

# **Children on the Move in East Jakarta, Indonesia**



**The Center on Child Protection at the University of Indonesia**

**The National Coalition for the Elimination of Commercial Sexual  
Exploitation of Children**

**ECPAT International**

**The Body Shop**

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## **Abbreviations**

<b>CSA</b>	Child Sexual Abuse
<b>CSEC</b>	Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
<b>ECPAT</b>	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
<b>MAT</b>	Mobile Assessment Tool
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental Organization
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children's Fund

## Executive Summary

The movement of children is inevitable as they or their families seek social, educational, and economic opportunities, safety, or a fresh start. Looking at these children as a group allows the collection of data and the creation of strategies to address their needs and vulnerabilities in their places of origin, while in transit, and at their destinations. Although *children on the move* are a diverse sub-set of all children, examining their assets and needs collectively can highlight common challenges and risks, as well as identifying particularly vulnerable groups that may warrant special attention. The Mobile Assessment Tool (MAT) can assist in the documentation of these risks and vulnerabilities by exploring the needs and coping strategies of children along their routes of travel. In particular, collecting information about the journey itself will contribute to a knowledge base about the responses and programs that are appropriate for protecting children during and after transit.

## Methods

The MAT pilot took place in East Jakarta, as this was thought to be one of the main destinations of *children on the move* in Indonesia. The key elements of the MAT methodology included ethnographic mapping to determine sub-types of children living there, and collecting data about children's experiences of migration from home to East Jakarta through individual interviews. Boys and girls were included in the sample population if they were born in Indonesia, were between the ages of 11 and 21, and were not originally from East Jakarta. Full time students were excluded from the study unless they worked concurrently. Given the partnership with ECPAT for this research, additional consideration was given to know locations of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children.

The typology created using observation and interviews in Jatinegara, Prumpung, Cipinang, and Klender consists of fifteen sub-groups of *children on the move*:

1. Children working or selling things informally or on the street
2. Children begging for money
3. Children performing on the street collecting money from passersby
4. Boys washing cars or motorbikes
5. Scavengers – Children collecting discarded items or food
6. Porters – Children carrying items for others for a fee
7. Construction – Children working on construction sites and other labor activities
8. Transport - Children collecting fares on transportation or driving moto-taxis
9. Children working in private homes as maids and/or babysitters
10. Children cleaning offices, trains, buses, or parks
11. Children working in factories or home industry
12. Children selling or transporting illegal drugs
13. Children working in formal stores or restaurants
14. Girls whose main income source is sex work/CSEC
15. Children facilitating sex work, acting as guardians or transporters

## Results

Of 206 respondents interviewed, 61 were female, 142 were male, and three were waria. Given that this is not a representative sample, it is not possible to judge whether there are actually more boys than girls migrating to and living in East Jakarta, or whether the sample is biased because boys tend to be engaged in more visible activities than girls, or were more likely to agree to be interviewed.

### *Relationship with Parents*

Out of 203 children responding, 88 (43%) reported that they currently live with their parents; 52% of girls live with their parents, 38% of boys live with their parents and 2 of 3 waria interviewed live with their parents. This contradicts the assumption expressed by some key informants that children living in the area who are working on the street are likely unaccompanied.

### *Marriage*

All respondents were asked about their current and previous marital status. Girls were more than twice as likely as boys to ever have been married at the time of data collection. While girls were more likely to report ever being married than boys, this also may reflect the ages at which girls tend to marry in Indonesia.<sup>1</sup>

### *Education*

Sixty-one girls, 141 boys, and three waria reported ever having received *any* kind of education, including informal education. Out of 196 children who responded to the question about education, seven reported *never* attending formal school, all of whom were male. The majority of children reported leaving school during or after junior high school.

### *Travel Logistics*

When children leave home they may do so alone or in the company of others. Fifty-nine of 206 children (29%) reported that they left home unaccompanied by anyone. Of the remaining 71%, 30% traveled with their parents, a friend (18%), a sibling (14%), someone else (6%), a broker or future boss (3%), a grandparent (.5%) or a neighbor (.5%). At all stages of identifying and ranking their needs, children continually mentioned the importance of a companion or friend both to meet emotional needs, and also to help meet immediate needs like food, shelter, or to provide protection.

### *Negative Aspects of the Journey*

Being the victim of a crime was the most commonly reported negative experience during the journey (14%); the most frequent crime was theft of

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<sup>1</sup> International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (2004). *Child trafficking for prostitution in Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java: A rapid assessment*. Jakarta: International Labour Organization.

money or belongings, extortion, where children were threatened by “bad guys” or other children, and induced to give money or belongings. Finally, a handful of children reported being physically assaulted without provocation. From the descriptions of children it appears that a number of teens and young men take advantage of children’s vulnerability while working on the street and hurt them physically, take their money, or force them to regularly give part of their income. Children also reported being in conflict with the law and were then sent to the youth reform center.

### *Coping Mechanisms on Journey*

By exploring coping mechanisms used by children that impacted their experience either positively or negatively, the hope is that these strategies may be shared with other migrating children in the future to improve their outcomes during migration. Children most commonly reported that having money or getting money from other people was the most important thing when they were having difficulties. They also reported that friends and family were important, as were having a mobile phone to be able to ask friends and family for help. Children listed protection and safety in general, from unknown people or from “strong friends” as their best source of support. Children also mentioned concepts like patience and courage, or surrender and giving up, showing that children’s abilities to face adversity differ individually and based on the circumstances.

### *Needs During the Journey*

Having a job consistently ranked at the most important item among children, money was ranked most frequently, with some children mentioning money more than once as necessary to rent a house or buy food, in these cases the actual need was counted once rather than double counting the need for money. Adequate housing was both highly ranked and listed frequently, demonstrating that many children value it.

### *Children’s Experiences in East Jakarta and Self-Identified Needs*

To learn more about children’s experiences living in East Jakarta, they were asked where they slept usually, where they slept ‘last night’, and who else sleeps there to explore how many children are accompanied or unaccompanied. Out of 203 children who responded to these questions, 32 (16%) reported that they usually sleep in the same place as their parents, siblings, or other relatives, with 31 children spending the night there ‘last night’. Children without any stable living place, who usually sleep in places like parks, intersections, beside buildings, or in buses or train stations make up 22% of the respondent pool. Many children (29%) report living in a rented house, mostly with groups of friends ranging from a few children to groups of over 30.

### *Income Generation*

When children are working to meet their needs they often work outside of the regulated markets and trade work or goods for things like food or housing. Family members were the most commonly reported source of outside help (13%), followed by supplemental support from a job or boss like clothing,

food, or a place to stay (9%). Neighbors and strangers were also seen as a source of support through donations of food, clothing, money, and loans.

When asked about others who engage in transactional sex as another source of income 69/209 (34%) children reported that they had a friend or acquaintance who had ever received goods, money, or favors in exchange for sexual activity. When asked whether they have ever engaged in transactional sex approximately half as many children, 35 (16.7%), reported their own involvement in transactional sex as reported that their friends were involved in such activities. As might be expected, children are more likely to report the actions of others, in regards to transactional sex, than of themselves

### *Illegal Activities*

Children were asked whether they had ever engaged in any activities that 'might get them in trouble if an adult found out'. The most commonly reported activity was consuming alcohol, mentioned by 52% of the children who admitted ever having done something that could get them in trouble. Forty-three percent of children reported fighting, often with other gangs of children. Fifteen children reported using drugs in general, with other children mentioning specific drugs mentioned including: marijuana (4/88), abusing prescription and over-the-counter medication (8/88), sniffing glue (2/88), ecstasy (1/88), and crystal methamphetamine (1/88). Children reported committing violent crimes including: murder (2), rape (1), robbery with a deadly weapon (4), stabbing (1), assault with a deadly weapon (1), robbing a home or store (3), robbing a person (3), and working as a drug courier (1).

### *Needs in East Jakarta*

Respondents mentioned money most frequently as it was described as essential for buying anything the children needed, and being flexible so that they could meet any challenges or problems. Shelter, clothing, friends, and food were also among the five most commonly mentioned items. Friends were mentioned by some children as being for companionship, but in other circumstances friends were described as being helpful in working or earning money, and for increasing security and protection.

## **Implications and Recommendations**

Outreach and Awareness Raising: Outreach by ECPAT and its partners in areas where *children on the move* are known to live is needed, as many children interviewed were unaware of the services near them and could also benefit from education about issues like health and safety.

Housing: For children without sufficient resources to rent a place to live, there are very few options in East Jakarta. Many of the children interviewed during the data collection process lived in homemade shelters of discarded materials near riverbanks or train tracks. Non-denominational shelters that allow children to maintain their autonomy, access education, and earn income would be welcomed by *children on the move* and would potentially decrease the number of children living in dangerous and unhealthy environments.



Healthcare: Awareness raising and the presentation of services in conjunction with other resources desired by *children on the move* would improve access and demand, which in turn would increase income for centers that provide medical care on a sliding scale basis.

Education and Employment: Access to informal education including vocational and life skills training was requested by a number of children, who saw further education and training as a way to find formal jobs, increase their income, and to improve their circumstances. Helping children gain marketable skills and also helping them find employment would be incredibly beneficial for many of the children encountered during the research period.

Identification: Many children reported that they lacked government issued identification, and that this increased their vulnerability when interacting with law enforcement, and also limited their ability to secure permanent work. The identification process in Indonesia is complex, and offering to help children access it would be helpful to them, and could draw children to other services that they might not otherwise access like health or psychosocial services.

Collaboration between Government Agencies for Children's Protection: Various government agencies can and should be involved in promoting child protection. For example, given the number of children that live, work, and sleep in and around bus and train stations, it would be appropriate to involve the Department of Transportation. Children described interaction with law enforcement in East Jakarta as everything from unproductive to frightening to abusive. Joint advocacy and programming should involve advocating for children's rights as well as working with the police to improve their interactions with children, and to ensure that children are referred to the appropriate resources when appropriate, rather than being treated as criminals. Child protection is a cross-cutting issue that should be considered during the decision-making process across government agencies, and awareness raising is the first step towards that goal.

CSEC and Trafficking Research: Robust research on children, specifically children who are victims of CSEC or are engaged in transactional sex, has not been conducted in over 10 years. Estimates of the number of children in CSEC are important to gauge the extent of the problem and to ensure that programming meets the needs of the children today, as the population is shifting. More specific research that targets children who have been trafficked would garner more precise information about trafficking to Jakarta, or Indonesia more broadly. This research could also explore where the children come from and in what sectors they tend to be employed. Children from other places and who go to work abroad could also be tracked to the extent possible.

## Introduction

### Rationale for Data Collection about *Children on the Move*

The movement of children is inevitable as they or their families seek social, educational, and economic opportunities, safety, or a fresh start. Looking at these children as a group allows the collection of data and the creation of strategies to address their needs and vulnerabilities in their places of origin, while in transit, and at their destinations. Although *children on the move* are a diverse sub-set of all children, examining their assets and needs collectively can highlight common challenges and risks, as well as identifying particularly vulnerable groups that may warrant special attention.

Drawing on Save the Children's definition, this project defines *children on the move* as: 'Those children moving voluntarily or involuntarily, within or between countries, with or without their parents or other primary caregivers, and whose movement might place them at risk (or at an increased risk) of economic or sexual exploitation, abuse, neglect and violence'.

*Children on the move* is not a new category of children. It is an umbrella definition that brings together many categories, into which children who are moving are divided. This definition therefore includes:

1. Children who have been trafficked,
2. Children who migrate (e.g. to pursue better life opportunities, look for work or education or to escape exploitative or abusive situations at home);
3. Children displaced by conflict and natural disasters;
4. Children who live and work in the streets;

Children in all of these categories may be at risk for abuse and exploitation due in part to vulnerabilities associated with migration. The Mobile Assessment Tool (MAT) can assist in the documentation of these risks and vulnerabilities by exploring the needs and coping strategies of children along their routes of travel. In particular, collecting information about the journey itself it will assist in creating a knowledge base about the responses and programs that are appropriate for protecting children during and after transit.

### Purpose of *Children on the Move* Research

The implementation of the Mobile Assessment Tool in Jakarta came about as the result of a the Indonesia's National Coalition Against CSEC's recognition of the need for additional knowledge and data about children living in Jakarta who are victims or survivors of CSEC and trafficking. This led to collaboration between the Child Protection Center at the University of Indonesia, the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity, The National Coalition Against CSEC (ECPAT), and the Body Shop to support and fund this research.

This research is intended to inform future programming, advocacy, and research about *children on the move* in Jakarta, with special attention paid to victims of CSEC and trafficking. Continuing to test the MAT was another

objective, to refine the tool and test its applicability in an urban setting with internally migrating children for the first time. Building the capacity of Indonesian stakeholders, like members of the National Coalition of ECPAT to collect robust data about *children on the move* was also a priority.

In 2010 Columbia University partnered with Save the Children in South Africa and Thailand to identify new methodologies to collect information about *children on the move* as part of Save's broader Research and Learning Agenda. Through this partnership, these organizations developed an innovative tool for collecting information on *children on the move*, including trafficked children, called the MAT. The MAT allows researchers to gather information about children's reasons for migration, their travel plans, needs in transit and in their destination, and other factors or experiences that may amplify or reduce their vulnerability. Through their participation in data collection children have the opportunity to give recommendations for future services or programming that could improve their lives and those of their peers in their destination. Ultimately, the MAT is used to inform programs that respond to the assets and needs of *children on the move* and enhances their protection along migratory routes and in locations where they remain for extended periods.

*Children on the move* are, in most contexts, a hidden or difficult to reach population. This can be due to migration without proper documentation; stigma associated with migration; unaccompanied minors and involvement in illicit activities; informal living arrangements that are often illegal; and police and government efforts to 'get children off the street' that often push them into hiding. Without reliable information about the characteristics of *children on the move* it is difficult to design programs and responses that are appropriate and effective for protecting children in transit.

An initial pilot of the MAT was conducted on the border of Zimbabwe in Musina, South Africa, which yielded useful information and demonstrated the value of this tool. The second pilot was conducted in two communities in Thailand on the Lao PDR border. In addition to gathering valuable information about *children on the move* this research was conducted to test the MAT, the sampling strategy, the mobile application of the tool, the use of secondary incentives, increased involvement of children, and the cross-cultural applicability of the tool and sampling strategy. The Thailand pilot was successful in interviewing significantly more children, testing the tool, and providing knowledge and data to Save the Children Thailand that will inform future programming. Additionally, the MAT was very successful in reaching children who were commercially sexually exploited in formal and informal brothels, allowing them to tell their stories, and also providing previously unavailable information about the characteristics and potential extent of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) in those two communities.

## Methods

### Rationale for Methodology

The key elements of the MAT methodology include:

- The use of the MAT to collect data about children's experiences of migrating from home and in their current place of residence.
- The use of Respondent Driven Sampling<sup>2</sup> to produce a representative sample of *children on the move*;
- Ethnographic mapping of targeted geographic area to determine the sub-types of children living there, the characteristics of each sub-type, and strategic data collection to interact with disparate groups of children; all of which potentially leads to mapping the relationships between these groups.

Respondent Driven Sampling uses primary and secondary incentives to increase low response rates that are typical of chain-referral methods targeted at hidden populations. Rather than simply asking individuals who have been interviewed to refer friends or acquaintances for interviews, they are rewarded for doing so. Participants receive a primary incentive for participating in the interview, then an additional incentive, also called a secondary incentive, for each person they refer successfully. This methodology has the potential to yield a representative sample of the total population of *children on the move* in the area of data collection. This representative sample can then be used to identify the size and characteristics of the hidden population. For a detailed explanation of the rationale behind utilizing this method, please see the *Mobile Assessment Tool for Children on the Move, South Africa Pilot Report*<sup>3</sup>.

### Research Team and Training

The research team was lead by a senior associate from the Columbia Group for Children in Adversity, who also conducted the MAT pilot in Thailand. The research team in the Jakarta MAT pilot consisted of four full time interviewers, one part time interviewer/interpreter, and a full time administrative and logistics volunteer. All interviewers were Indonesian, with three originally from Jakarta or long time residents, and two from other parts of Indonesia. The team consisted of three women and two men; team members were paired in male/female teams for research to ensure that children could be interviewed by someone of their own gender. The Child Protection Center at the University of Indonesia selected all interviewers based on their experience working in data collection, working with vulnerable populations, and working with children.

The preliminary researcher training was held for two full days on the University of Indonesia campus. Attendees included all members of the

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<sup>2</sup> Heckathorn, Douglas. "Respondent-Driven Sampling: A New Approach to the Study of Hidden Populations." *Social Problems*. Vol 44, No.2, May 1997. p. 174.

<sup>3</sup> Rogers, Braeden and Lindsay Stark. *Save the Children UK Mobile Assessment Tool for Children on the Move South African Pilot Report*. June 2010.

research team, members of partner organizations, University of Indonesia faculty from various departments, members of the National Coalition of ECPAT, and members of the staff from the Child Protection Center. This training addressed the following topics:

- 1 Overview of the research goals and plan
- 2 Trafficking, migration, and sexuality
- 3 Background information on vulnerable young people in Jakarta
- 4 Research methodology – Overview of ethnographic mapping and sampling strategy
- 5 Introduction to Participatory Ranking Methodology
- 6 Review of all MAT tools and participatory revision
- 7 Strategies for approaching children, talking to children, and discussion about safeguarding and respecting children's rights
- 8 Practice using all tools and data collection methods
- 9 Research ethics and confidentiality
- 10 Obtaining consent, especially from unaccompanied minors
- 11 Respondent Driven Sampling
- 12 Risk assessment: safety of researchers collecting data in risky environments and researcher code of conduct
- 13 Psychosocial support and coping: Interviewers and Interviewees
- 14 Interviewing children about sensitive subjects
- 15 Local resources for referral in the event children request assistance
- 16 Translation of all tools into Bahasa Indonesia and group review to ensure appropriate translation in child-friendly language
- 17 FGD with members of target population about typology and incentives
- 18 Field test of MAT with target population

During the course of data collection the team leader continuously utilized observation, discussion, and review of interview results to monitor the skills and capacities of interviewers. Methodology review and additional capacity building occurred regularly, both with the research team and with individual team members. Through this process the interview and data recording skills of the data collection team continuously improved throughout the research.

## **Research Ethics**

### *Confidentiality*

The confidentiality of stories told by children agreeing to participate in this research was given the highest priority, particularly because many of the children are members of a hidden population and during the course of the interview admitted to being involved in a variety of illicit and illegal activities.

