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

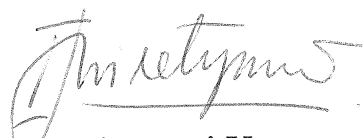
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A thesis submitted for the degree of
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Division of Demography and Sociology
Research School of Social Sciences
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Declaration

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work undertaken as a scholar in the Demography Program, Division of Demography and Sociology, Research School of Social Sciences, The Australian National University.



Iwu Dwisetyani Utomo

Canberra
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For my parents and Ririn, Karina and Nugroho

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*In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.
It is He Who is God
In heaven and God on earth;
And He is Full
of Wisdom and knowledge.*

*And blessed is He
To Whom belongs the dominion
Of the heavens and the earth,
And all between them:
With Him is the knowledge
Of the Hour (of Judgement):
And to Him shall ye
Be brought back.
(Ayat 84-85, surat Az-zukhruf/God Adornments)*

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Abstract

Indonesian single young people (15-24 years old) are experiencing extremely rapid and bewildering change in values, attitudes and behaviour towards the opposite sex. Premarital sex, pregnancy and abortion, and STDs are increasing among young people in urban and rural areas. Young people are becoming more liberal in various public expressions of sexual feelings. Age at marriage and educational attainment are increasing. Parents and society increasingly expect young people to have higher education and professional careers although marriage is still a universal goal.

Among Jakarta urban middle-class young people, lifestyles have become more Westernised than in previous generations. Young people ape the American youth culture as it is portrayed in the media, which is characterised by materialism, consumerism and recreational sex. Part of this is due to extensive exposure to information on sex and pornographic materials, 'Western' values and 'Western' products. Paradoxically, however, religious awareness among young people seems to be increasing, and more girls are wearing veils.

The rapid socio-economic changes in Indonesia have provided two strong and conflicting forces, Westernisation and tradition, Westernisation through massive globalisation of information and traditional values through family, religious teaching and other social institutions. The synthesis of these two strong forces is a set of values and attitudes that is uniquely Indonesian as young people have only adopted those values that do not endanger the idealised morality. This can be explained by the framework of *idealised morality, the state, modernisation and mixing between the sexes* that has been developed for this thesis.

The justification for this thesis is that the government still does not see young people as *sexual beings* who need information and services related to reproductive health. The government still treats sex as a private matter and not as a public-health concern. Consequently, sexuality remains marginal in the health and education agendas. Access to contraception and reproductive health services is highly restricted for single people. Sex education is not given at school and parents are reluctant to talk about sex to their children. Despite the sexual pressures that middle-class Jakarta young people are experiencing, their lack of knowledge on sexual and reproductive health issues puts them at risk of STDs including AIDs, premarital pregnancy and abortion, early marriage, and maternal and child health related problems. Other effects may be the loss of economic and educational opportunities through premarital pregnancy and early marriage.

This thesis examines sexual values, attitudes, and behaviour among urban middle-class single young people (15-24 years old) and married couples (30 years and older [older generation]). The issues covered include what is regarded as proper premarital sexual behaviour as well as concepts of marriage. Information related to sex education and family planning knowledge was also collected. Data used in this thesis are derived from the *1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey* which I conducted over a period of nine months. The survey covers 344 high school students, 175 university students and 120 married couples. Besides the survey, qualitative data were also obtained. Methods included in the qualitative approach are focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews. Ninety three in-depth interviews were conducted, not just among target groups but with experts and policy makers; 12 focus-group discussions were conducted among male and female young people living with parents or in boarding houses.

The conceptual framework of *idealised morality, the state, modernisation and mixing between the sexes* is operationalised as follows: interview data from the 1994/1995 Jakarta survey were developed into factor scales within three broad liberal-conservative dimensions of religiosity, media and Western exposure, and marriage values. Then using bivariate analysis the scales were validated by examining whether they displayed the expected relationships with respondents' characteristics, sexual behaviour and attitudes to sexual behaviour. In the final stage multivariate analysis was used to examine the extent to which sexual behaviour and attitudes are related to the scales considered to be valid. The sexual attitudes and behaviour in

this case were developed into the following indices: *attitudinal sexual index when a couple is dating*, *attitudinal sexual index when a couple is already engaged* and *sexual behaviour index*.

This study supports the hypothesis that the more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more intensive is the level of premarital sexual involvement. Attitudes toward premarital sex also appear to become more liberal as a relationship moves closer toward marriage, from dating to being engaged. In terms of permissiveness towards premarital sexual values and behaviour, it seems that young adults (20-24 years old) are more permissive than adolescents (15-19 years old), and males, non-Moslems and young people living in boarding houses are more permissive, than females, Muslim and young people living at home.

Factor analysis was successfully used to identify factors underlying the three broad dimensions of *religiosity*, *exposure to media and Western culture* and *marriage values*. Bivariate analysis of the 15 factors and the three sexuality indices indicate that almost the same pattern emerges as in the previous analysis. Both religious factors (*Obligation to religious performance* and *Voluntary religious performance*) emerge as prominent predictors of the three sexuality indices. The religiosity dimension is an important determinant of sexual behaviour and attitudes. In the exposure to media and Western culture dimension, *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to health and science programs on television* and *Exposure to radio programs news and popular science reports* which reflect engagement with the modern world, were strong forecasters of the sexuality indices, while *Exposure to Western influences* is again prominently related to the respondent's own sexual behaviour. Thus, it can be argued that liberal sexual behaviour and attitudes are related to exposure to Western music, movies, and other influences as well as to engagement with the modern world. *Power-authority in marriage* consistently emerges as the only strong marriage values factor related to all three sexuality behaviour indices. This makes it clear that those with more liberal sexual behaviour and attitudes are less likely to see the husband in a position of power over the wife and are more likely to believe in greater equality between the husband and wife.

As for sources and usefulness of information on sexuality, middle-class young people in Jakarta depend more on media, school and peers than on family members, and find media and school to be the most useful sources. The most important finding regarding information on sexuality is that *respondents' level of knowledge on sexuality is associated with their sexual attitudes and behaviour*. Respondents who have a higher level of knowledge on sexuality are less likely to have liberal sexual attitudes or to be involved in sexual activities. This is a strong argument for giving sex education to young people in Indonesia.

In comparing attitudes and behaviour towards premarital sex across the two generations, it seems that changes in attitudes to premarital sex occur cross-sectionally, meaning that the attitudes of both generations change at the same time. In contrast, however, patterns of sexual behaviour do not appear to have changed dramatically over time. Males of the older generation continue to have both a public and a private persona, thus being more hypocritical about their sexual behaviour than younger males. Males of the older generation express relatively conservative attitudes compared to males of the younger generation, but their behaviour when young was similar to that of the younger generation. This is very different from females of both generations, who demonstrate similar attitudes and behaviour regarding premarital sex. In sum, with the exception of the relatively conservative public persona of males from the older generation, the attitude gap between young people and the older generation appears to be small.

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.¹ 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.

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 fiancée, 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

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, Sulistyaningsih 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.³ 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

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 Achdiat, 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'.⁴ 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 rupiahs for the medication and another 30 thousand rupiahs 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, P17fj).

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

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 rupiahs, 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.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.

Ever experienced premarital intercourse :

Ani, Toni and Tikno

Tikno⁶ (taxi driver who married in 1977 because his girlfriend (X) became pregnant). Tikno said 'my marriage was an accident'.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

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.

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.

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.

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, Y89fy).

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, C87fy).

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, L70my).

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, L72my).

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, L28fj).

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, M9fj).

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, I59fj).

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)⁸: 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'.⁹ (Jakarta, Villa Delima Real Estate, Lebak Bulus, 24/8/1994, W35mj).

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'.¹⁰ (Jakarta, Villa Delima Real Estate, Lebak Bulus, 24/8/1994, s35amj)

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 '*perek*'¹¹ or mistresses, because he often comes across them. High school students become *perek* 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 *pereks* 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 Cimangis-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, Cimangis/ 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 Achdiat'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

¹¹ *Perek* 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 Widyanoro 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; Widyantoro, 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; Sittitrai 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.¹² Middle-class respondents were deliberately chosen in

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 Dowsett 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 Notestein 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' (Notestein, 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 Widiantoro, 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*¹³) and the notion of *PP10*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.

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).

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,

1994: 84). 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.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 loss 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 783e; 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 moderation¹⁶(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 (*sophronon kai soprnousa*) 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 luhur untuk menegakkan 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'thi, 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.

The economic functions of marriage refer to the economic interests of the family or members of the family. The social functions of marriage serve as an important element in the maintenance or transformation of the social structure. These may serve to strengthen or weaken social differentiation, either by class or by group. They are the means of forming or strengthening social or political alliances, as a new branch in the family lineage serves to continue and expand the lineage, provide social control of sexual activity, maintain the socio-political role relationships in the society, especially those by sex and kin, and reinforce or establish the social prestige of those involved. While the personal or psychological functions of marriage may be defined as the only socially acceptable vehicle for sexual gratification, source of affection, love and emotional support, it may also be a form of initiation into full adult membership of the society, and a means of achieving spiritual reward in the religious sense.

Marriage functions, of course, do not exist in isolation but rather in accordance with the prevailing social structure and its value system. The force of social change initiated by social structure and the value system, eventually produces changes in function. In turn, the changes in function are reflected in changes in marriage customs, including the age at which people marry (McDonald, 1981: 416-418).

Analogous to the change in marriage functions that can affect the age at marriage, changes in the pattern of premarital relationships including marriage values, stages experienced before marriage, courting behaviour, mate selection, values and expression of premarital sexual intimacy among young people can be elucidated.

The framework of idealised morality, the state, modernity and mixing between the sexes can be operationalised as follows. Idealised morality containing traditional values and behaviour, religious teaching and values, and some institutional support affects the nation state and pattern of socialisation. The nation state in the 1945 constitution, Pancasila and the New Order government in the late 1960s assigned strong emphasis to socio-economic development, and several government policies such as the 1974 Marriage Law, Indonesian Act No.10 1992, on population and development of the prosperous family, the Abortion Act under Indonesian criminal code (KUHP), clause 346-349 and Health Act under clause no. 15, the family planning program initiated in 1968, Health Law no.23, 1992 and the 1994 presidential decree on AIDS prevention and control, have given Indonesian young people a taste

of national ideology. These factors interacting with Western values and other forces of social change have influenced the pattern of socialisation among young people. As a result Indonesian young people have developed a specific 'national identity and ideology' that has become their frame of reference alongside their community, family and ethnicity (see McDonald, 1984:8). While earlier, young people only had their community, ethnicity and mainly their family as their reference groups, nowadays they also have the nation state, education, media exposure, and 'Westernisation' as their reference points in legitimising their behaviour and decisions.

The role of the family for young people is not as dominant as before, since they can use the values of other reference groups to argue against values or decisions of parents. Hence the younger generation are starting to have more control over their lives and have the opportunity to make more independent decisions on premarital relationships and mate selection. As a result love-marriage is more common and freedom in engaging with the opposite sex becomes more evident. So young Indonesians now are behaving more liberally than previous generations. In conclusion, it can be stated that changes in the nature of the premarital relationship are an outcome of a very complex combination of forces.

1.3 Conclusion

Sexuality as one of the major themes of the human sciences is a very broad and complex theme to unfold. But the main stream of social scientists agree that sexuality is a social construct. The society, culture, the state and political environment surrounding sexuality mould norms and values relating to sexuality. That is why what is regarded as normal or not normal is different from culture to culture and from a certain time in a historical period.

Studying middle-class young people's marriage values, mate selection and premarital sexual behaviour within a framework of idealised morality, the state and modernity along a liberal-conservative dimension is quite important in Indonesia. Sexuality is socially and politically controlled by the state and idealised morality is strongly enforced by the society. Thus young Indonesians are facing opposing social forces at the same time, traditional and modern values: liberality at one extreme and conservatism on the other.

Indonesian young people who are of reproductive age face tremendous social change. In an era of industrialisation, Westernisation, information, the globalisation of transport and communication, and social change, transformation of cultural values and traditional norms is inescapable. The Indonesian youth of today grew up in very different surroundings from those of their parents or grandparents. Today's generation has more freedom because of the political-economic situation of Indonesia. It was not until recently that Indonesian young people had space and freedom to develop their own individuality. This was not evident in the past, especially during the colonial era when social values were still very strict and conservative. In the past, young Indonesians' frame of reference did not extend far beyond their immediate family and ethnicity, but young Indonesians of today are more exposed to education, mass media and government programs. Therefore they have new points of reference: their peers, their family, their counterparts in the Western world, their school, their teacher, national identities (McDonald 1984:1), globalisation of information, and computer networks. This is why they are more free in the way they express themselves than were their parents or grandparents.

In recent times Indonesia has faced an enormous social change in mixing behaviour between the sexes before marriage which has been marked by a later age at first marriage, more freedom of spousal choice, an increasing number of love-marriages, delayed birth of first child, and increasing freedom for daughters especially to get higher education and develop a career. Although high values are still attached to parenthood and marriage, today's parents encourage their children to attend higher education, develop a broad perspective on knowledge and to find a career. That is why among the middle and upper class, investing in a child's education by sending them to an expensive school or by sending them abroad to study is becoming an increasingly common practice.¹⁸ Problems occur because although young Indonesians are more

¹⁸ Recently new housing has been built in the urban fringes of Jakarta; for example in Lippo Village located in Tangerang, Bintaro Jaya and Pondok Indah in the southern part of Jakarta which are elite areas. In these new housing areas there are modern schools that operate like schools in the West. Some even use English as their teaching language and have long school hours with moving classes. The government school hours are 7 AM-12 noon and afternoon classes start at 1 PM-6 PM; students stay in one class room and the teachers who follow a fixed schedule move from one class to another. The two shifts of school (morning or afternoon shifts) had to be used because of shortage of accommodation. The Indonesian government permits foreign teachers to work in Indonesia. So in the high-prestige schools like Pelita Harapan (from kindergarten until university) and Sekolah Global Jaya (Global Jaya School) for example many foreign teachers are recruited. Exclusive and elite Islamic schools are also becoming a trend in Jakarta. Alazhar (Junior High and Senior High) boarding school in Lippo City Bekasi was established in January, 1994. To be enrolled in this school each student would have to pay an enrolment

free to engage with the opposite sex, they still have to cope with a prolonged period of strong sexual drives before marriage to meet the value of 'staying a virgin until marriage'.

In the area of sexuality, young Indonesians face a conflicting situation. On the one hand their knowledge of sexuality is very limited because sex education is not formally given at school, except in certain schools, usually Catholic and Protestant religious schools. There is no communication on the nature of sex from parents to their children because of cultural, psychological and communication problems, and also because parents never had the experience of receiving this information from their own parents. So it is obvious that parents will feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their children. Talking about sex in public is still taboo, and at the state level there is a strong belief that sex should be treated as a private matter and not a public concern. This is why policies related to sexuality are not designed to suit health or educational concerns. On the other hand, information on the 'Western' way of life, specifically on sexually related information from television, films, movies, videos, magazines, books, pornographic materials (Mohammad, 1981: 13; Suyono H., 1981: 5-6; Suyono P.K., 1981: 42; Surapaty, 1991: 10;) and computer network cannot be restrained. Therefore, there is a gap between the correct knowledge of sexuality and the colossal provocation from the media. With the incidence of STDs and especially HIV/AIDS rising (Brotowarsito and Roesmin, 1994; Utomo, 1995; Utomo et al., 1997a), young Indonesians are facing a bleak future. While increasing incidence of premarital sex, pregnancies and abortions is evident, especially in the urban areas of Indonesia, young Indonesians are not sufficiently equipped with the proper knowledge and understanding of the nature of sex, not to mention 'safe sex' and contraception. Therefore, young Indonesians are increasingly facing the risks of reproductive

payment of 20 million rupiahs (1 Australian dollar = Rp. 1600 in 1995), with monthly tuition fees of 500 thousand rupiahs and boarding fees of 350 thousand rupiahs. Alazhar schools are located in several parts of Jakarta and also in new areas developed in the urban fringes of Jakarta. Some of the Alazhar schools go from kindergarten to Senior High School.

Elite and Western style schools are built because rich Indonesian parents like to send their children to study abroad, so Indonesian entrepreneurs seek to build similar facilities and programs but located in Indonesia. Media advertisements about studying abroad are also pervasive. There are advertisements about agencies that specialize in helping students to look for schools abroad, arrange the enrolment and help to find accommodation to stay either with host families or in dormitories. Agencies on English courses and GMAT courses are also widespread, and can be found easily in all areas of Jakarta. These agencies set courses so students going abroad can pass TOEFL or GMAT tests. Special exhibitions in hotels and exhibition centres are often held promoting universities in Australia or America. Indeed agencies handling education abroad have grown into a big and profitable business (Field observation, 1994/1995).

behaviour such as teenage pregnancies, leading to teenage marriages, sexually transmitted diseases and the social and economic problems of teenage childbearing, which may affect the health of both the teenage mother and her children.

Chapter 2

Sexuality and Relationships Between the Sexes in Indonesia: a Historical Perspective

...history is rooted in the narrative tradition. As much as it seeks to generalize from the past events, as do the sciences, it also remains dedicated to capturing the uniqueness of a situation...In piecing the individual stories together, we try to pause as an artisan might, and point out problems of evidence, historical perspective, or logical inference. Sometimes, we focus on problems that all historians must face, whatever their subjects. These include such matters as the selection of evidence, historical perspective, the analysis of a document, and the use of broader historical theory...The writing of history is one of the most familiar ways of organizing human knowledge. And yet, if familiarity has not always bred contempt, it has at least encouraged a good deal of misunderstanding. All of us meet history long before we have heard of any of the social science disciplines, at a tender age when tales of the past easily blend with heroic myths of the culture (Davidson and Lytle, 1992: xiv-xvii).

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a varied approach is used to study sexuality from a historical perspective. Besides research in the literature, personal communication was undertaken with historians with expertise in Indonesian and Javanese history. With this combined approach I gained a more holistic understanding of the history of sexuality and how values relating to sex have changed over time. The objective of this chapter came from my wondering about the origin of the notion of conservatism in regard to sexuality. Has it always been rooted in our cultural and social values? Or are there other forces either from religion or Westernisation that also have influenced our values towards sex?

...Southeast Asia was in many respects the complete antithesis of that chaste pattern, and it seemed to European observers of the time that its inhabitants were preoccupied with sex. The Portuguese liked to say that the Malays were 'fond of music and given to love' (Barbosa 1518II: 176; cf. Barros 1563 II, vi: 24; Eredia 1613: 31, 40), while Javanese, like Burmese, Thais, and Filipinos, were characterised as 'very lasciviously given, both men and women' (Scott 1606: 173). What this meant was that pre-marital sexual relations were regarded indulgently, and virginity at marriage was not expected of either party. If pregnancy resulted from these pre-marital activities, the couple were expected to marry, and failing that, resort might be had to abortion or (at least in the Philippines) to infanticide (Dasmariñas 1590A: 427) (cited in Reid, 1988: 153).

The above quotation indicates how in the 'age of commerce' (1450-1680 AD) sexual activity among the people of Southeast Asia was very open. From historical documents it is clear that this was the case among Indonesians, and women had more power than men over their sexual activity. Women initiated sexual intercourse and men sometimes underwent very painful penis surgery to insert tiny balls under their loose penis skin with the aim of pleasing women. This is in contradiction to

contemporary Indonesian attitudes on sex. Even though premarital sexual activity is increasingly evident people do not openly talk about sex. Virginity is regarded as crucial for marriage and sex outside marriage is regarded as immoral. Sexual activity is influenced by state regulation, the political environment, religious beliefs and traditional norms and values. Yet double standards exist, as shown by young men having sexual intercourse with prostitutes but wanting to find virgin wives. This chapter attempts to evaluate the source of conservative attitudes towards sexuality.

It is quite difficult to study sexual activity using historical accounts owing to their scarcity and because literature dating from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries was written in Javanese. This poses difficulties for scholars who do not read and understand Javanese, and who rely on translations. Nevertheless, sexual and other aspects of life can be studied through written literature. According to Barbara McDonald (personal communication, 11 February, 1996, Canberra):

To trace traditional Indonesian sexuality concepts, one can examine written literature such as ancient stories and legends passed through the community. Through these ancient stories and legends, social constructs and values regarding politics, economy, trade, food consumption and food patterns, sexuality, roles and values of gender can be studied. Written evidence showed that during the tenth until the fourteenth century sexuality as written in literature was very open: for example, the description of a beautiful woman's body with all her erotic organs, and the sexual relationship between the king and his wives and *selirs*. Even though by recent standards it can be categorised as promiscuous, during that era the notion of sensual sexuality was not regarded as promiscuous because it is written in poems using words that rhyme but are not obscene. From the fifteenth until the eighteenth century there was very little written literature, this period is often called the Dark Age. The *Panitisastro* which was written in the eighteenth century evaluated values such as role of parents, role of children and roles of servants to their king.

On the other hand, Hull takes a more cautious view of using historical literature. In his article on 'Indonesian fertility behaviour before the transition: searching for hints in the historical record' he states:

Theoretically a long tradition of written history would offer the most stable foundation for such cultural identification, but among developing nations written histories are often sparse and suspect, since they were the product of colonial institutions rejected in the rise of nationalism. Instead reinterpretations of written histories are elaborated through reference to oral traditions and imagined 'realities', to produce visions of society more in consonance with modern conditions and political needs (Hull, Forthcoming: 1).

Hull used documents from the early part of the twentieth century for his paper to evaluate fertility behaviour including marriage, mating, premarital sex, morality, and controls on fertility. His acerbic view of Indonesian historical documentation is as follows:

Indonesia is an 'oral culture' not only in the difficulty many people have in reading and writing serious works, but also in the lack of interest in documentation of arguments or review of the literature (Hull, Forthcoming: 2).

I agree with the notion of an Indonesian 'oral culture', but not with the suggestion that there was a lack of interest in documenting ideas. Barbara McDonald is referring to the court literature that can be very useful and rich in information relating to sexuality for example. Moslem literature is also very rich and contains much information about life, social norms and values, history and religious teaching. Hull seems to ignore the existence of this court literature and religious literature which can be passed to the broader population through traditional means such as the *wayang*. To trace the notion of conservatism towards sexuality, and to provide an overview of this matter, this chapter uses Javanese literature that has been translated into either Indonesian or English, as well as other documentation from the early part of this century.

In the ensuing discussion I present a selection of Javanese literature called *Arjunawijaya* and *Centini*.¹⁹ Openness towards sexuality can be seen throughout both pieces of work. The verses written in *Arjunawijaya a kakawin* by MPU Tantular are as follows:

(Canto 32)

10 There was [another girl who was] like a sprite, her beauty, as if emerging from the sea,
aroused poetic feelings;
her hips, exposed as she put to rights her slipping *kain*, curved like a wave;
her breasts, as beautiful and firm as coral-reefs seemed to bring heart-break to the love-sick,
and her whimpers, as she was frightened at the flash of the lightning, were like rumbling thunder.

...

12 'O you, who came to me in a dream and took me on your lap, and held me round the waist
while untying the knot of my *kain*;
who sought for my love, who was as discerning in gesture as a bumblebee
approaching flowers drawn by their fragrance.
It was not like a dream at all, when you carried me to the shore behind the elephant rock;
but just as I was about to yield to your love, night was suddenly past, and when I woke, you had
vanished.

(Canto 33)

7 her sweet-scented *kain* was seductively transparent as clouds after rain;
[the curve of] her hips was like that of a tender young branch, matching beautifully with her
slowly heaving breast.

¹⁹*Arjunawijaya* is a Javanese poem written in the middle of the Fourteenth Century by MPH Tantular. *Centini* is a milestone and great *karya sastra* in the new era of Javanese literature. *Centini* is reported to have been written in Surakarta palace in 1820. Pangeran Adipati Anom who was Pakubuwana V chaired a panel of three distinguished authors: Raden Ngabei Ranggalasutrasna, Raden Ngabei Yasadipura II, and Raden Ngabei Sastradipura. *Centini* consists of 12 volumes comprising over 6000 pages. The aim of this book was to accommodate all kinds of knowledge and Javanese culture (PN Balai Pustaka, cited in Sumahatmaka, 1981: 6).

She made an obeisance, and unloosed her hair, as she made to throw herself into the perilous sea, but the mist closed in over the scene once more, and she was hidden from the sight of the onlookers.
(Supomo, 1977: 229-231).

Clearly these verses of *Arjunawijaya* describe sexuality very openly, romantically and sensually.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Javanese sultan Pakubuwana the Fifth wrote the twelve-volume masterpiece *Centini*. These books were written in a palace environment during the process of Islamisation but before the Islamic reformation. These two conditions influenced Pakubuwana's writings. As with the *Arjunawijaya*, the *Centini* openly discusses sexuality but also mentions the relationship with God (in the understanding of Islam). In this context, the relationship between man and God and man with many women is seen as identical. References to sexual relationships between a man and women are common and how they express their sexual feelings to each other is described in a straightforward manner. The idea of sexually transmitted diseases was also introduced. Marriage ceremonies at the mosque and the whole series of wedding celebrations combining Qur'anic readings were evident (M. Ricklefs, 22 February, 1996, personal communication, Canberra).

A story from *Centini* describes how three sisters shared information and experiences on sexuality and initiated intercourse with a male guest who was spending the night at their house. Sex in this story is described very explicitly. Even more interesting is that women have power over their sexual behaviour. The three sisters, Banem, Baniken and Baniyah frequently watched their parents have sexual relations and thus knew that their parents did so every second or third night. Not aware that their father was too old to be on top, the three sisters accepted that the woman was always on top during sexual intercourse. So when Jayengraga (the male guest) said he would do *walik dadah* to the youngest sister the two elder sisters did not understand what he meant.²⁰

All three sisters were very open about sex, asking Jayengraga if he would make love to Banem without any embarrassment. Banem started to open her *kain* and place herself on top of Jayengraga. She asked Jayengraga very personal things, for example, how to deal with the pain and how to reach a climax. Jayengraga was surprised that she was still a virgin as she was already quite old. He taught Banem everything step by

²⁰ *Walik dadah* means having sexual intercourse where the man is on top.

step, which she passed on to Banikem and Baniyah. The three sisters watched alternately as each was having sex with Jayengraga. Baniyah was still quite young for her pubic hair had not grown yet. She could not stand the pain and ran away before the intercourse finished. Then Banem and Banikem requested Jayengraga to make love to both of them. Asking the two sisters to lie down naked side by side Jayengraga took turns in making love to both of them seven times. Banem and Banikem fought each other both physically and verbally for Jayengraga's love and attention, so much so that when Jayengraga ejaculated he was in neither of them. Afterwards Jayengraga went to the nearby lake leaving Banem and Banikem behind to argue because they both failed to reach an orgasm (Sumahatmaka, 1981: 110-113).

It can be taken from the above example that sexuality was seen as something quite natural. Women had the power to ask for, initiate, and demand their preferred positions during sexual intercourse. They were not afraid to ask men how to achieve an orgasm. This is very different from the modern Indonesian concept of sexuality, where women are meant to suppress their sexuality and never ask for or initiate sexual intercourse. Were the above story written today it would no doubt be banned for discussing such immoral acts as group sex, women initiating sexual intercourse and their demands for sexual gratification. Moreover, sexuality was seen as normal despite strong religious practices being enforced: very deviant behaviour from the perspective of recent Islamic beliefs. The difference between Islamic beliefs in the recent era and in the past is in the attitudes to sex outside marriage. The former only recognises sex as being normal and not sinful if it occurs within marriage.

Supomo (personal communication, 6 March 1996, Canberra) stated that both Hindu and Buddhist thought had a strong influence on the Javanese, for despite the arrival of Islam they maintained liberal attitudes towards sex. This is clearly demonstrated in stories from the *Centini* where eroticism is openly expressed alongside Moslem teachings.

Furthermore, Supomo argued that besides the coming of Islam, Dutch colonialism helped shape Indonesian conservatism towards sexuality through its education system. In this case the Dutch may have been influenced by the English as the system in England was conservative through the predominant influence of the Victorian era. During the nineteenth century, Indonesian literature became increasingly conservative as writers went through the Dutch educational system. This

explains why sexual conservatism is quite strong among the Indonesian middle and upper class, but less so in the rural communities that were not touched by the Dutch colonial education system (Supomo, personal communication, 6 March 1996, Canberra). This assertion is also confirmed by Hull (Forthcoming: 2) as follows:

...it will be argued that the 'traditional' moralities condemning premarital sexual relations are very much imported moralities having more to do with Islam and Dutch colonialism than with traditional Malayo-Polynesian social patterns.

Reid's statement (personal communication, 29 February 1996, Canberra) supported this idea as follows:

Before the sixteenth century, the Westerners had this sense of sexuality among the Indonesian-Southeast Asian people as more relaxed or loose compared to Westerners' morality on sex. During 1550-1650 there was a crucial period of Islamisation and urbanisation in Indonesia. In the city more strict Islam was apparent so the urban *boswa* pattern (pattern of puritanism) was more conspicuous in the city whereas the rural area was more matter-of-fact. The peak of entry of orthodox Islam was in the seventeenth century.

In addition to the Dutch influence on the middle-class, Ricklefs argued that the reformation of Islam in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century brought about major social change in Indonesia. Sexual conservatism can also be linked with the starting point of the spread of Islam. For example, sexual conservatism is dominant in Sumatra where the Islamic reformation movement was the strongest, whereas in regions such as East Timor where the Islamic reformation movement is weak a liberal attitude towards sexuality prevails (M. Ricklefs, personal communication, 22 February 1996, Canberra). Ricklefs's argument was supported by Hesselink (1987: 212) understanding that in areas of the archipelago with strong Islamic values there were fewer prostitutes and concubines. Hesselink (1987: 212) noted the importance of family upbringing besides religious values that can suppress woman's wickedness, lack of moral values and the entry into prostitution.

2.2 The notion of traditional Indonesian sexuality

Attitudes to sexuality are different from era to era and from one society to another (Onghokham, 1991:15). It is also understood that sexuality is historically and culturally specific (Manderson, 1995: 2). This is why each society develops its own sexual norms and values. What is considered normal sexual behaviour in one society may not be regarded as normal in another. Hirschfeld, a pioneer in the scientific account of sexual problems, wrote:

The subject of the uninhibited worship of the genitals leads us to that of the phenomenon of shame. The portions of the body which we Europeans designate as private parts are by no means those of which people everywhere feel they need be ashamed. Even modesty concerning intercourse is not to be found everywhere. There are peoples who have a special modesty regarding the face, their hair, the legs, the function of nourishment or excretion. Nakedness in particular is not looked upon or looked down upon in the same manner everywhere.

On my world tour I travelled on the train from Assuan to Luxor with a British official who was returning from Sudan, where he had lived for fifteen years. He told me that sexual assaults, and especially rape, had not occurred among the natives until the British, a few years before, forbade them to go naked, as they had long been accustomed to do (Hirschfeld, 1935: xiv-xv).

From the above it is clear that the notions of sexual modesty differ in different parts of the world. The above-mentioned sexual assaults by the Sudanese in response to the British imposing their 'sense of modesty' is a case in point.

The notion of the promiscuous nature of Indonesian men and women was held by European colonists who saw the sexual mores of both men and women in the East Indies as more open. Various contemporary sources attribute Indonesians with a more relaxed approach to sexual relations both within and outside marriage owing to practices of child marriage, polygamy, and widespread divorce. The European colonists emphasised racial differences between European women and Indonesian women. European women were considered superior morally to Indonesian women who were seen as born prostitute owing to the practice of prostitution and concubinage. Even though there were a few European women who were prostitutes, European government in the Indies did not tolerate European prostitution (Hesselink, 1987: 211; Van Der Sterren, nd: 25).

When analysing the traditional Indonesian outlook on sexuality it is necessary to place the concept of sexuality before the arrival of Islam and colonialism (Onghokham, 1991:21). With this definition of traditional Indonesian sexuality it is possible to understand what sexuality was in former times.

Southeast Asian literature from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century reveals that women took a very active role in courtship and lovemaking, and demanded as much as they gave in sexual and emotional gratification. Autonomous sexual power of women is clearly demonstrated by the sexual pleasure that they could demand. During the Age of Commerce, men were willing to go through painful surgery on their penis, in some instances the insertion of a metal pin, complemented by a variety of wheels, spurs, or studs in the central and southern Philippines and parts of Borneo. In northwest Borneo this practice continued until modern times. In Makassar, up to three tiny penis balls

made from ivory or solid fishbone were inserted under the loose skin of the penis through a delicate operation (van der Hagen 167: 82, cited in Reid, 1988: 150). These practices were quickly suppressed by Islam, but the Toraja in Sulawesi (non-Islamic) still wore penis balls up to the end of the last century (Adriani and Kruyt 1912-14 II: 392, cited in Reid, 1988: 150). From lingas found at Suku and Cetu temples near Surakarta it appears that this practice existed in Java as well (Stutterheim, 1930: 31, cited in Reid, 1988:150). Through the strong efforts of Islam and Christianity this custom had disappeared from Java by the mid-seventeenth century (Reid, 1988: 150).

The freer sexuality in Indonesia is reflected by how people viewed premarital sexual activities and virginity. In Banjarmasin the women were 'very constant when married, but loose when single' (Beeckman 1718: 41; cf. Valentijn 1726III: 312; Low 1848: 196; Finlayson 1826: 309-10, cited in Reid, 1988: 154). In South Sulawesi in the pre-Islamic period, adultery with an unmarried woman was allowed but with a married woman was punished with death (Schurhammer 1977:530, cited in Reid, 1988: 154).

In the early twentieth century evidence of naturalness of sexuality, women's autonomy in sexual activity and 'the king's' sexual power over women under his authority in different parts of Indonesia had also been observed by Hirschfeld (1935: 113):

Almost without exception the women and girls of Bali go naked down to their navels (the children go entirely naked), proudly displaying their beautifully formed breasts. After a short time, clothed bodies strike one as disagreeable. Dr. Kruse, a German doctor who for a long time had a large practice in Bali, states in his book that only the prostitutes there cover up their breasts in order to arouse men's curiosity and allure them. I could not get confirmation to this report, but my informant seemed trustworthy enough for me to accept the correctness of this observation-at least as far as his particular part of the country and his period are concerned (113).

Among the Minangkabau peasants in the Padang highlands, woman is the sole ruler in the home, courtyard and family, just as she is in Formosa. Husband and children bear her name. The husband is maintained by the wife, but he lives outside the home and is only occasionally used by her for sexual intercourse. When this has been consummated, he goes away again. But recently, the men have begun to feel that their position is undignified and have migrated in flocks to Indo-China in search of work and better living conditions (127).

I visited the '*kratons*' of Jogya and Solo-each of which consist of extensive parks with the palace (*Kraton*) at the centre (somewhat on the order of Vatican City). There, even to-day, the sultans hold sway as sole rulers over the bodies and lives of their subjects-but particularly over their bodies. Here the *ius prima noctis* still exists, and every family is proud if the Sultan has 'slept' with one of its members. 'The Sultan slept *nine times* with our aunt,' my host's young servant-girl boasted, beaming with happiness over this mark of distinction (129).

