ISLAMIC LEADERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS FAMILY PLANNING IN INDONESIA (1950'S - 1980'S)

By

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A Thesis Submitted as Partial Requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts in South-East Asian Studies, the Australian National University, Canberra.

January 1987
DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated
this thesis is my own work.

Hasyim Aidid
January 1987
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer would like to express his thanks to his supervisor Dr. A.J.S. Reid who provided invaluable guidance throughout this study, and to his advisors Dr. Terence H. Hull and Dr. Paul A. Meyer for useful advice on certain problems faced in the study, to the staff of the Southeast Asian Studies Centre, Faculty of Asian Studies, ANU, where the writer undertook study for a Masters degree programme, and the staff of the National Centre for Development Studies, ANU, where the writer did several units of population studies. The writer also would like to thank Mr. John Clanchy and the staff of the Communication and Study Skills Unit, ANU, for help with English both during the period of coursework and the preparation of this thesis.

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The writer would like to thank all the people, too many to name individually, who gave their time for indepth interviews. Many friends and colleagues in Indonesia, as well as in Canberra, have helped in numerous ways in the development of this work. The writer would like to extend his thanks to them.

The writer's father and his brothers in Indonesia were very encouraging during his study. The writer express many thanks to them also. Lastly, the writer extends his thanks to his wife, Rahmawaty and his daughters Arifah and Aliyah, and his sons Zulkarnain and Akbar for joining him in Canberra during this study.
The present study discusses the attitudes, as well as the changes in and the diversities of opinion among Islamic leaders in Indonesia regarding family planning from the 1950's to the 1980's. In the earliest period i.e. from the 1950's to the early 1960's, most Islamic leaders were opposed to family planning. In the late 1960's, however, Islamic elites as well as Islamic organizations began to support family planning programme, which at this time was adopted by the Government, and by the 1980's they had even started promoting family planning amongst the masses by explaining the advantages of the norm of a small happy family (NKKBS) which is the main objective of the programme. The Islamic leaders of Indonesia, however, maintain their opposition to the use of several contraceptive methods such as sterilization and abortion. This makes the programme different from those in Bangladesh, China or India. Family planning in Indonesia is more successful than in India or in other Islamic countries such as Pakistan because religious leaders, especially Islamic leaders, have not maintained a significant resistance to the programme; rather, they have come to support it.
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A.4 OPINIONS OF S. TIRTOATMODJO, September 1959:

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THE BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

1.1 Indonesian Population Problems

Indonesia has the fifth largest population in the world after the People's Republic of China, India, the Soviet Union and the United States. Its society and culture, however, were devastated by Dutch colonialism *Kultuurstelsel* and *Slavenkolonie*, the Dutch Cultivation System, which used compulsory unpaid labour to produce export crops; established an absolute trade monopoly; and withheld education from the common people as well as generating other forms of colonial exploitation, intimidation, discrimination and oppression. This history of oppression brought poverty and little development to the country (Hatta, 1967:4-8; Reid, 1980:441-51; Legge, 1972:38). The lack of development is shown by the low quality of education and social welfare, and by the rapid growth of population. Legge (1972:40) stated that the literacy rate of the country's total population in 1930 was only a little over six percent. Paauw (1960:6) contended that the Dutch had left an illiteracy rate in Indonesia of almost ninety percent.

The rapid growth rate combined with another serious problem of the Indonesian population i.e. the unevenness of population distribution (62% of the total population living on the island of Java Madura which constitutes only 6.8% of the entire land of the Indonesian archipelago) can be seen in Table 1-1, Table 1-2 and Table 1-3. These tables present the results of the censuses of 1930, 1961, 1971 and 1980, and the estimated population of 1984.

As Table 1-1 shows, according to the 1930 census the population
Table 1-1: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION OF INDONESIA
BY PROVINCE/ISLAND 1930-1984

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INDONESIA       60.7   97.08  119.20  147.49  161.57

Sources: *Basic Information on Population and Family Planning Program (BKKBN, 1982:10).
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INDONESIA       1.5     2.10     2.32     2.21

Table 1-3: POPULATION DENSITY OF INDONESIA
1930 - 1980

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Source: Basic Information on Population and Family Planning Program (BKKBN, 1982:11).

of Indonesia was only 60.7 million. By 1961 it had become 97 million, and in the 1971 census it jumped to 119 million. By the latest census in 1980 the population had already reached 147.5 million. Table 1-2 shows also that the average rate of population growth of Indonesia from 1961 to 1971 was 2.1% per year and from 1971 to 1980 2.3% per year. Demographers such as Iskandar (1976:4) have projected that, if population growth remains at a high level, above 2% per year, by the year 2000 the population would reach about 250 million, more than double that of 1971, of whom some 150 million would live in Java, that is, a larger number than the total Indonesian population in 1980. Furthermore Jakarta would have a population of about 17 million, 10 million larger than its population at present (Jones, cited in Hull et.al., 1977:48).

A successful population policy to reduce fertility will make the Indonesian population in the year 2000 about 215 million. However, Hull et.al. (1977:48) stated that the Indonesian population will not stop growing before it reaches about 330 million if the NRR=1 (net reproduction rate, average one daughter for one woman aged 15-49, equivalent to total fertility rate, TFR about 2.3) in the year 2001. And if the NRR=1 only by 2021, the ultimate population will be about 400 million, and if the NRR=1 only by 2071, the ultimate population will about 757 million.
A private organization, the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, PKBI*), was established in 1957 to promote a family planning programme. However, the political situation at that time constrained its activities. Former President Sukarno urged and strongly supported pro-natalist policies. He declared that a huge population provided the potential for digging up and exploiting Indonesia's rich natural resources (Hull et al., 1977:5; Soeharto, 1982:204,205). On the other hand, the country faced bad economic conditions with an inflation of general prices of more than 500% overall and more than 900% in the price of rice in 1965/1966. (Arndt, H.W. and Panglaykim, 1966:28). Also, perhaps, Soekarno did not want to be opposed by religious leaders and the community who would not accept family planning. On the other hand, the New Order government which came to power in 1966 adopted a family planning programme as one of its most favoured solutions to the population problem. The Government has put family planning in each Five Year Development Plan (*REPELITA*), from *REPELITA I* (1969-1974) through the current *REPELITA IV*. In *REPELITA I* the programme was concentrated in Java and Bali, the most populous areas (Table 1-3), but by 1978 it was operating actively in all parts of the country.

1.2 Religious characteristics and family planning programmes

Indonesians regard their society as having a firm religious basis, as exemplified in the first of the "Principles of the State" (*Pancasila*): Belief in One God. Needless to say, family planning is a very sensitive moral and religious question, in which a government cannot defy the basic religious beliefs of its people. On the other hand, a government can seek to change public opinion by working together with religious leaders, informing them of the development needs of the nation, and by influencing public attitudes towards family planning programmes through the media. A better understanding between the Government and community leaders, including Islamic leaders (after all, Muslims comprise 87.5% of the total population as shown in the Table 1-4) is an important requirement in political stabilisation and in accelerating the country's development.
Table 1-4: PERCENTAGE OF RELIGION COMPOSITION BY PROVINCE/ISLAND: POPULATION CENSUS 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Islam</th>
<th>Christ.*</th>
<th>Hindu</th>
<th>Bud.&amp;</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>7.4</td>
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<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rest Java, urban</td>
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<td>0.1</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.3</td>
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</tr>
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<td>0.2</td>
<td>3.2</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>W.Nusatenggara</td>
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<td>E.Nusatenggara</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Irian Jaya**: only for urban areas.

One significant point of Jones' Table 1-4 is that the overwhelming majority of rural Javanese (98.3%) are Muslim, and initially family planning programme was concentrated only in rural areas of Java and on the Hindu island of Bali, because it was considered that people in the rural areas of these islands had a higher fertility than those in urban areas. Comparative and comprehensive data on population by province and religion, the results of the population censuses 1971 and 1980 can be examined in Table 1-5.

1.3 Importance of the Study

As Koentjaraningrat and Bachtiar (1969:10-11) have explained, the success of any programme designed to decrease rapid population growth
<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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</table>

** Coastaland Urban Areas  
*** Excluding Timor Timur and Irian Jaya  
**** Including Timor Timur and Irian Jaya

Sources: Statistical Year Book of Indonesia, BPS. Jakarta, 1984:210,211.
by family planning programme will depend on the values inherent in the cultural systems of Indonesian society. Specifically they stress the significance of research dealing with the influence of religious values on attitudes to family planning. Similarly Davis and Blake (1956:211-235) in their pathbreaking work on socio-cultural approaches to the analysis of fertility reviewed the importance of all of those variables, including religious beliefs, that affect fertility levels.

It is important to stress that Islamic leaders in Indonesia have a strong influence on the Islamic community especially in relation to family planning as it is relevant to religious doctrine. Thus this study attempts to describe the role of Islamic leaders in the programme, the changes in their attitudes to and their opinions of the programme. Such a study has not been undertaken before.

Examples of religious influences on the programme are evident from the fact that, although sterilization was once intended to be a part of the programme, it was later excluded because of the opposition of Islamic leaders. Abortion and menstrual regulation were similarly rejected (Soetjipto Wirosardjono, Chairman of PKBI, interview, 1-5-1986). Dr. Masri Singarimbun, the founder of the Population Institute of Gajah Mada University, Yokyakarta (interview, 6-5-1986) explained the findings of a survey to the effect that people, once sterilized, became regretful when the Ulama explained that sterilization was forbidden under Islam. These characteristics make the programme different from those of China, India, Bangladesh and other countries, because the latter countries favoured the adoption of abortion and sterilization in their family planning programme.

1.4 Objectives of the study

There are four main objectives of this study. Firstly, to determine whether among Islamic leaders there have been changes and differences in attitudes to family planning programme. Secondly, to explain why and how the changes and the differences have come about. Thirdly, to show the specific characteristics of Islamic leaders in
Indonesia which have led family planning in Indonesia to differ from that in other countries, either Muslim or non-Muslim. And last but not least, to describe the significant role of Islamic leaders in Indonesia in making the programmes go smoothly and successfully in reducing the fertility rate in the country.

Discussion of such phenomena requires an understanding of the dynamics of Islamic thinking in a particular country. Those dynamics consist not only of the textual authority of Islamic teaching but also of those modifications which have come about through the give and take of social dialogue. Taufik Abdullah (1974:9) explains that such a study has two dimensions: the first is socio-cultural and involves the examination of the local social condition, and the second is Islamic thinking itself. This requires the study of history, sociology, politics and other inter-dependent fields of studies.

Many scientists, Indonesian as well as non-Indonesian have misjudged and misunderstood the background and the changes in thinking of Islamic leaders in Indonesia, in either the political or in the development aspects of the country. This is because they do not understand the full picture provided through the above approaches. As Wertheim (1959:viii) has stressed, in visualising a society it is better not to be "too static". Any discussion of the technical and economic bases of a society should include a sufficient account of its cultural phenomena. This study therefore stresses the significance of values in shaping the attitudes of Islamic leaders in Indonesia towards family planning programmes.

1.5 Definitions and Scope of the Study

It is difficult to define and to categorize Islamic leaders in Indonesia. In this thesis 'Islamic leaders' refers to: first, leaders who are involved in the bureaucracy; second, leaders who are representative of Indonesian Islamic organizations; third, leaders of independent Ulama or Islamic scholars (including scientists) or Islamic intellectuals involved actively in Islamic activities, in particular those who wrote or were quoted in newspapers and magazines.
Although it is well known that there is no single absolute central leader for the Muslim society in Indonesia, it is believed that the opinions of the leaders at the National level of Islamic organizations and institutions such as Nahdlatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah or Majelis Ulama Indonesia, (MUI) are the strongest influence in the community. However, the opinions of unaffiliated individual Ulama and Islamic intellectuals are also discussed since they often have national significance.

The time frame of the study extends from the formal institutional beginning of family planning in Indonesia, that is from 1957 when the PKBI was established in Jakarta through the Government's active establishment of the Family Planning Programme in 1969 until today.

1.6 Methodology

Library research and indepth interviews were employed in this study. Islamic leaders as well as representative people from BKKBN, PKBI and demographers were interviewed. The indepth interviews took place in cities in Java and in South Sulawesi. Because of the lack of time the writer did not go to Sumatera, Kalimantan, Sumbawa and other Islamic areas of Indonesia.

In this thesis the source of the translation of the verses of the Qur'an, the first source of Islamic teachings, is the work of Mohammed Marmaduke Pickthall, the first English translator who was also a Muslim. The translations of the Hadith, the second source of the Islamic teachings, were taken from several recommended sources which were available, as well as translations done by the writer.

The Indonesian texts were translated by the writer. Some of the original Indonesian versions have been put in Appendices A, B, C and D for the benefit of Indonesian speaking readers.
1.7 Other scientific writing on the subject

There have been some other academic studies which are relevant to the present study. Kaushal K. Siddh (1974) discusses the attitudes to family planning of Hindus and Muslims in India. His significant conclusion is that it is not true that these religions have objections to birth control. However, his findings showed that even the sample of respondents who agreed with the Indian target of two or three children did not conform to it. He also found that the Muslim minority had no special objection to family planning. A preference for male offspring is common in both Hindu and Muslim families. However, concerning Muslim families, Islamic teaching has no preference for male or female children. Despite his generally accurate explanation of the bases of Islamic teaching, on one point Siddh is wrong. He says that "Islamic rules are to be "followed blindly, without question". This explanation is against the teaching of the Qur'an (Surah 30:28; 39:9) In contrast to his statement, Salam Madkur in Nazer et.al. (1974, Vol.1: 242-43) explains that the original source of Islamic legislation formulated Islamic rules in outline, or general form, purposely "in order to leave ample room for logical inference to be made by Islamic legists [legalist, Ulama or Islamic scholars], who by so doing can bring their decisions into line with people's interests and their accepted usage".

The above two-volume work of Nazer et.al.(1974) contains the collected papers presented at the International Islamic Conference on family planning held in Rabat, Morocco on December 1971. It was published by the Regional Office for the Middle East and North Africa of the International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) of Beirut, Lebanon. Kiyai Haji Nasaruddin Latief and Mrs.Maftuchah Jusuf, representatives from Indonesia, were among the more than forty contributors to these important discussions. Besides discussing family planning, the Conference also discussed Islam and broader development issues in Muslim countries.

Tahir Mahmood (1977:107,108) outlines nine points of argument offered by Muslims who are opposed to family planning:
1. Family planning stands for infanticide which is a big (major) sin under al-Quran.
2. Family planning means an illegal distortion of Allah's creation.
3. Family planning amounts to an attempt to interfere with the secrets of the Creator.
4. Family planning stands on the foundation of disbelief in providence and divine responsibility to take care of each of his creatures.
5. Family planning would mean overlooking the Prophet's desire that Muslims should increase their number.
6. Family planning is an expression of feminine perversity and of women's search for freedom from domestic liabilities.
7. Family planning is unnatural.
8. Family planning leads to disastrous social consequences and immoral practices.
9. Family planning is a fraud being committed by the imperialist West on the developing East.

By referring to the Qur'an, the Hadith, history and sociology, Mahmood answers those arguments and concludes that all the above points are based on a misunderstanding of Islam, history and social problems (p.108-127). Further, by using the explanation of Imam Shafe'i, one of the founders of the school of law in Islam, Mahmood explains that the Holy Qur'an favours the small family norm (p.13-16,135). Although Mahmood's explanation seems to be in disagreement with the way of the "taqlid" (strict follower of school of thought), he reaches the strong conclusion that all of the founders of the school of law: Shafe'i, Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali were in favour of birth control. Therefore he states that family planning "will remain valid, lawful and permissible in Islam" (p.137). He cites, however, Maulana Abul Ala Al-Mauududi (1976) the most influential and eminent Islamic leader of Pakistan, who strongly opposed family planning on the grounds of the nine objections specified above by Thahir Mahmood. In relation to the present study, it is significant to explain that the latter opinion has influence to some Islamic leaders in Indonesia.

Saleha Mahmood Abedin (1977) looks at the fertility of Islamic countries including pro natalists such as Saudi Arabia or anti-natalists such as Pakistan, and compares them with neighbouring
non-Muslim countries in Africa and Asia. The writer also discusses basic Islamic doctrines and the opinions of Islamic Scholars on family planning, which are quite similar to the above discussions. The significance of her conclusion is that the question of Islamic doctrine or Muslim social institutions is not a relevant factor in the level of fertility common to both Muslim and non-Muslim countries in Africa and Asia (p.79,80). She emphasizes that the level of socio-economic development, and not religion, is the factor most relevant to fertility rates. She supports this conclusion with the argument that the relatively more developed Muslim countries such as Malaysia have lower levels of fertility than other less developed Muslim countries. Further she stresses that the causes of high fertility in Muslim populations are cultural and political rather than specifically religious (p.181). Lastly, the writer states that Islam does not forbid family planning. On the other hand, opposition to it is based on political rather than religious considerations (p.191).

Musallam (1983) refers to the seven Hadiths of the Prophet (p.15-16), which discuss coitus interruptus (azl). Musallam argues that in view of these Hadiths, the majority of Islamic scholars such as Al-Ghazali and Ash-Shafe'i allowed the use of azl to avoid conception (p.14—21). An exception to this is Ibn Hazm who belonged to the Zahiry school of law. Discussing the reason why Islam permitted contraception, Musallam cited the work of classical Islamic scholars: Ibn Qudama, Ghazaly, Ibn Abidin and Shawkany who declared that Islam allowed contraception in the case of need (haja). Included in this are economic reasons, the proper upbringing of children (p.25,129) and limitation on the number of children in order to attain a good quality of life (p.156). Musallam explains, however, that such economic reasons were not mentioned in the Hadith, but were added by the Islamic classical school of thought from the tenth century on (p.118). That reason was an ijtihad, taken from the ideas of the verses of the

\[1\]ijtihad, the right of individual interpretation; exerting oneself to form an opinion in a case after learning deeply the ideas of the Qur'an and the Hadith, and considering social problems. This is encouraged in Islam. (see: Noer, 1978:80).
Qur'an. The Indonesian Islamic leaders, the majority of whom are followers of the Shafi'i school of thought, holds opinions similar to those above.

Muslim Attitudes Toward Family Planning (1978), edited by Olivia Schieffelin is a collection of Islamic leaders' opinions on family planning. However, there is no contribution by Indonesian Islamic leaders to this book. The significance of its discussions for the present study lies in the similarity of its opinions to those of the Indonesian Islamic leaders in relation to family planning programmes, abortion and other issues.

Allman, J (1978), states that, based on recent data and research, religious support for pronatalist behaviour is much less important among Muslims than was at one time supposed. He explains that Islam is more favourable to family planning than other religions. He emphasizes that bad economic conditions and a lack of social development in many Islamic countries are the major determinants of Muslims' traditional demographic behavior. Therefore Allman stresses that, as development advances, Muslim fertility rates will decline similarly to those of other countries experiencing cultural change (p.26-27). What Allman outlines can be applied to Indonesian Islamic society.

