

Space and Culture of Exclusive Gigolo Experience in Surabaya

Sarmini Sarmini ^{1,*} , Anna Lutfaidah ²  and Ajeng Eka Prastuti ² 

¹ Department of Pancasila and Citizenship Education, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, State University of Surabaya, 60231, Surabaya, Indonesia

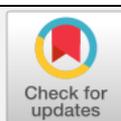
² Department of Social Sciences Education, Postgraduate Program, State University of Surabaya, 60231, Surabaya, Indonesia

* Corresponding Author: sarmini@unesa.ac.id

ARTICLE INFO

Publication Info:

Research Article



How to cite:

Sarmini, S., Lutfaidah, A., & Prastuti, A. E. (2020). Space and Culture of Exclusive Gigolo Experience in Surabaya. *Society*, 8(1), 64-82.

DOI : [10.33019/society.v8i1.144](https://doi.org/10.33019/society.v8i1.144)

Copyright © 2020. Owned by Author(s), published by Society

OPEN  ACCESS



This is an open-access article.

License: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike (CC BY-NC-SA)

Received: January 28, 2020;

Accepted: March 26, 2020;

Published: April 13, 2020;

ABSTRACT

The existence of students in the community should play a role as a drafter, dynamist, and evaluator of various social changes. Something that has a positive impact on the community. But some of them do the opposite, having a negative impact on the community, such as acting as a gigolo, known as 'exclusive gigolo'. This research presents the meaningful actions carried out by exclusive gigolo to attract sympathy and various actions in providing excellent service to clients. These actions were examined from the perspective of Max Weber's Theory of Social Action. This research used a qualitative approach with the perspective of Weber's theory. The research subjects were students who worked as gigolos, ranging from freelance to a lover (manstress). The informants were selected using the snowball sampling technique. Meanwhile, the data collection technique used is in-depth interviews. Data analysis and interpretation techniques are carried out with a deeper understanding (verstehen). There are gigolo social actions, within the framework of norm values, which become the blueprint of community behavior. First, the integration between rationality actions and instrumental rationality actions. These actions were found in activities, including: (1) Gigolo built his self-image: from self-expertise to intelligence in choosing marketing models; (2) Ignoring the feeling of shame as self-strengthening in facing various situations; (3) Client service actions: from holding hands to sexual activity. Second, the integration between rationality action and affective action. The highest achievement for gigolo is to become a lover (manstress). The intensity and the close relationship between a gigolo and the client can make both of them fall in love, like real

love. In this context, the gigolo puts money as its main goal. On the other hand, gigolo realizes that the woman who is his client has a family, so it is impossible to have the love of the woman completely. This research concluded that: (1) The implementation of Max Weber's Theory of Social Action in gigolo social actions is integrated into one action with another, and; (2) Gigolo does not take traditional actions on the actions that have been taken.

Keywords: Exclusive; Gigolo; Social Action; Student; Surabaya

1. Introduction

Prostitution has become a complex social phenomenon, which is the oldest part of civilization in the world. Prostitution continues to grow along with the development of social life (Musto et al., 2015). Prostitution is considered as a way to escape poverty (McAlpine, 2006). Economic problems are the main cause of prostitution. Prostitution is considered as one of the jobs that can make money. Prostitution also occurs due to a lack of morality (Amalia, 2013).

The necessities of life are the reason someone does prostitution. In addition to economic factors, prostitution is also influenced by sexual desire (Nanik et al., 2012). Prostitution activities carried out to meet sexual needs. Economic and sexuality limitations, which are a source of satisfaction, make prostitution an alternative way (Bachtiar & Purnomo, 2007).

It is not easy to understand prostitution. Prostitution can reveal various dark sides of human life, not only related to sexual relations and the various parties involved, but also involves the authorities, who secretly enjoy and benefit from the existence of prostitution (Husson, 2017).

Prostitution comes from Latin, namely *pro-stituere* or *pro-strauree*, which means letting them commit adultery, doing prostitution, sexual misconduct, and fornication (Kartono, 2007). The predicate 'prostitute' is for men and women, who have sexual relations outside of marriage, as well as various other sexual activities (Siregar et al., 2016; Pitcher, 2015). Prostitution is also understood as the exchange of sexual activity with something (Nazemi, 2011), not only includes the exchange of money, but also the exchange of jewelry or drugs (Lehmiller, 2014). In this context, individuals are commodities that are traded (Pitcher, 2015).

Prostitution is a profession that has existed since the ancient Mesopotamian civilization and spread widely to ancient Greek, Roman, Japan, and China. In the ancient past, especially the times of the Greeks and Romans, prostitution was connected with a secular rite (Sanger, 2015 in Dylewski & Prokop, 2019). For example, once a year at the Temple of Mylitty in ancient Babylon, each woman had to give herself to a foreigner, who would pay to fulfill their sacred duty (Dufour, 1902 in Dylewski & Prokop, 2019). In ancient Greek, the first brothel (*lupanarium*) was created in Athens. Meanwhile, in ancient Roman, prostitution was public and legal. A special office was established in 260 BC to maintain peace in the *lupanarium* and become a source of income tax from prostitutes (Sanger, 2015 in Dylewski & Prokop, 2019). In the eighteenth century, prostitution was very popular. Various places in Paris and London functioned as brothels that provided services, as well as providing training to prostitutes (Roberts, 1992).

In the United States, prostitution began to develop in the 19th century, when prostitutes were employed in brothels (D'Emilio and Freedman, 1988 in Dylewski & Prokop, 2019). While

in Japan, the conceptualization of prostitution has been carried out since the Meiji Empire and continued until World War II, which was used by Japanese authorities to conceptualize recreational facilities to entertain the Allied invaders (Kramm, 2017).

While in Indonesia, prostitution began during the kingdoms in Java, which used women as part of the commodity feudal system (Kartono, 2007). The king who has full power controls everything, including women who are desired (Hull et al., 1997). The king's power is reflected in the number of concubines, ranging from a daughter of a noble family which was handed over to the king as a sign of loyalty, to a daughter of royalty offering from other kingdoms (Saraswati, 2013).

The commercial sex industry developed rapidly during the Dutch colonial period. This statement is based on the emergence of a traditional slavery system and concubines to meet the sexual needs of European societies (Tjahjo, 1982). This activity develops around ports in the *Nusantara* (Malay Archipelago). Sexual gratification activities for soldiers, traders, and messengers are the main issues in the establishment of foreign cultures, which enter the *Nusantara* (Oktaviari, 2017).