All children interviewed were given a code to identify them on both interview tracking forms and interview forms themselves. No child's name was ever requested by an interviewer, and if the child provided their own name or any other potential identifiers, interviewers were instructed not to record them on interview formats, using initials or "place x" rather than the actual name.

Children were informed of the confidentiality of the interview before any questions were asked, and were assured that none of their personal or historical information would be released to any of the partners of the research or members of government or law enforcement under any circumstances. This included circumstances under which researchers might normally have the duty to report ongoing abuse and exploitation to the appropriate authorities. During this research no researcher was a mandatory reporter, as this was viewed as having the potential to interfere with trust building with informants. Confidentiality could only be broken with the consent of the child, and in that case the researcher was to report this directly to the team leader, who would then ensure the referral to appropriate organization or person was carried out. All members of the research team signed a detailed confidentiality agreement detailing to whom they should report their own or another teammate's breach of confidentiality, and the potential consequences if breaching confidentiality caused causing potential or actual harm or danger to a child.

### *Consent*

Interviewers explained the purpose of the interview and the research to each child, who was then allowed to refuse to answer any question, stop the interview at any time, or refuse to participate, and that there would be no negative consequences for any of these actions. After interviewers ensured that the child understood all of these elements, he/she was asked for verbal consent and the interviewer initialed the interview form, verifying that he or she had obtained informed consent. Additional questions were asked of any child who had been referred to the interview, to ensure that the child had not been coerced into participating.

### *Referral and Response Mechanism*

Before data collection began, resources in East Jakarta to which children could be referred were identified including: health care, education, psychosocial support, and other protective services. ECPAT agreed to serve as the point organization for all referrals involving trafficking, CSEC, or CSA related to children. Individuals at organizations with whom researchers had conducted key informant interviews also offered the services of their organizations to the research team. All researchers had the contact information for each of these referral organizations, and would offer to provide them to every child, or to have a particular organization contact that child.

### **Indonesia Pilot Site**

In Indonesia the MAT pilot took place in Jakarta, as this was thought to be one of the main destinations of *children on the move* in Indonesia. Within Jakarta there are many locations where working children are known to congregate, but given the time constraints of the research, one locality was chosen, consisting of the neighborhoods of Jatinegara, Prumpung, Klender, and Cipinang, in East Jakarta. This site was chosen with input from a variety

of key stakeholders with experience working with or researching the population.

Specific rationale for choosing to work in East Jakarta included that many working children were visible in the area, therefore gaining access to the population would be less challenging than in areas where the population is more hidden. Additionally, there is extensive informal housing where key informants reported that children live together in communities, an important factor given that important aspects of the MAT include mapping the existing network of *children on the move* and using referrals from children to find other respondents. The presence of programming targeting this population was also an important factor, as the research could not move forward without supportive structures in place for any children requesting assistance.

Migration into both East Jakarta often occurs through the many train and bus stations, some of the largest in Jakarta, with *children on the move* arriving through these points, and often staying in or near them after arrival. Children may migrate into the area on their own, either with the help of others or independently, or with their families.

Given the partnership with ECPAT for this research, additional consideration was given to areas that were known as locations of Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) occurred. Given that this pilot was only concerned with children migrating internally within Indonesia, East Jakarta was also identified as the most probable location of Indonesian children who are victims of CSEC. “Hotspots” of such activity were identified with input from key informants and the literature review, and geographically this area of East Jakarta appeared to be the most likely to allow the research team to interview a diversity of sub-types of *children on the move* with a limited amount of time, with specific attention paid to reaching victims of CSEC and potential victims of trafficking.

Key informants described areas in Jakarta known for the presence of sex workers as either “high class” or “low class”. Workers in “high class” areas were thought to be more likely to be foreign, more likely to be tightly controlled by a pimp or have connections with organized crime, more likely to work in a formal hotel or club, and more likely to be free of disease. On the other hand, “low class” workers were more likely to be located in more dangerous areas of Jakarta where residents have a lower socio-economic status. Workers in ‘low class’ areas were more likely to be Indonesian, and the pimps controlling them were less likely to be involved in organized crime. An example of the interaction between these two groups given by a stakeholder was that if a “high class” sex workers was found to have a sexually transmitted infection, he or she might then be moved to a “low class” area, where controls on health were less likely to be an issue. Given the perception of increased police presence in “high class” areas because of the presence of foreigners and tourists, gaining access to children in CSEC in “high class” areas was predicted to be significantly more difficult than in “low class” areas like East Jakarta.

This area of East Jakarta is an economic hub, hosting many regular markets, formal businesses such as stores and restaurants, and specialized centers for construction materials and gems, and extensive informal commerce such as selling goods or performing, directing traffic, or helping cars park. The area is also home to Cipinang Prison, military training and residential centers, the regional police headquarters, and the immigration center.

## **Study Population and Participants**

The case definition for *children on the move* was used to establish criteria for selecting respondents in each location where the MAT was implemented. Save the Children's original definition of *children on the move* was used as a starting point, and then refined to reflect the local context and the objectives of the pilot. In Jakarta, given the large population and geographic size of the area in question, as well as the interests of partners engaged in research, any child born in Indonesia and not originally from East Jakarta was considered within the sampling frame.

The study population included all girls and boys in East Jakarta during data collection between the ages of 11-21 who were born somewhere else, but were Indonesian by birth. Both boys and girls were included in the pilot as both are at risk for CSEC, trafficking and other forms of exploitation. Children under 11 were excluded from the pilot, as the team would have needed to create an additional "young child" tool, and ethical questions surrounding incentive use would have arisen. In this pilot study the age range of the target population was extended to range from 11 – 21 in order to include all children including those who might mask their true age and pretend to be older to avoid being targeted for violating age-related employment policies. Twenty-one was chosen as the upper limit because if children mask their age due to their work, many will choose an age above the minimum required, 18, and the research team did not want to exclude eligible participants. The target population only included children who are currently or were formerly working or earning money, which excludes most full time students, unless they work concurrently, or have in the past.

## **Interview Site Selection**

Identifying appropriate interview sites in each place where the MAT is piloted is essential to ensuring that children will present for interviews when they are referred. Interview sites should be known to children, easy to access, and should provide sufficient privacy to ensure confidentiality. Different sub-groups of children may perceive access to and appropriateness of locations differently, which means several interview sites may be needed in each pilot location.

Two sites were chosen in East Jakarta, one in Jatinegara and one in Klender. These sites were similar in that they were both located near a main road, meaning they would be easy to find, they were both located approximately halfway between the north and south points of the target area, one on the



East side and one on the West. Both sites afforded children and respondents a reasonable degree of privacy when conducting interviews, but were also visible from afar so they would not be difficult to locate and children would not feel isolated during the interview. The Jatinegara interview station was in front of a partially abandoned mall, with only a Kentucky Fried Chicken remaining open, so there was little foot traffic and relative quiet, but with significant movement nearby. The Klender site was inside a local park where interviewers could talk to children on benches without attracting attention and which children could easily reach by foot or local transportation. These sites were chosen with input from key stakeholder interviews with organizations working in East Jakarta. Additionally, the research team conducted a “windshield survey” spending time in the research area prior to beginning data collection to visually establish the presence of children, casually chat with some of them about the area, and to identify possible interview site locations.

### **Typology of Children on the Move and Likely Locations**

A preliminary typology of *children on the move* in East Jakarta, specifically Jatinegara, Prumpung, Cipinang, and Klender, was created using data from key informant interviews, the literature review, and preliminary observational visits to the data collection areas, including informal conversations with local residents. This typology was then revised and expanded after interviews had been conducted to accurately reflect all the sub-types of children interviewed during the research.

The objective when constructing a typology of *children on the move* is to identify all sub-groups of the population in the area, and to ensure that all members of the target population match the characteristics of an identified sub-group. Sub-groups of children may be defined as children with different characteristics that impact their social networks. For this MAT pilot characteristics included: age, sex, place of origin, accompanied status, activities including type of work, any secondary forms of income generation, the locations where they slept, and whether there is the possibility of sex work/CSEC reported. This was used as a group characteristic in addition to the identification of one specific sub-groups of sex workers because it was found that very few children self-identified as sex workers, nor did they describe this as their primary occupation or means of income generation. Instead, sex for money, goods, or favors was described as something they did in addition to their normal work, participating under the guise of another occupation, or reportedly engaging in transactional sex when the need or opportunity for extra income arose.

A new typology is constructed in each location where the MAT is used along the migratory route, because the sub-groups and their characteristics may differ. In the case of East Jakarta, it can be viewed as both a destination and a transit point given the preponderance of transit stations and the volume of children living in the area. While a typology can demonstrate the range of potential sub-types, it is not generalizable beyond the research location. Please see *Annex 1: Typology of Children on the Move in East Jakarta, Indonesia*.

The typology for Jatinegara, Prumpung, Cipinang, and Klender consists of fifteen sub-groups of *children on the move*:

1. Children selling goods or food informally or on the street
2. Children begging for money
3. Street performers - Children performing on the street collecting money from passersby
4. Boys washing cars or motorbikes
5. Scavengers – Children collecting discarded items or food for profit or personal use
6. Porters – Children carrying items for others for a fee
7. Construction – Boys working on construction sites
8. Transport - Children collecting fares on transportation, like buses or vans or working as a motorcycle taxi driver.
9. Domestic Workers - Girls working in private homes as maids and/or babysitters, both those living with the family they work for and those living elsewhere
10. Cleaners - Children cleaning offices, trains, buses, or parks
11. Industry/Home Industry - Children working in production of good including factories, home industries, and repurposing goods, such as melting gold
12. Children selling or transporting illegal drugs
13. Formal Employment - Children working in formal stores or restaurants
14. Girls whose only income source is sex work/CSEC who openly solicit clients on the street
15. Children facilitating sex work, acting as guardians or transporters

Given that the typology was largely based around children's primary form of income generation, their most likely locations were in the places they work or sleep. However, given the informal nature of the majority of the work done by children in East Jakarta, it was difficult to locate individuals or groups of children consistently, given their ongoing mobility, both for work and sleep, and lack of attachments to places or institutions. On the other hand, children working in formal employment, such as restaurants or stores were likely to always be found in their places of work due to long hours and that their residence was at their place of work, however many of them face limited freedom of movement.

## **Description of Pilot Methodology**

### *Key Informant Interviews*

The research team conducted key informant interviews to contribute to the adaptation of the MAT for use in Jakarta. First, the research team met with staff of the University of Indonesia Center on Child Protection and ECPAT to gain a broad overview of current programming and child protection and migration concerns in Jakarta, as well as in Indonesia as a whole. The research team also spoke with members of organizations conducting research about and delivering services to young people, including organizations

specifically dedicated to working with CSEC, trafficking victims, sex workers, scavengers, and street children. Interviews were used to:

- 1 Identify an appropriate location in Jakarta where data collection could occur, where *children on the move* were known to live and work, and where communities of such children were not viewed as so exclusive that the research team would not be able to engage with them during the three week data collection period;
- 2 Adapt a case definition of children on the move for the Indonesia pilot study;
- 3 Develop a typology of *children on the move* and identify places children might be found, including where they live, work, and congregate;
- 4 Determine child-accessible and -friendly interview locations;
- 5 Explore the viability of the referral scheme;
- 6 Identify appropriate primary and secondary incentives.

After completing interviews with relevant key informants, the research team revised the pilot plan and typology of *children on the move*, planning for some reliance on one-to-one recruitment of children for interviews due to children's perceived lack of mobility while working, adapting the locations for interviews to meet the individual needs of each interviewee, accommodating a diverse population of *children on the move*, and using hand phones for potential respondents to contact interviewers. This revised data collection plan, typology, and incentive scheme were then presented to the University of Indonesia Center on Child Protection and ECPAT staff for review, comment, and approval.

### *Focus Group Discussions*

Ideally, multiple focus groups comprised of children from the target population should be held to verify and expand upon information gathered in key informant interviews about appropriate interview sites. The research team was able to convene one focus group, mostly consisting of children living in shelters run by non-governmental organizations, all of whom were from outside of East Jakarta, lived away from their parents, and most of whom currently or formerly worked in the informal sector, mostly as street performers. The focus group included a review of the existing typology of sub-groups with revisions made as necessary, ideas for incentives, suggestions for approaching children, and additional discussion about the local context. The views of these children were incorporated into of site selection, however given the diverse characteristics of the target population it was unfortunate that time constraints did not allow for additional focus groups to obtain alternative views.

### *Individual Interviews*

Respondent Driven Sampling was utilized during the pilot to recruit interview respondents and to utilize their existing social networks to gain access to other members of the target population. Based on the preliminary typology and definition of *children on the move* employed by the pilot, the research team recruited children of diverse sub-types for interviews in East Jakarta.

Respondent Driven Sampling entails the recruitment of a group of children by researchers, called *seeds*. These *seeds* are meant to be an entry point into the hidden population in question, in this case *children on the move*. Once a diverse group of *seeds* has been interviewed, each child is then asked to refer up to three of his or her friends who meet the criteria for the research. The second group of children who are referred for interview by *seeds* are known as the first wave of respondents. This first wave is given the opportunity to make referrals, and those who present are part of the second wave, and so on. If enough waves of referrals are made the pool of respondents randomizes and becomes a representative sample of the population as a whole. While this process is best carried out over the course of several months to ensure sufficient sample size, the goal in this case was to test whether the referral process itself could be carried out successfully with children, and whether it helped researchers locate and interview more of *children on the move*, than if they had solely recruited them individually.

Difficulties were experienced with referral driven sampling during the first two pilots of the MAT, which took place in the South Africa and Thailand. Children were reluctant to refer their peers, and those referred often did not present for interviews. With those challenges in mind, a sampling strategy was developed whereby additional time was allotted for direct recruitment of *seeds* by researchers throughout the pilot, in addition to allowing referred children to visit stations for interviews. During data collection, two researchers were present at one of the referral stations to interview any children who presented there and at least two researchers were in a mobile team, recruiting *seeds*. At each location two team members set up the interview site by opening one or two red umbrellas to identify the interview site. These were used to ensure that children could recognize researchers, in case the children did not know the researchers staffing the referral site. Signs were not used, as these would have attracted attention from local authorities, which, in turn, would have frightened or discouraged many *children on the move* from approaching the interview sites.

The data collection team used two methods to determine where to recruit children within the geographical area, as defined on a map. See *Annex 2 to view the data collection area*. Researchers visited “hotspots” identified by key informants as locations where children within the target population were likely to be found including children living on the street, performing or begging for money, engaged in sex work, or living in informal housing. In addition to visiting each of these known locations of children at least twice, the research team divided the map of the research area using a grid, and ensured that each block on the grid was visited at least once. Various gridded areas were excluded because they were identified as areas where children could not be located, such as those wholly occupied by military barracks. Within each block research teams targeted areas where children within the target population are often found, such as living in informal housing near rivers or railroad tracks, or working in intersections, stores and markets.

Researchers approached children for interviews, making casual conversation and asking whether they were originally from East Jakarta. Attention was paid to matching the gender of the interviewer and child when possible or children

were given a choice of who would interview them, if more than one researcher was available. After approaching a child for an interview, verifying him or her as part of the target population, researchers found a quiet and relatively private place to conduct the interview. The interview began after reviewing information about confidentiality and receiving informed consent. Interviewers then used the interview format to record answers to all questions, which were a mix of closed and open response. See *Annex 3 for English and Bahasa Indonesia version of questionnaire*.

After the completion of an interview all children were offered a choice of incentives of approximately the same value. With input from the original focus group as well as from key informant interviews, the research team primarily offered personal care kits as incentives including: toothbrush, toothpaste, body or face wash, and shampoo. These incentives were considered appropriate given that many children were living without formal housing and would not prioritize the purchase of these items. Additionally, personal cleanliness is highly valued in Indonesia's predominantly Muslim culture, and all children had access to facilities where they could bathe at a mosque. Other incentives were tested such as small bags/wallets, but were less well received. For a portion of the research, children were offered different primary and secondary incentives, if they were to successfully refer other children. This approach was implemented late in the pilot, and therefore its efficacy cannot be tracked, but subjectively it appeared successful. These different secondary incentives included sandals and t-shirts, which were viewed as more valuable by the children presenting for interviews, despite the fact that they cost approximately the same amount as the hygiene kits. The cost of incentives ranged from 12,000 to 20,000 rupiah.

At the conclusion of the interview, the referral system was explained to children and they were given a choice about whether or not they would like to participate. Referral coupons were used to make and track referrals. Coupons included information about when and where researchers could be found for interviews, how to identify them, and a number to call them if the person referred was not available during the times provided. Researchers wrote the code of the child receiving the coupons on the back of each one, followed by A, B, C, so that they could track which children referred one another, and to ensure that no coupon was used more than once. Coupons did not include any specific information about the purpose of the interview, so that no child would come into harm's way as a result of having a coupon in their possession. Each child interviewed was offered up to three referral coupons to give to friends or acquaintances that were part of the target population and successfully presented for and completed an interview. Children were informed that for each who successfully completed an interview, he or she would receive one additional incentive. If a child successfully completed three referrals, he or she could receive three more coupons in order to make additional referrals.

The University of Indonesia Child Protection Center, ECPAT, and the Columbia Group discussed the benefits and drawbacks of giving incentives to young people for referring their friends for interviews. The advisory groups decided to use secondary incentives in the Indonesia MAT as they were used

in Thailand without any indication of coercion. To address continued concern about the possibility of coercion, additional checks were added into the questionnaire, which were asked of every child referred for an interview. Researchers received explicit instructions to contact the team leader immediately if any sign of coercion was found, whereupon all research would be suspended and the secondary referral procedure could be reviewed. No one referred for an interview reported any type of coercion during the course of data collection.

## **Data Analysis**

At the end of each day of data collection researchers gave their forms to the team leader and the administrative volunteer, who then checked each form to ensure that all questions were answered appropriately and completely and that the skip pattern was followed correctly. If there were any questions or errors the forms were returned to researchers for completion. After a final check, forms were compiled and securely stored with the team leader. Each week completed and checked forms were delivered to the data analyst at the Center on Child Protection at the University of Indonesia so that data entry, cleaning, and analysis could begin.

The data analyst, team leader, and administrative volunteer collaborated to design a data analysis plan, including the analysis of quantitative data using SPSS and of qualitative data separately. Throughout the data input and analysis process the data analyst and team leader stayed in close contact to ensure accuracy and that the data was being analyzed in accordance with the goals and priorities of all research partners.