1.8 Organization of this study

Following Chapter One, Chapter Two discusses the characteristics of Islam in dealing with family planning and the contemporary Islamic leadership in Indonesia. One objective of Chapter Two is to clarify questions relating to the identity of Islamic thinking.

Chapter Three discusses the family planning programme in Indonesia, to show characteristics of the programme, its progress, and to make a comparison of acceptance levels to the programme within Muslim and non Muslim areas in Indonesia, and a comparison of fertility levels of Indonesia with other Muslim and non Muslim countries. Chapter Four discusses the main contents of the study,
that is the attitudes of Islamic leaders of Indonesia (1950's - 1980's) towards family planning. The last chapter (Chapter Five) sets out the conclusions of the study.
CHAPTER 2
THE CHARACTER OF ISLAM
AND CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC LEADERSHIP IN INDONESIA

One may find Islamic teaching contradictory. Those who point to such contradictions fail to realize that Islamic tradition bifurcates into the pro natalist model or theme favouring large family size and another model or theme favouring small family size in accordance with prevailing social and epidemiological determinants. Both themes sanction family planning.

(St. Abdel Rahim Omran, Associate Director for Population Epidemiology, Carolina Population Centre, USA. in Nazer et.al. 1974:215-16).

2.1 Introduction

The first section of this chapter presents a basic explanation of the characteristics of Islamic Law in relation to family planning. Some demographers and non Islamic scientists have expressed surprise at finding that Islam is more moderate in its attitudes towards family planning than other major religions (Arowolo, 1973; Allman, 1978). On the other hand, Kirk 1966:561) argues that Islam has been a more effective barrier to the diffusion of family planning than Catholicism. Seklani (1960:832) suggests that the Muslim ethical system, values and beliefs explicitly contain teaching supporting Muslim natality.

The first section also answers the question as to why the application and implementation of Islamic Law may differ among Muslim countries. In the second section, a brief exposition of the Islamic leadership, including Islamic organizations, Islamic education and the Islamic mass media in Indonesia is provided.
2.2 A brief account of Islamic teaching in relation to family planning

2.2.1 Marriage and having offspring

On the subject of the family, the Qur'an and the Hadith\(^1\), the two basic sources of Islamic teachings\(^2\), provide lengthy commentaries, detailed discussion of which is not relevant to the present study. There are two important areas, however, which are significant for this study: the meaning of marriage and the argument for having offspring.

The Islamic position is that only by formal marriage in the way of Shariah (Islamic Law) can a man and a woman live together and have sexual relations (Al-Qur'an, Surah 4:1, 2, 4, and Surah 24:32, 33). Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) emphasized that marriage is his way, and that Muslims who reject this system will no longer be his followers. Therefore Islam does not allow a defacto relationship or living together without marriage. If such things take place, or pregnancy without marriage occurs, then the guilty parties will be condemned by the Islamic community. These general Islamic values are evident in Indonesian society. For example, in the early 1980's, the residents in Yokyakarta, one major central of higher education in Indonesia was surprized and angry because some students were found living together, but were not married. The society called them kumpul kebo means buffalo or animal life style. Similarly in 1984 some American and Western Europe countries citizens were deported from

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\(^1\)"The Qur'an is a divine revelation-each and every word of it is from Allah [God]. The Hadith is a collection of the instructions issued or the memoirs of the last Prophet's conduct and behaviour, as preserved by those who were present in his company or those to whom these were handed down by the first witnesses. These were later sifted and collected by divines and were compiled in the form of books among which the collections made by Malik, Bukhari, Muslim, Tirmizi, Abu Dawud, Naza'i and Ibn Majah are considered to be the authentic" (Maududi, 1960: 153).

\(^2\)There are two additional Islamic sources: the Ijma, that is the concensus of the Ulama or Islamic scholars in a particular time and in a particular region, and the use of the Qias, or analogy method, to solve new problems (Hanafi, 1981: 66-95).
Indonesia because they taught in Bandung and in some other cities the free sex value and living together without marriage. They called themself "Children of God" (Tempo: 12 March 1984)

The Qur'an emphasizes that married people should find and keep peace of mind, observe the ties of love and each have compassion towards their mate (Surah 30:21). It explains that having children is a big responsibility for parents (Surah 8:28). It stresses that parents are responsible for their children's faith, in order that they do not become unbelievers, and that parents must educate their children to be useful people (Surah 31:13,17). The Qur'an does not mention any particular number of children which a family should have, but emphasizes more the quality of children (Surah 52:21), in which are included their faith, their mental and physical condition as well as their education.

Further, the Qur'an as well as the Hadith emphasize that Muslims should be aware that their children and descendants should not live in poverty and in a weak condition:

And let those fear (in their behaviour toward orphans) who if they left behind them weak offspring would be afraid for them. So let them mind their duty to Allah and speak justly. (The Qur'an, Surah 4:9).

Surely if you leave your heirs (including children) in good conditions, this is much better than that you leave them in poor conditions (Hadith, quoted in Muhammadiyah, no year:308).

The Islamic teaching that many consider provides the clearest opposition to limiting birth is the several Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon Him):

Marry and have offspring. Surely I will be pleased if you are large on the Day of Judgement. (Hadith, quoted in Nahdlatul Ulama, 1982a:34).

Marry a female who is kind and fertile. Surely I will be pleased if you are large on the Day of Judgement. (Hadith, quoted in Nahdlatul Ulama, 1982a:34, in Muhammadiyah, no year:308, and in DDII, 1970:27).
A good Muslim woman is one who has offspring and shows kindness. (Hadith, quoted in DDII, 1970:27).

The formulation of the above Hadith contains a command by which Muslims will therefore be guided. Kiyai Alie Yafie (1982), currently the Chairman of the Institute for Family Welfare of Nahdlatul Ulama (Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama, LKKNU) explains that one popular book among pesantrens, (specific Islamic traditional boarding schools in Indonesia): I'anatut-Thalibin, Volume three lays down that one of the important purposes of marriage in Islam is to take care of children. Moreover, explicitly, there are several formulations in the Qur'an which inspire the idea of having children, for example:

And Allah hath given you wives of your own kind, and hath given you, from your wives sons and grandsons, and hath made provision of good things for you. (Surah 16:72).

However, the Qur'an also clearly gives awareness of having a large number of children:

Wealth and children are an ornament of life of the world. But the good deeds which endure are better in thy Lord's sight for reward, and better in respect of hope. (Surah 18:46).

Know that the life of this world is only play, and idle talk, and pageantry, and boasting among you, and rivalry in respect of wealth and children. (Surah 57:20).

2.2.2 The Islamic view of modern contraceptive use

A significant point making the Islamic view more tolerant of family planning relates to the use of contraceptives. This can be seen in the fact that the Prophet allowed the method of coitus interruptus (called azl) to avoid pregnancy (Musallam, 1983:15-16; Nazer et.al., 1974:51-55; MUI.1984:167). By analogy, most Islamic scholars nowadays allow different types of modern contraceptive methods.

Abortion, however, is not allowed by most Islamic scholars, even
from the first week of pregnancy. It is allowed only in serious emergency. This opinion is applied in most Islamic countries, including Indonesia. The only exception among Islamic countries is Tunisia which allows abortion (Abedin, 1977:142), and Bangladesh which allows menstrual regulation (UN.Population Compendium, 1980), another name for pregnancy termination.

Some of the followers of the Hanafi school of thought allow abortion before 120 days of pregnancy, because at that time, they say, it does not involve the killing of any human being. Dr. Salam Madkur (Risalah Islamiyah No.10, 1970 :660), and in Nazer et.al.(1974,V.2: 271-85) explained clearly the differences in arguments among Islamic scholars about this issue. Muhammad Makki Naciri, who is a Professor of the History of Islamic Legislation, in Morocco, stated that the existence of different opinions in this field is a question of interpreting the sources of Islamic teaching (Schieffelin, 1972:144). The Holy Qur'an in Surah 22:5 and in Surah 23:12-14, only explain the periods of pregnancy:

*O mankind! If ye are in doubt concerning the Resurrection, then lo! We have created you from dust, then from a drop of seed, then from a clot, then from a little lump of flesh shapely and shapeless, that We may make (it) clear for you. And We cause what We will to remain in the wombs for an appointed time, and afterward We bring you forth as infants ...(Qur'an, Surah 22:5).*

*Verily We created man [human] from a product of wet earth: Then placed him as a drop (of seed) in a safe lodging; Then fashioned We the drop a clot, then fashioned We the clot a little lump, then fashioned We the little lump bones, then clothed the bones with flesh, and then produced it as another creation. So blessed be Allah, the Best of Creators! (Qur'an, Surah 23:12-14).*

Similarly the Hadith of the Prophet, narrated by Bukhari and Muslim, only explains the periods of pregnancy, and states that the foetus receives its soul in the first 120 days of pregnancy. This Hadith was quoted by Hasan Hathout in Nazer et.al. (1974,V.II:321):
Each one of you possesses his own formation within his mother first as a drop of matter for forty days, then as a blood clot for forty days, then as a blob for forty days, and then the Angel is sent to breathe life into him.

2.2.3 The flexibility and the rationality of Islamic Law

Abedin (1977), Maududi (1960) and Madjid (1969) state that Islam is a rational religion. In order to understand the overall thrust of Islamic thought, in particular the flexibility and the rationality of Islamic Law, it is important to realize that Islamic teaching interrelates each of the verses of the Qur'an with the explanations provided by the Hadith, and the additional Islamic sources, the Ijma and the Qias. Salam Madkur of Egypt (in Nazer et.al., 1974,V.1:2-2-43) explains that:

The rules of Islamic jurisprudence cover all the requirements of life. They deal with the life of the individual, of the community and of the state, in relation to all aspects connected with the rights of God due from His creation and the reciprocal rights of individuals. ... They deal in short with all that tends to regulate the affairs of human society in all the phases of its progress and civilization. ... The original source of legislation has dealt with all these rules in outline, and dealing with them is general on purpose, in order to leave ample room for logical inference to be made by Islamic legists [legalists], who by so doing can bring their decisions into line with people's interests and with their accepted usage.

Madkur (ibid:207) quoted the classic Ulama, Ibn Al Qayyim: "The structure and basis of the Shariah (Islamic Law) rest upon sound Judgement and the interest of the community in this life and in the next". He quoted also As-Shatiby: "The institution of laws is to serve people's interest both in this present life and in the life to come".

Unfortunately, however, serious errors occur among some Muslims in uneducated societies. For example, in dealing with economic problems, some of them tend to remember only the saying of the Qur'an, Surah 11:6, which states:
And there is not a beast in the earth but the sustenance thereof dependeth on Allah. He knoweth its habitation and its repository. All is in a clear record.

On the other hand, they seem not to remember that the Qur'an in Surah 13:11, also states:

Lo! Allah changeth not the condition of a folk until they (first) change that which is in their hearts. [until they (first) change their conditions].

Islam emphasizes that Muslims should always be rational in their activities and in their way of life. Many verses of the Qur'an state this point, for example:

Say (unto them, 0 Muhammad): Are those who know equal with those who know not? But only men of understanding will pay heed. (Surah 39:9).

And verily of that We have left a clear sign for people who have sense. (Surah 29:35)

Allah will exalt those who believe among you, and those who have knowledge, to high ranks. (Surah 58:11).

Similarly, the Hadith of the Prophet explains the importance of knowledge. For example: "There is no religion among people who have no knowledge" (quoted in Shalaby, 1968:168); "Whoever wants to succeed in this life he or she must have knowledge, and whoever wants to succeed in the Day of Judgement he or she must have knowledge, and whoever wants to succeed in both of them, he or she must have knowledge" (quoted in Nahdlatul Ulama 1982c:30). Thus, once again, Islam strongly argues for Muslims to be educated and to be rational in their way of life.

According to the above aspects of Islamic Law, flexibility and rationality can be applied to family planning related programmes. For example: in relation to spacing of pregnancies; increasing age of marriage; increasing women's participation in the labour force; and in
decision-making about the number of children each family should have, as the Qur'an and the Hadith explain, parents are responsible for their children and having too many children may disturb their integrity in performing their tasks as good Muslims.

In addition, it is important to explain in this study two major standards of Muslim activities. The first standard is the Addaruriyatul-Hams, that is the Five Basic needs which should be maintained by Muslims: religion, soul, reason, descendants and property (Yafie, 1982:17-18). Kiyai Ali Yafie states that all action taken to preserve the above Addaruriyatul-Hams is good, while everything which prevents or interferes with their preservation is wicked. Family planning activities might be considered either good or wicked in this context.

The second standard is the Al-Qawaidul-Amma, the General Principles of Islamic Law, which are always applied in the assessment of problems faced by Muslims, regardless of local variations arising in different countries and eras. These general principles are well known among Islamic scholars who study the field of Islamic Law. They were formulated from the totality of the ideas in the verses of the Qur'an and the Hadith (As-Shuyuti, no year). There are seven of them which are relevant to this study:

1. All activities depend on intention and purpose, whether the activity undertaken by the Muslims is really for God or for other interests.

2. Emergencies permit the normally impermissible.

3. The prevention of disaster must come before the seeking of advantage.

4. Muslims should not disturb others nor themselves be disturbed by others.

5. If a majority of Muslims with full responsibility have agreed that a matter is good, it will be accepted by God as a good thing.
6. The customs of a particular country or region can be accepted as lawful, so far as they are not against the Qur'an and the Hadith.

7. The law should be adjusted according to specific problems to determine whether it is to be used or not.

The above general principles are popular among eminent Ulama, at least among the followers of the Madzhab Ahlus-Sunnah Wal-Jamaah, which represent the majority of Indonesian Muslim society.

In summary, this section has attempted to establish several important points. First, Islam teaches that marriage is the only legitimate basis for living together in peace, enjoying sexual relations and having offspring. Second, having children is a major parental responsibility entailing the conscientious preservation of the children's faith, education and welfare. Islam's emphasis is in the quality rather than quantity of the children. Third, family planning, in particular limiting birth, is not a clearcut matter in Islam, as it may be either good or evil, depending on the intention and means of implementations. Fourth, extrapolating general ideas contained in of the Qur'an and the Hadith is the only way to understand Islamic teachings. Fifth, the flexibility and the rationality of Islamic law may give rise to differing interpretations and implementations in different places and eras. Finally, debate and a wide range of opinions, as far as they are based on knowledge, insight and responsibility are part of the character of Islam.
2.3 Contemporary Islamic leadership in Indonesia

2.3.1 Divisions of the leaders

Gouldner (1950:15) set down three typical characteristics of leadership. First, a leader is one whose attainments, in terms of a set of goals, are considered "high". Second, a leader is one whose status is recognized as superior to others engaged in the same activities. Third, a leader is one who emits stimuli that are "responded" to integratively by other people.

These typical characteristics of leadership can be applied to Islamic leadership in Indonesia. For example the figures: Muhammad Natsir of the Assembly of Indonesian Islamic Propagation, DDII; Alamsyah Ratuperwiranegara, an Army General, former Minister of Religious Affairs; Prof. Dr. Andi Hakim Nasution, Chancellor of the Institute of Agriculture of Bogor have these characteristics. Besides such basic characteristics as piety, there are seven other interrelated elements that someone should possess if he wishes to be considered a figure among Islamic leaders: knowledge and insight, concern, commitment, integrity, solidarity, influence and tolerance. (Hassan, 1975:100-102; Boland, 1971:193,215,216). The community will consider and will assess these figures from time to time and case by case. Someone may not have respect any longer from the community because in a particular case he or she does not show concern or is not committed to Islam in the eyes of the community. One may become a Governor in a province or even a Chairman of an Islamic organization, but he may get no respect but blame from time to time from the community because his position is achieved only through bureaucracy, by a coup or other unfair means.

The Islamic leaders in Indonesia can be divided into three categories: firstly, Islamic leaders who are involved in the bureaucracy; secondly, those who are representative of Indonesian Islamic organizations; and thirdly, leaders of independent figures.
All of the above categories again can be divided into two levels of leaders. The first is the national level and the second involves regional and local levels, that is provincial, regency, district or village levels. By contrast with the bureaucracy—the realm of formal leadership—the second and the third categories may be classified as examples of informal leadership. However, a lot of Indonesian Islamic leaders are involved in both activities: as government officials and as representative leaders of the community.

2.3.1.1 The leaders from the bureaucracy

The first of the above categories, that is the Indonesian Islamic leaders who are involved in the bureaucracy, may come from a variety of Government Departments: Armed staff, Internal Affairs, Education and other Departments. However, the Chairmen of the Department of Religious Affairs at the national, regional and local levels are considered to be the representative Islamic leaders in the bureaucracy.

The Department of Religious Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia was established from the earliest time of Indonesian Independence, i.e. January 3, 1946. The objective of this establishment was to implement the national Principle known as "Belief in the One Supreme God" (Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa) as stated in the preamble of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution. It deals exclusively with Islamic affairs,

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3The other four principles include: Just and civilized humanity (Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab); The unity of Indonesia (Persatuan Indonesia); Democracy guided by wise understanding of mutual agreement / representation (Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmah kebijaksanaan dalam permusyawaratan / perwakilan); Social justice for the whole nation (Keadilan sosial bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia). These five state principles, well known as Pancasila, are principles formulated by the Country's leaders in 1945, but have not been properly implemented until today in the nation's economic, social, and political life.
and marginally with other religions. The Department is the second largest in the Indonesian bureaucracy after the Department of Education and Culture. Its offices number about 3,350 and officials about 180,000 persons. The offices exist from the national down to district (kecamatan) level. (the Ministry of Religious Affairs, 1980:95,96)

As outlined above, nearly all chairmen and important staff of this Department can be considered part of the Islamic leaders at their level. However, independent Ulama and Islamic scholars often have a stronger influence on the community than the formal leaders of this Department (See: Noer, 1978:15,16).

2.3.1.2 The leaders from Islamic organisations

There are two types of Islamic organization in Indonesia. The first is the national level that operates in all parts of Indonesia and the second is the regional or local level. Among the organizations at the national level, it is considered that over the last two decades, the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah as major Islamic mass organizations have both had a strong influence on the community. The Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI (the Indonesian Ulama Council), and the Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, DDII (Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council) are both non-mass organizations, that also have a strong influence on the majority of the Islamic community in Indonesia.

The Syarikat Islam (SI) was the first Indonesian Islamic organization, founded on November 11, 1911 in Solo by Kiyai Haji Samanhoeddhi, then joined by an eminent figure, Haji Oemar Said Tjokroaminoto in May 1912, originally to unite Muslim traders, which

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Indonesia recognizes four religions which are administered in the Department of Religious Affairs: Islam, Christianity (Catholic and Protestant), Hinduism and Buddhism.
quickly developed into the first modern religious nationalist movement (Noer, 1973:102-153). In the last two decades, *Syarikat Islam* has lost much of its influence, due partly to problems of internal leadership and partly to government intervention.