In practice, prostitution is not only done by women but also by men (Jewkes et al., 2012). Commercial male sex workers are usually termed with many variations, namely: escorts, man whores/man sluts, rent boys, hustlers, working boys, and call boys (Brents & Hausbeck, 2005). These terms are different for each country. In European countries and the United States, for example, men who become prostitutes are called male prostitution, man whores/man sluts (Bimbi, 2007). In Asian countries such as Japan, men who become prostitutes are called *Kagama* (Andersson, 2000). In Indonesia, men who become prostitutes are usually called 'gigolo' (Kartono, 2007).

Gigolo is understood as a paid man, cared for, or hired by a woman as a lover (manstress) or sexual partner (Koentjoro, 2004). There are two categories of gigolo in Indonesian society. First, *travestis* (transvestite), have feminine characteristics and express themselves as homosexual, only provide sex services to fellow men. Second, *garcons* (gigolo), have masculine characteristics and often do not know the sexual orientation they have (Silva, 1996). It seems that this category is less consistent because it generalizes between transvestites who have "different sexes" and men (gigolo). This should not be generalized.

Various policies on prostitution have been developed and implemented in various countries to control the practice of prostitution (Crowhurst et al., 2012). Each country has a different approach to dealing with prostitution issues (Pitcher, 2015). In Turkey, prostitution is considered legal but with the proviso that prostitutes must register and are required to have a check-up at any given period. Brothels are run by the government, and citizens are prohibited from accommodating Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs). There are 15,000 registered CSWs and unregistered CSWs estimated at 100,000 CSWs (Smith, 2005). Meanwhile, in Canada, sex service providers are legalized, but since 2013, buyers of sex services are subject to penalties, ranging from a minimum fine of Can\$ 500 (approximately Rp 5,200,000) to a maximum penalty of 5 years imprisonment (Edmonton Police Service, n.d.).

In Sweden, since 1999, being a prostitute is not a crime, but buyers of sex services can be jailed for six months. Furthermore, running a brothel will be subject to a penalty of up to 4 years of imprisonment (Levy & Jakobsson, 2014). In Norway, legalizing sex service providers, but prohibits the purchase of sex services, even though purchases are made abroad (Skilbrei, 2012). If someone persists in buying sex services and is caught, a fine or imprisonment of up to six months will be imposed, if it involves underage prostitutes, it will be subject to a penalty of 3 years imprisonment (Strøm, 2009). In Iran, sellers and buyers of sex services are equally

punished. The punishment was given, from caning, imprisonment, until being stoned, or being stoned to death. Furthermore, running a brothel can be jailed for up to 10 years, and forbidding citizens to have income from the prostitution business (Starygin, 2011). In contrast to Germany, based on existing laws, prostitution workers in Germany are on a par with other professions, mainly related to wage eligibility, health insurance programs, and pension funds (Künkel, 2011).

Meanwhile in Indonesia, prostitution is regulated in the Criminal Code (*Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana* or KUHP) in Articles 296 and 506. Article 296 is intended for those who provide, carry out, or facilitate obscene acts with others with a penalty of one year and four months imprisonment or a fine of Rp 15,000. Article 506 of the Criminal Code regulates the threat of punishment for pimps. The article stipulates penalties for people who profit from prostitution with a maximum penalty of three months imprisonment (Moeljatno, 1999). Other provisions regarding the punishment for the practice of prostitution are regulated in Law No. 21 of 2007 on the Eradication of Trafficking in Persons or Law No. 23 of 2002 juncto and Law No. 35 of 2014 on the Child Protection (Anindia & Sularto, 2019).

Based on aspects of the provisions of the applicable law, Indonesia is categorized as a country that legalizes prostitution. However, positive law in Indonesia does not explicitly regulate prostitution (Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional, 2009). Provisions in the Criminal Code Articles 296 and 506 do not regulate the activities of CSWs or buyers of CSW services, but only regulate brothel owners, pimps, and brokers of prostitution. This rule is very difficult to apply to female prostitutes and sex service buyers who come to visit, so there is no provision of punishment (Beccaria, 2011). Law No. 21 of 2007 on the Criminal Act of Trafficking in Persons only criminalizes someone who benefits from trafficking in persons (pimps). A weak legal basis and no criminal conviction in detail to criminal offenders contribute to the increasingly widespread activity of prostitution which is still an unresolved problem (Anindia & Sularto, 2019).

In Indonesia, the existence of a gigolo is officially not regulated in the law. Some regulations regarding gigolo are made autonomously by several regions in Indonesia (Sa'dan, 2016). Regional Regulations (*Peraturan Daerah* or *Perda*) which regulate gigolo, including Labuhan Batu District Regulation No. 32 of 2008 Series C No. 2 on the Prohibition of Amoral, Homeless and Beggar, which includes a prohibition on immoral acts, such as that carried out by gigolo (Katjasungkana & Wieringa, 2016).

The existence and characteristics of gigolos in various big cities in Indonesia such as in Jakarta, Denpasar, and Surabaya are different (Landiyanto, 2019). In Jakarta, for example, gigolo is considered to be a type of middle to upper-class prostitution, having its work system without showing any localization system (market place). The work system prioritizes the use of information services through electronic media or mass media (Winaya, 2006). Gigolo prostitution activities are not always intended to be related to economic factors, sometimes more to the aspect of relieving loneliness because left by a partner, interlude to release boredom with a partner or just looking for friends to release fatigue (detikcom, 2010). The existence of gigolos in Bali can be seen through the daily life of young people on the beach of Kuta, Bali, through surfing as a daily activity. Behind this activity, there is a gigolo veiled sex network. The community names this group as 'beach boys'. On this beach, they attract foreign female clients from various countries (detikcom, 2010).

Unlike the gigolo in Surabaya, the practice of gigolo is considered to be a veiled prostitution practice (Sofian, 2011). Gigolo in Surabaya does not want his identity and profession revealed in public spaces. This is because the Surabaya community's culture still holds eastern traditions,

unable to provide gigolo space maximally (Lestari, 2008; Kaye, 2003). Gigolo clients in Surabaya can choose a hotel room to negotiate as well as gigolo work practice actions (Subhan, 2010 in Nasiri, 2016). In addition to attracting clients through social media, websites, and pimps, some gigolos offer their services openly on the roadside. A gigolo who works covertly has differences in terms of work, rates, client selection, and service (Lestari, 2008; Nieka, 2012; Freundsuh, 2017). Gigolos who work covertly are usually from certain groups such as students, so it is 'exclusive'.