## **Limitations**

The implementation of the MAT in East Jakarta occurred successfully, despite various limitations. These should be considered in the future, both when implementing the MAT and when conducting further research with children and young adults in Jakarta.

### *Interviewer Recruitment*

Members of the research team were recruited before the team leader arrived in Jakarta, limiting her input into the decision making process. All researchers had experience working with children, particularly with vulnerable populations. However, not all researchers had experience in East Jakarta, a complex area that is difficult to navigate. Additionally, several researchers lacked experience discussing sexuality, drug use, or involvement in crime, which may have made children more reluctant to share such information. Additionally, due to the ongoing recruitment of young people by a variety of Muslim sects within Jakarta, children were occasionally afraid that researchers were trying to recruit them for something similar, and would refuse to speak to interviewers, particularly if a female researcher was wearing a veil. Greater attention to hiring researchers with skills specific to the target populations would improve

open and honest responses from respondents, and also minimize the time spent getting to know the research area.

### *Research Timeline*

Given the complexity of the target population for this research and the length of interviews, three weeks was too short a timeframe within which to collect data from a sufficient or representative sample of the *children on the move* in East Jakarta. For children to share openly, particularly about risky or shameful experiences, they must trust the interviewer. Building this trust takes time, and generally requires that interviewers get to know a community of children. Using the referral system reduced this limitation, whereby a child who completed an interview referred a friend, showed other children that the interviewed child trusted the interviewer, and that they could too. Additionally, with more time the research team could have reached more of the hidden population of *children on the move*; during the three weeks of data collection the majority of children interviewed were those most visible. Access to communities of drug users and sex workers and children in CSEC was just beginning as the research ended.

### *Freedom of Movement of Children*

Many of the children interviewed had very little freedom of movement, most often because their employer asked them to work long hours and they often lived in their place of employment. Researchers were able to overcome this by interviewing children while they were working and by asking employers for permission to conduct the interview. This restriction of movement limited the children's ability to make referrals, as well as to present to the referral station. The need to ask employers for permission to conduct interviews was also a limitation, as some employers did not give permission and there was no way to know what was different about the children and working conditions in those cases.

Children's freedom of movement was also inhibited because East Jakarta is a territorial place for children living and working there. Children from one "group" may be in danger if they pass into the area of another "group". This limited children's ability to present at stations for interviews. This was overcome by spending a significant amount of time recruiting children directly, and could be overcome in the future only with significant exploration of the area prior to beginning research.

### *Difficulty Engaging with Vulnerable Groups, especially engaging in illegal activities*

The research team spent considerable time and effort focused on reaching children in CSEC and those who may have been trafficked, as this was the special target population of the research. These groups are particularly hidden, and the members of these groups were more hesitant to be interviewed than any other group. The children were scared both of the consequences of the interview, such as someone they knew finding out how they earned money, as well as the possible consequences from their employer if he or she found out about the interview participation. Additionally,

all children who openly or covertly engaged in sex work (as opposed to those involved in transactional sex) were accompanied by a male “guardian” at all times, significantly restricting access to these girls. That access could potentially be acquired by gaining the trust of the boss, the guardian, and the child, but there was rarely sufficient time to do this during this short data collection period. While relationships with local NGOs were essential to learning about the background of the area and the *children on the move* living there, they were only able to help the research team talk to children accessing their services, rather than those without access to services, or those who did not meet the mandate of the organization which often specified the gender and age of the service recipient.



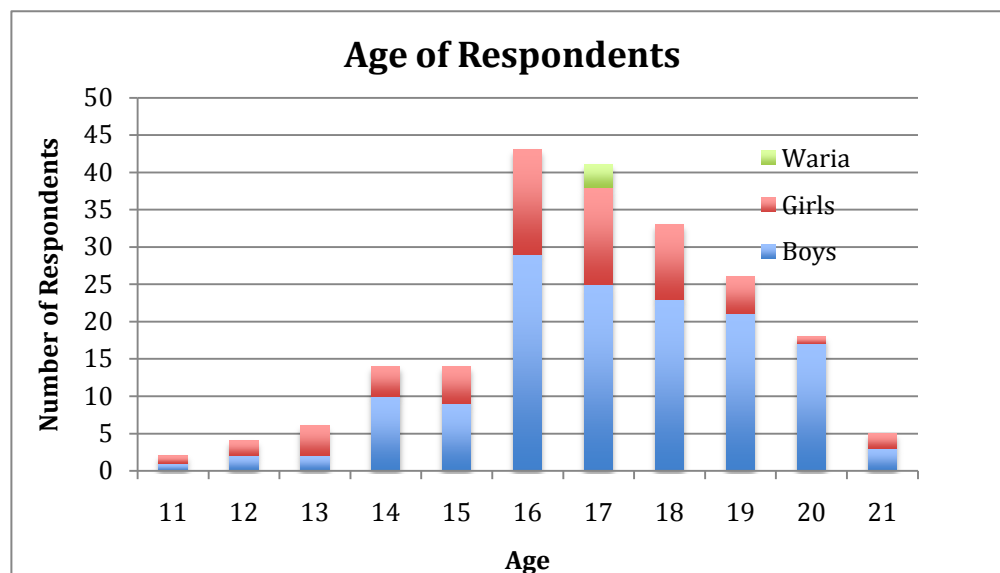
## Results

### Overview of Sample

#### Age

Respondents were asked their age at the start of the interview to verify they were part of the target population. The target age was 11-21 to ensure that no children who were part of the target population would be excluded because they masked their age. It was anticipated that some children would mask their age because of restrictions on children under 18 working, as well as to avoid any possible repercussions for engaging in sex work when under 18 years old. This masking may have skewed the overall mean age positively, however there were various checks within the questionnaire and researchers were trained to detect and further question the child if they suspected masking.

Chart 1



#### Gender

Of 206 respondents who completed the questionnaire, 61 were female, 142 were male, and two were waria (the Bahasa Indonesia word for transgender or, which in this context means a boy cross-dressing to look like a girl). Given that this is not a representative sample, it is not possible to judge whether there are actually more boys than girls migrating to and living in East Jakarta, or whether the sample is biased because boys tend to be engaged in more visible activities than girls, or were more likely to accept being interviewed. According to one report, the number of girls living and working on the street has increased in recent years, where the ratio of girls to boys was 1:5, the ration in 2008 was 1:2.<sup>4</sup> That only three waria were interviewed also does not necessarily reflect the actual presence in the area, but rather that, according

<sup>4</sup> International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (2008). *Baseline study report on street children in East Jakarta*. Jakarta: International Labour Organization.

to key informant interviews, waria are known to live in a particularly closed and protective community.

### *Sub-Type*

Using data from all sources including key informants, a literature review, focus group discussions, and interviews, a typology of *children on the move* in East Jakarta was created, dividing children primarily by their main source of income, and also by their alternate activities, places of work and sleep, and whether or not members of that sub-type reported any involvement in CSEC or sex work. For detailed descriptions of each sub-type see *Annex 1*.

Data collection identified 15 sub-types of *children on the move* in East Jakarta. This list is not necessarily include all the types of children in the area, but all those that were part of the target population and that could be reached during the data collection period; it is likely that other sub-types exist, particularly those that were hidden or less likely to consent to be interviewed.

**Table 1: Child Sub-type by Age**

	<b>11 – 14</b>	<b>15 – 17</b>	<b>18 - 21</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Street Vendor</b>	7	19	21	47
<b>Street Performer</b>	6	21	19	46
<b>Car/Motorbike Wash</b>	0	1	4	5
<b>Scavenger</b>	1	4	6	11
<b>Porter</b>	1	4	1	6
<b>Construction/Labor</b>	0	5	3	8
<b>Public Transport/Parking</b>	0	6	6	12
<b>Domestic Worker</b>	2	1	0	3
<b>Factory/Home Industry</b>	1	2	2	5
<b>Cleaning/Gardening</b>	4	8	7	19
<b>Illegal Drug Sales/Distribution</b>	0	2	1	3
<b>Formal – Restaurant, Store</b>	1	18	9	28
<b>Sex Work</b>	0	4	0	4
<b>Sex Work Facilitator</b>	0	0	1	1
<b>Job Unclear</b>	0	1	3	4
<b>No Job</b>	2	1	1	4
<b>Total</b>	26	98	82	206

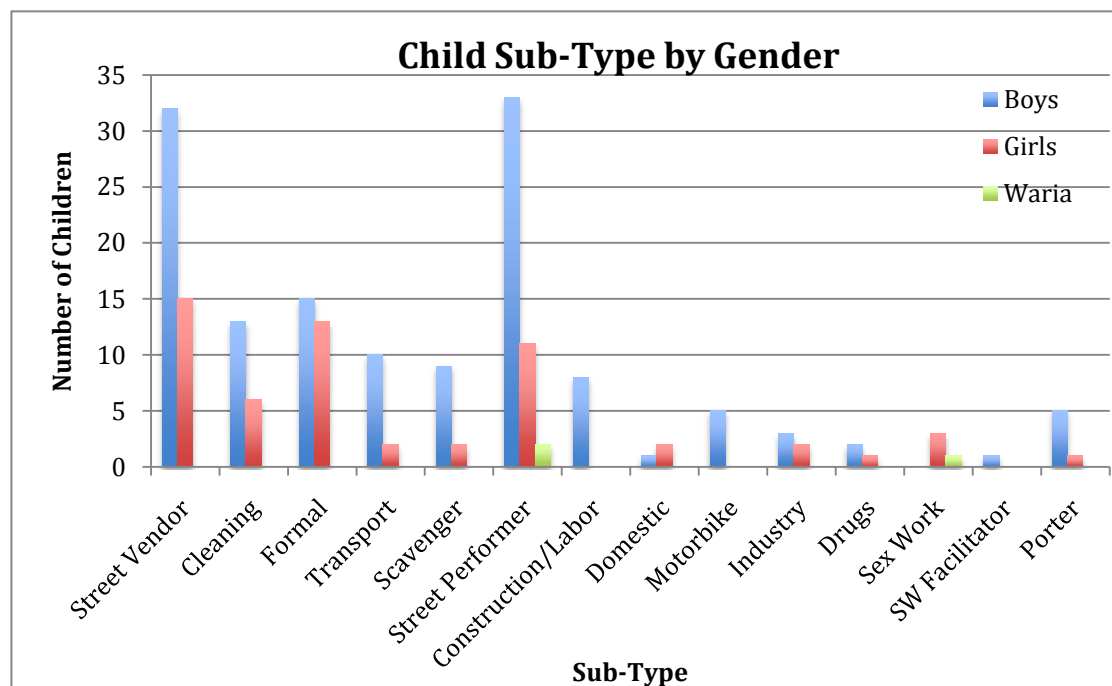
Many children reported earning money in multiple ways, the categories listed above are the main source of income reported. As secondary jobs, children were most likely to work as street singers, beggars, or scavengers. Through observation in East Jakarta it was apparent to the research team that sex workers were significantly more likely to seek customers in the nighttime. The implicit meaning of a child telling a researcher that he or she is a street singer or vendor “all night” is unclear, but given the number of ways that sex work is reported to be hidden, from girls selling Teh Botol on the street, to waiters in restaurants, to street performers, the possibility exists that more children earn money from sex work or transactional sex than is reported in the table above.

### *Sub-type and Gender*

The ratio of girls to boys interviewed is approximately 3:7, although the sample of *children on the move* in this study is not representative of the

population as a whole. When the ratio of girls to boys is greater or less than 3:7 in the sample, this shows an over or under representation of a particular gender in that sub-type or income generating activity within the sample.

**Chart 2**



The above chart demonstrates that girls are over-represented in formal work, such as working in restaurants and shops, in domestic work and babysitting, in factory work and home industry, and in sex work. The employment of girls as waitresses, shop employees, maids, and babysitters is consistent with labor division by gender that often occurs in Indonesia. Favoritism towards girls, within this sample, for formal work may be positive, as many children described the need for more access to formal work, as they feel it was safer and more stable. However, earning money through jobs in factories or homes, while physically shielding children from the police, also increases their vulnerability to exploitation due to their isolation and dependence on employers.

Four respondents reported earning the bulk of their income through sex work, three girls and one waria. This research approached children in areas where sex work is known to occur, and in this location, only girls reported engaging in sex work. Given the stigma associated with homosexuality in Indonesia it is less likely that a male would report earning money through transactional sex. Alternatively, children engaging in transactional sex in East Jakarta may only be female and waria.

There are proportionally more boys earning money through cleaning and gardening, transport including moto-taxis and public vans, scavengers, street performers, construction and labor, motorbike and carwash, sex work facilitators, and porters. Many of the jobs boys are preferred for are physically high risk. Jobs like scavenging, driving a moto-taxi and working in construction are often dangerous jobs and are among those from which they are generally excluded due to their age. Additionally, these are informal jobs

and lack any security or protection, leaving the children involved at risk for confrontations with the police. Finally, the employment of a boy as a sex work facilitator makes one child complicit in the sexual exploitation of another. While this boy's job was to protect the girl from any potential danger from customers or police, it is also to ensure she earns enough money and to collect it. This normalizes the presence of girls in sex work for the boys participating in facilitation, encouraging the perpetuation of CSEC as these boys mature and expect children to be available for sex.

## **Experience and Support in Jakarta**

Children were asked whether they had lived away from the place they consider their home in the past, of children who answered the question 47% reported that this was their first time away from home, with the remaining 53% reported that they had lived away in the past.

### *Relationship with Parents*

Out of 203 children responding, 88 (43%) reported that they currently live with their parents; 52% of girls live with their parents, 38% of boys live with their parents and both (2) waria interviewed live with their parents. This contradicts the belief shared by some key informants that children living in the area who are working on the street are likely to be unaccompanied. Additionally, this number does not include children who are living with guardians or other family members rather than parents.

Children reported a variety of experiences related to living with their parents, who may have moved to Jakarta before them, with them, or after them, depending on their ability to support themselves and their family. Of children who do not currently live with their parents, 74% report that they are in contact with them by phone or other means. However, only 32% of children reported that their parents had ever come to visit them in Jakarta. When asked to describe what happened when their parents came to visit, children described families that missed them, wanted to see how they were doing, or came to visit for the holidays. No child described any parent who visited to collect money from a child who was sent to the city to work, as was reported to be the case by several key informants. It is possible that this occurred, but no child disclosed such a relationship to the researchers.

## **Marriage**

All respondents were asked whether they had ever been married, were currently married, how old they were when they got married, and whether the marriage was religious or official. Marital status was included in the questionnaire because it was theorized to be a significant factor in some girls leaving home. In some regions of Indonesia it is not uncommon for girls to enter into marriage during their teenage years. The divorce rate among girls who marry very young is reportedly significantly higher, therefore many of those girls then move to the city to earn money, as they are no longer

perceived as eligible for marriage. Additionally, given the tradition of early marriage, it is possible that marriage could be used to lure girls into CSEC. This is particularly important because in Indonesia, after a girl is married she is legally an adult, and is no longer afforded any of the protections afforded to children, regardless of her age.

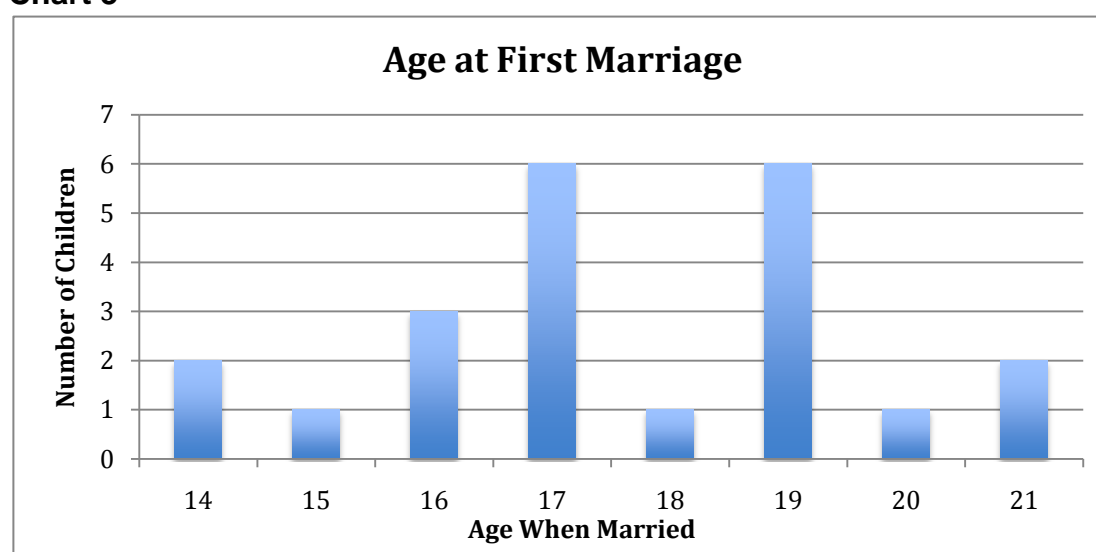
**Table 2: Marital Status**

	<b>Ever Married</b>	<b>Currently Married</b>
Girls	10/61 (16.4%)	9/61 (14.8%)
Boys	11/141 (7.8%)	5/141 (3.5%)
Waria	1/2 (50%)	0/2
<b>Total</b>	<b>22/204 (10.8%)</b>	<b>14/204 (6.7%)</b>

Girls were more than twice as likely as boys to have ever been married. While more than half of boys who were once married were no longer married, 9/10 girls who were ever married were still married.

Of all the children ever married, all of the girls reported that they were officially married, which means that they went through the legal channels to obtain a marriage license. Only 5 of 11 boys who reported that they had ever been married were married legally, the rest were married in religious ceremonies that were not recognized by the government. The one marriage reported by waria was religious, rather than official. The current age of the 22 children reporting they were ever married ranged from 14 to 21 years.

**Chart 3**



While girls were more likely to report ever being married than boys, this also may reflect the ages at which girls tend to marry in Indonesia.<sup>5</sup> This research did not find any correlation between the type of work children do and whether or not they report ever being married. Children reporting current or former marriage worked in industries from collecting money on public transportation, cleaning offices or outdoors, helping cars park, or working in markets. None of

<sup>5</sup> International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (2004). *Child trafficking for prostitution in Central Java, Yogyakarta and East Java: A rapid assessment*. Jakarta: International Labour Organization.