The *Nahdlatul Ulama* (*NU*) was established on January 31, 1926 in Surabaya by Kiyai Haji Abdul Wahab Hasbullah and Kiyai Haji Hasyim Asy'ari. It was established to defend the traditional values of Islamic thinking and to maintain the four Islamic schools of though: Shafi, Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali as sources for Islamic teachings. *Nahdlatul Ulama* leaders considered that the modernists' movement of that time might endanger Islamic teaching because they did not follow the four classical schools of thought (*Nadzhab yang empat: Syafi, Hanafi, Hanbali and Maliki*). *Nahdlatul Ulama* called itself defender of the *Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah* (followers of the Prophet and the majority of Muslims' consensus). There are many Ulama in regencies who share this sentiment, even though they are not formal members of *NU*. Karim (1985:83,84) stated that although *Nahdlatul Ulama* is traditionalist, nowadays in some cases it has become more progressive than other Islamic modernist organizations in Indonesia. It is the *NU* to which most pesantren (traditional boarding Islamic schools) belong, *NU* being considered the largest and the most influential Islamic organization in Indonesia, especially in rural areas of Java.

The *Muhammadiyah*, a modernist Islamic organization, was established on November 18, 1912 in Yokyakarta by Kiyai Haji Ahmad Dahlan. Its objectives were: to bring about the purity of Islamic teachings according to the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith*; to interpret Islam in a "modern way"; to implement Islamic teachings that are useful in society; to advance Islamic education as the challenge in face of social change; to intensify Islamic teachings and the activities of Islamic missionaries; to free mankind from the chains of traditionalism, conservatism and formalities of society and to improve the lives of individuals, families and Islamic society according to Islamic teachings (Yusuf et.al., 1985:viii). Karim (1985:75,76) outlined that data for 1979, the *Muhammadiyah's* properties were: 191
religious schools and 1151 public schools, primary and secondary levels, 3 technical education centres; 23 religious tertiary education and 21 public tertiary education centres; it had 9 hospitals, 159 clinics, 83 hospitals for birth (Rumah Sakit Bersalin), 168 clinics for mother & child health (Balai Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak, BKIA); 88 boarding house for orphans (panti asuhan); and 252 Mosques and 131 Musalla (a small mosque, not used for Friday prayer). Its activities spread over all regions of Indonesia.

A national level of Majelis Ulama (Ulama Council) was established in October 1962, by the Soekarno Administration but it was not very active. The current Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI (Indonesian Ulama Council) was renewed in July 1975 during the conference of Ulama, which was attended by Ulama from all provinces of Indonesia. It is a consultative body in which leaders of leading Islamic organizations and Islamic intelectuals have joined with officials from the Government. The main tasks of the MUI are to issue fatwa (statement) and guidance to Islamic community; to give advice to the Government; to strengthen Muslim brotherhood and maintain peaceful relationships with other religious communities; to represent the Muslim community in meetings with other religious councils and to liaise between Ulama and the Government and between the Government and the Islamic community (Noer, 1978:73-74; Mimbar Ulama, No. 64, Nov./Dec. 1982).

The Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, DDII (Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council) was founded on May 9, 1967 by Dr. Mochammad Natsir, once Prime Minister of Indonesia and a leading leader of MASYUMI, which was banned by Soekarno in 1960. Although DDII is not a mass organization, it is active in almost all provinces of Indonesia. Its activities focus on the da'wah Islamiyah (Islamic missionary). It regularly organizes the sending of muballigh Islam (missionaries) to all parts of Indonesia. It also publishes several weekly and monthly series. DDII has a close relationship with the International Islamic organization: the Rabithah Al-Alami Al-Islamy (World Muslim League) of Mecca and the World Muslim Congress of Karachi, Pakistan (Noer, 1978:71-72).
Young Muslims in Indonesia have their specific organizations. University students' organizations include the Muhammadiyah University Students Association (Ikatan Mahasiswa Muhammadiyah, IMM), the Indonesian Islamic University Students Movement (Pergerakan Mahasiswa Islam Indonesia, PMII). PMII is originally part the Nahdlatul Ulama, as IMM is part of the Muhammadiyah. An independent one is the Association of Muslim University Students (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI), founded by Lafran Pane in Yokyakarta, on February 5, 1947 (Sitompul, 1986). HMI is the largest Indonesian Islamic university student organization, operating in all state universities in Indonesia. Younger leaders from these student organizations also have significant influence on the Islamic community, in particular in urban areas.

Local Islamic organisations include: Ikatan Mesjid Mushalla Indonesia Muttahidah, IMMIM (the Association of Mosques of Indonesia) at Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi; the Jamiatul-Wasliyah in Medan, North Sumatera as its centre; the Persatuan Islam (Persis) in Bangil, East Java; Pemuda Pelaksana Da'wah Islam, PPDI (the Islamic Youth Missionary) in Ambon, Maluku and others. Similarly, leaders from these local level organizations also have a significant influence on the community in the local areas.

For every important case, opinions of the above four national levels of Islamic organization: the Muhammadiyah, the Nahdlatul Ulama, the MUI and the DDII are always quoted by the Islamic community in all parts of the Indonesian archipelago, as well as opinions of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The majority of the Islamic community assess and sometimes compare their opinions. The rise and fall in the respect they are accorded from the community's point of view, will depend on their performance from time to time. During field work in April-May 1986, the writer found that the MUI had declined in respect in the eyes of the community because it did not speak out about the gambling, called Porkas, which has been operated by the Government since early 1986. (see: Tempo, No:22, 26-7-1986), while others Islamic organisations as well as local Islamic leaders have already stated
their disfavour with this gambling policy (*Tempo*, Ibid; *Serial Media Dakwah*, No.141, 1-3-1986). On the other hand, in 1980 the community was very proud of MUI when it outlined its statement (*fatwa*) about cooperation on Christmas Day (*Fatwa tentang Natal Bersama*). The MUI states that Muslims must not pray (e.g. sing a Christmas song) at a Christmas Party because it against Islamic belief (MUI, 1983:85-89). But there was a misunderstanding with the Government regarding this statement. The case caused Dr. Hamka, the Chairman of this Institution, to resign immediately (*Serial Media Dakwah*, No.85, July 1981). Similarly in 1973 the community was very displeased with the Ministry of Religious Affairs because of the proposed Marriage Bill from the Government, which went against Islamic teaching. On the other hand, the community was proud of Alamsyah Ratuperwiranegara, formerly a Minister of this Department, because of his widely accepted policies. In other words, the respect for leadership may move up and down, it is not stationary all the time.

2.3.1.3 The leaders of independent figures

The third category of Islamic leaders in Indonesia come from figures who are neither figures of the bureaucracy nor figures of a particular Islamic mass organization but are individual independent figures. This category also wields a strong influence in the Islamic community of Indonesia, on the national, provincial, regency or village levels.

On the national and provincial levels, they include leading Ulama, and university scholars who are involved in Islamic activities, in general terms called *Muballigh Islam*. University professors and

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5The most essential difference between Islam and Christianity is that Islam states that Jesus is only a Prophet and Messenger of God. He is not son of God and he is not God. Islamic theology states that God is One; that "He begetteth not nor was begotten", is totally different to the doctrine of Christianity, the Trinity: God the father; God the Son; and the Spirit. (*The Qur'an, Surah 4:171; Surah 5:17; Surah 19:30 and Surah 112:1,3*).
Lectureships involved in Islamic activities are common in Indonesia. For example Prof. Dr. Ir. Haji Andi Hakim Nasution, is Chancellor of the Agricultural Institute of Bogor (Institute Pertanian Bogor, IPB)\(^6\), Prof. Dr. Haji Halide, an economist and a mathematician of the Hasanuddin University of Ujung Pandang\(^7\), and others. On the other hand, on the regency and village level they are Ulama, Kiyai and other persons who are involved as Muballigh Islam.

Similar to the first and the second category of leadership, the Islamic community also assess the leadership of the individual independent figures from time to time and case by case. The rise and fall in the respect for leadership, will depend on their performance in different cases. An Ulama or an Islamic scholar may lose respect in a particular time or in a particular case because the Islamic society considers their performances to be inconsistent with the Islamic perspective.

In Summary, this section has shown that the Islamic leadership in Indonesia is currently deeply divided. There is no single body or group of individuals whose leadership is universally accepted by Indonesian Muslim; nor is there a single influence at work within the nation's Islamic population. The three principal sources of leadership are: the Government administration, Islamic organizations and independent leaders. Each of these groups has its own specific influence within Islamic society. Within Islamic mass organizations too, these various sources of leadership have great influence over the thought and practice of their followers. However, the Islamic society as a whole compares and assesses the opinions of each leaders from time to time case by case.

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\(^6\) Prof. Dr. Andi Hakim Nasution has written a book: *Manusia Khalifah di Bumi* (Human as caliph/agent of God in the earth), a collection of his Islamic preachings in different places.

\(^7\) Prof. Dr. Halide has been appointed Vice Chairman of the Majelis Ulama for South Sulawesi province. He is continuously active in Islamic preaching as well as being involved in Islamic seminars either at the national or provincial level.
CHAPTER 3
FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME IN INDONESIA

3.1 Private initiatives

While the first birth control clinics were already established in Holland in 1878 to introduce the spacing of births and family limitation, and the New York Academy of Medicine had already promulgated its resolutions on April 21, 1931 for supporting birth control clinics in hospitals and outside hospitals (Sanger, 1969:112,360), in contrast, Indonesian society did not know about birth control until the 1950's. Hull et.al. (1977:5,6), Atmosiswoyo in Zuidberg (1978:21) and PKBI (1975:19-29) have explained the introduction of family planning in Indonesia. They describe, firstly, how a group of prominent women established the Family Welfare Foundation (Yayasan Kesejahteraan Keluarga, YKK) in Yokyakarta in 1952. Its activities were for the improvement of child and mother health care and provided contraceptives. This Foundation, however, avoided the use of the words 'birth control' or 'family planning' because they were afraid of provoking anger from the rest of society.

Secondly, they describe the establishment of a postnatal programme, initiated by gynaecologists from the Central Hospital in Jakarta in 1953, and later, the extension of its activities to Bandung and to other cities. These activities, aimed mainly at examining mothers of six-week-old babies and those who were in the high-risk group, favoured the postponement of another pregnancy by using contraceptives. At this time, however, artificial contraceptives were difficult to obtain and relatively expensive. Also these activities still strongly avoided the theme of birth control or family planning.
Thirdly, they outline the establishment of a progressive organization, The Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, PKBI) in Jakarta on the 23 December 1957. This organization introduced the term 'family planning' (Keluarga Berencana). Its activities, however, were mainly concerned with marriage counselling, helping infertile couples and advising on regulating pregnancies in the interests of mother-child health. The activities were limited to its clinics in the big cities. They were not focused on the population question, nor on a reduction in birth or growth population rates. Tirtoatmodjo explains that dr.R.Soeharto, who was the Chairman of this organization, stated in Suara Merdeka, 20-6-1958 that family planning for the limitation of children was not necessary in Indonesia. (Pandji Nasjarakat, No.6, 1-9-1959:7)

Similar to the early situation in birth control activities in Western Europe and in the United States at the beginning of this century when societies and governments were strongly against birth control (Sanger, 1969:57-88), Indonesian society and the Government also were opposed to family planning or birth control ideas until the late 1960's. The conference of the Federation of Indonesian Women's Organizations (Gabungan Organisasi Wanita Indonesia, GOWI) in 1952 stated its opposition to birth control on the grounds that such behaviour is against basic human rights, that it involves killing unborn children, it increases prostitution and causes a general decline in morality (Zuidberg, 1978:21). Former President Soekarno stressed that a huge population in Indonesia would make the country one of the strongest nations in the world. He argued that the country is a large country which needs a large population for digging up and exploiting its rich natural property (BKKBN, 1982:9; Soeharto, 1982:204-205). As late as 1964 President Soekarno stated that his solution was to exploit more land and to have 250 million population. Soekarno emphasized the more children the better. Further, he stated that birth control, especially contraceptives, threatened the country's morals and could be condoned only for spacing births to preserve mothers' health. (Hull et.al., 1977:5).
3.2 The Government's involvement

In contrast to the 'old order' of the Indonesian government who supported and argued strongly for the pro-natalist policy, the 'new order' of the Government who came to power in 1966, aimed to reduce the rapid growth of population of Indonesia. President Suharto in 1967 signed with other world leaders the Statement on Population.1

The new order of the Government paid serious attention to the population problems due to the fact that economic development was very slow, while the population increased rapidly. BKKBN explains that economic growth was less than 1.6% during the period 1960-1964. On the other hand, the demographic survey held in 1963 showed that population growth was approximately 2.8% per year (BKKBN, 1982:9). At the beginning of 1968 President Soeharto stated in his address to Parliament that "the Government approved the family planning program conducted by the community with the aid and guidance of the Government" (BKKBN, 1982:24). Again, in his Independence Day address to Parliament on August 10, 1969, President Soeharto made a strong appeal for increased activity in the field of family planning, emphasizing that the programme should be started before the progress in production was negated by the continued rapid increase in population (Reports on Population/Family Planning, December 1969:35).

The first involvement of the Government in the programme was the establishment of a semi-government organization the National Family

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1"The Statement on Population was issued by United Nations Secretary-General U Thant on Human Rights Day, December 10, 1966, and signed by the heads of state of twelve countries. During 1967 the Statement was signed by eighteen additional heads of state and was reissued on December 11, 1967, by the Secretary-General. It affirms the belief of the thirty signatories that "the population problem must be recognized as a principal element in long-range national planning if governments are to achieve their economic goals and fulfill the aspirations of their people; ... that the opportunity to decide the number and spacing of children is a basic human right; ... that lasting and meaningful peace will depend to a considerable measure upon how the challenge of population growth is met". (Report on Population/Family Planning, December 1969:37)
Planning Institute (*Lembaga Keluarga Berencana National, LKBN*) in October 1968, based on Presidential Instruction no.28, 1968. The main objective of this Institute was to develop the family planning programme, in particular educating people about the programme. However, the national government programme at this period already utilized health centres, doctors, and midwives as well as cooperating in activities with the private Family Planning Association. The Institute was responsible to the Coordinating Minister of People's Welfare. During this period, the programme was carried out very carefully, as family planning touched matters of morality, culture and religion. (*BKKBN, 1982:9,24; Reports on Population /Family Planning, December 1969*).

As the importance of family planning to the development of the country increased, in 1970 the Government changed its policy. The Government began to take full responsibility for family planning as a means of decreasing rapid population growth. The Government changed the semi-government organization the National Family Planning Institute (*Lembaga Keluarga Berencana Nasional, LKBN*) to a full government organization called the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (*Badan Koordinator Keluarga Berencana Nasional, BKKBN*). The BKKBN was responsible direct to the President. The Programme became an integral part of the national development programme. The Government put the family planning programme in the First Five Year Development Plan (*REPELITA I, 1969 - 1974*). However, in this period the Government family planning programme was limited to the most populated islands of Indonesia, Java and Bali, which consisted of six provinces: DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, Yokyakarta, East Java and Bali.

From *REPELITA II, (1974 - 1979)* the programme has been extended to ten other provinces, called Outer Java Bali I: Aceh, North Sumatra, West Sumatra, South Sumatra, Lampung, North Sulawesi, South Sulawesi, South Kalimantan, West Kalimantan, and West Nusa Tenggara. From *REPELITA III, (1979 - 1984)* the programme has been extended to the remaining eleven provinces of Indonesia, called Outer Java Bali II:
Jambi, Bengkulu, Riau, Central Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Central Kalimantan, East Kalimantan, East Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, Irian Jaya and Timor Timur (Table 3-1 and Picture 3-1). Therefore the programme has been actively operated by the Government in all villages of Indonesia since 1979 (BKKBN, 1982:24-27).

3.3 The objectives and target of the family planning programme

The objectives of family planning programme in Indonesia are stated in the Resolution of the People's Consultative Assembly (Ketetapan MPR) in the Resolution in 1973, 1978 and in 1983. MPR is the highest institution within Indonesian's constitutional system, which states in every five year the Outline of the National Policy (Garis Besar Haluan Negara, GBHN). In other words, the objectives of the family planning programme are institutionalized at the highest level of the Indonesia system of Law.

The MPR stressed in these Resolutions that the improvement of people's welfare was to be rapidly achieved by balancing economic growth and controlling population growth. It emphasized the necessary equilibrium between production of goods and services, and the growth of population (BKKBN, 1982:18). The Government institutionalized the idea of a happy and prosperous small family norm (Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia Sejahtera, NKKBS) as guidance for Indonesian society.

The quantitative aim of the Government's optimistic family planning programme is to reduce the crude birth rate by fifty per cent in 1990 compared to that in 1971. That is from CBR 44 in 1971 to 22 in 1990. This target was previously planned for the year 2000. Hull et.al. (1977:10) explained that the micro target of the BKKBN's propaganda has shifted from spacing pregnancies to having up to four children, to stopping at three children, and recently, "stopping at two children".
Table 3-1: THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAMME OPERATIONAL AREAS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Name of Areas</th>
<th>First Year of Inclusion in the programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Jakarta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. West Java</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Yokyakarta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. East Java</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Bali</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aceh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. North Sumatera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. West Sumatera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. South Sumatera</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Lampung</td>
<td>Outer Java Bali I</td>
<td>1973/1974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. West Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>(Luar Jawa Bali I)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. West Kalimantan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. South Kalimantan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. North Sulawesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. South Sulawesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Riau</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Jambi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Bengkulu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. East Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Central Kalimantan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Central Sulawesi</td>
<td>(Luar Jawa Bali II)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. South East Sulawesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Maluku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Irian Jaya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Timor Timur</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
The programme started:

Source: BKKBN, 1985a:40 (modified).
3.4 The implementation of the programme

Sumbung et.al. (1981:4) explained the two types of approach to family planning in Indonesia. The first is the direct approach, which is to reduce fertility rates by using contraceptive devices in a continuous way by all married couples of reproductive age, those whom the BKKBN called "eligible couples", ELCO (pasangan usia subur, PUS). This approach is also called the "target system", which is criticized as: authoritarian (Hull et.al., 1977:10,30); controversial in the figures of contraceptors due to the emphasis on the calculation of the number of contraceptives distributed; and inhuman in its operation because of the excessive zeal of some government officials to make the programme a success (Tempo, No.20 XIV, 14 July 1984). The annual "target fever" ends in March, the end of the Indonesian fiscal year.