The Susuhunan lives in his palace as sole lord over four hundred and fifty women, of whom only thirty-four are his wives. All the rest are dancers and servants, but, when their master desires it, they must also be ready to serve as concubines (132).

The quotation from Hirschfeld (1935) indicated that in different parts of Indonesia, different practices and norms regarding sexuality were being practised. But of course Hirschfeld wrote his book well after the influence of Islam and after the Dutch had settled in Indonesia, so to some extent differences in these 'unifying' forces have to be taken into account.

The notions of sexual freedom, premarital sexual activity, fidelity within marriage, temporary marriage or concubinage, and strong female autonomy in sex were much in conflict with Islamic law specifically and other religions which were increasingly coming to Southeast Asia during the thirteenth to fifteen century. Premarital sexual relations (or adultery called *zina*) were punished very severely under Islamic law. Islamic law was most practised among the wealthy urban mercantile elite, because parents in these circumstances wanted to control their children's marriage for reasons of both property and status. In practice, Islamic law codes and local custom seem to be in conflict and the practice of Islamic law codes is not uniform from place to place. For example, in Aceh and Brunei, when a *zina* offence was between married people, death sentences appear to have been common, in at least one case by flogging to death as the Islamic law prescribes (Ito 1984:168-70; Dasmatinas 1590B: 9, cited in Reid, 1988: 157). But in other areas, the punishment was not as severe and largely dependent on local customs.

Wealthy parents controlled their children's marriage arrangements in some parts of Southeast Asia where Islam was very influential:

In Southeast Asia, too, the elite were anxious to avoid unacceptable liaisons by their daughters or doubtful parentage for their grandchildren, and therefore sought betrothals with appropriate spouses at an early age. In the wealthy trading cities most firmly committed to Islam-Aceh, Banten, Brunei, and Patani-the habit of arranging marriages for daughters at the age of puberty appears to have spread through a wider sector of society, in reaction to the prevailing premarital sexual permissiveness. Aceh and Banten were notorious for exceptionally early female marriage in the nineteenth century (Reid, 1988: 159).

In contrast with the conservative notions of sex that Islam brought to some parts (mostly trading ports) of Indonesia, in North Borneo and eastern Indonesia before the spread of Islam and Christianity, premarital sexual relations were not prohibited. That is why the animist peoples in North Borneo in the 1930s (Muruts) and eastern Indonesia in the 1960s (Sumba) had a very high incidence of gonorrhoea, in 80 and 90 per cent, respectively, of the women examined. It is alarming that in these societies there was a widespread misconception that if a man wants to free himself from a

venereal disease, he should have sex with a healthy woman so he could return the 'alien' element to her (Mitchell 1982: Jordaan and de Josselin de Jong 1985: 256-57; la Bissachere 1812 I: 67, cited in Reid, 1988: 161). When and how sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) were introduced to the Indonesian archipelago is discussed in detail in Van Der Sterren et al. (1997). It is argued that STDs had been evident as early as 1500 before the arrival of Europeans in Indonesia (Coedes, 1964: 126). It was also indicated in other reports that 'syphilis' was probably introduced by European traders who arrived in Indonesia during that time. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, colonial records of STDs indicated that areas relatively untouched by European development had little or no incidence of STDs (Van Der Sterren et al., 1997: 203). Even though from examining various studies Van Der Sterren et al. (1997: 203-204) could not point to the origins of STDs in Indonesia, they clearly stated that the spread of STDs was and is facilitated by the movements of people, either foreigner or locals, to and from regions of economic growth for example, ports, urban centres, plantations and industries.

In Bali among the Hindus, there was also conservatism about sex. This was related to a death penalty for sexual intercourse between members of different castes. This custom was practised until the Dutch influenced the penalty as follows:

The Dutch Resident (a sort of governor) of Den Pasar (the capital of Southern Bali, really of all Bali), to whom I also owe the information about the burning of widows recorded above, told me that as late as 1906, according to native law, the death penalty was prescribed for sexual intercourse between a man or a woman and a member of a lower caste.

The Hollanders were anxious to be as judicious as possible in interfering with the customs of the natives, particularly with those having to do with religion and sex. So instead of the death penalty they first introduced a penalty of ten years' imprisonment for this crime against the caste spirit. Gradually this was mitigated to the present penalty of two years in prison, and they hope to do away with it altogether in the near future (Hirschfeld 1935: 111-112).

The majority of sexual concepts in Indonesia came from India and the rest from the traditional ancient agricultural community. In the past in India, especially among the noble community, sex was not regarded as something that is related to 'morality' but as natural like the need for food and water. Evidence of openness towards sexuality can be seen in the carving of various intercourse positions in India's temples (Onglokham, 1991: 22). In Hindu literature freedom of expression of sexuality is often described as Basham (1959: 170-71, cited in Supomo nd: 390) stated:

The literature of Hindu India, both religious and secular, is full of sexual allusion, sexual symbolism, and passages of frank eroticism . . . The erotic preoccupation of ancient India made very evident in art and literature . . . The Indian ideal [of feminine beauty], thick-thighed, broad hiped, but very slender waisted, and with very heavy breasts, seems evidently chosen for physical satisfaction.

The culture of Java is strongly affected by the Hindu influence. Twenty per cent of the Javanese literature of the *kakawin* contains 'sexual allusions, sexual symbolism, and passages of frank eroticism' and in other parts of the *kakawin* love making is described (Supomo nd: 390). In the Elephant Museum in Jakarta, many statues express open sexuality and in Suku and Ceto temples, human genitals of both sexes are carved on the temple walls (Onglokham, 1991: 22; Soepangat, 1991:59). In the Hindu-Buddhist period, sex symbolised the fertile status of the kingdom (Onglokham, 1991: 22).

In the noble society and the agricultural community, sexual intercourse and genitals are symbols of heredity. This ideology still existed even when Islam had entered Java. In Solo kingdom, the male genitals (the king) and the female genitals (the queen) were carved in the main entrance gate.

In the traditional Javanese concept, the sexual ability of the king is related to the well-being of the kingdom: the more sexual ability the king has, the more prosperous the kingdom. Susuhunan Paku Buwono X (1893-1939) was still potent in his old age and had many children, and hundreds of grandchildren and great-grandchildren. Among the Javanese he is regarded as the greatest and last king (Onglokham, 1991: 22). Another myth related to the king is that he is the reincarnation of God. So a king or queen had the right to any women or men they desired: in the Javanese court it was common for a king to have tens or hundreds of *selirs*. The *selirs* often had sexual relationships with other members of the court or with other members of the family because their sexual needs were not being fulfilled (Permadi, 1991: 65).

There are also myths about the sacrifice of a girl to be killed or giving the virginity of a girl to a king or the leader of a group, and myths about promiscuity in which a husband or a wife can have sexual intercourse with another's wife or husband in a group; this kind of group sex happened in the area of Gunung Kemukus. It was believed that by this promiscuity, the people involved would have good fortune. Among the *warok* (great champions), who have the quality of mystical invulnerability, there was a belief that they could not have heterosexual relations if they wanted to keep their invulnerability; so they had relations with boys that they maintained (*gemblak*) (Permadi, 1991: 64-65).

2.3 The adaptation to the outside world: Westernisation in Indonesia

Andaya (1992, 345-401) described how European influences have changed the Southeast Asia inhabitants' ideas and the way they live. The interaction between the foreigners and the local inhabitants of Southeast Asia have brought innovation and adaptation. According to Andaya,

The Southeast Asians received foreign groups with their new ideas, and they adopted and adapted those ideas which best suited their purposes. In the past such an approach had always been appropriate, and in this period there was little reason to believe that a selective response would not once again prove successful in strengthening and enriching Southeast Asian society (Andaya, 1992: 346).

The adoption and adaptation of Western ideas is consistent with the framework of idealised morality that I have discussed in Chapter 1. The idea is that Indonesians will adapt Western ideas and values as long as they are in accordance with the existing idealised morality and do not place the idealised morality in an insecure position. Indonesians adapted Western influences and assimilated them in such a way that the result is Western ideas and values with an Indonesian style.

The adaptation to the outside world or Westernisation in Southeast Asia started between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. This exposure to the new Western ideas brought innovation and adaptation in the local society. The Indians and the Chinese visited Southeast Asia regularly and during the seventeenth century the Japanese came to Southeast Asia to be involved in trade. In 1619 the Dutch entered Indonesia, invaded and controlled Jayakarta, rebuilt it as the main headquarters of the Dutch East India Company and changed the name to 'Batavia' after the ancient Roman name for what is now Holland. The establishment of the Dutch-controlled city influenced the physical structure, government, economic affairs, the people and even the idea of having sexual liaisons with foreigners. The last influence created half-caste or mixed race communities which became the intermediaries bridging the gaps between the Dutch and the Indonesians (Andaya, 1992).

The mixed-blood phenomenon became common in the city as the foreign men rarely brought their womenfolk to Southeast Asia. Thus during that period it seemed to be understood that blood ties entrenched trust and facilitated exchange.

The women provided their foreign husbands with an entree into local society which was essential to trade. Moreover, the women themselves often engaged in the negotiations for the purchase of desired products for their husbands (Andaya, 1992: 368).

At one stage in 1609, thirty-six white women were sent to Batavia, but these women were not the respectable women that the authorities had hoped for. So by 1652 the Dutch had established a policy which existed for the next 200 years to restrict the immigration of white women. Another policy that developed relating to intermarriage was the 1617 Heeren XVII decree that marriage for 'freeburghers' could only be legal with the Dutch East India Company's agreement. These freeburghers could only marry Asian and Eurasian women if these women became Christian and would raise their children and their slaves as Christians. Places where freeburghers and their families could live were also limited; at first they could only live in Maluku but later also in Batavia, Melaka and a few other places. Then in 1639 to fulfil the objective of constituting a colony, the company forbade them to return to Europe while still married. This policy was enforced by another that forbade Asian or Eurasian women to go to Europe. Another complexity to these mixed marriages were the children who were socially located between the two cultures and not accepted by either. Usually the sons were prepared to become members of the Dutch society in Asia and Europe and the daughters were prepared for life as wives of officials in Asia. But important merchants and officials had the alternative of raising their children, mostly their sons, in their own communities. Mixed-blood children were good intermediaries in trade, diplomacy, and the transference of ideas between the two cultures (Andaya, 1992: 370-371).

Later, intermarriage especially by the Indonesian elite social class, in this case nobility and official regent families (*pangreh praja/keuarga bupati*), was restricted by the Dutch.²¹ Strong enforcement started between 1808 and 1811 when Daendles officially announced that Indonesian regency officials were Netherlands East Indies personnel. After 1870 and towards the twentieth century, the Dutch were more apprehensive about the sexual life of the regency officials. Mixed marriages between regency officials and non-natives like Chinese, Dutch-native mixed-bloods, and Dutch were strongly discouraged. Mixed marriage could also affect the careers of regency officials. The official Dutch reason for discouraging mixed marriage was that regency officials were also colonial officials and supposed to be the leaders of cultural and

²¹ The Dutch were mostly interested to control sexual morality among these two groups, and seem to have been less concerned about sex among the lower Indonesian class. The Dutch mainly left sexual matters of the latter group for them to solve. In this case the regency officials and the courts within each community were responsible to maintain the culture and religion in their areas (Onghokham, 1991: 19).

religious affairs who had to preserve cultural values in their community. If there were different races in the family, this would lower the status and authority of the regency officials. It seems that the Dutch wanted to control regency officials' marriages not just for their religious morality but more for their job status (Onghokham, 1991: 20-21). Hence, strictness and repressive attitudes towards sex, and limitations on choosing a spouse began to be imposed by the colony.

On the other hand, concubinage (*nyai-selir*) was commonly practised among the Dutch East Indies Company officials. During J.P. Coen's reign as governor-general of Batavia (1619), concubinage among the company's officials was restricted, as was also the practice of homosexuality on the company's ships. Anyone found in a homosexual relationship would receive the death penalty. But after Coen's regime, concubinage between the Dutch officials and native women was encouraged. The status of the concubine was more like that of a slave²² because they were maintained by the Dutch officials or other rich Dutch entrepreneurs. Until the twentieth century, rich Dutchmen who were going to live permanently or assigned a new posting in the Dutch East Indies were encouraged to have a *nyai* so they could quickly learn the language, the culture and other 'mysteries of the East' (Onghokham, 1991: 18-19).

The practice of temporary marriage or concubinage was also common among Javanese traders in Banda during the nutmeg season (*Tweede Boek* 1601:77, cited in Reid, 1988: 155). Concubinage among santri traders was also allowed in Islam. Concubinage in other parts of Southeast Asia was also common, in Patani for example, temporary marriage was described as follows:

When foreigners come there from other Islands to do their business...men come and ask them whether they do not desire a woman; these young women and girls themselves also come and present themselves, from whom they may choose the one most agreeable to them, provided they agree what he shall pay for certain months. Once they agree about the money (which does not amount to much for so great a convenience), she comes to his house, and serves him by day as his maidservant and by night as his wedded wife. He is then not able to consort with other women or he will be in grave trouble with his wife, while she is similarly wholly forbidden to converse with other men, but the marriage lasts as long as he keeps his residence there, in good peace and unity. When he wants to depart he gives her whatever is promised, and so they leave each other in friendship, and she may then look for another man as she wishes, in all propriety, without scandal (van Neck, 1604: 225, cited in Reid, 1988: 155).

Mixed marriages between Europeans and natives continued until World War I. This was possible because there was a relatively large population of single Dutch men

²² During this era until the middle of the nineteenth century slavery still existed in Dutch East Indies (Onghokham, 1991: 18).

(Ingleson, 1986: 136) and because European women usually did not follow their husbands to the tropics.

Until thirty years ago a European very rarely came to the tropics with a woman of his own race. This was true of the East Indies as well as of other countries. The custom was that as soon as he engaged a native female servant, it became part of her duty to satisfy him sexually.

The native women were extremely pleasant, self-effacingly so, and often gave their masters unbelievable devotion and affection, particularly after they had borne them children. It frequently happened in Java that Europeans, touched by such great love and loyalty, married these women. In doing so they also intended to insure a happier future for the offspring.

Since the World War this custom has definitely changed. The number of European women who follow their husbands to the tropics has steadily increased (Hirschfeld 1935: 95).

In sum, it can be stated that despite the Dutch morally condemning sex outside marriage, relationships between single Dutch men and concubines or prostitutes were accepted as being understandable (Ingleson, 1986: 138). This can be explained as from the early days of colonisation, European men were legally banned from taking native wives. Only European military officers were allowed to come to the Indies with their wives. With a large population of single Dutch men, high earnings, and their need to satisfy their sexual urges, both prostitution and concubinage flourished (Ming, 1983). Other observers stated that in Indonesia the practice of concubinage still went on until Independence. Achdiyat, a famous writer now in his early eighties stated:

In the past even though there are mistresses and *nyai*, we know the owner of the mistresses or *nyai* and they only have sexual relationship with their master. This condition has been happening ever since before I was born till the Indonesian independence era. These *nyai-nyai* are not married by their masters who are Chinese or Dutch, but Arabic masters always married their *nyai*. This is what I wrote in my book *Atheist*, where Kartini was arranged by her mother to marry an old rich Arabic man so she can have land and a house.

In a certain way the Western influences have invaded us. But among the lower class engaging in prostitution or being a mistress or *nyai* is more because of economic conditions. The economic effect is greater than the globalisation of information, because television programs have reached villages. It is not that they want to have a luxurious life, but they prostitute themselves to have an additional income, that's common (Jakarta, 24/8/1994, case no. w35mj).

Until recently, having sexual affairs and mistresses was still widely practised among government officials and well known leaders or professionals. But there is a difference between the practice of concubinage in the past and having mistresses in recent times. While in the olden days concubines were more understanding and did not ask for their rights, in the last two years a new phenomenon has emerged where mistresses of well known Indonesian government officials or informal leaders have gone to court, revealed their secrets and asked for recognition of their status and maintenance (Hasibuan and Kustiati, 1994: 104; *Kartini*, 1994: 35-38; Mattauch et al., 1994a: 15-17; *Sinar*, 1994: 22-23; Winarno et al., 1994; Suryakusuma, 1996).

2.4 Sexuality : evidence from folklore and Indonesian literature

Sexual myths occur repeatedly in the *Ramayana* about men who have a mystical sexual ability to be engaged in a sexual relationship with a woman or several women at the same time without really having physical contact.²³ This gift can only be attained after someone has reached a high stage of mystical ability. In *Ramayana*, Satria Pandawa Arjuna has this gift. Arjuna has many wives but all of his wives love him intensely and feel that their sexual needs are satisfied even though they do not see Arjuna, who often is away on a journey and does a lot of meditation. Yudhistira, Arjuna's eldest brother, offered his wife Dewi Durpadi as a pledge when gambling with Kurawa; he lost the game so his wife was undressed in front of everybody. Dewi Durpadi was so ashamed that she made a vow never to tie her hair until she had washed it in Kurawa's blood (Permadi, 1991: 65).

A different fragment of *Ramayana* told how conception occurred. In a battle for inheritance with her siblings, Putri Anjani's face turned into that of a monkey, although her body was still beautiful. She regretted what had happened and decided to meditate naked. Siwa, who was flying past, saw how beautiful her body was; he was aroused and ejaculated. His sperm fell into Putri Anjani's mouth which was slightly open. Putri Anjani then became pregnant and gave birth to Hanuman who had the face of a monkey and a human body, but with a tail (Sedyawati, 1991: 30).

Another act of 'nude meditation' was performed by Queen Kalinyamat because her husband was killed by Aria Penangsang. Queen Kalinyamat made a vow that she would meditate naked until Aria Penangsang's head was chopped off and she could use it as a rug for her feet. She then gave her modesty to Jaka Tingkir who was willing to kill Aria Penangsang, chopped off his head and gave it to Kalinyamat for her to step on. Another famous Javanese myth is that of Ken Arok and Ken Dedes. Ken Dedes was Akuwu Tunggul Ametung's wife and was pregnant; Ken Arok was a soldier at the court. One time Ken Arok saw her vagina when she was stepping down from a carriage because her *kain* was lifted up. Ken Arok thought it was very strange because Ken Dedes's vagina was very shining, so he asked his spiritual teacher, Pendeta Lohgawe, what this meant. Pendeta Lohgawe told him that a woman with a

²³*Ramayana* stories are very important folklore in Indonesia, especially among the Javanese and Balinese.

shining vagina will give birth to children who will become kings in the future. With this in mind, Ken Arok killed Ken Dedes's husband and married her. What Pendeta Lohgawe said was right, the children of Ken Dedes by her previous husband and Ken Arok became kings in Java and Nusantara (Permadi, 1991: 65).

One ancient Javanese story, *Babad Tanah Jawi* (History of the land of Java), relates how the kings, princes and *walis*, for example Joko Tarub and Senopati had sexual intercourse in a natural way without any kind of formality. Sexual intercourse occurred when they met women without any kind of marriage tie. In that era, the community did not regard sex without any kind of formality as promiscuous (Onglokham, 1991: 22). Generally in Javanese literature, sexuality is a man's domain: it is the man who plays an active role and the woman is passive. Another example is from *Gatholoco* which describes how active is a male genital entering a cave that is passive. In the Javanese philosophy which is mostly adopted from Hinduism, a woman with high sexual needs is described as being in the lowest rank of four categories and pictured as having bad features and body, she is categorised as *hastini*. The highest rank is given to women who are beautiful, calm and very patient, who are called *padmini*. The second rank is *citrini* who are beautiful and like to talk and dress well, and the third rank is *sangkhini*, who have thin and tall bodies or well-built bodies, are warm blooded, tactful and like to talk and eat (Sedyawati 1991: 31).

In *Sudamala* there is a story about Ni Towok who is *hastini*, and her partner Semar. Ni Towok and Semar are described as a couple who have very strong sexual desires. The belief that the best women are beautiful, calm, patient, sexually passive and obedient to their husbands is strongly held in Javanese society. There is a saying that a woman will be raised to heaven or dragged to hell by her husband (*swarga nunut, neraka katut*) (Sedyawati, 1991: 31).

Other ancient folklore from various provinces of Indonesia explained how taboos spread through the community, related the origin of certain ethnic groups or places, and of aspects of behaviour regarded as good or bad, and told stories about community structure. From these types of ancient stories, relationships between the sexes, sex roles expected by the society, sexual activity and cultural inheritance are often evaluated (Sedyawati, 1991: 24).

Ancient stories such as *Rara Kidul and Panembahan Senapati* from Java, and *Cindur Mato* from Minangkabau emphasised that sexuality in one's life is not

important and how sexual desire can be transcendently fulfilled. Before becoming the king of Mataram, Senapati was taught by Rara Kidul (queen spirit of the Southern sea) how to run a kingdom, how to govern people, fairies (*peri*), and evil spirits. Senapati and Rara Kidul made love for three nights in her kingdom under the sea that is run by women (*jin*, *peri*, and *makhluk halus*). After Senapati had enough knowledge about being a king, he returned to land. The sexual relationship between Senapati and Rara Kidul is a transcendental type of relationship, different from ordinary human sexual relationships and that is why there were no children born from it (Sedyawati, 1991: 25-26).

In *Cidur Mato*, the story told how Bundo Kandung (queen of *Pagaruyung*) ruled her kingdom and had a son named Dang Tuanku who was conceived through a transcendental relationship. When she conceived her baby she dreamt that God said that her baby would have supernatural power. When Dang Tuanku grew up, his marriage was arranged to Puti Bungsu, the daughter of Bundo Kandung's brother, Rajo Mudo. But Rajo Mudo heard rumours that Dang Tuanku had some kind of disgraceful disease, so the marriage arrangement was called off and Puti Bungsu was to be married to Imbang Joyo who had made a proposal. This had to be done so that Puti Bungsu would not become an old maid. The story ends by telling how Puti Bungsu was kidnapped and brought to Pagaruyung and the three of them, Bundo Kandung, Dang Tuanku and Puti Bungsu left the kingdom to be ruled by Cindur Mato, son of Kambang Bandahari (Bundo Kandung's *dayang* who was conceived also through a transcendent relationship), while the three of them went to live in heaven. The two stories suggested that a physical, sexual relationship is not important and can be replaced by a transcendental relationship. The concept of 'old maid' also emerged (Sedyawati, 1991: 26-27).

Beliefs that marriages should not happen between family members started with ancient stories from North Sulawesi about Toar and Lumimuut and from West Java about Sangkuriang. In the story of Lumimuut and her son Toar who was conceived by the west wind, it was emphasised that sexual intercourse between Toar and Lumimuut was necessary for the origin of the Minahasa ethnic group. After making a promise that they should separate and carry a length of stick and after the separation they should marry someone who carried a different length of stick, they married not knowing that they were related, because while they were separated Toar's stick had

grown. In the story of Sangkuriang who was handsome and had supernatural powers, a marriage between Sangkuriang and his mother nearly happened but his mother identified his birthmark. After a long journey, Sangkuriang met his mother, not knowing that they were related and they fell deeply in love. In this story, because there was not any urgency to have children, the taboo on incest was not validated (Sedyawati, 1991: 26-28).

A legend from West Kalimantan (*Pulangama and Buinasi*) differentiates between sexual relationships among gods and human beings. Gods can have transcendental relationships while mortals can only have physical sexual relationships. This story also told about the origin of humans and other beings on earth and about the good manners that should be observed in relating to people and the environment. If people did not observe these manners then there would be penalties, for example, heavy rain that would never stop.

In the story of *Pulangama and Buinasi*, there are two couples involved: Bintang Muga and Ruai Mana, and Pulanggana and Dayan Rejan. The first couple were created by mystical forces and were the ancestors of all living creatures on earth. Pulanggana is one of the special beings with special mystical powers that was born to Bintang Muga and Ruai Mana. Dayan Rejan was created for Pulanggana and is also a special figure from the godly word (Sedyawati, 1991: 26-28).

It was not until the 1920s that Indonesian novels started to be written in Sumatra. Modern Indonesian literature is the starting point for young Indonesian authors to express feelings and ideas in a literary form which is very different from oral folklore or traditional literature written in Malay, Javanese and other languages (Teeuw, 1967: 1-2). In these Sumatran novels the setting is Mingkabau society, characterised by a matrilineal kinship structure and matrilocal marriage relationship. Matrilineal kinship can be defined thus:

.....kinship is reckoned along the maternal line, inheritance (especially of land, the most important family property) goes primarily from mother to daughter, the children of a marriage belong to the wife's family, and the husband comes to live in the family house of his wife, but to a large extent remains a stranger there. ...The initiative for a marriage often comes from the woman's family, which traditionally 'invites' a man (*mendjemput*). Polygamy is very frequent, a man has few social obligations to the family of the his wives, and it is considered an enhancement of status to be 'invited' by several people. As long as the adult young man is not married, there is nowhere for him to stay; he is too old to sleep in the family house of his mother, where his brothers-in-law stay and spend the night with his sisters, he would feel *malu*, lose face when being confronted with them at night; he customarily sleeps in the *surau*, the religious centre of the village, or he leaves his *kampung*, his village, temporarily, and goes abroad (*merantau*) as a trader or earns his living in some other way, to acquire experience. Then,

enriched with money and prestige, he returns as a popular candidate for marriage (Teeuw, 1967: 54-55).

Pre-war Indonesian literature is often about arrangement of marriage forced upon young people by tradition, the conflict between generations, the struggle between *adat* (tradition) and the personal wishes and desires of young individuals. Expression of love is often phrased by a long series of quatrains, in which the lovers give vent to their mutual feelings in a playful and disguised form. The main characters in these novels are usually very talkative; they discuss the pros and cons of certain problems in long dialogues, and not through *musyawarat* (discussion and consultation) or *sepakat* (a unanimous solution) which were common in the traditional Minangkabau society (Teeuw, 1967: 57). Because it is a tradition in Minangkabau that when a boy reaches manhood he has to travel (*merantau*) as a trader, stories about a Minangkabau man who falls in love with a girl not from his home village are common. The stories usually state the reality that their love has to end because the man has to marry his *adat*-fiancee, which is usually arranged by their parents back home.

The Sumatran novels often relate how relationships between the sexes are limited by parents and societal control. Arrangement of marriage where the bride and groom have never met before or where the bride or groom cannot refuse the parents' choice is still a common practice. Marriages between different ethnic groups or nationalities (Sumatran-Javanese, Sumatran-Sundanese, Indonesian-Dutch) are not socially accepted. Many of the novels of this time also tell romantic stories of how love between two people is frustrated by the pressure of traditional society; they often end with unhappiness because the lovers cannot be together, or tragically with most of the main characters dying. One novel describes how the married life of a young couple is spoiled by the husband's venereal disease (Teeuw, 1967: 67).

In the later development of the Sumatran novel, emerging themes about the will to choose one's own marriage partner are evident even though the characters have to face conflict with their own parents as well as with the family of the girl. As the Sumatran novels progress, themes emerge about modern youth who are free, and realising their responsibility as young, educated persons in an Indonesian society-in-the-making. During this period, the main themes of the novels are no longer about conflict between the individual and traditional society. The themes now are more on

universal problems, not just problems at the national or provincial level. This era is called the *Pudjangga Baru era*.

Ideas about individualism and freedom were pursued by the authors who have been exposed to Western values from the education they received. At that time they were educated in Dutch schools where they were exposed to modern social values such as freedom in choosing one's marriage partner (Teeuw, 1967: 55).

Besides literature other forms of popular art that express sexuality very openly are traditional performances famous mostly among the middle and lower classes. There are many kinds of traditional performances: *ludruk* from East Java, *tayub* found in several parts of Java, *ronggeng* among the Betawi, *dombret* in north Karawang and Indramayu and *jaipongan* in West Java.²⁴ These traditional performances are mostly erotic dances (except for *ludruk*) performed at traditional ceremonies; rites-of-passage celebrations (*slametan*) or public places. Erotic movements of the hips, breasts and also buttocks are performed by the dancers who usually wear a *kebaya* and are accompanied by traditional music. The dancers, called by different names in different parts of Java, receive money from the members of the audience who dance with them or others who enjoy their erotic movements. When the spectators give them money, some put the money directly in the dancer's brassiere or in a special bowl-tray provided by the dancers' group. Even more the audience can touch the dancers' buttocks, hold their hands while handing them money or even take them to a nice quiet spot away from the group (Probonegoro, 1991; Hersilang, 1996: 5).

These dancers are often regarded as prostitutes by the society, which they often deny because there are rules for their protection which they are supposed to obey. Some of these rules are as follows: they cannot engage in a romantic relationship while they are performing, they cannot date while performing, and they must say no when a member of the audience wants to buy something for them while performing

²⁴*Ludruk* is performed by using east Javanese slang language and performed between 8.00 p.m and midnight. The actresses usually wear Javanese costume. These actresses are transvestites (Probonegoro, 1991: 38-39). *Tajuban* is a combination of drinking and dancing party usually given at rites-of-passage celebrations (Geertz: 1960: 299). In *tajuban* the dancers (women) dance accompanied by *gamelan* music. These dancers are also called *ledak*, *taledek* and *tandak*. Among the Betawi, these dancers are called *cokek*. *Tajuban* is well-known in East Java, Central Java, D.I. Yogyakarta, and also among the Betawi community. *Ronggeng* is a type of traditional performance famous among the Betawi. Literarily it means dancer but it also can mean woman artist. Other well-known terms are *ronggeng topeng*, *ronggeng lenong*, and *ronggeng kliningan* (Probonegoro, 1991: 39-41). *Jaipongan* is performed by *sinden* (female dancers) accompanied by traditional Sundanese music. The *sinden* shows erotic movement and often dances involve movement of the buttocks facing the audiences. The *sinden* usually wears a striking costume and likes to show the erotic parts of the body (Probonegoro, 1991: 43).

(Probonegoro, 1991: 48). One of Geertz's respondents in Modjokuto described a *kleddek* performing in a *tayuban* as follows:

There is usually one *kleddek* (almost always a prostitute), but at fancy *tayubans* there could be two or three. The *kleddek* dances for a while at the beginning. When the *tayuban* itself is about to begin, the host appoints a man *pramugari* ('leader'). Now it is the *pramugari's* job to point out to the *kleddek* whom she is to choose to dance with her. This man must be clever in gauging the status of people because the order in which people participate is very important and must be right. If the occasion is a wedding, the groom, if a circumcision, the host, must be first. (The women are out behind and don't like the *tayubans* at all. Organizations like Perwari, the main *prijaji* women's club, hate the *tayuban* and are dead set against it) (Geertz, 1960: 299).

Twentieth century romance novels are very popular among young people. They are often about two persons from very different social classes or religious backgrounds who become involved in a deep romance. Themes about premarital pregnancies and pregnancy as a consequence of rape also occur in the novels (In-depth interview with a Bahasa Indonesia teacher, Jakarta, 15 August 1994, case no. H31fj).²⁵ During the 1977 - 1980 period, there was a boom in the Indonesian film industry on themes of youth romance. There were at least ten films with themes on youth romance and romance among senior high school students. Dating between two teenagers who were deeply in love was expressed openly, even though parental control in these relationships was also demonstrated (In-depth interview with a film producer, Jakarta, 27 August 1994, case no. m3fj).²⁶ In recent times (tracing back to a starting point in 1993), Indonesian soap operas have become a new trend due to the growth of commercial television channels. The Indonesian soap opera themes are mostly romances again between two persons from different social backgrounds. The dramas with mostly middle and upper-class settings show how parents' control over their children's romances and dating relationships is still quite evident. Themes such as arrangement of marriage by parents also still emerge in several mini-series (Field observation-notes, Jakarta, 1994-1995).

In sum, from ancient stories and legends, values and norms on sexuality in Indonesia can be traced. Written evidence of ancient stories and legends has shown how sexuality is described very openly without any attempt to restrict sexual expressions. In the later development of the Sumatran novels, in contrast to the

²⁵ Some of the famous novels among the young Indonesians are *Badai pasti berlalu* (The storm will pass), Karmila, *Kabut sutra ungu* (A purple silky mist), Romanen, and *Pada sebuah kapal* (A ship).

²⁶ These films are *Semau gue* (Dare to be different), *Musim bercinta* (Season of romance), *Gita cinta dari SMA* (Love mode from high school), *Puspa indah taman hati* (Beautiful flowers-garden of love), *Remaja idaman* (Ideal figure of youth), *Setetes kasih dipadang gersang* (A drop of love in a deserted area), *Melodi cinta* (Love melody), *Gadis maraton* (The marathon girl), *Buah terlarang* (The forbidden fruit), *Gadis penakluk* (Girl's power of subjection).

traditional literature, sexual expression was seen as taboo, expressions of love were often phrased in a disguised form. Another aspect which is in contrast is the marriage institution. In traditional literature, marriage as a formal institution for sexual activity was not important, but in the Sumatran novels, the importance of marriage as an institution and the arrangement of marriage were stressed. The ancient stories and legends record the phenomenon of transcendental sex, the concept of being an old maid and the discouragement of incestuous marriages.

2.5 The coming of Islam: a source of conservatism in sexuality

Islam is a religion. It is also, almost inseparably from this, a community, a civilization and a culture. It is true that many countries through which the Qur'anic faith spread already possessed ancient and important cultures. Islam absorbed these cultures, and assimilated itself to them in various ways, to a far greater extent than it attempted to supplant them. But in doing this, it provided them with attributes in common, with a common attitude to God, to men and to the world, and thus ensured, through the diversities of language, of history and of race, the complex unity of the *dar al-Islam*, the 'house' or 'world of Islam'.

The history of the Muslim peoples and countries is thus a unique example of a culture with a religious foundation, uniting the spiritual and temporal, sometimes existing side by side with 'secular' cultures, but most often absorbing them by becoming very closely interlinked with them (Gardet, 1970: 569).

When, why and how Islam came to Indonesia and the process of conversion of the Indonesians to Islam have been debated by several scholars. These scholars have not come to a definite conclusion because very few historical records of Islamisation have survived. Besides documented records, gravestones, Indonesian legends and travellers' accounts are also often used to link historical information on Islamisation (Ricklefs, 1981: 3-4).²⁷ But the condition of the sources can make the study of religion difficult because they are unequally distributed, in region, period and social level (Tarling, 1992: 54).

In the study of Islam in Southeast Asia it is interesting that Islam is seen as integrated with the social and cultural life of its people, unlike in modern Western societies, where religion is seen more as a separate part (De Casparis and Mabbett, 1992: 276; Tarling 1992: 54). Gardet described how Islam blends with the existing culture but still gives a firm understanding of God, man and life. Islam mixes with

²⁷ Indonesian legends are documents how Indonesian themselves told the story of their conversion. These legends came in the eighteenth-and-nineteenth century, much later after the coming of Islam. Even though these legends are not reliable historical accounts, one has to consider their values on the information they provided, especially information regarding the process of conversion which began with the elite and worked downwards. These legends include *Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai* ('Story of the kings of Pasai'), *Babad Tanah Jawi* ('History of the land of Java'), and *Sejarah Banten* ('history of Banten'). From these legends, the original events of conversion can also be revealed.

spiritual and temporal beliefs and even with 'secular' culture (Gardet, 1970: 569). In this case religious practices among the Javanese is a good example, with Islam blending with the existing Hindu-Buddhist traditions.