Various studies on Gigolo have been carried out, including in terms of the motive of working to become a gigolo (Bella et al., 2002), the underlying factors working as a gigolo (Vanwesenbeeck, 2013), the working principle of a gigolo (Browne & Minichiello, 1996), the meaning of life as a gigolo and the concept as a gigolo (Kumar et al., 2017). This research presents meaningful actions that are carried out exclusively by gigolo to attract sympathy and various actions in providing excellent service to clients. These actions were examined from the perspective of Max Weber's Theory of Social Action (Ritzer, 2001). In Max Weber's theory, social actions are actions that are directed at others. It is also a mental action or actions directed at others that might occur due to the influence of certain situations or deliberate repetition as a result of the influence of a similar situation or passive approval in certain situations (Ritzer, 2001).

Max Weber in Ritzer (2001) classified four types of actions that were distinguished in the context of the perpetrators' motives. First, Instrumental Rationality Action (Zwerk Rational). This action is a social action carried out by someone based on consideration and conscious choices related to the purpose of the action and the availability of tools used to achieve it. Second, Value-Rational Action (Werk Rational). In this action, the available tools are only conscious considerations and calculations, while the objectives are already concerning the absolute values of individuals. Third, Affective Action. This type of social action is more dominated by feelings or emotions without intellectual reflection or conscious planning. Affective actions are spontaneous, irrational, and are emotional expressions of individuals. Fourth, Traditional Action. In this type of action, a person exhibits certain behavior because of habits acquired from ancestors, without conscious reflection or planning.

2. Research Methodology

This research used a qualitative descriptive research method that describes the object of research based on the available facts. The focus of this research is the meaningful actions taken by gigolo to attract sympathy and provide excellent service to clients. The subjects of this study were students who became gigolos, known as 'exclusive gigolo'. Students are an educated group who has adequate knowledge about sexually transmitted diseases and risk actions. The sexual activity carried out by gigolos is a risky action that allows the transmission of the disease. The subjects chosen were active students working as freelance gigolo and gigolo who already become a lover (manstress). The informants were selected using the snowball sampling technique with a total of 3 informants. This research was conducted in Surabaya, Indonesia. This research was conducted in September - December 2019. The data collection technique used in-depth interviews (Creswell, 2015). In the statement delivered by the informant, they had first understood the purpose of this study and personal confidentiality was guaranteed.

In qualitative research, referring to the modeling, each study starts with data collection, data reduction, and data presentation, and drawing conclusions or verification (Huberman, 1992). Data analysis and interpretation techniques are carried out with a deeper understanding (verstehen). First, this research categorizes gigolo actions to attract sympathy and provide

satisfying services to clients. Second, the data are grouped in themes, as follows: (1) Gigolo built his self-image; (2) Ignoring the feeling of shame; (3) Client service actions; (4) being a lover (manstress), a dialectic between the highest achievements and the entangled in love. Second, build a complete description of it.

3. Results and Discussion

Exclusive gigolo is a male student who is hired temporarily or regularly by women, as a partner for sexual activities. Exclusive gigolo clients, in general, are mistresses or wives of government officials or who have important positions at a company, known to the public, but are suspected of lacking the attention and affection of their partners.

A. Gigolo built his self-image: from self-expertise to intelligence in choosing marketing models

The gigolo community believes that self-image will determine market quality. Therefore, building self-image is very important to maintain the gigolo market value. There are two gigolo strategies in building self-image, including (1) caring for the body, choosing clothing and other items, as well as choosing words for speaking and using language intonation; and (2) developing strategies for marketing.

If examined from the perspective of elementary economic transactions, this strategy can be categorized as part of a professionally managed commercial business. For gigolos, the body is the main capital. The body must be built, maintained, and developed into an attractive body (Sarmini et al., 2018). Gigolo performs a series of actions to treat the body, beginning with selecting and sorting food for consumption, maintaining physical fitness by doing gymnastics, facial treatments (facials, peeling, massage) and whole-body treatments including genitals.

"The body and penis are the main assets in working, therefore care is needed. For example, for facial treatment, it is done every 1-2 months, for penis care, it is done every time by giving special topical medication so that the penis has strength and long-lasting. Exercise every day even if only run or push-ups and sit-ups. Maintain health by consuming herbs and antibiotics regularly. To prevent disease, a routine medical check-up must be done" (Interview, ST, age 22).

Furthermore, the gigolo believes that the style of dress and other items will support his appearance.

"Apart from body care, to look cool, we must be smart in choosing clothes, shoes, watches, and belts. Initially, I chose clothes according to my wishes, but clothing can be adjusted according to the wishes of the client" (Interview, ST, age 22).

In addition to being attractive, gigolo also builds his self-image through the choice of words and speech, especially when communicating with clients or prospective clients.

"I greet client quite often with the words "dear", "beautiful" or "baby", to get chemistry quickly and make the client happy, I also treat the client like a girlfriend" (Interview, RC, age 25).

These words can be understood in a broader situational context. In this context, the client can understand (accept) what a gigolo is doing without knowing why he is doing it. The act of

gigolo when treating clients as girlfriends, it can be observed that every community has norm values that place a person in status and role. A person's status will have implications for placement in relationships in the community. There is a difference in treatment between the status of a new person, friend, close friend, boyfriend, girlfriend, wife or husband, and ex-wife or ex-husband. Gigolo puts clients like 'girlfriend', meaning that there is a treatment jump. Only this status gives room for a gigolo to have closeness with clients. In this context, it is very possible for a gigolo, whoever his client is, will 'look like his girlfriend's face'. For a gigolo, managing hallucinations becomes an important dimension to smoothing out his duties. Although it is recognized that when examined from the depth of social interaction that is built, there is no value in the community that equates social interaction in the status of 'fiancé' has the same meaning as the social interaction carried out by gigolo.

Gigolo only has one indicator, related to the client, which can pay for his services.

"Whoever my client is, the important thing is she can pay for my services at a high price" (Interview, RC, age 25).

Exclusive Gigolo has two marketing strategies, including (1) marketing itself openly, by offering to friends, marketing through social media or newspapers; (2) through a pimp; and (3) work in groups.

First, gigolo chose a location to market himself openly in crowd centers such as fast-food restaurants in downtown plazas. Their behavior is shown like they are waiting for friends as they often look right and left to observe the surrounding conditions. They chose the place, which according to them, was often visited by middle and upper-class people such as Tunjungan Plaza (TP) and Pakuwon Trade Center (PTC) in Surabaya. They look neat, use perfume with scents tend to be masculine but a little sweet, with a typical metrosexual male style.

"Hang out at the mall or fast food restaurant then the client will come close to talk for hours, usually followed by a transaction to the hotel" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

"To make it easier for clients to find our presence in public places, we use familiar codes and symbols. The most commonly used code is sitting and putting cigarettes and matches on the table while playing with the cigarette box by rotating or making it stand" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

Exclusive gigolo also uses social media to market itself.

