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Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour of Middle-Class Young People in Jakarta

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Chapter 1

Research Issues

I was born and raised in Jakarta, Indonesia. I grew up in a very conservative family, where my parents never talked about the nature of sex and always restricted the people I mixed with, especially the opposite sex. My first exposure to a ‘Western life-style’ was during my teen years when my father was posted to Washington DC for four years. Later, I spent two and a half years in Hawaii while my husband completed his Masters degree, and afterwards I completed my Bachelor in psychology at the University of Indonesia and my Masters degree in population studies at Florida State University. Having been exposed to both the strong cultural and sexual values of my parents and the freedom of sex found in the West, as well as being a mother of two teenage daughters, I can feel the conflicting notions and curiosity that young Indonesians are presently facing. Young Indonesians face a tremendous sexual behaviour risk. On one hand they are ‘fenced in’ by the conservative sexual attitudes of their family and society along with their limited knowledge of the nature of sex, while on the other they are regularly exposed to sexual materials through the media and computer networks. While in the West their peers have accepted the ‘safe sex’ message, young Indonesians are still practising premarital sexual activities without thinking about the risks involved (Canberra, Iwu Utomo, 1997).

1.1 Introduction

The main theme of this thesis ‘mixing behaviour between the sexes before marriage’ revolves around six broad issues: stages of experience in a relationship before marriage, marriage values and concepts, arrangement of marriage, mate selection, knowledge of the nature of sex and family planning, and premarital sexual relationships among the young Jakarta middle-class. The thesis is divided into three parts. The first examines theoretical perspectives on sexuality, research issues and the justification of the study, and a historical perspective on sexuality that covers concepts of sexuality from the 10th century elaborated from interviews with historian experts in Indonesian history and literature, Javanese literature, and Indonesian folklores. The second part focuses on the methods of analysis and the results of the study that I conducted. The third part concentrates on the conclusion and policy implications of the study. In this first chapter, objectives of the thesis, theories of sexuality, the theoretical background developed for this thesis and the research background are elaborated.

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1 Young people in this thesis are defined as persons aged 15-24. Persons aged 15-19 years old are categorised as adolescents and persons aged 20-24 years old are categorised as young adults.
1.1.1 General research questions

Assumption

In a heterosexual relationship before marriage there are stages that can be sequential in nature, although not always following a set order: getting to know one another, going out together, dating, proposal by lover, proposed by parents, engagement, and marriage. It is assumed that as the relationship develops into a more committed stage towards marriage, then premarital sexual intimacy is likely to be stronger. Premarital sexual intimacy in this thesis is defined as premarital sexual expression from holding hands to hugging, kissing, breast fondling, genital fondling, petting and sexual intercourse.*

Hypothesis

The more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more likely that there is a deeper premarital sexual involvement.

The more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more likely that there will be a drift from a set of conservative premarital sexual values towards more permissive values. Premarital sexual values are defined as a set of values of premarital sexual behaviour that are regarded as acceptable.

It is not easy to understand the moral jeopardy of a person engaged in premarital sexual intimacy. As a girl becomes more committed towards marriage then her moral standards of sexual behaviour become more permissive. The decision to engage in premarital sex drifts after going through a complex phase of moral conflict, viewing premarital sex as a behaviour that was not acceptable to a behaviour that can eventually be accepted. Rains stated that:

Most girls in the course of their lives prior to marriage alter their moral standards and sexual behaviour, generally becoming more permissive. This process can be viewed as an anticipation of marriage, as a coming to some terms with intimacy and sexuality...

*This thesis mainly focus on premarital sex with one’s girlfriend-boyfriend. I recognised that having sex with prostitutes and with one’s girlfriend-boyfriend are very different behaviour with different determinants and meanings for the actors involved. Similar to other Asian countries, Indonesians seem to consider that having sex with a prostitute is ‘more acceptable’ than having sex with one’s girlfriend. The questionnaire designed for this study (the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey) recognised this situation and those having premarital sex with prostitutes were identified.
While many girls do manage to come to an open and unconflicted acceptance of premarital sexual intercourse, most are not likely to have begun their dating careers with this view and will have experienced uncertainty in reaching this view...

The central figure of premarital sexual careers is the experience of coming to view as acceptable what was previously viewed as unacceptable, of acting in ways which are not yet acceptable to oneself but which will come to be acceptable (Rains, 1971: 10,12-13).

In a nationwide survey on the social context of premarital sexual permissiveness in the United States, Reiss (1967: 106-121) reported that 85 per cent of the girls in his study began their sexual careers with a standard which allowed kissing only, but by the time
they were 21, nine out of ten of these girls accepted either petting or sexual intercourse. Most girls in this study experienced at least two shifts toward a more permissive standard during their premarital sexual careers. Furthermore, the study reported that when engaging in premarital sex, 87 per cent of the girls had at one time felt guilty about sexual behaviour they later came to accept.

In sum, from Rains's theory and Reiss's study, it can be concluded that even though understanding the moral jeopardy towards a permissive standard during one's premarital sexual career is very complex, it can be comprehended. Thus it can be argued that most girls in the course of their lives before marriage alter their moral standards and sexual behaviour, generally becoming more permissive. They would also experience a drift in their decision about engaging in premarital sex after going through a complex phase of moral conflict. At a certain stage of their sexual career, they would alter their view of premarital sex as behaviour that was not acceptable to behaviour that they can eventually accept.

This study addresses several research questions relating to marriage values, mate selection and premarital sexual activity. In regard to marriage concepts and values, research questions asked are: what are the concepts and values of young people in regard to marriage? What are the criteria used to find a spouse? Which ones among the following individuals, parents, close relatives, or the individuals themselves, have more power in deciding on marriage and finding a spouse? What stages are experienced by young people before marriage, for example going out together, dating, proposal by a fiance, proposal by a parent-in-law, engagement, and marriage. Is there a process? On the other hand, research questions related to sexuality cover sources of information on the nature of sex and family planning, values, attitudes and behaviour of premarital sex. These research questions are specifically defined as follows: where do young people get information about sex education, methods of contraception and family planning? Where do young people get information about the appropriateness of sexual relationships? What are the perceptions of appropriateness of behaviour in premarital relationships? What are the values and attitudes of young people in regard to virginity, premarital sex, premarital pregnancy and abortion?
1.1.2 Objectives of the study

1. To explore relationships before marriage among middle-class young people in Jakarta.

2. To evaluate patterns of premarital relationships before marriage, marriage concepts and values among middle-class young people.

3. To explore young people's knowledge, attitudes, values and behaviour on reproductive health. Such knowledge includes sex education, contraceptive use and family planning. Values on appropriateness of premarital sexual relationships, premarital sex, premarital pregnancy and abortion.

1.1.3 Global concerns on young people's premarital sexual activity

In 1985, there were just over a billion young people in the world (aged 10-19 years), constituting one-fifth of the world population (Senderowitz and Paxman, 1985: 6-7; Population Reports, 1995: 1). Eighty-three per cent of these young people live in the developing countries, where they make up 23 per cent of the total population. In the developed countries young people constitute 15 per cent of the total population. By the year 2020, using the United Nations medium projection, the young population will increase to over 1.3 billion, an increase of 27 per cent in 35 years. Eighty-six per cent of these young people will live in the developing countries of Africa, Asia (Japan not included), and Latin America (Senderowitz and Paxman, 1985: 6-7).

The importance of the 'young people' stage in demographic behaviour has been reviewed by several demographers. Rindfuss (1991) noted that the period of young adulthood is characterised by a very 'demographically dense phase', meaning that it is in this age group that more demographic actions occur than at any other stage in the life course. Fertility, residential mobility, and marriage are highest in this age group. The density of events during the young people years is even more dramatic during periods of rapid social change because 'young people are typically the engines of social change'. Young people are moving, acquiring more education, and filling new occupations. Young people have more freedom than other people to respond to changing circumstances (Rindfuss, 1991). Kingsley Davis (cited in Rindfuss, 1991: 499) also mentioned the importance of 'young people's actions in providing multiphase demographic responses'.
From a psychological perspective, adolescence can be defined as the bridge between childhood and adulthood. It is a time of rapid development: of growing to sexual maturity, of discovering self, of defining personal values, and of finding or being assigned vocational and social directions. In Western and Westernised societies, it is also a time of testing: of pushing against one’s capabilities and the limitations posed by adults (Ambron, 1975: 393, cited in Manaster, 1989: 4). Other psychologists have labelled this stage ‘storm and stress’, ‘peak in human growth and change’, ‘a time when all are questioned again’, ‘the age of great ideals’, and ‘a normative crisis’ (Manaster, 1989: 11).

Debates on the definitions and age range of young people continue. The United Nations defined young people as persons in the age range of 15-24, while the Population Information Program at the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health (Population Reports, 1995) defined young people as persons aged between 10 and 19. The United States Population Reference Bureau (1996) defines young people as persons under 25 years old. In this thesis, young people are defined as persons aged 15-24 years. Terms used to define young people also vary, some using youth, adolescent, young adult, others using teenagers. In Indonesia some use the terms muda-mudi, pemuda-pemudi, kaula muda, ABG (Anak Baru Gede), and remaja.2

Besides the importance of young people in terms of number, significant demographic behaviour, engine of social change and psychological meaning in the life cycle, studying young people is important because at this age they are potentially of ‘reproductive age’. It is in this age group that people decide whether they want to engage in a sexual relationship, or to get married, have babies and raise a family, or they might want to continue to a higher level of education and enter the labour force. But what makes this age group different from any stage in the life course is that the capability of young people for reproduction, and sexuality is the major theme in their lives, especially among adolescents (Chilman, 1980:3-5).

Despite the significant proportion of young people and their capacity for reproduction, information on young people’s reproductive and sexual behaviour, especially in the developing countries, is still limited. This has become a significant

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2 Muda-mudi or pemuda-pemudi are defined as male and female young people, ABG (Anak Baru Gede) is a popular term used by Indonesian teenagers in early teens to define themselves. ABG is translated as ‘precocious adolescents’ by Hull, Sulistyawiningih and Jones (1997) and remaja is defined as teenager. On the other hand kaula muda can be defined as youth.
issue because governments cannot effectively design programs and policies related to young people if they do not have the basic information on this issue. Herbert Friedman, chief of WHO’s Adolescent program, stated that:

There’s very little known about patterns of sexual behaviour in young people, especially in the developing countries...And [understanding these patterns] is crucial at the moment because the hazards of both pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV infection, are rife. It is pointless to create programs of action without knowing what the reality is (Friedman, cited in Zeidenstein and Moore, 1996: viii).

The importance of studying young people’s sexual health issues was also brought up in the Population and Development Conference in Cairo in 1994 (Johnson, 1995), the Social Summit in Copenhagen in 1995 and the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (Zeidenstein and Moore, 1996: viii).