Islam was communicated in Indonesia by several methods. Degraaf (1970: 123-124) related three common media for the propagation of Islam in South-East Asia: by Muslim traders; by preachers and holy men who set out from India and Arabia specifically to convert unbelievers and increase the knowledge of the faithful; and by war against irreligious states. Ricklefs (1981: 3) identified two other possible means by which Islam spread in Indonesia: indigenous Indonesians came into contact with Islam and chose conversion; and foreign Muslims (Arabs, Indians, Chinese) settled permanently in Indonesia, married local people, adopted the local life style and became Javanese or Malay. But the role of Muslim traders was very important as it is obvious that Islam is strongest along the routes where trade developed (Degraaf, 1970: 123-124; Watson Andaya, 1992: 514).

...Islam followed trade. North Sumatra, where the trade-route from India and the West reaches the Archipelago, was where Islam first obtained a firm footing. Malacca, the main trading center of the area in the ninth/fifteenth century, was the great stronghold of the faith, from which it was disseminated along the trade-routes, north-east to Brunei and Sulu, south-east to the north Java ports and the Moluccas (Degraaf, 1970:123-124).

Beliefs and values regarding sexuality and mixing between male and female are very clear and strict in Islam. Laws regulating mixing between male and female such as gazing, shaking hands, meeting alone with the opposite sex, talking, incidentally touching-bumping into someone, walking in a crowd can be found in Qur'an and *hadist*.²⁸ The rationale of restricting gazing towards the opposite sex is because all relationships started with gazing, then talking and meeting alone. Women are restricted from going out alone without the company of someone who is their nearest kin. In Islam it is believed that as soon as a girl becomes a teenager, then her whole body is seen as naked (*aurat*), that is why she should cover her whole body except for her face and hands (see Section 1.2.2., Chalil, 1969: 220-231, *Surah An-Nur* no. 30-31 in Qur'an).

²⁸ Islam has two fundamental sources, the Qur'an and *hadist*. The Qur'an is the word of God (*Kalam Allah*), which was verbally revealed to Muhammad over the course of twenty-three years...The *Hadists* is a narrative giving information about Muhammad's sayings, actions, and his approval or disapproval of his companions' acts...*Hadists* are accepted as the authoritative second source of the content of Islam in addition to the Qur'an...The Qur'anic verses are subjected to possible interpretations and analysis. There are two principles used for interpreting of the law; *Qiyas* (analogy) to be thought out by relevant reasoning or *ijihad* and *ijma'* or consensus (Makruf, forthcoming).

In pre-Islamic period, premarital sexuality, fidelity within marriage, temporary marriage or concubinage, women's autonomy and sexuality were less restricted. With strong laws regulating mixing between the opposite sex, marriage, polygamy and divorce, Islam has influenced the notion of conservatism towards sexuality. This is indisputable when one observed the linkage between the starting point of the spread of Islam in Indonesia and sexual conservatism in that area. For example, sexual conservatism is dominant in Sumatra compared to East Timor, because in Sumatra Islamic reformation movement was strongest. Other examples are the practice of the insertion of tiny penis balls in some parts of Indonesia that was quickly suppressed by Islam and severe punishment for premarital or extramarital sexual relations under Islamic law that have been adapted to local customs (see Section 2.2).

To preserved Islamic values, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Muhammadiyah made the reformation of Muslim education. During that time, Muhammadiyah realised that education in Indonesia was already divided into two directions: the secular Dutch education which ignored the teaching of religion, and the *pesantren* education which taught only religion. To overcome this problem, Muhammadiyah divided its educational reform program into two parts: giving religious education in the Dutch secular schools and establishing schools in which both religion and science are taught (Mukti, 1969: 39-40). At the present time, the government of Indonesia enforces religion as one of the compulsory subjects given from pre school to high school. Besides government schools, numerous religious schools that incorporate religion and science have been developed through out the region. Among the famous and elite are Muhammadiyah and Al-Azhar. In Indonesia various channels are used to preserve Islamic values, the government political will through the education system, easy access to religious establishment throughout the regions, religious preachings, parents and family members through the upbringing of children, and religious clubs (see Section 1.2.2). Hence Islamic teaching and values are in this case towards the conservative notion on sexuality are strongly preserved and passed from generation to generation.

2.6 Conclusion

Indonesians have been influenced by many social and religious forces: Hinduism and Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. These influences were pioneered by

international traders from India, Portugal, China, and through the international trade routes of Sumatra, Java, Batavia (Jakarta) and Maluku. Then the Dutch colonised parts of Indonesia for three hundred years working their way through trade, politics and the administrative bureaucracy of the Indonesian urban areas. The Dutch made their starting point in Batavia and worked mostly with Indonesians in the urban areas. These social and religious forces have influenced and assimilated with the existing culture of Indonesia and have influenced the notions of sex and marriage in Indonesia.

An explanation of Indonesian conservatism towards sex is not easy to find. It is hard to identify religion or other social forces as the cause and to explain the effect of assimilation of these forces by the existing culture. In the past, Islam and the Dutch may have influenced the notion of sexuality among the Indonesians in a conservative direction, but today Western influences are liberal. Where does this place religious beliefs which have generally tried to suppress sexuality and set up conservative values toward sex? Societal values and beliefs, religious values and beliefs, individual values and beliefs, individual behaviour and how these ideas interact are complex matters.

Sex in Indonesia was once seen as a natural phenomenon that could be engaged in without any kind of formality. This can be understood as traditional Indonesian sexuality because these stories were found in the Javanese literature, some before and some after the coming of Islam and colonialism.

The Indonesian traditional notion of sexuality seems to have been very open, permissive and quite surprising in that women have autonomous power over sexual pleasure. After the coming of Islam mostly, and partly through the Dutch influence, Indonesian sexual activity and to some extent arrangement of marriage became very conservative, especially among the middle-class: Islamic law codes were mostly strong among the middle-elite traders, and the Dutch regulations on marriage partners were mostly enforced among government officials.

Religious values and Western influences or the assimilation of these forces cannot be blamed as the single cause of the changes in behaviour and values in Indonesia. Indonesians have assimilated these values in accordance with the existing values and culture. It is possible that people can have conservative attitudes to sex and to practise religious beliefs and yet practise liberal sexual behaviour.

Are prostitution, premarital sex, premarital pregnancy, premarital abortion, *selirs* in the Javanese courts, and married men having mistresses regarded as values influenced by the West ? In Chapter 4 the emerging trends of junior high school, high school and university students who have sex for pleasure and also in some cases for money are elaborated. Is this sexual behaviour specific to Indonesians ? How do religion and Westernisation play their roles in these liberal sexual values and behaviour ? One thing is clear: in general most religions teach conservative sexual attitudes except various orgiastic sects including Children of God who teach the opposite. While Westernisation in the past had more influence at the conservative end of sexuality, in recent development, the influence of Westernisation was more toward the liberal end of sexuality.

Chapter 3

Research Design and Method²⁹

The society in which we live treats sex and everything related to sex in a most ambiguous and ambivalent fashion. Sex is at once highly fascinating, attractive, and, for many at certain stages in their lives, preoccupying, but it can also be frightening, disturbing, or guilt inducing. For many sex is considered to be an extremely private matter, to be discussed only with one's closest friends or intimates, if at all. And, certainly for most if not all of us, there are elements of our sexual lives never acknowledged to others, reserved for our own personal fantasies and self-contemplation. It is thus hardly surprising that the proposal to study sex scientifically, or any other way for that matter, elicits confounding and confusing reactions. Mass advertising, for example, unremittingly inundates the public with explicit and implicit sexual messages, eroticising products and using sex to sell. At the same time, participants in political discourse are incredibly squeamish when handling sexual themes, ...We suspect, in fact, that with respect to discourse on sexuality there is a major discontinuity between the sensibilities of politicians and other self-appointed guardians of the moral order and those of the public at large, who, on the whole, display few hang-ups in discussing sexual issues in appropriately structured circumstances (Laumann et al., 1994: 36).

3.1 Introduction

Research topics related to sexuality in Indonesia are quite difficult to study due to the sensitivity of cultural and political settings, government policies, and the research environment. As mentioned in Chapter 1, sex is regarded as a private and not a public matter, and in some parts of the society is still taboo in discussion. Besides a cultural and political environment that makes sexual behaviour difficult to study, the marginality of literature on sexuality in Indonesia is also still a wide concern. This does not mean that sexuality research is impossible in an Indonesian cultural environment, but the extreme sensitivity has led to the eclectic approaches to data gathering used in this study which include a survey, in-depth interviews, focus-group discussions, media clippings and daily field notes. In-depth interviews were not restricted to the target groups, but also covered respondents related to the target group and issues raised in the thesis, for example, interviews with historians, policy makers, NGO personnel, counsellors, a psychiatrist and a psychologist.

Western survey methodology assumes that it is especially difficult to obtain data on certain topics referred to as 'ego-threatening' (Kahn and Cannell, 1957), 'sensitive' (Richardson et al., 1965; Boshier, 1989: 5-6) or 'taboo topics' (Rogers,

²⁹ Methodology of the 1994/95 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey was presented at the Twenty-Seventh Summer Seminar on Population Workshop on Design and Measurement in Youth Sexuality Research, East-West Center, University of Hawaii on May 30-June 29, 1996.

1973: 64; Herold, 1989: 30). Topics included in these categories are sexual attitudes and behaviour, attitudes towards and the use of various drugs, and criminal behaviour (DeLamater and MacCorquodale, 1975: 215), contraceptive use, vasectomy and abortion (Rogers, 1973: 64).

Before obtaining my research permit from the Indonesian government, many of my colleagues said that it would be difficult to obtain permission for the research. I was also in doubt about getting in-depth information about premarital sexual behaviour. Nevertheless, from past experience, I had learned that as long as an interviewer has an interest in a person, shows a caring attitude, develops rapport, is empathetic and willing to listen, then respondents can be interviewed even on sensitive topics. Of course, communication skills are very important in a successful in-depth interview.

3.2 Combining quantitative and qualitative approaches in studying sexuality

Each of the qualitative and quantitative paradigms has its own set of assumptions, its own established methodologies, and its own set of experts. Because both quantitative and qualitative techniques are frequently associated with particular disciplines or linked to knowledge domains, there has been somewhat of a rift between the proponents of the two paradigms over the past few decades. Since the development of computers and increasing sophistication of statistical methods, quantitative research has become more "mainstream". Quantitative research has become the normative mode of inquiry taught in universities, and quantitative researchers have tended to dominate review panels of funding agencies and the editorial boards of prestigious research journals. Because quantitative research was more common and considered the gold standard for research, qualitative researchers felt excluded, undervalued, and misunderstood. As a consequence, a qualitative versus quantitative debate of competing paradigms tended to be vented in the literature (Morse and Field, 1995: 3).

Understanding the history of the division between quantitative and qualitative methods (Hempel, 1959; Von Wright, 1971; Winch, 1990) can explain why quantitative methods have been more developed than qualitative methods, and why the former have become the mainstream in many disciplines. Historically the divide came from Western science. The quantitative method was first developed in the natural sciences which analysed reality as objective and singular (Creswell, 1994: 5). The aim of the quantitative method is to discover natural laws so people can predict and control events (Neuman, 1991: 63). In contrast, the qualitative approach examines nature or reality from a very different perspective, that is, as subjective and multiple as seen by participants in a study. The aim of the qualitative approach is to understand and describe meaningful social actions (Neuman, 1991: 63; Creswell, 1994: 5).

In the past ten years, qualitative methods have become increasingly popular among social science researchers. More researchers in traditionally quantitative fields like demography, epidemiology, economics, sociology and organisational studies have

become interested in using qualitative techniques. On the other hand, anthropology for example which in the past mainly depended on qualitative methods, has started to take into consideration the advantages of using quantitative methods in quantifying cultural information (Yoddumnern-Attig et al., 1993:2-3). Hence, a combination of both methods is increasingly favoured in the social sciences.

Qualitative methods provide in-depth information (United Nations Population Fund, 1993; Creswell, 1994). They also give researchers an understanding about the aspects being studied from the respondents' perspective and in the respondents' own wording. Qualitative research is best used when the objectives of the research are exploration, insight, and empathy. The researcher has some vague ideas about the sphere of the subject being studied, but major aspects are unknown or "suspect". The major strength of qualitative research is its capability to provide useful information about how the researcher define the topic of interest. Ideas, concerns, attitudes and values of the people being study can be easily understood (Zeller, 1989: 50). Another advantage of qualitative research is its capacity to provide insights into behavioural and environment processes. As Yoddumnern-Attig et al. noted:

Qualitative data about people's thoughts, lives and relationships is like a mountaintop view; it is both panoramic and awe-inspiring, yet seductively attractive. The best qualitative information provides rich descriptions and well-founded rationale for explaining the underlying behavioural and environmental processes at work in local settings. A qualitative study allows researchers to trace historical events, their causes and consequences, and derive insightful explanations for all of these. It places persons and their families within this historical picture and shows in a realistic sense how they adapt to changing conditions both culturally (in the form of role changes, for example) and socially (such as changes in the family developmental cycle). The key to qualitative research therefore, is discovering and understanding the context in which decisions, actions and events occur (Yoddumnern-Attig et al., 1993:1)

With the quantitative method, the purpose is to seek causes and facts in which the findings will be based on the researcher's interpretations of the observed phenomena rather than on the subjects' interpretation of the events. Because the quantitative researcher looks for relationships between variables by examining experimental variables while controlling the intervening variables, the relationships between variables can be generalised and predictions become possible. Before going to the field, quantitative researchers build theory and hypotheses, and operationalise these concepts into a questionnaire. The issue of reliability and validity of the instrument should be central to the effort so that replication of the study is made possible (Morse and Field, 1995: 11).

Quantitative and qualitative methods can be combined in various ways. Some researchers use the qualitative method to explore the formulation of a specific

questionnaire or get ideas about the topic that they want to study. Some use qualitative data to confirm and explain prevailing statistical patterns (Podhisita, 1993: 9). Therefore the sequence of using either method also varies depending upon the issues being studied. Some researchers use qualitative methods first to explore the research issues or to test questionnaires or questions asked in a survey. Other researchers conduct a survey first and then use qualitative methods to elaborate and even explain the meaning behind the statistical findings. Other researchers may also use both methods simultaneously.

Finally combining qualitative and quantitative methods can make research reports more interesting and easier to understand. Information gathered from qualitative studies can be organised into case studies or portraits which give a more rounded understanding of the specific cultural settings. Statistical findings can be interpreted with reference to the qualitative stories that give a more complete understanding of the nature of the social phenomenon (Yoddumnern-Attig et al., 1993: 3).

Even though both quantitative and qualitative methods have advantages, there are also difficulties and challenges to be faced by the researchers. For example, errors can be made during data collection in both methods. For data analysis, quantitative methods are more developed than qualitative methods, even though recently computer programs developed to analyse qualitative textual data like Shoebox, Ethnograph and Q.R.S NUD.IST have become more popular and are directing researchers to more standardised and transparent methods. Also in the protocol of methodology, quantitative methods are more advanced, in contrast to the protocol of qualitative methodology which is still developing. For example, there are some formulas for conducting in-depth interviews, focus-group discussions or participant observations, even though these formulas are not widely accepted, nor are there guidelines about how involved researchers can be with their informants in order not to bias their study. But researchers would have a better understanding of the aspect being studied by having a sound knowledge of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Recently there is a growing trend among researchers to combine both techniques to increase validity and an understanding of the people being studied (Yoddumnern-Attig et al., 1993: 3).

To study sexual activity in Indonesia, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods is both analytically useful and prudent in terms of research

strategy. Sexuality surveys can give a descriptive overview of sexual values, attitudes and behaviour, while qualitative approaches give an in-depth and holistic understanding of middle-class young people's premarital sexual behaviour. While one approach meets bureaucratic difficulty, the other ensures successful completion of the project.

3.3 Measuring young people's sexual behaviour

3.3.1 *Research on Western young people's sexual behaviour*

Pioneer studies on sexuality in the United States started in the early 1940s when Kinsey and his associates started to bring respondents to the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University and studied their sexual behaviour (Kinsey et al., 1948; Kinsey et al., 1953). Kinsey, who died in 1956 at the age of 62, dedicated his life to 'bringing sex out of the bedroom and into the world's parlour' (Pomeroy, 1972: 3). Kinsey and his associates studied a variety of individuals, interviewed them face-to-face and statistically analysed the data on 'what people did sexually'. Kinsey dreamed of getting 100,000 sexual histories but settled for 18,000 which he collected with Pomeroy (Pomeroy, 1972: 4).

Before Kinsey, Sigmund Freud, who was born in Moravia in 1856, began in 1896 to study sex through psycho-analysis which began as a method to treat neurotic patients by investigating their minds but then developed to a method of studying the mind in general in both sick and healthy people. By examining and analysing dreams, Freud developed his theory on development of the sexual instinct in childhood (Richards, 1977: 27-30).

In the United States, attempts to study sex in surveys did not start until the late 1960s. At first, studies on sexual behaviour related only to issues of premarital sex, contraception, fertility (both planned and unplanned) and vaginal intercourse. These studies were conducted among limited segments of the population, primarily college students (Gagnon and Simon, 1974; Jessor and Jessor, 1975), women, mainly younger women (Zelnik and Kantner, 1972, 1980; Zelnik, Kanter and Ford 1981; Tanfer and Horn, 1985; Tanfer, 1987; Forrest and Singh, 1990; Mosher, 1990; Mosher and McNally, 1991), and sexual partnerships in marriage or cohabitation (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983). A wider range of sexual behaviour was explored in studies not based on random sampling, of homosexual men and lesbians (Bell and Weinberg, 1978), and

American Couples (Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983). In 1991, Laumann et al. (1994) conducted a National Health and Social Life Survey (NHSLs) in the United States covering socio-economic aspects, sexuality, masturbation, lifetime sexual experiences and AIDS-risk behaviour.

Other earlier studies are presented in Table 3.1. All of these studies are American except the last one which compared Danish students with others from two American universities, the study by Slater and Woodside who studied British soldiers admitted to hospital for neurotic or other illness and Dr. Chesser who studied English women, sexual, marital and family relationships (Schofield, 1965: 15). From the 32 studies, only nine studies included male and female respondents and most studies concentrated on college students or graduates (19). Studying sexual behaviour of both sexes is more reliable as in heterosexual relationships, both sexes have to be considered. Throughout the history of sex studies it can be concluded that the method of interviewing was first introduced without any attempt to use a sampling frame. As it developed, surveys on sex using a structured questionnaire were more common among a limited range of respondents and specifically among either sex in college or school-based settings.

Basic measures of premarital sexual intimacy behaviour started to be developed by Ehrmann (1960) who used an eight-stage scale ranging from no contact or holding hands, through intercourse (stage 7) to female fondling male's genitals. Some of Ehrmann's stages consist of the same behaviour (for example genital fondling) but vary according to whether the male or female is active. In 1965, Schofield in his study added genital apposition, but did not differentiate whether the male or female is active in the genital stimulation. Later, Gagnon and Simon (1968, cited in DeLamater and MacCorquodale, 1975: 221) were the first to ask about oral-genital contact and also included whether the male or female is active. Further, DeLamater and MacCorquodale (1975: 221) developed a composite scale including all of the behaviour identified in the past scales, and distinguished whether the male or the female is active in a certain part. All of these studies included only physical aspects of premarital sexual behaviour without reference to emotional attachments. Reiss (1967) studied premarital sexual intimacy behaviour and related it to the emotional aspect of a relationship which he called 'partner's ideology'. In this case, ideology is defined as an understanding of what point in a relationship the partner felt that a particular behaviour was acceptable

for each sex. Five categories of relationships were included: before marriage, engaged, in love but not engaged, feel affection but not love, and if both want it and three types of sexual behaviour were employed: fondling of breasts, fondling of partner's genitals, and intercourse.

Another measure of sexuality developed by Reiss (1967) is the 'attributes of the relationship'. The measure is concerned with the emotional intimacy of the relationship categorised as: paid sexual partner, dated only once or twice, dated often but not emotionally attached, emotionally attached but not in love, in love, in love and expect to marry, and engaged. Reiss's emotional aspect of relationship theory 'partner's ideology' and 'attributes of the relationship' seem to be overlapping. For example 'before marriage' can include 'dated only once or twice', 'date often but not emotionally attached', 'emotionally attached but not in love', 'in love', 'in love and expect to marry'. It is also very difficult to differentiate between 'feel affection but not in love' and 'emotionally attached but not in love'.

Table 3.1 Early research on sex behaviour in the United States

Author	Date	Source of sample	Size of sample		Total
			Male	Female	
Exner	1915	College students	948	-	948
Merrill	1918	Juvenile delinquents	100	-	100
Archilles	1923	High school and college students	1,449	483	1,932
Peck and Wells	1923	College graduates	550	-	550
Pearl	1925	Hospital patients	257	-	257
Hughes	1926	Mill workers	1,029	-	1,029
Davis	1929	College alumni	-	2,200	2,200
Hamilton	1929	Psychiatric patients	100	100	200
Dickenson and Beam	1931	Hospital patients	-	1,448	1,448
Taylor	1933	College students	40	-	40
Strakosch	1934	Psychiatric patients	-	700	700
Bromley and Britten	1938	College students	592	772	1,364
Terman	1938	College level	1,242	1,242	2,484
Peterson	1938	College students	419	-	419
Landis et al.	1940	Psychiatric patients	-	295	295
Landis and Bolles	1942	Psychiatric patients	-	100	100
Ramsey	1943	High school, boys' clubs and YMCA	291	-	291
Gardner	1944	College students	221	-	221
Finger	1947	College students	111	-	111
Hohman and Schaffner	1947	Army conscripts	4,600	-	4,600
Kinsey	1948 } 1953 }	Volunteers all social classes	6,200	5,800	12,000
Ross	1950	College students	95	-	95
Slater and Woolside	1951	Hospital patients	200	-	200
Burgess and Wallin	1953	College and high school level	580	604	1,184
Landis and Landis	1953	College students	600	1,000	1,600
Chesser	1956	Patients of general practitioners	-	6,034	6,034
Kanin	1958	College level	-	190	190
Ehrmann	1959	College students	734	423	1,157
Kronhausen	1960	College students	200	-	200
Kirkendall	1961	College students	600	-	600
Christensen and Carpenter	1962	College students	456	302	758
Greene	1964	College students	76	538	614

Source: Schofield, 1965, Table 2.1: 16.

In my survey, I asked about premarital sexual intimacy values, attitudes and behaviour towards premarital sex, 'partner's ideology' and 'attributes of the relationship' which I modified into a concept that is more applicable in the Indonesian setting. These questions were designed and constructed so that I could relate them to the hypotheses that I have mentioned earlier. The questions in the survey were then constructed relating to stages that one would go through in a relationship before marriage (see Section 1.1.1: General research questions). In summary it can be concluded that most research on young people's sexual activity has been conducted in the United States then developed through the rest of the world (Herold, 1989: 30; Lee, 1995: 34).

3.3.2 *Research on Indonesian young people's sexual behaviour*

Political policies and social reactions to research on sexuality have hampered efforts to obtain (and in some cases to disseminate) knowledge about human sexuality (Allgeier, 1989: 127).

Given the taboos surrounding sexuality, the taboos about doing research on sexuality are not too surprising, and they have inhibited some academics who feared negative effects on their career advancement (Herold, 1989: 30).

In Asia, sexuality research is restricted because of barriers hindering studies in this field. These barriers evolved through the political conditions, socio-cultural and religious institutions evident throughout Asia. Even though researchers in this region are aware of the work done in other countries, sexuality studies are mostly situated within the context of public health rather than behavioural science as they have only been conducted for the last 20 years (Sittitrai and Barry, 1989: 174). In Asia, as in most developing countries, the worldwide AIDS pandemic has stimulated new interest and research into sexuality (Sittitrai and Barry, 1989; Utomo, 1995; Knodel et al., 1996a). The most notable studies of sexuality in Southeast Asia have been conducted in the Philippines (Anigan, 1979; Raymundo, 1995; Lee, 1995, 1997; East-West Center, 1997; Lacson et al., 1997) and Thailand (Chompootawee, 1988; Knodel and Pramualratana, 1995; Knodel et al., 1995; VanLandingham et al., 1996; Knodel et al., 1996a, 1996b; Im-Em, 1996).

In Indonesia sexuality as a field of study can be regarded as not yet established unlike the progress of sex studies in Western countries (Suryakusuma, 1991b: 3). Even though an increasing incidence of premarital sex and pregnancy has been evident from studies and records conducted and collected in Indonesia, the Indonesian Government's

attitude towards sexuality research is very strict, in accordance with the conservative cultural setting. There are signs that the Indonesian adolescents and young adults are moving towards a more permissive attitude towards premarital sex, and that premarital sex and pregnancy are increasing, but the government seems to deny this trend. The Indonesian government's attitude is understandable because even in more liberal and democratic countries like America stigma associated to sexuality research also still exists (Allgeier, 1989: 127; Herold, 1989: 30).

In Indonesia, there have been numerous small-scale studies on adolescent sexual behaviour since 1970. Most studies were by the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association (IPPA), social researchers, popular magazines and tabloids, gynaecologists, psychologists, and high school and university students. Influenced by a study on attitudes towards premarital sex (Sadli and Biran, 1976) and a need assessment study of sex education (Warnaen, 1976), a professional research body, the Faculty of Psychology, University of Indonesia, began research on sexual activity. In the 1970s, the main focus of sexual research in Indonesia was on attitudes and values. In the 1980s, Sarwono (1981b) started to move beyond the attitudinal aspects of premarital sex by extending his research to sexual behaviour as well. His study revealed that of 417 respondents aged 15-21 years old, who lived in Jakarta, 4.1 per cent had experienced premarital sex.

Since 1980, several IPPA clinics, in Jakarta, Semarang, D.I. Yogyakarta, Medan and Manado, have kept unsystematic records of the incidence of premarital pregnancies (Hadi, 1991; Djuarsa and Tirtahusada, 1991; Saleh, 1991; Suparman and Loho, 1991). IPPA clinics, Wisma Keluarga Berencana Terpadu (WKBT), were developed in urban centres in North Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, West Java (three clinics), Central Java, D.I. Yogyakarta, East Java, East Kalimantan, South Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, North Sulawesi, D.I. Aceh, Nusa Tenggara Barat and Bali. The primary aim of these clinics is to provide comprehensive and reliable family planning services for the middle and lower income class and also clients that cannot afford to pay. The clinics also provide reproductive health services, laboratory services, consultation, communication and education services and training for medical professionals (*Kabar*, 1985). But some of these clinics also provided abortions for unwanted pregnancy due to contraceptive failure or premarital pregnancy consultations. Cases recorded are only patients who came to the clinic to seek advice or abortion because of unwanted

pregnancy. But even to get these records for scientific reasons is not easy, because of the conservative research environment and political attitude that still sees sex research as taboo. IPPA has conducted numerous studies on attitudes and knowledge of sex and family life education rather than sex research *per se*. Psychologists and gynaecologists have also kept records on clients who came to seek advice because of premarital pregnancy and abortion-related problems (Rachimhadhi, 1981; Waluyo, 1981: 123; Widiantoro, 1981: 113; Warouw, cited in Manado Post, 1989; Tari (a psychologist), personal communication, case no. y89fy, Yogyakarta, 2/2/1995).

In the early 1990s, the Population Studies Center, University of Gajah Mada, started a survey on adolescent reproductive health in Yogyakarta, Bali and Manado. In the first two provinces the study covered both urban and rural areas and the results revealed that incidence of premarital intercourse is higher in the urban areas than rural areas and among males than females (Dwiyanto et al., 1991/1992; Faturachman, 1992). In the mid-1990s, the Demographic Institute, University of Indonesia, conducted the first national survey on adolescent sexuality covering 13 provinces of Indonesia. The survey was funded by USAID through the Rand Corporation, but because of official Indonesian Government restrictions, several significant questions were dropped from the questionnaire in the first week of field work. As a result the survey only covered knowledge and attitudes on premarital sex and not sexual behaviour. In 1993, the Yayasan Kusuma Buana, a non-government organisation specialising in health, sexuality and prostitution research, conducted a study on reproductive behaviour in 12 urban areas of Indonesia. From this study it was revealed that eight per cent of males and two and a half per cent of females aged 15-19 and 24 per cent of males and four per cent of females aged 20-24 have experienced premarital intercourse (Yayasan Kusuma Buana/State Ministry of Population, 1993: Table 19: 36).

Appendix Table 3.3 records research on young people's sexual behaviour in Indonesia from the 1960s until recently. Of the 39 studies, most were done in big cities in Java such as Jakarta (11), Yogyakarta (10), Surabaya (8), and some in other cities outside Java such as Manado (7) and Denpasar (5). Most studies (27) involved both male and female respondents selected either by household survey, school-based survey, reproductive health clinics or popular magazines. Apart from the household surveys, most of the surveys obtained their respondents on the basis of purposive sampling and convenience, for example, the surveys of readers of popular magazines, people seeking

abortions at family planning clinics or participants in family life training. The incidence of premarital sex is apparently higher for males than females and the total incidence of premarital sex in those studies ranges from two per cent to 26 per cent. The wide range of reported premarital sex incidence can have several meanings. First, it can be assumed that in most studies premarital sex is under-reported for a variety of reasons, for example cultural barriers, the way the question was formulated in the questionnaire or the way confidentiality was addressed in the survey. Second, clinic-based studies are likely to be biased to those who have high rates of premarital sex. With the limited analysis reported by these studies, it cannot be concluded whether the incidence of premarital sex is higher in the outer islands or in Java. Across Indonesia, there will be cultural differences in the meaning of premarital sex. For example in his study Singarimbun (1991) stated that Balinese were more permissive than the Javanese. This also seems to have been the case among young people living in Manado (Dwiyanto et al., 1991/1992).

Despite the various rates of premarital incidence reported (see Appendix Table 3.3), the 1987 National Indonesian Contraceptive and Prevalence Survey (NICPS) estimated that between 13 and 28 per cent of first babies born to women marrying for the first time from 1983 to 1987 were conceived before marriage. Moreover the study shows quite clearly that the trend in premarital sexual intercourse has risen since the late 1950s, but it has risen most sharply since the 1970s (Sly et al., n.d.: 13). ESCAP had also estimated that one in every five Indonesian married women aged 20-24 gave birth to a first child that was conceived by premarital intercourse (ESCAP, 1992: 7). In his study, Jones (1994a: 60-61) also stated that from some unpublished studies in Indonesia it was reported that about 30 per cent of married young people have experienced premarital sexual intercourse.

Unlike previous studies that mainly concentrated on urban young people and used the survey as the method, Hidayana et al. (1997) conducted a study in Pakis village and Medan (North Sumatra) and Saifuddin et al. (1997) in Mandiangan village and Banjarmasin (South Kalimantan) using an ethnographic approach. These studies revealed that in regard to premarital sex, what young people in these villages are experiencing is the same as urban young people. These studies concluded that permissiveness towards premarital sexual behaviour is apparent in both urban and rural

areas, even though the forces of sexual stimulation through the media and the entertaining industries are much greater in urban areas.

In conclusion, both my case studies (Chapter 1), small scale and several national surveys in Indonesia, especially in the urban areas and some in rural areas of Indonesia, and later also my survey, have revealed that middle-class young people have become more liberal when dealing with premarital sexual behaviour. Premarital sex, pregnancy and abortion appear to be common among young people.

A government taboo

Because of a conservative research environment set by the government, community and religious leaders or groups, many researchers on sex had difficulties in processing permits and even publishing the results. Whenever studies on sex are published in the mass media, government officials always reject the findings and attempt to discredit the research. Research on dating behaviour or sexuality published in the media that were alarming and had a very strong reaction from the community started in 1981 when Wimpie Pangkahila, a medical practitioner, conducted a study among 663 high school students in Denpasar. Pangkahila did the study to confirm his experience of teenagers coming to his clinic and stating that many had had premarital sex experience. The study revealed that 155 respondents (23 per cent) had premarital sexual experience and the majority (more than 200 respondents) gained their knowledge of sex from books, magazines, and films which can be misleading (*Tempo*, 1981).

In 1983, Eko Sulisty, a high school student from DI. Yogyakarta, studied dating behaviour among high school students. The study revealed that 8.5 per cent of the respondents (N=461) had experienced sexual intercourse while dating, 10 per cent perceived that premarital sex was normal, 33.5 per cent had seen pornographic movies, and 7.5 per cent stated that they would like to try what they had seen in the pornographic films. Because Eko's study was regarded as degrading the reputation of his school, he was expelled from school. Involved in the process of banning Eko's study were not only the school director but also the provincial Department of Education and Cultural Affairs (*Tempo*, 1983).

Not long after that incident, a university students' discussion group at the University of Gadjah Mada made a study of sexual activity among university students.

The Dasakung study (*Tempo*, 1984a; 1984b), as it was known, revealed that many students in a small boarding house complex were cohabiting. Headlines in the newspapers and magazines stated: 'Cohabitation Causes Widespread Concern'. Reports of cases of cohabitation among university students in Yogyakarta were termed '*kumpul kebo*'³⁰, in the national news and brought statements from the President and other national leaders calling for community awareness of this threat to national morality (*Suara Karya*, 1984; *Kompas*, 1990).

Another teenage sexuality study that made sensational news was in Kodya Bengkulu and Curup in 1992, among 118 high school students aged 15-18 years. The study, funded by IPPA Bengkulu, revealed that 82 per cent of the respondents had experienced dating, 78.8 per cent had read pornographic material and 53 per cent had watched pornographic films; 50 per cent reported they had masturbated and 27.4 per cent reported experience of sexual intercourse. This sexual experience had mainly been with boyfriends/girlfriends, but 31 per cent of the sexually experienced had experienced sex with prostitutes or *perek* and 13.8 per cent with married women or men (Purwanto and Harmudya, 1992; *Harian Semarak*, 1992a; 1992b: 1&8; *Media Indonesia*, 1992: 14; *Kompas*, 1992: 14; *Editor*, 1992: 14). The researchers stated that the incidence of premarital sex in this study was almost the same as the results of a study conducted by the Faculty of Psychology, University of Padjadjaran, in Cirebon, Bandung, Sukabumi and Bogor which stated that 21.8 to 31.7 per cent of teenagers (including respondents in junior high school) in these areas had experienced premarital sex. A respondent interviewed by *Tempo* further stated that he often watched pornographic videos, which were circulated among friends. This respondent was in trouble because his girlfriend from the same school was pregnant. Many teenagers are unaware of the process of pregnancy, a significant indication of the lack of sexual education and knowledge among teenagers (*Tempo*, 1992).