"I offer myself through social media like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter. Of course, I am not outspoken but I am disguised as a recipient of freelance model services" (Interview, ST, age 22).

"There are chat applications such as Tinder, Badoo, and Meet Me, which contain people offering or seeking sexual services. Many girls or boys put photos tempting in the application. Usually, I offer my services there, I click "like" on women's posts, if they are interested, they also click on "like" me, then continue chatting until finally, a transaction occurs" (Interview, RZ, 25 years).

Gigolo puts its sex services as commercial 'goods' that are freely traded. Therefore it is not surprising if the gigolo placed his offer as a real object to be sold such as a car, house, motorcycle, or other items. The value of 'shame' prevailing in the community as a controller of people's behavior seems to have begun to experience a shift in values. Prostitution which was considered as an act of violating social norms began to be shifted, and some people who were part of the community gave support. Here then, the value undergoes construction and reconstruction.

Social media as part of the development of communication technology greatly affects the activity of gigolos. The use of technology has become an important dimension. Gigolo must be very good at marketing himself through social media such as Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. They masquerade as freelance models or fitness service providers using online/chat application features such as Tinder, Badoo, Meet Me, and Tantan¹. The community, in general, may not yet understand these various media. It can be said that being a gigolo, intelligence is also needed besides having good looks and attractiveness.

Second, pimp services are usually used by novice gigolo. They do not know the client area and do not have a good marketing strategy.

Third, group work is considered to be more organized, neat, closed, recommending each other, and sharing clients. They have a WhatsApp group that is used to exchange information about clients and opportunities to get orders. The working group members are gigolos who have career women clients, with high positions known to the public, such as wives or mistresses of government officials.

"Usually there is a client who wants to use my services, but I've already been with another client. Usually, I would recommend some friends to the client" (Interview, RC, age 25 and RZ, age 25).

When examined from the perspective of Weber's Social Action, this gigolo action is classified as an instrumental rationality action (Zwerk Rational) which is a social action carried out by someone based on consideration and conscious choices related to the purpose of the action and the availability of tools used to achieve it.

Gigolo performs social action through careful consideration of the goals and ways that will be taken to achieve these goals. Gigolo actions that start from caring for the body, choosing items worn, choosing words or style of language used, the behavior of playing a cigarette box, and choosing the type and aroma of perfume are instruments used by gigolo to attract clients. Gigolo in choosing this social action has been carefully considered about the goals and methods used to achieve the goals.

¹Chat application that uses a nearby feature where users can get acquainted without having to save contact numbers such as Whatsapp, Telegram or Line. Users only need to set the criteria for friends to be searched starting from the selection of gender, age, criteria, and location. The application will automatically provide various options for a friend's choice, if the user finds a suitable friend, the user simply presses the accept button or the like button. Furthermore, users can send messages to each other and offer prostitution services.

B. Ignoring the feeling of shame as self-strengthening in facing various situations

1) Managing feelings of shame and being able to read situations

The meaning of shame is closely related to ethics and morality (Bertens, 2007)². Feelings of shame are also often felt every time a gigolo interacts in the community. Shame is part of the various feelings that humans have. Shame is a feeling that causes a person's self-esteem to degenerate because it violates social norms, legal norms, or religious norms (Wright & Gudjonsson, 2007). Gigolo is overshadowed by shame when with his friends on campus and in his family environment.

"I feel ashamed if people find out about my work, afraid that all my friends will stay away from me. I do proper social interaction with them. I don't use luxury items and have the appearance of a typical student" (Interview, ST, age 22).

"Wearing clothes, shoes, and bags like a student. Must use goods and money appropriately but still neat despite using not much different from other friends on campus. Friends on campus are good at finding information if there are students who often use expensive branded clothes and luxury goods. They will look for information about it, so I must be careful not to get discovered" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

"When I'm at home, I'm offline. I don't accept work, as much as I can be a good kid at home, like a student who is returning home" (Interview, ST, age 22).

Gigolo has taken action to direct his behavior toward certain stipulations or expectations that are common habits, the behavior that must be shown by a student on campus, and the behavior that must be shown as a child in the family. This gigolo action takes into consideration the behavior of others and is oriented towards others, such as friends on campus and fellow family members. The social behavior shown by gigolo originates from his self-awareness, which is integrated into the framework of people's behavior. In the values that apply in the campus environment and the values that apply in the community, the gigolo profession is not acceptable. Admittedly, the status of students can improve self-image which synergizes with the 'price' to be received. But the campus environment is bound by various rules that do not give place for the profession as a gigolo.

This profession is a profession that is very much avoided, so anyone who has this profession will be gossiped by others. This is what causes tremendous shame for the gigolo if his profession is known by family and the community. Therefore, a gigolo must be smart to play its role as a student, a good child in the family, and at the same time as a skilled gigolo.

Gigolo believes that his expertise in carrying himself is suspected of being able to avoid gossip and staying safe in the eyes of the family. In Max Weber's perspective, gigolos can be said to be creative actors and social reality is not a static tool rather than coercion of social facts. This means that human action is not entirely determined by norms, habits, values, etc., which are included in the concept of social facts.

²Ethics as a part of philosophy, questions what to do and not to do. Ethics is also questioning what is good to do and bad to do. Ethics is a critical and rational reflection on values, teachings, and moral views. This morality is teaching or value that applies in the community, which is sourced from common sense, law, religion, habits, and conscience.

2) Self-strengthening action in facing various situations

Self-strengthening is a process of self-learning to strengthen mental, attitude, and motivation. This attitude is needed to deal with the pressure on himself, his family, community, even with clients³.

Working to be a gigolo is not easy. Before undergoing work as gigolos, they experience intense inner turmoil and must have strength against feelings of fear and shame. Gigolo divides clients into three categories, including (1) ordinary clients, (2) pleasant clients, and (3) annoying clients.

"Ordinary clients, I serve them in any way and style, they accept it. Clients like this are usually career women who are tired of their work. They are easy to get along with, good at choosing words; their behavior is fun and humorous. They are beautiful, smooth skin, slim, and sexy. They are loyal, do not hesitate to pay a high price, give tips and goods" (Interview, RZ, 25 years).

The word 'ordinary' in this context is a client who has not much demand and receives sex services in a general way.

The second category is pleasant clients. Clients of this type are women who are humble, easy to get along, talk and choose words, and pleasant behavior. Physically has a beautiful face like an ordinary client. But they do not hesitate to pay the price above the agreed price and give a bonus of luxury goods.