The problem becomes increasingly significant because of the large numbers of babies born to teenage mothers. There are about 15 million babies born to adolescent mothers each year. About eight in every ten of these babies are born in the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and about 13 per cent of all children born in developing countries are born to teenage mothers. If present trends continue, about 325 million births to adolescents will occur in the developing world over the next quarter of a century. This will have a tremendous implication for young women’s reproductive health as morbidity and mortality related to pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases, unsafe abortion, infant mortality and early marriage are inevitable (McDevitt et al., 1996: v; Population Reference Bureau, 1996: 2).

1.1.4 Premarital sex in Indonesia: increasing evidence from case studies in Jakarta, DI. Yogyakarta and Palembang

An illustration of how middle-class young people in Indonesia are behaving, how they seek sex-related information and how they deal with premarital relationships is based on the in-depth interviews that I have conducted. I met Ani in Jakarta during my nine months of fieldwork in Jakarta, between July 1994 and the end of May 1995. Aged nineteen, she had run away from home because she experienced premarital pregnancy and wanted to protect her family’s reputation. I conducted an in-depth interview with her, spending almost two and a half hours listening to her story. We were supposed to meet again for another interview, but on the scheduled date she was not in her boarding room. Later I found out that she had left her boarding room because she was unable to pay the rent.
I interviewed Ani at her boarding room in Depok, a suburb on the border between Jakarta and West Java. She was staying in a male boarding complex and was the only girl in the complex. The boarding complex has individual rooms each with a bathroom, a front porch, and a big yard with a gate. She was seven months pregnant when I saw her and had run away from home three months earlier. The following is Ani’s story about her premarital pregnancy:

I come from a quite well off and very religious Moslem family. My parents often held religious prayers and preachings in our house. We used to live in Pondok Indah (a superior housing complex in the southern part of Jakarta), but because the company where my father worked went bankrupt and at the moment my father is only doing a part time job, my parents had to sell the house and we moved to Bintaro Jaya (the second best elite housing complex also in the southern part of Jakarta). On the other hand my mother has a steadier job with the oil company. I have an older brother and a younger sister. My father and mother often quarrel and my father has a tendency to abuse us (the children). I have always tried to please my parents by helping to clean the house or making some kind of snack for my parents to enjoy when they get home from work. I do not have to do this because we have servants to help with the house work, but I do it because I want to please my parents. But compared to my brother and sister it seems that I am being treated differently. I always try to defend my mother when my mother and father have an argument, maybe that is why my father is often upset with me. Usually my brother and sister just go to their room, but I always try to defend my mother. When my father is upset, he will use anything that is close to him to hit us.

I started dating when I was in year 10. I have always had boyfriends that were older than me, most of them were university students. My first sexual experience was with A, my third boyfriend (21 years old). After dating A for 2 months, one day A asked me whether I could come to his boarding room as he misses me. Because I had visited A’s boarding room several times before I was not scared by his invitation. After school that day I went to see him. We talked and watched video movies while A’s friends played the guitar outside. When it was getting dark I asked A to drive me home, but he said that I should spend a night with him. A told me to call my parents and tell them that I was staying with my friends because their parents went to Puncak (mountain area in West Java). So I decided to stay with A for the night. Nothing happened until 4.00 in the morning, because we slept in separate beds. But around 5.00 in the morning I heard A brushing his teeth in the bathroom. Then he came to my bed, waking me up and asking me to brush my teeth. At first, because I was feeling very sleepy I refused, but A insisted so off I went. We started kissing and the next thing I knew we were making love. A was shocked to realise that I was still a virgin, so he asked me why I wanted to do it. I said I wanted to because I was very much in love with him. A began hitting the wall with his hands to show that he regretted having had intercourse with me, especially after learning that I was still a virgin. Initially after making love we both felt very guilty and sinful...but then we continued to make love throughout the morning.

After this first incident, we always made love whenever there was a chance. Sometimes we would make love in his boarding room and at other times in his car. Every time we made love A would never use a condom, because he said that it was uncomfortable. I did not mind, because up to that point I was not pregnant. I thought A must have lots of experience because he always withdrew his penis before ejaculating. Once I learnt that A is a womaniser, and always slept with his girlfriends, I decided to leave him.

But this experience led me to want to make love with all my new boyfriends. I got pregnant by B - my seventh boyfriend. He was 35 years old and worked as a manager in a private company (but later I found out that he was lying). He always tried to convince me that he would marry me, but I didn’t want to get married yet. I’m planning to get married when I’m 25 years old. After engaging in several sexual acts in B’s boarding room and once at my house

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3 To differentiate between male and female respondents in my case studies and focus group discussions, in the quotation I would put in bold for male’s names, and bold and italic for female’s names. All of the respondents names, except for Achdiawati, Dr. Barbara McDonald, Prof. Tony Reid, Prof. M.C. Ricklefs and Prof. Dr. James Fox are not their real names.
while my parents were away, I noticed that I had missed my period. I told B about this and he promised to take me to a doctor. At first I thought it would be best to have an abortion, but B did not like the idea and suggested that we should keep the baby as he wanted to marry me.

One day B asked my permission to visit his parents in North Sumatra, he never showed up again. Then I ran away from home and stayed with my friends in their boarding rooms. I ran away from home without any money, but I have to survive. One day I accidentally met this man (C) who would give me financial support. So I got my own boarding room and he paid the bills, food and other things that I needed. C would visit me 3 times a week. But after a one month relationship, C never showed up again. So I started to look for other men to support me. Usually I went to Pondok Indah Mall or Sogo (the best shopping mall in Jakarta) a shopping centre to look for someone. I guess I'm lucky because I always seem to find somebody. But when they realise that I'm pregnant, they do not want to have sex with me and only gave me some money. So for months I would live by the pity of these 'donors'. Once I ran out of money and I could not pay my bills. I had to eat fried bananas for three days because I could not afford any other food.

In my mind one thing was certain...I didn't want to return home before I delivered my baby. All this was for the benefit of my family status. I called my sister now and again to inform her about my condition so that my family would not worry. Tragically I think my family does not know that I'm pregnant. Due to financial limitations, I have only gone once to a doctor to check my pregnancy. Because at that time the doctor said that I had a vaginal infection, I spent 30 thousand rupiah for the medication and another 30 thousand rupiah for the doctor's fee. But even though I had limited money, I always tried to keep myself and the baby healthy by drinking nutritious drink formula for pregnant women and reading books about keeping healthy while pregnant.

When I asked her 'do you have any money for the delivery?', she said that at the moment she does not have any but some of her 'donors' have mentioned that they would help out when she delivered, but...they never showed up (Depok, West Java, 29/7/1996, P17f).

Ani's story clearly shows what type of terrifying circumstances young Indonesian girls can face if they experience premarital pregnancy. Because of her naivete, and to protect her family's reputation, Ani thought that running away from home and prostituting herself was more appropriate than letting her parents know about her problem and help to sort it out. And perhaps because her father is abusive, she was afraid to talk about her condition to her parents. She was left alone with her problem with no person or institution able to help her. Her limited knowledge of the nature of sex is shown by her statement that her boyfriend must be sexually experienced as he always withdraws his penis before he ejaculates. Ani was not afraid of becoming pregnant because she thought that even though she was having sex regularly with her boyfriend, she was still menstruating regularly. Throughout the interview, and every time she mentioned her intercourse experiences, the risk of contracting a sexually transmitted disease never crossed her mind. From Ani's story

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4 Ani never explicitly mentioned that she was a prostitute or how she made her living. That is why she called people who gave her money in return for her sexual services 'donors'. Just to go on a date these donors would give her up to one hundred thousand rupiah, even more in certain cases. To convince me of her 'rich donors', Ani showed me her collection of business cards from these donors. Most of the donors have quite good positions and usually work in the private sector. Even though Ani never explicitly said that she was a prostitute, she always felt guilty about what she is doing and that she was full of sin. She had to prostitute herself because she needed to survive.
about her visit to the doctor, it is clear that she had a vaginal infection which needed
treatment through medication. Although this is but one example, I believe that many
Indonesian girls have experienced Ani’s plight.

Another in-depth interview was with Toni (male, 17 years old) a street vendor
who sold stickers and motorcycle accessories. Toni migrated to Jakarta from a village
in North Sumatra to start a new life as a vendor. I met him as I was travelling from my
mother’s house in Kebayoran Baru to the University of Indonesia. At that time the
engine of my car overheated, so I stopped to let the car cool down. After parking my
car on the side of the road, Toni approached me and asked ‘Is there something wrong
with your car? Do you need help?’ I told him the engine had overheated and that the
car needed to cool down. After starting a conversation on what he was selling, how
much he made daily, and how he ended up in Jakarta, I asked Toni whether I could
interview him on mixing behaviour among young people. He said it would be all right
as long as it was not for a newspaper or magazine. I convinced him that I would only
use the information for my study. For the next hour and fifteen minutes we talked in
the garden behind his stall. This is Toni’s story about his premarital sexual
experiences:

Following my graduation from junior high school in 1992 I migrated to Jakarta. I come
from a village some 500 kilometres away from Medan in North Sumatra called
Padangsidempuan. Although my married brothers and sisters wanted me to stay with them in
Jakarta, I craved to be independent and to lead my own life. So I borrowed money from my
friends (also from North Sumatra) to start a business selling sandals at Roxy market. I lived in a
rented house in Grogol with a group of friends who were also vendors. But then I decided to
move to Condet because my house mates had a bad influence on me. They taught me all about
sex and going to prostitutes for sex. Now I sell stickers and motor cycle accessories, and I can
make up to 20-35 thousand rupiahs a day.

During my junior high school years many of my friends began pacaran (dating). My
friends usually started dating when they were in year eight. I started dating in year nine along
with fifteen friends of mine. My girlfriend and I usually dated in dark and quiet places or in a
shed in the rice field. Doing Pas photo (literally it means taking a passport photo, but among
young Indonesians it refers to having sexual intimacy with the opposite sex up to breast-
fondling) with my girlfriend was quite common. Among my male friends we often spent time
sitting around and talking about sex, usually older friends spoke about their sexual experiences.
And do not be surprised because we also knew about condoms. Condoms can be easily bought
from the store or sometimes we got them from our friend whose father was a medical doctor. I
know that two of my former neighbours in my home town have experienced premarital
pregnancy. In the first case a year eight student fell pregnant to her boyfriend who had just
completed junior high school, and the second case happened between a year nine student and her
unemployed boyfriend who had completed elementary school. Both relationships ended up in
marriage as the girls’ parents forced the boyfriends to be responsible.

I started having sex when I was fifteen. At that time a young widow (25 year old without
a child) came to my room every night. She briefed me on how to have sex, and I had a sexual
relationship with her for one month. Then I started to have sex with prostitutes. Sometimes my
friends and I used one prostitute for the whole night and paid 15 thousand rupiahs for her
services. If I want to get full satisfaction I usually go to Dadap (brothel area located in the far
east of Jakarta) to have sex. I never use a condom when I have sex, especially if I have it with a
prostitute. Because I already ‘pay’ for the sex, I want to get the most out of it. Condom can make
it unpleasant, and anyway I always examine the prostitute before I have sex with her so I know whether she is healthy or not. That is why I have never acquired STDs. My friends also never use condoms, but they never examine the sex worker before they have sex. That's why they have STDs (in-depth interview, Lenteng Agung/Jakarta, 12-8-1994, P29mj).