The Bengkulu study made headlines in local and national newspapers and magazines. Officials, religious leaders and society strongly criticised the study results. Government officials from the Office of Education and Culture, and also an official from the provincial office, stated that the research was not valid because of scientific violation, which was not clarified further. Some officials said that because the sample

³⁰ *Kumpul kebo* literally means living like bulls. This term is used for couple living together without marriage.

was too small and the research only covered part of Bengkulu it could not be generalised to represent young people in Bengkulu. The bureaucratic procedure for processing research permits was brought up by provincial officials (*Harian Semarak*, 1992c: 4). The head of *Nahdlatul Ulama* in Bengkulu made very strong comments that *Harian Semarak* should not have published materials that were too sensational, and that putting such news in headlines can disturb Muslims and high school parents in particular (*Harian Semarak*, 1992d).

In 1993, a study on reproductive health conducted by the Population Research Centre, University of Gadjah Mada, also caused public controversy in the Manado society of Yogyakarta. The study, sponsored by the State Ministry of Population and Environment, covered urban areas of Yogyakarta, Bali and Manado. The study revealed that almost all of the male respondents stated that premarital sex was no longer taboo, even though in further statements they said that when they got married they would still prefer a virgin bride. In Yogyakarta and Bali the number of male respondents agreeing to the statement that sex is not taboo was higher than in Manado. It was then concluded that in Manado, because the number of female respondents agreeing to the statement was higher than that of male respondents, female respondents in this study area were more permissive. Among the female respondents in Manado, 50 per cent did not think that virginity, for males or females, was a substantial issue that should be taken into consideration when deciding to get married. Twenty six per cent of the respondents in Manado had experienced sexual intercourse. When asked about premarital pregnancies that occurred among neighbours, 78.5 per cent of respondents in Bali and Yogyakarta and 91.6 per cent in Manado stated that they knew neighbours who had experienced premarital pregnancies (Soetjipto and Faturochman, 1989; *Jawa Pos*, 1993a; 1993b; 1993c; 1993d; 1993e; *Karya Rakyat*, 1993; *Republika*, 1993)

It seems that sexuality research is always controversial in Indonesia, no matter what the results are. As soon as the media publish the findings, government officials react quickly to deny that the results are true and to claim that the research 'violates research methodology' or 'official permission' that has to be obtained. Usually the government makes an official statement that the results overstate the conditions, and on certain occasions takes legal action against the researcher. In the case of Eko, he was expelled from his school.

Sexuality research is a sensitive topic in Indonesia because sexuality is related to morality and the established parts of the society are not ready to learn that their morality or values system is changing. Only two of the sexuality studies making sensational news were made by a professional research centre, so it is possible that the methodology criticism is valid. But with later studies, using sound methodology, if the results contradicted the established values, there was still strong rejection from the government and the community. Researchers have to be extra-cautious in publishing their research findings relating to sex and morality.

Recently, three high school students from *SMA Negeri I Madiun*, Danang Subowo, Yudha Wira Mustika, and Yunita Anggraeni, all aged 17, made a study of 'Anticipating the negative impact of dating among high school students in Madiun' (*Mengantisipasi dampak negatif penyimpangan makna pacaran bagi pelajar SLTA Madiun*) and won third prize at the provincial research competition in East Java conducted by anthropology students at Airlangga University (*Kompas*, 1995). The results stated that 22.5 per cent of 400 respondents who were dating spent time talking to each other, holding hands, kissing and more intimate behaviour while dating. Male students who had experienced a broken relationship tended towards drinking (17 per cent) and going to brothels (2.5 per cent). There were observations on how students dated, and there was some documentation.

Unfortunately after the results were published in the media, the government seriously objected and found various reasons to denounce the results. At first the director and vice-director of the school asked the student researchers to apologise. Then the school forwarded letters to students who participated as respondents asking them to state that the students were never involved in the research. An official from the Social-Political Office in Madiun stated that researchers' parents who were government employees could have difficulties in their career development due to their children's conduct. The Madiun mayor stated that their conduct had degraded Madiun students, and if he was the director of their school he would expel them from school. Furthermore the mayor emphasised that the students had ignored the bureaucracy by not asking permission to carry out the research from the school director, Education and Culture Office and Social-Political Division of the Internal Affairs Department, and never discussing the methodology of the research. The three students even had to face the provincial People's Representative Council for further questioning.

With the political attitude and conservative environment surrounding sexuality research in Indonesia, this study will not just emphasised in studying young people's premarital sexual behaviour but also attempt to study young people's sexuality in a broader context. Thus in this thesis young people's sexuality is studied in a more broader context of changing social values, marriage patterns, increasing age at marriage and freer opportunity to mix with the opposite sex.

3.4 The method

3.4.1 Study area

Justification for choice of the study areas is as follows: as the nation's capital (*Undang-undang no. 10, 1964*), DKI Jakarta is the centre of government, economy, business, export-import, telecommunication, technology, education, science, research, sports, hospitals and culture. It is the melting pot of various ethnic and religious groups and diverse economic status from the wealthiest business men and government officials to the very poorest community of homeless people who earn their living by collecting garbage. Westernisation is more apparent in Jakarta compared with other cities in Indonesia. International food in restaurants and fast food outlets can be easily located through out Jakarta. International designers clothes, shoes, handbags, accessories and make up and beauty care are available in shopping malls in all areas of Jakarta. Another reason for choosing Jakarta was that, with its high exposure to Western information and cosmopolitan characteristics, I would expect that traditional patterns have been subjected to change more than in most other parts of Indonesia.

Administratively Jakarta is divided into five Wilayah Kota (urban area): South Jakarta, East Jakarta, Central Jakarta, West Jakarta and North Jakarta. Each urban area is headed by a mayor who is responsible to the governor of Jakarta. There are 43 municipalities and 261 districts in Jakarta (Utomo, 1992: 2).

With its area of 661 square km which is only 0.03 per cent of the total area of Indonesia, in 1990, Jakarta was the most densely populated city with 12,495 people living in every square km. It contains 4.6 per cent of the total population of Indonesia is concentrated (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1995, Table 3.1.2: 26-27). The total population of Jakarta has increased from 533 thousand in 1930 (cited in Arjobusono, 1978: 15) to 8.2 million in 1990 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1995, Table 3.1.1: 25) . With its annual population growth rate of 3.93 per cent in 1971-1980 dropping 2.42 per

cent in 1980-1990 (Central Bureau of Statistics, 1995, Table 3.1.1: 25), Jakarta is a major migrant and also tourist destination. Most of all one can say that the day time and night time populations of Jakarta are dramatically different as people living in the surrounding areas of BOTABEK (Bogor-Tanggerang-Bekasi) commute daily to work or go to school in Jakarta.

3.4.2 The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey

Mindful of the challenges posed to previous research, the main data sources used in this thesis combine quantitative and qualitative approaches. The survey that I conducted in Jakarta among 639 middle-class, high school students, university students, and married people highlights the characteristics, description of respondents and patterns of premarital relationships. The in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions emphasise factual data, attitudes, values, and subjective exploration of respondents in a social setting. The in-depth interviews can give a good insight into how individuals deal with their problems and explain causes of certain phenomena that cannot be provided by the survey data. The focus-group discussions also enrich understanding of the dynamic differences in social values inherent between males and females. Even though this study focuses on Jakarta, I also conducted observations, in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions in DI. Yogyakarta and Palembang. Data collected from the last two provinces is not used for comparison but in some circumstances these data supplement the Jakarta results.

The mix of methods in the study I conducted is useful because each method can complement the limitations of the other. The survey can describe the overall levels, rates, and differentials between groups and be used to analyse statistical associations, while the qualitative method can give a deeper understanding of the causes of the social phenomena being analysed. Even though there have been 11 surveys (see Appendix Table 3.3) on adolescent sexuality in Jakarta, I needed to do my own survey because using data from others surveys is impossible. This issue is related to the political conditions surrounding sexual research in Indonesia. Because the Indonesian government is very sensitive about research findings related to sex, researchers and institutions that have conducted sexual research are also very reluctant to disseminate their findings, not to mention sharing their data.

I called my study 'The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey'. The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey is the first comprehensive study in Indonesia with data on marriage values, mate selection, stages of relationships experienced before marriage and premarital sexual behaviour among young urban Indonesians. The number of respondents is stratified by age and sex in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Number of respondents by age and sex, Jakarta, 1995^a

Age	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
15 - 19	149	210	359
20 - 24	87	73	160
30+	57	63	120
Total	193	346	639

Note :

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey.

Respondents in the age group 15-19 years were selected through public schools, Islamic and Protestant Senior High schools. The university students (20-24 years old) were selected through universities located in the southern part of Jakarta.

In Jakarta, low, middle or upper class areas are easily identified by the condition of the housing, the locality of the housing complex, the school that the children attend and the form of transportation that the family uses. Housing complexes are clustered according to socio-economic class. Middle-class people usually use private transportation compared to public transportation and their children mostly go to selected government high schools and private high schools. Usually, middle-class families do not have a problem to enroll their children in public or private universities as they are able to pay the high enrollment fees.

The southern part of Jakarta is chosen for this study because most middle and upper class families reside in this area. There are also more prestigious or elite schools and universities in this area.

After the southern part of Jakarta was identified as the study area, government and private high schools and universities were listed. It is assumed that only middle-class students can be enrolled in high schools and universities in the selected area because the enrollment fees for these schools and universities are quite high. The provincial office of the Department of Education identifies the best public high school (SMAN Unggulan) yearly. Thus for the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, the best

public high school in the southern part of Jakarta was chosen in the sampling frame and two other public high schools were randomly selected. As the number of private high schools is smaller compared to the number of public high schools, one Protestant and one Islamic high school were randomly selected. Respondents in the age group 15-19 years old were selected through these high schools. In each school, two classes of students were randomly selected.

Universities for this study were selected as follows: there is only one public university in Jakarta and it is located on the border of southern Jakarta and West Java. This university was included in the sample. Almost all-private university located in the southern part of Jakarta were selected in the sample. Respondents aged 20-24 years old were selected through these universities.

The limitation of the chosen sample is that not every middle-class never married student of an appropriate age living in the survey area has an equal probability of being selected as individuals with the above characteristics who do not go to high school (for example vocational high schools) and those who choose to work instead of going to university are not included in the sample.

Besides the survey, I conducted 12 focus-group discussions and 93 in-depth interviews. The subjects of focus-group discussions conducted in each locality were: male and female adolescents (15-19 years old); male and female young adults living with their parents (20-24 years old); female young adults living in boarding houses; and male young adults living in boarding houses.

Justification of the choice of groups for the focus-group discussions is that in analysing the data, norms and values can be compared by contrasting the ideas of adolescents and young adults, of young adult respondents living with parents and living on their own (in boarding houses), and of young adult male and young adult females. Each focus-group contained eight to ten respondents and the discussion took about two hours. Of the twelve focus-groups, I was the moderator for six groups. Specially for the male university students living in boarding houses, a male moderator was used to eliminate barriers that could have occurred if discussion was conducted by a female moderator. For these groups I came just to introduce the background and objectives of

the study and focus-group discussions (see Appendix, focus group guidelines), because most of the students were not yet familiar with the focus-group method. After introducing the moderator, note-taker and observer, I would leave the discussion room. I transcribed eight discussions, and the others were transcribed by the note taker. This proved not to be satisfactory so I had to listen to the tapes again and make corrections for each transcription. The first draft transcription took about seven times the actual hours used for the discussion, and another two times the hours used for the discussion in correcting the first draft. As a final step, I listened to each tape over and made corrections to the written draft.

In-depth interviews covered historians, government employees, non government organisation (NGO) employees, teachers, counsellors, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, young people with premarital sexual experiences or premarital pregnancy, single females in their late twenties and over, young single women wearing the veil, housewives, a famous writer in his eighties, an ex-concubine in her late seventies, mothers of the bride-to-be, a fashion designer, a film producer who has produced several Indonesian films on teenagers and their lives, and taxi drivers (all males). Field notes written on a daily basis, newspaper articles and magazine clippings on the topic of premarital relationships have also been used. The clippings were done on a daily basis for newspapers and weekly for magazines. Recent issues on the behaviour and activities of young people, sexual behaviour and recent trends in the way they date, the kind of places where they like to gather, the popular youth culture they have developed, and young people's criminal behaviour including sexual violation can be understood through these clippings, although care must be taken to discount the deliberately sensational nature of some accounts. Furthermore, how the state reacts to sexuality and how the government handles issues related to sexuality can also be understood from recent articles written in newspapers and magazines.

Even though the mix of quantitative and qualitative methods is derived from different theoretical approaches, the combination can compensate for the limitations of each method. The data from the survey give overall levels, rates, and differentials between groups, and have been analysed statistically. The qualitative approaches give a deeper understanding of the causes of the social phenomena being analysed, better insight on how individuals deal with their problems and explain causes of a certain phenomenon that cannot be answered by the survey data (Wolf et al., 1991: 1). As

Axinn, Fricke and Thornton (1991: 189-90) stated, both quantitative and qualitative methods have advantages and disadvantages, and when both methods are combined they will complement one another. The combination of ethnographic and survey methods as a data collection technique has been referred to by many demographers as the microdemographic community-study approach (Axinn et al., 1991: 187; Caldwell, 1988; Hull et al., 1988). The following sections will discuss sexuality theories and how they evolved overtime and in the later sections, the theoretical framework for this thesis will be analysed.

3.4.3 Limitations

Data collected by the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey cover only the middle-class going to school, university, or residing in the southern part of Jakarta. The young respondents going to school in South Jakarta do not always reside in this part of the city but some came from various parts of Jakarta. The data cannot be generalised to be regarded as representative of Jakarta's young people because only the middle-class who are enrolled in high school or university are covered.

For the focus-group discussions, because the selection of group participants is typically purposive and based on convenience rather than representativeness, it can never be claimed to be representative of a larger inferential population. The same condition also applied to the interviews and in-depth interviews. But the qualitative data give a greater understanding and facilitate a wider range of explanatory factors that cannot be obtained from information given by the survey.

Ideally besides the selected focus-groups, additional focus-groups consisting of single-sex high school students living in boarding houses might also have been conducted to reduce the degree of concentration on the young adult respondents. But unfortunately this was not possible within the time that was available.

3.5 Ethical considerations

Because research on premarital sexual experience is quite a sensitive issue in a country where religious beliefs, repressive political conditions and traditional values are still strong, ethical considerations are particularly important. For this reason I anticipated the need for transparency of method:

3.5.1 Voluntary participation

Respondents were not coerced to participate in the study. Respondents who were selected were invited to participate in the study; if for any reason respondents were not willing to participate they were dropped from the study. None of the high school students refused to participate in the study and only 14 university students did not want to participate in the study. Due to their busy schedules, 20 per cent of the married respondents who were approached to be interviewed refused. For the qualitative research, none of the respondents approached for in-depth and focus group discussions refused.

3.5.2 Objectives

The respondents were informed of the objectives of the study, the researcher's name, and the purpose of their participation in answering the questions. Questions that arose from respondents were answered appropriately.

3.5.3 Confidentiality

In a confidential survey, the researcher is able to identify a given person's responses but essentially promises not to do so publicly (Babbie, 1989: 475). For the in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions, respondents were told why their names and other characteristics needed to be recorded. Additional explanations would emphasise that respondents' names would be removed from the record as soon as possible and replaced by identification numbers. A master identification file was created linking numbers to names, but this file would only be available to researchers (Babbie, 1989: 475). The survey respondents were not asked to put their names on the questionnaire. The respondents were identified by numbers that were given to each questionnaire. Confidentiality of the respondents' answers was strongly emphasised.

3.5.4 Documentation

No photographs were taken at questionnaire administration interviews, in-depth interviews or focus-group discussions. Focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews were recorded; the confidentiality of respondents in the focus-groups and in-depth interviews was assured and emphasised so respondents felt free to participate in the discussion.

3.5.5 *Secure storage of survey information*

Arrangements were made in the field at the Center for Health Research University of Indonesia, and in Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences at the Australian National University to keep all personal information in a locked cabinet when not in use during analysis and writing.

3.6 *Field administrative process*

The bureaucratic administration process is still rigid in Indonesia. To have a field permit for the study, a letter of permission had to be processed from the highest level, the Department of Internal Affairs, through the Social-Political Bureau. Then a letter would be authorised to the governor in the study area, who would then process a letter of permission to do a study in their authorised area. It took about four weeks to process the permits.

Before I went to the field, the Head of the Demography Program, at the Australian National University wrote to the *attache`* for education and cultural affairs of Indonesia at the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra asking for assistance. Another letter was addressed to the head of the Centre for Health Research, University of Indonesia, as an institution which would give technical assistance. The Centre for Health Research, University of Indonesia, assisted with processing the permit, research assistance, seminar rooms for conducting training and meetings for the interviewers, and staff helping with data entry of the survey. I was provided a desk where I could work and filed my books and materials. I also had a good research environment because the staff at this Centre consist of researcher from various disciplines and most of all I could monitor research on HIV/AIDS which was being conducted by the centre.

The letters mentioned earlier, with the study proposal, questionnaires and a letter from the Australian National University ethical committee were attached in the letter to the Social-Political Bureau of the Department of Internal Affairs. With the formal permit I approached six high schools located in the south of Jakarta. Among the six high schools, the bureaucratic process in one proved particularly difficult, so I dropped this high school out of my sampling frame. Since the topic of my research was sensitive by Indonesian standards, extra effort had to be made to persuade the Head of each high school to be involved with the study. Usually the Head could not make any decision without consulting the board of members.

A different case of bureaucracy was experienced in processing permits in Yogyakarta and Palembang. A letter of permission had to be processed through every level of the government. To hold a focus-group among the high school students a letter from *Kanwil Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan* (Education and Cultural Office at provincial level) had to be processed. A letter to the *Kecamatan* (District) office and *Kelurahan* (Subdistrict) office was also processed; in these provinces, a permit from the governor was not sufficient.

3.7 Questionnaire design: the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey

The questionnaire developed for the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey for the 19-24 years old respondents consisted of eleven sections as follows (see Appendix 3.1, questionnaire):

1. questionnaire identity
2. respondent and parent characteristics
3. respondent activities and exposure to mass media
4. mixing between the sexes before marriage
5. knowledge on reproductive health
6. knowledge on family planning
7. dating status
8. premarital sexual experience (if any)
9. first premarital intercourse (if any)
10. other experiences of premarital intercourse (if any)
11. stages of relationships prior to marriage and marriage values

For the married respondents, the questionnaire consisted of the same eleven sections as the young people's questionnaire. The only difference was that, in sections 8, 9, and 10, the married respondents were asked about their premarital sexual experiences when they were still young and single. To secure confidentiality, these sections were arranged at the end of the questionnaire because the married respondents had to complete these sections of the questionnaire themselves.

Only respondents who had experienced sexual intercourse would fill in section 9 (first premarital intercourse) and section 10 (other experiences of premarital intercourse).

Questions developed for the 1994/1995 Jakarta marriage values and sexuality survey were adopted and modified from various questionnaires such as the 1978 Indonesian Marriage Survey and the Youth Reproductive Health Survey. Questions for my study were planned to fit with the theoretical framework of idealised morality, the state, modernity and mixing between the sexes (see discussion in Chapter 1) with liberal-conservative dimensions. In this case, questions related to religion, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values were created with their relation to the liberal-conservative dimensions in mind. Questions designed for religion were aimed to measure obligation and voluntary religious performance. Questions on exposure to

media and Western culture and marriage values were created with their relation to the liberal-conservative dimensions in mind. Questions designed for religion were aimed to measure obligation and voluntary religious performance. Questions on exposure to media and Western culture were designed to measure media used by the respondent and types of programs they preferred to watch or listen to which can be categorised into Indonesian-type programs or Western-type programs. It was assumed that respondents who tend to watch or listen to, Western types of programs are more liberal than respondents who prefer to choose Indonesian types of programs. Marriage values questions were designed in two categories, traditional and modern. Here again it is assumed that respondents who have modern values on marriage are more liberal than respondents who have traditional values.

In relation to premarital sexual behaviour, questions were designed to measure attitudes of respondents towards appropriateness of sexual behaviour when someone is dating and when someone is already engaged. Questions regarding experience of premarital sexual behaviour were also asked. In order to develop the **sexuality indices**, the sexual behaviour questions were designed to measure a range of sexual behaviour from the least to the most intense: holding hands, hugging, embracing, kissing on cheeks, lips kissing, breast fondling, genital fondling, masturbation, petting and petting with intercourse. In this case the sexuality indices are designed to measure the hypothesis: the more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more likely that there is stronger premarital sexual intimacy involved. On the other hand, besides measuring the above hypothesis, the sexuality indices were also designed to measure liberal-conservative dimensions of premarital sexual attitudes and behaviour.

Questions related to sources and usefulness of knowledge about reproductive health and family planning were designed to measure different sources that respondents used and to what degree these sources were useful for complementing their knowledge on these issues. Therefore again it was assumed that if respondents had more access to sources of knowledge on reproductive health and family planning and these sources were useful to them, it was likely that they were more liberal than respondents with few sources of information. Respondents with the least knowledge on reproductive health and family planning were assumed to be more conservative than respondents with more knowledge on these issues.

3.8 Characteristics of respondents

Never-married male and female high school and university students, aged between 15 and 24, were selected as respondents. Besides these respondents, ever-married males and females aged 30 and over were also interviewed to learn their values and attitudes toward relationships before marriage. This method is a modification of the 1978 Indonesian Marriage Survey by McDonald and associates who collected data from rural areas in eight provinces of Indonesia: Aceh, South Sumatra, Jakarta, Yogyakarta, South Kalimantan, Bali, South Sulawesi and North Sulawesi. Data collected in that survey included information on marriage, divorce, polygamy and also on factors that affect social change, relationships between males and females before marriage, stages of commitment taken which include engagement, traditional rituals, bridegroom's gifts, and traditional wedding ceremonies (Muliakusuma, 1982).

The 1978 Indonesian Marriage Survey was the first survey in Indonesia that ever collected data on mixing between the sexes before marriage. McDonald (n.d.: 3-4) stated that changes in marriage behaviour in a community can be measured by comparing the experiences and attitudes of respondents of different ages and by comparing the ever married with the never-married.

To collect the data for the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, I trained as interviewers 25 psychology students from the University of Indonesia and the Indonesia Administration Foundation University (*Yayasan Administrasi Indonesia*). Different methods were used for each age group. For the high school students, I selected a class method, described as an 'in-class data collection'. I went to government high schools and private high schools, gave instruction in class on how to administer the questionnaire, distributed the questionnaires sealed in envelopes and let the students fill in the responses. I usually introduced the background and objectives of the study and explained the types of questions in the questionnaires. In each class containing 20 to 40 students, two or three research assistants helped students who had queries. The questionnaire took 45-60 minutes to finish.

For the young adult respondents who were university students at national and private universities, alternative choices were given to the students, to be interviewed or to administer the questionnaire to themselves. Most chose to fill in the questionnaire themselves. For the young adult respondents it is important to note that they are a self-

selected subset of the former high school students who have continued their education, thus this group have better educational attainment and are more elite compared to the high school students' group. This difference needs to be considered in understanding the analyses presented in later chapters when these two groups of respondents are compared.

The married respondents were selected through household visits. In each household, either the wife or the husband was interviewed. Unlike the high school and university students respondents, several problems arose in approaching the married respondents. In general, married couples were busy, because if both of them worked then some would only have Sunday as their day off and some had Saturday and Sunday. They left very early in the morning and came home late at night, so it was very hard to make appointments with them. Many people refused for this reason. Those who were willing to participate in the survey (over 80 per cent of those approached) were given the alternative of being interviewed or to self-administer the questionnaire, but all of the married respondents, in contrast with the university students chose to be interviewed. The only part of the questionnaire for married respondents which was different to the young person's questionnaire was the section (last section) on premarital sexual experiences when they were still young and single. All questionnaires were anonymous and sealed in an envelope following the interview. This method was used to reassure respondents that their confidentiality was protected and secure. (Education level of these respondents will be incorporated in table 3.3 Young people's and older respondents' characteristics, Jakarta 1995 p.95 after sex).

The characteristics of the survey respondents are shown in Table 3.3. As hypothesised, Table 3.3 shows clearly that young people in the survey expressed more interest in media programs that have a Western slant such as: listening to Western popular music on the radio (85 per cent of young people and only 17.5 per cent of older respondents) and on television (82.5 per cent of young people and 22.5 per cent of older respondents); watching television programs on *Rajawali Citra Televisi* (RCTI) which shows the smallest number of Indonesian programs (82.5 per cent of young people and 70.0 per cent of older respondents); and watching Western films (82.9 per cent of young people and 41.7 per cent of older respondents). Surprisingly, Western forms of night-life seem to appeal to both the young people (30.9 per cent) and older respondents (21.7 per cent). For the last two activities, going to the cinema and going to the discotheque, older

respondents were asked about their activities when they were still young and not yet married.

More older respondents were interested in Indonesian types of programs provided by *Televisi Republik Indonesia* (TVRI) (15.8 per cent of older respondents and only 3.3 per cent of young people) and watched Indonesian films. There were 83.3 per cent of older respondents who frequently or occasionally watched Indonesian films, while only 67.9 per cent of young people did so. Older respondents were more interested in reading newspapers (69.2 per cent) than were young people (42.2 per cent), while more young people (51.4 per cent) read magazines on a daily or routine basis than did older respondents (34.4 per cent). Compared to older respondents (25.8 per cent), young people (68.6 per cent) also listened to the radio more often.

Table 3.3 Young people's and older respondents' characteristics, Jakarta 1995^a

	Young People (N=519)	Older respondents (N=120)
Sex		
Male	45.5	47.5
Female	43.9	52.5
Missing	.6	
Religion		
Moslem	81.9	85.0
Catholic	4.2	3.3
Protestant	13.1	11.7
Hindu	.2	-
Buddhist	.4	-
Missing	.2	-
Ever lived in other province		
yes	15.4	41.7
no	83.4	58.3
missing	1.2	-
Ever lived in other country		
yes	5.0	9.2
no	92.5	90.0
missing	2.5	.8
Exposure to media: Indonesian versus Western values		
Read newspapers		
every day	47.2	69.2
several times a week	18.3	15.8
occasionally	32.2	13.3
never	.6	.8
other	1.7	.8
Read magazines		
every day	8.9	.3
several times a week	42.5	34.1
occasionally	46.4	58.3
never	.8	4.2
other	1.2	-
Listening to the radio		
every day	68.6	25.8
several times a week	8.7	11.6
occasionally	20.4	56.7
never	1.5	5.8
other	.8	-
Listening to Indonesian popular music		
frequently	31.9	16.7
occasionally	60.1	71.7
never	6.2	8.3
do not know	1.2	-
missing	.6	3.3
Listening to Western popular music		
frequently	85.0	17.5
occasionally	12.3	62.5
never	1.5	15.8
do not know	.6	-
missing	.6	4.2
Watching television		
every day	87.5	87.5
several times a week	4.6	3.3
occasionally	7.3	8.3
never	.8	.8
other		
Favourite television channel ^b		
TVRI	3.3	15.8
RCTI	82.5	70.0
TPI	.8	2.5
SCTV	4.8	6.7
ANTV	5.6	2.5
Other	-	1.7
Missing	3.1	.8

Table 3.3 continued

Watching Indonesian popular music on television		
frequently	34.6	27.5
occasionally	58.4	65.8
never	5.8	5.8
do not know	1.0	.8
missing	.2	
Watching Western popular music on television		
frequently	82.5	22.5
occasionally	16.2	68.3
never	.4	8.4
do not know	1.0	-
Watching Indonesian news programs on television		
frequently	44.5	82.5
occasionally	45.3	23.3
never	8.9	3.3
do not know	1.2	.8
Watching English news programs on television		
frequently	10.4	19.2
occasionally	52.0	40.0
never	34.3	39.2
do not know	2.9	1.7
missing	.4	
Going to the cinema ^c		
once a week	11.8	12.5
once a month	14.6	13.3
occasionally	59.2	65.8
never	5.8	8.3
other	8.7	-
Watching Indonesian films ^c		
frequently	14.0	16.6
occasionally	53.9	66.7
never	28.7	13.3
do not know	2.3	3.3
Watching Western films ^c		
frequently	82.9	41.7
occasionally	14.5	44.7
never	1.7	10.8
do not know	.4	3.3
Going to discotheque ^c		
occasionally	30.9	21.7
never	63.0	76.8
do not know	.6	1.5

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey.

b. *TVRI (Televisi Republik Indonesia/Indonesian Republic Television)* and *TPI (Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia/Indonesian Education Television)* are the only government-owned television stations. *RCTI (Rajawali Citra Televisi)*, *ANTV (Andalas Televisi)* and *SCTV (Surya Citra Televisi)* are owned by the private sector.

c. For the older respondents, these questions were asked in relation to their experience when they were still young and not yet married.

Educational attainment for the older respondents is as follows: elementary school, 1.7 per cent; junior high school, 3.3 per cent; senior high school, 33.4 per cent; diploma program/3 years university (college), 30.8 per cent; and university, 30.8 per cent.

Table 3.4 Percentage of young people and older respondents by religiosity, media exposure and marriage values, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	Young People N= 519	Older respondents N=120
Religion^b		
Leaves prayers	79.9	86.4
Listening to religious preaching at school-faculty ^c	36.7	-
Listening to religious preaching at the place of work ^c	-	12.4
Listening to religious preaching at the mosque or church	40.0	51.3*
Listening to religious preaching over the radio	20.7	50.0**
Listening to religious preaching elsewhere	10.6	22.6**
Reads religious books and/or material	32.9	47.8**
Importance of religion on one's life	97.2	99.2
Media and Western values^d		
Radio Programs		
Listens to Indonesian popular music	32.2	17.2**
Listens to Western popular music	85.5	18.3**
Listens to religious songs	12.5	32.7**
Listens to religious preaching	19.5	54.7**
Listens to news	17.7	32.8**
Listens to reports on science.	82.5	86.2
Television program		
Watches programs on Indonesian sports	13.5	11.9
Watches programs on Western sports	30.6	18.3*
Watches programs on Indonesian popular music	34.7	27.7
Watches programs on Western popular music	82.5	22.7**
Watches programs on religious songs	10.8	30.5**
Watches programs on religious preaching	17.6	53.3**
Watches Indonesian news programs	44.6	72.5**
Watches English news programs	10.4	19.5*
Watches programs on scientific reports	19.3	23.1
Watches programs on health and reproductive health	15.1	29.4**
Usefulness of the Media^e		
Knowledge on religion	84.2	93.0*
Entertainment	69.9	59.8*
Knowledge on national political condition	78.3	66.7*
Knowledge on other countries' political condition	74.4	56.1**
General knowledge about the nation	84.8	84.2
General knowledge about other countries	80.2	58.8**
Knowledge on health	76.6	91.2**
Knowledge on reproductive health-sexuality	70.9	50.4**
Knowledge on family planning	42.4	76.8**
Marriage values^f		
If a woman is already married, then she should not work outside the family circle	8.7	25.2**
Husband has the right to stop wife from working	54.6	65.5*
Education levels of the husband and wife should be equal	27.6	34.5
Husband is the head of the household who has the power	74.8	81.2
As the head of the household, husband has the power like a king	10.1	13.4
Family income should totally come from the husband	26.7	42.0**
Husband and wife have the same power in family decisions	80.8	88.2
In a successful marriage each couple can actualise themselves	77.2	87.4*
Marriage as an institution is not important	4.6	6.7
Marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot actualise themselves	17.9	27.1*

Notes :

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, test of significant difference between the young people and older respondents is based on T test, **significant difference at less than one per cent level, *significant difference at less than five per cent level.

b. The religion variables, except for leaves prayers and importance of religion, represent the percentage of respondents who frequently engaged in the religious activities. The variable leaves prayers is presented for those who never or occasionally leave prayers, while importance of religion represents those respondents who have a very strong perception that religion is very important.

c. Tests of significant difference were not applied for these variables. Listening to religious preaching at school or faculty was only applied in the young people factor analysis, while listening to religious preaching at the place of work was only applied in the older respondents factor analysis. Variables from the broad dimensions of religiosity, media and Western values and marriage values were used in factor analysis using the principal components method with varimax rotation.

d. The media and Western values variables represent respondents who frequently listen to radio or watch television programs.

e. Usefulness of the media variables represents respondents who strongly felt that media have an influence on a particular form of knowledge.

f. The marriage values variables represent respondents who agreed to these values.

Table 3.4 presents differences between young people and older respondents in attitudes, values and behaviour towards religion, media exposure and marriage. Both groups expressed a strong attachment to religion: 97.2 per cent of young people and 99.2 per cent of older respondents strongly agreed that religion is important in one's life and 79.9 per cent of young people and 86.4 per cent of older respondents never or only occasionally neglected prayers; but older respondents were more committed to listening to religious preaching and reading religious books or materials. Here again it is clear that the young people were more exposed to Western-type programs in the media, including Western sports programs. Older respondents were also more exposed to health and reproductive health programs on television (15.1 per cent for young people and 29.4 per cent for older respondents) even though more young people (79.9 per cent) perceived that they gained knowledge from the media on this issue than did older respondents (50.4 per cent). More older respondents on the other hand learned from the media about family planning related issues than did young people (42.4 per cent).

When dealing with marriage values, older respondents agreed more than young people with values related to status equity between husband and wife such as: husband and wife have the same power in family decisions (88.2 per cent of older respondents and 80.8 per cent of young people agreed); in a successful marriage both partners can actualise themselves (87.4 per cent for older respondents and 77.2 per cent for young people) and marriage should be terminated if both partners cannot actualise themselves (27.1 per cent of older respondents and 17.9 per cent of young people).³¹ While these values related to status equity between husband and wife can be regarded as expressions of a liberal viewpoint on marriage, older respondents also seem to have been more likely to keep many traditional views about marriage. These values include: after marriage the wife should not work outside the family circle (25.2 per cent of older respondents and only 8.7 per cent of young people), the husband has the right to stop the wife from working (65.5 per cent of older respondents and 54.6 per cent of young people) and family income should come from the husband (42.0 per cent of older respondents and 26.7 per cent of young people). The variables in Table 3.4 are used in factor analysis that is explained in Section 3.10.1.

³¹ The term actualise is adopted from Maslow's theory on hierarchy of needs. The needs are physiological, safety, belongingness and love, esteem and self-actualisation. Self-actualisation is the realisation and fulfilment of our potential (Schultz and Schultz, 1994: 279-283)

3.9 Study variables

Variables regarding premarital relationships among adolescents and young adults, can be complex. Variables to be analysed in this study can be categorised into several groupings as follows: socio-economic and demographic variables; marriage concepts and values; sex education and family planning knowledge; values and attitudes on premarital sex and abortion and; premarital sexual intimacy behaviour.