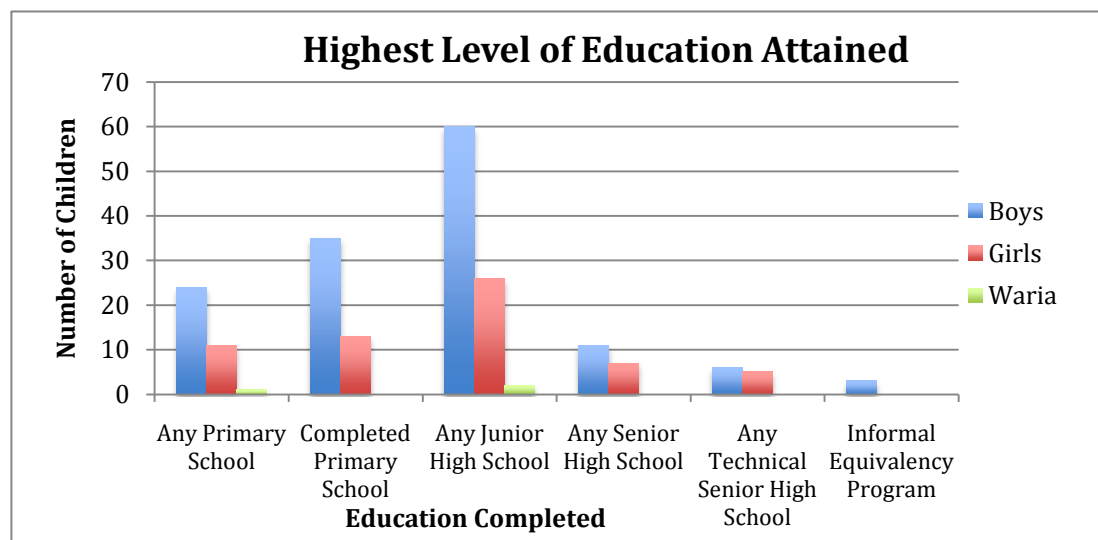
the children reporting marriage had ever been victims of CSEC, however the sample collected here is not large enough to invalidate the theory that marriage can be used to lure girls into CSEC, but should be further explored to determine its validity.

## Education

All respondents were asked whether they ever attended formal schooling and what the last year of school they completed was. Out of 196 children who responded to the question, only seven reported *never* attending formal school, all of whom were male. Children who reported never attending school earned money by: sweeping and singing in the train, selling chili and singing, selling crackers, street musician, driving a moto-taxi, singing on the street and begging, and selling drugs and robbing. Three of the seven boys report living in rented houses with their families, while the other four report sleeping in a train station, the market, a shelter, and homemade shelter with friends. One of the seven children reported involvement in crime, as he earned money by robbing and selling drugs, and also trades female sex workers drugs in exchange for sex.

Sixty-one girls, 140 boys, and three waria reported ever having received *any* kind of education, including informal education.

**Chart 4**



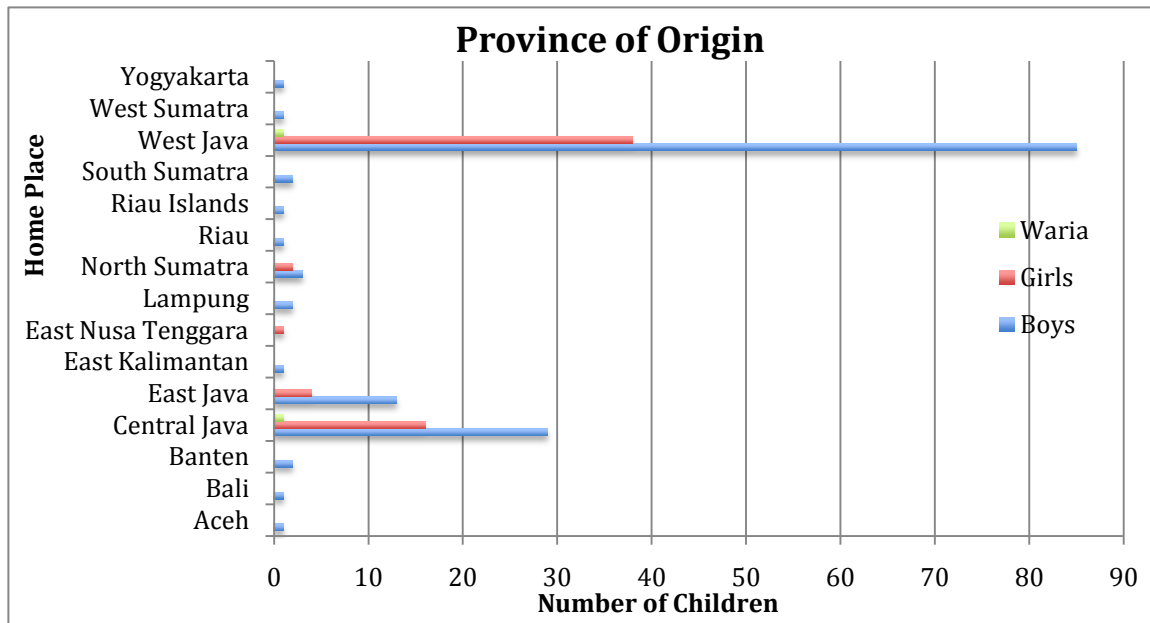
The majority of children reported leaving school during or after junior high school. Additionally, it appears that Paket A and Paket B, which are equivalency programs that allow children who have left school to complete primary and secondary school, are reaching very little of this population.

## Children's Journey and Self-Identified Travel Needs

### Place of Origin

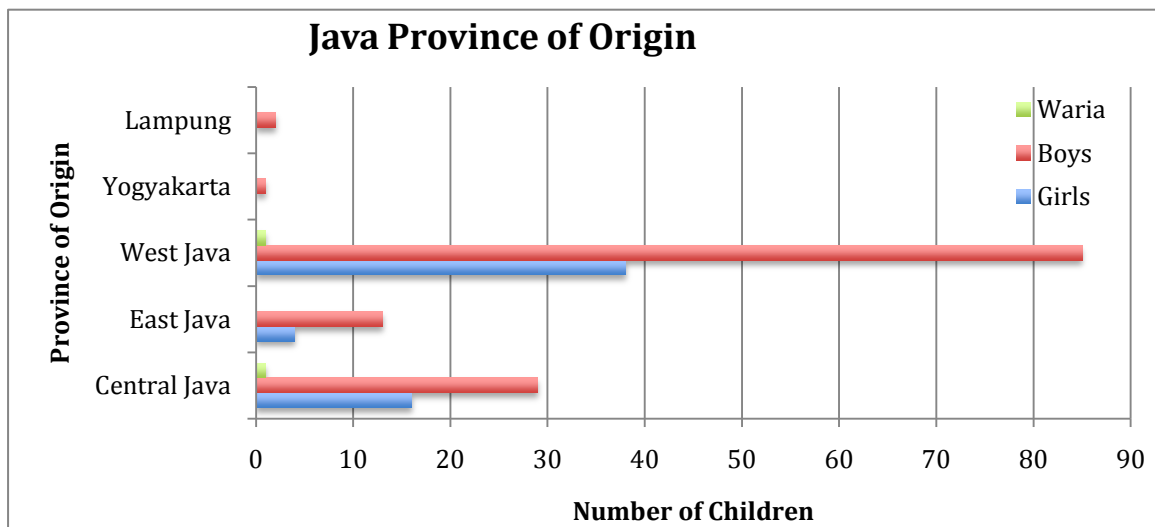
Children were included in the sample population if they considered their original *home* to be anywhere outside of East Jakarta. Please see *Annex 3* for detailed information about the places of origin of all children.

**Chart 5**



The majority of respondents originated from Java, which given that Jakarta is also on the island of Java, makes sense because of the relative ease of travel compared to coming from a different island. Of children whose *home* is in Java, the majority are from West Java, the province surrounding Jakarta.

**Chart 6**



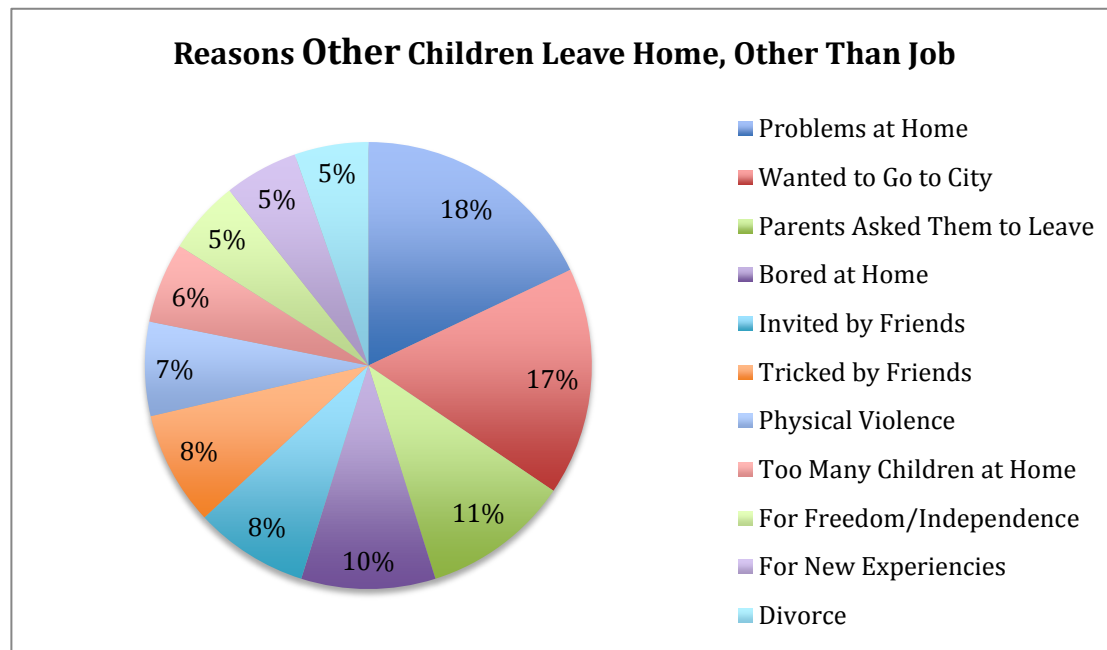
Of the children migrating to East Jakarta from surrounding areas in Jakarta or nearby, only two children reported that they traveled to the area daily to work, and then returned home in the evening. This shows that the vast majority of children (204/206) live in the same area where they work, and therefore the population is relatively stable.

### Reasons Children Leave Home

Respondents were asked to list the reasons that other children leave home, as well as the reasons the respondent left home. The first question was asked

to identify reasons that respondents might be reluctant to share about themselves, such as experiencing abuse or being forced to leave, but that they might be more comfortable discussing about others. Children were asked to free list as many reasons as they could think of for why they and others left home. The most commonly listed reason mentioned was for a job or money, listed by 143 children out of 386 total responses from 206 children.

**Chart 7**



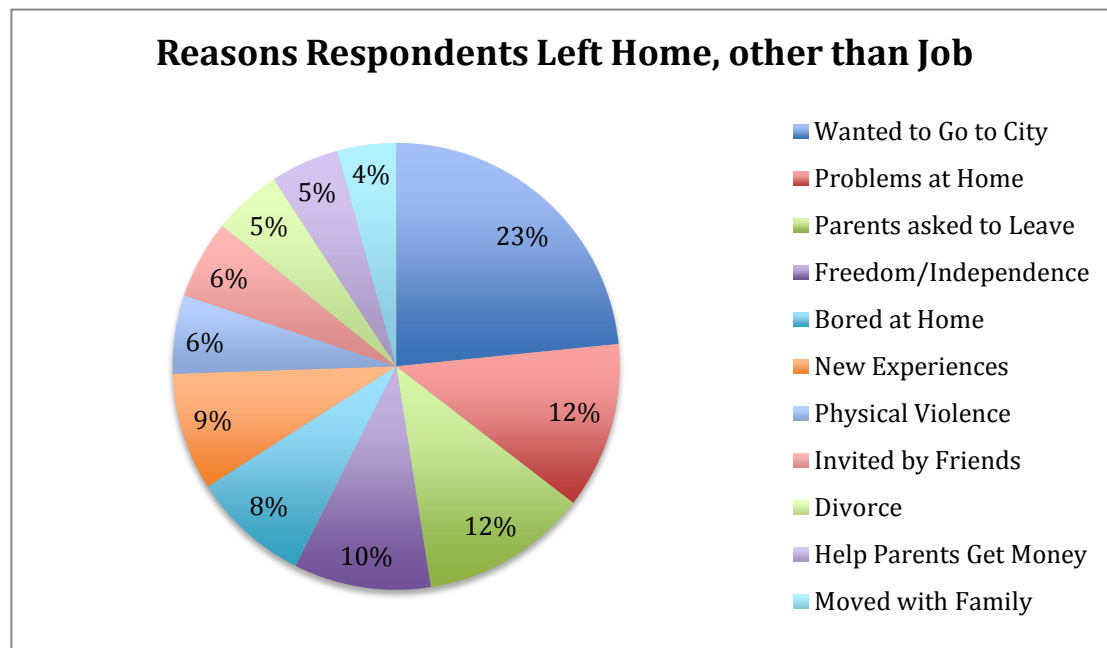
The reasons respondents believed other children leave home, other than for a job, were a mix of children leaving voluntarily, and leaving because they or someone else felt they should. Children believed others leave because they were bored at home, wanted to see the city, went with friends, or wanted more freedom or independence. Respondents also described children leaving home because of non-specific “problems”, violence, or because there were too many children or their parents asked them to leave; this may lead to higher risk migration. These children are vulnerable because they are being pushed away from economic or family difficulties, rather than pulled *towards* a place where they see opportunity. Additionally, if children leave abruptly because of physical violence or family problems it is less likely that they have support systems in place to help them cope during and after the journey.

When respondents described their own experiences leaving home, the list of reasons varied to some degree, with 47% of respondents reporting that one of the reasons they left home was voluntary, whether they wanted to see the city or to have new experiences. A concerning trend was that 8% of children reported that they were tricked by a friend to come to Jakarta. When children describe being tricked by a friend, this typically meant being promised one type of employment, but then arriving to a different, often more exploitive, job. Masking the true nature of a job is one of the core elements of trafficking, and regardless of whether it was a friend who tricked the child - if he or she was brought into exploitation, he or she is a victim of trafficking and is eligible for a variety of resources and support services. Additionally, with 5% of children



reporting physical violence, problems at home, or a difficult economic situation, their access to resources and support from their families at home was likely to be limited, and they are therefore more vulnerable to exploitation and abuse. Finally, there were other reasons reported for leaving, those below were listed by at least 5% of children. One child reported leaving home because of sexual abuse, and six children reported leaving home because they were married and moved to live with their spouse.

**Chart 8**



### **Who Gave the Idea for Respondent to Leave Home**

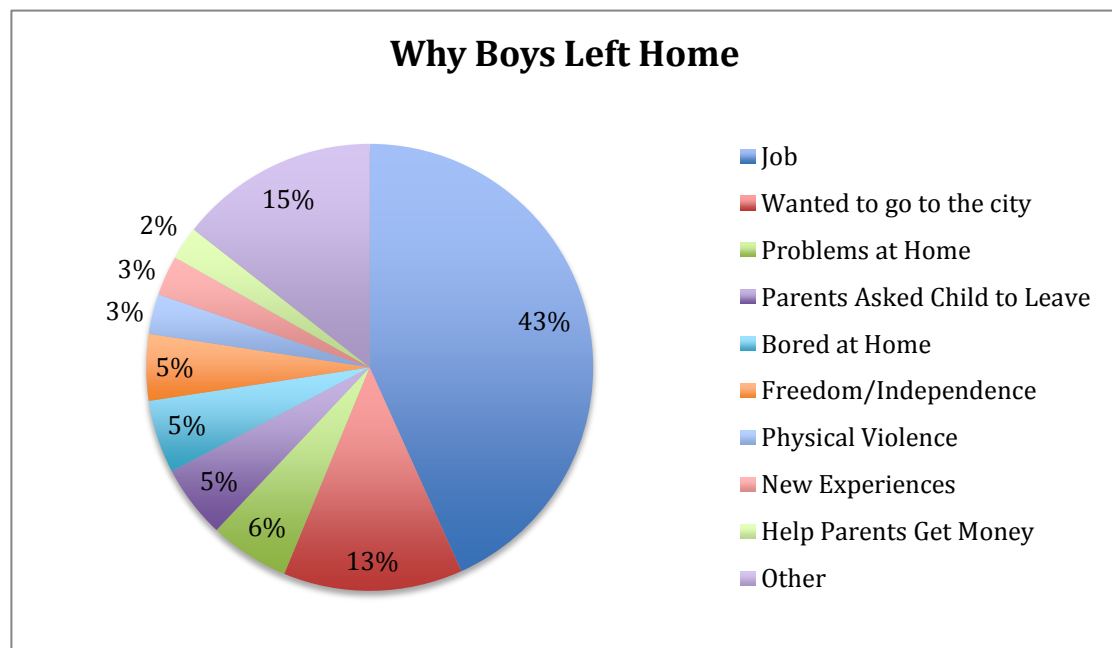
Respondents were asked who suggested they leave home to explore whether children left on their own, or whether parents are sending children to the city to earn money. Additionally, this question was designed to explore the role, if any, of brokers in bringing children to the city. Brokers may go to more rural areas and recruit children for jobs, often paying for transportation to the place of employment. These jobs may be legitimate or children may be exploited, and the involvement of the broker often leaves children indebted to the broker, increasing their vulnerability to exploitation as that debt increase the broker and their employer's control and power over them.

A large proportion of children (47%) decided to leave home on their own and their parents were aware of their intentions. That parents suggested children leave home in 16% of cases indicates that moving to East Jakarta is seen as an acceptable alternative to living at home and/or attending school. Additionally, given the amount of influence parents have, children often found it difficult or impossible to refuse. It is important to remember that all children may not want to be working or living where they do, but this does not mean that was to go home or leave the work they do.