Toni's sexual experiences with his girlfriend, the widow and prostitutes cannot be used to generalise to other young Indonesian males. But his experiences on how he sought information about sex, and the practice of visiting prostitutes, are quite common among other young Indonesian men.\textsuperscript{5} From Toni's story, it seems that the premarital sexual practices of young rural Indonesians are similar to those of their urban counterparts. Toni's misleading knowledge on the nature of sex, and especially on the practice of 'safe sex', is quite unfortunate and has led him towards a very risky lifestyle.

Both interviewees, Ani from a well-off family and Toni a vendor, describe in a thorough way how young Indonesians face tremendous risks from their sexual behaviour. Their lack of knowledge about sex, their misunderstanding of what is appropriate in a premarital sexual relationship or pregnancy, and who to turn to for help, indicate what many young Indonesians in both rural and urban settings are experiencing. The experiences of Ani and Toni are not unique as shown by the following quotations from other case studies (total number of in-depth interviews=93 cases) with respondents who have experienced premarital sex-pregnancy, or have known someone who have experienced dealing with these issues.

\textit{Ever experienced premarital intercourse:}

\textbf{Ani, Toni and Tikno}

\textbf{Tikno\textsuperscript{6} (taxi driver who married in 1977 because his girlfriend (X) became pregnant).}

Tikno said 'my marriage was an accident'\textsuperscript{7}. His parents arranged for him to marry Y from his village, and they were already engaged. Eventually Tikno and Y began to like each other and Tikno promised that he would marry her. After Tikno migrated to Jakarta he stayed with his

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\textsuperscript{5} Talking about sexual experiences among male friends, and the practice of going to prostitutes for sexual intercourse, was also mentioned among other interviews and focus-group discussions that I conducted.

\textsuperscript{6} In the first two weeks after my arrival in Jakarta, I often took taxis to travel around the city to set up my fieldwork. Initially I had no intention of interviewing taxi drivers. However, because of the notorious traffic congestion in Jakarta and spending between 45 and 90 minutes riding in taxis, I found myself chatting with the taxi drivers. In Indonesia it is very common to ask acquaintances about one's family. So when I got into a taxi and told the driver my destination, he would start a conversation; in some cases I would start the conversation. I realised after my first interview with a taxi driver that I could learn much from them, so I interviewed the drivers whenever I travelled by taxi. I would conduct these interviews in a very relaxed manner and I never took any notes. I always told the driver that I was a PhD student at ANU undertaking a study on 'Youth Sexuality in the Urban Areas of Indonesia'; I always asked whether it was all right to interview them. No one declined to participate. Directly after the ride I would look for a place to write up my notes of the interview.

\textsuperscript{7} In Indonesia some people use the term MBA meaning married by accident. This implies that the marriage occurred because the bride-to-be was already pregnant.
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brother. X is a relative of Tikno’s brother’s wife. X always came around to the house and flirted with Tikno. After a while they started to have sexual intercourse at Tikno’s friend’s house or in a hotel. At that time Tikno had no financial problems as he worked as a clerk in the warehouse of a rice company, so renting a room at a hotel was affordable. Tikno felt that his wife was the one who was very aggressive. Y on the other hand remained single because she wanted to keep her promise to Tikno. Y still feels the love for Tikno and wants to adopt Tikno’s youngest son, but X will not permit this to happen. Feeling guilty and ashamed by his decision not to marry Y, Tikno never returned to his village. He just cannot face the village people in this regard (Jakarta, Bacang street-Tebet, 7/7/1994, T1mj).

*Have you known someone who had experienced premarital sex, pregnancy or abortion?*

**Counsellor, psychologist, psychiatrist, University staff member**

**Budi** (high school counsellor, male, married, Moslem, Betawi ethnicity): on average one to two students in his school experienced premarital pregnancy every year. One of his students became frequently absent from school and Budi asked him if there was a problem. Although the student came from a well off family, he had to work as a *kenek* (assistant to the bus driver who collected money from passengers) to support his girlfriend’s (year 8) abortion (Jakarta, 15/8/1994, C32mj).

**Nanang** (high school counsellor, male, married, Batak ethnicity): one of his year 12 students came to him and cried because he felt guilty that he was serving as a male prostitute to a foreign man. The student’s father used to be very rich, but because of ill-health was unable to work. The student revealed that he did it because of the money (Jakarta, 9/9/1994, C42mj).

**Bambang** (psychiatrist and also a lecturer, male, married, 4 sons, Moslem): On average Bambang sees 20-50 cases each year with depression or guilty feelings regarding their experiences either with premarital pregnancy, post abortion symptoms, AIDS phobia or high-class prostitution. The number of cases related to these problems has risen since 1980 (Palembang, 21/12/1994, X82mp).

**Tari** (psychologist also a lecturer, female, married, Moslem, Javanese): Tari has dealt with four high school students who experienced premarital pregnancy, two of whom asked for advice on their chances of getting an abortion. She also has a 5-year-old patient who suffers from brain damage because her mother tried to use traditional remedies and other drugs to have an abortion after she experienced premarital pregnancy (D.I. Yogyakarta, 1/2/1995, Y89f).

**Mita** (counsellor in a family planning clinic, female, single, Javanese): in 1992, one to three clients would come every week to consult her on their premarital pregnancy and the chances of having an abortion. This figure has increased to two clients every day since 1993. She has several clients who have experienced repeated abortions and who have asked her for permanent contraception like an IUD. But because they are not yet married, Mita can only recommend that they use condoms or the calendar system. Mita finds it saddening that most of her clients who seek an abortion came with their parents, and that the desire to have an abortion comes mainly from the parents (D.I Yogyakarta, 2/2/1995, C87f).

**Kris** (university staff member, male, married, two children, Sundanese): knows his colleagues have been living together in a de facto relationship. Kris has a close friend who had lots of premarital sexual experiences. He got his girlfriend pregnant and then she had an abortion, but he married another girl (Jakarta, 5/8/1994, L19mj).

**Miko** (university staff member, male, married, Javanese): knows two girls who experienced premarital pregnancy. One of them is the daughter of a religious leader. She was accompanied by her mother when she visited the doctor to ask for an abortion (D.I. Yogyakarta, 7/2/1995, L70m).

**Pitana** (university staff member, male, married, Balinese): Pitana stated that premarital sex among students who lived in boarding houses in Yogyakarta was a common practice. He also found that high school students were willing to be taken on dates and have premarital sex (D.I. Yogyakarta, 10/2/1995, L72m).

**Toyib** (university staff member, male, married, one daughter, Moslem, originally from Palembang): in 1995 there was a big news story in Palembang about two teenagers who were arrested by the police for having sexual intercourse in their car at the place near the river known
among teenagers and university students as a ‘dating park’. But shockingly, the police then raped the girl (Palembang, 17/12/1994, L78mp).

Monica (university staff member, female, married, two children, mother Dutch, father from Maluku; Monica was born and raised in Jakarta): when she was a university student, one of her friends was a male prostitute serving rich women (Jakarta, 12/8/1994, L28ff).

Atik (university staff member, female, married, originally from Palembang): one of Atik’s students experienced premarital pregnancy and did not continue her education (Palembang, 14/12/1994, L77fp).

Endang (university staff member, female, married, three daughters, Javanese): Endang knows of two students who have experienced premarital pregnancy. One was a daughter of a religious leader who ended up marrying. But the other one had a child without marrying. The last incident happened in 1988 (Yogyakarta, 7/2/1995, L71fy).

Housewives

Moni (works for a private oil company, female, married, two children): Moni’s sister-in-law (Tina) was not a virgin when she married. Tina’s husband was very unhappy over this situation, but also for other reasons. After three years the marriage ended in divorce. Virginity still is an important consideration if one would get married (Jakarta, 16/7/1994, M9ff).

Yani (housewife, two children, Javanese): From Yani’s observations, students that stay in rented housing in Yogyakarta often live in a de facto relationship (usually the well-off students from other provinces live in a house rented by their parents). In 1982 she knew of a university student who tried to blame her premarital pregnancy on a male high school student. But wisely the parents of the ‘accused’ investigated her pregnancy and found that it was not caused by their son (Yogyakarta, 2/2/1995, M66fy).

Tuti (widow, 80 years old, no children, Javanese): Tuti used to be a concubine in the ‘Kraton’, but then she ran away to marry an army official. She used to run a boarding house for female university students. In 1970 she was shocked when she was called to a hospital because one of the students who boarded in her house at that time, attending one of the private universities, was going to deliver a baby. Tuti never knew that she was pregnant because the student always wore Moslem dress, which was very loose and concealing (D.I. Yogyakarta, 5/2/1995, M68fy).

Menik (married, female, Javanese): Menik is a vendor. She owns a stall that sells daily needs in the yard of a male boarding house complex. Menik often observes students who stay in the male boarding complex. She often sees students bringing their girlfriends home to stay for the night. She has also noticed that two of these students are living in a de facto relationship (D.I. Yogyakarta, 5/2/1995, M91fy).

Interviewers

Said (male, single, university student, Moslem): Said conducted an in-depth interview with a male university student (D, single, university student, 24 years old) who experienced premarital sex several times with his girlfriend (E). D came from a very religious family and has a strong religious awareness and consciousness of himself. D felt very guilty when he had sexual intercourse for the first time, because he knew it was against his religious teaching although E always tried to persuade him. E has a very different background; she comes from a very well-off family, and has already experienced sex with her ex-boyfriend. E initiated their first sexual relations; they had just come back from a disco with a group of friends, but they decided to go home separately. In the taxi E started to arouse D by kissing and touching him. They went to a hotel and spent the night there. After this experience E and D often had sex in D’s room in the afternoon when nobody was at home (Jakarta, I61mj).

Hanafi (male, single, university student): among Hanafi’s friends, most have experienced sexual intercourse (Jakarta, 12/8/1994, I28mj).

Richard (male, single, university student): among Richard’s friends having sexual intercourse is also quite common. Richard’s ex-girlfriend has had several abortions. She is from a very rich family and her father has a high position with the government (Jakarta, 12/8/1994, I28amj).

Sasi (Female, single, university student): Sasi did two in-depth interviews with her very close friends (F and G, male, university students). F and his girlfriend (H) came from rich families. F
got H pregnant. At first they agreed to have an abortion, but when waiting in line at the clinic (where H was accompanied by two of her closest friends), things did not go according to plan and she decided not to have an abortion. F and H then got married. G has often had sexual intercourse with his girlfriend, sometimes using condoms or the calendar system. G and his girlfriend plan to get married after they have finished studying at the university (Jakarta, 29/8/1994, IS9fj).