For recruiting new acceptors and current users, the BKKBN has thousands of public servants, called Family Planning Field Workers (Petugas Lapangan Keluarga Berencana, PLKB), and the Family Planning Field Worker Supervisors (Penyuluh Petugas Lapangan Keluarga Berencana, PPLKB). Data for 1982 and 1984 regarding these BKKBN public servants can be examined in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2: NUMBER OF FAMILY PLANNING FIELD WORKERS (PLKB) AND FAMILY PLANNING FIELD WORKER SUPERVISORS (PPLKB)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>F.P.Field Workers</th>
<th>F.P.Field Worker Supervisors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Java&amp;Bali</td>
<td>9.223 9.208</td>
<td>1.623 1.644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Java Bali I</td>
<td>2.180 2.509</td>
<td>1.092 1.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Java Bali II</td>
<td>22 324</td>
<td>609 656</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL INDONESIA</td>
<td>11.425 12.041</td>
<td>3.324 3.402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BKKBN, 1985a:63.

The second type of approach is the indirect one which is to
reduce fertility rates through integrated population policies with all government agencies as well as private institutions and the Indonesian society, by institutionalizing the acceptance of the small happy and prosperous family norm (*Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia Sejahtera, NKKBS*). BKKBN (1982:21) explained that budgets and planning for integrated programmes of population and family planning for this approach have become an integral part of BKKBN activities. The total budget for the national family planning programme during PELITA I, II and III (1969/1970 - 1983/1984) can be seen in the Table 3-3. This Table shows that each year and each PELITA the budget for the family planning programme was increased, both by the Indonesian government and through the loan and grant of foreign aid.

The most significant elements in the integration approach to family planning are Local Governments and the Department of Health Services. Hull et.al. (1977:29) explain that the command from central government is accepted by Governors of provinces and Regents of kabupaten, then transmitted down to sub-district level (kecamatan), to the village (kelurahan). The family planning officials exploit this command system to mobilize community acceptance of the family planning programme. BKKBN (1982:68) stated that all health officials are instructed that family planning motivation is part of any form of carrying out health services.

3.5 Contraceptive use in the programme

Modern contraceptive methods provided in the family planning programme in Indonesia are IUDs, pills, condoms, foam tablets and jellies. The Government does not include abortion, menstrual regulation and sterilization in the programme, because religious leaders are against these methods. This policy makes the programme different from those of China, India, Singapore, Bangladesh, Tunisia and other countries.

The comparison of the contraceptives used during 1969/1970 through 1983/1984 (PELITA I, II and III) can be seen in the Table 3-4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year of Budget</th>
<th>The Government</th>
<th>Foreign Aid (Loan&amp;Grant)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969/1970</td>
<td>120,000,000</td>
<td>847,015,000</td>
<td>967,015,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/1971</td>
<td>500,000,000</td>
<td>932,090,000</td>
<td>1,432,090,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/1972</td>
<td>1,500,000,000</td>
<td>1,575,088,925</td>
<td>3,075,088,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/1973</td>
<td>2,350,000,000</td>
<td>4,165,381,975</td>
<td>6,515,381,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/1974</td>
<td>2,500,000,000</td>
<td>2,444,516,516</td>
<td>4,944,516,516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PELITA I</strong></td>
<td>6,970,000,000</td>
<td>9,964,092,416</td>
<td>16,934,092,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/1975</td>
<td>3,802,000,000</td>
<td>5,473,967,000</td>
<td>9,275,967,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/1976</td>
<td>5,576,000,000</td>
<td>5,066,469,000</td>
<td>10,642,469,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/1977</td>
<td>8,646,000,000</td>
<td>7,109,661,000</td>
<td>15,755,661,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/1978</td>
<td>8,600,000,000</td>
<td>9,911,334,000</td>
<td>18,511,334,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/1979</td>
<td>11,000,000,000</td>
<td>5,429,478,000</td>
<td>16,429,478,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PELITA II</strong></td>
<td>35,624,000,000</td>
<td>32,990,909,000</td>
<td>68,614,909,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>19,709,307,000</td>
<td>13,084,665,000</td>
<td>32,793,972,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/1981</td>
<td>31,027,062,000</td>
<td>13,625,000,000</td>
<td>44,652,062,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/1982</td>
<td>47,860,149,000</td>
<td>15,625,000,000</td>
<td>63,485,149,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/1983</td>
<td>59,610,540,000</td>
<td>16,732,200,000</td>
<td>76,342,740,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/1984</td>
<td>54,321,353,000</td>
<td>19,845,400,000</td>
<td>74,166,753,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PELITA III</strong></td>
<td>212,528,411,000</td>
<td>78,912,265,000</td>
<td>291,440,676,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>255,122,411,000</td>
<td>121,867,266,416</td>
<td>376,989,677,416</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *) The Five Year Development.
This table shows that all the time the pills were the most popular followed by the IUDs and the condoms. The less popular of the IUDs than the pills during this time may be because most Islamic leaders, as will be discussed in the Chapter Four of this study opposed this contraceptive method.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contraceptive Methods</th>
<th>PELITA I</th>
<th>PELITA II</th>
<th>PELITA III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pill</td>
<td>57.5</td>
<td>68.58</td>
<td>57.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUD</td>
<td>30.97</td>
<td>15.74</td>
<td>21.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condom</td>
<td>10.58</td>
<td>12.84</td>
<td>5.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BKKBN, 1985a:47.

3.6 The progress of the programme

The progress of the family planning programme can be examined in Table 3-5 Table 3-6, Table 3-7, and Table 3-8 respectively. Table 3-5 shows the figures for target and achievement of new acceptors during PELITA I, II, III, and IV (1969/70 through 1985/86). Table 3-6 shows the figures for achievement of current users (active users), 1979/1980 - 1983/1984 (PELITA III). Table 3-7 shows the the fertility decline in Java Bali, the results of SUSENAS (Social Economic Survey) 1979. And Table 3-8 discribes the crude birth rates (CBR) and the total fertility rates (TFR) for Indonesia 1967/1970 to 1978/1979.

The progress and success story of the family planning programme in Indonesia can be examined in the comparison of the programme with other developing countries's family planning programme, both Muslim and non Muslim majority countries. Table 3-9 is drawn for this example. This Table shows that Indonesian family planning is more success with other Muslim countries, even its government adopted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>NEW ACCEPTOR TARGET</th>
<th>NEW ACCEPTOR OBTAINED</th>
<th>% OF TARGET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1969/1970</td>
<td>100,000</td>
<td>53,103</td>
<td>53.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970/1971</td>
<td>125,000</td>
<td>181,059</td>
<td>144.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971/1972</td>
<td>550,000</td>
<td>519,330</td>
<td>94.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972/1973</td>
<td>1,000,000</td>
<td>1,078,889</td>
<td>107.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973/1974</td>
<td>1,250,000</td>
<td>1,369,077</td>
<td>109.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PELITA I</td>
<td>3,025,000</td>
<td>105.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974/1975</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>1,592,891</td>
<td>106.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975/1976</td>
<td>1,796,000</td>
<td>1,966,585</td>
<td>109.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976/1977</td>
<td>1,976,000</td>
<td>2,212,790</td>
<td>111.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977/1978</td>
<td>2,296,833</td>
<td>2,248,468</td>
<td>97.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978/1979</td>
<td>2,291,100</td>
<td>2,215,884</td>
<td>96.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PELITA II</td>
<td>9,859,933</td>
<td>103.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>2,241,071</td>
<td>2,229,791</td>
<td>95.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/1981</td>
<td>2,677,918</td>
<td>3,051,244</td>
<td>113.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/1982</td>
<td>2,018,109</td>
<td>2,966,897</td>
<td>147.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/1984</td>
<td>4,002,860</td>
<td>5,246,184</td>
<td>131.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PELITA III</td>
<td>14,661,553</td>
<td>118.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984/1985</td>
<td>4,819,045</td>
<td>4,072,779</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985/1986*)</td>
<td>5,284,176</td>
<td>3,453,227</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PELITA IV</td>
<td>10,103,221</td>
<td>74.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>37,649,707</td>
<td>101.84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *) December 1985 data.
Source: Leaflet of BKKBN, Jakarta, January 1986

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>TARGET</th>
<th>ACHIEVEMENT</th>
<th>% OF TARGET</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1979/1980</td>
<td>7,028,001</td>
<td>6,497,382</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980/1981</td>
<td>8,401,419</td>
<td>7,791,537</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981/1982</td>
<td>8,882,137</td>
<td>8,809,027</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982/1983</td>
<td>10,889,819</td>
<td>11,211,285</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983/1984</td>
<td>12,719,000</td>
<td>14,422,551</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BKKBN, 1985a:57.

Table 3-7: TOTAL FERTILITY RATES 1971 - 1977 FOR JAVA - BALI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>TFR 1971</th>
<th>TFR 1977</th>
<th>Decrease of TFR (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jakarta</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Java</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Java</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yokyakarta</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Java</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: BKKBN, 1982:110

Family planning earlier than Indonesia. For example Pakistan, adopted the programme in 1960, its data for 1985: CBR (44), TFR (6.7) and population natural increase (2.8). Egypt which adopted the programme in 1965, its data for 1985: CBR (37), TFR (5.3) and population natural increase (2.6). An example with non Muslim majority country, India, which adopted the programme in 1952, its data for 1985: CBR (35), TFR (4.5) and population natural increase (2.3). However, comparison with the South East Asian countries, Indonesia's CBR (34) and TFR (4.4) in 1985, is more or less the same level with Vietnam and the Philippines but is higher than its neighbour Thailand and Malaysia.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>CBR</th>
<th>TFR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1967-1970*</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1975**</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976-1979***</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978-1979****</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: *) calculated from population census 1971.
        **) calculated from the inter census survey, 1976.
        ***) calculated from population census 1980.
        ****) standardized by age of population, pop. census 1980.
Source: BKKBN, 1985b:28

3.7 The comparison of the acceptance levels to the programme within Muslim and non Muslim Provinces

Muslim majority and non Muslim majority areas in Indonesia are shown in the Table 1-5 in the Chapter One of this study. And the comparison of acceptance level to the family planning programme of each provinces can examined in the Table 3-7. This Table shows that except Aceh and West Java, the more Muslim centre provinces have higher level of family planning acceptance than non Muslim centre provinces in its group. The provinces are grouped according to time of the family planning programme been implemented: Java Bali was started in 1969/1970, the outer Java Bali I was started in 1973/1974, and the outer Java Bali II provinces was started in 1978/1979.

3.8 Summary

Family planning has been accepted by the Indonesian government as part of the Indonesian development programme designed to attain a balance of the country's population and economic growth. Although family planning programmes for limiting births and their implementation are universally controversial issues, the Indonesian
Table 3-9: COMPARISON OF THE FAMILY PLANNING PROGRESS: INDONESIA WITH SOME OTHER DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>F.P.*</th>
<th>CBR 1969*</th>
<th>CBR 1985**</th>
<th>TFR 1985**</th>
<th>Pop. 1985**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Indonesia</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Malaysia</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Singapore</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Thailand</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>45-50</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Vietnam</td>
<td>_****</td>
<td>35-42</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Philippines</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>44-50</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. India</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>40-45</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Pakistan</td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Bangladesh</td>
<td>1960***</td>
<td>50***</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. China</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td>36-40</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Ceylon</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Morocco</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Egypt</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Turkey</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>45-47</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Tunisia</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Ghana</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Kenya</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Colombia</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>41-44</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Brazil</td>
<td>_****</td>
<td>41-43</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Equador</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>47-50</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Mexico</td>
<td>_****</td>
<td>44-45</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:***). Bangladesh was with Pakistan.
****). Up to 1969 there was no government programme.

Table 3-10: ACCEPTORS OF MARCH 1982, and MARCH 1984 BY PROVINCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>March 1982*</th>
<th>March 1984**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ELCO***</td>
<td>% to ELCO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.K.I.JAKARTA</td>
<td>1,009,011</td>
<td>27.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Java</td>
<td>4,211,976</td>
<td>33.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Java</td>
<td>3,873,408</td>
<td>48.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yogyakarta</td>
<td>418,431</td>
<td>64.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Java</td>
<td>4,440,409</td>
<td>64.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>376,181</td>
<td>61.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java - Bali</td>
<td>14,338,416</td>
<td>48.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aceh</td>
<td>402,851</td>
<td>18.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sumatra</td>
<td>1,292,383</td>
<td>23.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Sumatra</td>
<td>525,814</td>
<td>26.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sumatra</td>
<td>700,931</td>
<td>20.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lampung</td>
<td>738,489</td>
<td>24.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>419,370</td>
<td>41.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Kalimantan</td>
<td>392,914</td>
<td>25.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Kalimantan</td>
<td>316,786</td>
<td>31.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Sulawesi</td>
<td>324,677</td>
<td>29.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Sulawesi</td>
<td>924,193</td>
<td>34.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Java Bali I</td>
<td>6,038,408</td>
<td>26.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riau</td>
<td>309,445</td>
<td>9.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jambi</td>
<td>224,047</td>
<td>14.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengkulu</td>
<td>118,853</td>
<td>27.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>362,170</td>
<td>6.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Kalimantan</td>
<td>148,689</td>
<td>10.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Kalimantan</td>
<td>193,010</td>
<td>14.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Sulawesi</td>
<td>198,099</td>
<td>10.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East Sulawesi</td>
<td>146,059</td>
<td>8.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maluku</td>
<td>179,668</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irian Jaya</td>
<td>172,572</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Timor</td>
<td>84,648</td>
<td>2.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outer Java Bali II</td>
<td>2,137,287</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDONESIA</td>
<td>22,514,111</td>
<td>39.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:***) ELCO = Eligible Couples  
Source:*) BKKBN, 1982b:130.  
**) BKKBN, 1985a:59.
government has consistently accelerated the programme since 1969 up to the present time by increasing the budget and activities for it.

Development in Indonesia follows the motto of a development of total humanity (pembangunan manusia seutuhnya). Therefore implementation of every development programme in the country including family planning emphasizes the important balance between the aims of the programme and the methods of implementations. Consequently, the family planning programme in Indonesia is different from those in China, India, Bangladesh, Singapore and other countries which accept such methods and policies as abortion, menstrual regulation, sterilization, penalties and others.

Nonetheless, family planning in Indonesia has been more successful in declining fertility than those of some other countries both Muslim and non-Muslim majority countries. Why is it successful? Is it only a matter of government coercion or is it because of the support of the community, including the Islamic leaders as will be discussed in Chapter Four of This Study?
CHAPTER 4
THE ATTITUDES OF ISLAMIC LEADERS TO FAMILY PLANNING

4.1 Introduction

The attitudes of the Islamic leaders to family planning in Indonesia can be categorized within three periods of time. The first extends from the late 1950's to the early 1960's, when family planning was introduced for the first time into Indonesian society. The second runs from the late 1960's (1967) to the 1970's when broader discussion about family planning took place and the Government began to pursue family planning actively, and then put the programme in the First Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA I, 1969-1974). The third category describes the attitudes in the 1980's, up to the present time.

4.2 The attitudes in the late 1950's - the early 1960's

As mentioned above, the idea of family planning came to Indonesia in the late 1950's through private organizations, notably the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI), which was established in 1957 in Jakarta. BKKBN (1982b:8) and Zuidberg (1978:21-22) explain that, during this time, it was not advisable to speak openly in public about family planning because of the opposition of society. Nevertheless Soemartono (1960:5) stated that Mrs.Nani Soewondo, one in the vanguard in the promotion of this idea, spoke freely in a public meeting in Surabaya, explaining family planning. In other words, there was already public discussion of family planning at this time.

Many sources explain that not only in 1950's, but until the early 1960's, most leaders in Indonesia: the Government, politicians and
religious leaders, were against the idea of family planning. This opposition was predictable because of the basic cultural background of Indonesians who are in favour of a large number of children in each family. White in Koentjaraningrat (1982:144,145) cited the conclusion of anthropologists that most Javanese couples in both urban and in rural areas and at all social levels desired "an abundance" of children. Koentjaraningrat (1982:24,25) mentioned the result of surveys in 1960's in Java to the effect that rural women aged under 25 desired more than four children and women above 25 desired more than five children.

Among religious leaders, Soemartono (1960:13), who collected the opinions of Indonesian elites towards family planning in this period, first mentioned a Catholic conference on May 1960 in Lawang, East Java, that expressed opposition to family planning:

"Indeed birth control causes moral decadence and a decline in population which is needed to till the land". (trans. by the writer).

Protestant leaders also opposed family planning and argued that every family should have as many children as it can, but within a framework of responsibility to God, to society and the nation (Soemartono 1960:17).

As to the main purpose of this study: the first recorded expression of Islamic leaders' attitudes to family planning came from Kiyai Haji Sirajuddin Abbas in 1959. Sirajuddin Abbas was a member of Indonesian Parliament and was a Chairman of PERTI, one of the Islamic political parties. He explained:

One purpose of marriage in Islam is for having many offspring and this will help the nation to be respected in the world. When families have many children and descendants, the sublimity and standing of the nation and religion can be secured. These matters should be emphasized because in this twentieth century there is a wide-spread idea of birth control or anti children which it should be opposed. (Trans. by the writer) (Duta Masjarakat, 2nd and 3rd Febr. 1959).
The above statement was widely disseminated because it appeared on two successive days, in a national level newspaper: *Duta-Masjarakat*. This newspaper belonged to the Nahdlatul Ulama, the strongest Islamic Party after MASYUMI at that time (Feith 1962:434-35). Sirajuddin Abbas himself was an important figure because he took a tough position at Soekarno's side when the regime overthrew the rebellion in West Sumatra, called PRRI/ the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Indonesia, which was proclaimed in February 15th, 1958 in Padang (Feith 1962:85-87). His followers, members of his party, PERTI, mostly came from this region.

The second recorded statement on family planning in 1959 was by Dr. [M.D.] Haji Ali Akbar, a leading figure in MASYUMI. He gave a long explanation about birth control before members of the Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI (Majallah Kedokteran Indonesia, 4-9 Djakarta, April 1959:198-215). He stated that:

The prevention of pregnancy should not be implemented on a mass basis. It should be taken only in an emergency situation. It can not simply be recommended and should not be propagated to the masses as its dangers may be greater than its advantages.

For Muslims, birth control is only allowed in emergency situations, e.g. a mother should not become pregnant if she has a critical heart disease, tuberculosis or mental illness. (Madjallah Kedokteran Indonesia, April 1959:210-11)

Dr. Ali Akbar emphasized that there was a sign that birth control ideas would continue as a major issue within society. He stated that Ulama must seriously think about it. Ali Akbar stated that it might happen that the attitudes toward marriage would change, which would be a danger to the ummat. He argued that if contraceptives are readily available, the morals of people would be lowered, therefore the prostitution might replace the institution of marriage.

Finally Dr. Ali Akbar concluded his opinions, first, that Indonesians, as a whole, both from the the religious point of view, and the availability of land and calorie level, birth control is not
needed. He stated that the Indonesian nation should become a great nation with a population two times that of today. Second, that Islam only allows birth control in emergency conditions. Third, that birth control not based on religious values will lead people along wrong path (Madjallah Kesehatan Indonesia, April 1959:213).