If this client feels comfortable and satisfied, then the client will usually make the gigolo a lover (manstress). Likewise with the gigolo, if he feels comfortable, then he will make the client a priority. For gigolo, to provide 'ordinary' client service and pleasant clients, there is no difficulty.

Furthermore, the third category is annoying clients.

"Clients of this type are generally fussy women, have many requests such as asking to bring goods, food and carry bags. When making love, they want a variety of sex styles, so I have to be smart with them" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

This type of client has rationally considered that a gigolo is a person who is paid for his services. Therefore, they will treat gigolo the way they want, from carrying bags to sexual activities. The client treats himself as a patron and a gigolo will be considered a client. Patron-client relationships are relationships in which exchanges occur⁴. In this context, gigolo experiences dialectics, between self-esteem treated as people who do work not in accordance with values such as carrying a bag and think rationally that he must obey all the wishes of the client. He was aware that resistance to client requests would risk a certain amount of money to be received.

³Someone who repeatedly receive and enjoys sexual services from gigolo. Gigolo clients vary in age from young women to adult women, and of course, this has an impact on service characteristics.

⁴Patron is a person who has power or power over others, and the client is a subordinate or person who is ordered. There is an element of exchange of goods and services for the parties involved in the pattern of patron-client relationships. This pattern of relationship is an exchange theory that assumes that an exchange transaction will occur if both parties can benefit from the existence of the exchange (Usman, 2004).

Gigolo also needs self-strengthening when facing various self-pressures. As an ordinary person, he is often at the point of being bored, feeling guilty and having no motivation to live. The presence of friends becomes very important for the gigolo to restore his spirit.

"Sometimes I feel down and depressed, it's just that I don't want to get too down. To get rid of these feelings, I usually go clubbing, listen to music, dance, chat and laugh with friends there" (Interview, ST, age 22 and RZ, age 25).

Friends are people who are always required to ease the burden of other friends. Those are the values that apply to the community. Likewise, a gigolo does a heavy burden on himself by interacting with his friends. They are willing to spend time with friends. This togetherness energy is able to restore the energy of confidence to face various challenges.

Confidence is a combination of belief in ability. This confidence continues to be built gigolo, including through fashion.

"Before meeting with clients, I must think positively and dress according to the wishes of clients" (Interview, RC, age 25).

The basic function of dressing is not merely to cover the genitals, but more than that, it functions as a self-decoration. In this context, it seems that the dresses worn by a gigolo not only show the price of the gigolo but also must pay attention to the wishes of the client. This is the initial strategy for the gigolo to provide pleasure and in turn, is expected to satisfy his clients.

Based on the description above, it can be said that the gigolo action in strengthening itself is an instrumental rationality action. This means that social actions carried out by gigolo are based on conscious considerations and choices related to the purpose of the action and the availability of tools used to achieve that, for example, a friend who always accompanies him when he is down and dress choices that adjust the client's wishes.

C. Client service actions: from holding hands to sexual activity

Client satisfaction is the level of a user or consumer feeling by comparing what has been spent (money) with the expected affection (happiness). The strategy of satisfying clients becomes an important dimension, contributing directly to the sustainability of relationships with clients.

Gigolo's strategy to satisfy clients begins with an attractive appearance, followed by holding hands and continued with sexual activities. Holding hands is a very good and easy way to show interest, and make clients feel comfortable and at the same time get rid of the awkwardness between them.

"Usually I immediately slip my hand under her hand to hold it while walking together. I will caress her hand slowly when I sit together" (Interview, ST, age 22).

Different treatment (holding hands) received by the client, becomes something 'special'. This 'special' feeling drifts the feelings of the woman (client) to happiness, which in turn will bring comfort. The client does not care that the man in front of him is a 'stranger'. This shows that the duration of a relationship has no significant effect on the level of comfort and happiness felt. After holding hands, the gigolo will hug the body of his client.

"Usually I hug her after she got out of the car and we walked together to the reception desk. I hugged on her hip and often caressed her hair as we walked to the room" (Interview, RC, age 25).

Giving a warm and spoiled hug to the client is a strategy to arouse sexual desire. There are a variety of hug strategies, starting with hugs on the hips, which show protection; hugs on the necks, which show affection; and hugs and kisses on the bed, which indicates sexual desire.

Sexual activity in bed is the culmination of strategies and services carried out by gigolo in giving satisfaction to clients.

"I kissed him from the tips of his hair to the tips of his feet. I knead her breasts, at the same time I play my fingers in her vagina. The most effective way to make a client 'wet' is to use a liquid lubricant by playing my tongue in her vagina. This can make the client sighs abysmally and enjoy it" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

"A client who has been aroused will counterbalance for my actions. Kiss me, grope me, play my penis, and even put my penis in her mouth" (Interview, RC, age 25).

The climax of sexual activity, supported by various theories in making love based on the version of their community. There are various styles in lovemaking, for example, Missionary style, Cowgirl, Spooning or Doggy style. These styles are often requested by clients.

"Standard styles such as Missionaries are much requested and liked by clients" (Interview, ST, age 22).

Missionary style makes it easy for couples to connect through eye contact, sound and touch because of their position facing each other. Doggy Style is also a favorite style of customers. This sex style makes the gigolo and the client do not face each other during sex. This position requires that the woman in a bent position with her head down or lying face down, then gigolo inserts his penis through the back toward her vagina. This position is usually done on the bed, on the edge of the bed, or sofa. Women will easily reach orgasm with a doggy style because the penis reaches up to the G-Spot, both will reach satisfaction simultaneously.

"I have done various kinds of sex styles with clients such as the missionary, cowgirl, spooning, doggy style, and also 69" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

Gigolo consciously and rationally considers various theories and strategies to provide satisfaction to clients. For a gigolo, mastering the technique of making love becomes very important. Gigolo must understand very well about the strengths and weaknesses of various sex styles, as well as the point of the sexual sensitivity of his clients. This is very important for a gigolo in carrying out his work to run effectively and efficiently. Client satisfaction is the 'final' work contract that is binding between them. Client satisfaction is also a sign that Gigolo will receive an amount of money as agreed.

Based on the description above, it can be said that both of them, the gigolo and the client, take rationality actions. Gigolo will consciously provide sexual services; on the other hand, the client will also consciously give up some money according to the agreement, in exchange for

satisfaction and happiness. Of course, there is no minimum and maximum limit of the 'price' to be paid; it depends on the agreement of both parties.