Socio-economic and demographic variables

Selected socio-economic and demographic variables analysed in this study include: age, sex, educational attainment, income, residential mobility, religion, social activities (religious activities, youth activities, sport activities, etc.), and exposure to mass media (radio, television, movies, newspapers, and magazines).

Marriage concepts and values

Included in this category are marriage concepts, marriage values, marriage arrangement process, and stages in premarital relationships and commitment before marriage.

Sex education and family planning knowledge

Included in this category are variables on access to sex education and the usefulness of various sources (family members, media, school, friends, boyfriend/girlfriend and counsellor) for respondents' knowledge on this issue. Family planning is also included.

Values and attitudes on premarital sex and abortion

Included in this category are variables on values toward premarital sex and abortion, attitudes to sexual expression when dating and attitudes to sexual expression when engaged.

Premarital sexual intimacy behaviour

Variables on premarital sexual expression are: holding hands, hugging, embracing, kissing cheeks, lips kissing, breast fondling, petting and sexual intercourse.

3.10 Method of analysis

Survey data for this thesis were analysed using the SPSS 6.1 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) for Windows. Analysis employed included descriptive statistics: frequency and percentage distributions, cross tabulation, test of relationship between two variables (chi square). Tests of means (T test and F test) were also

employed. Beside the descriptive analysis, further analysis consisting of factor analysis, index construction and regression was applied (see diagram 3.1).

3.10.1 Factor analysis

Factor analysis is used in this thesis as a data reduction method to select a number of variables that can be grouped into 'factors' such as religious, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage value variables. Factors derived from the analysis are further used to analyse whether the respondents fall into conservative or liberal categories. By using the factor scores of religion, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage values, demographic variables such as age, sex, religion, types of school, parents' religion, parents' education, parents' jobs, and having experienced living in other provinces or abroad can be analysed using bivariate analysis. The results demonstrate whether the respondents are more liberal or conservative. In this thesis I explain how these three factor models were derived.

Why use a factor analysis technique? The basic assumption of factor analysis is that the underlying dimensions, or factors, can be used to explain complex phenomena. The goal of factor analysis is to identify the not-directly-observable factors based on a set of observable variables. Usually, the factors useful for characterising a set of variables are not known in advance, but are determined by factor analysis (Norusis, 1993: 48). A set of factors derived from factor analysis is a set of uncorrelated variables that would be ideal for further analysis when the use of highly interrelated variables may yield misleading results in multiple regression analysis (Kim and Muller, 1978: 5). Factor analysis assumes that the observed variables are linear combinations of some underlying (hypothetical or unobservable) factors. Some of these factors are assumed to be common to two or more variables and some are assumed to be unique to each variable. The unique factors are assumed to be orthogonal to each other and do not contribute to the covariation between variables. Only common factors (which are assumed to be much smaller in number than the number of observed variables) contribute to the covariation among the observed variables (Kim and Muller, 1978: 8).

In factor analysis, there are two models to develop factor extraction: common factor analysis and principal components analysis. The principal components analysis is a separate technique from factor analysis. The principal components method can be used whenever uncorrelated linear combinations of the observed variables are formed.

The first principal component is the combination that accounts for the largest amount of variance in the sample. The second principal component accounts for the next largest amount of variance and is uncorrelated with the first (Norusis, 1993: 53-54). Therefore principal components analysis is a method of transforming a given set of observed variables into another set of variables (Kim and Muller, 1978:14). Since the factors produced in this thesis will be used for further analysis using multiple regression where uncorrelated variables are necessary, the principal components method is the most appropriate method to use.

The next step in factor analysis involves finding simpler and more easily interpretable factors through rotations, while keeping the number of factors and communalities of each variable fixed (Kim and Muller, 1978: 29). There are several rotation methods: the quartimax method, the equamax method and the varimax method. The varimax rotation attempts to minimise the number of variables that have a high loading on a factor. This rotation will enhance the interpretability of the factors. The quartimax rotation often results in a general factor with high-to-moderate loadings on most variables. The equamax method is a combination of the varimax method, which simplifies the factors, and the quartimax method which simplifies the variables (Norusis, 1993: 65). In this thesis the varimax rotation is chosen so as to maximise interpretation of the factors.

By using the principal components method and varimax rotation, variables grouped into religious variables, exposure to media and Western culture variables and marriage values variables can be analysed separately. Questions constructed for each variable were scaled into five categories: strongly agree, agree, neutral, disagree, strongly disagree. A score was then given for each statement: a score of 5 for strongly agree, 4 for agree, 3 for neutral, 2 for disagree, and 1 for strongly disagree. All variables can be seen as measuring levels of liberalism or conservatism. Scores were taken as they were in the questionnaire or reversed so that a high score on a variable indicated a liberal outlook and a low score represented a conservative outlook.

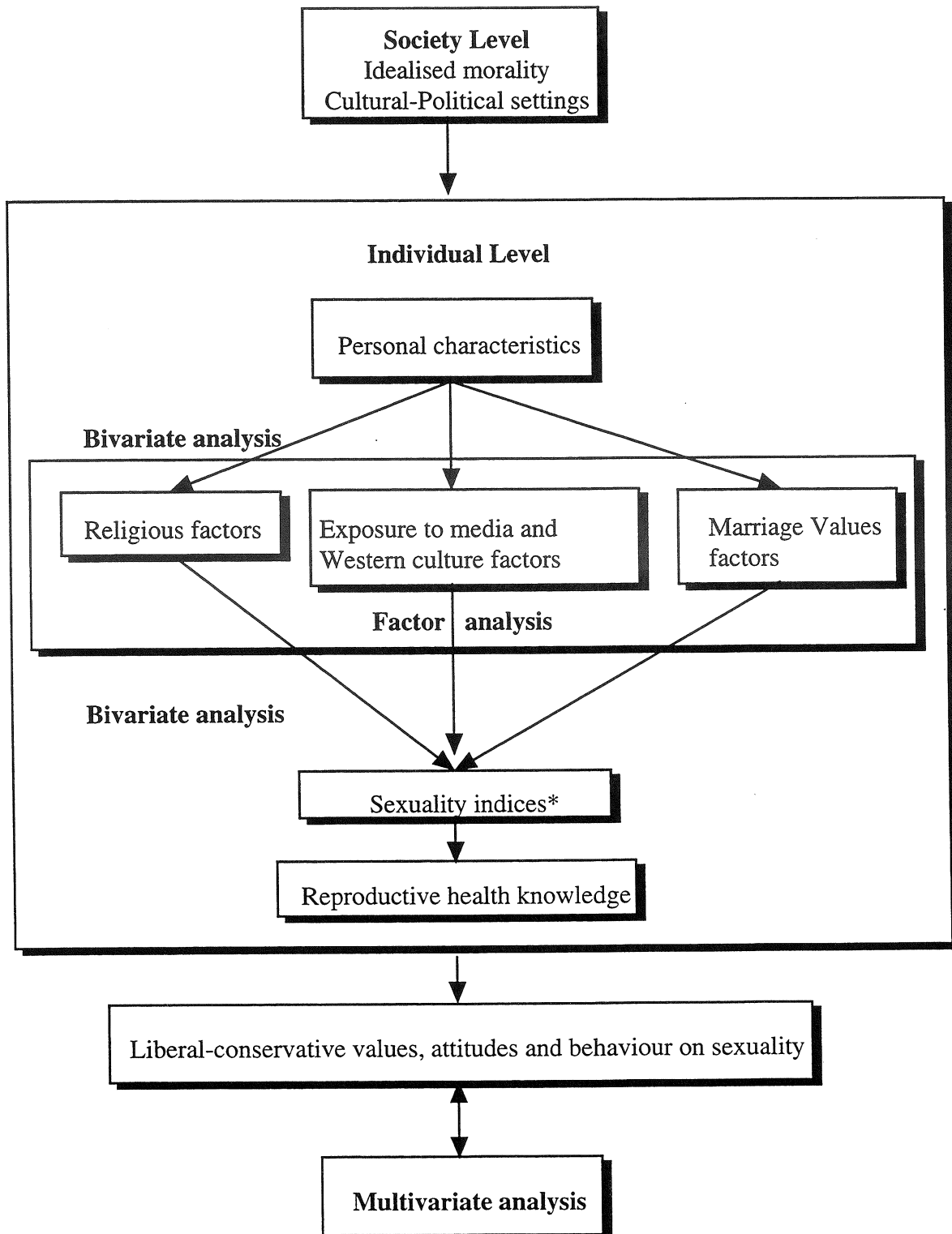
In this analysis, missing values are treated in a special way. Most of the time we cannot do anything about missing values, but we do not want to throw away all the cases from which they came. Other variables in these cases may have perfectly adequate values. Although ideally no researcher would want to have a missing value, they are unfortunately inevitable. The causes may stem from the interviewer forgetting

to ask certain questions, or the respondent refusing to answer or not knowing the answer (Norusis, 1988: 68-69). In the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey missing values are quite low, for most variables being less than 5 per cent. To overcome this problem, I have opted to use mean substitution for missing values when analysing the principal components. By using this alternative, all the missing values are replaced with the variable mean, and consequently all cases are used in the factor analysis (Norusis, 1993: 81).

Variables used in the *religious dimension* are: ever experienced neglecting prayers owing to tight work schedule or studying, ever experienced listening to religious preaching at school or faculty, ever experienced listening to religious preaching at the mosque or church, ever experienced listening to religious preaching over the radio, ever experienced listening to religious preaching elsewhere, ever experienced reading religious materials or religious books and how important is religion in one's life. In the *media and Western values dimension*, the variables focus on what kind of radio programs are preferred: Indonesian popular music, Western popular music, religious songs, religious preaching, news, and reports on science. Variables for preferred television programs included: programs on Indonesian sports, programs on Western sports, programs on Indonesian popular music, programs on Western popular music, programs on religious songs, programs on religious preaching, Indonesian news programs, English news programs, programs on scientific reports, and programs on health and reproductive health. Other variables included in this model are the types of movies most frequently watched by the following categories: Indonesian films; Western films; and Chinese, Indian or martial art films. Frequencies on going to discotheques are also included. In the *marriage values dimension* the variables used are statements such as: if a woman is already married, then she cannot work outside the family circle; if a woman decides that she wants to work, her husband has the right to stop her; the attained education level between husband and wife has to be equal; the husband is the head of the household who has the power; as the head of the household, the husband has power like a king; family income should totally come from the husband; husband and wife have the same power in family decisions; marriage can give economic security; marriage can bring lots of responsibility, in a successful marriage each couple can actualise themselves; marriage as an institution is not

important; marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot actualise themselves (see diagram 3.2).

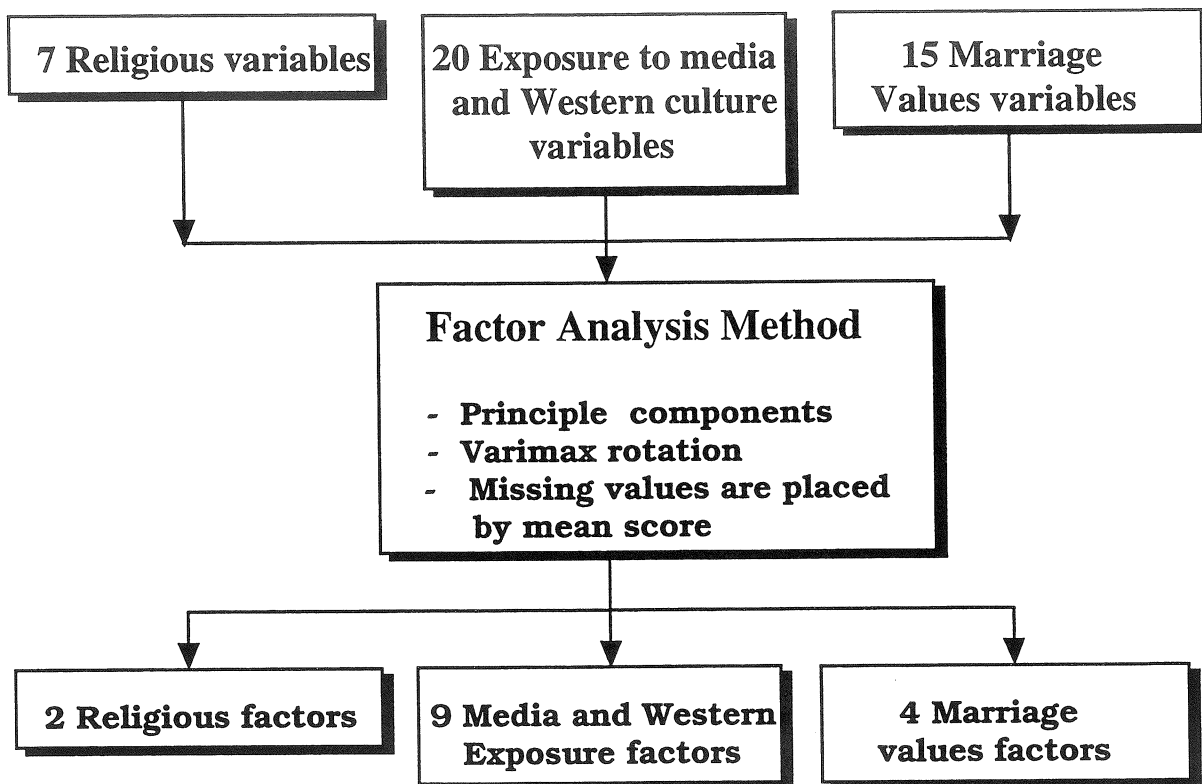
Diagram 3.1 Analysis of socio-demographic variables, factor scores, sexuality indices scores and knowledge on reproductive health



Note:

* Sexuality indices consist of : (1) sexual behaviour index and (2) attitudinal sexual indices which consist of index on the level of acceptance of sexual behaviour if a couple were dating and engaged.

Diagram 3.2 Factor analysis diagram



Notes :

1. **Religious factors**
 Factor 1 Obligatory to religious performances *
 Factor 2 Voluntary religious performances *
2. **Exposure to Media and Western culture factors**
 Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge
 Factor 2 Exposure to religious preaching and songs on television and radio *
 Factor 3 Exposure to Western music and movies *
 Factor 4 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge *
 Factor 5 Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio *
 Factor 6 Exposure to radio program news and science reports
 Factor 7 Exposure to science and health programs on television
 Factor 8 Exposure to sport activities programs *
 Factor 9 Exposure to Western influences *
3. **Marriage values factors**
 Factor 1 Traditional view on marriage
 Factor 2 Importance of marriage
 Factor 3 Power-authority in marriage *
 Factor 4 Equality status between husband and wife in marriage *

Factors with (*) are factors that are good predictors of liberal-conservative values, attitudes and behaviour.

3.10.2 Indices of sexual behaviour and knowledge on reproductive health

Three summary indices of sexual behaviour and one on sources and usefulness of knowledge on sex education and family planning have been developed for this thesis: attitude towards sexual behaviour perceived as normal when a couple is dating,

attitude towards sexual behaviour perceived as normal when a couple is already engaged, experience of sexual behaviour with the opposite sex, and sources and usefulness of knowledge on sex education and family planning. The three sexual behaviour indices are calculated as the sum of a series of weights. The weight used for each variable is the reciprocal of the proportion of respondents who had practised that form of behaviour. For each form of behaviour that the respondent has experienced, he or she scores this weight. The sum of the weights describes the intensity of sexual behaviour. If a respondent is engaged in more intense sexual behaviour (for example sexual intercourse), then the score will be high, while respondents who have only engaged in holding hands receive a lower score. To simplify the analysis, the sexual behaviour index score is categorised into three groups, low, medium and high. The formula for the sexual behaviour index score is as follows:

Sexual behaviour index score = var1*x1+var2*x2+var3*x3.....var10*x10.

Note:

Var 1= Holding hands (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 2= Hugging (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 3= Intense hugging (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 4= Kissing on cheeks (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 5= Lips kissing (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 6= Breast fondling (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 7= Genital fondling (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 8= Masturbation (Yes=1, No=0)

Var 9= Petting (Yes=1, No=0)

Var10= Petting with intercourse (Yes=1, No=0)

x1 = reciprocal of proportion of respondents that answered yes to holding hands

x2 = reciprocal of proportion of respondents that answered yes to hugging

x3 = reciprocal of proportion of respondents that answered yes to intense hugging

x10 = reciprocal of proportion of respondents that answered yes to petting with intercourse

The notion of sex education is questioned thus: have you ever received information on sex education from the following sources ? How do you categorise these sources ? Are they useful or not ? The question on sources and usefulness of information on sex is divided into several groups as follows,

Variable 1= Boyfriend/girlfriend (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 2= Mother (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 3= Father (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 4= Other family members (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 5= Friends (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 6= Counsellor/teacher (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 7= News paper/magazine/novel/scientific book (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 8= Radio (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable 9= Television/film (Yes=1, No=0)

Variable10= School (Yes=1, No=0)

Respondents who answered yes for a certain source would then have to give a value to the usefulness of this source: 1 useless, 2 not useful, 3 don't know, 4 useful and 5 very useful.

Based on these questions, the index on sources and usefulness of information on sex education knowledge can be categorised into five groups :

1. respondents who have had no source of information on sex, meaning that they never received any information on sex.
2. respondents who have received some kind of sex education but have not received useful information from any of the sources.
3. respondents who have received sex education from various sources and found that these sources are useful, which can be categorised into four sub-groups as follows:
 - (a) received useful information from any family members (mother, father or other family members);
 - (b) received useful information from any media (Newspaper/magazine/novel/scientific book, radio, television and films);
 - (c) received useful information from counsellor or school (counsellor/teacher or school);
 - (d) received useful information from peers (boyfriend/girlfriend, friends).

On further analysis, to evaluate respondents' level of knowledge on sex, respondents were categorised into two groups, respondents with high level of knowledge and respondents with low level of knowledge. Respondents who have received useful information from one or various grouped sources are categorised into a group of respondents with high level of knowledge. Respondents who have never received or have received some kind of sex education but have not received useful information from any of the sources are categorised as respondents with low level of knowledge.

3.10.3 *Multiple regression*

In the multivariate analysis all factors of religion, exposure to media and Western culture, marriage values and the demographic variables were included in the model as potential explanatory variables, whereas the three sexual behaviour indices (ungrouped) were included as the dependent variables. The demographic characteristics variables were made into dummy variables before they were used in the multivariate models, while the other two types of variables, factor scores and sexual behaviour scores, were already in the form of continuous variables. Demographic characteristics that were included in the analysis are : age, sex, religion, type of school, parents' religion, parents' education, parents' jobs and having experience of living in other provinces or abroad. Several multivariate stepwise regression models were examined and the best models based on theory, variance explained and being parsimonious are used (see diagram 3.1).

3.10.4 *Analysis of qualitative data*

I had the opportunity to participate in the Q.R.S. NUD.IST workshop at La Trobe University and attend the 27th Summer Seminar at the East West Center, University of Hawaii, on 'Design and measurement in youth sexuality research' after I had finished my fieldwork and was already at the stage of analysing my data. I found that these two workshops helped me understand how to handle my data.³² Because of time constraints I decided not to use Q.R.S. NUD.IST to analyse my qualitative data, but I have manually developed an 'indexing system' that makes it easier to find data. I transcribed in full all of the focus-group discussions and 80 from 93 in-depth interviews. The other 13 in-depth interviews that I did not transcribe were conducted by my research assistants. After conducting in-depth interviews or focus-group discussions, I always tried to discipline myself by transcribing them and would not start any interview or focus-group discussion until I had finished transcribing the previous one. Besides writing the full transcription, I also tried to write my observations and impressions of each of the interviews and focus-groups; this helped later in analysing my data. During

³² Q.R.S. NUD.IST (1995) is a qualitative analysis computer program that can be used to develop a data base system which can be retrieved easily and can be used in all kinds of textual data as long as the text is in Roman characters. Q.R.S. NU.DIST stands for Non-Numerical Unstructured Data, Indexing, Searching and Theorising. I attended the three-days workshop.

the process of writing my field notes, my in-depth interviews and my focus-group discussions, I tried to differentiate between facts, impressions and interpretation.

I developed an indexing system (Table 3.5, Table 3.6) and a coding system so I could locate my data easily. Table 3.5 is an example of how the cassette tapes location is indexed by number, date, settings, contents and person being moderator or note taker-observer. The same information is also recorded in the cassette tapes. In cases where one cassette tape contained more than one interview, then the word count is also recorded (Table 3.5, numbers 4b, 5a and 5b). Table 3.6 is also an example of how the in-depth interviews are indexed. For confidential reasons, all the names of respondents, high schools, and universities have been changed; but the real names are still recorded and placed in a secure master file. The number of each case (T12mj, S15fj, etc.) is essential for identifying cases and to make sure that the cases do not get mixed up.

With 17 pages of summary indexing, I can easily find the location of about 1772 pages of transcriptions and field notes for my analysis.³³ To capture the new trends in behaviour among young people in Jakarta, I also followed the media very closely because many articles in the media reported on young people's behaviour and activities. The first thing in the morning, I always read the newspapers and marked articles that I needed to document. I also read young people's magazines and women's magazines: *Gadis*, *HAI*, *Aneka*, *Matra*, *Femina* and *Popular*, and other Indonesian magazines: *Tempo*, *Gatra*, *Sinar*, and *Prisma*. I filed these clippings according to their subject which came to 35 topics and put them in separate folders. I also kept notes in a journal especially about what had been said in the news. This way I could trace all important events related to my thesis.

Organising and assembling my notes and data was crucial. Information had to be documented and filed daily or at the latest weekly. If this is not done, much valuable information can be lost. I learnt that every person in the field can be a resource person. I did not realise this until I arrived in Jakarta and for the first four weeks had to ride in taxis. I started interviewing taxi drivers who gave me enormous amounts of information. With this experience, I took opportunities to talk to as many people as I could about topics related to my study: I did not specify that they had to be young people, I talked to both young people and older people. Therefore I did not concentrate

³³ Tables 3.6 and 3.7 are examples of my indexing system. I also have a note of the abbreviations and what each letter stands for.

my respondents only towards the target group but also talked to people related to my target group, for example parents and teachers and experts dealing with problems related to my target group, such as counsellors, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, NGO personnel and policy makers. The wide range of people that I interviewed gave a diversity of views on sexuality and marriage values. This way it is possible to understand why, when and how premarital sexual behaviour is increasing from the perspective of the target group as well as from other perspectives. I am grateful for the openness and frankness of my respondents in talking about sex and marriage, topics which I thought would be difficult to study.

Table 3.5 Cassettes location of in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, Jakarta

No. ^a	Date	Setting ^b	Cassette contents	Moderator/ Observer/Interviewer ^c
1.	12/7/94	Jakarta, public high school I, Student association room	Focus-group discussion, male and female high school students	M Iwu O Novai
2.	17/7/94	Jakarta-university I	Focus-group discussion, male and female university students	M Iwu O Novai
3.	29/7/94	Jakarta, boarding room	Ani, premarital pregnancy, ran away from home	I Iwu
4a.	6/8/94	Jakarta, NGO 1	Side A (0-279A) Focus-group discussion with teachers that have received AIDS training	M Teguh O Iwu
4b.	6/8/94	Jakarta, NGO 1	Side B (279A-074B) FGD with 3 students (Andri, Meiz and Menik) that have been trained on AIDS	M Iwu
5a.	13/8/94	Jakarta, public high school II, spontaneous FGD with 8 female high school students after they finished the questionnaire	Side A (0-120A) Sex education, being a teenager, dating problems	M Iwu
5b.	15/8/94	Jakarta, public high school II.	Side B (120A-144B) Mr Budi is a counsellor with a bachelor degree in Moslem religion	I Iwu

Notes:

a. Cassette number

b. Where the event took place. NGO 1 is a pseudonym.

c. M means moderator, O means observer and note taker, and I means interviewer.

I also learned to conduct focus-groups. During my proposal presentation there was a lot of debate on whether I should conduct the focus-groups combining both sexes or separately for each sex. In my study I tried to conduct both types of focus-groups. Another question arising from my proposal presentation was: Can sexuality which is regarded as a sensitive topic be discussed openly in a group? Another was: Can a focus-group which is designed for a Western culture work with Indonesians?

I learned that combining male and female participants in a focus-group is rewarding because I could understand the issues being discussed from both perspectives. I also learned that a group of males will talk more openly about sex than a

group of females. Mainly I discovered that the Indonesian young people who participated in my focus-group discussions were quite comfortable and open in discussing sex. Even though Indonesian culture emphasised that people should not speak out, the focus-group discussions went well as long as the moderator encouraged, probed and asked participants to speak out at least for the first ten minutes of the discussion. Then after this time, usually participants are more comfortable and active in participating in the discussion.

Table 3.6 Index of in-depth interviews, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey

No. ^a	Date	Setting ^b	Respondent	I ^c	Location ^d
M11fj	20/7/94	Pondok Indah, Jakarta	Mrs. Hendrik 'Modern women-traditional values'	Iwu	p.37 Journal
T12mj	21/7/94	Pasar Minggu-Bacang street, Jakarta	Roto 'Self choice marriage, parents disagreement'	Iwu	p.39 journal
S15fj	25/7/94	University I	Yana 'Concept of an arranged marriage'	Iwu	p.45 journal
S16fj	26/7/94	mother's house, Bacang street, Jakarta	Bianti 'Dating experiences and sexual harassment'	Iwu	p.47 and p.161 journal
P17fj	29/7/94	Ani's boarding room, Jakarta	Ani 'Premarital pregnancy, runs away from home'	Iwu	p.51 journal
N18mj	31/7/94	NGO 1, Jakarta	Gafur 'NGO 1's programs and activities'	Iwu	p.65 and p.82 journal
C26fj	6/8/94	public high school III	Mrs. Aminah-counselor 'Sex education should be given through school'	Iwu	p.96 journal

Notes:

- Case number: M11fj means married (M), case number 11, female (f), Jakarta (j), P17fj means premarital sex-pregnancy (P), case number 17, female (f), Jakarta (j).
- Location where the interview was conducted. NGO 1 is a pseudonym.
- I stands for interviewer.
- File location of the written transcription. For my field notes and some of my interviews I wrote them in a journal from loose-leaf papers that I combined. Some of the interviews are written separately-not in the journal. All of the focus-group transcriptions are written in a report format.

Table 3.7 presents focus groups that I have conducted in Jakarta, DI Yogyakarta and Palembang. Even though this thesis only concentrates on Jakarta, focus-group discussions in the other two provinces were also conducted to evaluate differences that may have occurred. Identification numbers of the focus groups were assigned so it would be easy to identify them in later analysis.

In this thesis I did not use any computer program package to analyse qualitative data such as journal (field notes), transcriptions of in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions, and media clippings. With the indexing and the filing system that I developed, it was easy to find the data that I needed. But if I had known and mastered NUD.IST before I went to the field, I think it would have been ideal to manage and analyse the qualitative data through computer.

Table 3.7 Focus-group discussions, Jakarta, DI. Yogyakarta and Palembang, 1994/1995

No. ^a	N	Date	Setting ^b	Type of Focus group	Moderator (M) / Observer (O)
FGD 1J	10	7/ 9/94	Male boarding house	Male university students living in boarding house	Novai (M), Jin (O)
FGD 2J	6	3/ 8/94	Female boarding house	Female university students living in boarding house	Iwu (M), Titin (O)
FGD 3J	8	12/ 7/94	Jakarta high school	Male and female high school students living with parents	Iwu (M), Novai (O)
FGD 4J	7	10/ 7/94	Jakarta university	Male and female university students living with parents	Iwu (M), Novai (O)
FGD 5J	8	15/ 7/94	Jakarta high school	Female high school students	Iwu (M)
FGD 6J	9	6/ 8/94	Jakarta NGO 1	Female and male high school teachers	Teguh (M), Iwu (O)
FGD 1Y	10	5/ 2/95	Male boarding house	Male university students living in boarding house	Made (M), Tanto (O)
FGD 2Y	8	3/ 2/95	PSC UGM	Female university students living in boarding house	Ambar (M), Iwu and Sukanti (O)
FGD 3Y	8	2/ 2/1995	PSC UGM	Male and female high school students living with parents	Iwu (M), Sukanti (O)
FGD 4Y	9	4/ 2/1995	PSC UGM	Male and female university students living with parents	Iwu (M), Sukanti (O)
FGD 1P	7	22/12/1994	Research assistant's house	Male university students living in boarding house	Eddy (M), Irdianto (O)
FGD 2P	6	15/12/1994	Research assistant's house	Female university students boarding house	Iwu (M), Kartini (O)
FGD 3P	8	18/12/1994	Palembang high school	Male and female high school students living with parents	Eddy (M), Irdianto (O)
FGD 4P	7	19/12/1994	Research assistant's house	Male and female university students living with parents	Iwu (M), Kartini (O)

Note:

a. FGD stands for focus-group discussions. J, Y and P stand for provinces. J for Jakarta, Y for DIY. Yogyakarta, P for Palembang.

b. Location where the focus group discussion was conducted. NGO 1 is a pseudonym. PSC UGM stands for Population Studies Center University of Gadjah Mada.

When writing my journal daily and transcribing my in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions, and collecting and filing media articles, I tried to distinguish between facts, my impressions and interpretations. I found this very useful in writing up the findings of my study. The process of analysing my qualitative data started in the field while I was collecting my data, transcribing, and filing my data. All of these processes inspired me on themes for topics that I could include in my analysis. With

the qualitative data and analysis, I learned a lot about my research issue questions. For example after interviewing government officials and NGO personnel I could understand why it is so difficult to include sex education in the school curriculum. I also could instantly understand various types of programs that were being developed by the government and NGOs related to young people's sexuality and HIV/AIDS. I could not get this kind of information by simply reading the literature or existing articles in the media because some of the issues that were brought up were incompletely covered in published material.

While conducting and transcribing the focus-group discussions, I was able to gain an understanding of why young males and females have certain values related to sexuality. I could also understand how both sexes can tolerate some of the existing cultural values. If a certain issue was raised in a focus-group discussion and this issue was not included in my guidelines then I would explore and develop this issue in the next focus-group. Thus the process of moulding my thesis and finding answers to my research questions was dynamic. It started with the research questions that I developed before going to the field which guided me in looking for information and analysing my information. This developed as I collected and analysed my data. As my qualitative research progressed, the themes for my thesis became more focused. Therefore with the qualitative data I cannot really separate the processes of collecting and analysing because they happened continuously and simultaneously.

With the survey data, I did not get the results until almost the end of my field work. It is very time-consuming to train interviewers, pretest, revise the questionnaire, develop techniques of asking questions so the respondents will feel more secure in reporting their sexual activities, administer the questionnaires, check the answers, enter and clean the data, even though I was helped by a team of research assistants. Thus it was not until almost the end of my field work that I was able to have a description and tabulation of my survey data. After arriving in Canberra it took almost three months to explore my survey data and make simple cross-tabulations of variables by age, sex and religion. After this analysis, it took another four months to organise and analyse the survey data with factor analysis and regression.

3.11 Conclusion and discussion

By combining the survey data and qualitative data-materials that I have collected I have a more complete view of sexual values, attitudes and behaviour of middle-class young people in Jakarta than might be obtained through a simple sample survey. The greatest advantage in collecting the qualitative data was that I could understand the phenomena that I was studying in context while I was collecting my data without waiting for further analysis. The other advantage was that issues that had not been explored in-depth or still needed more information can be detected and corrected while still in the field.

Before developing a strong analytical model and linking it to the theory that I had developed, it took months to explore and try various analyses with the survey data. But by finding the right method of analysis (factor analysis), numerous variables can be simplified into several factors. Variables that are similar are grouped together into a factor and the factor can be labelled. In this thesis the variables are grouped into three factor dimensions: religion, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage values. There are 42 variables in the three models which by using factor analysis were reduced to 15 factors. Factors produced by the analysis can be linked to the conceptual framework of a liberal-conservative dimension.

A total of five indices of sexual behaviour and sources and usefulness of information on sex education and family planning knowledge were produced: attitude towards sexual behaviour perceived as normal when a couple is dating, attitude towards sexual behaviour perceived as normal when a couple is already engaged, ever experienced sexual behaviour with the opposite sex, sources and usefulness of sex education and family planning knowledge. These five indices can also be linked to the theoretical framework of idealised morality, the state, modernity and mixing between the sexes with a liberal-conservative dimension. The index scores for sexual behaviour are categorised into three groups: low, medium and high. Respondents who have a high score are assumed to be more liberal than respondents with a low score. On the other hand, sources and usefulness of information on sex are grouped into five categories: respondents who have not received information from any sources, respondents who have received information on sex education but none of the information was useful, respondents who have received useful information on sex from one grouped source,

respondents who have received useful information on sex from two grouped sources and three grouped sources.

Lessons learned from the field that are important to note are as follows:

- o Focus-group discussions are very culture-oriented. In Indonesia, due to the cultural value that people are not supposed to speak up or show that they are knowledgeable, in the first ten minutes of discussions the moderator usually had to guide the discussion in such a way that people wanted to speak and give their opinions. The moderator had to use his or her experiences to read the facial or bodily gestures of the participants and call their name to speak up.
- o It is very important to state and elaborate what a focus group is, what is expected from the participants, and the rules that apply. This is important as many respondents do not understand what a focus group is (see Appendix 3.2, focus group guidelines).
- o Echoing, where the moderator repeats the respondent's name before and after a respondent has given a comment is important to aid identification in the process of transcription.
- o To transcribe a focus group discussion will take seven times the actual time used in the focus group discussion for the first draft, and twice the actual time for listening to the tape again and correcting the first draft.
- o Even though sexuality is a sensitive topic, it can be discussed and elaborated upon in focus-group discussions. Having both sexes in the focus group does not limit the discussion as assumed, but the dynamic of the discussion can be very interesting, as it gives the opinion of both sexes and how they resolve conflicting gender specific values and attitudes.
- o Male focus-group discussions were more open in talking about sexuality compared to female focus groups or both sexes focus groups. For male focus groups, a male moderator and observer was required in order to stimulate the openness of the discussion.
- o Data assembling and organisation while in the field is a crucial issue. Indexing textual data can be very useful if one is not using a computer package for textual analysis.
- o Fieldnotes can help develop a thorough understanding of the phenomenon that one is studying.

Chapter 4

Characteristics of the emerging Jakarta middle-class young people: money, prestige, sex

The problems and needs of adolescent that enter their sexual life with limited knowledge of reproductive process and poor or no access to contraceptive and reproductive health services has resulted in the growing problem of unwanted adolescent fertility, child abandonment, malnutrition, high maternal mortality, abortion complications and exposure to sexuality transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS (Mundigo, 1997: 336).

4.1 Jakarta middle-class young people

This chapter describes the way of life of Jakarta middle-class young people. How young people perceive themselves, what motivates them, their popular culture, where they spend their time, how they mix with the opposite sex, how the media describe them, their views on dating, engagement and marriage, and what they know about sex and reproductive health are described and evaluated.