Still in 1959, other figures, such as Drs.K.R.T.Danoehoesodo (Pandji Masjarakat: No.6, 1-9-1959:22,23 and No.7, 15-9-1959:22,23), also stated strong opinions opposing pembatasan kelahiran (birth control). His opinion was that unemployment, and densely populated areas of Java, Bali and Lombok were only a local and a temporary situation, because other Indonesian islands were still empty. Similarly, he stated, that welfare as a reason for pembatasan kelahiran, had been maintained by the Government. He stated that once these problems were solved, the Indonesian nation would be prosperous and therefore the country would not need to talk about pembatasan kelahiran. (Pandji Masjarakat, No.6, 1-9-1959:21)

Danoehoesodo stated that for every good Muslim, life problems and the continuation of life absolutely depended on God. He stated that thankful humans will not try to interfere with this continuation, they should make it successful. He stated that every person has the responsibility to try to have descendants. Their success in having descendants or not, again depends on God. (Pandji Masjarakat, No.7, 15-9-1959:23).

On the other hand, in the same issue of this magazine, another article shows a diversity of opinion. This article, written by S.Tirtoatmodjo, emphasized that rapid population growth was a problem facing all nations in the world. He stated that sooner or later, if this problem was not solved, a population crisis would develop threatening the very existence of human kind. He stated further that united nations' reports on population problems speak volumes to those interested in or concerned with the growing density of world population (Pandji Masjarakat, No.6 1-9-59:7).
Other opinions strongly opposing family planning came from Haji Machfudz Effendie, recorded in 1960. Machfudz Effendie was a Chairman of the Department of religious affairs for the province of East Java. He emphasized that actions to avoid child birth are actions against the will of God, and therefore sinful. He stated that every child at birth has his own fortune, which is a well-known view among Javanese. He outlined:

Every creature will surely be sustained by God. Certainly all people and new born children will be fed. That is similar to the Javanese phrase that every new-born child will bring his own fortune. ... An effort to prevent birth is an action against the will of God. A heavy punishment will come from God for such action, because it is killing a new human being. It is a cruel killing, therefore it is an unforgiveable sin. (in Soemartono, 1960:11).

Again, however, it is recorded that at the beginning of the 1960's there were already some Islamic leaders who had begun to understand the population problem, in particular the imbalance between population growth and economic growth which could cause problems of welfare and a lack of development in the country. Those elites therefore favoured family planning. Captain Haji Sjoeaib Said, who was an Imam in the Army, stressed that there was no prohibition in Islamic teachings against family planning. He emphasized that, because of the reality that the Indonesian population had already increased rapidly, Islam would not forbid birth control (ibid:19).

On April 1963, a conference of Islamic women representatives met in Jakarta to discuss family planning. It was Kiyayi Haji Nazaruddin Latif, a popular Ulama and a staff member in the Department of Religious Affairs, who spoke in favour of family planning. Latif's major argument was that Islam states that Muslims should be a strong and wealthy community. Therefore family planning can be accepted. However, he stressed that family planning should be understood in terms of the planning of an individual child-birth in the light of the health and the economic condition of the family. Latif's second
argument was that, during the life of prophet Muhammad, coitus interruptus (azl) was allowed in order to avoid pregnancy. By analogy he stated that contraceptives such as condoms and jellies are also allowed. On the other hand, he made it very plain that abortion is forbidden under Islam. (PKBI 1974:14)

4.3 The attitudes in the late 1960's - the 1970's

In contrast to the attitudes from the 1950's to the beginning of the 1960's when Islamic elites were either actively against or, in some cases, had already approved in passive ways of family planning, by the late 1960's to 1970's there are many sources to show that more Islamic leaders became active in approving the program. Some of them, however, were still against it or held less than favourable opinions.

Another significant point about this period is the fact that the Islamic organizations of Indonesia in addition to individual figures began to state formally their opinions with regard to family planning. Their opinions were not vocal. There was one side in favour of and one against or holding a moderate view. Therefore, this section attempts to discriminate the origins of both attitudes.

4.3.1 The attitudes of individual figures

Three years before the Government began actively promoting the programme, three leading Islamic scholars from the Department of Religious Affairs had already stated that the use of Intra Uterine Devices (IUD) was allowed under Islam. This statement was made on the 26th of January 1967. It was jointly signed by Kiyai Haji Sukri Ghazaly, Haji Rus'an and HSM.Nasaruddin Latif. All of them were either Directors or Heads of high level sections of the Department of Religious Affairs. (PKBI, 1974:20-21).

The use of the IUD as a contraceptive was a very sensitive and controversial issue, as can be seen clearly in the following discussion. It was therefore important for the above statement to be
jointly signed, and not just by one person. Kiyai Haji Sukri Ghazaly, one of the signatories, was a senior and important Islamic scholar of the Nahdlatul Ulama, the strongest and the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia, in particular for the rural Islamic community (Nakamura, 1976:318). Kiyai Haji Muh. Syukri Ghozali later on in August 1981 became the Chairman of the Islamic Scholars Assembly (Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI), replacing the late Dr. Hamka (Mimbar Ulama, No. 51, October 1981).

Why and in what capacity did they sign the declaration? There are some possible answers to these questions. The first relates to signs of change in the Government's population policy. On the 25th of July 1966, the Cabinet Ampera was established, replacing the cabinet of the Soekarno regime. (Roeder 1969:260). Besides military people, some technocrats became members of the Cabinet. The Cabinet's main programme was to rehabilitate and to stabilize the worst economic problems of the country: the high inflation left by Soekarno, and the high level of unemployment. It was concluded that, in the long run, the only solution was industrialization and the adoption of family planning (Arndt and Panglaykim, 1966:39,46). The researchers explained that it was even harder to repair the economic damage than damage to the country's material capital. They quoted the statement of Sultan Hamengku Boewono, one of the key persons working for the economic rehabilitation of the country:

> What are the prerequisites ... to economic rehabilitation? Every official, whether in the Government or in the private sector ... should render the greatest contribution within his ability in the interests of the State and Nation, not merely act for personal gain. The Government deliberately restricts its programme within the limits of its capacity and the prevailing atmosphere in the conviction that it will not reach its goal without public support and aid. (Arndt and Panglaykim, 1966:46).

The second possible answer is that the leaders of the Nahdlatul Ulama were involved directly in the Government. Dr. Kiyai Haji Idham Chalid, was Chairman of the executive body (Tanfidziyah Nahdlatul Ulama) and was State Minister of People's Welfare and Kiyai Haji Syaifuddin Zuhri, another leading figure of the Nahdlatul Ulama was
Minister of Religious Affairs. And the data in this study show that the Nahdlatul Ulama leaders were more in favour of family planning programmes than other Islamic leaders in Indonesia. The first and the second of the above answers, however, provide an important explanation for the high level of participation of Islamic leaders in the development of the country.

Still in 1967, on the 24th of February, during the first conference of the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia, PKBI), there was a section on the topic of family planning and religion. Haji Nasaruddin Latief gave an address at this important seminar. Other speakers were Prof. Dr. Latuihamallo representing the Protestant viewpoint, Pater L. Soekotjo S.J. representing the Catholic view and Mr Gde Pudja representing Hindu Bali (PKBI, 1974:8). Before reaching his conclusion about the Islamic view of family planning, Nasaruddin Latief explained the purposes of marriage under Islam. Then he emphasized that Islam aspires to the attainment of an increased standard of living for the community. Family planning, he said, should not mean a plan not to have children, because this is against Islamic teaching. But he agreed to a plan to regulate birth in order to promote family welfare. In support of his view Latif quoted two verses of the Holy Qur'an:

... and that ye slay not your children because of penury. We [Allah] provide [sustenance] for you and for them. (Surah 6:151).

Slay not your children, fearing a fall to poverty. We shall provide for them and for you. Lo! the slaying of them is great sin. (Surah 17:31).

He stated that Muslims are forbidden to kill children in the face of potential hunger and poverty. Latief outlined the view that to regulate births and to avoid pregnancy is not killing children. He opposed abortion, however, because this does mean killing children. Furthermore, he explained that the prophet Muhammad allowed the method coitus interruptus ("azl") as a means of avoiding pregnancy. By analogy, the use of modern contraceptives to avoid pregnancy is also
allowed. His conclusion was that Islam does not forbid family planning as far as that means regulating pregnancies.

As part of this study, it is important to give a clear explanation of the role of Islamic leaders in helping the programme to go more smoothly in Indonesia than in other Islamic countries such as Pakistan or Egypt. Mrs. Soewondo and Mrs. Djoewari (1970:12) who were both among the founders of the PKBI wrote that the most encouraging aspect of the first PKBI conference in February 1967 was the assurance of the Coordinating Ministry of People's Welfare, Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid, that family planning would be included in the Government's programme for development. As been mentioned above, this Minister was the Chairman of the Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islamic Party at that time, and the one to which most pesantren and the majority of Ulama in Indonesia belong. In July 1986 the Indonesian Government gave a Certificate of Respect to Dr. K.H. Idham Chalid for his role in bringing success to family planning in Indonesia, in the earliest stage of the programme. (Kompas, 24-7-1986).

Dr. H. Ali Akbar who was recorded in 1959 as being opposed family planning and supporting pro-natalist, in 1967 turned his opinions and he made an important contribution to discussions about Islam and family planning. He become in favour of family planning and emphasized that the world as well as Indonesia was facing an imbalance between growth of population and economic growth, which could result in poverty. (PKBI, 1974:15-19). As a doctor he explained the advantages of spacing pregnancies, both for mother and children. He stated:

Allah (God) gives us freedom of thinking by using the principles of the teachings of the Qur'an and the Hadith. (PKBI, 1974:16).

And he quoted the Al-Quran, Surah 13:11 which stresses that God will not change the conditions of a community unless they themselves attempt to change their conditions. He concluded that family planning is therefore allowed in Islam. However, he stressed that family planning means regulating pregnancy in order to advance the welfare of mothers, children, families and the community.
In September 1969 Kiyai Haji Muhammad Dahlan, who was the Minister for Religious Affairs, and a senior leader of Nahdlatul Ulama, explained about Islamic teaching which dealt with family planning at the conference for Java Bali Family planning information workers, held by the National Family Planning Institute (LKBN). Like many others, Muhammad Dalan made an analogy (qias) with the use of azl, (coitus interruptus) to avoid pregnancy that was allowed by the Prophet. Dahlan stated that modern azl that is modern contraceptive methods such as the condom which are more effective, are also permissible under Islam. Further he explained that modern contraception is better than azl because the latter prevented wives from achieving satisfaction: "azl yang sekarang dimana system dan peralatan lebih baik dan sempurna, tentulah lebih utama kebolehannya" (K.H.Moh.Dahlan in Masdar Hilmy, 1969:53). Dahlan then stated that family planning presented no further problems for Muslims, especially if the Islamic society and the government considered that family planning was necessary for the country.

He outlined the interesting view that the suggestion of the Qur'an was to space births in three and a half year periods. He explained that nursing should occupy two years and no pregnancy should occur during this time. It was also his view that the argument of the Prophet (Hadith) for having more children does not mean many children from one mother but rather from each wife. (Ibid:54-55).

In November 1969, Drs. Masdar Hilmy, who was Head of the Information Section of Religious Affairs for Central Java Province, wrote a book about Islam and Family planning. This was a collection of his views offered at seminars in several places in Central Java. His major opinion was that family planning in terms of spacing pregnancies was permissible under Islam. Generally he accepted the use of contraceptives, but he disagreed about the use of IUD's because they involved seeing the private parts of women (melihat aurat besar wanita) when the devices were inserted. He stated that Islam strongly forbade such action. Also Hilmy argued strongly against abortion. (Hilmy, 1969:36-40).
Thus Hilmy here stated a different attitude from that of previous Islamic scholars who allowed the use of IUD's, dating back to 1967. Hilmy concluded that family planning for the purposes of the health of the mother is permissible under Islam. However he disagreed with the spacing of births for the demographic reason of limiting children, especially fear of hunger. He said this is not allowed under Islam. (Ibid:45).

In contrast to Hilmy, other Islamic leaders such as Hisjam Zaini (Risalah Islamiyah, No.7 Juli 1970:467-470) agreed with the demographic reason for family planning. He emphasized that reducing the rapid population growth of Indonesia would bring advantages to the majority of Indonesians who were Muslim. In addition, this Islamic magazine is published by the Islamic Propagation Institute (Lembaga Missi Islam) of the Nahdatul Ulama. It printed a discussion of family planning in four successive issues of its publication in 1970. The papers were written by Dr. Mohammad Abd. Salam Madkur of Cairo University, Egypt and translated by S. Alwy bin Muhammad Alatas. Salam Makdur clearly explained the different opinions of the four school of thought Mazhab in Islamic Law and of leading Ulama such as Al Gazaly and Ibn Hasan. Madkur concluded by approving family planning in terms of spacing births/pregnancies individually, and supported the norm of a small number of children in conditions of high quality and the aim of reducing rapid population growth. (Risalah Islamiyah, No.11.1970:724,725). However Madkur emphasized that the limitation of children should not be by force of law, but by education. It is significant that what Nurcholis Madjid explained in Bali in March 1986, in a seminar dealing with the small family norm conducted by the PKBI and in some seminars this year about various Islamic scholars' opinions of abortion, which demographers think is new information, had been published by this magazine sixteen year ago.

Kiyai Haji Bisri Syansuri (LKKNU, 1982a:88-95), who was the leading leader (Rois Aam) of the legislative Body (Syuriah) of Nahdatul Ulama outlined his opinions on June 28th, 1972.

1. Every action with good intentions for the family and society and with good methods of implementation
is allowed under Islam.

2. IUD's should not be permitted because they involve seeing the female genitals and because other contraceptives are available. Thus only in emergency situation can IUD's be allowed.

3. Family planning should not be on a mass basis.

4. Family planning programme should place no absolute limitations on the number of children each family should have, because it is forbidden in Islam. (LKKNU, 1982a:88-94).

The above opinions of Bisri were expressed in the Limited Islamic Scholars' Conference held by the Department of Religious Affairs in Jakarta in 1972. The Conference, as will be discussed later, accepted most of Bisri's opinions.

Akbar Tanjung, who was Chairman of the Central Board of the Islamic University Students' Association (Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam, HMI), in his anniversary address of the 23th HMI commemoration on 5th February 1973 stated:

The population problem in Indonesia, the fifth largest population in the world, with a very low level of income per capita of only US $100 per annum, and a growth of population of 2.8%, presents a very clear challenge and the risk of a population explosion that will have many consequences. Social awareness especially from old people in attempting to solve this problem is very limited. This is because of their opinions that marriage is for having children, which is emphasizing only the quantity without taking into consideration economic, social and psychological aspects. Thus the involvement of the younger generation in the family planning program should not be delayed. And the HMI with all of his staff will participate directly in the programme according to their status as students. In particular we propose a minimum age of marriage should be decided according to several considerations in the development of our Indonesian society. (Trans. by the writer). (Sitompul, 1986:216-17).

Dr. Kusnadi (M.D.) (Panji Masyarakat, No.101, 1974:21-23) who was a central leader of the Muhammadiyah, stated strongly his disagreement with several methods that demographers insisted be used in Indonesia because it was considered the best way of achieving declining
fertility through family planning programmes: menstrual regulation, abortion and sterilization. Dr.Kusnadi stated that menstrual regulation or abortion is impermissible under Islam, even for pregnancies of only four or five days. Dr.Kusnadi strongly opposed family planning by such methods.

4.3.2 The opinions of Islamic organizations

As was mentioned at the beginning of this section, the Indonesian Islamic Organizations had begun formally to express their opinions during this period. Muhammadiyah, which is considered to be the reformist school of Islam in Indonesia (Nakamura, 1976) outlined its opinion in 1968. This was followed by Nahdlatul Ulama, in 1969. Then ensued the assembly of Islamic preachers in Indonesia (Dewan Dakwah Islamiyah Indonesia, DDII), the more critical Islamic group of Government policies, which stated its views also in 1969. The final opinion in this period of time was stated at the Limited Conference of Islamic Scholars conducted by the Department of Religious Affairs (Musyawarah Ulama Terbatas) in 1972.

The reason why the Islamic organizations began formally to state their opinions about family planning was because of increasing activities in the area of family planning initiated by the PKBI from 1967 onwards. The organization held its first conference in February 1967. Moreover the New Order of the Government turned itself about in adopting the programme. President Soeharto in 1967 signed The Statement on Population together with other world leaders, which was issued by the United Nations. Soeharto stated that family planning was one solution to economic and welfare problems (G. Tan, 1971:4; PKBI, 1982 : 29-30). Further, In his speech on the 16th of August 1969 in the parliament meeting he stated:

With full responsibility, we have to adopt family planning. However the programme is not compulsory. The programme of course should be conducted in the light of our moral values and our religion. (Risalah Islamiyah, Djuli 1970, No.7 :465).

In October 1968 the Government founded a semi-government body for
family planning called the Institute of National family Planning (Lembaga Keluarga Berencana Nasional, LKBN). The promoter of this establishment was Dr. K.H Idham Chalid, who was the Minister of People's Welfare at this time (PKBI, 1982:30) Besides this Institute, the Government founded also an institution for policy advice called the National Adviser for Family Planning Board (Badan Pertimbangan Keluarga Berencana Nasional). The Government began to take full responsibility for family planning activities in June 1970 when it established the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional, BKKBN). This Board replaced the former semi government body (PKBI, 1982:33).

4.3.2.1 The statement of the Muhammadiyah

The Islamic Jurisprudence Council (Majlis Tarjih) of Muhammadiyah made its statement about family planning in 1968 in the Sidoarjo Conference (Muhammadiyah, no year:307-310). The Council stated that family planning which is carried out to avoid pregnancies is against the teaching of Islam. Only in the emergency conditions is family planning allowed as far as the husband and the wife are agreed and as long as there is no physical or mental harm for the users.

Prior to setting down the above views, the Majlis Tarjih stated three points of its basic argument. First, that one purpose of marriage in Islam is to have offspring. Second, that Islam teaches its followers to enlarge the number of their descendants. Third, that Islam argues that descendants should not live under poor conditions such that they become a burden on other people.

The council quoted the Qur'an, Surah 16:72 to the effect that God creates for you your wives and your children and descendants from them. It also quoted the saying of the prophet Muhammad (Hadith) arguing that a man should marry a fertile woman, together with Hadiths advising a man to leave his descendants in a wealthy condition and that a strong Muslim is better than a weak Muslim. The Council
explained that the argument for having many children in the Hadith applies to all Muslims as a community, not just the individual. Therefore, every Muslim can consider his or her own condition and determine whether he or she can comply with that directive.

The Council defined what constituted the emergency conditions: first, if pregnancy or giving birth will cause danger to the mother; second, if the religion is threatened because of the very low economic condition of the community, which may cause the community to act unlawfully; third, if the health and education of the existing family are likely to suffer because of the excessively short period between births. The council quoted the Qur'an, Surah 2:185 that states that God intends for Muslims the easier life and God does not want to put Muslims into difficulty. Finally, the Council stated that socio-economic conditions vary markedly with individuals. Therefore the Council stated that there should be no law about family planning because it would be enforced universally.