Chariyah (female, single, university student, wears veil): Chariyah did ten in-depth interviews with female university students who wear the veil. The ten respondents knew of 15 friends in total who had experienced premarital pregnancy. Three of them tried for abortion, one committed suicide, and some ended up marrying. One of Chariyah’s respondents knew a friend who was living in a de facto relationship (Jakarta, 20/8/1994 - 11/9/1994, H49fj).

Others

Achdiat (male, 83 years old, married, four children, originally from Garut-West Java, famous writer): Having lived through several generations, Achdiat has observed and experienced changing values and attitudes towards the notion of sexual behaviour among young Indonesians. For example in his younger years kissing someone was quite a rare and covert behaviour, but nowadays young Indonesians are more open about kissing, even in public. Although Achdiat admits that at that time mixing with the opposite sex was not as free as it is today, premarital pregnancy did sometimes happen. Condoms could be bought and making love with one’s girlfriend could happen although not as often as having sex with a prostitute. In those days, making love with one’s girlfriend and also premarital pregnancy were seen as very sinful behaviour; “but if you had sex with a prostitute” he stated “it was just like drinking a cup of water, there were no emotional ties and love involved. It was just for the sake of releasing one’s sexual drive which is natural”. It was quite common for young men to visit a prostitute. At that time males usually had their first sexual experience at 16 or 17, if they knew of a friend who had never been to a brothel they would drag him to visit one. The peer pressure was quite strong. Males who had not experienced going to a brothel were seen as not grown up yet.

Donny (male, late twenties, single, musician): Donny’s mother is Indonesian and his father Australian. He was born and raised in Australia and only visited Indonesia occasionally. On returning to Jakarta Donny was surprised to find that young Indonesians are now more free and they seem to be facing a sexual revolution like the one experienced in America in the sixties. ‘The girls are willing to say yes if you ask them to have sex with you and you can easily find a girl in Sabang street that will be willing to have sex with you. Among Indonesian artists it has become trendy to be homosexual. So some artists become homosexuals not because they have the feeling coming from their intuition, rather it is because everybody else is doing it’.

Dullah (male taxi driver, married, 32 years old, 1 son, Betawi ethnicity): Dullah admits that when he was in his teens he was quite ‘wild’, experimenting with his friends in drugs, alcohol and of course sex. One of his friend’s girlfriend (Z) had an abortion and Dullah knew how terrifying it was. At that time Dullah knew how Z tried traditional remedies using young pineapple and alcohol to have a spontaneous abortion. ‘At first she was vomiting, then lots of blood came out from her vagina and then she fainted. Before I got married to my wife, I had a girlfriend (W). I was dating W seven years ago, when W was still in high school and lived in Sukabumi with her parents. We dated quite frequently and often did heavy petting. But I told W that we should not have sexual intercourse because we were not married yet. At that time I actually thought that W was going to be my wife, but W’s parents arranged for W to marry

8 Achdiat is a famous Indonesian writer. He stated that he wanted to be identified, thus no pseudonym was used.
9 Part of the interview on Achdiat was published in Femina, an Indonesian women’s magazine; the article is about Gaya Pacaran Masa Kini (Recent dating behaviour) and my interview with Achdiat was called ‘Pergaulan Muda-mudi 3 zaman’ (Three generation patterns of mixing behaviour among the young).
10 Sabang street is in the centre of Jakarta; it’s full of restaurants and shopping stores. This street is famous as a place where the young Jakartans loiter and where young females available for sexual services can be found, but they are not or do not want to call themselves prostitutes.
someone who had a more stable job than me. I told W if she really loved me, she should follow her parents’ wishes’ (Jakarta, riding from Pasar Minggu-Mayestik, 14/7/1994, T7mj).

Sukirman (male taxi driver, divorced after 13 years of marriage because his marriage was arranged, has one teenage son): As a taxi driver Sukirman knows that there are lots of ‘perok’ or mistresses, because he often comes across them. High school students become perok from economic needs. Husbands, states Sukirman often tell their wives that they have to work late on Saturday, but actually the husbands use that time to visit their mistresses. Usually they leave their car at the office parking space and take a taxi to visit their mistress. Some peroks who usually hang around in Ratu Plaza or Aldiron Plaza have told Sukirman to take his male passengers to their boarding houses if they seem to be keen on having sexual relations (Jakarta, riding from Cimanggis-Bacang street, 20/7/1994, case no. T10mj).

At one point his taxi was stopped by a young couple. They asked Sukirman whether they could hire his taxi to go to the beach in Ancol. They paid a high price, as long as Sukirman would park his taxi near the beach, while Sukirman could wait in the cafe (they would also pay for Sukirman’s meal or drink) and leave the air conditioning on in the taxi. But Sukirman refused because he believed that if his taxi was used for people engaging in sexual intimacy, it would bring bad luck. So instead they asked Sukirman to take them home. During their journey the couple started kissing heavily on the back seat and could not take their hands off each other. At other times Sukirman takes employees during their lunch break to a hotel in the eastern part of Jakarta that has a reputation as a place for affairs as rooms can be rented by the hour (so I thought I can say that ‘lunch time, sex time’ exists in Jakarta) (Jakarta, Cimanggis/Depok-Bacang street, 20/7/1994, T10mj).

These case studies cannot be generalised to all middle-class young people in Indonesia, however, they provide important understanding on issues relating to premarital sex, pregnancy and even abortion. The case studies are significant because they are first hand information from respondents. For example, one can understand that permissiveness towards premarital sex was evident as early as the 1970s from Tikno’s and Tuti’s experiences. Tikno expressed how his girlfriend (X) was being permissive and approached him first. Repeated sexual intercourse which led to premarital pregnancy happened in a hotel or Tikno’s friend’s house. Premarital pregnancy in the seventies was also experienced by one of Tuti’s boarders, a university student who kept her pregnancy unknown until she delivered her baby. Dullah also expressed how ‘wild’ his teen life was; engaging in heavy petting with his former girlfriend was common. Going to prostitutes to engage in sexual intercourse was experienced even as early as the 1930s among Achdiar’s peers when he was in his teens and still lived in a small village in Garut-West Java.

Among the older generation, it seems that even though they were quite permissive in their sexual behaviour, their behaviour was not expressed as publicly or as freely as is the case for the younger generation. Representing the younger generation, Ani, Toni, Miko and Donny revealed how premarital sex seems to be a

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11 Perok is the abbreviation of perempuan eksperimental defined by Murray (1991: xv) as trendy or promiscuous young women.
normal-common thing. Cases related to premarital sex consequences are also observed by counsellors (Budi, Nanang, and Mita), psychologist (Tari), psychiatrist (Bambang) and university staff members (Kris, Miko, Pitana and Toyib). Many respondents in Yogyakarta observed couples, usually students living in boarding houses, living together with their girlfriend in de facto relationships.

1.1.5 Young people's behaviour in premarital relationships in Indonesia: justification of the research

Indonesian young people will play an important role in future national development as they constitute 20 per cent of the total population (Ananta and Anwar, 1991:4; Noveria, 1994: Table 4.1, 68-69). The period as a young person is a transitional but very important stage in life. In the case of a woman, she usually has to decide or have decided for her whether she wants to continue to a higher educational level, to enter the labour force, to engage in a sexual relationship, or to get married, have babies and raise a family.

Although studies on Indonesian young people have been numerous, most have focused on education, labour-force participation (Daliyo, 1994; Rusman, 1994; Sukarno et al. 1994: 16; Sumono, 1994; Tirtosudarmo, 1994a, 1994b), fertility and reproductive behaviour. Few have focused on the behaviour of young people in premarital relationships. This study will pioneer more holistic research in exploring relationships before marriage by analysing marriage concepts and values, courting behaviour, mate selection, and sexuality among young people. In other countries, the Young Adult Reproductive Health Surveys (YARHS) were initiated in 1985 in Jamaica, the Philippines, Costa Rica and ten cities of Latin America (Robey et al., 1992). The surveys collected information on the sexual experience and contraceptive use of married and unmarried men and women aged 15-24 years (Robey et al., 1992:28). The second-round International Demographic and Health Surveys (1991), which also covered Indonesia, collected information on aspects of reproductive behaviour but only for seven Latin American countries, four African countries, and one Caribbean country (Robey et al., 1992: 27). In Asian countries, owing to social customs and religiosity, data on reproductive behaviour such as sexual exposure, contraceptive use, and attitudes towards abortion among young people are very rare (Sittitrai and Barry, 1989: 174; United Nations, 1989; ESCAP, 1992: 7). Even
demographic surveys that could offer such information often collect data from married women only (ESCAP, 1992: 7). That is why studies on the relationship behaviour of young people before marriage are important, especially in Indonesia where changing socio-cultural values among that age group are becoming apparent.

Indonesian young people are facing tremendous challenges. On one hand many of them still hold traditional values and are religious, but on the other hand exposure to the mass media such as television, videos, movies and pornographic material on Westernised sexual behaviour has been increasing (Mohammad, 1981: 13; Sarwono, 1981a: 2; Suyono H., 1981: 5-6; Suyono P.K., 1981: 42; Surapaty, 1991: 10;). For some Indonesian young people, behaving like teenagers in the Western world has become a symbol of prestige among their peers. As premarital sex is increasing these young people expose themselves to significant risks because they have minimal knowledge of sex and contraception. In a society where unmarried females are expected to remain virgin until they get married, premarital sex is generally not acceptable (Stella, 1982: 3; Dwiyanto et al., 1991/1992: 51), and if a teenager becomes pregnant, an arranged marriage (Stella, 1982: 6) or abortion usually follows.

As in some other countries in Asia (East-West Center, 1992), in most cities in Indonesia, social and economic values are changing. This is what has raised the age at first marriage (Soeradji, 1982; McDonald, n.d., 1981, 1995; Hull and Widyantoro 1991: 1; Hancock, 1995: 208). This transitional stage has placed Indonesian young people in a difficult situation. On one hand they have a longer period in which to develop their education or career, during which they remain single, but on the other hand they have to cope with their sex drive.

Unlike governments in most developed countries where understanding of adolescent sexuality and reproductive behaviour has been recognised as a priority, the Indonesian Government has not yet concentrated on this issue (Suyono H., 1981: 9). The family planning program is only for married couples (Xenos, 1990: 338; Indonesian Population and Family Welfare Law, no. 10, 1992, cited in Dahlan et al, 1992: 130); sex education is only given in Catholic schools (Martono, 1981: 83); and parents generally do not talk about sex to their children (Suyono P.K., 1981: 39; Tiara, 1994; Parini and Mudjajadi, 1995; Berita AIDS Indonesia, Media Komunikasi dan Informasi, 1996: 2; Darwin, 1996a: 8; Sudarsono, 1996: 4).
Because of social and religious norms, girls who are pregnant before marriage will be isolated by society and the family and, in some instances, cannot even continue their schooling. They usually do not know where to go for advice. As a result, they may become depressed, ashamed, perhaps afraid of men for the rest of their lives; and some suffer enforced marriage, induced abortion, or suicide (Waluyo, 1981: 124; Widyanarto, 1981: 113; Warouw, cited in Manado Post, 1989; Khisbiyah et al., 1996).