The background of gigolo sexual behavior is closely related to the desire for money and the desire for sexual pleasure. Sexual behavior will continue to be done if it will provide economic benefits for the perpetrators. Homans (1961), the behavior will continue to be repeated if the person concerned will receive a reward. The more often, in certain events, a person's behavior provides a reward (reward) for the behavior of others, the more often the other person will repeat the behavior. This theory is based on the principle of elementary economic transactions; people provide goods or services, in return hoping to obtain the desired goods or services. This theory has similarities with economic theory, where a person will only play its role if the role is felt to be profitable, these benefits are intrinsic (affection, honor, labeling) and extrinsic (money, goods, services).

D. Being a lover (manstress), a dialectic between the highest achievements and the entangled in a love

If examined at relationships with clients, there are two categories of gigolos, including (1) gigolo freelance, and (2) lover (manstress). Freelance Gigolo gets clients from anyone, as a result of the process of offering its services, while a lover (manstress) tends to get 'permanent' clients, which is a client who repeatedly enjoy a gigolo service and feel comfortable with it. A lover (manstress) no longer needs a strategy to offer its services. He will always prioritize that client.

A gigolo will be a lover (manstress) for one or several clients. Like other professions, being a lover (manstress) in his community is an achievement.

"Being a lover (manstress) is more promising, despite having limited space, I will get a lot of money regularly. I choose a woman who has a lot of money and is grateful that she also has a position" (Interview, RZ, age 25).

Based on the description above, it can be said that the gigolo career path is largely determined by the level of quality of client satisfaction, which is indicated by the achievement as a 'lover (manstress)'. Gigolo has rationality actions to get this achievement, including: (1) must be able to maintain and improve the quality of personal appearance, both in terms of health care and regular exercise; (2) maintaining and improving the quality of social interaction, both in terms of choice of words and intonation; (3) using technology and building social networks as a strategy to offer services; (4) using love knowledge and skills as a service strategy to clients; (5) has expertise in reading the client's financial condition. If the client is a wealthy woman and has a position, it will greatly motivate the gigolo to provide services optimally, with the hope that the client will make it a savings gigolo.

For gigolos who have become a lover (manstress), they will have a great opportunity to get bonuses, both money and goods, and must be ready to serve clients every time. Maintaining close relationships from day to day, always together with clients, and always required providing a sense of comfort, mutual attention, feeling a mutual need. Often between them, it turns into mutual love and ultimately behaves like a married couple.

"The length of time I spent together, starting from sharing, eating, traveling and sleeping together, sometimes made me, finally, feel the true love of my clients. I don't care about money anymore, and vice versa. We do activities like a real married couple, ask each other how they are, location, and activities, even though we realize in the end,

we cannot have each other because I know that she is a married woman, at least I am happy when with her” (Interview, RZ, age 25).

When the gigolo and the client transform, which at first, all activities carried out are considered rationally consciously based on economic motives, then turn into a sense of love, then the actions taken by both parties are affective actions or actions that are influenced by emotions. In the perspective of Max Weber, affective action is not through conscious consideration, this action is created spontaneously because of the influence of emotions and feelings from someone.

When the feeling of falling in love is present between the gigolo and the client, then the value of money experiences a shift in meaning, no longer as a medium of exchange between service and pleasure. A woman who has a lover (manstress) is a well-established woman, smart, and even has a position. Rationally, it would not be possible for that woman to fall in love with a gigolo. A gigolo is not an ideal criterion for the man she hopes for. On the other hand, in the beginning, a man who is willing to become a gigolo will pursue money in return for services provided. But when love is present, everything that is considered rationally changes from rational to emotional.

Interestingly, the awareness of both parties justifies the statement that love does not mean having one another. Between gigolo and client has a very good understanding, that the love that is owned between the two is forbidden, only in the depths of each other's hearts, which can only be expressed if the two meet. The love that exists between the two is limited by social facts, where the client is a woman who already has a family. This is the beginning of the sadness of a gigolo. In the perspective of Max Weber, it can be said here that a lover (manstress) experiences a shift from rationality action to affective action. This is proven when a gigolo has a feeling of sadness when he is unable to express his love relationship, factually, in front of the community.

This is a synergy with Social Exchange Theory (Social Exchange Theory) put forward by Zanden (1993), it is said that in the interaction of human life there is a strong tendency that satisfaction and disappointment start from the behavior of others towards themselves. The emergence of love, intellectual stimulation, friendship, self-esteem, and so on is a result of the behavior of others towards themselves. The sociologists adhering to this theory state that a person will interact with another party if it is considered beneficial and gets a reward.

4. Conclusions

Surabaya is a city with a multicultural population, placing the gigolo profession in carrying out its services to embrace values within the blueprint framework of community behavior. The exclusive gigolo community builds a network of norm values and has always been a guideline in building social action. There are meaningful actions taken by gigolo, starting from attracting the sympathy of clients and providing excellent service to customers.

Several things can be concluded related to social actions carried out by Gigolo. First, the integration between rationality actions and instrumental rationality actions. These actions can be found in the following activities, including (1) when a gigolo builds his self-image: from self-expertise to intelligence choosing a marketing model; (2) Ignoring the shame for self-strengthening in facing various situations; (3) client service actions: from holding hands to sexual activities. Actions carried out by gigolo are meaningful forms of social interaction. Various actions are carried out with very clear objectives and are equipped with various instruments to achieve these goals.

Second, the integration between rationality action and affective action. Gigolo will try to get the highest achievement, which is a lover (manstress). The closeness and intensity of the relationship between the gigolo and the client can make them fall in love like a married couple. Interestingly, in this context, the gigolo has no problem with its main purpose (money). On the other hand, gigolo is very aware that women who are the clients are married, so it is not possible to have each other.

Based on the description above, two things can be concluded. First, the implementation of Max Weber's Theory of Social Action in gigolo social actions. Some rationality is carried out simultaneously; and dialectic in gigolo actions. Second, from the four rationalities, gigolo does not perform traditional actions.

5. Acknowledgment

The author would like to thank the willingness of the informants. The willingness of informants is the key to expressing the gigolo phenomenon among students. The gigolo profession is not acceptable in the community values. Therefore, the willingness of informants to provide information is very meaningful and useful for the sciences.