4.3.2.2 The statement of the Nahdlatul Ulama

Different in their phrasing, but similar in the main ideas being conveyed, were the opinions about family planning expressed on the 25th September 1969 by the Central Board of the Legislative Body (Syuriah) of Nahdhatul Ulama. It presented eight points of opinion:

1. Family planning must only be for spacing pregnancies in order to promote family welfare and not for limiting the number of children.
2. Family planning should only be for the health of the mother and children and not because of the fear of hunger, poverty and the like.
3. Family planning must not include abortion.
4. Sterilization is impermissible neither for wives nor for husbands.
5. Family planning is an issue for the individual (i.e. voluntary) and it must not become an object of mass activities involving the
enforcement of regulations.

6. Family planning must only be undertaken by agreement between husband and wife.

7. Family planning must not conflict with religion and morality.

8. Effort must be made to ensure that the program is not misused for promiscuous purposes and other immoral activities.

(Quoted in LKKNU dan BKKBN, 1982a:83-84).

However, Nahdlatul Ulama's Limited Conference in Jakarta, 17-20 July 1979 drew several conclusions which were quite different from the above statement. Namely:

1. Family planning is a voluntary and a full responsibility action by couples according to their health and social-economic condition for achieving the welfare of their family.

2. According to their responsibility of ensuring the physical and moral development of their children, couples should make their decision to plan their families on the basis of hajah syar'iyah (the difficulties attendant upon not doing so).

3. The hajah syar'iyah may rise be darurah syar'iyah (emergency conditions, the danger of not doing so). In this sense, family planning is the only way, but it must be determined by medical doctors.

4. The principles of law applied at the micro-level of the family can be applied to macro-level problems, i.e. at the level of the country. Achieving equilibrium for family welfare in respect of the family planning programme can be seen as analogous to achieving a balance between GNP and population size at the national level. The Islamic teaching is not to neglect the real facts of social life and to make the analogy between one case and the other.

5. The contraceptive methods used in family planning to avoid
pregnancy should be analogous to *azl* (avoiding transmission of semen to the ovum).

6. Sterilization (for husband or wife) should not be permanent nor should it spoil the body. Having regard to points one, two and three above, sterilization is evaluated on the same level as *azl*.

7. Abortion, however, is criminal from the Islamic point of view, because it destroys valuable thing which should be maintained.

(Quoted in Yafie, 1982:35-38).

4.3.2.3 The statement of the DDII

Also in September 1969, the Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council (*Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia. DDII*) stated his opinion, which was formulated by a group of scholars: Dr. Fuad Moh. Fachruddin, Abd Rahman MA, Osman Raliby, Dr. Ali Akbar (Md.), Dr. Hamka, Dr. Kusnadi (MD.), M. Yunan Nasution and others (DDII, 1970:Preface). This opinion significantly disagreed with the family planning programme. There were nine points to the DDII Assembly's analysis regarding family planning (DDII, 1970:43-44), namely:

1. Widespread Birth control is not permissible in Islam, since it violates religion and morality and conflicts with the purposes of marriage as outlined by the teaching of Islam.

2. Islam only allows limited prevention of pregnancy on an individual basis in cases of emergency.

3. The prevention of pregnancy which Islam allows must not be misused and must be for appropriate reasons with are morally acceptable in order to maintain a good standard of living and to strengthen the community.

4. The prevention of pregnancy may only be temporary and Islam does not allow sterilization.

5. Family planning must only be practised on the authority of a moral
6. Family planning must be based on an agreement between husband and wife.

7. Abortion is forbidden, and only allowed in the case of emergency.

8. Family planning must be voluntary and not a matter of force.

9. Indonesia's natural resources, which are large and rich, whether they have already been developed or not are sufficient to maintain the welfare and the continuing growth of population. Therefore, from the economic viewpoint, the family planning programme should not be operated on a mass basis in Indonesia.

The DDII also discussed the political aspects of the family planning programme. (DDII, 1970:10,11). It stated that Christians, who were a minority, did not accept family planning. Muslims, on the other hand, who were the majority were persuaded to accept the programme. Therefore non Muslims increased relative to Muslims.

4.3.2.4 The statement of the Limited Conference of Ulama, 1972

This Conference was held by the Department of Religious Affairs in Jakarta from the 26th to 29th of June 1972. The leading Ulama attending this conference included K.H.Bisri Syansuri, Prof.T.M.Hasby Ash-Shiddiqy from Yokyakarta, Prof.K.H. Syafi'i A.Kariem from Surabaya, K.H.M.Syukri Ghozali from Jakarta, K.H.Moh.Saleh Suaidy from Jakarta and K.H.Sudjai from Sukabumi, West Java. The Conference's conclusions were:

1. Family planning with spaced births is permissible under Islam, especially for the welfare of families and for the development of the country.

2. Family planning on a mass basis cannot proceed without research of experts, including the input of Islamic scholars, and if they
consider that family planning is necessary, it may go ahead.

3. IUD's are not permissible if any other contraception is available, because the female genitalia may not be seen. The IUD's are permissible only in an emergency condition.


One interesting point is that the use of the IUD which was said to be allowed under Islam by the Statement in 1967 differs from the situation outlined in the statement of this Conference. The later statement explained that the IUD was impermissible under Islam. Kiyai Haji Nazaruddin Latif, who was one of the signatories of the statement in 1967, but did not join this Conference, stated that he also agreed with the later opinions. Therefore he stated that he corrected that opinions in 1967. (Kiblat, No.8, Agustus 1972).

All the above data present the attitudes of Islamic leaders to family planning during the late 1960's to 1970's. The leaders generally accepted family planning as the spacing of the health and welfare of the mother and children. But they placed less emphasis on demographic reasons. They significantly disagreed with the limiting children absolutely. Other significant conclusions were that they had differences over the acceptance of the family planning programme. While some leaders moderately accepted the programme, some others opposed it explicitly, in particular the mass base operation of the programme. It was clear that the leadership of the traditionalist Nahdlatul Ulama were more favourable towards family planning programme than the leadership of the DDII, which were drawn mainly from the modernist circles of Muhammadiyah. Was that because the Nahdlatul Ulama were involved in the bureaucracy, and was that because the DDII and (Muhammadiyah) were more critical than the Nahdlatul Ulama? It is likely the answer is yes. However, this point is not to be discussed in detail in this study.
4.4 The attitudes in the 1980's

While the previous section discusses the attitudes of Islamic leaders to family planning from the 1950's to the 1970's, this section attempts to describe the attitudes of Islamic leaders in the 1980's, the present time. Have attitudes changed?. If so, what are the issues of importance?. And is there still any significant divergence of attitudes?.

4.4.1 The changes in Attitudes

The first of the significant changes in attitudes among Islamic leaders in Indonesia towards family planning has been the increasing acceptance of the programme among Islamic leaders. There are several examples of this changes. The Nahdlatul-Ulama, the largest Islamic organization, which has its strongest influence in the Islamic community in rural areas and which was more moderate in supporting the programme from the earliest time has started to adopt population education including the family planning programme in its pesantrens. In 1982 Nahdlatul-Ulama published several books for guidance about family planning and population problems. There are three books which are recommended as useful. The first is by Kiyayi Haji Muhammad Aliyafi: Pandangan Islam Terhadap Kependudukan dan Keluarga Berencana (The Islamic viewpoint about population and family planning). The second is Membina Kemaslahatan Keluarga : Pedoman Pelaksanaan Keluarga Berencana (Keeping family in peace : Guidance for the implementation of family planning programme). The third is Pedoman Penerangan tentang Keluarga Berencana (The Guidance for Information Concerning Family Planning)

Other evidence is that, unlike the earliest time, when more Ulama were reluctant to involve themselves in the activities of family planning (Pandji Masjarakat, No.101 April, 1972), nowadays they join in explaining the advantages of the programme. Dr. Adnan Mahmud, the Chairman of the Indonesian Planned parenthood Association (PKBI) for
South Sulawesi province (interview, May 1986) explained that at the beginning of the programme, the religious leaders (Ulama) were reluctant to attend a meeting which was attempting to promote family planning. And if they joined the meeting, they stated that it was only because of the Bupati's (Head of regency) invitation. Mahmud added that in the earliest time of the programme, it was common for Ulama to express their dislike of the programme by such action "mammiccu pareppe" (the Buginese term: an action to show a strong disagreement about something). Mahmud expounded that nowadays there is no such thing anymore. In contrast Ulama are involved in explaining the advantages of accepting the family planning.

_Tempo_ (22 November 1986:20) a leading magazine in Indonesia outlines the opinions of Kiyai As'ad Syamsul Arifin, an important leader of Nahdlatul Ulama who states that family planning programme is very important; that all members of Nahdlatul Ulama should work to ensure the success of the programme ("KB [Keluarga Berencana] sangat penting. Warga NU wajib mensukseskannya"). The Kiyai further states that easy methods should be found, as long as they are permissible in Islam ("cari cara-cara yang gampang, asal sesuai dengan syariat Islam"). The magazine also explains that in November 1986 the Ulama of the Nahdlatul Ulama conducted a seminar and made a statement about the importance of increasing the participation of Ulama in the family planning programme.

The second very significant change is that more Islamic leaders are favouring and accepting the norm of a small and happy family which is the main objective of the programme. The Chairman of Majelis Ulama Indonesia (MUI) for South Sulawesi province, Kiyayi Haji Abdul Muin, wrote a pamphlet favouring this norm. Similarly, the MUI of Aceh conducted a seminar on the fifth of August 1985 discussing the advantages of this norm. Nurcholis Majid, a young popular Islamic scholar who was Chairman of the Himpunan Mahasiswa Islam (HMI) explained that to be of high quality, Muslims should not have a big number of children. He expounded these opinions in a seminar of the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (PKBI) held in Bali on
February 1986. The Principal of the Pesantren Krapyak, Yokyakarta (interview, May 1986) explained that if the small family norm is a requirement of the country (*kalau itu sudah haja, negeri memerlukan begitu*), it can be recommended under Islam.

An Indonesian English daily newspaper, published in Jakarta, *The Indonesia Times* outlines that the Ulamas of Temanggung, Central Java expounded a statement that they will help the family planning programme to be successful:

> The ulemas [Ulama] throughout Temanggung regency, Central Java will step up their active participation in making the family planning (FP) program a success. They considered that the Islamic teaching justifies the realization of FP program to maintain the health of the mothers and children and for the sake of education. ... The pledge signed by Al Haj Abdul Mu'in Rohman, the Chairman of the local Ulemas Council also read that the Ulemas will make thorough attempts to accelerate the process of institutionalizing the FP program through preaching. They will also make efforts to institutionalize the norms of a prosperous, happy and small family. (*The Indonesia Times*, February 1, 1986:3).

The third change concerns opinions about the use of contraceptive methods, in particular Intra Uterine Devices (The IUD). As was mentioned before, on February 1967 the Department of Religious Affairs for the Islamic section stated that IUD's are permissible under Islam. But in 1972, a conference which was also conducted by the same Department expounded a different opinion from the 1967 statement. The latter concluded that IUD's were not permissible under Islam. And they were permissible only in an emergency. The last opinion about this method, which is quite different from that of 1972, was stated by the Musyawarah Nasional Ulama, Majelis Ulama Indonesia on 17-20 October 1983 (*MUI*, 1984). According to this representative Islamic institution the use of IUD's is permissible, as far as they are inserted by a woman doctor or a woman nurse. And if by a man doctor, the husband must be present. Since that time the chairmen of BKKBN at national, province or regency levels always quote these statements to increase the acceptance of the IUD's.
4.4.2 The existence of different attitudes

Since there is no single central leadership for Muslims in Indonesia and family planning is a matter which is not clearcut stated in the Qur'an and Hadith, Islamic leaders in Indonesia do not share the same attitudes towards family planning programmes. The differences of opinions are found both within Islamic organizations and among individual independence figures.

Among Islamic organizations the Nahdlatul Ulama has become more approving towards family planning programme, though they emphasize also that the programme's implementations should not go against Islamic teachings (Tempo, 22-9-1986). On the other hand, the Muhammadiyah, although operating many family planning clinics in urban areas of Indonesia, emphasizes only keluarga sejahtera (family welfare) rather than family planning (Sodhy et.al. 1980:9-11). Sodhy et.al. (1980:14) stated a view that the attitudes of Muhammadiya towards family planning programmes shifted from passive opposition to passive acceptance.

The third Islamic organization which is important to assess is the Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia, DDII (the Indonesian Islamic Missionary Council). It has not significantly changed its opinion. Its opinion is that family planning should not be implemented on a mass basis (Kiyai Haji Yunan Nasution, interview, April/May 1986). However, its opposition to family planning programme is not actively followed up.

The summary of the differences in attitudes of Islamic organizations towards family planning in the 1980's can be seen in Figure 4-1.

Differences in attitudes towards family planning programme also exist among individual independent leaders. As explained in the previous discussion, in the 1980's many Ulama are involved actively in
explaining the advantages of family planning and support the NKKBS (the Small Happy and Prosperous Family Norm). However, the indepth interview conducted by the writer in April/May 1986 found that some Ulama and Islamic intellectuals share the opinion of the DDII. They emphasized the right of each family to have as many children as they want. They explained that the term "small family" is a relative term, depending on the conditions of a family. For example, Professor Dr. Haji Halide of Ujung Pandang emphasized that five children constitute a small family for himself. (Interview, May 1986).

The writer also found that some Ulama and Islamic Intellectuals are against the use of artificial contraceptives, including the contraceptives already allowed by the Majelis Ulama Indonesia, MUI (The Indonesian Ulama Council). They explained that artificial contraceptives are inhuman as well as against Islamic teachings. In particular they are against the use of IUD's for two reasons: first, because the IUD's cause abortion; second, because their use involves strangers seeing the private parts of women's bodies, which is strongly forbidden in Islam (See also: Sodhy et.al. 1980:9) Dr. Haji Ali Akbar, the Chairman of the Yayasan Rumah Sakit Islam Jakarta,
YARSI (Jakarta Islam Hospital Foundation), and Kiyai Haji Syafi'i Hazami, a leading Ulama, the Chairman of the Pesantren Al-Syiratus Syafiiyah Jakarta, propound the latter arguments against the use of the IUD's. (*Panji Masyarakat*, No.510, 21 Juli 1986).

Nazwar Syamsu (1983:198-240) stated strongly his opposition to family planning programme. He stated that all contraceptives could be considered as an act of murder (p.218), that limiting birth is a murderous activity for humans to engage in (p.210), and that the arguments of demographers are based on non Islamic opinions (p.229,240). But the above writer cannot be considered influential in Islamic society in Indonesia, as he does not believe in Hadith as the second source of Islamic law (p.22-32).
CHAPTER 5
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This study deals with the attitudes of Islamic leaders towards family planning programmes in Indonesia since their introduction to Indonesian society in the 1950's through 1980's. The study focusses on the opinions of Islamic leaders in Indonesia concerning family planning, and on the changes and diversity of these opinions over time. Although some Islamic organizations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama also sponsored activities in their family planning clinics, the study restricts itself to the expressed opinions of the leaders, since these opinions were a major determining factor affecting whether Indonesian Muslims would accept or reject family planning programmes.

5.2 Summary

Indonesia has the fifth biggest population in the world after the People's Republic of China, India, the Soviet Union and the United States. However, the country has several serious population problems: the uneven population distribution with 62% of the total population living on the islands of Java Madura which constitute only 6.8% of the entire land of the Indonesian archipelago; the the low level of education; the low quality of social welfare; the problems of unemployment; and the problem of rapid population growth.

Family planning was introduced to Indonesian society in the 1950's. However, the official government under President Soekarno did not approve family planning. On the other hand the New Order
Government which came to power in 1966, adopted family planning as one of the most favoured solutions to the population problems and economic development of the country. Family planning became an integral part of the national development programme. From 1969 the Government began to put family planning programme in every Five Year Development Plan (REPELITA) up to the present. Since 1978, the Government has operated family planning activities in all villages of Indonesia.

Islamic leaders in Indonesia, especially the Ulama, either individuals in independent positions of authority or Ulama from largest national level Islamic mass organizations and Islamic institutions such as the Nahdlatul Ulama, the Muhammadiyah and the Majlis Ulama Indonesia, have a strong influence on Islamic society in this country. Their influence even exists in secular matters. The Government persuades Islamic leaders to work together in the development issues of the country, in particular family planning programmes.

The leading Islamic figures in Indonesia primarily come from three sources: the bureaucracy, Islamic organizations and individuals in independent positions of authority, Ulama, and leading Islamic scholars who are actively involved in Islamic activities. Figures from the bureaucracy are not only from the Department of Religious Affairs, but also from the Armed services, from the Department of Education and other government positions. Independent Islamic scholars have usually come from university lectureships over the last two decades. The level of leadership is divided into a national level, provincial level, and regency and village level.

The level of respect the Islamic society has shown towards Islamic leaders is changeable. The society will assess its leadership from time to time and case by case. An Ulama or an Islamic scholar may lose respect in a particular time or in a particular case because the Islamic society considers him inconsistent with the Islamic perspective.
Communication between Islamic leaders and Islamic society in Indonesia is very strong. Opinions held by the largest national level Islamic organizations will always be quoted by the society. In addition, they have access to regular national level mass media publication, and the function of the Mosques as a communication centre for Muslims will remain very significant.

Since the 1950's leaders of Islamic organizations and institutions in Indonesia, as well as individual independent Islamic elites, have promulgated their opinions concerning family planning. The interesting phenomena arising from those opinions are that, firstly big changes in opinion have occurred from time to time among Islamic leaders or elites, from being against totally to accepting and supporting the programmes. Secondly, within the opinions of the Islamic leaders themselves there are differences from each other as well as elements in common. There is, in other words, no single central leadership for Muslims in Indonesia. Finally, the opinions differ significantly from the family planning policies, for example the two child policy argued strongly by the Government. However, recently, more Ulama have become more formal in their preaching in explaining the advantages of having a small and prosperous happy family, which is the main target of family planning programmes in Indonesia.

5.3 Conclusion

1. Since 1969 Family planning has become an integral part of the national development of Indonesia. The Indonesian Government under Soeharto considered that it was an important requirement for the development of the country. It was thought to be the way to solve the problems of Indonesia's rapidly increasing population, improve social welfare and quality of life. The New Order Government took full responsibility for family planning activities.

2. Islamic leaders in Islamic countries have significantly different attitudes towards family planning. Some of them, such as the
Islamic leaders who attended the International Islamic Conference held in Rabat, Morocco, December 1971 vocally favoured family planning. Yet there were some who were not in favour of family planning such as Maulana Abul A'la Maududi of Pakistan, who also has considerable influence in some other Islamic countries.

