about 45, who was called *Mbak* (sister); together with her first husband, she was an ex-brothel owner, as well. After her divorce, she bought her own brothel and married again. Unfortunately for her, this second husband was not used to the life in Kramat Tunggak, so she soon had to abandon her business. Now that he had passed away, she had come back to Kramat Tunggak, but did not have enough money to own a brothel herself.

Mr A did not require his sex workers to pay for electricity or water, though the women had to share 25-30% of what the sex clients paid them. Dream Castle was one of the busiest brothels in Kramat Tunggak. On average, the women in this brothel earned Rp 500,000.00 (US\$ 222.00) per month or more. *Mbak* received only US\$ 80.00 per month from Mr A, but with tips from guests, she could earn about the same amount as the FCSWs.

Mr A said he cared for the safety of his women by providing a health fund. He mentioned how he had paid Rp 1,800,000.00 (US\$ 800.00) for one of his FCSW's operation. He even called the woman over, to tell me the story herself. It appeared to me that Mr A used his "charity" to gain power over the women: they felt in debt to his generosity, and were uncomfortable with him. For example, in the morning they usually sat in the guest room watching TV, but whenever Mr A visited, they would silently slip away. Many told me privately that they preferred to use their own money for going to the doctors than to use the fund.

Mr A and *Mbak* were skeptical about condom use. Their attitude was that it was impossible to promote, because the clients did not like it; on the other hand, they assured me that they advised their workers to use condoms, although they did not provide them in the brothel. In short, the owner's and the manager's regulations and attention were for the benefit of the business, not because they cared for the women.

From the interviews with FCSWs and managers

and from the FGDs, it is evident that the majority of the brothels in Kramat Tunggak were run in a familial way. Our quantitative data also showed that, on average, the FCSWs had to share about 30% of their monthly income with their managers, which included room rent and electricity. This confirmed that most of the women in Kramat Tunggak had relatively strong autonomy in managing their own income; it also shows that there were not many paternalistic and business brothels, which demanded more money from the women.

DISCUSSION

A survey (Sedyaningsih, unpublished data) found that the significant positive factors for predicting continuous condom use among FCSWs in Kramat Tunggak were the women's previous experience in negotiating condom use with clients, and their experience in using condoms for family planning purposes. These experiences were, in turn, positively associated with the FCSWs' knowledge about STD/AIDS, their positive beliefs about condoms and their skill in applying them. One of the significant negative factors, on the other hand, was the women's perceptions about the clients' and the managers' rejection of condom use.

The qualitative section of the study complimented these findings: most clients did not use condoms (almost all said condoms decreased sexual satisfaction), and most brothel managers did not provide condoms in their brothels—many had never even discussed it with their FCSW employees. Many of the women did not have the knowledge and/or skills (techniques or negotiating skills) to overcome these core problems; furthermore, some did not have the confidence or the autonomy to negotiate condom use; and some would get too drunk or too desperate for money to bother about condoms.

The image of condoms has never been positive in Indonesian society, even for family planning purposes. It is more taboo to discuss condoms openly than other birth prevention devices, and a number of humorous euphemisms are used so as to avoid explicitly mentioning condoms (eg, rubber sarong, raincoat). Therefore, it is important that our survey found that young women tend to use condoms more consistently than older ones (Sedyaningsih, 1996, unpublished paper) and this study also found that younger clients were more

likely to be persuaded to use condoms. The most probable reason for this is that younger people are the product of recent times, in which the media has already discussed the danger of AIDS and condom use as a prevention method, albeit in limited ways. Consequently, they are likely to be more comfortable with the idea, since they did not grow up in an era when discussion of condoms was taboo.

Indonesia has achieved great success in its family planning programs by, among other things, changing the public norm from "many children bring prosperity" to "a small-sized family is a happy and prosperous family." In this era of AIDS, the government (the JSWPO and Panti) can use similar tactics, by improving the image of condoms in Kramat Tunggak and other quasi-official brothel complexes. They should change their present indifferent attitude about condom use, and try to create a new public norm (within brothels) that using condoms in brothels is the "smart" thing by stating formally that all sexual intercourse taking place within quasi-official brothel complexes, whether it involves clients or lovers, should be conducted with the use of a condom. A large announcement board should be placed at the entrance to the complexes, along with a kiosk that distributes STD/AIDS information and sells or freely distributes condoms.

Furthermore, the JSWPO/Panti should require the managers to post this announcement on every woman's door and on the wall of the women's rooms as an addition to its other announcements. They should also make condom-provision in each brothel a regulation rather than an option. The brothels should be regularly checked, and those that do not comply should be penalized. Checking brothels is a routine procedure in Kramat Tunggak, and the officers can always find something wrong (eg, outdated operating licenses, no building licenses). In this way, the FCSWs will be more encouraged to bring up the issue of condom use with their clients – and may even persuade them to use them.

It will take some time for the women and the clients to really use condoms in their transactions, but informative posters and booklets in each brothel will be very helpful in accelerating the creation of this new norm. It is best that JSWPO/Panti not penalize the women who are found not to use condoms; instead, they should be encouraged to explain their reasons for doing so.

Condom-use policies cannot and should not be

the only strategy to prevent the spread of HIV in brothel communities, as it also should be realized that brothels are not the sole place where we should put our efforts to prevent the AIDS epidemic in the country. As was mentioned in the recent XI International Conference on AIDS (July 1996), the other two strategies of the three-pronged method for preventing/containing the AIDS epidemic (ie, disseminating STD/AIDS-related knowledge, and STD control) should also be conducted in all brothel communities.

Developing programs for the above two strategies should make use of this study findings, as well. For example, disseminating STD/AIDS knowledge in brothel complexes should involve the brothel managers. In this, the STD/AIDS educators/trainers must be made aware of the differences among each brothel management's style, and approach them accordingly. The familial brothels are probably the easiest to approach, since the managers basically care for their employees. By discussing STDs, AIDS, and condom use with the FCSWs, they may come to their own solutions as to how best to promote condom use in their brothels. Paternalistic brothel managers can also be a great help in ensuring that FCSWs practice condom use, as long as they are first convinced of its importance. Since most of them are older, experienced, and have or used to have "respectable" jobs, a more personal approach to them at a separate time is necessary. Problems may arise with the business-type and laissez-faire managers, but stressing how good for business it is to have healthy FCSWs may work well.

Government regulations on condom use can only be implemented in places where they have strong grip, such as in quasi-official brothels; therefore, further interwoven qualitative and quantitative studies of non-brothel FCSWs (eg, street FCSWs and covert FCSWs) are very important to plan STD/AIDS prevention programs in these communities. However, as quasi-official brothels are usually large and located in major cities all over Indonesia, building a new condom norm here may gradually have an impact on other types of FCSWs, as well.

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