References

- Amalia, A. S. (2013). Dampak Lokalisasi Pekerja Seks Komersial (PSK) Terhadap masyarakat sekitar (Studi kasus di jalan Soekarno-Hataa Km. 10 Desa Purwajaya Kabupaten Kutai Kartanegara). *eJurnal Ilmu Administrasi Negara*, 1(2), 465-478. [https://ejournal.an.fisip-unmul.ac.id/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20jurnal%20astry%20sandra%20amalia%202013%20\(06-01-13-05-11-47\).pdf](https://ejournal.an.fisip-unmul.ac.id/site/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/Microsoft%20Word%20-%20jurnal%20astry%20sandra%20amalia%202013%20(06-01-13-05-11-47).pdf)
- Andersson, R. (2000). *Burakumin and Shimazaki Toōn's Hakai: Images of discrimination in modern Japan literature* (Doctoral Thesis). Retrieved from <https://lup.lub.lu.se/search/publication/19714>
- Anindia, I. A., & Sularto, R. B. (2019). Kebijakan Hukum Pidana Dalam Upaya Penanggulangan Prostitusi Sebagai Pembaharuan Hukum Pidana. *Jurnal Pembangunan Hukum Indonesia*, 1(1), 18-30. <https://dx.doi.org/10.14710/jphi.v1i1.18-30>
- Bachtiar, R., & Purnomo, E. (2007). *Bisnis prostitusi: profesi yang menguntungkan*. Yogyakarta: Pinus Book Publisher.
- Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional. (2009). *Naskah Akademis RUU Tentang KUHP*. Retrieved from Badan Pembinaan Hukum Nasional Kementerian Hukum dan HAM Republik Indonesia: https://www.bphn.go.id/data/documents/na_ruu_kuhp.pdf
- Beccaria, C. (2011). *Perihal Kejahatan dan Hukuman*. Yogyakarta: Genta Publishing.
- Bella, C., Ilan, K., Belmaker, R. H., & Cwikel, J. (2002). The motivation and mental health of sex workers. *Journal of Sex and Marital Therapy*, 28(4), 305-315. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00926230290001439>
- Bertens, K. (2007). *Etika*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Bimbi, D. S. (2007). Male prostitution: Pathology, paradigms and progress in research. *Journal of homosexuality*, 53(1-2), 7-35. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v53n01_02
- Brents, B. G., & Hausbeck, K. (2005). Violence and legalized brothel prostitution in Nevada: Examining safety, risk, and prostitution policy. *Journal of interpersonal violence*, 20(3), 270-295. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260504270333>
- Browne, J., & Minichiello, V. (1996). Research directions in male sex work. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 31(4), 29-56. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v31n04_02

- Cresswell, J. W. (2015). *Penelitian Kualitatif dan Desain Riset, Memilih diantara Lima Pendekatan* (Third ed.). Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Crowhurst, I., Outshoorn, J., & Skilbrei, M. L. (2012). Introduction: prostitution policies in Europe. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 9(3), 187-191. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-012-0100-7>
- Detikcom. (2010, 4 28). *Gigolo Bali yang Penuh Kontroversi*. Retrieved from detikNews: <https://news.detik.com/berita/d-1346722/gigolo-bali-yang-penuh-kontroversi?>
- Dylewski Ł., Prokop P. (2019) Prostitution. In: Shackelford T., Weekes-Shackelford V. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Evolutionary Psychological Science*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-16999-6_270-1
- Edmonton Police Service. (n.d.). *Legalities of the Sex Trade Industry*. Retrieved from [edmontonpolice.ca: https://www.edmontonpolice.ca/CommunityPolicing/FamilyProtection/SexTrade/LegalitiesofSexTrade](https://www.edmontonpolice.ca/CommunityPolicing/FamilyProtection/SexTrade/LegalitiesofSexTrade)
- Freundschuh, A. (2017). *The courtesan and the gigolo: The murders in the Rue Montaigne and the dark side of empire in nineteenth-century Paris*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Homans, G. C. (1961). *Social behavior: Its elementary forms*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
- Huberman, M. (1992). *Analisis Data Kualitatif*. Jakarta: Penerbit Universitas Indonesia.
- Hull, T. H., Sulistyaningsih, E., & Jones, G. W. (1997). *Pelacuran di Indonesia: Sejarah dan perkembangannya*. Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan & the Ford Foundation.
- Husson, L. (2017). Who Are the Clients and What They Say about Prostitution in South-East Asia?. *Moussons. Recherche en sciences humaines sur l'Asie du Sud-Est*, (29), 209-262. <https://doi.org/10.4000/moussons.3805>
- Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Sikweyiya, Y., Dunkle, K., & Penn-Kekana, L. (2012). Men, prostitution and the provider role: Understanding the intersections of economic exchange, sex, crime and violence in South Africa. *PLoS ONE*, 7(7), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0040821>
- Kartono, K. (2007). *Patologi sosial jilid 1*. Jakarta: RajaGrafindo Persada.
- Katjasungkana, N., & Wieringa, S. E. (2016). *Kriminalisasi Merayap: Pemetaan Undang-Undang Nasional Serta Peraturan Daerah Di Indonesia Yang Melanggar Hak Asasi Perempuan Dan Kelompok LGBTQ*. (G. Poore, Ed.) Retrieved from Outright Action International: <https://outrightinternational.org/sites/default/files/KriminalisasiMerayap-ind.pdf>
- Kaye, K. (2003). Male Prostitution in the Twentieth Century: Pseudohomosexuals, Hoodlum Homosexuals, and Exploited Teens. *Journal of Homosexuality*. https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v46n01_01
- Koentjoro, K. (2004). *On the spot: T tutur dari sarang pelacur*. Yogyakarta: Tinta Kelompok Penerbit Qalam.
- Kramm, R. (2017). Haunted by defeat: Imperial sexualities, prostitution, and the emergence of postwar Japan. *Journal of World History*, 28(3-4), 587-614. <https://doi.org/10.1353/jwh.2017.0043>
- Kumar, N., Minichiello, V., Scott, J., & Harrington, T. (2017). A Global Overview of Male Escort Websites. *Journal of Homosexuality*, 64(12), 1731-1744. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2016.1265356>
- Künkel, J. (2011). Community Goes German: The Displacement of the Sex Trade in the Name of a Neoliberal Concept. *Social Justice*, 38(1/2 (123-124)), 48-72. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/23345524