Have values on premarital sexual relationships among young people changed? If such changes have occurred, what are the main causes of value changes? What are the factors significantly influencing premarital sexual relationships among young people? These are among the questions that need to be answered for a better understanding of young people’s premarital relationships. The answers will be useful for policy makers in designing programs and institutions dealing with young people’s reproductive behaviour, educators for planning and designing sex education curricula, and parents in dealing with their adolescent and young adult children.

This thesis explores the notion of Jakarta middle-class young people’s behaviour in relationships before marriage, and their sexual activity and marriage values along a theoretical framework that measures the dimension of conservatism-liberalism. Numerous studies on this topic have been conducted in Western settings and cross-cultural perspectives (Allgeier, 1989: 126-127; Sittirai and Barry, 1989: 174; Lee, 1995: 34-40). Despite the fact that problems related to adolescent fertility have been increasingly apparent in the Asia-Pacific region and in other developing countries, most nations have insufficient information to generate appropriate policies and programs to deal with such issues (Stella, 1982: 2; United Nations, 1987; Hudson and Ineichen, 1991; UN ESCAP, 1992).

This thesis is supported by The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, which I conducted in Jakarta among never-married young respondents and ever-married persons residing in the southern part of Jakarta or enrolled in the senior high schools or universities in this area.\textsuperscript{12} Middle-class respondents were deliberately chosen in

\textsuperscript{12} Total numbers of respondents in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey are as follows: 344 respondents aged 15-19 years, 175 respondents aged 19-24 years, 120 ever-married respondents aged 30 years or over. The total numbers of respondents in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey are as follows: 344 respondents aged 15-19 years (high school students), 175 respondents
the sample. The term 'middle-class' is a complex issue as there are debates over what constitutes the middle-class. For

aged 19-24 years (university students), 120 ever-married respondents aged 30 years or over. The imbalance of the number of high school students compared to university students is due to the limited budget and convenience in selecting the respondents. The younger group is also a more important target group for the study. Respondents among the high school students were selected through a class method where a class of students consisting of 20-40 students filled in the questionnaire themselves, while university students and ever married respondents were approached individually.
example, liberal pluralists tend to regard the middle-class as primarily a cultural entity defined by values of individualism and rationality, status, occupation and income. But there is no distinction between the middle-class and the bourgeoisie and also there is no real guide to the political identity of the middle-class other than modernity and interest in the legal protection of property. On the other hand, the neo-Weberians make a clear distinction between the capitalist and middle-class. Mills for example defined the new middle-class as the result of the demise of entrepreneurial capitalism which consists of managers, technocrats, marketers and financiers, while Giddens differentiates the middle-class from the bourgeoisie because the first is more associated with the ownership of property and the latter with possession of qualifications (Abercrombie and Urry, 1983; Robison and Goodman, 1996: 8-9). Robison and Goodman (1996: 5) used the term ‘new rich’ to identify those new wealthy social groups that have emerged from industrial change in Asia, particularly during the past two decades. They are characterised by the social power and position based on capital, credentials and expertise rather than rent or position in the state apparatus or a feudal hierarchy. Furthermore Robison and Goodman (1996) differentiated between the bourgeoisie and the professional middle-classes, between owners of capital and the processors of managerial and technical skills. Thus the middle-classes can range from highly paid professionals and managers to the village school teacher and postal clerk. Most important in this thesis is how middle-class parents provide economic stability for their children which mainly affects the young people in the way they live, and their opportunities for education and exposure to a luxurious way of life compared to that of most other young people in Indonesia. Other issues that emerge from the rise of the middle-class is their influence on the culture, economy and the political life Indonesian.

1.2 Theoretical framework: idealised morality, the state, modernity and mixing between the sexes

1.2.1 Sexuality: its concept and evolving theories

It is true that we are not unique in thinking that we are living in a time of change, and indeed it has been said that the first words Adam addressed to Eve after the expulsion from Eden were 'My dear we are living in an age of transition'; but change is the outstanding characteristic of our time and we have to learn to live with uncertainty without being knocked off balance (Eppel and Eppel, 1966: 23).
A theoretical framework for studying sexuality can be very complex. Although most studies on sexuality have concentrated on its epidemiological or aetiological aspects, sexuality can also be analysed from a biological, biosocial, psychological and sociological approach. Experts who focus on the biological phenomenon in studying sexuality include sex researchers, biologists, and physicians, while historians, anthropologists, and feminist theorists study sexuality as a social and historical phenomenon (Errington, 1990). Anthropologists specifically have studied sexuality in non-Western settings (Ballard, 1992). In their research, anthropologists have documented the wide variation of sexual practices in a cross-cultural setting, but are still sometimes unable to explain sexual variation within cultures (Connell and Dowssett 1992).

Sexuality studies by biologists and psychologists mostly focus on sexual behaviour as an ‘individual-level’ phenomenon, for example study of sex ‘drives’ or ‘instincts’. The shortcoming of such studies is that they are able to explain only a very small part of the situation and cannot explain a person’s socialisation process, their interaction with sexual partners, and how constraints are imposed in determining sexual activities. That an individual’s social environment affects sexual behaviour is quite obvious, but research on social processes in sexuality represents a disproportionately small amount of the scientific literature on human sexuality (Laumann et al., 1994: 3-4).

In analysis of studies on sex throughout history there seem to be two broad approaches: the ‘naturalist’ and the ‘meta-theoretical’ approach. A highly influential work using the naturalist approach in Britain was the work of Havelock Ellis in his Studies in the Psychology of Sex. Ellis describes sexual behaviour and beliefs, classifying and categorising sexual forms that exist in ‘nature’. The limitation of this approach is that it cannot provide a coherent explanation of the variations it often describes, nor does it account for changes in mores and consciousness. The second approach called by Kenneth Plummer the ‘meta-theoretical,’ derived from a psychodynamic or neo-Freudian theory, emphasises the importance of the instinctive sexual drive built into the human body and the reactions of this drive to its cultural and social surroundings. The limitation of this approach is that the theory is constructed from clinical empirical evidence (Weeks, 1981: 1-2).
Relating sexuality to a broader scope of premarital sexual behaviour among the young people of a changing Indonesian society can be even more complex, owing to the factors related to behaviour such as morality, norms, values, and attitudes. The studying of mixing behaviour between the sexes before marriage, including premarital sexual behaviour, can be even more complex because mixing behaviour between the sexes is so specifically determined by culture and how the state deals with such issues. As Manderson (1995: 2) recognises, sexuality is historically and culturally specific. This is especially true for Indonesia, where there are over 300 ethnic groups that possess differing standards of morality, norms and values in dealing with mixing behaviour between the sexes before marriage.

To unfold this complex issue let us first evaluate the concept of sexuality by asking the following questions. What theories have been used to analyse sexuality and how have the theories on sexuality changed over time? Is sexuality determined by biology or by the society, culture, and the state and political aspects that surround it? Or is it a combination of both physically and culturally determined aspects that make sexuality specific from culture to culture and during different historical periods?

Sexuality is a major theme in our culture, ... It is accordingly, one of the major themes of the human sciences, and figures as weighty as Darwin and Freud have made major contributions to it. Social research has, over the last hundred years, produced crucially important evidence for the understanding of sexuality. But social theory has been slow to grapple with the issue, to give it the sophisticated attention that has been devoted to questions of production or of communication (Connell and Dowsett, 1992: 49).

Even though social research into sexuality started over one hundred years ago, Western theory on sexuality is still evolving. In the twentieth century strong focus has been given to the religious and scientific nativism aspects of sexuality, as well as the social construction of sexuality (Connell and Dowsett, 1992: 49). The contrast between the nativism and social construction approach in evaluating sexuality is quite contradictory. Nativism assumes that sexuality is fundamentally pre-social, meaning that regardless of how the society relates to regulation and control over sexuality it cannot affect the fundamentals of sexuality (Connell and Dowsett, 1992: 50). On the other hand the social construct of sexuality theory states that sexuality is constructed by the society. As Chilman (1980: 42-44) points out all aspects of sexuality: attitudes and behaviour concerning gender identity, sexual expression, sex roles, mating, fertility control, and parenthood 'socially scripted behaviour' are affected by culture. Gagnon and Simon (1974: 262) used the concept to define all human sexual
behaviour. Their theory of sexuality is an adaptation of the role theory from sociology, that locates the constraints on behaviour in the stereotyped expectations held by other social actors (Connell, 1979). Thus, an individual will internalise all normative expectations and social sanctions related to sexuality, and act accordingly, whereas sexual conduct is defined as the heroic attempt to spell out the scripts, the grand script in contemporary Western culture being a lifelong sexual career (Gagnon and Simon, 1974: 99-103). The idea of sexuality being examined in terms of social construction appeared in the late 1960s, after Foucault published his work on the history of sexuality (Weeks, 1990: 34-37).

Foucault (1978: 105-6), a cultural historian and structuralist philosopher, theorised on the social aspects of sexuality as a set of historically describable discourses that operated in professions and state apparatuses, and constituted ‘sexuality’ as an object of knowledge and social concern. His theory marked the importance of looking at social aspects and political power in analysing sexuality, and not just concentrating on the physical state of sexuality. Foucault’s influential theory concerns itself with the regulation and control of sexuality in the modern period, starting with the concept of population policy in the eighteenth century as a complement to the rise of the State and its displacement of the Church. The concept of sexuality that Foucault developed is a product of these discourses of control, which was just one aspect of bourgeois self-definition against working-class immorality and aristocratic decadence (Ballard, 1992: 104). Three or four hypotheses developed by Foucault related to how sexuality is repressed by the modern forms of society are:

...sexuality is tied to recent devices of power; it has been expanding at an increasing rate since the seventeenth century; the arrangement that has sustained it is not governed by reproduction; it has been linked from the outset with an intensification of the body-with its exploitation as an object of knowledge and an element in relations of power (Foucault, 1978: 107).

Furthermore, Foucault stresses the importance of power in affecting the deployment of sexuality:

Sexuality was taking shape, born of a technology of power that was originally focused on alliance. Since then, it has not ceased to operate in conjunction with the system of alliance on which it has depended for support. The family cell, in the form in which it came to be valued in the course of the eighteenth century, made it possible for the main elements of the deployment of sexuality (the feminine body, infantile precocity, the regulation of births, and to a lesser extent no doubt, the specification of the perverted) to develop along its two primary dimensions: the husband-wife axis and the parents-children axis (Foucault, 1978: 108).

Thus in its contemporary form, the role of the family in society is to anchor sexuality and to provide it with support. Since the eighteenth century the family has been looked
upon as an obligatory locus of effects, feelings, love; as an institution where sexuality developed (Foucault, 1978: 108).