4.1.1 *How Jakarta middle-class young people perceive themselves*

How young people perceived themselves was asked in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey (see Table 4.1). The results show that adolescents are seen as less mature than young adults, more likely to be easily influenced and less able to judge whether they are doing right or wrong. Adolescents are still very interested in style and the way they dress while young adults seem to be less concerned about these issues.

The way the respondents see how adolescents and young adults mix with the opposite sex is quite interesting. Adolescent girls are affected by their first menstruation and both sexes like to loiter in shopping malls. Young adults on the other hand are more interested in the opposite sex, sex and already start to think about marriage.

Table 4.1 Adolescents' and young adults' traits, Jakarta, 1995^a

Traits	Adolescent	Young adult
Age	13-20 years	17-25 years
Education	Junior high school-High school	University
They way they dress	Like to dress up, very stylish, like Western style of clothing	Still think about appearance (<i>mode</i>)
Personality characteristic	Not mature yet, puberty, still looking for self identity, emotional instability, cannot judge between right-wrong, wants to be free, do not have a sense of judgement yet, easily influenced, still need parental guidance, transitional stage between childhood and adulthood, good in mixing.	Independent, mature, know what they are doing, want to be independent from parents, start to be more responsible, think about job opportunities.
Mixing behaviour and sexual traits	Likes to have fun, likes to mix, go to the malls, hang around, can start dating, interested in the opposite sex, first menstruation.	Start to date, interested in the opposite sex, interested in sex, start to think about marriage.
Popular name	ABG	

Notes:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. This table derived from an open-ended question: Can you give a brief description of adolescent and young adult ? The traits that is included in this table are responses most often written by the respondents.

4.1.2 Mixing behaviour among the Jakarta middle-class young people

The following discussion among Jakarta male university students living in boarding houses illustrates how liberal mixing behaviour between the sexes is:

Focus-group 1J. Male university students living in boarding house

(ten participants; religion, four Moslem, two Protestant, three Catholic, one not stated; ethnicity Chinese-Sundanese, Chinese-Javanese, Batak-Sundanese, Timorese, Singkawang, Komring-Bengkulu, Chinese, Minang, Ambonese-Batak, Batak; moderator, Novai; observer Jin, Jakarta, 7/9/1994).³⁴

Mixing behaviour in a heterosexual relationship

Moderator : What is your opinion on mixing behaviour between the sexes among young people in Jakarta ?

Azlam (24 years old, religion not stated, Singkawang, final year of bachelor in engineering, government university): Mixing behaviour between the sexes seems to be normal...in mixing we always bring our own values. Changes seem to be happening ever since a long time ago until the present day...things that were considered as deviant (*nggak biasa*) nowadays are considered to be normal (*biasa banget*). For example in a sexual relationship, I mean a heterosexual relationship, yes...others limit themselves from that (meaning having sexual intercourse), I think it has changed tremendously so nowadays relationships between the sexes in Jakarta are more liberal. That is the fact.

Moderator : Can you give a clear example of the changes ?

Azlam: Yes...things that were considered to be deviant nowadays are considered to be normal.

Ata (23 years old, Protestant, Chinese-Sundanese, final year of studying law, government university): For example kissing, now it is considered to be normal, before dating couples only held hands. This is what I see, before, kissing seems to be very taboo, you cannot do it in a

³⁴ Chinese-Sundanese means, father of Chinese ethnicity and mother Sundanese ethnicity. If not indicated then it means that both parents are from the same ethnic group.

public place, even doing it in a private place is considered to be taboo. Now people kiss in public places in the airport for example.

Azlam: I think religious values have been abandoned because this is a city. It is a mixture of everybody (of religion and ethnicity), so religious values are not used as a social control any more.

Ata: I think people's morality has shifted, it seems that morality is not as important.

Moderator : Is there any other comment ?

Ato (23 years old, Protestant, Chinese-Javanese, final year of studying law, government university): I think from the past until now it has been always changing, but the change is not from one point to another, but sometimes back again to the previous point, so it all depends on the community condition. For example at a certain time the religious values become very strong, then Western liberal values also become strong, so it happens interchangeably, but the direction is changing towards a more liberal end, but how about sex ?

Azlam: Sex is like spice...you have to have it, if there is no sex then life would be empty, colourless.

Moderator : How far do you think you mean by sex ?

Azlam: I think it is a mixture, in a heterosexual relationship, it always includes sex. So I think young people in Jakarta are not tempted to mix without the sex bit. Oh maybe my opinion is too liberal, but I believe in it.

Celebrating birthdays

Moderator : How do you celebrate birthdays ?

Ato: We eat out

Ata: I treat my friends to see movies

Azli: Among my classmates, I have to treat them and take them to eat out. But among friends in our boarding house, we have to have one box of black beer, one box of beer, and a barbecue lamb. Then we look for a place, and everybody gathered there. Sometimes my friends also invited 'chickens' (girls), but that time I was not aware because I was drunk. Some friends brought drugs, it is a party so whether we used it or not we just gather there. So if the police arrest the whole house, everybody will be arrested, even the ones that do not use drugs. So everybody attending the birthday party is free to choose what they want to engage with. If they do not want to do drugs they do not have to do it...they can just eat *sate*, if they want to have sex, they can just go in a room, they can also choose to sing and play guitar, so during that celebration we do not know any more whose birthday it actually is.

Adi: How many kilograms is the chicken ? Is it the one that ranges between 45 and 50 kilograms ? (everybody laughs).

Azli: From my experience when I was living in Sukabumi, if someone is celebrating their birthday, then that person had to treat his friends and please his friends by eating out and treating them to go to sensational movies, X rated movies or videos.

Perek

Moderator : Have you ever know anybody that is a *perek* ?

Andi: If I know someone that is *perek*, I think it is their own way of life, it is good if she can become normal again, but as a friend I do not discriminate my friends...Even though she is a *perek* or prostitute, as long as she is nice to me, it is okay with me. That is her business to become a *perek* or prostitute.

Ato: I do not know for sure, but I heard there are some girls who are *perek*, but I do not care about this, whatever you want to be is not my business, as long as we have a good relationship, what she does with other people is her business, do not let this interfere with our relationship.

Azli: I had an interesting experience in my previous boarding house that is very liberal. There are many *perek* that often come to the boarding house, we know them all, they are very liberal, but there is one *perek* who is always used by us, then she becomes pregnant, she stays in our boarding house for one week, but then insisted on looking for one of our friends, we were wondering why she wants to look for him, especially because he already had a wife. She was looking for him because she wants to ask him to be responsible or she wants to go to court. So we interrogated her, what do you want ? You are a *perek*...you do not have the right to bring this case to court...but she still insisted that her baby is his, then we explained to her that that is not possible, because you are also used (*dipakai*) by his friend. So she went away and we do not know what happened to her...

Moderator: Any other experiences ?

Anto: I used to go to SMA X...I think its reputation as not a good school is well known. There are only a few *perek*, but...I have friends also that are *perek*...but I think *perek* is not a profession and there is no difference with boys that also do that, but girls have a special name (*perek*), what do we call the boys ? (somebody shouted, a boy in this case is called *larek (laki-laki eskperimental)*, being friends with *larek* or *perek* is all right (Jakarta, 7/9/1994, focus-group discussion, male university students living in boarding houses).

The above excerpts from focus-group discussions show that patterns of mixing between the sexes have been changing, for example in the way young people express their affection towards the opposite sex in public areas. Sexual relationships among young people are regarded as normal. How young people celebrate birthdays also shows how liberal this particular group of young people in Jakarta are. Drink, drugs, and sex happen on one's birthday. Relating birthdays with sex seems to be the idea. Not minding other people's business and respecting others' values and way of life can also be an indicator of liberal views. This is shown by wanting to be a friend with a *perek*; it is assumed that this would seldom have happened in the past, as *wanita tuna susila* meaning prostitutes, literally 'women of fallen morals', were despised by society. The following focus-group discussions with female university students living in a boarding house, male and female high school students living with their parents and male and female university students living with parents supported the view that mixing between the sexes among Jakarta young people tends to be more liberal.

Focus-group 2J female university students living in boarding house

(six participants; religion, two Moslem, two Catholic, two Protestant; ethnicity, Timorese-Manado, Batak, Manado-Timorese, Bugis-Javanese, Javanese-Ambonese, Padang-Javanese; moderator, Iwu; observer, Titin, Jakarta, 31/8/1994)

Moderator: What is your opinion on mixing behaviour between the sexes among young people in Jakarta ?

Betty (23 years old, Catholic, Timor-Manado, final year in human relations, private university):

I see that mixing behaviour now tends to be more liberal. There have been tremendous value shifts among the high school students for example. They hold hands while they walk even though they still wear their school uniform, mixing behaviour among them is very liberal. I also knew about this matter from my relatives. By liberal I mean what I have learned from home ever since I was born until I was in junior high school is different from what I learned in the university. For example my parents would not let my male friends come to my house unless I am sick, I cannot go out with the opposite sex. But now because I am living away from my parents and staying in a boarding house I am more free. I just have to control myself.

Berri (24 years old, Protestant, Batak, final year in human relations, private university): I do not understand the concept of liberal (*bebas*), but mixing behaviour between the sexes is changing. For example junior high school students are not ashamed any more to hug the opposite sex in public places like the swimming pool. For example, I think electronic media have a big influence because they imitate behaviour from the media.

Betharia (24 years old, Protestant, Manado-Timor, final year in journalism, private university): Media influences, films, television, also foreign tourists in Yogya and Bali also have an influence.

Bina (24 years old, Catholic, Javanese-Ambonese, final year in journalism, private university): Showing liberalness through behaviour, showing caring through giving attention,

but there is a shift on values because there are differences between the Western and Asian values. Liberalness mostly came from the Western influences, mentally young people adopt these values, if there is no attempt to control these influences it can get worse.

Beauty (24 years old, Moslem, Bugis-Java, final year in journalism, private university)

For young people living in boarding houses there is no problem, as long as the person is responsible for his/her behaviour.

Focus-group 3J male and female high school students living with their parents

(four male and four female students, Moslem, Bugis, Javanese, Javanese-Sundanese, Melayu-Minang, Javanese, Minang, Sundanese-Javanese, one respondent did not state her parents' ethnicity; moderator, Iwu; observer, Novai; Jakarta, 12/7/1994)

Moderator : What is your opinion on mixing behaviour between the sexes among young people in Jakarta ?

Cynthia (female, 17 years old, Moslem, Javanese, year 12): Nowadays mixing behaviour between the sexes tends to be liberal. There are influences from the outside world (Western world), parts of it are good for our self-development because we are still looking for identity, Western films influence mixing behaviour, take for example 'Basic Instinct'.

Cesar (male, 17 years old, Moslem, Bugis, year 12): What Cynthia mentioned is right. If we observe our daily life, it is true that we are quite liberal. Because in the past when we were still in junior high school or elementary school if we sit next to a girl we would be very nervous. Nowadays it is common to talk to girls, touching each other is also common, especially among dating couples. They like to be alone and they are so free. If our parents do not know then we are very free.

Moderator: Can you describe what you meant by liberal ?

Cesar: For example if we see young people kissing in television that is common, some young people are really Westernised and do not hold Asian values (*budaya Timur*) any more but some still hold Asian values. Some say that kissing is already old fashioned.

Cindy (female, 17 years old, Moslem, Minang, year 12): I think young people tend to mix in groups, so young people tend to look for friends that they can adopt easily. Young people that tend to be liberal, also look for friends that are liberal. Some of these young people do not care any more about what others will say, but some even though they are liberal can still control themselves, so they are more flexible. Some young people are very conservative, they do not want to mix with others that hold liberal views.

Moderator: So young people tend to be in groups with people that hold similar values to their own. Young people that are liberal tend to group with others that are liberal and so on. How about among young people that are dating ?

Cynthia: It all depends on the person, some girls in our age group already started to look at boys, and some already dated.

Cesar: Some have started dating and some have not. It all depends on their parents whether their parents permit them to go dating or not. If their parents do not permit them then they would go dating without their parents' knowledge. Young people mix in groups, young people who are *borju* (bourgeois) mix with those who are also *borju*. Young people who are ordinary (*yang biasa*) also look for friends of this type.

Cidar (male, 17 years old, Moslem, Melayu-Padang, year 12): In our high school people date with someone that is in the same class.

Citok (male, 16 years old, Moslem, Javanese-Sundanese, year 12): Hugging among friends is considered to be a normal thing.

Cindy: When we were in junior high school, if someone is caught hugging the opposite sex then it would make a big scandal, everybody would talk about it.

Cesar: In high school everybody is so supportive...if someone is dating then our friends would support us.....they do not make fun of us.

Moderator: Would you feel under pressure if you have not started dating ?

Cynthia: The girls feel more under pressure compared to boys when they have not started dating.

Cidar: There are about 70 per cent among us who would want to go dating.

Cyssa (female, 17 years old, Moslem, parents' ethnicity not stated, year 12): Even though nowadays girls are more aggressive, but still girls would have to wait, sometimes girls have to wait forever.

Cathrina (female, 16 years old, Moslem, Sundanese-Javanese, year 12): Some girls would like to go dating but their parents would not allow them. So even though they want to they cannot do it because they are afraid their parents might not allow them to go to school, because once they start dating then it can affect their school grades.

Focus-group 4J male and female university students living with their parents

(3 male and 4 female university students; religion, one Protestant and six Moslem; ethnicity, Batak, Acehnese, Javanese, Javanese, Melayu, Javanese-Betawi, Sundanese; moderator, Iwu; observer, Novai; Jakarta, 10/7/1994)

Dina (female, 20 years old, Moslem, Javanese, university student, second semester of literature study): The influences of modernisation among the young generation are so strong especially because Western cultural values are frequently exposed in the telecommunication and television programs that are given without any attempt to censor them. For example the culture of going to discotheques, the young generation does not know the advantage of going to discotheques, they just want to have fun. The progress of technology and culture is not balanced so it has both negative and positive effects on modernisation. The negative effects are violence and murder.

Dimas (male, 24 years old, Moslem, Sundanese, university student, fourth semester of law): Private television channels are not as selective as the government television channel. Television programs that show liberal mixing behaviour without any attempt to censor them have a big impact for young people. They become more liberal and there is nothing that is taboo any more.

Diana (female, 22 years old, Protestant, Batak, third semester of French literature): Young people of today are more aggressive and liberal, for example my sister's friends in junior high school are so aggressive when they like someone. They make phone calls, girls call boys, so it seems not common for me, not like when I was their age. If I liked someone then I was still shy about it. I think this is the result of television programs that do not strictly censor their programs any more.

Dito (male, 21 years old, Moslem, Acehnese, university student, second semester faculty of technology): I think every influence that can disturb our own culture can be anticipated either through our family, religious values or ourselves. If we cannot do this then there will be a gap between our culture and things that are happening today. These influences were not anticipated that is why we cannot handle the problems that modernisation brings. We are influenced by Western values.

Dinny (female, 23 years old, Moslem, Javanese, university student, fourth semester of communication): I think there are Western influences but I think we did not absorb them all. I think making phone calls among young people is normal. Parents and adults let young people make calls as long as it is still within a normal limit.

Didin (male, 21 years old, Moslem, Melayu, university student, second semester of anthropology): I look at things from my family's perspective that still strongly hold religious values (Moderator: how about teenage pregnancies that also happen among those with strong religious background) oh...it is because teenagers want to try things...and they think it gives them pleasure so they get pregnant.

Dede (female, 24 years old, Moslem, Javanese-Betawi, university student, fourth semester of mathematics): I was brought up in a Betawi and Javanese environment where traditional values are still strongly applied. The effect of Western influences can be controlled through the family or ourselves. I think the influence of my family is quite strong even though my sister watched 'Beverly Hills' and 'Melrose Place', she only adopts the good parts of it. Those who got trapped with Western values like to try things and they found it pleasurable. This mainly happens after private channels have been introduced to our television programs.

It is clearly stated by the focus-group respondents both living with their parents and in boarding houses that mixing behaviour between the sexes is becoming more liberal compared with the past. The respondents also see that junior high school students have become more liberal in behaviour with the opposite sex. For example, girls have become more permissive, holding hands and kissing in public areas is more

common. They seem to blame globalisation of information through electronic media for the adoption of Western values, and less focus on family and religious values that can anticipate and counteract these forces. Only a few participants mentioned that their family still holds religious and traditional family values. Participants living in boarding houses away from parents regardless of their sex seem to hold more liberal views.

Permissiveness (*sikap keserbabolehan*) towards sexual behaviour among young Indonesians in Jakarta was observed by Sadli and Biran (1976), Sarwono (1981a and 1981b), Yayasan Kusuma Buana and the State Ministry of Population (1993). Furthermore, premarital abortions or attempted abortions in Jakarta were observed by Putra et al. (1984-1985), and Widyantoro (1989, see Appendix Table 3.3). These studies indicated that permissiveness towards sexual behaviour is increasing.

Singarimbun's (1991: 21) study among young people in Bali and Yogyakarta both in the urban and rural areas clearly stated that young people of today are continuously more stimulated by sexual sensations from the availability of the entertainment industries and mass media than young people 25 years ago. Permissiveness towards sexual relationships is apparently occurring. Male respondents are more permissive than females and urban young people are more permissive than rural young people. Differences in permissiveness among ethnic groups are also apparent: Balinese respondents were more permissive than the Javanese. Furthermore even rural Balinese were more permissive than urban Yogyakarta respondents. From the 1994 Demographic Health Survey in Yogyakarta, Hanum (1997: 22-23) indirectly estimated the incidence of premarital sex.³⁵ Forty three cases of premarital sexual experience were found among the total of 1118 respondents. Based on this survey, the study concluded that permissiveness towards premarital sexual behaviour is increasing. More permissiveness was found among respondents with higher levels of education, among respondents who had resided in the urban areas before they were 12

³⁵ To estimate incidence of premarital sex, Hanum used an indirect method calculated by using the duration between the age at first intercourse and age at first married. If the first age at first intercourse is younger than the age at first married than it is assumed that premarital sex have happened. The limitation of this method is that incidence of premarital sex can be underestimated. Respondents with 0 years difference is assumed to have sex only after they were married, but maybe these respondents have had premarital sex several months before marriage (0-11 months). For example if a different method were applied by calculating the difference between the month that the respondent got married and the month in which the respondent give birth to their first child, the estimated incidence of premarital sex increased to 6.3 per cent (Hanum, 1996: 17-18). Another limitation of using year of first intercourse and year of marriage in estimating premarital sex and premarital pregnancy is that there may be errors in the accuracy of reporting of dates which can cause errors in the levels estimated.

years old, were aged between 17 and 21, worked in factories or sales and services, and had husbands working in the factory or informal sector.

A study on unwanted pregnancy among girls who become pregnant between the ages of 15 and 24 years old in Yogyakarta was done by Khisbiyah et al. 1996. The study covered 44 female respondents who came to IPPF Yogyakarta to consult about their premarital pregnancy. A focus-group discussion and 11 in-depth interviews were also conducted. The study revealed that premarital pregnancy happened in all levels of economic status. Generally the girls' level of knowledge on reproductive health was minimal. Facing the fact of their pregnancy, most girls who decided to continue their pregnancy had attempted abortion but failed. Only a few willingly continued their pregnancy because of the fear of sin. For those having abortions, the psychological effect after the abortion was quite painful. The following is one case study of a teenage couple who had sexual intercourse regularly and one premarital abortion.

Ami and *Anton* started to know each other when they were in year seven because they were in the same class. At first they were friends, but in year nine they started to like each other. After graduating from junior high school in Semarang, *Ami* continue her senior high school in Yogyakarta because later she wanted to go to Gadjah Mada University. *Anton* actually also wanted to go to the same high school but was forced by his parents to continue in Jakarta. *Anton* purposely got himself involved with drugs and alcohol, thus his school achievement was not good. Then his parents listened to *Anton*'s demands to go to high school in Yogyakarta. *Anton* moved to the same school as *Ami* and their relationship became much more intense. They often went out in *Anton*'s car. One time they went to the beach and made love in the car. After that they often had sex either in *Ami*'s or *Anton*'s room. *Ami* and *Anton* loved each other and they were planning to get married.

In mid 1993, after seven months of sexual relationship, *Ami* did not get her period. Before this *Ami* had also experienced delayed periods, but these were overcome by drinking high doses of traditional herbs for inducing menstruation. But this time, even though she drank the traditional herbs, *Ami* still did not have her period. After testing her pregnancy using a pregnancy kit sold in the pharmacy, *Ami* and *Anton* got very nervous knowing that *Ami* was positively pregnant.

They heard from friends that IPPF provided abortion consultation, so they went to the clinic to seek advice. IPPF stated that they only provided abortion for married couples and suggested names of doctors that could help with the abortion. Then they went to Semarang to see a gynaecologist and got the abortion. 'I was in a lot of pain, I felt that something sucked my body and I felt some part of my body missing. I was very sad...but I am glad that I have recovered. My sadness was overcome by *Anton*'s attention and spirit... I felt sorry for the baby and I also felt guilty about the abortion. But when we think of it we thought that we have made the right decision to do the abortion...'

'After the abortion we regularly have sex again...But now we are more careful. *Anton* does not like to use condoms so I use pills that can be bought without prescription at the chemist...' (Khisbiyah et al., 1996: 84-87).

Even though it cannot be generalised, the above case also illustrates how liberal a relationship can be. Living away from parents and having all the facilities that parents provided, *Ami* and *Anton* have freedom to do things that please them. Going through a very difficult time with the pregnancy, deciding to seek advice for abortion

and finding a gynaecologist out of town are very difficult problems for a young couple. Ami and Anton seem to have survived their most difficult times without consulting their parents. Their strong relationship and independence have made them decide to still have the sexual relationship and take extra care by using contraception. There are lots of couples like Ami and Anton, mainly in the urban areas of Indonesia, who have more freedom because they live away from their parents, thus lacking parental supervision.

4.1.3 Jakarta middle-class young people's popular culture

When I started my field work in July 1994 and focused my observation on young people's activities I was impressed by how the religious concerns of young people have become stronger. I was comparing this condition with my time as a teenager in the early 1970s. At that time there were not as many religious clubs and activities catering to young people. Girls wearing veils were not as common as nowadays and the religiously inspired clothing designers have developed a wide range of fashionable costumes. Indonesian designers have made a lot of profit by designing Moslem costumes which in general cost more than ordinary clothes. Middle-class young people of today are often engaged in religious activities held by their school or university.

I was also amazed at the level of consumerism, 'prestigious ideology' status symbols, and the materialistic orientation that upper middle-class Jakarta young people have developed. They carry hand phones and constantly use them, travel in expensive cars, and *mejeng* ('hang around') elite shopping malls, like Pondok Indah Mall, Melawai Plaza Mall, Bintaro Jaya Mall, Senayan Square and Kalibata Mall. They also like to linger in discotheques, pubs and cafes that have become fashionable recently. They dress like many Western teenagers seen in TV shows: they like to use brand names, and there are peer pressures about which brand to use. They tend to dress very fashionably. T-shirts, jeans, belts, hand bags, accessories, shoes and sport shoes of typical brands are their trade mark. Loitering in Melawai and Sabang streets in the afternoon has also become fashionable. This is called *jalan-jalan sore* (JJS).

Massive exposure to international ideas and lifestyles through globalisation of information and availability of modern consumer products has influenced not just the young people but also their parents (Field notes and observation, 1994/1995). These influences have changed the way people dress, eat and live. Many middle-class young

people in Jakarta today take English first names or nicknames. Early Saturday and Sunday they gather around Senayan stadium, along Sudirman and Thamrin streets, and Monas Garden to engage in a wide variety of group oriented sports activities. There are groups for marching, cycling, roller blading, skate boarding, aerobics, *senam kesegaran jasmani*, Tai-chi and jogging. On Sunday mornings, the central lanes of Thamrin and Sudirman streets are especially closed to traffic so people can exercise or just stroll around. These places have also become popular places for young people to *mejeng* because sometimes young people come to this area not to exercise but just for fun and *cuci mata*.

Middle-class young people also like to eat mass-produced food from commercial chains such as McDonalds, Kentucky Fried Chicken, California Fried Chicken, Wendys, Burger King, Pizza Hut, food provided at Circle K, Swenson, Baskin and Robbins and steaks. Middle-class young people prefer these foods which have more prestige than Indonesian food. Another increasing trend is the involvement of urban middle and upper class young people with the drug Ecstasy and drinking alcohol. Ecstasy pills can be easily bought, for example in discotheques (*Kompas*, 1996a: 13; *Kompas*, 1996b: 13). Recently junior high school students also have been involved in using *putauw*, a kind of heroin, which is cheaper than Ecstasy. A packet of *putauw* that can be used by several people costs 30,000 rupiahs while a pill of Ecstasy can cost at least 50,000 rupiahs.

Dadang Hawari, a psychiatrist working in a drug rehabilitation hospital, stated that one of his clients (a junior high school student) mentioned that 80 per cent of his classmates used *putauw*. Furthermore Hawari said that most patients having drugs are junior high school students, as *putauw* can be easily bought through dealers based in some schools (Mahrus et al., 1997: 100-101).

Young people have developed their own slang that is very different from *Bahasa Indonesia*. Their popular language is characterised by its changing nature: new slang words keep on developing, and thus are quite difficult for other age groups to follow. Among Jakarta's street children *bahasa Prokem* is often used.³⁶

With extensive information on sex and pornography available through magazines, videos and the Internet (Mohammad, 1981: 13; Sarwono 1981c: 2;

³⁶ *Bahasa Prokem* is a contemporary slang that is used among young people. Some of the words are so popular that they are used in daily conversation or even in novels. Thus *bahasa Prokem* emerges and progresses from the needs of young people's groups (Rahardja and Chambert-Loir, 1990).

Surapaty, 1991: 10; Utomo and McDonald, 1996: 173) young people are left on their own to get information about sex, including safe sex. This situation is made worse by the fact of increasing numbers of places of entertainment like discotheques, pubs, massage parlours, billiard centres, and restaurants that provide karaoke which are commonly used as disguised sex entertainment or prostitution areas. Legal and illegal prostitution areas are spread throughout the city (Hull et al., 1997). For middle-class young people, money is not often a problem because their parents usually provide them with enough pocket money for entertainment. Therefore middle-class young people in Jakarta are often exposed to sexually explicit materials and surroundings.

The Westernised concept of dating is also understood and practised and even the term 'dating' has become the term used for going out (*kencan*). Celebrating birthdays, particularly the 17th birthday, has become a very important event for middle-class young people in Jakarta. In Indonesia the person whose birthday it is treats friends to eat out or invites friends to his or her house for a party. Celebrating Valentine's Day has also become popular with the upper middle-class young people. Some even celebrate it in five-star hotels. Businesses in Jakarta have made Valentine's Day into a very commercial event. Giving cards for all kinds of occasions is increasingly popular. The popular culture that middle-class young people share is very different from that of their parents' generation, and in strong contrast with lower class people.

Hai, a magazine for young people interviewed six female teenagers from Jakarta (Bianca, Lina, Menda, Yuni, Feby and Rheina) about what they expect from the first date. Among these six girls who accept the Western concept of 'dating', all agreed that dating is better if it is in cafes, theatres, eating out or *jalan-jalan*. Two agreed that the gift of a red rose would make the occasion special. This of course can be regarded as a Western value. The following is Lina's statement:

When dating, a guy has to be concerned about his appearance. I like a guy who wears casual stuff and he is not *jail deh...* Meaning, that his hands would not touch and explore my body. He should also behave 'ladies first', well mannered.

For a date, the most interesting thing to do is going out. The setting does not matter. That place can be Hard Rock Cafe. That is always busy, and is suitable for talking to each other. He cannot see if I am nervous because of the loudness of music.

For me the first date does not necessarily be just the two of us. It can also be a 'double date' [she used the English term]. I think double date is better so we can have a bit of discussion, so we can talk in a relaxed manner.

Then, if he wants to say how he feels, it is better to say it straight away. I do not like guys who entwine words, especially if he leaves the discussion with a question mark (not saying how he feels), I will be confused (*Hai*, 1996: 88).

Another increasingly apparent phenomenon is the changing relationship between young people and their parents. In the past, young people had very great respect for their parents. Young people also had to follow their parents' direction. Close supervision, restricted mixing with the opposite sex and arrangement of marriage were very common (see Chapter 1). Today's young generation have a more relaxed relationship with their parents. Young people's points of view are often taken into account by parents. Young people of today have more freedom to choose their education, marriage partner, career and goals in life. Parents' control over young people is less strict because both parents are working or young people are living away from parents for educational purposes.

4.1.4 Permissiveness towards sexual behaviour across generations

In recent years, Jakartan society has become increasingly 'sexualized' and 'commodified'. This is most obvious among the wealthier classes, whose preoccupation with sex and consumerism has blurred the distinctions between 'good' and 'bad' paths; these are overdetermined by 'truth' based on image and appearance (Murray, 1991: 124).

Historically permissiveness towards sexual behaviour is evident in Indonesia, especially among the Javanese through the influence of traditional Javanese culture (see Chapter 2). But after the coming of Islam, sexual attitudes, values and behaviour were increasingly controlled and guided by Islamic teaching. Provinces where Moslems are a minority (Bali, North Sulawesi, East Nusa Tenggara, East Timor for example) seem to hold more permissive attitudes towards sex as demonstrated in Indonesian sexuality studies since the 1970s (see Appendix Table 3.3). Evidence from focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews in this study also has supported the notion of increased sexual permissiveness among young people. Interestingly, sexual permissiveness is not restricted to young people who are still single but also occurs among older married couples. A HIV/AIDS behavioural surveillance study by Utomo et al. (1997a) in North Jakarta, Surabaya and Manado indicated that most clients of female prostitutes regarded extramarital sex as normal or acceptable when they were away from their wives.

A decade ago Dr. Naek Tobing (*Tempo*, 1988; *Republika*, 1993) conducted a study among readers of *Matra* and revealed that one third of the readers responding said that they had experienced extramarital sex. Prompted by this finding, the media covered issues relating to *WIL* (*Wanita Idaman Lain*, admiration of the other woman)

and *PIL* (*Pria Idaman Lain*, admiration of the other man). *WIL* and *PIL* refer to the other woman or man besides their husband or wife that married men or women are involved with in an extramarital relationship. There have been cases where the mistresses of public political-religious figures have spoken out. A well-known case was that of Desrina Emma and Nugraha Besoes (Deputy for Community Services in *DPP GOLKAR*) who had been living together for 12 years and had two children. Desrina brought this case to court because Nugraha Besoe did not keep his promise to marry her and denied that the two children were his. Desrina won the case and received compensation for the children (Hasibuan and Kustiati, 1994: 104; *Kartini*, 1994: 35-38; Mattauch et al., 1994a: 15-17; *Sinar*, 1994: 22-23).³⁷

The practice of young men going to prostitutes is evident and had been a traditional custom (see in-depth interview with Achdiyat in Appendix 8.1). A study by Linnan et al. (1995) among 4219 respondents in East Java covering urban, peri-urban, and rural areas stated that seven per cent of male respondents had had sex with prostitutes. The phenomenon of having more than one sexual partner had been experienced not just by males but also females as follows: 15.8 per cent of urban males, seven per cent of urban females, 14.3 per cent of peri-urban males, three per cent of peri-urban females, four per cent of rural males and less than one per cent of rural females had had more than one sexual partner. Involvement of young males, mostly high school and university students, with prostitutes is evident from several studies (Private Agencies Collaborating Together, 1994; Sarwono, 1981a, 1981b; Utomo et al., 1997a).

Utomo et al. (1997b) reviewed various small, medium and large surveys as well as qualitative assessments of knowledge, attitudes, practices and behaviour on HIV/AIDS among various high-risk groups including students, truck drivers, factory workers, sailors and seaport labourers, female and male prostitutes, female massage workers, clients of female prostitutes, homosexuals and transvestites. They found that on average 37 to 68 per cent of respondents had multiple sexual partners and had had sex with female prostitutes more than once a month. A study by Ford et al. (1992a)

³⁷ Other cases of *istri simpanan* that were publicly brought to court or the media are cases between: Zunaida and Sabri Zakaria (Kepala Kanwil Departemen Pekerjaan Umum Sumatra Barat), Linda Ivone Hutagalung and Raja Inal Siregar (Governor of North Sumatra), Beauty Erawati and Katono Mohamad (former Ketua Umum IDI), Irene Runkat and O.C. Kaligis (famous and well known lawyer), Dewi Wardah and Noer Muhammas Iskandar S.Q. (famous religious preacher), and Nuryanti Hamidah and Harun Al Rasyid (former Dirjen Bantuan Sosial Depsos) (Winarno et al., 1994; Mattauch, 1994; Mattauch et al., 1994). These are cases that were brought by the women to court.

among 20 male homosexual prostitutes in Bali concluded that 10 per cent had had female clients. Thus some male prostitutes have clients of both sexes. A study in Bali by Jennaway (1993) indicated that recently the phenomenon of gigolos has increased to serve demands of Western and Japanese women. Even though these studies are conducted among specific groups in the population and cannot be generalised, it can be concluded that sexual permissiveness in Indonesia is happening.

Krisna (Murray, 1991) told how call-girls, consisting of models and actresses, operate and collaborate with magazine journalists. Upper-middle-class housewives organise call-girl supplies under the guise of selling antiques. The housewives sometimes also meet for tea and watch X-rated videos. Models and actresses become famous because they use sex and money, which have no relation to their talent (Murray, 1991: 130). Parties with sex themes are reported to be held among the upper middle-class (*Tiara*, 1994: 46-47). The expansion of sex industries is increasingly evident both in urban and rural areas. Prostitutes of high, middle or low classes operate officially as registered sex workers or clandestinely operate in brothel complexes, hotels, night clubs, discotheques, bars, massage parlours, barber shops, beauty parlours, escort services, streets and streets markets (Jones et al., 1995; Hull et al., 1997: 60; Van Der Sterren et al., 1997: 215). Even though it is difficult to estimate the number of prostitutes in Indonesia and the income generated from sex industries, a study by Hull et al. (1997: Table 4: 152) estimated that in 1994/1995 there were 140 thousand (low estimation) or 230 thousand (high estimation) prostitutes. Income generated from these sex industries in 1994-1995 was 7.2 trillion rupiahs increasing to 18,2 trillion rupiahs in 1996-1997 (*Sinar*, 1997: 60). Even though it can be noted that this figure is an overestimate of the income generated from sex industries.

Sex stores have emerged around the cities. These stores sell sex objects like vibrators, sex dolls, vagina toys, medicines and creams associated with sexual desire and masculinity. Business for these stores is especially good on Fridays and Saturdays. One of the owners sold 100 dolls a year. Another said that he could make more than 15 million rupiahs a month. But most customers are still reserved: they call the store and inquire about a certain object that they want, then send their driver to pick it up (*Tiara*, 1994: 46-47).

Among the taxi drivers that I have interviewed, I have learned that there is a term 'lunch time sex time', because they sometimes drive their customers, some of

them wearing uniforms (e.g. government employees) to a hotel during lunch time. The hotels mentioned by the taxi drivers are in the centre of Jakarta.