- Landiyanto, E. A. (2019). *Comparison of different child poverty measures: empirical evidence from Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Bristol). Retrieved from <https://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?uin=uk.bl.ethos.774434>
- Lehmiller, J. J. (2014). *The psychology of human sexuality*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.
- Lestari, D. P. (2008). *Fenomena Gigolo Eksklusif di Surabaya* (Thesis). Retrieved from <http://repository.unair.ac.id/15136/>
- Levy, J., & Jakobsson, P. (2014). Sweden's abolitionist discourse and law: Effects on the dynamics of Swedish sex work and on the lives of Sweden's sex workers. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 14(5), 593-607. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895814528926>
- McAlpine, M. (2006). Prostitution: an expression of patriarchal oppression. In *Prostitution: a contribution to the debate*. Scottish Socialist Party Women's Network. Retrieved from https://www.scottishsocialistparty.org/pdfs/pamphlet1_1_final.pdf
- Moeljatno, M. (1999). *KUHP: Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana*. Jakarta: Bumi Aksara.
- Musto, J., Jackson, C. A., & Shih, E. (2015). Prostitution and Sex Work. In J. D. Wright (Ed.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (2nd ed., Vol. 19, pp. 279-285). Oxford: Elsevier. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.86125-5>
- Nanik, S., Kamto, S., & Yuliati, Y. (2012). Fenomena Keberadaan Prostitusi Dalam Pandangan Feminisme. *WACANA, Jurnal Sosial dan Humaniora*, 15(4), 23-29. <https://wacana.ub.ac.id/index.php/wacana/article/view/276>
- Nasiri, N. (2016). Kawin Misyar Di Surabaya Dalam Perspektif Dramaturgi Erving Goffman. *Al-Hukama'*, 6(1), 83-104. Retrieved from <http://jurnalafh.uinsby.ac.id/index.php/alhukuma/article/view/309>
- Nazemi, N. (2011). Legalizing Prostitution Means Legitimizing Human Rights Violation!. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(9), 114-120. <http://www.ijhssnet.com/journal/index/277>
- Nieka, M. A. (2012). *Relation Of Gay Power Community Construction: Popular Culture Study* (Thesis). Bandung: Institut Teknologi Bandung.
- Oktaviari, N. S. (2017). Jaringan Sosial Mucikari Pasca Penutupan Lokalisasi Dolly Surabaya. *Paradigma*, 5(2), 1-12. <https://jurnalmahasiswa.unesa.ac.id/index.php/paradigma/article/view/18824>
- Pitcher, J. (2015). Sex work and modes of self-employment in the informal economy: Diverse business practices and constraints to effective working. *Social Policy and Society*, 14(1), 113-123. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1474746414000426>
- Ritzer, G. (2001). *Sosiologi Ilmu Berparadigma Ganda*. Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada.
- Sa'dan, M. (2016). LGBT dalam Perspektif Agama dan HAM. *Nizham Journal of Islamic Studies*, 4(1), 16-25. Retrieved from <http://e-journal.metrouniv.ac.id/index.php/nizham/article/view/902>
- Saraswati, E. (2013). Potret Wanita Simpanan dalam Novel Gadis Pantai, Belenggu, Bekisar Merah dan Pengakuan Pariyem: Sebuah Studi Komparatif dengan Pendekatan Feminisme. *Jurnal Artikulasi*, 10(2), 664-692. <http://ejournal.umm.ac.id/index.php/jib/article/view/1248>
- Sarmini, M., Nadiroh, U., & Budiharto, S. (2018, October). I Treat My Body For My Customer Satisfaction. In *1st International Conference on Social Sciences (ICSS 2018)*. Bali: Atlantis Press. <https://doi.org/10.2991/icss-18.2018.332>
- Silva, L. L. (1996). *Vivre avec le sida en phase avancée: une étude de sociologie de la maladie* (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://www.theses.fr/1996EHESA008>

- Siregar, K., Pelly, U., & Sadat, A. (2016). Pencegahan Tindak Prostitusi Berbasis Masyarakat Adat Dalihan Na Tolu. *Mimbar Hukum - Fakultas Hukum Universitas Gadjah Mada*, 28(3), 414-426. <https://doi.org/10.22146/jmh.16676>
- Skilbrei, M. L. (2012). The development of Norwegian prostitution policies: a marriage of convenience between pragmatism and principles. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 9(3), 244-257. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13178-012-0096-z>
- Smith, C. S. (2005, 6 26). *Turkey's Growing Sex Trade Snares Many Slavic Women*. Retrieved from The New York Times: <https://www.nytimes.com/2005/06/26/world/europe/turkeys-growing-sex-trade-snares-many-slavic-women.html>
- Sofian, A. (2011). *Kajian Awal tentang Insiden Anak Laki-Laki yang Dilacurkan di Indonesia*. Jakarta: ILO-IPEC. Retrieved from <https://ecpatindonesia.org/en/resources-en/kajian-awal-tentang-insiden-anak-laki-laki-yang-dilacurkan-di-indonesia/>
- Starygin, S. (2011). Solicitation of Sex Services in Cambodian Law and Practice. *Journal of Human Rights Practice*, 3(3), 288-308. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jhuman/hur023>
- Strøm, A. (2009). A glimpse into 30 years of struggle against prostitution by the women's liberation movement in Norway. *Reproductive health matters*, 17(34), 29-37. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080\(09\)34467-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0968-8080(09)34467-5)
- Tjahjo, P. (1982). *Dolly: Membedah Kompleks Pelacuran Surabaya*. Surabaya: Grafiti Pers.
- Usman, S. (2004). *Pembangunan Pemberdayaan Masyarakat*. Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar.
- Vanwesenbeeck, I. (2013). Prostitution push and pull: Male and female perspectives. *Journal of Sex Research*, 50(1), 11-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224499.2012.696285>
- Winaya, K. I. (2006). Pelacuran Laki-laki dalam Industri Pariwisata Bali (Studi Kasus Gigolo di Kawasan Pariwisata Kuta). *Analisis Pariwisata*, 7(2). Retrieved from <https://fpar.unud.ac.id/img/uploads/2014/03/Analisis-Pariwisata-Vol.-7-No.-2-20061.pdf>
- Wright, K., & Gudjonsson, G. H. (2007). The development of a scale for measuring offence-related feelings of shame and guilt. *Journal of Forensic Psychiatry and Psychology*, 18(3), 307-316. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14789940701292810>
- Zanden, J. W. V. (1993). *Sociology, The Core*. (Third ed.) New York: McGraw-Hill Inc.

About the Authors

1. **Sarmini**, obtained her Doctoral Degree in Anthropology from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, in 2008. The author is a Professor at the Department of Pancasila and Citizenship Education, Faculty of Social Sciences and Law, State University of Surabaya, Indonesia.
E-Mail: sarmini@unesa.ac.id
2. **Anna Lutfaidah**, a graduate student at the Department of Social Sciences Education, Postgraduate Program, State University of Surabaya, Indonesia. Student registration number: 18070885015.
E-Mail: anna.lutfaidah31@gmail.com

3. **Ajeng Eka Prastuti**, a graduate student at the Department of Social Sciences Education, Postgraduate Program, State University of Surabaya, Indonesia. Student registration number: 18070885013.
E-Mail: ajengrizki25@gmail.com