Famous for his repressive hypothesis, Foucault (1978: 3) evaluated the evolutionary process of sexuality in history. Until the beginning of the seventeenth century frankness in dealing with sex was still very common. There was no need for secrecy towards sexual practices and talking about sex openly was quite acceptable. Regulation dealing with sexuality was quite loose compared to that of the nineteenth century. The seventeenth century is marked as the beginning of an age of repression due to the coming of the bourgeois society, a period that we perhaps have still not completely left behind. By this era, sex was not to be spoken about, silence was the correct way of dealing with sex. Silence, muteness and censorship of sexuality were a product of modern prudishness. After hundreds of years of free expression on sexuality it was necessary to adjust to the new development of capitalism, which was an integral part of the bourgeois order. By this time sex was vigorously repressed, condemned to prohibition, nonexistence and silence. Thus a person who spoke about sex took on the appearance of a deliberate transgressor, who had power and was not afraid of the established law (Foucault, 1978: 3-17).

Another expert who saw sexuality as a social construct was Gregersen (1983), who defined sexuality as not just a biological phenomenon but more of a concept of social behaviour. Each society has a different set of traditions, values, formal or informal regulation in dealing with sexuality. This set of regulations evolved over time. What was considered to be normal sexual behaviour at a certain period might change and evolve to be not normal in another period. Likewise, what is considered normal in one society might not be normal in another. As Gregersen argued:

While the basic biology set limits on some aspects of social behaviour, beyond these boundaries, every society has evolved a peculiar set of expectations and definitions of sexuality. In each society, deep-seated traditions, values, and formal and informal regulations have developed to govern most aspects of male and female interaction. In most modern societies, these traditions generally have limited acceptable sexual practices to confines of monogamous heterosexual marriage and have defined sex as primarily for the purpose of reproduction. Pre or extramarital intercourse, homosexuality and the use of contraceptives or abortion have been considered either taboo or, at various times, illegal. In other societies, different standards and expectations have evolved—in some, masturbation, multiple premarital sexual partners and/or homosexuality have been encouraged; in others, polygamy is still practised (Gregersen 1983, cited in Brown et al., 1990: 85).
Similar notions of sexuality are also argued by Weeks (1981: 11) who stated that sexuality cannot be generalised throughout different cultures. Even though various cultures share general sexual forms, this does not mean that their content, inner structures and meanings are the same. The social content that affects sexuality differs in every culture: from pedagogic relations and puberty rites, to fertility cults and religious ceremonies. For instance, the concept of sexual intercourse means different things in different cultures. One culture sees it as the only justification for reproduction, while others do not see the connection between sexual intercourse and conception. Some societies see sex as a source of pleasure and the key to erotic art. In others it is a source of danger and taboo, and of mortification of the flesh. In a Western setting, sex is seen as the supreme secret, the cause and truth of our being which defines us both socially and morally. The sexual outlet or the normal sexual functions can relate to health, energy and activity while their defeat can cause illness, social unorthodoxy and even madness.

In his essay Connell (1990) emphasises that the social construction of gender relates to the constitution of sexuality. Connell sees sexuality as a ‘part of the domain of human practice organised [in part] by gender relations, and ‘sexual politics’ [as] the contestation of issues of sexuality by social interests constituted within gender relations’ (1990: 509). Connell points to two areas where the modern state can react to sexuality. The first is regulation, and the second is the generation of sexual order through the legislative production of the categories of ‘prostitute’ and ‘homosexual’, ‘transforming what had been a much more fluid play of sexuality into a clearly flagged social barrier’ (1990: 530).

Ballard (1992: 106) argues that the state plays a dominant role in shaping the direction of sexuality. Although the state is not determinative in shaping sexuality, the state can influence discourse and practice by incorporating discourses of sexuality that have been developed initially by the church and later by medicine and psychology. However, it does have a prominent role through both legislation and the services and controls of the welfare state. Furthermore, Ballard emphasises that the state can influence the shaping of sexuality and other identities. First, the state can influence the labelling of categories; second, the state can encourage or discourage identities and behaviour either explicitly or implicitly; and third, the state can effectively institutionalise various forms of discourse and practice.
Errington (1990) argued that we are born biologically unfinished and require human culture in order to develop into humans. Like other creatures, humans need appropriate environments in which to develop. Humans not only require elements from their physical environment like food, water, and warmth, they also need other ‘human companionship and culture, from mother’s milk to people who talk to us’ (Errington, 1990: 11-12). The importance of culture in shaping sexuality resembles an analogical explanation of the adrenalin hormone. Adrenalin can be categorised as something purely ‘physical’, that enters the bloodstream if a person is very frightened or very elated. ‘Yet what causes fright and elation depends partly on the culture in which a person finds himself or herself, and partly on the person’s own self-restraint and training’ (Errington, 1990: 13). Geertz also emphasised the importance of the interaction between bodies and culture. Geertz (1973: 47) argued that the importance of culture to humans is not like something being added to ‘a finished or virtually finished animal,’ but that culture is the central ingredient to that animal itself. How bodies and culture interact with each other is stated by Errington (1990: 13-14) : ‘The bodies we have and the cultures in which we live continuously interact: human embodiment makes culture possible, and conversely human bodies are cultural artefacts, formed within human cultures’.

Sex researchers like Kinsey, Masters and Johnson, and Freud have studied sexuality in a more clinical fashion. Freud devised a detailed development model of human sexuality, focusing on childhood sexuality as his central theme. While studies on sexuality by biomedical scientists continue until the present day, most scholars interested in sexuality are behavioural scientists such as psychologists and sociologists who have attached particular importance to theoretical foundations in their sexual research (Katchadourian, 1989). In addition, anthropologists and historians like those mentioned earlier remain interested in the subject.

In sum, the evolving theories on sex range from the very basic idea that sexuality is determined by biological condition, to the notion that sexuality is determined by culture. There are also experts who believe sexuality as being determined by the state of biological conditions in human beings, but that it is not ‘fully mature’ until reacting or interacting with the culture, politics and the state surrounding it. Further, sexuality is seen as ‘very specific’ to different cultures. What is regarded as normal in a certain society may be seen as deviant in another, and what
is regarded as normal in a certain period can be seen as abnormal in another historical period even though it is still in the same social context. It is possible to generalise forms of sexuality in different cultures, but this does not mean that the content, inner structures and meaning are the same.

For this thesis, I have developed a theoretical framework which I have called 'Idealised morality, the state, modernity and mixing between the sexes before marriage'. It has been adopted from McDonald's frameworks on social change and age at marriage (1981), idealised family morality (1994), and national image versus local custom on courting behaviour among Indonesian youth (1984). The framework specifically emphasises how different forces of social institutions, social values and modernisation have moulded mixing behaviour between the sexes before marriage. The idea to develop this framework was also influenced by sexuality theories described above which have stressed how sexuality is a social and political construct phenomenon. In Section 1.2.2-1.2.4, each component of the theoretical framework, is discussed.

1.2.2. Idealised morality and sexuality

Morality can be defined as follows:

By 'morality', one means a set of values and rules of action that are recommended to individuals through the intermediary of various perspective agencies such as the family (in one of its roles), educational institutions, churches, and so forth. It is sometimes the case that these rules and values are plainly set forth in a coherent doctrine and an explicit teaching. But it also happens that they are transmitted in a diffuse manner, so that, far from constituting a systematic ensemble, they form a complex interplay of elements that counterbalance and correct one another, and cancel each other out on certain points, thus providing for compromises or loopholes. With these qualifications taken into account, we can call this perspective ensemble a 'moral code'. But 'morality' also refers to the real behaviour of individuals in relation to the rules and values that are recommended to them: the word thus designates the manner in which they comply more or less fully with a standard of conduct, the manner in which they respect or disregard a set of values (Foucault, 1985: 25)

For Foucault morality is a set of values, rules or codes that are passed on to individuals through socialisation, but it can also refer to individual behaviour in respecting or disregarding a set of values. Idealised morality can be defined as belief structures that have developed over a long time in a society's history (McDonald, 1994: 22). This can include traditional values, norms and religious teaching. McDonald states that
...an idealised family morality is a fundamental component of the culture of all societies, but ... societies vary in the degree to which deviation from that ideal is considered permissible. There will be little variation from the ideal where the family system is reinforced by the morality of the society; that is, variation from the ideal will be illegal, antisocial, or contrary to the teachings of the prevailing religion, and this morality will be policed by the strong, formal institutions of the society. In societies in which the ideal is rigidly enforced, changes in family systems will occur only through changes in the control of formal institutions, that is, through the redefining of morality by formal institutions. Thus, in such societies, prediction is difficult because changes in institutions occur through changes in the viewpoints of a small number of persons who control those institutions or through the overthrow of those persons (McDonald, 1994: 22-23).

Sustaining idealised morality in a changing society seems to be quite a challenge, as new values coming from the Western world or those developed through the modernisation process can endanger this idealised morality. To meet the demands of the changing environment in a society, idealised morality sometimes cannot be used as it is out of fashion. This is why idealised morality can change in certain ways to meet the needs of the individual and society. As Notestine argued, parents ‘began to think less in terms of maintaining correct traditional behaviour, and more in terms of providing opportunities in the modern world for their children’s health, education and advancement’ (Notestine, 1983: 350). A simple example of this phenomenon in an Indonesian setting is the value attached to an arranged marriage. In the old days, Javanese or Sundanese families married their daughters off as young as nine or ten years of age (Geertz, 1961: 56, McDonald and Abdurachman, 1974: 3) to ensure parents’ status in not having an old maid in the family. Nowadays arranged marriages are much less common. Marriages are more based on self choice (love-marriage) rather than being arranged by parents (Malhotra, 1991: 550; Grace, 1996: 9). Increased freedom to choose one’s spouse is also apparent (Muliakusuma, 1982: 26, 65; Hull and Widyantoro, 1991: 2-4, Affandi, 1992: 3) and parents encourage their daughters to obtain higher education and to develop a career.

In Indonesia values on marriage seem to be strong. As a result, ideal values on marriage can lead to an artificial marriage concept, where marriage is highly valued by society but a partnership between husband and wife rarely exists. As marriage is highly valued by society it is often used to judge whether a person’s life is successful or not. The status of being married is more important than the marriage itself. That is why many marriages are kept just for the sake of status, even though the marriage is not working and both husband and wife are experiencing tremendous unhappiness. For the sake of married status and of having the image of an ‘ideal family’ in society, couples remain married even though they are not happy. Marriages are also kept
together for the sake of a position in government offices. According to the Indonesian marriage law (UU No.1/1974 \textsuperscript{13}) and the notion of PPIo\textsuperscript{14}, government employees need to ask their superiors for permission if they want to be divorced or remarried. When a government employee marries he or she must report the occasion within one year. The wife of a government employee would then receive a Karis (Kartu istri: wife card), and the husband of a government employee receives a Karsu (Kartu suami: husband card).