3. Similarly, among Islamic Leaders in Indonesia there are significant differences of opinion about the concept of family planning. However, the base of support and indeed the strongest influence on the Islamic community are the Nahdlatul Ulama and the Muhammadiyah which are not significantly opposed to family planning. Especially the leaders of Nahdlatul Ulama, the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia have strongly supported family planning since the Government adopted the programme.

4. There were other developing Muslim and non Muslim countries which adopted family planning earlier than Indonesia: India (1952), Pakistan (1965), Bangladesh (1972 and as part of Pakistan, 1965), Egypt (1960). However, Indonesia has had greater success in halting fertility than these countries. The World Population Data Sheet 1986 reports that Crude Birth Rate (annual number of births per 1,000 population, CBR) of India is (35), Pakistan is (43), Bangladesh is (44), Egypt is (37) and Indonesia is (34). Their Total Fertility Rate (the average number of children a women aged 15-49 will have, TFR) is for India (4.5), Pakistan (6.7), Bangladesh (6.2), Egypt (5.3) and Indonesia (4.4).

5. The success story of the Indonesian family planning programme in achieving a decline in the birth rate can largely be attributed to the insignificant opposition of religious leaders in Indonesia, especially the lack of opposition of Islamic leaders to family planning. The data in the present study show that in 1967, leading figures within the Islamic community in the Department of Religious Affairs announced that it was permissible to use IUD's as a means of contraception. This actually took place two years before the Government formally adopted family planning in 1969. Such a phenomenon cannot be found in India or in Pakistan.
6. Another reason for the success of family in Indonesia has been the very strong power of the Government and the strong stability of the Central Government under Soeharto. There has been no significant opposition from other political parties or from social organizations nor from the regional provinces. This stability was never achieved during the Soekarno era. The present study is not arguing that the process is in itself good or bad.

7. As the effectiveness of communication activities in the Family Planning Programme designed to inform, educate, and change attitudes of community leaders and people is very important, a further significant reason for this success story is the centralized communication system in this country. In Indonesia, the only nationwide government television and the nationwide government radio station, the earth-stationed Palapa Satellite and the Jakarta based national newspapers (Mackie, 1980:682), provide an easy to implement communication system for Government programmes which include family planning.

8. As shown in Chapter Two of this study, the flexibility of Islamic Law gives evidence that Islam may approve family planning programmes. Abedin's work (1977) is significant that she outlines that opposition to family planning in some Muslim countries is mostly due to political and cultural reasons. And the common high level of their birth rate is mostly due to the low level of economic development, and the low level of education.

9. As has been explained earlier, there is no single absolute leadership for the Islamic community in Indonesia. Therefore differences of attitudes to family planning among them exist. While leaders of Nahdlatul Ulama and other figures favour family planning, others do not. However the favoured group to family planning are those who have largest number of followers in the community. This phenomenon is more or less opposite to what is happening in Pakistan or other Islamic countries.
10. There is a phenomenon apparent from the findings of this study that calls for further attention. It seems anomalous that the self-conscious traditionalist leadership of Nahdlatul Ulama are more favourable towards family planning programmes than the leadership of DDII, which is drawn mainly from the modernist circles of Muhammadiyah. There is no doubt that family planning is a modernizing phenomenon: but why then has it been accepted by the traditionalist party?. Is Nahdlatul Ulama traditionalist in some matters but modernist in others?. There are three possible answers to these questions. The first is that the Nahdlatul Ulama is willing to compromise its principles in order to maintain a favourable relationship with the Government. The second possible answer is that the Nahdlatul Ulama leadership, while considering family planning neutral from the standpoint of Islamic teachings, have nevertheless accepted the arguments of economists and others who say that family planning is an important need in the economic and social development of the country. As explained in Chapter two of this study, Islam may accept family planning programme as long as the method and the implementation are not against the teachings of Islam. The third possible answer is that many Nahdlatul Ulama leaders are members of the Government in several positions which require their deep involvement in the secular development of the country.

11. But although Islamic leaders in the 1960's and 1970's mostly favoured family planning, they rejected the idea of limiting absolutely the number of child a family should have. However, nowadays they support the idea of the Happy and Prosperous Small Family Norm (Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia dan Sejahtera, NKKBS). They also disagreed with the use of some contraceptive methods which are acceptable in some Muslim countries such as Bangladesh, which accepted menstrual regulation and sterilization methods. Islamic leaders in Indonesia strongly oppose abortion, menstrual regulation and sterilization. They allow these only in an emergency situation.

12. A significant finding in this study is that data for 1980's show that, excluding the Hindu centre of Bali, the more Muslim centred
provinces have higher percentages of contraceptive acceptance than other provinces with non Muslim majorities. Also the Indonesian Central Bureau of Statistics (1984b:26-27,65-67) has reported that parity (children ever-born) of Muslim women in Indonesia (3.80) while higher than the Hindu women's parity (3.50), is not the highest. Christian women's parity is the highest (4.02), followed by Catholics' (3.89). The Bureau explained that the lower parity of Muslim than Christian's and Catholics' is either before or after the parity been standardized.

13. A slight decline in the Muslim percentage in East Java, Central Java and Yokyakarta from the 1971 census to the 1980 census (East Java, from 96.9% to 96.6%; Central Java, from 96.4% to 96.1% and Yokyakarta, from 93.5% to 92.4%), as shown in the Table 1-5 is the family planning programme is a significant factor in this decline. As Jones' table (Table 1-4) shows the overwhelmingly majority of rural Javanese (98.3%) are Muslim, while in urban Java the figure is only (87.2%). The family planning programme initially concentrated only in rural areas of Java and Bali. Also, transmigration may be another factor of this decline. Furthermore Islamic leaders in Indonesia since the late 1960's have emphasized that it is not important to have large numbers of Muslims if they lack good qualities including faith, education and welfare. (Hassan, 1980; Madjid 1969). However, these variables in relation to the family planning programme's success in reducing fertility rates is not the topic of this study.

14. Last but not least, religion is not the only factor that affects fertility levels (Caldwell, 1976; Mauldin and Berelson, 1978). However, the relatively flexible attitude taken by the most influential Islamic leaders in Indonesia has assisted to create a remarkably successful family planning programme and reduce fertility in this developing country.
APPENDIX A
SUMMARY OF INDIVIDUAL ISLAMIC LEADERS' OPINIONS
 REGARDING FAMILY PLANNING

A.1 OPINIONS OF K.H. SIRADJUDDIN ABBAS, February, 1959:

"...... Maksud perkawinan ialah supaya mendapat keturunan yang banyak, karena bangsa yang banyak itu ialah yang akan dihargai dalam pertjaturan politik dunia. ......"(Duta Masjarakat, Jakarta, 2 February 1959:3)

"...... Tudjuan perkawinan didalam Islam bukan sadja semata2 hendak berkeluarga tetapi djuga untuk berketurunan, untuk beranak tjutju dan untuk memperbanjak manusia, supaja terdjamin keagungan bangsa, negara dan agama.

Hal ini perlu ditegaskan, terutama melihat gedjala abad XX sekarang ini, dimana idee untuk mengadakan "birh control" atau "anti anak" sedang merajalela.

Kita harus tegas mengadakan (mengatakan?, the writer) bahwa perkawinan itu maksudnja bukanlah semata2 untuk hidup berkeluarga antara wanita dan pria, tetapi djuga untuk membentuk keturunan jang baik2 dan sah untuk kepentingan negara dan bangsa. ......" (Duta Masjarakat, Jakarta, 3 February 1959:3).

A.2 Dr. Haji ALI AKBAR, April 1959:

Soal mentjegah hamil ini tidaklah dapat didjadikan suatu peraturan umum, tetapi suatu usaha darurat jang mempunjai sjarat2 membolehkannja, dan tidaklah dapat begitu saja diandjurkan dan
dipropagandakan untuk umum, karena dichawirkan bahwa bahajanja lebih besar dari faedahnja.

Untuk Ummat Islam Indonesia Birth Control ini baru boleh dilakukan bila ada indikasi yang mendesak, umpamana seorang ibu tidak dibolehkan hamil lagi, karena penjakit djantung yang berbahaja, atau penjakit TBC.

Nampaknya idee Birth Control ini akan berdjalan terus dan seharusnya mendjadi perhatian yang besar dari ulama2 yang bertanggung djawab kepada ummat, sebab tidak mustahil nanti sikap dan penilaian orang terhadap perkawinan akan berubah, yang akan membahayakan kehidupan Ummat. ....... Kalau nanti manusia sudah begitu pintarnja sehingga mereka dapat menghasilkan obat pentjegah dengan harga yang murah, sehingga manusia bisa beranak bila dikehendakinya, dia bisa mengatur waktu dengan berbagai alasan, maka saja pikir bahwa dikala itu moral manusia akan bertambah rendah. ....... sebab mereka bisa membuat perhubungan kelamin dengan tidak usah takut kepada akibatnja, maka pelatjuranlah akan menggantikan tempat perkawinan.

Kesimpulan saja ialah bahwa Bangsa Indonesia sebagai suatu keseluruhan, baik dari sudut agama, maupun dari sudut tanah yang masih tersedia dan dari sudut kalori, *tidak membutuhkan birth control dalam puluhan tahun ini*. Bangsa Indonesia harus *mendjadi bangsa yang besar di Asia* dengan djumlah djiwa paling sedikit 2X sebanjak sekarang.

Agama Islam membolehkan Birth Control sebagai usaha darurat dengan alasan medis terutama. "Birth Control yang tidak didasarkan kepada djiwa keagamaan akan membawa manusia kepada djalan yang salah". (Madjalah Kedokteran Indonesia, 4-9 Djakarta April 1959:198-215).

A.3 OINIONS OF Drs. K.R.T.DANOEHONESODO, September 1959:

Untuk mengatasi kesukaran2 diatas, untuk mempertinggi kemakmuran rakyat, pemerintah Republik Indonesia, telah melakukan tindakan2nya, jang djika tindakan2 itu selesai, sempurna dilaksanakan, kami jakin,
negara dan bangsa Indonesia tentu akan mengalami kemakmuran yang
gemilang, dengan sedikitpun tidak menyinggung soal pembatasan
kelahiran. (Pandji Masjarakat, No.6, 1-9-1959:21)

Agama Islam tidak apriori menolak pembatasan kelahiran, tetapi
agama Islam terang menolak segala pendapat dan mengutuk segala
perbuatan manusia yang bersipat menentang, menghalangi dan menahan
perkembangan hidup manusia, tidak dengan dasar pertimbangan yang
mutlak dan konsekwen. (Pandji Masjarakat, No.7, 15-9-1959:23)

A.4 OPINIONS OF S.TIRTOATMODJO, September 1959:

Kita bukan sosiograf atau bukan ahli sosiometri. Tetapi
intuiti/instinktif terasa oleh kita bahwa bukan sadja beberapa negara
atau bangsa yang akan tertjengkam kesulitan sematjam diatas, tetapi
semua negara/bangsa. Entah lambat atau tujet, djika soalnya tidak
tersalur dengan benar, akan datang suatu saat dimana masalah kepadatan
penduduk dunia ini akan mendjadi suatu masalah yang urgent dan kritik
sekali mengenai to be or not to be nya ummat manusia. Laporan PBB jang
kami kutip diatas sudahlah berbicara banjak bagi orang2 jang mau
memikirkan komplikasi akibat semakin memadatnya penduduk dunia.
(Pandji Masjarakat, No.6, 1-9-1959:7).

A.5 OPINIONS OF H.MOCH.MACHFUDZ EFFENDIE, 1960:

"...... Adanya machluk pasti diberi redjeki oleh Allah. Semua
orang atau anak yang dilahirkan pasti dapat makan, sehingga sesuailah
dengan pepatah Djawa jang mengatakan bahwa setiap anak membawa
redjekinja sendiri2 pepatah mana sering dinjatakan sudah usang oleh
tokoh wanita dan suasana masjarakat kita dewasa ini. ...... Usaha
menghalangi kelahiran adalah suatu usaha jang menentang Sunnatullah
atau kehendak Allah. Dan hukuman berat akan menanti, karena
menghancurkan benih2 machluk baru, jang merupakan suatu pembunuhan
jang kedjam dan tiu merupakan suatu dosa jang tak dapat diampuni.
A.6 OPINIONS OF KAPTEN H. SJOEAB SAID, 1960:

"...... Bahwa keluarga berentjana mentjegah terdjadinja hamil buat sementara waktu sesuai dengan dengan hadjat, misalnja disebabkan kesehatan dan ekonomi karena beberapa alasan. Hal inipun dikatakan tidak ada larangan didalam agama Islam, tetapi apabila ada larangan maka itu hanja sampai makruh sadja....bukan haram. ... Melihat semakin bertambahnya penduduk Indonesia, agama Islam tidak akan melarang birth control. ......" (in Soemartono, 1960:19).

A.7 OPINIONS OF K.H. NAZARUDDIN LATIEF, in 1962 and in 1963

"...... Menurut hemat saya, manakala usaha menghindari kehamilan dengan "azl" diperbolehkan dalam Islam, maka ikhtiar lainnya yang sama-sama/serupa dengan itu dalam sipatnya mencegah pertemuan sel mani dengan ovum (telor yang diovulasikan dalam badan wanita), tentulah dapat disamakan hukumnya atas dasar qias (analogie)dengan perbuatan azl itu. ......" (in PKBI, 1974:14).

"...... Usaha-usaha yang dapat dilakukan oleh suami isteri dalam mengatur rencana kelahiran anak, menurut hemat saya dapat dibagi tiga:

1. Menghindari sama sekali hubungan kelamin.

2. Berusaha menghindarkan pembuahan.

3. Menggugurkan kandungan yang telah ada.

Usaha/cara yang nomor 1, yaitu tidak melakukan sama sekali hubungan-kelamin dalam perkawinan, bukanlah suatu cara/jalan yang wajar. Cara/jalan yang nomor 3, yaitu menggugurkan kandungan, pada dasarnya tidak dibenarkan dalam hukum Islam. ...... Cara yang nomor 2, yaitu usaha-usaha yang bersipat menghindari pembuahan atau mencegah kehamilan sebelum terjadinya pembuahan. Dalam hal ini dapat dikatakan bahwa pada umumnya atau sekurang-kurangnya dapat dikatakan sebahagian terbesar (mayoritas) diantara Ulama/Imam-imam Islam berpendapat boleh orang melakukan ikhtiar untuk menghindarkannya pembuahan disebabkan oleh kepentingan yang mu'tabar" (Ceramah dihadapan Pertemuan Perwakilan
A.8 OPINIONS OF K.H.BISRI SYANSURI, 28-6-1972

"...... dapatlah disimpulkan bahwa pelaksanaan keluarga berencana untuk kemaslahatan/kesejahteraan keluarga itu boleh selama cara-cara yang ditempuh bisa dibenarkan oleh hukum syara' Islam. Hanya saja perbuatan ini bertentangan dengan hadits: Tanaakahuu tanaasaluu ....... Disamping itu bila keluarga berencana dimaksud dengan arti pembatasan kelahiran pada jumlah tertentu selaku undang undang yang berlaku untuk umum, maka tidak dapat dibenarkan oleh syariat Islam, karena hal yang semacam itu bertentangan dengan hikmah yang dimaksud oleh pensyari'atan pernikahan.

Keluarga berencana boleh dijalankan dengan syarat-syarat yang tersebut dibawah ini:

1. Tujuan dan pelaksanaannya tidak bertentangan dengan hukum syara Islam.

2. Pelaksanaannya tidak dipaksakan kepada masyarakat.

3. Obat-obatan/alat-alat yang dipergunakan harus dikontrol dengan ketat dan diberikan sangsi hukuman yang berat bagi mereka yang menggunakankannya untuk maksud yang tidak baik.

A.9 OPINIONS OF Dr.KUSNADI, 1974, REGARDING STERILIZATION and MENSTRUAL REGULATION

"Akhir2 ini mulai tampak dalam masyarakat Indonesia adanya usaha2 yang menurut kearah penekanan jumlah kelahiran, melalui tindakan2 yang jelas bertentangan dengan agama yakni dengan menggunakan usaha2 yang menJurus memandulkan pria dan wanita. ......."
"Mengenai Menstrual Regulation yang pada hakikatnya adalah abortus, sudah jelas tidak dapat dibenarkan dengan dalih apapun."

"Tindakan ini dilaksanakan pada wanita yang terlambat haid 4-5 hari sampai 1 bulan dan dilakukan dengan penyedotan rahim dengan suatu alat yang disebut VACUM ASPIRATOR. Dari beberapa jumlah badan yang tersedot tersebut setelah diperiksa ternyata 80 persen bahan tersebut menunjukkan adanya tanda2 kehamilan, maka pada dasarnya apa yang disebut dengan Menstrual Regulation adalah sama saja dengan abortus pada kehamilan muda dan hal ini apapun dalilnya tidak dapat dibenarkan oleh agama maupun etik kedokteran serta oleh hukum."

"Mengingat banyak diantara orang Islam yang kurang menginsafi bahwa hal ini pada hakikatnya adalah abortus, maka perlu sekali hal ini dimengertikan kepada masyarakat" (in Panji Masyarakat, No.101, 1974:21-23)

A.10 OPINIONS OF DR.H.ALI AKBAR and K.H.SYAFI'I HAZAMI, K.H.SYAFI'I HAZAMI, July 1986

"Dr. H. Ali Akbar, pembina YARSI (Yayasan Rumah Sakit Islam, the writer) Jakarta, mengharamkan pemakaian spiral (IUD, the writer) berdasar dua alasan: pertama, spiral berfungsi mengugurkan sperma yang sudah bertemu dengan telur wanita, kedua, karena pemasangannya mesti melihat aurat mughalladlah (kemaluan) wanita secara langsung dan terbuka. Orang pakai spiral itu tidak sakit. ... Jadi tidak ada alasan darurat, dimana seseorang mendapatkan rukhsakh yang membolehkan dokter melihat aurat. Alasan Dr. H. Ali Akbar ini didukung oleh KH. Syafi'i Hazami, pengasuh Pondok Pesantren Al-'Asyiratusy Syafi'iyah Jakarta" (Panji Masyarakat, No.510, 21 Juli 1986).
APPENDIX B
THE INDONESIAN ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS' OPINIONS
REGARDING FAMILY PLANNING

B.1 THE STATEMENT OF THE MAJLIS TARJIH MUHAMMADIYAH, Its Mu'tamar
(National Conference), 1968 in Sidoardjo.

Berkesimpulan:
1. Bahwa menurut ajaran Islam, maksud perkawinan itu antara lain
   untuk memperoleh keturunan.
2. Bahwa Islam mengajarkan untuk memperbanyak keturunan.
3. Bahwa Islam menganjurkan agar kehidupan anak keturunan jangan
   sampai terlantar sehingga menjadi beban tanggungan orang lain.

Memutuskan:
1. Mencegah kehamilan adalah berlawanan dengan ajaran agama Islam.
   Demikianlah pula keluarga berencana yang dilaksanakan dengan
   pencegahan kehamilan
2. Dalam keadaan darurat dibolehkan sekedar perlu dengan syarat perse-
   tujuan suami-istri dan tidak mendatangkan mudharat jasmani dan
   rohani.