### *Why Respondents Left Home by Gender*

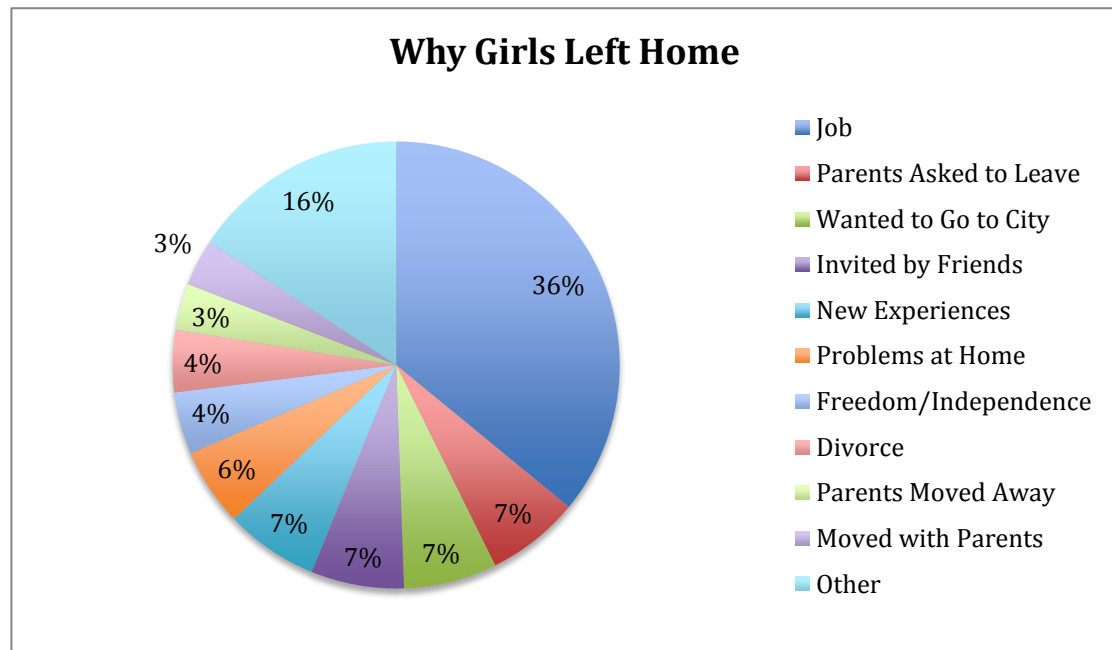
Reasons for leaving home can be closely tied to gender, as girls and boys are uniquely vulnerable to different types of risks and abuse at home. They are also subjects of societal expectations about their roles in terms of income generation, marriage, and whether it is acceptable for them to leave home and live away from their parents. Below the top reasons why boys and girls left home are represented:

**Chart 9**



The reasons why children left home to move to East Jakarta can be separated into push and pull factors, those that encouraged children to leave home and those that drew children to Jakarta. For example: comparing the two charts about why boys and girls left home, it is evident that for both genders jobs and income generation are the most prominent reasons. The prospect of jobs and income generation in Jakarta is a pull factor, encouraging migration. Both boys and girls identified the prospect of moving to a city, gaining new experiences, and having more freedom and independence as having drawn them to Jakarta. Three percent of girls reported moving to Jakarta with their families, while only 1% of boys reported this. Girls were much more likely to report that a friend invited them to move to East Jakarta, perhaps identifying a more influential role of friends on girls' decision making, or that girls are less willing to move without having close contacts in their destination.

**Chart 10**

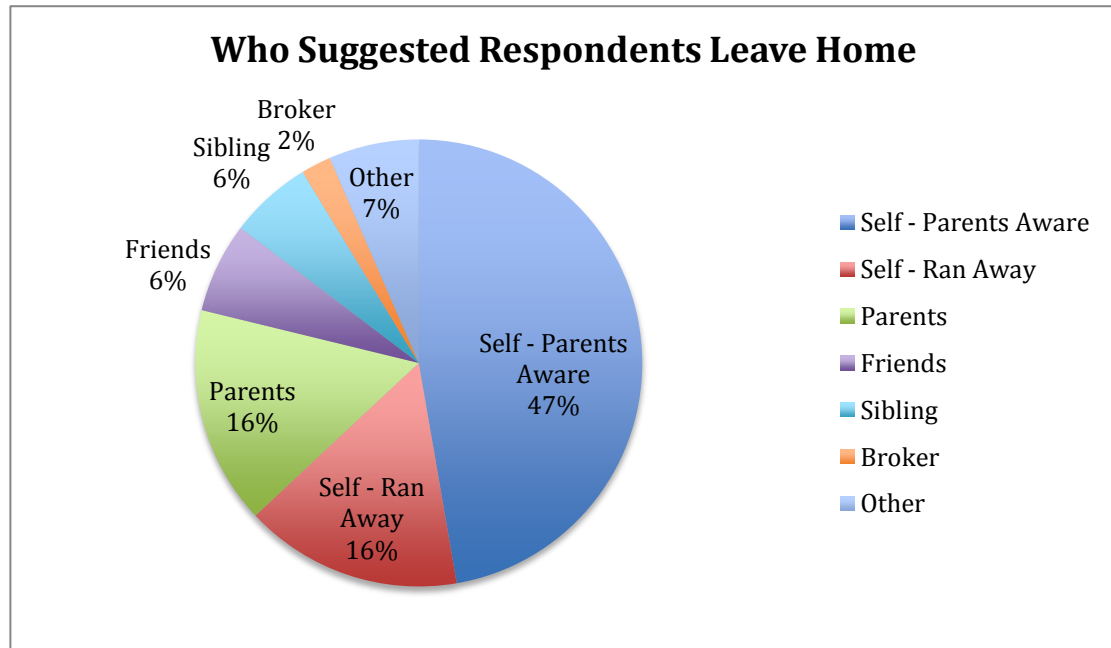


However, these two genders differed in some areas on reasons why they were compelled to leave home, for example, 3% of boys left home due to physical violence, whereas this was not was of the top reasons why girls left home. Alternatively 3% of girls that their parents moved away and left them, leading them to move to East Jakarta, whereas this was not reported by any boys. Problems at home were identified by 6% of both boys and girls as causal factors in their migration. Four girls and three boys cited divorce as a reason for migration.

Some reasons why children left home are not represented in the charts above as very few children mentioned them.

- Three waria were interviewed during the course of this research, one reported leaving home for a job, one moved with parents, and one refused to answer the question.
- One child reported leaving home due to sexual violence, he did not, however, specify the perpetrator.
- One girl reported being tricked by a friend, this friend informed her that she would be working in a restaurant, but she was then coerced into prostitution.
- Three boys reported running away from home but did not specify the reason.
- One boy and one girl reported leaving home once they were no longer able to attend school there.
- One girl reported being forced to leave with a religious leader who proceeded to employ her until she ran away due ill treatment by his wife.

**Chart 11**



As a potential indicator for trafficking, the involvement of a broker was confirmed in four cases. However, many brokers lead children to legitimate employment, while acquaintances and family may send children to exploitive work. The number of children who ran away from home is concerning because this means that these children were without support, and also may have found it more complex to return home if they encountered difficulty.

In addition to listing the reasons for leaving home, children were asked to tell the researcher the story of when they left home. This question was intended to gather any details that were not collected in the earlier questions, and to invite the child to share additional information about their journey itself. Many children described friends or relatives who met them along the way and helped them on their journey, or the lack of these people to help them and uncomfortable experiences where they got lost.

“My brother picked me up from home. His friends took me to Pemalang bus station and then they accompanied me to go to Pulogadung, after that we're using bajaj to here.”

Some children also recounted a migratory life, where they have been moving from place to place since they were young.

“I ran away from home to Jakarta, then moved to K. I met some members of the punk community and joined the punk community for about nine months. I worked as a street singer, but I always had to give the money to the community. I ran away from the punk community and lived on the street for 1.5 months. Because there were many bad guys on the street I decided to move to KK and usually hung out in Jatinegara. Then 2 weeks after that met someone who invited me to go to the Pro-Life school.”

Another similarity among many of the stories is that the move to East Jakarta often was not the first time they had changed homes, living with parents, other relatives, and guardians in the past.

“My father passed away. So because of economical problems, Mom moved me to grandma's place. I was naughty there and moved again to my aunt's place. They wanted me to go to school again, but I didn't like school, so I decided to run away and ended up in Jakarta.”

Several children also recounted being recruited for work in their home village, then following the employer to Jakarta.

“A religious man came to the house and offered me a job in Jakarta. My parents gave him permission for me to go, even though I didn't want to. I didn't like to work in his house because his wife was always mad at me, so I ran away.”

### **Travel Logistics**

When children left home they may have done so on their own or in the company of others. Exploring with whom children travel provides a more complete picture of the journey itself, and offers critical information on guardians, protectors and sources of harm.

Fifty-nine of 206 children (29%) reported that they left home alone. Of the remaining 71%, 30% traveled with their parents, a friend (18%), a sibling (14%), someone else (6%), a broker or future boss (3%), a grandparent (.5%) or a neighbor (.5%). At all stages of identifying their needs, children continually mentioned the importance of a companion or friend to meet emotional needs, and to help the child meet immediate needs like food, shelter, a job, or to provide protection.

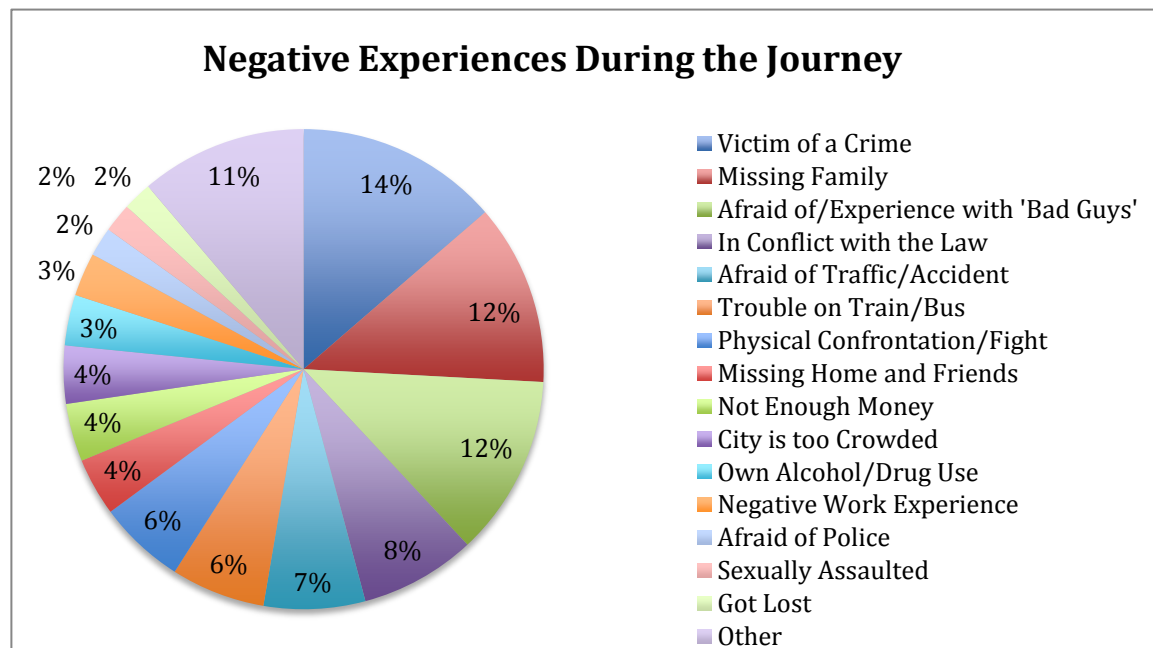
In documenting their journeys, every time a child stopped between home and East Jakarta, or changed their mode of transportation or traveling partner(s) was considered a separate segment of the journey. In general, the more segments a journey had, the longer distance the child traveled because he or she had to use multiple forms of transportation. Of 206 children 21% took a journey of only one part, 19% percent were two parts, and the remaining 60% took journeys of three parts or more. This is indicative of both the distance traveled and the complexity of the travel systems in Indonesia, and also relates to children's expressed fears of getting lost and needing friends who could help them find what they needed.

### **Negative Aspects of the Journey**

One of the objectives of the MAT is to explore the challenges and negative experiences children encounter during migration so that the risks of migration are known. To explore this issue children were asked “What happened on your journey that you didn't like? Some children tell us they had bad experiences such as physical violence, rape by strangers or friends, were

forced to sell sex, were sold to pimps, and even engaged in criminal activity such as stealing or injuring people.” By giving children examples of bad things that have happened to others, they may be more likely to share their own negative experiences. Of the 200 children who answered the question 56 (28%) reported that they had no negative experiences during their journey. The remaining children reported a variety of experiences that they described as making them sad, scared, or uncomfortable.

**Chart 12**



Being the victim of a crime was the most commonly reported negative experience (14%); the most frequent crime was theft of money or belongings, extortion, where children were threatened by “bad guys” or other children, and induced to give money or belongings. Finally, a handful of children reported being physically assaulted without provocation. Twenty-five children (12.5%) reported missing parents or other family members, and that this made them feel sad, lonely, or like they had disappointed their families. In connection with the children who were victims of crimes, many children (10.5%) reported that they were afraid of “bad guys”, although they themselves had not had negative encounters with them. From the descriptions of children it appears that there are a number of teens and young men who take advantage of children’s vulnerability while working on the street and hurt them physically, take their money, or force them to regularly give part of their income. While this can result in a child being incorporated in the “bad guy’s” group, which can be accompanied by a feeling of safety, losing money and being in debt to criminals also increases children’s risk for exploitation.

Some children reported being in conflict with the law, where they were caught by the police, Satpol PP or kamtib (public order officers whose duties include keeping children off the street), and some were then sent to the youth reform center. Jakarta has declared that there are no longer children on the street, and increased enforcement of child labor, specifically during the day. This has forced many children to work at, when they are much more at risk for negative

experiences. Additionally, several children (4) reported fear of the police, which is to be expected given that children are breaking the law by working on the street, however this also means that they have no means for recourse if they need help or are victims of crimes.

A number of children (12 or 6%) reported being involved in fights for reasons such as defending money or territory. While this evidence of violence between children supports many of the stereotypes about street children in East Jakarta, it is important to remember that the minority of children involved in this research reported engaging in violence.

A few children, one or two in each case, reported that their most negative experience was that they were not able to meet their basic needs like having enough food, somewhere to sleep, lack of basic sanitation facilities, access to medical care, or access to education. However, most children viewed issues related to money, violence, and confrontations with law enforcement as more negative, despite the fact that a number of respondents lived in very rudimentary or non-permanent housing without access to sanitation facilities or other basic needs.

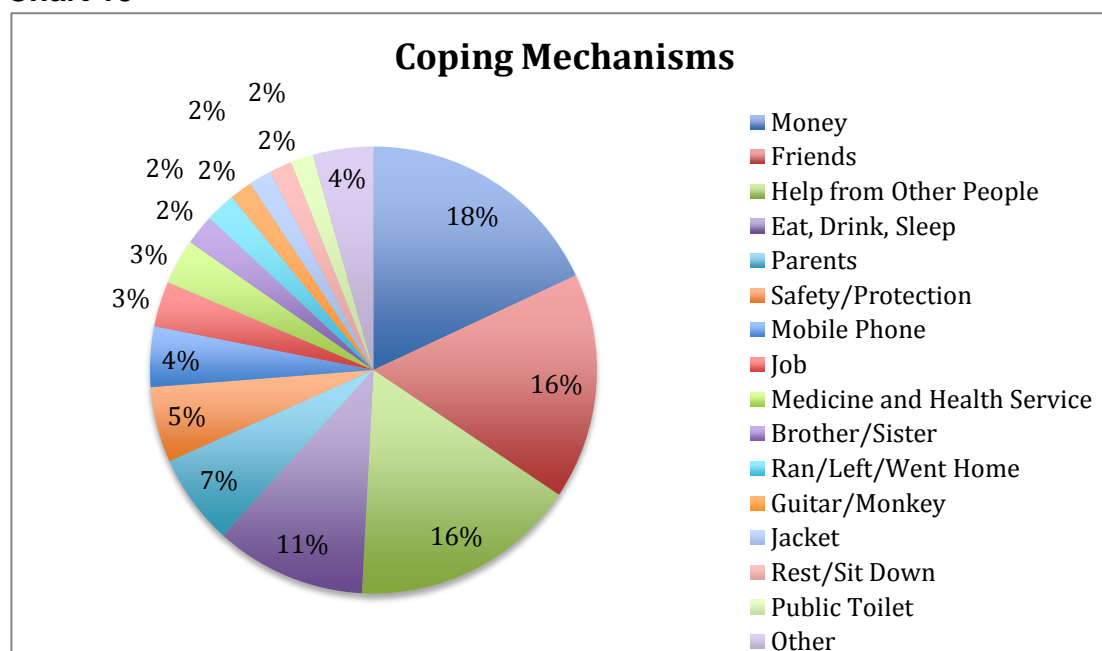
Two children self-reported that they had been victims of trafficking. Although neither child described the experience in detail, both were able to escape from the situation on their own without any assistance, nor did they receive any assistance after the fact based on their status as victims of trafficking.

### **Coping Mechanisms on Journey**

In an effort to identify coping strategies of children, whether positive or negative, children were asked what they did during their journey if they faced difficulties. By exploring coping mechanisms used by children that impacted their experience either positively or negatively, the hope is that these strategies may be shared with other migrating children in the future to improve their outcomes during migration. Of 203 children who responded to the question, 27 reported they did not know what they did to cope, and 15 reported that they did nothing or had no supports.

Of the remaining 161 children, they most commonly reported that having money or getting money from other people was the most important thing when they were having difficulties. They also reported that friends and family were important, as were having a mobile phone to be able to ask friends and family for help. Sixteen percent of children reported that they would find someone to help them or ask for help. This group of children either does not have a support system that is immediately available, or the one that exists may not be sufficient, and in that case it appears that support and assistance from outside groups would be welcome.

**Chart 13**



Children also listed protection and safety from unknown people or from “strong friends” as their best source of support. Two children mentioned that they went to the police when they experienced difficulties during their journey. Children also mentioned concepts like patience and courage, or surrender and giving up, showing that children’s abilities to face adversity also differ individually and based on the circumstances.

### **Interaction with Law Enforcement on Journey**

The role of law enforcement in children’s journeys was most often limited to children’s awareness that the police could get them in trouble. Yet, most children did not have any interaction, with 97/199 children saying they had never met the police. Seventeen children reported that they met the police, but there was no problem, and four children reported a positive interaction with police, who gave them directions or helped them cross the street.