Marriage in Indonesia can be called universal marriage, because the proportion of women who are unmarried is very small. Virtually every Indonesian can expect to marry. Marriage is socially valued and to stay single is not socially acceptable (In-depth interviews with single young women in their late twenties and early thirties, Jakarta 1994/1995, case no. S15fj, S16fj, S36fj, S45fj, S73fj). It seems that Indonesian life is centrally geared towards marriage. Indonesian mothers, especially Javanese mothers, always focus their beliefs on married life. They often advise their daughters on beliefs related to marriage. For example, ‘Don’t use a broken glass or plate, you might end up with an invalid husband’. ‘When you eat then you have to finish all of your food, or else you might get a husband with lots of beard’. ‘You should always look after yourself, keep your appearance, stay a virgin, and all for the sake of making your future husband happy’. ‘A wife always has to serve the husband, she must always obey him and keep in mind that the husband is the head of the household - the king of the family’. The wife’s role is to run the household. Partnership in marriage is never explicitly advised.

\textsuperscript{13} UU Perkawinan tahun 1974 (UU no.1/1974) (1974 Marriage law) consists of the legal aspects related to marriage and marriage registration. The marriage law states that the minimum age of marriage for males is 19 and for females 16, and covers individual rights between women and men within marriage, marriage dissolution, divorce, and polygamy. The Indonesian marriage law states that the husband is the household head, and the wife is the mother and the person who manages the household. Although polygamy is permitted for Moslems, the principal foundation of the marriage law is based on monogamy. If polygamy is to occur it is very difficult to get permission from the superior (Sosroatmodjo and Aulawi, 1975; Suryakusuma, 1991a: 73).

\textsuperscript{14}PP 10 (Peraturan Pemerintah no.10/ 1983) was initiated by the Dharma Wanita (civil servants’ wives association) following complaints from its members regarding the number of government officials who engaged in extramarital affairs, leading to second marriages or having a mistress. PP 10 is regarded as a law to improve the Indonesian marriage law. The specific characteristic of PP 10 is that male civil servants need to ask permission from their superiors if they want to get divorced or have a second wife. Members of Dharma Wanita can make a complaint about their husbands through the Dharma Wanita in their husband’s office. This law covers marriage, divorce, polygamy, and living together without marriage. It does not state anything about prostitution or homosexual activities (Suryakusuma, 1991a: 75).
The concepts of artificial and universal marriage have led to a sexual double standard, especially among men. In general, they prefer to remain married and to have a mistress or lover on the side. The following is a summary of an interview related to this issue:

The involvement of the state in the marriage and sexual behaviour of government employees violates individual rights and autonomy of the government employee’s private life. Certain marriage and sexual behavioural trends among government employees are evident since PP10 was implemented in 1983. In general, violation of sexual and marriage breakdown has been ‘controlled’ and divorce rates among government employees have decreased. But at the same time the number of ‘artificial marriages’ has increased, having a mistress, using sex as a commodity, prostitutes to please clients related to a project, and using women as a sexual object to keep the ‘ball rolling’, is the preferred way of doing business (Suryakusuma, 1991b: 77).

Sexual double standards also exist among single men in relation to their values on virginity. The idea of women not losing their virginity until marriage was very important to the older generation of Indonesians, who have tried to pass on this way of thinking to the next generation. Some single men seem to prefer sexual relations with prostitutes so that their girlfriends may remain a virgin until they are married (Focus group discussions, 1994/1995).

A high value on motherhood or parenthood still exists in Indonesian society (Bennett, 1993: 2; Adioetomo, 1995: 110). Newly-weds are often pressured by society to have their first child instantly. A commonly discussed topic on newly-weds centres around their having their first child. Newly-weds who are experiencing difficulties with their fertility are often asked such questions as: Why aren’t you pregnant yet? Why is your wife not pregnant yet? Is there something wrong with her or are you the one that is having the problem? Have you sought medical advice or maybe you should also try traditional remedies? Becoming a successful parent is pressed upon couples by society. In evaluating how successful one’s marriage is, the success of the children is very important. Here again a successful marriage does not take into account the relationship between husband and wife, as it only considers the successes of their children.

According to Islam a child is perceived as someone who has no sins, born as a white piece of paper to parents who are ultimately responsible for all the markings on it. Thus the concept of a child in Islamic tradition is analogous to the theory of tabula rasa. Mohammed stated that:
Every child that is born is holy and without sin, parents will make that child into a Jew, Christian, or an adherent of Parseeism (H.R. Bukhari and Muslim, cited in Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 96, also cited in Akbar, 1993: 18 from a tale of Abu Ya'la, Thabrani and Baihaqi from Aswad bin Sari’).

All parents are responsible for teaching their children how to be faithful to Allah. Being faithful, thankful and believing in Allah's power has to be taught to every child by its parents. As Luqman Hakim advised his child:

O my child, this world is like a very deep ocean. Many people are drawn into the deep ocean, that is why you should make your ship sail in Allah's way, and you should stuff your ship with faith to Allah and you should also equip your ship with sailing gear that trust Allah, by doing this my child you will be safe (cited in Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 96).

Religious beliefs are also strongly prevalent among Indonesians, with 87 per cent of the population adhering to Islam (CBS, 1991). The older generations stress that from a religious perspective sexual intercourse can only happen when people are married. Adultery before or after marriage is severely punished by applying social sanctions. Regulations ranging from how women should present themselves, mixing behaviour between the sexes, marriage, who should marry, obligations in marriage, divorce, and adultery are clearly stated in the Qur'an. In relation to religious values in Indonesian society, Murray states that:

...religious ideology defines good and bad paths through life and condemns sex outside marriage; sexuality is used to judge women's morality but not men's. Thirdly, and sometimes in contradictory relation to the others, is the ideology of consumerism. Consumerism becomes linked with the universal aspiration of marriage in the image presented to a woman of her future as a housewife, glorified by husband and advertiser but submissive to both. Girls are presented with these ideas through the processes of socialisation in which extra familial influences are increasingly important (Murray, 1991: 127-128).

Murray argues that religious ideology is used to judge a person's life in relation to their sexual behaviour and that this judgement is mainly used to evaluate women. This is in spite of the fact that in the Qur'an, both men and women have the same rights and receive the same punishments in matters dealing with adultery.

In dealing with mixing behaviour between the sexes, Islam has strong and strict regulations. A man and woman can never be alone and engage in free conversation, unless they are married to each other or are biologically related. Muhammad stated: O believers of Allah and the Last Day, don't ever be alone with a woman, if she is not accompanied by her nearest kin, because under these circumstances the other party will be the devil (H.R. Ahmad, cited in Al-Mukaffi,
Regulation related to gazing at someone of the opposite sex is also very strict. We have to protect our eyes by avoiding eye contact with the opposite sex if they are not our nearest kin (muhrim). Eye contact can be very dangerous and can lead to deeper sexual desires (Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 69-70). As several of the ayat (no.30-31) in surat An-Nur stated, both men and women should guard their gaze and modesty, and women should not show their sexual appeal to the opposite sex. That is why it is strongly suggested that women should cover themselves and show only their face and hands (Qur’an: 1012-1013).

Avoidance of free mixing behaviour is also strongly advised. The concept of free mixing behaviour seems to be synonymous with the mixing behaviour adopted from the West, which has a negative connotation. Western culture is identified with a freedom of sex that causes high divorce rates, vague values on the marriage institution, moral decadence and the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Western culture is seen as an apostate movement, alongside those movements created by the Jews, Christians, and polytheist, that has the intention of destroying the Moslem moral state of mind by pushing its values of free mixing behaviour between the sexes and using this free mixing behaviour as a measurement of modernity. All forms of behaviour that can lead to adultery: gazing at the opposite sex, holding hands, dating, kissing etc. must be avoided (Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 79-82). Surat Al-Israa ayat 32 stated:

Nor come nigh to adultery: for it is an indecent (deed) and an evil way.\(^\text{15}\)

Other forms of sexual behaviour that contravene Islamic law include: masturbation, homosexuality, prostitution (Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 103-104), corrupting a girlfriend by premarital sex, group rape of a virgin, and using drugs as an escape from an unpleasant sexual drive (Akbar, 1993: 25-26). On the other hand, erotic dreams by both men and women are considered normal by Islamic standard (Al-Mukaffi, 1994: 103-104).

Values related to sexuality and marriage seem universal among the world’s main religions. It seems that all have strict values in dealing with sexuality and marriage, the differences lying in the specific precepts and prohibitions that an adherent has to follow when dealing with this issue. Similar to Moslem values on sexuality, Christianity also has strong conservative values:

\(^{15}\) Adultery is not only shameful in itself and inconsistent with any self-respect or respect for others, but it opens the road to many evils. It destroys the basis of the family: it works against the interests of children born or to be born; it may cause murders and feuds and less of reputation and property, and also loosen permanently the bonds of society. Not only should it be avoided as a sin, but any approaches or temptation to it should be avoided (Qur’an: 785-786).
...the meaning of sexual act itself: it will be said that Christianity associated it with evil, sin, the Fall, and death, whereas antiquity invested it with positive symbolic values. Or the definition of the legitimate partner: it would appear that, in contrast to what occurred in the Greek and Roman societies, Christianity drew the line at monogamous marriage and laid down the principle of exclusively procreative ends within that conjugal relationship. Or the disallowance of relations between individuals of the same sex: it would seem that Christianity strictly excluded such relationships, while Greece exalted them and Rome accepted them, at least between men. To these three points of major opposition might be added the high moral and spiritual value that Christianity, unlike pagan morality, accorded to strict abstinence, lifelong chastity, and virginity (Foucault, 1985: 14).

In Indonesia, idealised morality passes from one generation to the next through the family as a mediator, and through the education system, religious preachings and religious schools. The last two institutions are very common in Indonesian society both in rural and urban areas, and are almost universal throughout all social classes. Religious preaching groups vary from a group of housewives, elderly people, government employees, and people residing in a complex of houses, to teenagers, professionals, and relatives. These religious groups (kelompok pengajian) are led by religious preachers (ustad) and often meet once or twice a week. Religious schools are common as a type of program usually run after school at the mosque, or at other places where children are taught to read the Qur'an and the religious values and norms that Moslems have to follow. Religious teachers are sometimes hired by well-off families to teach their children to read the Qur'an.

Religious establishments are evident throughout Indonesia. Mosques, churches, and temples for followers of Hinduism and Buddhism can be easily found. But because the majority of the population are Moslems, mosques outnumber the other places of worship. Calls for prayers are sounded loudly five times a day from the loudspeakers of the mosques. It is very common to see people performing their daily prayers. The awareness of religion among the younger generation is quite strong, and observable from the increasing numbers of young females wearing Moslem clothing (veils) and their affiliation to religious groups and activities (Field observation, 1994/1995).