Penjelasan dari Majlis Tarjih:
1. & 2. ...... 
3. Anjuran memperbanyak keturunan sebagaimana disebutkan dalam Hadits:
   "Berkawinlah kamu kepada wanita yang berbakat banyak anak ......"
   diartikan merupakan anjuran untuk ummat Islam sebagai ummat, bukan
   sebagai individu. Hingga setiap individu masih dapat mempertimbang-
kan situasinya, apakah padanya ada kemampuan untuk melaksanakan anjuran tersebut, ataukah tidak.

4. Pencegahan kehamilan yang dianggap berlawanan dengan ajaran Islam ialah: sikap dan tindakan dalam perkawinan yang dijiwai oleh niat segan mempunyai keturunan, atau dengan cara merusak/merubah organisme yang bersangkutan, seperti: memeotong, mengikat dan lain-lain.

5. Penjarakan kehamilan dapat dibenarkan karena kondisi darurat ...

6. Yang dimaksud dalam kriteria darurat ialah:
   a. Mengkhawatirkan keselamatan jiwa atau kesehatan ibu bila mengan-
      dung atau melahirkan, dengan keterangan dokter ahli.
   b. Mengkhawatirkan keselamatan agama, akibat faktor-faktor kesempi-
      tan penghidupan, seperti kekhawatiran akan terseret menerima
      hal-hal yang haram atau menjalankan/melanggar larangan karena
      didorong oleh kepentingan anak-anak .....  
   c. Mengkhawatirkan kesehatan atau pendidikan anak-anak bila jarak
      kelahiran terlalu rapat.

7. Pertimbangan darurat bersipat individu dan tidak dibenarkan ada
   undang-undang, sebab akan bersipat memaksa. Oleh karenanya, perse-
   tujuan bulat antara suami-istri benar-benar diperlukan.

(Muhammadiyah, no year:307-10).

B.2 OPINIONS OF THE NAHDLATUL ULAMA

B.2.1 THE STATEMENT OF SYURIAH NAHDLATUL ULAMA, 25 September 1969

1. Keluarga Berencana harus diartikan dengan pengaturan penjarakan
   kehamilan untuk kesejahteraan dan bukan pencegahan kehamilan untuk
   pembatasan keluarga.
2. Keluarga Berencana harus didasarkan atas kepentingan kesejahteraan ibu dan anak dan bukan karena ketakutan akan kemiskinan, kelaparan dan sebagainya.


4. Tidak diperbolehkan merusak dan/atau menghilangkan bagian tubuh suami maupun istri yang bersangkutan.

5. Keluarga Berencana merupakan masalah perorangan (sukarela) dan bukan merupakan gerakan massal dengan ketetapan yang dipaksakan.


8. Supaya dijaga benar-benar jangan sampai disalah gunakan untuk kepentingan maksiyat/tindakan a moral dan lain-lain.

(LKKNU dan BKKBN, 1982a:83-84).

B.2.2 SUMMARY OF THE CONCLUSION OF NAHDLATUL ULAMA's LIMITED CONFERENCE IN JAKARTA, 17-20 July 1979

1. Keluarga Berencana adalah upaya dari suami istri secara sukarela sesuai kondisi kesehatan, sosial dan ekonomi mereka, dalam rangka tanggung jawab, dan dengan tujuan supaya tercapai kemaslahatan keluarganya.

2. Dengan dasar tanggung jawab dan amanat dalam mempunyai anak yang bisa dipelihara dan diselamatan jasmani dan rohaninya, maka keputusan yang diambil oleh suami istri adalah berdasar "hajah syar'iah" (jika tidak dilakukan ia mengalami kesuslitan-kesulitan berat) dalam penghidupan untuk mencapai kemaslahatan keluarganya.

3. "Hajah syar'iyah" bila meningkat menjadi "dharurah syar'iyah"
(sudah terpaksa, sudah membahayakan bila tidak dilakukan). Maka pencegahan kehamilan menjadilah pilihan satu-satunya. Tetapi ini harus ditentukan oleh ahlinya, para dokter.

4. Kaidah hukum yang diterapkan dalam menilai ruang lingkup yang bersipat micro (keluarga) dapat pula diterapkan dalam menilai ruang lingkup yang bersipat macro (keluarga besar atau bangsa). Dan disinilah terdapat titik temu dari pemikiran yang bertitik tolak dari tujuan mencapai kemaslahatan keluarga dalam hal program Keluarga Berencana dengan pemikiran yang bertolak dari tujuan langsung membatasi kelahiran untuk mendapatkan keseimbangan antara GNP dengan dengan jumlah penduduk. Pandangan keagamaan dalam Islam, tidak mengabaikan adanya kenyataan yang sama yang bertolak dari dua pangkal yang berbeda. Dalam hal yang demikian niyat mempunyai nilai yang menentukan.

5. Metode ("wasail") yang digunakan dalam Keluarga Berencana untuk menghindari kehamilan karena "hajah syar'iyyah" atau "dharurah syar'iyyah adalah yang cara bekerjanya seperti "azl", (menghindari pertemuan benih).

6. Sterilisasi pada suami atau pada istri yang tidak berakibat sebagai pengebirian ("istikhsha") dan tidak sampai merusak bagian tubuh, dan dilaksanakan karena dasar butir: 1, 2 dan 3 diatas, maka nilainya sama dengan "azl".

7. Penguguran kandungan sebagai salah satu metode dipandang dari hukum syara/Islam selaku suatu "jinayah" (tindak kejahatan) karena memusnahkan sesuatu yang mempunyai kedudukan yang terhormat dan mendapat perlindungan hukum (mukhtarom/ma'sum).

(Quoted in Yafie, 1982:35-38).
B.3 OPINIONS OF THE DEWAN DA'WAH ISLAMIYAH INDONESIA (DDII), September 1969

1. Pembatasan kelahiran secara massal tidak dapat diterima oleh Islam, sebab melanggar kesusilaan Agama dan bertentangan dengan tujuan perkawinan menurut ajaran Islam.

2. Islam membolehkan pencegahan kehamilan yang terbatas yang dilakukan oleh perseorangan, karena sesuatu sebab yang terpaksa harus melaksanakannya.

3. Pencegahan kehamilan yang diperkenankan oleh Islam tidak boleh disalah-gunakan dan haruslah mempunyai alasan-alasan yang tepat yang dapat diterima akal dan pendirian agama, untuk menjaga kebaikan hidup, membawa kekuatan bagi ummat dan untuk mengatasi keadaan dan kesukaran hidup perseorangan.

4. Tindakan pencegahan kehamilan yang dibolehkan itu adalah bersipat sementara, dan tidak diperkenankan menyetop kehamilan buat selama-lamanya.

5. Seharusnyalah tindakan itu dilakukan atas nasihat dokter yang ahli lagi jujur, dengan menunjukkan jalan dan cara yang sebaik-baiknya.

6. Hendaklah tindakan itu dilakukan dengan persetujuan pihak istri dan suami.

7. ... Pengguguran itu adalah haram hukumnya jika tidak ada sebab-sebab yang memaksa, seumpama membahayakan kepada jiwa si istri menurut pendapat dokter.

8. Pencegahan kehamilan itu haruslah bersipat suka-rela dan berdasarkan kesadaran, tidak boleh dipaksakan.

9. Keadaan alam Indonesia yang kaya-raya, luas dan subur, baik yang sudah terbuka (digarap) maupun yang masih terpemdam, tidaklah membulatkan kekhawatiran untuk tidak dapat menampung dan memberikan kehidupan terhadap jumlah penduduk yang semakin bertambah. Dengan
demikian, dipandang dari sudut ekonomi, tidak cukup alasan untuk melaksanakan keluarga berencana secara massal dan umum di Indonesia.

(DDII, 1970:43,44).

B.4 THE STATEMENT OF "MUSYAWARAH ULAMA TERBATAS", June 1972

1. Melakukan keluarga berencana dengan menjarangkan kelahiran dibolehkan (mubah) bila ada hajat keperluan pribadi suami istri yang bersangkutan.

2. Pelaksanaan keluarga berencana secara umum haruslah didahului dengan penelitian team ahli (kesehatan, kependudukan, perekonomian, sosial, pendidikan dan agama). Di daerah mana dan sampai kapan.

3. Pemakaian IUD (spiral) dan sejenisnya tidak dapat dibenarkan selama masih ada obat-obat dan alat-alat lain, karena untuk pemasangannya/mengontrolnya dilakukan dengan melihat aurat besar perempuan, hal mana diharamkan oleh Syariat Islam, kecuali dalam keadaan sangat terpaksa (darurat).


(Quoted in LKKNU dan BKKBN, 1982a:97-99).

B.5 THE STATEMENT OF MUSYAWARAH NASIONAL ULAMA, MAJELIS ULAMA
INDONESIA, 17 – 20 OCTOBER 1983

1. Keluarga berencana ialah suatu ikhtiar atau usaha manusia untuk mengatur kehamilan dalam keluarga, secara tidak melawan hukum Agama,
undang-undang negara dan moral Pancasila, demi untuk mendapat kesejahteraan keluarga khususnya dan kesejahteraan Bangsa pada umumnya.
2. Ajaran Islam membenarkan pelaksanaan keluarga berencana untuk menjaga kesehatan ibu dan anak, pendidikan anak agar menjadi anak yang sehat, cerdas dan soleh.
3. Pelaksanaan program keluarga berencana termasuk pelaksanaan komunikasi, informasi dan edukasi (KIE) hendaknya didasarkan atas kesadaran dan sukarela dengan mempertimbangkan faktor agama dan adat istiadat serta ditempuh dengan cara yang bersipat insani.
4. Pelaksanaan keluarga berencana hendaknya menggunakan cara kontrasepsi yang tidak dipaksakan, tidak bertentangan dengan hukum syariat Islam dan disepakati oleh suami istri.
5. Penggunaan alat kontrasepsi dalam rahim (IUD) dalam pelaksanaan keluarga berencana dapat dibenarkan jika pemasangan dan pengontrolannya dilakukan oleh tenaga medis dan/atau paramedis wanita, atau jika terpaksa dapat dilakukan oleh tenaga medis pria dengan didampingi oleh suami atau wanita lain.
6. Melakukan vasectomi (usaha mengikat/memotong saluran benih pria, sehingga pria itu tidak dapat menghamilkan) dan tubektomi (usaha mengikat atau memotong kedua saluran telur, sehingga wanita itu pada umumnya tidak dapat hamil lagi) bertentangan dengan hukum Islam (haram), kecuali dalam keadaan sangat terpaksa (darurat) seperti untuk menghindarkan penurunan penyakit dari ibu/bapak terhadap anak keturunannya yang bakal lahir, atau terancamnya jiwa si ibu bila ia mengandung atau melahirkan lagi.
7. Pengguguran kandungan (abortus) termasuk MR (menstrual regulation) dengan cara apapun dilarang oleh jiwa dan dan semangat ajaran Islam (haram) ataupun dikala janin belum bernyawa (belum berumur 4 bulan dalam kandungan), karena perbuatan itu merupakan pembunuhan terselubung yang dilarang oleh syariat Islam, kecuali untuk menyelamat-
kan jiwa si ibu.

8. Untuk memantapkan program keluarga berencana khususnya penggunaan alat kontrasepsi, hendaknya pada setiap klinik keluarga berencana dilengkapi dengan tenaga yang memahami ajaran Islam.


10. Menganjurkan kepada Ummat Islam untuk meningkatkan pembentukan keluarga yang sejahtera dan bahagia penuh sakinah, mawaddah dan rahmah agar tercapai keberhasilan pendidikan dan pembinaan anak yang sehat cerdas, terampil dan soleh.

APPENDIX C


KESIMPULAN PENDAPAT
TENTANG PENGGUNAAN ALAT I.U.D.
(Dalam rangka usaha mengatur kelahiran anak dan Keluaraga Berencana)

1. Penggunaan alat "Intra Uterine Device" yang terbuat dari sesuatu macam plastik material khusus yang diletakkan di dalam uterus (peranakan) istri, dengan maksud untuk menghindarkan pembuahan dalam rangka usaha menjarangkan kelahiran anak-anak, karena sebab-sebab yang bersipat individuil (misalnya alasan kesehatan ibu dan/atau kemampuan untuk merawat dan memelihara bayi dan anak-anak pada keluarga yang bersangkutan), tidak bertentangan dengan hukum Islam.


3. Segala macam alat contraceptive yang bersipat menggugurkan kandungan, dalam arti menghancurkan atau merusak wadah insani yang telah ada, tidak dibenarkan dalam hukum Islam.


Jakarta, 26 Januari 1967.
Dirjen Bimbingan Masyarakat Beragama Islam
DEPARTEMEN AGAMA
d.t.o.*

(H. RUS'AN)

Direktur Urusan Agama
d.t.o.*

(K.H. SJUKRI GAZALI)

Kepala Lembaga Penasihat Perkawinan dan Kesejahteraan Keluarga pada Departemen Agama
d.t.o.*

(H.S.M. NAZARUDDIN LATIF)

d.t.o.*: ditanda tangani oleh (signed by).
MANGGALA KARYA KENCANA — Ketua BKKBN Haryono Suyono Rabu pagi (23/7) menyerahkan "Manggala Karya Kencana" kepada Dr KH Idham Chalid di Kantor PB NU Jalan Kramat Raya. Penghargaan ini diberikan atas jasa-jasa Idham Chalid yang demikian besar bagi program Keluarga Berencana. KH Idham Chalid didampingi Ny. Wahid Hasjim.

Penghargaan Manggala Karya Kencana dari BKKBN kepada Dr Idham Chalid

JAKARTA, KOMPAS

KH Dr Idham Chalid, tokoh Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) dan bekas Menko Kesra, Rabu pagi menerima lencana Manggala Karya Kencana dari BKKBN, yang disematkan sendiri oleh Kepala BKKBN Dr Haryono Suyono. Upacara sederhana berlangsung di sebuah ruang di kantor Pengurus Besar NU Jl Kramat Raya, yang dihadiri pula oleh tokoh NU Ny. Wahid Hasjim.

Haryono Suyono mengungkapkan, pemberian lencana ini adalah atas restu Presiden Soeharto karena diakui jasa jasa ulama tersebut dalam memasyarakatkan program KB sejak awal. Idham Chalid merupakan seorang tokoh yang menonjol di antara para perintis program KB dan turut meletakkan dasar kebijaksanaan yang kokoh.

Menko Kesra

Selaku Menko Kesra, meski dalam situasi yang tidak mudah di masa lalu, Idham Chalid dinilai telah mampu mengkombinasikan keanekaragaman umat, keanekaragaman gejala, dan fenomena politik. Ia dianggap menjadi seorang tokoh tinggi di antara para ulama dan masyarakat, yang mampu mewakili strategi program yang kokoh.

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GLOSSARY

Ad-Daruriyatul Hams: The Five Basic Needs which should be maintained by Muslims: religion, soul, reason, descendants and property.

Ahlussunnah wal Jamaah: The followers of the Prophet and the majority of Muslims' consensus. A school of thought in Islam.

Al-Qawaidul Ammah: The general principles of Islamic Law.

Al-Qur'an: The Qur'an, the first source of Islamic teachings.

Anti-natalist: (demographic). Favouring low fertility.

BKKBN (Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana National): National Family Planning Coordinating Board.

BPS (Biro Pusat Statistik): Central Bureau of Statistics.

CBR (Crude birth rate): (demographic). Annual number of births per 1,000 population.

CDR (Crude death rate): (demographic). Annual number of deaths per 1,000 population.

DDII (Dewan Da'wah Islamiyah Indonesia): Indonesian Islamic Missionary Assembly.

Fardu: Obligatory, Islamic religious duty.

Fatwa: Statement of Ulama or of council of Ulama.

Hadith (Hadist): Traditions, statements by or about the Prophet Muhammad. The second source for Islamic teachings.

Haji: Title usually used before one's name after one has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca

Haram: Forbidden, unlawful.

Ijma: Consensus of Ulama or Islamic scholars in a particular time and
in a particular place concerning a particular case. The third source of Islamic teachings.

**Ijtihad**: The right of Individual interpretation; exerting oneself to form an opinion in a case after learning deeply the ideas of the Qur'an and the Hadith and considering social problems.

**I.U.D.**: Intrauterine (contraceptive) device.

**Kiyai (kyai)**: (Islamic) religious teacher.

**Life expectancy at birth (years)**: The average number of years a newborn infant can expect to live under current mortality levels.

**LKBH (Lembaga Keluarga Berencana Nasional)**: National Family Planning Institute.

**LKKNU (Lembaga Kemaslahatan Keluarga Nahdlatul Ulama)**: The Institute for Family Welfare of Nahdlatul Ulama.

**Majlis Tarjih Muhammadiyah**: The Religious Council of Muhammadiyah.

**Majelis (Majlis) Ulama**: Council/Assembly of Ulama.

**Makruh**: Objectionable.

**Mubah**: Neutral.


**Muballigh**: Islamic preacher, Islamic missionaries.

**Mujtahid**: People who are involved in Ijtihad.

**Muslim**: Person who believes in Islam. *Muslim* (male), *Muslimah/Muslimat* (female).

**NKKBS (Norma Keluarga Kecil Bahagia Sejahtera)**: The Small Happy and Prosperous Family Norm.

**NRR (Net reproduction rate)**: (demographic). The average number of daughters a woman will have to replace herself in the population. NRR=1 equivalent to TFR of 2.3 which means zero population growth.

**Parity**: (demographic) Children ever born.

**Pembatasan Kelahiran**: Birth control.


Population Doubling Time: (demographic). The number of years until the population will double depend on Rate of natural increase (RNI).

Pronatalist: Favouring high fertility.

Qias: Analogy. To compare the differences and similarities of a new case to the existing case mentioned in the Qur'an and the Hadith.

RNI (Rate of natural increase): (demographic). Birth rate minus the death rate, implying the annual rate of population growth without regard for net migration.

Sunnat: Recommendable, not compulsory.

Syuriah Nahdlatul Ulama: The Religious Council and Legislative Body of the Nahdlatul Ulama.

Taqlid. Just following a particular school of thought.

TFR (Total fertility rate): (demographic). The average number of children a woman (roughly ages 15-49) will have.

Tubal ligation: Female sterilization operation in which, usually, a segment of the middle of the fallopian tube is removed surgically, cauterized, or occluded with a plastic ring or clip; depending largely on the exact site and length of the removed or damaged segment, the operation may be reversible surgically.

Ulama: (Islamic) religious scholars. Nowadays include Islamic intellectuals.

Vasectomy: Male sterilization, operation in which, usually, a small portion of the vas deferens on each side is excised in the upper part of the scrotum, so preventing the passage of spermatozoa into the semen; depending largely on the length of the portion excised, the operation may be reversed with micro surgery.
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