Of children who had a negative experience with law enforcement the feeling of many *children on the move* towards law enforcement was well described by one child who said “Cops are the public enemy for street children.” They are viewed as preventing children from earning the money they need, and were also described as the perpetrators of violence against street children on various occasions.

Forty-one children reported ever having been arrested by law enforcement, reporting that they were then placed in a youth detention center for anywhere from three days to three and a half months. Two children reported physical and emotion abuse occurring in the detention center. Most children did not specify the reason for their arrest and detention, but those who did described being caught working on the street, sleeping on the street, not having an identity card, or for begging.



Respondents described abuses of power, with ten children reporting threats and demands for bribes from law enforcement. Two children reported experiencing physical violence at the hands of the police, as well as one from a train conductor and one from a security guard. One child reported that a police officer damaged the goods in his shop.

More extreme abuses of power were also reported, where police taunted and embarrassed children by making a boy do pushups in the street, cutting off one girl's hair then holding a gun to her head and threatening to kill her, forcing a street performer to sing and dance, forcing a child to clean the bathroom in a train station, or forcing a child to eat stale rice. Two children described law enforcement as perpetrators of sexual violence during raids.

### **Needs During the Journey**

Using Participatory Ranking Methodology, children were asked to list their most important needs during their journey from home to East Jakarta, up to five, and then to rank them in order of importance and explain the reasons behind their ranking decisions. The closer the average rank is to 1, the more important the item mentioned. The ranking frequency describes the number of children who mentioned the item among their most important items. Items were only included if ranked by more than 10 children.

**Table 3: Needs During the Journey from Home to East Jakarta**

<b>Item</b>	<b>Average Rank</b>	<b>Ranking Frequency</b>
Money	2.64	439
Housing	2.42	256
Friends	3.13	225
Food	2.82	200
Job	2.24	132
Education	2.63	84
Family	2.76	80
Bath and Hygiene Supplies	2.92	70
Sleep/Rest	3	39
Love	2.44	22

While having a job was consistently ranked as the most important item among children, money was actually item ranked most frequently, with some children mentioning money more than once as necessary to rent a house or buy food, in these cases the actual need was counted rather than double counting the need for money. Adequate housing was both highly ranked and listed frequently, demonstrating that many children value it. Through observation within East Jakarta, researchers saw many children living in places that were far from safe and healthy, whether they were next to visibly polluted rivers, next to train tracks, without solid walls or roofs, or children were simply sleeping in doorways or under bridges. Several children also told the research team that when they and their peers, as well as adults, build their own houses on unused land, the police sometimes raid the area, and then use a bulldozer to raze the area. The people living there will lose their homes and are not offered any assistance. A number of children interviewed had recently experienced this, and in addition to losing their homes, it also weakened their

social network, as the children they had been living with who supported them were no longer close by. Some of these children had moved into a temporary camp under a bridge, but reported that they did not know where many of their friends were staying.

### **Children's Experiences in East Jakarta and Self-Identified Needs**

To learn more about children's experiences living in East Jakarta, they were asked where they slept usually, where they slept 'last night', and who else sleeps there to explore how many children are accompanied or unaccompanied.

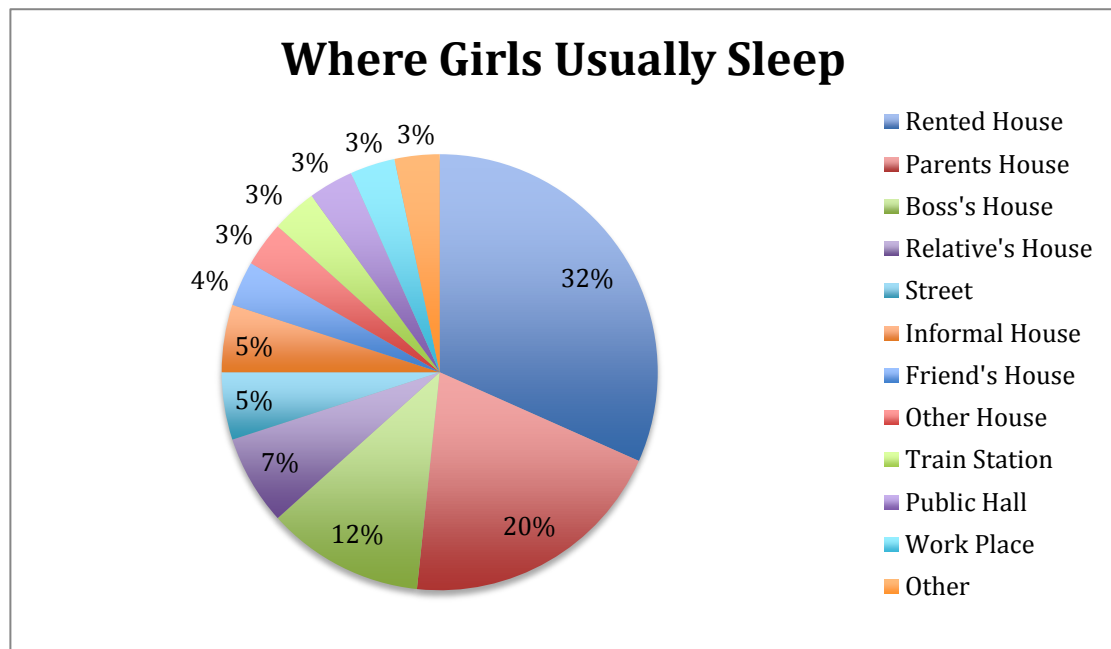
**Table 4: Where Children Sleep**

<b>Place</b>	<b>Sleep Usually</b>	<b>Slept Last Night</b>	<b>Total</b>
Rented House	58	57	<b>115</b>
Parent(s) House	21	17	<b>37</b>
On the Street	19	23	<b>42</b>
Youth Home	18	18	<b>36</b>
In the Market	12	10	<b>22</b>
Boss's House	11	9	<b>20</b>
Friend's House	8	9	<b>17</b>
House	9	11	<b>20</b>
With Siblings	7	11	<b>18</b>
Train Station	9	9	<b>18</b>
Dormitory/Boarding House	6	5	<b>11</b>
Shop/Factory/Work Place	8	8	<b>16</b>
Relative's House	6	3	<b>9</b>
Public Bus/Car	3	2	<b>5</b>
Joined with Friends	2	3	<b>5</b>
Public Hall	2	2	<b>4</b>
Shelter	3	1	<b>4</b>
Back to Village	1	2	<b>3</b>
Hospital	0	2	<b>2</b>
Did Not Sleep	0	1	<b>1</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>203</b>	

Out of 203 children who responded to these questions, 32 (16%) reported that they usually sleep in the same place as their parents, siblings, or other relatives, with 31 children spending the night there 'last night'. Children without any stable living place, who usually sleep in places like parks, intersections, beside buildings, or in buses or train stations make up 22% of the respondent pool. Many children (29%) report living in a rented house, mostly with groups of friends ranging from a few children to groups of over 30. Also, 19 children report living in the place where they work or in their boss' home, which may be positive if they would be living on the street otherwise, but also raises the possibility of children's freedom of movement being restricted, as they may never or almost never leave their place of work.

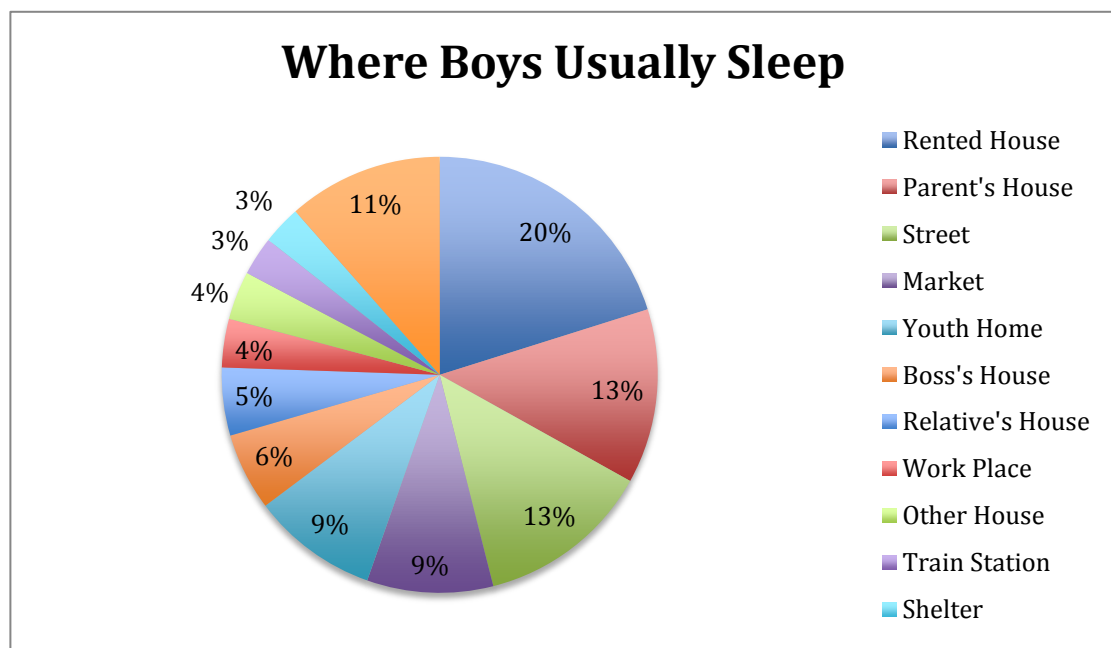
While both boys and girls reported sleeping in many of the same places, variations between the two groups may be indicative of differences in vulnerability based on the safety and protection in the places they sleep.

**Chart 14**



By looking at these two charts we see that while both boys and girls most frequently sleep in a rented house or their parent's house, the other places they sleep tend to vary. For example, while 13% of boys sleep on the street regularly, only 5% of girls do. Again, while 9% of boys most regularly sleep in train stations, 3% of girls do. From this data it is possible to conclude that in our sample boys are more likely to sleep in places of high risk where they are vulnerable to police sanction and abuse.

**Chart 15**

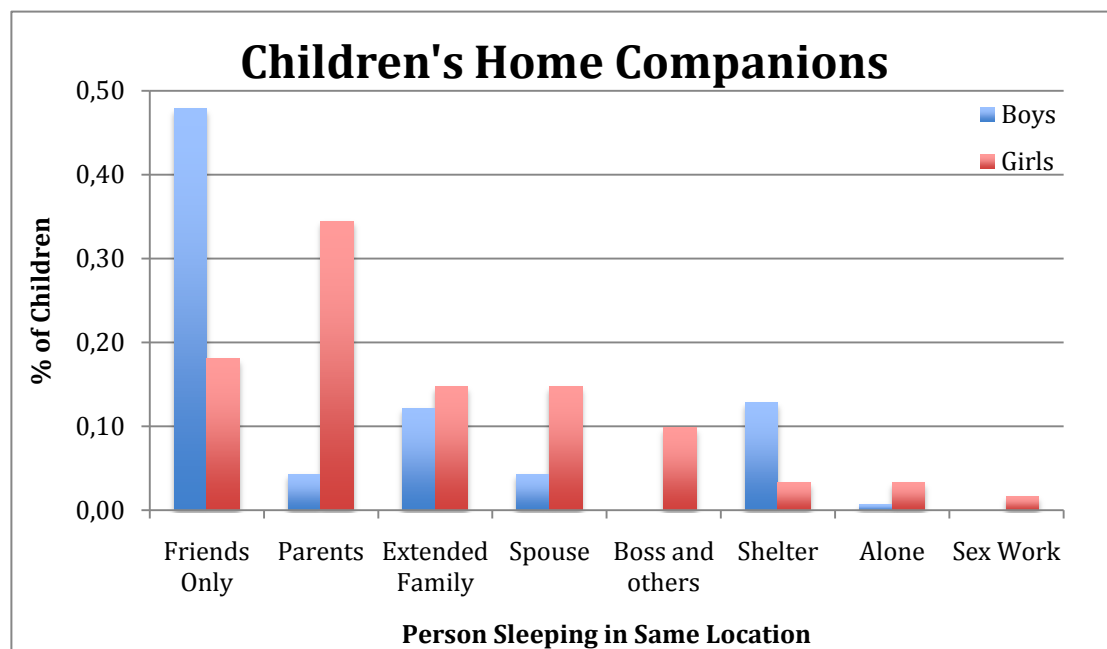


Alternatively, 12% of girls regularly sleep at their boss' house, while 6% of boys do the same. This may be related to the larger proportion of girls with formal employment, who therefore *have* a boss, or may represent a risk for girls as they are wholly dependent on their boss who not only supplies their

income, but also their home. While not represented in the charts above, the three waria identified reported sleeping in a rented house (2) or in parent's house (1).

Children were also asked who usually sleeps in the same place as them to determine whether they have a parent or guardian with them. This serves to distinguish between children who report living in a house, but do so with their peers, and those who live with adults. Below children are categorized as living with Friends Only, Any Parent, where a parent is mentioned in addition to any other people, Extended Family, including siblings, aunts, uncles, and grandparents, Husband/Wife if the child is married, Boss and other people, Alone, Foundation/Shelter, or if the child spends his/her nights performing sex work. Two waria reported staying with their parents, one reported staying with friends. Bars below represent the proportion of boys and girls in each category.

**Chart 16**



Boys from the sample were significantly more likely to sleep in a place where only their friends or acquaintances were present, while girls were more likely to sleep in a place where their parents or other relatives also resided. Girls from this sample were more likely than boys to live with a spouse or a boss. Conversely, boys from this sample were more likely to live in a shelter or foundation home, however this may have been due to willingness to be interviewed, or it is possible that there are more boys than girls in shelters in East Jakarta. Finally, girls were more likely to report sleeping alone and to spend the night with sex work customers.

### Income Generation

Respondents were asked whether they earned any money currently, with only 9 children [5 girls, 4 boys] out of 206 reporting that they were not engaged in income generation. These children were included in the research because

they were currently living in homes for former street children, and several of these homes preclude children from working while living there. However, these children had formerly worked on the street, were from other parts of Indonesia, and currently lived away from their parents, and thus had compelling stories to tell.

Children were then asked to describe their jobs to the researchers. These descriptions were used to inform the development of a typology of children in East Jakarta, which was largely based on children's main method of income generation. *See Annex 1 or page 14-15 for more details.*

Children were asked if they earn money anyway outside of their main job. Those children who reported working multiple jobs said they worked as street singers, helped their parents sell things, helped cars park, begged, scavenged for good or food, worked as porters, stole or robbed, sold or transported drugs, or engaged in sex work with clients from their regular job.

When children were working to meet their needs, often without the help of adults, they often worked outside of the regulated markets and trade work or goods for things like food or housing. Seventy-nine of 163 children responding to the question reported that they did nothing outside of their regular job to support themselves. Family members were the most commonly reported source of outside help (13%), followed by supplemental support from a job or boss like clothing, food, or a place to stay (9%). Children also reported that they saved money to ensure they would be able to continue to support themselves. Neighbors and strangers were also seen as a source of support through donations of food, clothing, money, and loans, in addition to donations (*zakat*) through the mosque. Children also worked in exchange for food, specifically as porters or at food stalls. Other children received soap or cigarettes in exchange for help with cleaning. One child reported catching pigeons and trading them for farm animals that he could eat. Additionally, some storeowners allow children to purchase items like food and medicine on credit. Finally, four children reported that they "pay for things with kisses and hugs", "let men touch [me] for tips", or "go with guests outside for tips".

### *Transactional Sex*

Children were asked specifically whether they knew anyone who engaged in transactional sex, and then whether they had ever engaged in those activities. Specifically, the question asked: "Some children have told us that they participate in sexual activities, including but not limited to kissing, touching, striptease, taking photographs or having different kinds of sex. Sometimes they do these things in exchange for money or favors like taxi rides, clothes, good treatment, or to get or keep a job. Can you tell me about someone you know who has sexual activities for money, things, or favors?"

When asked about others who engage in transaction sex 140/209 (67%) children did not answer the question, said they did not know, or reported that they had never known anyone like that. It is likely that some of the children who refused to answer or said they did not know were uncomfortable given the nature of the question. Sixty-nine children reported that they had a friend

or acquaintance who had received goods, money, or favors in exchange for sexual activity.

**Table 5: Knowledge of and Participation in Transactional Sex**

<b>Others</b>		<b>Self</b>	
Know Others Who Engage in Transactional Sex	69	I Engage in Transactional Sex	35
Don't Know	67	Don't Know	27
Never known anyone like that	25	I have never done that	96
No Response	48	No Response	51
<b>Total</b>	<b>209</b>		<b>209</b>

When asked whether they have ever engaged in transactional sex 174/209 (83%) of children reported that they never, they didn't know, or they did not answer the question. Approximately half as many children, 35 (16.7%), reported their own involvement in transactional sex as reported that their friends were involved in such activities. As might be expected, children are more likely to report the actions of others, in regards to transactional sex, than of themselves. It is also possible that children involved in sex work/CSEC are less likely to consent to an interview for fear that they will get in trouble with police or a boss, or that they will face judgment by the researchers for their actions.

When discussing whether they knew anyone who engaged in transactional sex, thirty-five children reported that they knew someone who exchanged sex for money, goods, or favors. Four children reported that they had heard about girls who like to “play” with older men, but do not know any of them personally. Describing engaging in sexual activity as “playing” was common across respondents, particularly among girls who were paid to spend time with older men.

Five children described friends who had consensual sexual encounters without exchanging money. This was reported to be especially common among youth in the punk community. Two children reported that they each had a friend who was raped, one by an older man, one by a transgender youth, and was then given money afterwards. Two children described friends who were raped, but no money was exchanged afterwards.

Drugs or alcohol were reported as being involved in both consensual sex and sexual assault. Older men reportedly offered alcohol to entice young people to engage with them sexually. One boy reported sniffing glue and getting drunk with friends, followed by sexual activity with each other. One girl who engaged in transactional sex reported that she received alcohol as a “bonus” from her boss when she “takes customers outside” with her. One boy reported that he brings drugs to his friends who are sex workers, and then gives them a discount on the price in exchange for sex.

Several incidents were reported by only one child, but bear mention as they it is unlikely they are isolated incidents:

- One child reported a friend who works as a striptease dancer; strip clubs are illegal in Indonesia.