As mentioned earlier, sexuality remains a taboo subject. Information on sex is not passed on through the family or other institutions. Among the older generation, sex is not to be discussed or thought about. The notion of sex as something dirty, sinful outside of marriage and an unimportant issue in life still strongly dominates the thinking of the older generation. This conservatism towards sex is similar to the Victorian-era notion of sexuality.
On the subject of sex, silence became the rule. The legitimate and procreative couple laid down the truth, and reserved the right to speak while retaining the principle of secrecy. A single locus of sexuality was acknowledged in social space as well as at the heart of every household, but it was a utilitarian and fertile one: the parents' bedroom. The rest had only to remain vague; proper demeanour, avoided contact with other bodies, and verbal decency sanitised one's speech. And sterile behaviour carried the taint of abnormality; if it insisted on making itself too visible, it would be designated accordingly and would have to pay the penalty (Foucault, 1990:3-4).

The younger generation, overwhelmed by the proliferation of information on issues related to sexuality, has become more open when dealing with it. But the quality of their knowledge is questionable, because in general they were never educated on this issue. Living in very religious surroundings where the parents strongly enforce values on the importance of marriage; minimal knowledge of the nature of sex; and strong exposure to Western values, modernity and consumerism are the environment in which young Indonesians have grown up. Sources of social controls over sexuality, the content or behavioural direction of these controls, and how these controls influence the individuals are three interrelated issues in analysing sexuality. DeLamater points out that social institutions, primarily the family and religion, are the source of both general perspectives and specific norms that govern sexual expression. These affect the individual through processes of socialisation and other social influences throughout his or her life (DeLamater, 1981: 263-264).

1.2.3 The state and sexuality

...the passage in the Laws where Plato discusses the rules and obligations of marriage...that one should marry at the proper age (for men, between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five), beget children in the best possible conditions, and not have relations—whether one is a man or a woman—with anyone other than one’s marriage partner, all these injunctions take the form, not of a voluntary ethics, but of a coercive regimentation; it is true that the author remarks several times on the difficulty of legislating in this area and on the desirability for some measures to take the form of an ordinance only in the case of disorders and where the greatest number is no longer capable of moderation (Plato, Laws, VI, 773c and e.). In any case, the principles of this moral code are always directly referred to the needs of the state, and never to the internal demands of the household, the family, or married life: one should bear in mind that the good marriage is the one that benefits the city and it is for the sake of the latter that the children ought to be 'the noblest and best possible.' (Plato, Laws, VI 783c; cf.IV, 721a: VI, 773b.). Unions that— with respect to proportions beneficial to the state—should not be instances of the rich marrying the rich (Plato, Laws, VI, 784 d-e); meticulous inspections that would verify that young couples are carefully preparing themselves for the procreative task; the injunction, backed up by penalties, to inseminate only one's lawful wife without having any other sexual relations during the period in which one is capable of procreation—all this is tied to the particular structures of an ideal city
and is rather foreign to a style of moderation based on the voluntary pursuit of moderation\(^{16}\) (Plato, *Laws*, VI, 784e.) (Foucault, 1985: 167-168).

The idea of the state regulating personal life, with regard to age at marriage, marriage, sexuality, having children, and acceptable or unacceptable sexual behaviour, started as early as the fourth century and the beginning of the fifth. The state values family policies that will benefit the ‘city’ and not especially benefit the family or suit the family needs. Three texts that were developed were:

...the passage in the Laws where Plato discusses the rules and obligations of marriage; Isocrates’ exposition concerning the way Nicocles manages his life as a married man; and a treatise on economics attributed to Aristotle and definitely a product of his school (Foucault, 1985: 166).

The notion of the state regulating the family continues to the present. In almost every country there are laws regulating marriage, divorce, sexual activity and children’s welfare. In Indonesia, Marriage Law No.I 1974 includes regulations for marriage, age at marriage for men (19 years old) and women (16 years old), husband-wife obligations in marriage, divorce, the welfare of the children when divorce happens. Property rights after divorce are also clearly stated. For government employees, special regulations related to marriage and divorce are covered by PP10/1983. This law stresses the obligation to report the event of marriage and getting permission from one’s superior when asking for divorce before going to the state court. It also states how to deal with support and welfare when divorce happens.

In the 1974 Indonesian Marriage Law, husband and wife have the obligation to build a family which is the foundation of the social organisation.\(^{17}\) The obligations of husband and wife as stated in Clause 31 are contradictory: point no. 1 states that husband and wife have the same obligation and status in the family and social relations in the society, but point no. 3 states that the husband is the head of the household and the wife is the house wife who manages and takes care of the household. Clause no. 34 point 1 states that the husband has an obligation to protect and provide for all of the household needs in accordance with his ability to

\(^{16}\) Note that once past the age limit for having children, ‘the man or woman who behaves moderately (*sephronon kai sopronousa*) in all such respects should be accorded an entirely good reputation; he who behaves in the opposite fashion should be honoured in the opposite way—or rather dishonoured.’ (Plato, *Laws*, VI, 784e, cited in Foucault, 1985: 168).

\(^{17}\) Bab VI hak dan kewajiban isteri, Pasal 30, suami isteri memikul kewajiban yang luahir untuk menegakkkan rumah tangga yang menjadi sendi dasar dari susunan masyarakat (Sosroatmodjo and Aulawi, 1975: 89).
accommodate. So implicitly it can be understood that there is no obligation for the wife to provide for the family (Sosroatmodjo and Aulawi, 1975: 89).

In the past five years, a rapid change in the state's view of sexual activity has been occurring in Indonesia. The state takes an ambivalent position in response to the views of religious leaders and societies opposed to the strong media and business emphasis on sex and prostitution being permitted to operate legally. This is understandable because in Indonesian society, 'law' can extend beyond legislative determinations of government and includes both religious laws and customary regulations. Of course these laws generally are not open to prosecution in the state court, but they do shape community norms and attitudes and modify the way civil laws are carried out in practice. Relating to the criminal code (KUHP-Kitab Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana) on the sex industry, articles 296, 297, and 506 prohibit helping and facilitating illegal sexual activities and trading in women and under-age boys. The articles only prohibit the intermediaries who intentionally organise and facilitate sexual activities, such as pimps, and owners of call-girl establishments, but does not directly classify prostitution itself as criminal. Prostitution per se is not an illegal activity under the KUHP. In Islamic law, all sexual relations outside marriage are regarded as adulterous (Jones et al., 1995: 10-12). Inconsistency in these laws can be perplexing because even though the criminal law does not condemn prostitution, the religious law does, and this law provides a stronger basis for community attitudes and actions than does the criminal code (Mu'ithi, 1965: 15). In dealing with sexual activity the government has an ambivalent attitude because of this situation. The same circumstances apply to sex education: on one hand the state has identified it as a necessity, but on the other hand strong opposition has come from religious leaders, teachers, parents and the community.

With the increase in the incidence of HIV/AIDS (Brotowarsito and Roesmin, 1994; Utomo, 1995; Dharmaputra et al., 1997), the state has become receptive to issues related to sex. Working groups from the provincial level to the lower level have been developed under Presidential Decree no. 36/1994, established in May 30, 1994. There have been forceful campaigns in the media on HIV/AIDS, and HIV/AIDS programs educating senior high school students and teachers in Jakarta also have been developed in collaboration with non-government organisations (Djauzi, 1994: 6-7). In Yogyakarta, a pilot project is being developed by the provincial Education and
Cultural Office to design training for peer-group leaders so they can pass information on HIV/AIDS among high school and university students (*Kompas*, 5/4/1995: 3). Non-government organisations specialising in HIV/AIDS are extending throughout the provinces: there are 38 of these in major cities of Indonesia: Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Bali, Ujung Pandang, West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara in 1993-1994 (Private Agencies Collaborating Together, 1994). If the state is sensitive enough, it can use this momentum to implement sex education policy in schools, as a formal subject integrated with other subjects or on its own.

With globalisation of information on sex, the 'nation state' in Indonesia seems to be in a state of flux; the state cannot restrict information on sex influencing the society, but it has to demonstrate a responsible attitude towards the inherent culture and strong religious values. The strongest influence of the globalisation of information on sex seems to be upon young people. They appear to be developing values and norms of sexuality and family concepts distinct from those of the previous generation (Suyono, 1994: 3).

The State Ministry of Population strongly encourages the role of the family as the basic unit of the society to combat such forces. The Minister has been campaigning on the importance of the family in maintaining socio-cultural values and norms related to religion, love and affection, and reproduction. The Minister also emphasises the important role of the family unit in education, socialisation, economy and developing awareness for environmental issues. The Minister has also promoted the family as an agent in educating its members on reproductive health issues (Suyono, 1994: 3; Achir, 1994: 9)

### 1.2.4 Modernity and mixing between the sexes

At an international level, in recent times, the forces making for diversity appear to be in retreat, and there seems to be pressure towards the homogenisation of human experience. Much of this has to do with the globalising process of industrialisation and Westernisation, social changes and development of transport and communication (Jones, 1993: 1). Pertaining to these changes and the weakening to some extent of traditional values, there is strong evidence that unmarried cohabitation is increasing in East and Southeast Asia. Experts have argued that in spite of changing social norms, some of the traditional elements will remain strong, but patterns of more
frequent premarital or extramarital cohabitation are certainly developing. McDonald (1995) stated that young people in Moslem countries in Southeast Asia, having broader influences from the West and more education than previous generations are starting to have more control over their lives. Because of these forces, a similar marriage pattern to that of the West in the 1950s is evolving. Marriages are a result of love, not arrangements by parents. Premarital sexual relationships are socially unacceptable but increasing, but contraception is only for married couples (McDonald, 1995: 5).

It can be argued that even though there is less and less diversity (Jones, 1993: 1), traditional norms and values or idealised morality (McDonald, 1994) still support the culture within each ethnic group, that makes each distinctly different from the others. Even though the young people of Indonesia behave in some ways like those in the West, they are still very different in their attitudes and values. It seems that 'idealised morality' existing in Indonesia which is fuelled by religious norms and teaching and traditional social values, and also in a way supported by some institutions, still has a strong influence on the young generation. They adopt Westernisation only on values that do not endanger their 'idealised morality'. Therefore it is clear that young Indonesians, even though influenced by the conventional channels such as mass media, the education system and Western ideas, are not totally influenced by Western phenomena but have developed a set of values of Westernisation but with an Indonesian modification (McDonald, 1984:8). These kinds of Western phenomena combined with Indonesian modification can be called the modern Indonesian phenomena, which will keep on changing and progressing like Western values.

In his conceptual framework on social change and age at marriage, McDonald (1981) argued that in studying social change in marriage behaviour, particular emphasis should be put on historical changes of marriage customs and establishing link between functions and marriage. In analysing such changes, as marriage is an integral part of the institution of the family, it would be difficult to separate the particular functions of marriage from the broader functions of the family. If such division is possible, marriage functions can be divided into economic functions, social functions and personal or psychological functions.