4.1.5 *Media images of middle-class young people's sexuality*

Over the past decade, newspapers and popular magazines have focussed attention on the sexuality of young people. While most of this coverage has centred on the bizarre and the sensational, images of sexuality presented in the media can be important in the extent to which they influence values in the community. The fact that this material is discussed openly in newspapers and magazines indicates a degree of liberality which did not exist in the past. On the other hand, there is a certain degree of irresponsibility involved in the publication by the Jakarta press of sensational stories about adolescent sexuality. As indicated below, most stories relate to girls who are still at school engaging in sex with adult men for fun or for profit. The image conveyed is that high school girls are free agents who voluntarily engage in this activity. The emphasis placed upon girls in school uniform in shopping malls clearly is evocative of conventional male fantasies. The result can be that all young girls in school uniform are seen in this way, especially those who happen to be in a shopping mall and this is evidenced by the fact that some shopping malls have banned all girls in school uniforms.

The portrayal of very young girls engaging in prostitution for fun is exploitative. It dresses up what is in fact child abuse by adults as something to titillate readers. The obvious effect (and perhaps, intent) of such publicity is to blame young girls, rather than the men who exploit young girls. Nevertheless, stories of the nature described below are in the public domain and need to be considered as part of the overall picture of changing attitudes to sexuality.

In the late 1980s, the media focused upon the phenomenon of student prostitutes. These high school girls were reported to dress in their school uniform, operate on the streets and in shopping centres in the afternoon and get picked up by young, rich professionals. Murray (1991), however, has claimed that the *perek* phenomenon was overblown by the media.

Starting in 1992, the media again covered issues relating to student prostitutes. The terms popularly used now are *mimi-momo*: mostly junior high school girls who are said to look for their potential customers in pairs and are willing to sell their

virginity for a very high price; student sex pagers: university students who are also available as call girls and use pagers to get in touch with their customers or their pimp; blue, grey, campus, or village chickens: blue chickens are junior high school students because they wear a blue uniform skirt, grey chickens are senior high school students because they wear grey, campus chickens are university students, and village chickens (*ayam kampung*) are girls from the rural areas like Indramayu who allegedly engage in sex to get money with their parents' approval; *pekcun* (*perek cuma-cuma-free perek*), and *kupu-kupu kampus* (campus butterfly). Another name for campus chickens is *campus fried chicken* (CFC). Some of these students are reported to come from well-off families and have sex for fun. Others do it for money or to get valuable dresses or accessories or even just to dine out or go to the movies in return for their sexual services (*Kompas*, 1995 : 1 & 11; *Matra*, 1994: 67-69; *Pos Kota*, 1994: 1; serial articles in *Pos Kota* 1-6, 1994; *Popular*, 1994: 42-46; *Tempo*, 1993: 84-85, *Sinar* 1996a: 61-65)

In mid-1996, articles in the media reported a new trend of youth sexuality. Students who are involved in giving sexual services include those who are still in junior high school-ABG (*Anak Baru Gede*).³⁸ Popular places to meet and make dates with these ABG are Block M Mall, along Melawai Street and Kalibata Mall (*Sinar*, 1996a: 60-61; 1996b: 62; 1996c: 63; 1996d: 63; 1996e: 65; *Tiara*, 1996a: 88-90; 1996b: 90-92; 1996c: 92-93; *Ummat*, 1996a: 38; 1996b: 39; 1996c: 40). Students who are also prostitutes have a higher status and rate than prostitutes in brothels or streets. In some cases to have a higher status and rate, a prostitute will become a student and take computer, secretarial or modelling courses (*Popular*, 1994: 42-46).

In South Jakarta, popular shopping centres where *perek* are said to loiter are Pondok Indah Mall, Block M Plaza and Sarinah Jaya Department Store. Because of this, shopping centres have made very strict regulations restricting school girls or boys who are still wearing their uniform from entering. Every city has its own places for *perek* to loiter. For instance in Bogor, Puncak, Cianjur and Sukabumi, besides shopping malls, discotheques, coffee shops, and busy main streets are often reportedly used by *perek* (*Matra*, 1994: 67-69).

³⁸ ABG is defined as precocious adolescent. These young girls usually meet their clients at discotheques, movie theatres, or shopping malls. They will go on a date with their clients to get some money and some just for fun. Sometimes these young girls also give sexual services (Hull et al., 1997: 60).

The newspaper *Kompas*, claims there are differences between *mimi-momo* and *perek*. The first is said to be more professional than the latter: whereas the *mimi-momo* will have sexual relations with any person who gives her money in return, the *perek* can have sex with anybody that she likes and does not particularly ask for money in return. According to *Kompas* to sell her virginity, a *mimi-momo* can get up to 4 million rupiahs, and for a short-time service she can get up to 150,000 rupiahs. They always operate in pairs, that is why they are called *mimi-momo*. Their operating hours are only two hours, from midday after school to afternoon. At night the newspaper says they use their time to study, beauty treatment, and calling their customers. Generally these girls live in a luxurious boarding house with air conditioning and their phone bill can be up to 300,000 rupiahs per month. They visit home occasionally, every week or two, to ask their parents for money for school expenses (*Kompas*, 1995: 1&11).

The same report continues that distinct from prostitutes, *mimi-momo* have more control over their choice of customer or pimp. Their philosophy is that prostitution does not always start because of poverty, uselessness, and a life of guilt. They are annoyed by stories of friends who lost their virginity, got pregnant and were abandoned by their boyfriends. They want to do something different and are proud that they can sell their virginity for a very high price (*Kompas*, 1995: 1&11).

Junior and high school students, and university student prostitutes are reported to be in demand. According to *Matra*, in Bogor, Puncak, Cianjur, and Sukabumi, student prostitutes can be easily found (*Matra*, 1994: 67-69). In Kisaran, a city in the northern part of North Sumatra, police arrested a group of junior high school students prostituting in a hotel. On their holidays, the girls came to Kisaran by train or bus to prostitute themselves. The girls were released after their parents had made a written statement (*Tempo*, 1993: 84-85).

In Indramayu, an area in West Java well known as a prostitute supplier, some parents are reported to send their teenage daughters to become prostitutes. These young prostitutes operate differently from those in the cities. In this area, parents with teenage daughters collaborate with a mediator (*perantara*) and stall (*warung*) owner. Whenever these girls are wanted by the customers, the pimps or *warung* owners contact the parent and arrange to pick up the girl. These girls still go to school and prostitute themselves because of economic conditions. Their rates range from 150,000 to 200,000 rupiahs for a short time while local prostitutes charge only 30,000 rupiahs

for the same service and the price for 'virginity' can reach one-and-a-half or two million rupiahs (*Pos Kota*, 1994: 1; serial article in *Pos Kota* 1-6, 1994).

In the last three years, media focus on sexual harassment and sexual violence has increased. Advertisements about sexual harassment (*pelecehan seksual*) have also started (*Kompas*, 31/12/1994: 9; *Republika*, 5/6/1994). But again a study by Abrar (1997) on sexual harassment and violence based on media articles (*Kompas*, *Republika* and *Pos Kota*) stated that the media have not given priority to such news. Even more, the way the media address the problem sometimes puts the girl or woman who has been raped in a very difficult position, by treating her as if she was the one who committed the crime. In Indonesia there are about 2000 cases of reported rape each year, however, the number of rapes is undoubtedly much larger than reported (Utomo et al., 1994). Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia (YKAI) reported that among 63 rape cases of young women under the age of 17, 21 per cent were raped by a stranger, 16 per cent by a neighbour, 14 per cent by a teacher, and 11 per cent by fathers (*Republika*, 1994).

Sunindyo (1996) in her paper 'Murder, gender and the media sexualizing politics and violence' emphasises how the media representation of sexuality often addresses women in relation to the image of 'good' or 'bad' women and women's role as idealised by the New Order state of Indonesia. In this case, women's role is idealised as nurturer of her offspring, her husband, the community and national spirit. With this frame of conceptual ideology, media representation of sexual violence issues often puts more pressure on the sexual victim than the aggressors who are often 'desexualised' by legitimising the latter as having to commit the sexual crime due to motives to protect his family. Sunindyo stated further that women who have become the victims of sexual violence are often pictured by the media as greedy, nagging, loose, oversexualised, always demanding the impossible, *kurang pasrah* (not submissive enough) and in some sense deserving to be victims of male violence.

In the film industry, the same notion of sexuality also applies to Indonesian women. In this case, women are seen mainly as sexual objects, sexual acts dominate the scenario and the more the actress willingly shows her body the bigger the chance of the film being consumed and becoming a box office success (Aripurnami, 1990; 1996). The majority of novels written by Indonesian women writers, choose middle-class family settings in which women are seen in their domestic environment. The

ideal value in this setting is the harmonious family in a marriage relationship based on mutual trust, love and understanding. This ideal value is often destroyed by the appearance of 'the other woman' in a marriage; polygamy and the low status of divorced women, parental involvement in choosing husbands for daughters, and the conflict of two lovers of different religions are also often addressed in novels. Conflict between career and domestic tasks is rarely discussed, but in novels that discuss this issue, emphasis is often placed on how career women's families become unstable, and children are disobedient. In this case, the issue of career women giving up their careers for the sake of the family is quite common. In contrast, in short stories written by women, the themes are more straightforward in discussing issues relating to feminism and even though the setting is still the middle and upper class, women are shown not just in their domestic environment but also in their work or their public activities (Sumardjo, 1996).

4.2 Young people's concepts of dating, engagement and marriage

In the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, the total number of respondents by age group is 344 for the 15-19 year-olds (referred to as adolescents) and 174 for the 20-24 year-olds (referred to as young adults), whereas by sex, there are 236 male respondents (46 per cent) and 280 female respondents (54 per cent). Furthermore if the respondents are broken down by religion, the majority (82 per cent) are Moslem and the rest Protestant (13 per cent), Catholic (4 per cent), Hindu (less than 1 per cent) and Buddhist (less than 1 per cent).³⁹ The total number of respondents answering each question may differ according to the nature of the question. In some questions, a respondent may have the opportunity to make more than one response, whereas for other questions the respondents may have to skip to the next question or not respond. This explanation is given for technical reasons as the total number of respondents answering each question is not always stated, keeping in mind the number of respondents by age group, sex and religion as mentioned earlier.

In regard to the concept of 'dating' (courtship), the respondents see dating as a way to get to know a person of the opposite sex in whom one is interested. This activity can be *jalan-jalan*, going to a discotheque, or the movies, eating out, picnics,

³⁹ Data on these age groups are used in all of the analysis, while data on ever married respondents (N=120) are not used until chapter 7.

concerts or even studying together. The objective of a date is to spend time together and become acquainted. The respondents thought that going on a date is better if it involves just the couple rather than a group of friends (see Table 4.2). Older respondents were more likely to mention picnics, discotheques, concerts or sport, compared to younger respondents. Females compared to male respondents mentioned going to movies. Interestingly, Moslem respondents mentioned going to discotheques more than non-Moslem respondents. Non-Moslem respondents surprisingly also considered going out with a girlfriend or boyfriend and a group of friends as dating.

Respondents' concept of *pacar* (boyfriend/girlfriend) is someone of the opposite sex to whom they feel close and with whom they can discuss things. Usually they have a feeling of love and care about boyfriends or girlfriends. On the other hand, the respondents' understanding of engagement is that a man and a woman have agreed to get married at some stage and the parents of the man have proposed and discussed the marriage with the parents of the woman. The event is characterised by exchanging engagement rings and sometimes a formal celebration with close relatives and friends.

With marriage, ideally the respondents expect to be happy when they get married. This happiness would not just be material or economic, but also spiritual happiness, harmony and co-operation between the couple. Having children and being able to fulfil sexual needs is also important in marriage. Female respondents said they would like to continue in employment after marriage.

Table 4.2 Percentage of respondents' concepts of activities that can be regarded as dating by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

Dating activities	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Going out with girlfriend/boyfriend						
<i>Jalan-jalan</i>	82.6	86.0	79.4	87.0*	83.2	85.6
Sports	26.9	53.8**	36.3	34.4	34.9	36.3
Movies	89.4	94.3	87.2	93.9*	91.0	90.1
Discotheques	75.6	86.6**	76.2	81.5	81.3	68.9**
Eating out	88.0	93.0	87.2	91.4	89.8	87.9
Picnics	73.6	90.3**	76.3	80.4	80.2	71.4
Concerts	67.8	80.8**	68.2	75.2	72.2	69.2
Studying together	27.4	29.0	30.1	26.4	27.1	32.2
Going out with girlfriend/boyfriend and other friends						
<i>Jalan-jalan</i>	21.6	21.7	24.0	19.9	18.1	38.5**
Sports	12.7	17.2	14.7	13.7	12.6	20.9*
Movies	24.5	21.2	22.5	24.5	21.2	34.1**
Discotheques	20.3	21.7	19.8	21.7	18.8	29.7*
Eating out	19.0	21.7	20.3	19.6	17.5	30.8**
Picnics	16.7	22.3	18.1	18.8	15.8	30.8**
Concerts	17.7	20.4	17.7	19.4	16.6	27.5**
Studying together	11.0	15.0	13.2	11.5	10.4	20.9**

Note:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

4.2.1 Stages of process leading to marriage

In my study, I tried to evaluate the stages experienced by adolescents and young adults in relationships before marriage. Stages that I explored were : getting to know each other, going out together, dating in a more steady relationship (*pacaran*), introducing boyfriend or girlfriend to parents, proposed by parents (*di lamar*), engagement, financial planning for marriage, and setting marriage ceremony dates (religious marriage ceremony and wedding party). The survey shows that in deciding on marriage, getting to know each other before marriage seems to be very important for all categories of respondents (Table 4.3). It was most important of all for young adult (93 per cent), female (91 per cent) and Moslem (90 per cent) respondents.

Actually, all the stages mentioned except for the wedding party are strongly recognised as important steps leading to marriage, but the importance of each stage differs according to the age, sex and religion of the respondents. Getting to know each other is important for the majority of respondents, but more Moslem than non-Moslem respondents perceived that this was a significant stage. Going out and dating seem to be important issues for the young adult respondents. Proposal by parents in-law seems to be a more important stage for Moslem respondents (92 per cent) than for non-

Moslems (82 per cent), while for the adolescents, engagement seems to be more important compared to the young adult respondents. On the other hand, for the young adult respondents (96 per cent), financial planning for marriage seems to be more important than for adolescent respondents (85 per cent). Setting a date for the ceremony significantly marked an essential issue for adolescent, female and Moslem respondents, whereas religious marriage ceremonies are more important for female and Moslem respondents. Only half the respondents considered a wedding party important. But adolescent and female respondents perceived the wedding party as somewhat more important than did young adult and male respondents. In summary, all groups of respondents give less importance to engagement and wedding party compared to other stages of the adjustment process experienced before marriage.

When the issue of stages leading to marriage was raised, all respondents in the four focus-groups expressed their agreement with the importance of those stages. Among high school students living with parents (FGD 3J), the majority of male and female respondents agreed that *pacaran* (going steady) is necessary before the further development of the relationship. Engagement is necessary if the couple live in different areas or provinces, according to the females, while the males stated that engagement is important to mark a legal bond between the couple. Cyssy, one of the respondents in this group, argued that even though there is a commitment when someone is already engaged, the bond is clearly not the same as marriage. The issue of marriage being a commitment for life was raised by one of the male respondents in this group.

Among the university students living with parents (FGD 4J) the same issues of going steady and marriage as a commitment for life were also raised, but respondents in this focus-group stressed that getting to know the boyfriend's or girlfriend's family is also an important aspect. Differing from the high school students' opinion, the university student groups (FGD 1J and 4 J) perceived that engagement is a waste of time and money. Interestingly an issue of premarital health examination was raised by Anthoni (22 years old, Batak, Catholic) one of the respondents in the male group of university students living in boarding houses (FGD 1J). This issue was disputed by Andito (23 years old, Padang, Moslem) who asked 'What happens if there is something wrong with the girlfriend's health?' Anthoni responded that because he strongly believed that marriage was a commitment for life, and strongly disagreed with

the idea of divorce, he thought that knowing the health condition of the spouse before marriage was an important issue.

Table 4.3 Percentage of respondents agreeing to the importance of the adjustment process before marriage by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non Moslem
Importance of getting to know each other before marriage	85.6	93.0*	84.7	90.7*	89.9	78.7**
Stages of process leading to marriage						
Getting to know each other	94.5	97.5	94.1	96.8	96.5	90.4*
Going out	78.9	87.3*	80.5	82.9	80.9	84
Dating	81.7	89.2*	82.2	86.1	83.8	85.1
Introducing boyfriend/girlfriend to parent	89.2	93.7	88.6	92.9	91.5	87.2
Proposal by parents in-laws	89.5	91.1	88.6	91.4	91.8	81.9**
Engagement	80.6	51.3**	72.5	71.1	72.5	68.1
Financial planning for marriage	85.3	95.6**	89.4	87.9	89.6	83
Setting marriage ceremony date	85.6	65.8**	72.9	85.7**	82.1	68.1**
Religious marriage ceremony	92.0	94.3	89.8	95.4**	94.6	84**
Wedding party	55.4	43.7**	44.9	57.9**	53.2	45.7

Note:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

4.2.2 Decision making on dating

In general the majority of respondents considered that both males and females have the same right in asking someone for a date (Table 4.4). But the idea of both sexes having the same right to ask for a date is significantly more likely to be held by young adult and male respondents than the adolescent and females respondents. Adolescents and female respondents think that males have more rights than females in asking for a date. Very few respondents considered that the female has more right.

The majority of respondents anticipate that they can date any friend, boyfriend or girlfriend and/or a fiance. But although more than half of female respondents agreed they could date any friend, this proportion was significantly lower than for male respondents.

Table 4.4 Percentage of respondents stating which sex has more right in asking for a date by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Decision in asking for a date						
Males and females have the same right	55.9	77.7**	71.6	54.7**	62.0	64.9
Male has more rights	43.0	21.0	26.5	44.6	37.3	31.9
Female has more rights	1.1	1.3	1.7	0.7	0.7	3.2
Someone to date						
Any friend	56.5	65.4	64.6	54.7*	57.4	67.0*
Boyfriend or girlfriend	94.1	95.5	92.6	96.0	95.2	91.1
Fiance	77.7	81.7	78.7	79.1	81.3	69.0

Note:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

4.2.3 Arrangement of marriage and decision making power on spouse selection

Only a small portion of respondents agreed with marriage arrangement by parents. The majority of respondents were definitely convinced that they themselves have more power in deciding on a marriage partner (Table 4.5), but the young adult respondents are more assured than the adolescent respondents of their control over deciding on a spouse.

The majority of respondents in all three focus-groups: the high school students and university students living with parents (FGD 3J and 4J) and the female university students living in a boarding house (FGD 2J) seemed to agree with the concept of marriage arrangement by parents to the extent that they still have the control in deciding whether the chosen partner is compatible or not. One of the arguments raised was that no parents would try to arrange a marriage that would bring unhappiness to their children. But on the contrary, among the male university students living in the boarding house (FGD 1J), disagreement with marriage arrangement by parents seems to be very strong. They think arranged marriage is not humane, even though one of the participant still insists that having an arranged marriage is not a problem, as long as one still has the power of veto.

In conclusion, even though the majority of respondents in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey did not agree with arrangement of marriage by parents and stated confidently that they could choose their own spouse, results from the focus-groups indicate that parental arrangement of marriage can be all right if the young person agrees with their parents' choice.

Table 4.5 Percentage of respondents with various attitudes toward marriage values by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Marriage arrangement						
Agree on marriage arrangement by parents	5.5	7.6	7.6	5.0	6.1	6.4
Own decision in choosing a spouse	82.0	93.0**	85.6	85.4	85.6	84.0
Wedding party						
Prefer owning a house to having a wedding party	89.8	96.8*	91.9	92.1	93.6	84.0**
Finance for wedding party^b						
Self financing	75.9	94.9**	80.9	82.5	82.1	79.8
Finance should come from bride's parents	41.6	64.6**	44.9	52.1	49.9	42.6
Finance should come from groom's parents	53.2	70.9**	52.5	63.9**	60.5	50.0
Finance should come from bride's relatives	13.0	10.8	15.7	9.6*	11.5	16.0
Finance should come from groom's relatives	14.4	11.4	16.5	11.1*	12.7	17.0

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. For this question, the respondents was asked to give a score of 1 to 5 for each statement relating to the importance of each statement.

4.2.4 The wedding party: is it necessary ?

A question about the wedding party was asked in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey because the wedding party is a very important event for Indonesians. But do young Indonesians really want a big wedding party? A study of marriage among the Javanese in the 1950s by Geertz (1961) stated how important wedding feasts were, especially for daughters, to demonstrate parents' social ties and to validate their social rank. The following is Geertz's observation on the Javanese wedding feast:

The social relationships most intimately affected by the wedding feast and celebration are not those of the bride and groom but those of the parents of the couple toward their kin, neighbours, and fellow members of their occupational groups. Since each child is entitled to such celebration, a son a circumcision feast and a daughter a wedding feast, a couple with many children will have a whole series of these events...

Thus, despite the prominent role of the child, the ones crucially concerned in such affairs are the parents. They are the ones who are 'having' the affair. When speaking of a wedding or circumcision, people do not refer to the name of the bride or little boy, but use instead the name of the parent, saying, *Pak Ardjo duwe` gawe`*, 'Mr. Ardjo is giving a feast'. Taken literally, *duwe` gawe`* would mean 'to have work', but the phrase is not used for ordinary work and refers only to the giving of celebrations for a wedding or circumcision.

The object of the festivities-the newly-wed couple-participates minimally and passively. They do not help in the preparations. They are physically pushed and pulled and guided like a puppet through a series of ritual acts, culminating in an ultimate of passivity: sitting in state for hours without talking or moving, forgotten while the company feast (Geertz, 1961: 67-68).

Even though Geertz's study was in the 1950s, having a big wedding party for the sake of parents' status is still very apparent today. My case studies also supported this idea. Tina (female, single, Moslem, university graduate, case no. S47fj) stated: 'The Indonesian wedding party or ceremony is in the parents' interest, the bride and groom do not really have much choice in deciding and planning their own wedding party'. Achdiyat, who has lived through three generations, responded: 'the wedding party or ceremony is a parental demand in relation to their social and family standing in the society. People are so obsessed with material goods that it would be a shame not to celebrate a wedding party for their children according to their social class standard'.

For the upper middle-class, a wedding party can cost from 30 to 100 million rupiahs, depending on how many guests are invited. In general, for a middle-class wedding party there are at least 500 guests and it can build up to 2000 guests. It is customary to have several ceremonies relating to the wedding party. The Javanese for example run a series of ceremonies before the wedding party, starting with a *selamatan* (feast) to remember the ancestors through praying and reading the Koran, followed by a bridal shower and *malam bidadari* (angels' night). The *malam bidadari* can be defined as a ceremony taking place at the bride's house where close friends and relatives of the bride are invited. The groom and his family usually visit the ceremony, come as the guests of honour and give the brideprice. In this ceremony, it is customary that the groom is not allowed to see the bride who must stay in her room throughout the night. Generally the religious marriage ceremony follows the next morning, also attended by several hundred guests, supposedly very close relatives and friends of the bride's and groom's family. At present, the religious ceremony is commonly held at the wedding reception which usually takes place in a hotel or buildings designed specially for receptions. The religious ceremony takes place several hours before the wedding party.

The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey revealed that when left with the decision of choosing their wedding party the majority of respondents would prefer having their own house if this was an alternative to a wedding party (Table 4.5). Frequently most of the wedding expenses are provided by the parents: the bridegroom can give a certain amount to supplement the enormous costs. But if given a choice, the young adult respondents in the survey strongly prefer

to have their own house, the same also applied to the Moslem respondents (see Table 4.5).

Further analysis of the survey results indicated that self financing a wedding party is preferred by a majority of the respondents (Table 4.5). But the young adult respondents seem to prefer the idea even more significantly strongly than the adolescent respondents, even though financial support from parents and in-laws is still strongly expected. The young adult respondents were more likely than the adolescent respondents to approve of economic support for their wedding party from their parents and in-laws. Females more than male respondents strongly support the idea of the in-laws' financial support for their wedding party. Relatives' participation in financial support for the wedding party is becoming less important than parental participation, but male respondents more than female respondents expected the spouse's relatives to play a role.

It is important to note that different ethnic groups may have different practices in this regard. So the respondents' ethnicity can affect preference in financial support for wedding parties. The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey collected data on father's and mother's ethnicity, but the combinations of these ethnicities and whether to take the mother's or the father's line is too complicated to resolve. Thus, due to this reason, ethnicity was not used in the analysis.

4.2.5 Ideal age at dating, engagement and marriage

The expressed statements of ideal age at dating, engagement and marriage need to be analysed to see whether there are differences in ideal age between the sexes. The survey shows that the expressed ideal ages for a boy or a girl to start dating are about the same (Table 4.6). The adolescent respondents stated a younger ideal age to start dating for both sexes compared to the young adult respondents. The ideal age for a girl to start dating ranges around 16 years old, for a boy, around 17. It is clear that adolescents consider that they could start dating at an earlier age compared to the young adults.

Different from the above phenomena, the ideal age to be engaged is higher for a boy than a girl by two years, and the ideal age to be married, by three years. The adolescents' ideal age for a girl to be engaged (22 years) is lower than the young adults' ideal (23 years). The ideal age to be engaged for a boy as reported by

adolescents is also lower (24 years) than the ideal of the young adults (25 years). Both of these differences are statistically significant. Females surprisingly have higher ideal ages for a girl and a boy to be engaged than male respondents. For example, female and male respondents stated the ideal ages for a girl to be engaged as 23 years and 22 years respectively and the difference is statistically significant.

Ideal age at marriage for a girl stated by adolescents and young adults is 24 years, while for a boy the ideal age at marriage is higher, averaging about three years older. By sex, there is a significant difference in ideal age at marriage for a girl and for a boy. Ideal age at marriage for a girl is one year older if stated by female respondents (25 years) than stated by male respondents (24 years). The same condition applied for ideal age at marriage for a boy; it is higher if stated by female respondents (28 years) than that stated by male respondents (27 years).

In conclusion, findings from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey on ideal age at dating, engagement and marriage revealed that the ideal age for dating is the same for a girl or a boy. But in the cases of ideal age at engagement and marriage, boys are expected to be older than girls. Interestingly, female respondents prefer a higher age for males for these events than do male respondents.

Table 4.6 Mean and standard deviation of ideal age for dating, engagement, and marriage by age, sex and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables	Age						Sex				Religion			
	15-19		20-24		Male		Female		Moslem		Non-Moslem			
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD		
Girl														
Dating	16.0	1.8	17.0	1.8**	16.0	1.9	16.0	1.7	16.4	1.8	16.2	1.9		
Engagement	22.0	2.2	22.8	2.2**	22.0	2.4	23.0	2.0**	22.2	2.1	22.4	2.6		
Marriage	24.0	2.4	24.0	2.3*	24.0	2.5	25.0	2.2**	24.2	2.3	24.2	2.6		
Boy														
Dating	16.0	2.1	17.0	2.4**	17.0	2.5	17.0	1.9	16.8	2.2	16.8	2.1		
Engagement	24.0	2.7	25.0	2.3*	24.0	2.7	25.0	2.5**	24.9	2.5	24.1	3.0*		
Marriage	27.0	2.8	27.6	2.4	27.0	2.7	28.0	2.7**	27.4	2.6	26.9	3.3		

Note:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage values and sexuality survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

4.3 Misconceptions cause conceptions: misleading information on sex and family planning

'I thought that a single act of intercourse could not cause pregnancy'

'My boyfriend suggested that if we made love in a standing position, it would prevent us from the risk of pregnancy' ... 'I never took off my panties during intercourse (that is, they thought that panties would function similarly to a condom), and now my boyfriend is so mad at me because I am pregnant' (Statements from clients who come to family planning counselling sessions at the IPPF clinic in Jakarta, Widyantoro, 1996: 166)

4.3.1 Sources and usefulness of information on reproductive health

Regarding sources of information on sex and their usefulness, the survey shows that printed materials such as newspapers, magazines, novels, and scientific books on sex seem to be the first source of information for the respondents. Radio and television, school, counsellors, teachers and friends also seem to be important sources for the respondents, while mother, boyfriend or girlfriend, other family member and father were almost the last persons to give information on sex. The most useful sources of information perceived by the respondents were printed materials, radio and television, school, counsellors and teachers (Table 4.7). In general it can be concluded that respondents from non-Moslem backgrounds are more likely to have received explanation about sex from their family than are Moslem respondents. Daughters received more useful information from mothers and other family members than did sons, and the difference is statistically significant.

The same issue was raised in the focus-group discussions (see Table 4.8). In respect of this issue another focus-group consisting of eight female high school students was added (FGD 5J). All the respondents in the focus-groups (FGD 1J, 2J, 3J, 4J and 5J) emphasised how important it is to give sex education through school because the majority of respondents did not receive sex education from parents. Among the female high school students (FGD 5J), even though one respondent said that her mother talked to her about sex and she would also feel free to talk to her mother about sex, the majority in the focus-group only received explanations about how to use a sanitary pad when menstruating. Among the male high school students (FGD 3J), getting information on sex from friends, books and magazines is a universal phenomenon; this was not always the case for the female high school students (FGD 3J and 5J). Among the young adults of both sexes, media, television, books, magazines and sex columns have been an important source of information on sex.

Other institutions that should provide sex education, suggested by the university student groups (FGD 1J, 2J and 4J), include doctors and the media. Most university students living with their parents participating in the focus-group (FGD 4J) agreed that parents have difficulty in talking about sexual matters with their children. This was not the case with most of the young adults of both sexes living in boarding houses (FGD 1 J and 2 J) who in general received information about sex from their parents. Sex education is essential because these young women think that it can at least prevent girls from getting pregnant: lots of girls get pregnant because they do not understand the nature of sex. One young man living with parents and one living in a boarding house stated that religious values and teaching in the family are very important for children so they know what is appropriate in sexual behaviour.

Table 4.7 Percentage of respondents' sources and usefulness of information on sex by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Ever have information on sex	78.4	91.1**	79.1	85.0	84.9	70.2**
Source of information on sex:						
Boyfriend/girlfriend	30.5	41.4*	33.6	34.3	33.0	37.2
Mother	47.4	49.7	35.7	58.9**	46.9	53.2
Father	16.6	26.1	19.6	19.6	18.2	25.5
Other family member	39.3	39.5	32.8	45.4**	38.0	45.7
Friends	55.7	72.0**	57.9	62.9	62.3	53.2
School, counsellor , teacher	57.9	67.5*	54.9	66.1*	60.8	60.6
Printed material (magazines, newspapers, novels, scientific books)	66.2	83.4**	69.4	73.2	73.8	60.6*
Radio and television	59.8	72.6*	62.1	65.0	65.6	55.3
Usefulness of source of information						
Boyfriend/girlfriend	17.2	31.2**	20.4	22.5	21.7	20.2
Mother	40.4	43.3	26.0	54.6**	40.8	43.6
Father	12.5	21.0*	14.9	15.4	13.7	21.3
Other family member	27.4	30.6	22.1	33.9**	27.1	34.0
Friends	41.3	59.2**	42.1	50.7	48.3	39.4
School, counsellor , teacher	50.4	58.6	46.8	58.2*	53.3	51.1
Printed material (magazines, newspapers, novels, scientific books)	56.2	80.9**	60.0	66.8	65.8	54.3*
Radio and television	48.5	64.3**	51.5	54.6	54.2	48.9

Note:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

Table 4.8 Sex education in Jakarta, DI. Yogyakarta, and Palembang, 1995^a

Sex education		Provinces	
	Jakarta	DI. Yogyakarta	Palembang
In school	Initiated in junior high school or in some Catholic and Protestant schools in special intensive sessions.	Initiated in first year of high school.	Initiated in high school or university.
Integrated subject	Biology, geography.	Biology	Biology, <i>bahasa Indonesia</i> , and basic science.
Type of information given	The anatomy of the body, the process of ovulation, methods of contraception, family planning, consequences of premarital pregnancy, sex organs and abortion.	The anatomy of the body, the process of ovulation.	The anatomy of the body, the process of ovulation and the nature of sex.
Method of delivery	- Male and female students should be separated. - Parents would feel uncomfortable, owing to barriers to talking about sex with their children.	- Male and female students should be separated. - Parents would feel uncomfortable, owing to cultural barriers to talking about sex with their children.	- Only to interested parties, for example high school students in their biology class, medical school students, couples getting married. - Parents would feel uncomfortable, owing to cultural barriers to talking about sex with their children.
Who should give sex education	Teacher of the same sex as the students.	Teacher of the same sex as the students. The teacher should also understand youth culture so he/she does not have difficulties in communicating with the students.	No comment was made on this issue.
Sources of information			
Parents	The majority of respondents did not receive information from parents, but young adult respondents of both sexes living in boarding houses generally received information from parents.	The majority of respondents did not receive information from parents, but among the majority of young women, information on the norms of sexuality was given very vaguely.	The majority of respondents did not receive information from parents, but some received advice and norms related to sexual values which were given implicitly.
Others	Adolescent male respondents tend to get information from friends, books and magazines, but this was not always the case for adolescent females. In addition to these sources of information young adults of both sexes also seek information from sex columns.	Adolescent respondents of both sexes tend to get information from books and magazines and adolescent male respondents also from their friends. In addition to these sources of information young adults of both sexes also seek information from sex columns.	Adolescent male respondents tend to get information from friends, books and magazines, but this was not always the case for adolescent females. In addition to these sources of information young adults of both sexes also seek information from sex columns.

Note:

a. Information on sex education was summarised from focus-group discussions among male and female high school (FGD 3 J) and university students (FGD 4J) living with parents, male (FGD 1J) and female (FGD 2 J) university students (FGD 1J) living in boarding houses. For Jakarta one additional female high school students' group was added (FGD 5J).

In further analysis (table 4.9), respondents' level of knowledge and sexual attitudes and behaviour were analysed. The result strongly shows that respondents with high level of knowledge acquired either from family members, school, media and/or peers have less experience of personal sexual behaviour compared to respondents with low level of knowledge and the difference is statistically significant at less than one per cent level. This finding is strong evidence that sex education does not motivate respondents' toward promiscuity or premarital sexual intercourse. It also suggests that sex education should be given to young people.