- One child reported watching pornography; pornography is illegal in Indonesia.
- One child reported knowing girls who attend school during the day, then go to discotheques at night and “play” with older men.
- One boy reported that his girlfriend is a sex worker.
- One boy reported that he had sex with a sex worker, but that she did not want him to pay her, only to protect her.
- One boy reported having a friend who is a pimp.
- One child reported being aware of child trafficking occurring through the customs office, but did not provide further details.

Children also shared their perceptions of who sex workers tended to be in the community. According to respondents, street singers and *waria* were likely to be sex workers, and sex workers were likely to live away from their parents and to have a low level of education. Children who have friends who engage in transactional sex say their friends work in: Cibitung, Jembatan Lima area, Kebon Singkon, Tangerang, Prapatan, Tebet, Lawe-Lawe, Rawa Bunga, Klender, specifically on the street, in the park, and under bridges. They reported that their friends, who do not work on the street, go with clients from cafes, discotheques, restaurants, or clubs. Respondents reported that their friends work during the night, from 7pm until 6 am or the morning. They report that their friends engage in transactional sex in order to meet their or their family’s basic needs, to make their parents happy, or to get pleasure.

### *Own Transactional Sex*

Out of 41 children who reported knowing someone who engaged in transactional sex, seven children reported that they engaged in transactional sex. One child reported starting in sex work through a broker, another was pushed into it by friends, while a third was told she would be working in a restaurant, but was then forced into sex work. One girl who was married described her emotional difficulty with performing transactional sex, “I am at odds with my heart because I have to have sex with men who are not my husband.” This demonstrates that being married is not necessarily a protective factor against CSEC, despite the fact that, because she is married, this girl is legally an adult and is a prostitute breaking the law, rather than a child victim of sexual exploitation.

One child who was a street singer reported that his involvement in transactional sex depends on whether ‘enough’ money has been earned that day, if not he will look for a man to pay him for oral sex; he also reported being forced to have anal sex during some of these encounters. The experience of a customer asking for one service, but then either forcing the child to perform an additional service, or not paying for the additional service was described by several children. Similar to above, several children reported personal limits on the acts they are willing to engage in, like only kissing or touching but no intercourse, but there were also reports of clients forcing them to break these rules.

Eight children reported being asked to perform transactional sex, or been offered to become sex workers, but they had refused. One girl explained, “The men offer me money at my job, but I do not want the money because it is not *halal*.” In this case, the girl described her aversion to transactional sex because Islam does not view it as religiously acceptable. Two boys were asked to perform transactional sex by older women, but both refused.

One boy reported visiting a female sex worker with several friends, and that the sex worker was “still a child”. This implicates other children as some of the customers of child sex workers, illustrating that not only are some children in East Jakarta the victims and survivors of CSEC, but they can also be the perpetrators of commercial sexual exploitation. Experiences of paying for sex when both the customer and the sex worker are children has the potential to normalize child sex workers in the mind of the customer, thereby limiting his objection to their presence and to visiting them in adulthood.

### *Illegal Activities*

Children were asked whether they had ever engaged in activities that ‘might get them in trouble if an adult found out’. In addition to being the victims of crimes, children also reported perpetrating crimes. Stereotypes often assume criminality among children living and working on the street, in addition to those crimes they commit unintentionally by working under the legal age and often without appropriate licenses or permits, however 72% of children reported that they had never engaged in such behavior or did not know. This question allows for the exploration of what needs children meet through the commission of crimes, and why those needs cannot be met in another way.

The most commonly reported activity was consuming alcohol, mentioned by 52% of children who admitted ever having done something that could get them in trouble. Forty-three percent of children reported fighting, often with other gangs of children. Fifteen children reported using drugs in general, with other children mentioning specific drugs mentioned including: marijuana (4/88), abusing prescription and over-the-counter medication (8/88), sniffing glue (2/88), ecstasy (1/88), and crystal methamphetamine (1/88).

Children reported committing violent crimes including: murder (2), rape (1), robbery with a deadly weapon (4), stabbing (1), assault with a deadly weapon (1), robbing a home or store (3), robbing a person (3), and working as a drug courier (1). In a few cases, the child mentioned that the robbery occurred because of need, i.e. robbing a person to get money to buy food; but in the majority of cases where the child described his or her motivation it involved anger, retaliation, or following a group of peers. While some children did admit to committing very serious crimes, the majority of children did not report such behavior. Fighting among and across peer groups is the most prevalent activity by far, and the same children reporting fighting often also reported using drugs or alcohol. A few children also saw sexual intercourse as something they could get in trouble for, including one child specified having intercourse while drunk and not remembering it in the morning.



## Comfort at Job

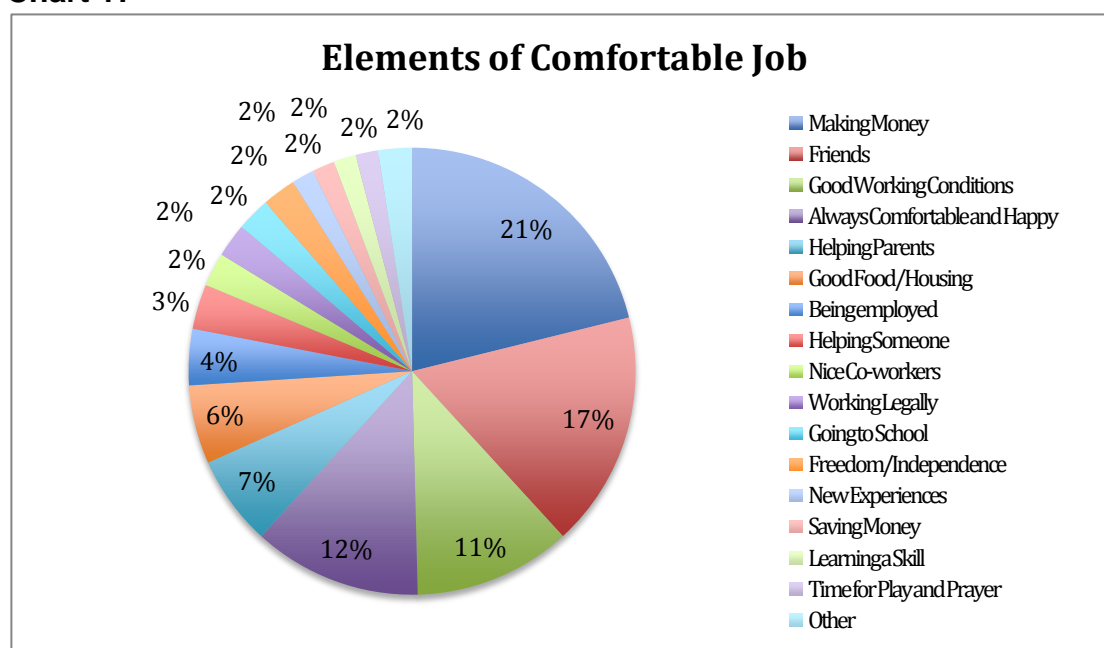
One of the objectives of this research was to explore whether children were comfortable with the way they currently earned money, and whether they would change their job if they had a choice. This was meant to give children an additional opportunity to describe ways they earned income that they might have been reluctant to reveal. Additionally, this question was asked to explore whether giving children the opportunity to move out of higher risk jobs, like sex work, working on the street, or in construction, and into other safer jobs, would be well received.

**Table 6: Comfort at Job**

	Comfortable	Not Comfortable	Total
<b>Girls</b>	36	22	58
<b>Boys</b>	88	53	141
<b>Waria</b>	1	1	2
<b>Total</b>	125	76	201

More than 37% of both girls and boys reported that they were not comfortable in their jobs. Children were allowed to define what was meant by comfortable. They may not enjoy the working conditions, the hours, or the pay. Children in every sub-type reported both comfort and discomfort with their jobs, except that all girls who earned money exclusively through sex work reported discomfort. Conversely, of the boys who earned money through robbery, drug dealing, and guarding sex workers, only one expressed discomfort at his job.

**Chart 17**



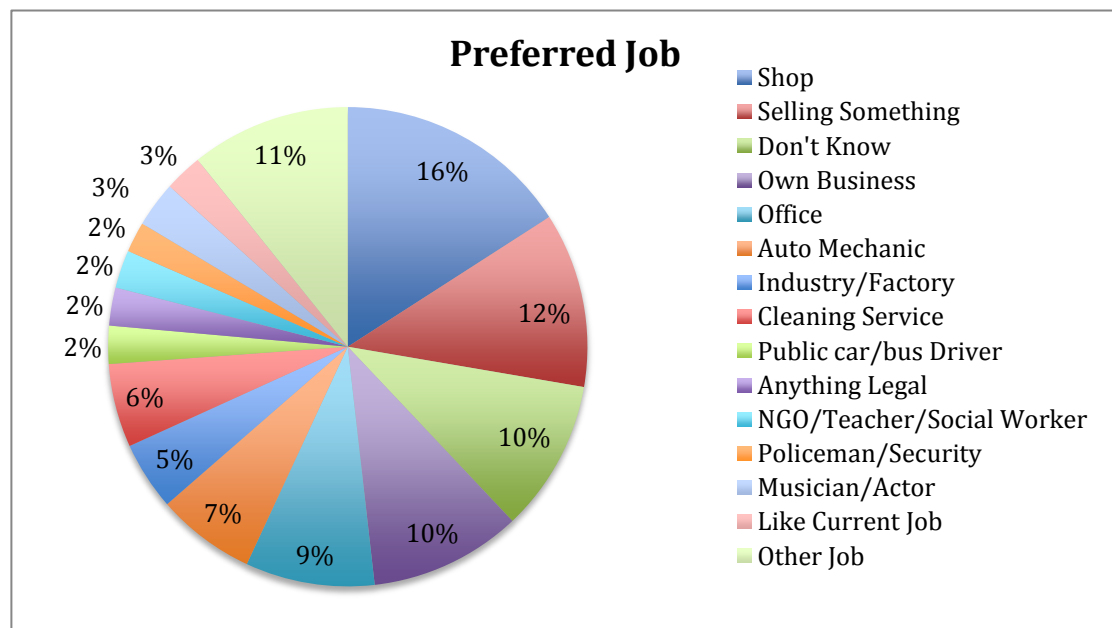
Children reported many reasons why they were comfortable at their jobs, the most common of which were because they made money and got to spend time with their friends. Children also reported happiness because of being employed or being able to eat three times a day.

Elements that make a job uncomfortable were predictably opposite from those that make it comfortable, but also offer insight into some negative employment

related experiences of respondents. The most commonly reported negative part of a job was conflict with law enforcement, including raids (25%). This was followed by not earning enough money (8%), being bored or wanting a new job (6% each), missing family and home, or working long hours (5% each). Working long hours was also accompanied by not having enough time off, being tired, or difficult interactions with boss or clients. Three children reported being ashamed of their job, including one street singer, one sex worker, and one beggar. Two children reported that fear of sexual harassment by customers was the most negative part of their employment experience.

After explaining why they were comfortable or uncomfortable at their current job, children were asked what job they would like to have if they could choose. Most children chose professions that are off the street, like working in an office or a store, and where they would have more control and the potential to earn more money, like owning their own business or factory. Five children said that they would be happy with any job that was legal, with three children saying they would do any job that is permanent. Children generally expressed that they were very willing to work hard, and currently earned money through extralegal means because they are unable to find other options.

**Chart 18**



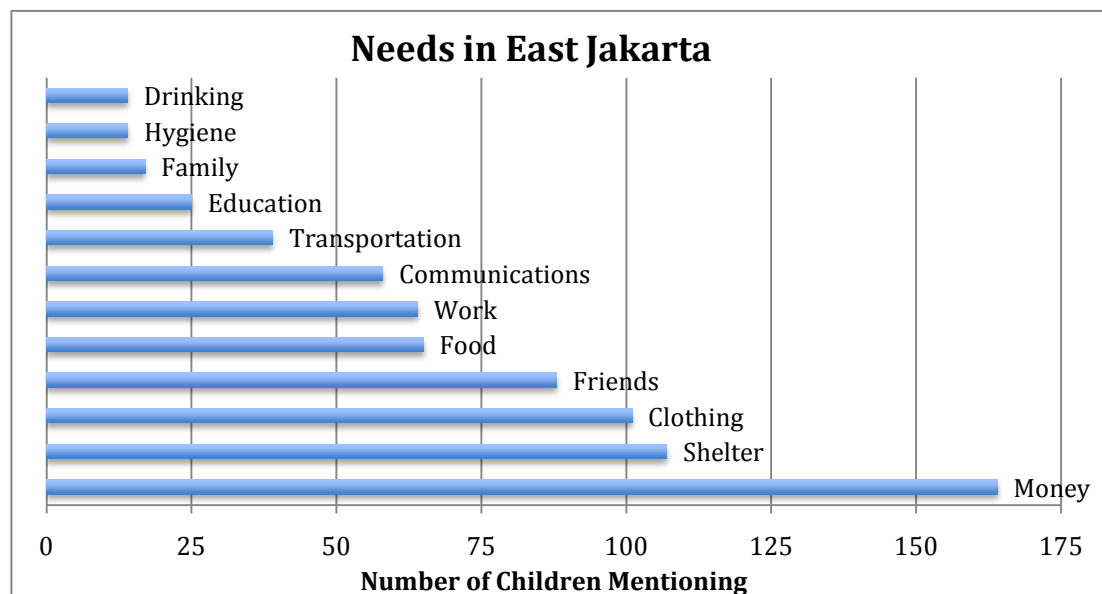
### Needs in East Jakarta

The purpose of the Mobile Assessment Tool is to gauge the needs of children on their journey, as well as in their current location, whether permanent or temporary. This is useful for discerning whether current programs are accessible to *children on the move* and are meeting their needs. Additionally, it can help identify needs experienced by the population that may not be apparent to outsiders. The process was the same as determining children's needs on the journey, where they were asked to list their most important needs, and then rank them in their order of importance. The total number of children that mention each item, as well as the average rank each item

received, was evaluated to understand the most common needs, as well as those that children consider most important. Items were ranked from 1 to 5, with 1 as least important and 5 most important, so the lower ranking received, the more important the item.

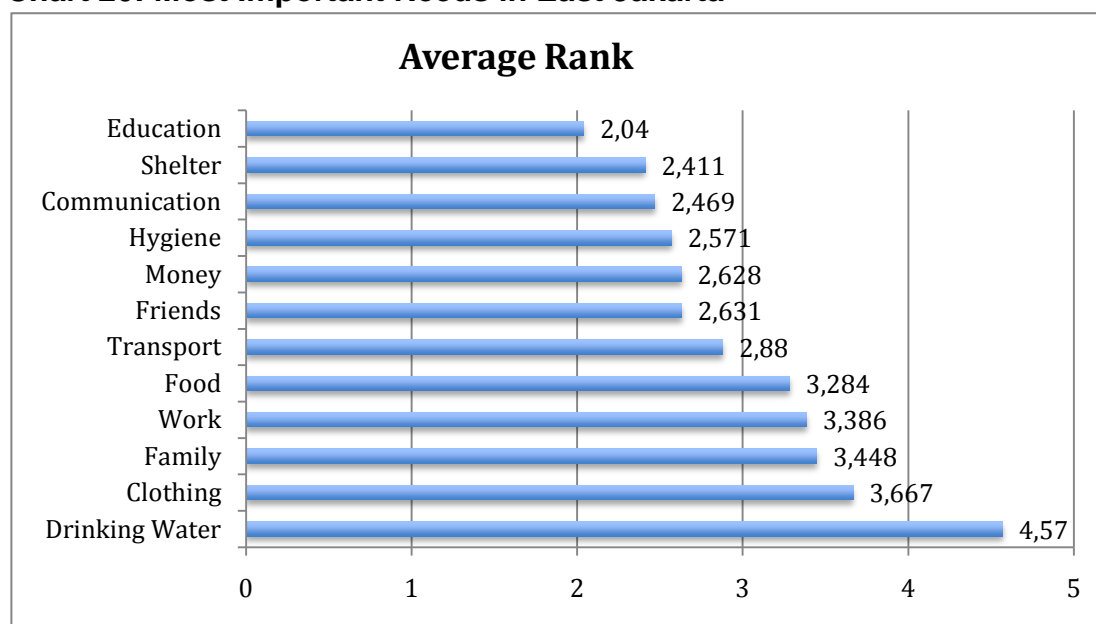
Respondents mentioned money most frequently, 164/209 respondents, as it was described as essential for buying anything the children needed, and being flexible so that they could meet any challenges or problems. Shelter, clothing, friends, and food were also among the five most commonly mentioned items. Many children's living spaces were insecure or nonpermanent, and therefore many of them mentioned a house, as opposed to their current place. Friends were mentioned by some children as being for companionship, but in other circumstances friends were described as being helpful in working or earning money, and for increasing security and protection.

**Chart 19**



In contrast to the items that were most commonly mentioned, Education received the highest average ranking, 2.04, despite the fact that only 25 children ranked it. Shelter received the second highest average ranking, followed by communication, specifically hand phones or being able to call family, and hygiene, including soap and somewhere to bathe. Money was ranked 5<sup>th</sup>, which means that it is important to many children, but the majority of them ranked one or more items above money in importance.

**Chart 20: Most Important Needs in East Jakarta**



### Children's Plans and Destinations

After describing their journeys from home to East Jakarta, children were asked to talk about any future plans to travel elsewhere, including returning home. Of children interviewed, 57 (27.7%) reported they had any plans to go elsewhere.

**Table 7 Children's Next Destination**

Place	Number of Children
Home	17
Different part of Jakarta	8
Different part of East Jakarta	3
Outside of Jakarta	16
To school	2
Anywhere better/with more jobs	4
Don't Know	10

### Recommended Services

After discussing and ranking their personal needs in East Jakarta, children were given the chance to brainstorm how the needs of themselves and their peers could be met. No restrictions were placed on what children could suggest, which led to a wide variety of responses. *For a list of currently available services in East Jakarta please see Annex 5.*

The most common recommendation was a service to help children find jobs (24%), which is in line with earlier listed needs, as money was seen as the way to meet many of one's needs. Access to free or improved housing was mentioned by 22% of children. Some children specified that they would like a place where street children could live together, while others wanted access to permanent housing, or any housing at all. Many children suggested that a

foundation could open a house where street children could live, which suggests that they lack knowledge about existing resources in East Jakarta such as shelters and group homes or that they do not find existing options suitable, as children are not allowed to work while living there.

Many children (19%) were interested in pursuing formal or informal education, specifically that which would lead to the receipt of a certificate, as not having a certificate was seen as a barrier to formal employment. Children specified that this education should be free and provided in their own neighborhood, again implying that children are not aware of the many resources that already exist in East Jakarta such as Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia which provides education, or that these programs are not meeting their needs. The research team found that many organizations catered to specific groups of children, such as victims of trafficking or exploitation, but there were less resources for children and young people generally. Some children (5%) also specified that they would like training courses in things like computers, auto mechanics, acting, religion, and cooking. These classes were described as being the means to finding formal employment through the use of the skills learned there.

Help meeting basic needs like access to health services (6%), public bathroom (6%), food (2%), clothes (4%), and access to clean water for drinking and bathing (3%), was requested by some children, but most were able to meet those needs by themselves, aside from finding and being able to afford adequate housing.

Protection, security, and safety were requested by 6% of children, with two children specifically asking for protection from Satpol PP because they reportedly have “violent interactions” with children, while other children wanted protection in general or protection from other children and ‘bad guys’.

A place to play and “hang out” (4%), friends (3%), meetings for sharing and talking (.5%), and kindness and understanding (2%), all point to a need for a social support network, as well as place where children can spend time together. Several children (3%) asked for help getting an identity card or a family certificate, as the lack of these documents was seen as interfering with employment opportunities and also could cause problems if the police asked for them.

Overall children expressed a good grasp of what they needed that would make their life and the lives of their peers better; however, given that many of the services currently exist in or near East Jakarta, children may need assistance accessing those services. On the other hand, many of the organizations the research team worked with have very specific parameters of what populations they help, restricted by age or status as a sexual assault survivor, and some children who do not fit into one of those categories have significantly less access to services. Additionally, many children have a relative lack of mobility within East Jakarta due to claiming of particular areas by groups of children, and crossing into another group’s area can cause conflict.

## **Advice for Other Children Migrating**

Interviews were concluded by asking children what advice they would give to a friend making the same journey they did. Ten percent of children said they would recommend that their friends be careful and keep themselves safe because there are many bad things in Jakarta. Having friends, especially if they can help you find a job was described as being especially important by 11% of children, with 10% of respondents saying that working hard and having a job were the most important things. However, choosing your friends wisely, and not trusting others easily was described as important by 3% of children. Respondents (10%) also described Jakarta as being very different from their home village, and said that it was easy to get lost and that they would help their friends by sharing knowledge about the area.

Many children would warn their friends against making the journey to Jakarta, describing it as a difficult place to live (6%), and that their friends should think twice about coming, especially girls. Warnings were also given about drunken men, danger working and living on the street, and difficulties caused by interactions with law enforcement. Two children specifically recommended that their friends only go out at night to avoid the police. Making money legally and having identification were also seen as essential advice to avoid fines from the police. Children would also caution their friends about avoiding 'bad guys', and that they also should not become them, and to avoid carry drugs and weapons. Two children would warn their friends about the number of sex workers in the area, and that they not become one of them. They also cautioned about the difficulty of finding a job and earning money, that it was not as easy as they had expected. Children would alert friends about the trouble that can be caused by drinking and using drugs. Two children would tell their friends to stay home and not to come to Jakarta, while two others suggested that friends should only come if they had a skill they could use to make money. Four would tell their friends that staying in school and studying are better than coming to Jakarta.

Finally, children described the mental preparation needed to succeed in Jakarta, saying that their friends would need to be courageous and strong, because if they were weak they would have a negative experience. Prayer and having a purpose and a plan in Jakarta were described as ways to ensure a positive experience, as were having a place prepared where you can live. Staying in touch with family and being polite and respectful to people you meet were also described as important coping mechanisms.

## **Respondent Driven Sampling**

Unlike in Thailand, the research team did not have difficulty convincing children to accept referral coupons. Children generally accepted the coupons, regardless of whether they felt certain they could complete a referral. Interviews were counted as the result of a referral regardless of where the interview occurred, whether at the referral station or elsewhere in East Jakarta. This was due to both children's lack of freedom of movement in some cases, as well as the risk to children when moving around the city during

daylight hours. In Jakarta it is against the law for working children to be on or in the street at any time, but the law is particularly harshly enforced during daylight, and therefore children often avoided movement and work during those hours. Additionally, many children worked under the authority of an adult, whether in a restaurant or as a street seller, often had little freedom of movement, and therefore it was impossible for them to present to a referral station for an interview.

Of 209 total interviews conducted by 5 researchers, 142 of these were directly recruited by researchers, leading to 67 of children who had been referred. Of these 67 referrals, 43 were part of the first wave, 10 were part of the second wave, five were part of the third wave, and nine were part of the fourth wave.

The referral rate was the highest yet of any MAT pilot; this may have been due to several factors including the significantly greater target population, the increased flexibility of referral parameters, and the urban location where children are more likely to have daily contact with strangers. Despite this increased referral rate, the pilot was not conducted over a sufficient time period to conduct enough interviews to be able to accurately estimate the size and characteristics of the target population. Given the population of East Jakarta, this sample is undoubtedly only a fraction of the entire population. Additionally the research team was only able to begin accessing members of more hidden populations such as sex workers and drug dealers towards the end of the data collection period, and therefore such populations are inadequately represented in this sample. This data is very valuable nonetheless, as it sheds light on a previously undefined population, including defining sub-types of children that were not mentioned to the research team by anyone who participated in key informant interviews prior to the research. With continued flexibility of the approach and methodology, as well as additional time, this method could contribute further to knowledge about *children on the move* in East Jakarta in the future.

## Implications and Recommendations

This research was conducted with the intention of informing ECPAT and the University of Indonesia's future direction and initiatives in child protection related to *children on the move* in Jakarta, as well as to contribute to the evidence base about vulnerable children in Jakarta. Based on primary and secondary research, the following programming, advocacy, and research are recommended when working with this population going forward.

### Programming

#### Outreach and Awareness Raising

Outreach by ECPAT and its partners in areas where *children on the move* are known to live is needed, as many children interviewed were unaware of the services near them. Also, because many of the services offered are directed at specific populations, such as survivors of abuse or girls or boys under 18 only, those people making children aware of available services should have sufficient information about resources to provide to all sub-groups of children they meet. Also, due to the limited mobility of some children due to conflicts with other groups of children, providing mobile services or transportation to services could increase utilization and improve access.

#### Housing

For children without sufficient resources to rent a place to live, there are very few options in East Jakarta. Many of the children interviewed during the data collection process lived in homemade shelters of discarded materials near riverbanks or train tracks. Other children lived in shelters run by religious foundations, where children may be persuaded to adopt new beliefs, and in many cases are restricted from working. Despite the provision of room and board and education by the foundation shelters, without access to income, children are often unable to stay in school, and if they resume working, the shelter will no longer allow them to stay there. Non-denominational shelters that allow children to maintain their autonomy, access education, and earn income would be welcomed by children on the move and would potentially decrease the number of children living in dangerous and unhealthy environments.

#### Healthcare

Although there is some access to healthcare via community health centers, children were often unaware of the existence of the services, assumed the costs would be prohibitive, or were unaware of the importance of regular health checks. Awareness raising and the presentation of mobile services in conjunction with other resources desired by *children on the move* would improve access and demand, which in turn would increase income for centers that provide medical care on a sliding scale basis. This access could also be coupled with unrestricted access to psychosocial support. Several of the organizations providing mental health services in East Jakarta list getting people out of CSEC/sex work as an explicit element of their mission, making



children involved in those types of activities reluctant to approach them for support and services and fear that they will be judged.

### Education and Employment

Access to informal education including vocational and life skills training was requested by a number of children, who saw further education and training as a way to find formal jobs, increase their income, and to make things better for them. Helping children gain skills and also helping them find employment would be incredibly beneficial for many of the children encountered during the research period. Children who had steady income were able to afford housing, often helped their families buy necessities, and were less likely to be in places where police raids or violence might occur.

### Working with Parents

Given the number of children working on the street while living with their parents, working with parents to understand the potential risk of their children being employed in such a way could be valuable. Parents could also be encouraged or rewarded for keeping their children in school, and they could also be encouraged to guide their children into less dangerous work wherever possible.

### Identification

Many children reported that they lacked government issued identification, and that this increased their vulnerability when interacting with law enforcement, and also limited their ability to secure permanent work. The identification process in Indonesia is complex, and offering to help children access it would be helpful to them, as well as draw children to other services that they might not otherwise access like health or psychosocial services.

## **Policy & Advocacy**

### Collaboration between Government Agencies for Children's Protection

Various government agencies can and should be involved in promoting child protection. For example, given the number of children that live, work, and sleep in and around bus and train stations, it would be appropriate to involve the Department of Transportation. Training could be given to conductors and station masters to avoid attempt to decrease abusive interactions between them and children, and also to promote referrals of children to social services or other service providers, rather than transit workers punishing children themselves or having them sent to the youth detention center for small infractions like fare evasion.

Many children described interaction with law enforcement in East Jakarta as everything from unproductive to frightening to abusive. Children often reported

the police as the enemy, rather than as a resource that can help and protect them. Joint advocacy and programming should involve advocating for children's rights as well as working with the police to improve their interactions with children, and to ensure that children are referred to the appropriate resources when appropriate, rather than being treated as criminals. Given the presence of military posts and barracks in East Jakarta, working with the military to provide education about the harmful effects of CSEC would also be beneficial, to encourage men to avoid underage sex workers. Collaboration with government to organize training of police and military, as well as commitment to a zero tolerance policy for any such people found engaging in CSEC or physically abusing children could improve children's confidence in law enforcement.

Child protection training would also be useful for members of government so that they understand the needs of children. One of the reasons children currently come into conflict with the law is due to a declaration about street children, which the police then enforce. This law has forced children to work at night, further increasing their vulnerability to harassment and abuse. Working together with the Department of Social Welfare, ECPAT or another child protection organization could work to sensitive and educate members of government to the needs of children so that they are supported by government and law enforcement, rather than seen as a target. Child protection is a cross-cutting issue that should be considered during the decision-making process across government agencies, and awareness raising is the first step towards that goal.

## **Research**

### **CSEC Research**

Robust research on children, specifically children who are victims of CSEC or are engaged in transactional sex has not been conducted in over 10 years.<sup>6</sup> Estimates of the number of children in CSEC are important to gauge the extent of the problem and to ensure that programming meets the needs of the children today, as the population is shifting. In this research it is essential to approach children in both formal and informal CSEC, as involvement in transactional sex and occasional CSEC appear to be issues. Further research in Jakarta, as well as in other areas of Indonesia is recommended so ECPAT knows the scope of the problem and can better target its resources and programming.

### **Trafficking Research**

More specific research that targets children who have been trafficked would garner more precise information about trafficking to Jakarta. This research

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<sup>6</sup> Irwanto et al. (2001). Trafficking of children in Indonesia: A preliminary description of the situation. Jakarta: International Labour Organization & Department of Social Welfare.

could also explore where the children come from and in what sectors they tend to be employed. Children from other places and who go to work abroad could also be tracked to the extent possible. Several children did report that they were recruited and moved into exploitive labor, but all children interviewed who reported this were able to leave the situation without assistance. Children who remain in exploitive situations and are unable to leave could not be reached during this research, but certainly exist.

### Ongoing Monitoring and Collaboration

Improving collaboration between organizations working in East Jakarta would eliminate overlap of services, allow for a more effective referrals process, and could improve utilization of funds. Several related organizations interviewed during this research were unaware of the existence of some of the others, or of ECPAT. In conjunction with this, if a data collection and monitoring process could be organized and coordinated, it would greatly increase the knowledge of all organizations and their ability to meet the needs of children in the area. Peers of children identified in this study could also be trained to conduct this data collection, which could be coupled with awareness raising about available services, and would increase the capacity and could include skills training for children involved. See Annex 5 for existing services.

## **Using the MAT and Respondent Driven Sampling**

### Mobility

The MAT would be greatly strengthened if it could *literally* be mobile, so that the entire interview can be conducted while a child is working or standing, as long as there is sufficient privacy for confidentiality. Children should not be excluded from the target population due to a lack of free time or freedom of movement, and a mobile tool would help to make the tool more inclusive.

### Respondent Driven Sampling

While this sampling method has yet to be implemented over a period of time where the sample size was sufficient to predict the size and characteristics of the population, improvements and increased success over the past three pilots is promising. Improving the flexibility of the tool and sampling method has proven essential, as has gaining the trust of local children and community members, as referrals to members of vulnerable populations like children in CSEC, involved in illicit drugs or crimes, or who have extremely limited freedom of movement have come at the end of data collection periods in both Thailand and East Jakarta

## **Conclusion**

While all the children interviewed during data collection moved to East Jakarta from another place, most were not currently moving to and from the area. This

means that there is a relatively stable population of children in need of significant assistance accessing available services and meeting their basic needs. While many of the *children on the move* were initially somewhat reluctant to talk to strangers, once they heard that participating could help improve their and their friends' situations in the future, many were eager to help, and spent hours recruiting respondents and talking to researchers. Working with these communities of children, not only to provide them with services, but also to build their capacities to earn money and support themselves has the potential to be very productive. These children do face the threat of physical and sexual violence, both from those within and outside of their social networks. However in the face of that threat and ongoing risk, many of them have proven themselves to be incredibly resilient. Support for those who have experienced violence, as well as resources to help diminish the vulnerability of all children living and working on the street would be highly beneficial.

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## Annexes

### Annex 1

Sub-Type	Gender	Accompanied?	Activities	Sex Work
Street Vendors	Both	Unaccompanied	Sell goods in mobile stalls and in traffic.	Possible
Beggars	Both	Accompanied or unaccompanied	Begging for money at intersections and on the street	
Street Performers	Both	Accompanied or unaccompanied	Play music, dance, and traditional dance to earn money. Often travel with children from the same region.	Possible
Car/Motorbike Wash	Male	Unaccompanied	Car washes often open 24 hours, boys work in shifts	
Scavengers	Both	Unaccompanied	Collect good to sell or rice from market for consumption	
Porters	Male	Unaccompanied	Attend markets to carry good for a fee	
Construction	Male	Unaccompanied	Work at construction site	
Cleaners	Both	Unaccompanied	Clean buildings, trains, and outdoors	Possible
Van/Bus Drivers/Money Collectors	Both	Unaccompanied	Collect money or drive public transportation	
Domestic Workers/Babysitters	Female	Unaccompanied	Live at place of work or elsewhere. Clean, care for children.	Possible
Industry Workers – Factory or Home Industry	Both	Accompanied or Unaccompanied	Work in factory or a home. Also includes melting gold for sale.	
Drug Dealers/Drug Mules	Male	Unaccompanied	Working as drug dealers or drug mules on the street or in entertainment venues	
Formal Stores/Restaurants	Both	Accompanied or Unaccompanied	Employed in permanent businesses cooking or selling food or goods	Possible
Sex Work (only)	Female	Unaccompanied	Stay in a boarding house, look for clients on the street at night while watched by a guardian	Yes
Sex Work Facilitators	Male	Unaccompanied	Guard and transport female sex workers	



**Annex 2 : See attached map of East Jakarta**

**Annex 3: See attached data collection tools**

**A: Bahasa Indonesia**

**B: English**

**Annex 4: *Children on the Move Places of Origin***

**By Province**

Province	Boys	Girls	Waria	Total
Aceh	1			1
Bali	1			1
Banten	2			2
Central Java	29	16	1	46
East Java	13	4		17
East Kalimantan	1			1
East Nusa Tenggara		1		1
Lampung	2			2
North Sumatra	3	2		5
Riau	1			1
Riau Islands	1			1
South Sumatra	2			2
West Java	85	38	1	124
West Sumatra	1			1
Yogyakarta	1			1
<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>206</b>

**By Regency**

Regency	Province	Island	Girls	Boys	Waria	Total
Denpasar	Bali	Bali		1		1
	Riau Island					
	Province	Batam		1		1
	East Kalimantan	Borneo		1		1
	Banten	Java		2		2
Banyumas	Central Java	Java	1	3		4
Brebes	Central Java	Java	8	5	1	14
Banyumas	Central Java	Java	2			2
Cilacap	Central Java	Java		3		3
Demak	Central Java	Java		1		1
Magelang	Central Java	Java		1		1
Pekalongan	Central Java	Java		4		4
Pandeglang	Central Java	Java	2			2
Pemalang	Central Java	Java	1	3		4
Purbalingga	Central Java	Java		1		1
Sragen	Central Java	Java		1		1
Surakarta	Central Java	Java		2		2
Tegal	Central Java	Java	2	5		7

Jember	East Java	Java		1		1
Kebumen	East Java	Java		1		1
Salatiga	East Java	Java		1		1
Semarang	East Java	Java		3		3
Kramat Jati	East Java	Java		1		1
Losari	East Java	Java		1		1
Ngawi	East Java	Java	1			1
Pasar Rebo	East Java	Java		1		1
Ponorogo	East Java	Java	1			1
Surabaya	East Java	Java	2	3		5
Tuban	East Java	Java		1		1
	East Nusa					
Soe	Tenggara		1			1
Bandung	West Java	Java	1			1
	West Java	Java		1		1
Bogor	West Java	Java		2		2
Bekasi	West Java	Java	4	12		16
Bekasi	West Java			4		4
Bandung	West Java	Java	4			4
Cengkareng	West Java	Java		2		2
Ciamis	West Java	Java		1		1
Cianjur	West Java	Java	1	2		3
Cirebon	West Java	Java	1	7		8
Garut	West Java	Java		13		13
Indramayu	West Java	Java	10	2	1	13
Jakarta	West Java	Java	1	12		13
Jakarta	West Java	Java	4	3		7
Karawang	West Java	Java	3	3		6
Kuningan	West Java	Java	1	5		6
Purwakarta	West Java	Java		1		1
Serang	West Java	Java	3	3		6
Subang	West Java	Java	1	5		6
Sukabumi	West Java	Java		1		1
Sumedang	West Java	Java		1		1
Tangerang	West Java	Java	1	3		4
Tasikmalaya	West Java	Java	2	1		3
Wonosobo	West Java	Java	1	1		2
	Yogyakarta	Java		1		
	Lampung	Java		2		2
Nias	Aceh	Sumatra		1		1
Medan	North Sumatra	Sumatra	2	1		3
North Tapanuli	North Sumatra	Sumatra		2		2
Padang	West Sumatra	Sumatra		1		1
	Riau	Sumatra		1		1
Belitang	South Sumatra	Sumatra		1		1
Pelembang	South Sumatra	Sumatra		1		1