Table 4.9 Index score of ever experienced premarital sexual behaviour, acceptable sexual behaviour while dating and for engaged couples by level of knowledge on sex among respondents, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	Level of knowledge on sex ^b	
	Low	High
Index score of experience premarital sexual behaviour		
Low	10.8 (13)	37.9 (133)**
Medium	36.7 (44)	41.3 (145)
High	52.5 (63)	20.8 (73)
Index score of attitude to premarital sexual behaviour while dating		
Low	11.5 (14)	23.7 (80)**
Medium	41.0 (50)	46.6 (157)
High	47.5 (58)	29.7 (100)
Index score of attitude to premarital sexual behaviour when engaged		
Low	12.3 (15)	24.7 (87)*
Medium	49.2 (60)	44.0 (155)
High	38.5 (47)	31.3 (100)

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Low level of knowledge is categorised from respondents who have not received any kind of information on sex and respondents who have received information on sex but found that the information are not usefull. High level of knowledge is categorised for respondents who have received useful information on sex either from family members, school, media and peers.

4.3.2 Young people's knowledge on family planning

Regarding knowledge on family planning, the majority of respondents (84 per cent and more, see Table 4.10) agreed that they should have knowledge on this aspect even though more young adults than adolescent respondents agreed on this matter. Reasons why this knowledge should be given to respondents are as follows: the

majority (62 to 74 per cent) thought that people need to know about family planning for future purposes, for example for when they get married. Young adults and female respondents seem to think that such knowledge is very important, even though only a small proportion of the respondents expressed their awareness that knowledge of family planning can be used to prevent premarital pregnancy and STDs. This indicates that some respondents are aware of these matters.

Table 4.10 Percentage of respondents stating why young people need to have knowledge on family planning and agreement to contraceptives being sold without restrictions by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

Statement	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
The need to have knowledge on family planning						
Yes	83.8	93.6**	89.0	84.8	87.5	83.7
No	16.2	6.4	11.0	15.2	12.5	16.3
Reasons^b						
Young people need to have knowledge of family planning for future purposes.	66.6	73.9*	65.1	71.5**	70.1	62.0
To support policy on family planning.	9.4	7.0	9.8	7.9	8.2	11.4
Young people need knowledge of family planning so they can prevent premarital pregnancy and STDs.	10.0	14.1	16.3	7.1	11.5	16.5
Young people do not need family planning knowledge because it can be misused and lead to free sex.	14.0	4.9	8.8	13.4	10.2	10.1
Agreement to contraceptives being sold without restriction and not only to married couples						
Agree	14.5	28.7**	26.0	12.6**	17.5	25.0*
Do not agree	54.6	46.5	43.0	60.4	55.1	39.1
Uncertain	30.9	24.8	31.1	27.0	27.4	35.9
Reasons						
Agreed, because it can be used to prevent pregnancy, STDs and for safe sex.	9.2	29.2**	23.2	8.7**	13.8	25.0
Does not agree, because it can be misused.	66.8	55.7	58.9	67.2	64.3	57.7
Does not agree, because it is against religious and moral values.	15.7	10.4	11.9	15.8	15.2	7.7
Others	8.3	4.7	6.0	8.2	6.7	9.6

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage values and sexuality survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Respondents were asked to give reason to their statement regardless of whether they answered yes or no. Some respondents who answered no did not give a reason.

Only a small proportion of respondents agreed that contraceptives should be sold without restriction and not just to married couples (13 to 29 per cent). But respondents who agreed more on this aspect are the older respondents, males and non-Moslems. Reasons expressed as to why access to contraception should not be limited were to prevent premarital pregnancy and STDs, and to promote safe sex. In contrast, why the majority of respondents disagreed with this idea is that it can be misused and motivate respondents to engage in premarital sexual activities.

The argument whether to restrict access to contraceptive methods was also discussed in the focus-groups. Arguments for and against this idea were also raised with almost the same reasons that were raised in the survey. The following is a segment of discussion from a focus-group:

Andito: I think if contraceptives can be sold unlimitedly it would be nice. We cannot deny that premarital sex among young people is quite common. So it is good because it can prevent STDs, and premarital pregnancy...there are so many diseases...so it is good if contraceptive methods can be accessed easily.

Anthoni: I think I am confused, with Andito's opinion it seems that we are promoting premarital sex. But if easy access to contraceptive methods is not made possible then what would happen, I am really confused...

Andito: That is why I made my point, it is a dilemma, because it seems that we are making premarital sex legal, but we cannot deny that premarital sex among young people is increasing, and if contraceptive methods are not made possible for young people there can be a lot of consequences.

Aan: I think access to contraceptive methods to young people should be made legal because mixing behaviour among them is very free, so side effects of such relationships can be taken care of.

Azli: I think if contraceptive methods can be accessed easily by young people, then it can motivate them to do it...I have experienced this, at one time I asked a high school student to buy a condom for me, any type with the money that I gave him. Then he came back with it, then I asked him, 'Did you have problems buying it? Did they ask you many questions?' He answered no..., he asked which one is the best, then the sales person at the chemist gave a brief explanation. See...if the person buying it is still not mature enough, then they want to use it...they will think that with this it would be safe...they are afraid to engage in premarital sex because they are afraid if the girl got pregnant, but with this...it can prevent pregnancy, so...if they are available, and their religious understanding is not strong enough, of course those young people would want to try...

Ato: Yes it is difficult, because it can be a trigger for young people to engage in premarital sex. I think there are more disadvantages if contraception methods are made available for these young people.

Anthoni: Why not prevent premarital sex, because what we are trying to do is to prevent the consequences of premarital sex. I think that is a mistake.

Andito: Maybe my opinion is too Western, I will correct it, I think if the government is going to distribute it, I think they should not, because it can motivate young people to do it, so I think it should stay like it is...

Ato: Can't we see the condition and what is happening and then decide ???

Andito: Yes in Western countries it is distributed but not here.

Amka: I think Aan is right, I am not degrading Asian values (*adat Timur*), but take prostitution for example, it had been in our society for a long time. We can fight against the communist party (PKI), but we could not fight against prostitution. Because I think this is a very private matter, because if someone wants to engage with a prostitute who can stop them? Nobody can stop us, look at us here...it is my own body, we can call a girl and asked her to stay in our boarding room, so it is very difficult...

Andito: I do not think that we have to worry about prostitution, what I mean is free sex (*seks bebas*). If we are doing it with a prostitute we have to use it, but if we are not doing it with a prostitute and we are having free sex then we do not have to use condom. If condom is distributed we can be more free (*kita jadi bebas*), okay. we should use condoms...but if condoms were not distributed the consequences would be more risky. So I think either way creates problems, I think condom should not be distributed but made available for those who want to use it.

Ato: I think the most important is campaigns that condom usage is more safe if you are having premarital sex.

Moderator: What kind of method do you usually use?

Almost everybody: Condom, tissue...a bit itchy,...pills (Jakarta, 7/9/1994, male university students living in boarding house, FGD1J).

From the above discussions, there seems to be confusion and a conflict of opinion as to whether condoms should be distributed or not. Only a few respondents have a very liberal view about distribution of condoms or condoms being made available for young people, because they think that premarital sex is increasing and is hard to avoid. But they also say that the consequences of not making condoms more accessible would be very dangerous and that campaigns on condom use should also be made possible. It is interesting that one respondent differentiates between having sex with prostitutes when condoms should be used and engaging in premarital sex with non-prostitutes when it is not necessary to use condoms. Thus the misleading idea that protection against STDs is only related to prostitutes still exists. But most respondents participating in the focus-group do not agree with this notion, they think if condoms are easily obtained then it will motivate young people to have premarital sex.

Table 4.11 Percentage of respondents stating knowledge of contraceptive methods by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

Type of method ^b	%	Age		Sex		Religion	
		15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
	(Total Number)						
Pill	35.8 (186)	27.7	54.4**	40.7	32.1*	37.2	29.0
Condom	38.0 (197)	27.7	61.4**	48.7	29.3**	38.6	34.4
Diaphragm	0.4 (2)	0.0	1.3	0.8	0.0	0.5	0.0
Tissue, gel, foam	1.0 (5)	0.0	3.2	1.7	0.4	0.9	1.1
Lippies loop	30.4 (158)	18.6	57.6**	33.5	28.2	31.5	24.7
Injectable	23.7 (123)	18.0	36.7**	29.7	18.9**	24.9	18.3
Norplant	6.4 (33)	1.7	17.1**	8.9	4.3*	6.6	5.4
Vasectomy	8.3 (43)	2.5	21.5**	12.3	5.0**	7.8	10.8
Tubectomy	4.8 (25)	2.2	10.8	6.8	3.2	4.2	7.5
Petting without intercourse, withdrawal, rhythm	10.0 (52)	3.0	25.9**	12.3	8.2	10.4	8.6
Statement relating to family planning campaign	9.4 (49)	11.1	5.7*	8.1	10.4	9.2	10.8

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/95 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Method of contraception was asked in the 1994/95 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. The question is worded as follows: what kinds of contraception methods do you know? Please state your answer. This is a good indicator of respondents' knowledge on contraception methods because respondents have to fill the open ended question.

Table 4.11 presents respondents' knowledge of contraceptive methods: the methods most known among respondents in the survey are condoms, pills, lippies loop and injectables. As expected, young adults' and male respondents' knowledge of contraceptive methods is significantly better than that of adolescents and female

respondents. In contrast respondents' religion does not make a significant difference to the respondents' knowledge of family planning. Even though only a small number of respondents (52) answered that they knew about petting without intercourse, withdrawal and the rhythm method as other methods that can be used to prevent pregnancy, it is a good sign that these respondents are seeking other means to control premarital pregnancy, as access to family planning services is limited to married couples. When asked about the type of contraception suitable for young people, most mentioned condoms and pills (Table 4.12). Reasons given for believing these methods are best for young people are: there are no side-effects, they are effective, easily accessible and economical and are a means of preventing STDs.

Table 4.12 Percentage of respondents stating contraceptive method that is best for young people by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	%	Age		Sex		Religion	
		15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
(Total Number)							
The best contraception method for young people							
Pill	15.5 (52)	15.3	15.7**	13.4	17.5*	16.9	9.5
Condom	30.4 (102)	26.2	36.6	34.4	26.6	29.4	33.3
Lippies loop	7.4 (25)	3.5	13.4	10.8	4.5	8.1	4.8
Injectable	3.6 (12)	5.0	1.5	2.5	4.5	2.6	7.9
Other and do not know	43.2 (145)	50.0	32.8	38.9	46.9	45.0	44.4
Reasons given for pill							
No side effects	35.0 (14)	47.6*	21.1**	30.0*	40.0	35.3**	33.3
Effective, easy access and economical	62.5 (25)	52.4	73.7	65.0	60.0	61.8	66.7
Prevent STDs	2.5 (1)	-	5.3	5.0	-	2.9	-
Reasons given for condom							
No side effects	32.5 (27)	28.2	36.4	30.2	35.9	34.9	26.3
Effective, easy access and economical	39.8 (33)	51.3	29.5	37.2	43.6	36.5	52.6
Prevent STDs	27.7 (23)	20.5	34.1	32.6	20.5	28.6	21.1

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/95 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Method of contraception was asked in the 1994/95 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. The question is worded as follows: what kinds of contraception methods do you think are best to use if young people want to use it ? Please state your answer. Please state the reason why this typical method that you mentioned previously is the best for young people to use.

A few respondents think that pills can be used to prevent STDs, which is incorrect, but there were more respondents who stated that condoms would be best to prevent STDs. More attention should be drawn to the fact that some respondents'

knowledge about pills is incorrect, because pills can have side-effects and cannot be used to prevent STDs. Easy access to condoms was mentioned not only in the survey but also in the male university students' focus-groups (FGD 1J, 1DIY and 1P). Participants in these groups said that they could buy condoms at the chemist and the shop assistants did not ask any questions, and they could also buy condoms at the supermarkets.

4.4 Conclusion

In recent years, the emerging middle-class in Indonesia has substantially been created by changes in the Indonesian social, political and economic system. The boom in the publishing industry for example, has made books, once rare, a common and accessible commodity, and has produced a variety of publications in the form of magazines and newspapers (Hatley, 1994: 217). The availability of radio stations and television channels, government or private owned, has made both national and Western information and cultural values easily accessible to the Indonesian population even in rural areas. In major cities, for example Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, DI Yogyakarta, and Surabaya, a modern metropolitan urban middle-class way of life is indicated by toll roads, telecommunication satellites, telephone lines, elite housing complexes with health and education facilities and shopping malls, multi-storey apartments and office buildings, places of entertainment and sport centres (Field Observation, 1994-1995). Various characteristics of this social group are the modern consumer culture, and flexibility in movement, employment and business opportunities (Guinness, 1994: 284). Unlike previous generations, the modern middle-class people like to travel in Indonesia and in other countries, have higher education and acquire more diverse jobs.

Results from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, in-depth interviews, focus-group discussions and field observations clearly indicate that mixing behaviour among middle-class young people in Jakarta tends to be liberal. Western values and lifestyle have influenced these young people, especially values from the United States. These values have affected the way young people mix with the opposite sex, their values and attitudes towards premarital sex, the way they dress, eat and relate to their parents.

The Indonesian Government supports both idealised morality and Western values in the upbringing of these young Indonesians. Idealised morality is manifested through religious and traditional values that still persist and are culturally inherent in the community and family systems and Western values through the globalisation of information. Western values may have a stronger effect than the government realises on middle-class young people, especially their sexual values and behaviour.

With these two conflicting influences of idealised morality which promotes more conservative values and Western influence (mostly American) which promotes liberal attitudes, these young Indonesians are caught between the two forces. Young Indonesians' popular culture consists of slang, consumerism, brand names, Western food, discotheques, hand phones, expensive cars, shopping malls, the drugs, Ecstasy and *putauw*, and sex for fun, pleasure or money.

On the other hand, religious activities through school and family are also quite prevalent. In this ambivalent environment, some young people suffer, as they lack information, counselling, health facilities and services related to sexuality and reproductive health. With increases in premarital sex, premarital pregnancy, premarital abortion, STDs and HIV/AIDS these young Indonesians are in danger. Those with problems have nowhere to go for advice or services, and even those wanting information on reproductive health are frustrated.

Chapter 5

Premarital sex values, attitudes and behaviour among middle-class young people in Jakarta⁴⁰

One-fifth of world population is between ages 10-19. Young people today marry later, and more start sex before marriage. Thus they face more risk of unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (STDs). In developing countries 20% to 60% of young women's pregnancies and births are unintended, most coming sooner than planned...Half of those infected with AIDS-causing HIV are under age 25 (Population Reports, 1995: 1).

5.1 Introduction: evidence from qualitative research

The following reports on in-depth interviews illustrate young Indonesians' sexual values, attitudes and behaviour.

Case 1: Idris (male, single, Moslem, 24 years old, undergraduate university student)

Idris grew up in Padang, West Sumatra, in a very religious Moslem family. Until Idris was in college, he always carried out his daily prayer obligation. He also liked to listen to religious preachings and once was a member of an extreme religious group. When he moved to Jakarta, his friends in his boarding house (all male undergraduate students) often watched X-rated movies and talked about sex, even though most of them came from strong religious families. At one time Idris was going to be treated by his friends to have sex with a prostitute, but he refused the offer. Idris began dating when he started to study at the university. For some time after he began dating, contact was restricted to kissing and hugging. He had his first experience of sexual intercourse with P (Idris's most recent girlfriend), who came from a very well-off family and liked Idris very much. Unlike Idris, P had already had sexual experiences with her ex-boyfriend. For P, sexual intercourse for a dating couple was a natural thing to do. Idris had sexual intercourse with P several times before they broke up.

Idris's first sexual experience with P happened after going to a discotheque with a group of friends. They went to a five-star hotel. P wanted to have sexual intercourse but Idris managed to stop. A week later, P sent a letter to Idris to express her feeling about wanting to have sex with him. The next day they had their first sexual intercourse at Idris's boarding room. After this, they had sex once every fortnight at Idris's boarding room (because it was close to campus) in the afternoon when all the other tenants were not at home. At first, Idris felt very guilty and full of sin after having sex with P, but he admitted that sometimes he just could not resist the temptation. Idris was also afraid that P would get pregnant because they never used a condom when they had sex. He did not want P to get pregnant because he was not ready for marriage yet. After Idris broke up with P, he did not want to be involved in other sexual relationships. He wants to try to be loyal to P and hopefully to marry her in the future. (Jakarta, 1995, interviewed by a psychology student, male, single, case no. P61mj).

⁴⁰ Earlier draft of this chapter was presented at the Asian Studies Association of Australia Conference, at La Trobe University on the 8-11 of July 1996, and the revised version on this chapter will be published in 'The emerging adult, young people, sexuality and courtship in South and Southeast Asia' edited by Prof. Dr. Lenore Manderson and Dr. Pranee Liamputtong Rice. I am most grateful for the support and valuable discussion that Prof. Manderson have provided, thank you kindly.

Case 2: Sasi (is male, just married because his girlfriend got pregnant, 23 years old, graduated with a bachelor degree and recently started working)

Sasi and his brother lived with his father. His parents are divorced and his mother remarried while his father remained single. From junior high school until senior high school, Sasi always went to a Catholic school for boys. Sasi started to mix with the opposite sex when he was 16 years old. At that time he was in year eight.

Sasi learned about the nature of sex from his school. The sex education at his school provides knowledge on pregnancy, the reproductive process, fertile periods for woman, contraceptive devices, and STDs among men and women. But this information on sex is only given through a short course that was held only for several days.

Sasi told the interviewer that he had just married because his girlfriend (M) became pregnant. Sasi and M had been dating for four years; when they had sex, they never used condoms. After M found that she was pregnant, she told Sasi about it. M wanted to have an abortion and Sasi agreed because he thought that the decision should be left to his girlfriend. M then was accompanied by two of her best friends and went to a doctor. During the wait to be called by the doctor, M's friends persuaded her not to have the abortion.

Sasi then told his family and M's family about the pregnancy. At first both families were sad, but then they came to accept the reality and plan a very big wedding. People do not know that they got married because M was already pregnant. Sasi is happy that he married her; he was glad that he had impregnated someone he really loved. At least he was marrying someone he loved (Jakarta, 29/8/1994, interviewed by Ade, female, single, psychology student, case P59mj).

Case 3: Tanto (Male, single, 23 years old, bachelor degree, working)

Tanto has lived in Bandung ever since he started studying economic management at a private university. Tanto has a girlfriend who is two years younger and she studies at the same university. They have dated for one and a half years. Sasi is Tanto's best friend. Tanto was the first person to be informed by Sasi about M's pregnancy. Tanto regretted that M got pregnant, Tanto thinks that Sasi was very careless in not using a condom. Several of Tanto's friends have had sexual intercourse, either with their girlfriends, friends or prostitutes. He thinks nowadays it is normal and acceptable to have premarital sex. But most of Tanto's friends that have sex have never made their partner pregnant. Tanto and his girlfriend have been engaging in sexual intercourse. Usually they have sex at Tanto's room or at Tanto's friend's house. When having sex with his girlfriend, Tanto usually used a condom, but sometimes he does not. Sometimes Tanto's girlfriend feels pain when Tanto uses a condom. In this case to prevent pregnancy, they combined the calendar system and condom use.

Sometimes they plan when to have sexual intercourse, so they already have their condom and venue ready. But sometimes it just happens when they go out together. Tanto finds sometimes it is hard to fight against his sexual drive and temptation. Tanto prefers sexual intercourse to just petting, because he thinks that the risk is the same: in petting the sperm can also enter the vagina, which can cause pregnancy. 'If you only do *pas photo*, then your girlfriend can get breast cancer, because the breast is always getting stimulated', stated Tanto. Tanto has the courage to have sexual intercourse with his girlfriend because their relationship has developed to a serious stage. Tanto is ready to ask his girlfriend to marry him and bring her to Kalimantan where he got his new posting, but his girlfriend wants to finish her study first.

Tanto learnt about sex from sex education classes that were given for several days at his school. He also learnt about sex, the sexual organs and contraceptive devices from the media, scientific books and novels. Tanto stated that because condoms are so easy to get, young people are increasingly having sex without any moral burden or risk of getting pregnant. Tanto thinks that a single man who makes his girlfriend or partner pregnant is not a responsible person because he does not think about the risk to the pregnant woman and does not think in long-term perspective: that kind of man is stupid, because there is lots of information on contraceptive devices and they are easy to get but yet they do not use this opportunity (Jakarta, 30/8/1994, interviewed by Ade, female, single, psychology student, case no.P59mj).

Case 4: Chairiyah (female, single, wears veil, degree in science, high school teacher)

Chairiyah is from a traditional Javanese family with a quite strong religious background. Chairiyah is quite independent in the way she decides most of the things that she wants to do. Her parents only give suggestions or support when they are asked to do so. Her parents were very strict about academic things until she was in high school, but they never force their children.

Chairiyah thinks that young people of today are more free to mix with the opposite sex. They do not regard religious values as much any more. Parents of today are not really concerned about their children, they also are less religious so they do not pass religious values on to their children. Today's children base their activities on '*hura-hura*' (having fun and having lots of excitement). They do not behave as Moslems should behave, they get drunk, and relationships between a man and a woman are more free, they kiss each other's cheeks and hold hands in public places as if there is nothing happening. Peer pressure from school friends or others is more evident. Older class mates teach the younger class mates to smoke, drink, join gangs and fight. This is because parents give all the responsibility for teaching children to teachers, because parents do not have time to educate their children. So children cannot regard parents as their ideal.

In relating with the opposite sex, Chairiyah thinks that young people should not engage in any kind of sexual relations. They should spend time just talking about their study, their work or other things. If a woman likes a man, she should just discuss it with her female friends and not let the man know about her feelings. Even though the relationship between two persons of the opposite sex has become very close, they should only hold each others' hands. Couple's that are engaged should also guard their virginity, because for a woman, staying virgin shows how much she can guard herself. It would be different for a widow or widower, then chastity is not so important. Having premarital sexual intercourse is very sinful. Sexual intercourse can only happen in marriage.

For Chairiyah, sources of information on sex were mainly books, speeches, conferences, friends and the media. Counsellors also give information on mixing behaviour. Parents can also give information on the nature of sex but parents are usually uncomfortable to talk about this with their children. Chairiyah thinks that mothers should talk about menstruation with their daughters. Sex education should be given through school, so young people understand the risks that they are facing when having sexual intercourse. But Chairiyah thinks that sex education should not be given in a detailed manner, because this can cause the student to want to have sex. It is best if sex education can be given along the lines of religious sermons. Sex education should start in junior high school for girls and senior high school for boys. In most cases girls in junior high school have experienced menstruation and senior high school boys have experienced '*mimpi basah*' (wet dreams).

When Chairiyah was in senior high school, she had a boyfriend, but they were just like close friends because they often walked home together, ate out together or went to extracurricular activities which were held at school. We only held hands when we were crossing the road, or hugged each other in very brief moments'. At that time Chairiyah had not yet started wearing the veil.

In Chairiyah's school, she knows a girl who is a *perek*(Q). One time the school counsellor saw Q riding in a car with a man who was much older, Q's parents also found expensive shoes and clothes that Q had. Then Q and her parents were called by the counsellor. Q admitted that she was involved with the man. The counsellor gave counselling to Q and Q's parents, and advised the parents to supervise Q more closely.

Chairiyah also has a few friends that have experienced getting pregnant before marriage: one was Chairiyah's close friend (T). T and her boyfriend had been dating since junior high school, but when they had just started university they got married because T was pregnant. T came from a good family and was quite religious, so Chairiyah never thought that T would experience pregnancy. When Chairiyah was in high school, one of her friends (M) used to date a much older man; just after M graduated from high school she got married because she was pregnant. Another friend (O) of Chairiyah used to date since O was in senior high school. O's and also her boyfriend's parents did not like the idea that they were dating. O got pregnant and had an abortion without her parents' knowledge. After the incident O told her parents. After being shocked by the news her parents accepted it and let O's boyfriend live with them because he had run away from home (Jakarta, 20/8/1994, interviewed by Rike, psychology student, single, wearing veil, case no. H49fj).

Case 5: Siti (22 years old female, Javanese, medical student, Moslem, single, wears the veil and has never experienced dating)

Siti has almost the same viewpoint as Chairiyah. Coming from a religious Javanese family, Siti is the youngest daughter with an older brother and sister. Even though Siti is the youngest, she is quite free to make her own decisions. She did not experience any problems when she told her parents that she wanted to wear a veil.

Siti observed that young Indonesians are behaving far from the way they should behave according to Moslem teachings. For example, the sexes are no longer separated after they have reached puberty. A girl who wanted to travel used to have to be accompanied by her nearest kin, but this does not happen any more. In Jakarta, lots of premarital pregnancies happen and many girls become prostitutes. For premarital abortion, a special clinic in Jakarta is quite famous. Outside the clinic there are mediators (*calo*) who specialise in helping those seeking abortions and assisting them to find the doctor. 'When I was in high school one of my friends got pregnant. The rumour spread around among the students but none of the teachers knew. Apparently, the pregnant girl and her boyfriend went overseas and then came back as if nothing had happened.'⁴¹ Among young Indonesian males, going to prostitutes for sex is quite common. Western values and 'culture' are easily absorbed by young Indonesians compared to the influence of science and technology. According to Moslem teaching mixing between the sexes should be limited to talking to each other.

The worst thing is that now contraceptive devices are being sold freely. This gives an impression that adultery is a customary thing. And anybody can do it without feeling any burden and also safely. Siti expressed it as follows: 'By selling contraceptive devices freely, it seems that adultery is being legalised. Contraceptive devices can be bought anywhere, it is just like abroad, where you just need to put in a coin if you want one. The impression is that people can do it freely and safely. The government has to do this to overcome AIDS, but the impression of this policy is that prostitution is being legalised, people can do 'it', as long as...Maybe this is the only way the government can distribute contraceptive devices'.

Siti thinks that free mixing behaviour is adopted from the West. Everything from the West is taken for granted, even the worse things from the West are considered good. This happens not only in Jakarta but also in Yogyakarta. In the rural areas, even though they have not been touched by the globalisation of information, still premarital pregnancies also happen. In Irian Jaya the cultural values permit adultery. So even though access to magazines and television is still quite rare, they are more sensitive and permissive to these values. But also maybe their religious belief is not as strong (Jakarta, 26/8/1994, interviewed by Rike, psychology student, single, wearing veil, case no.U50fj).

Even though they cannot be generalised, the illustrated cases give a general idea that values and attitudes among middle-class Jakarta young people have changed to being more liberal. This notion of liberalness is evident through cases presented in Chapter 1, Section 1.1 and Chapter 4, Section 4.1. Middle-class Jakarta young people think that having sexual intercourse is a natural thing that happens among dating couples. Easy access to condoms has made some of the young Indonesian males more free to engage in sexual intercourse. Knowing someone who married because the girl was pregnant is also quite common. Approaches to a man by a woman are also evident even though Chairiyah thinks that a woman should never let a man know how she feels. But Chairiyah is very conservative. She is very religious and strongly practises her religious beliefs. She even believes that when a couple is dating they should not engage

⁴¹ Even though Siti did not explicitly state that the girl had an abortion overseas, I think it is clear that Siti meant that the girl had an abortion overseas.

in any kind of sexual activity other than holding hands and talking. In big cities, people like Chairiyah are rare even though they can be found in *santri* villages. From the above cases, especially from Chairiyah's and Siti's statements it can be concluded that even though the middle-class Jakarta young people have strong religious beliefs, they still have sexual relationships and have liberal values and attitudes to premarital sex. The following illustration from a focus group discussion with male university students living in boarding house (FGD 1J) also supports the notion of liberalness towards premarital sex.

Moderator: In your opinion, in a relationships before marriage, what kind of sexual activities can a couple be engaged in ?

Andi: In my opinion, I do not want to be hypocrite, I think people should be free...if a couple want to be engaged in petting, it is all right as long as they can avoid the temptation to have sexual intercourse. But if it happened (the couple have sexual intercourse), if both parties already felt ready for it, I think they should do it. As long as the person who engaged in sexual intercourse knows the consequences and is willing to be responsible if anything happened, I think it is all right. If the person ran away from his responsibility then I think it is not right. I think if emotionally I am ready to have sexual intercourse, I think I should do it. For example, if I am 25 or 26 and I cannot resist my sexual drive any more but I cannot take responsibility for the consequences then I should find an other way to release my sexual drive. I am saying this in regard to being male (*ini gua ngomong sebagai cowok*), why can't you look for other ways to release your sexual drive ? There are so many places that provide sex. This is the last choice...but if you are ready for the consequences, then it is all right to have sex. Isn't that right friends ?

Moderator: Maybe others have other opinions ?

Ata: I completely disagree, I am really against prostitutes.

Andi: I am not talking about prostitutes.

Ata: No, I am saying that I am really against prostitutes, but I do not disagree with your opinion.

Andi: All right.

Ata: I must admit that I am against prostitute. Masturbating is better compared to having sex with a prostitute. There are too many risks involved if I want to have sex with that prostitute. I am so scared if I would acquire STDs.

Andi: yes...yes.

Azlam: I am not afraid (everybody laughs), I can be so free even up to the point where it is very extreme. It all depends on with whom I am having the relationship. If I have the relationship with a prostitute, then I should treat her like a prostitute...but if the relationship is with a respectable women...I will adapt...I am a very adaptive person (Jakarta, 7/9/1994).

Here again Andi and Azlam have very liberal views on sexual activities that a couple can engage in before marriage. With Andi, having sex before marriage is acceptable as long as one can take the responsibility and also with Azlam, this even extends to having sex with prostitutes. But with Ata, his values are totally different. He prefers masturbation to release his sexual tension compared to having sex with a prostitute. Ata is also very cautious about acquiring STDs from prostitutes. The female university students living in boarding house (FGD 2J) did not explicitly say that having sex before marriage is all right, but kissing and petting is quite all right, and Betty mentioned that having sexual intercourse with a husband to be is quite common.

Among high school (FGD 3J) and university (FGD 4J) students living with parents, in general the majority seems to have a more conservative view towards premarital sex. In both groups, young women are more conservative than young men. In both groups, young women said that having a boyfriend should be just like having a best friend and sexual activities had to be limited to holding hands and the most intense sexual behaviour is just up to kissing the cheek. But for young men in both groups, any sexual activity aside from sexual intercourse is all right. Some participants living with parents in both groups (FGD 3J and 4J) expressed how religious and traditional values should be preserved and used to control intended sexual behaviour. Thus the major difference between respondents living in boarding houses and respondents living with parents regarding premarital sexual activities is that the former are much more liberal than the latter, and young women are more conservative than young men. The following are some illustrations from the focus group discussions:

Focus Group 2J. Female university students living in boarding house

Betharia: Kissing among dating couples is normal...

Bina: Small kisses, smooching, petting (*cumbu-cumbu besar*) is quite all right.

Betty: Having sex one week before the wedding day is common...

Others spontaneously respond: Kissing, petting is all right...(Jakarta, 31/8/1994)

Focus Group 3J. Male and female high school students living with parents.

Catharina: I think when someone is going steady they should only hold hands...

Cindy: Yes...when I was in year ten, holding hands can make me very nervous. But now holding hands is all right (everybody laughs).

Moderator: why were you nervous ?

Cindy: Maybe because it was like when I was in junior high school, when people see you hold hands, then it will become a big rumour around the school. Maybe for high school students compared to junior high school students, holding hands is quite normal.

Moderator: How about you Cidar ?

Cidar: I think when someone is going steady in the early stages it starts with staring into each other's eyes and then it can develop to other things that are more free except for sexual intercourse (*sampai bebas kecuali yang satu itu*)(Jakarta, 12/7/1994).

Focus Group 4J. Male and female university students living with parents

Dede: As long as it is not against the religious laws it is all right. I think kissing is not normal, because it can arouse sexual desire. If someone does that it is against religious laws and if the person cannot control their sexual desire...When you're dating you can just talk to each other, discuss things, or go out. I think kissing is not normal because it can lead to free sex.

Dina: I think I am a bit idealistic about this issue. Others may think that being alone in dark places when dating and behaving like those in television is all right, but I think it is not right and it is wrong. Nowadays others may think as long as you do not have sexual intercourse (*ternodai*) it is all right. I think there should be a distance between a man and a woman so we can determine that we are not like other bad women (*wanita sembarangan*). That is why when someone is going steady, they should be like best friends. This is more intimate than just having the relationship for sexual pleasure.

Dinny: I agreed with Dina, I think a couple who are going steady should be like best friends, but at a certain time it is all right for them to spent time together (*duduk berduan*), kissing cheeks is all

right, on special occasions like birthday it is all right to kiss on the lips, but do not go to other parts of the body, it can be dangerous.

Dimas: I think when you're going steady you have to be romantic and not just for fulfilling your sexual desires. But this is just my opinion, even though I can behave in a different way. This is serious sister (referring to me as the moderator), if you are going steady you have to be romantic, but actually the temptation to be sexually involved is there, if you just hold hands when crossing the road that is normal...but if you have sexual intercourse, I do not think that is normal because you're going to do it anyway when you get married.

Didin: I agreed with Dimas. To show that you are caring while you are going steady is all right, but don't let sexual temptations invade you. I think our culture is very different from that of the West. In our culture, we still value traditional roles.

Dimas: The sexual desire is there, but I don't have the courage to do it.

Dito: I have experienced going steady twice when I lived in Aceh and here in Jakarta. Yes I agreed with Dimas. But I must admit that I have experienced doing those things, but I also try to handle it in a way so I still can control myself. For me doing a *pas photo* is all right. I always try to control myself, that is why I try to keep myself busy and limit my time when I want to see my girlfriend. I can talk to her on the phone but try to limit the time to see her. But I must admit that there is an urge for me to do it (have sexual intercourse), but I am still afraid. It is more difficult also because my girlfriend would also like to do it (Jakarta, 10/7/1994).

5.2 Values and attitudes towards premarital sex, premarital pregnancy and abortion

5.2.1 *Young people's values and attitudes towards premarital sex*

In the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, questions were asked on values and attitudes to premarital sex when someone is in the stages of dating, and engagement. Attitudes were asked in regard to premarital sexual experiences ranging from holding hands, hugging, cheek kissing, lip kissing to breast fondling, genital fondling, masturbation, petting and sexual intercourse. By analysing the responses, it can be observed whether attitudes toward premarital sex change if a person's relationship develops to a more serious stage, for instance from the dating stage to the engagement stage. In shifting to a more committed relationship towards marriage, is there any difference in sexual involvement? The following sections will analyse respondents' values towards premarital sex and what is regarded as appropriate premarital sexual behaviour when someone is dating and when someone is already engaged.

In the survey, in general, the respondents stated that premarital sex, whether for a girl or a boy, is never right (see Table 5.1). To the statement 'premarital sex is never right for a girl', significantly more female respondents (87 per cent) agreed than male respondents (73 per cent). More Moslem respondents (82 per cent) strongly agreed than non-Moslem respondents (73 per cent). The same condition applied to the statement 'premarital sex is never right if done by a boy'. Significantly more female respondents

(84 per cent) and Moslem respondents (81 per cent) agreed to the statement than male respondents (72 per cent) and non-Moslem respondents (68 per cent).

If a conditional situation is given in allowing premarital sex to happen then, as assumed earlier, values on premarital sex change if the relationship has developed to a more serious stage. Even though only a small percentage of respondents agree to the statement that 'premarital sex is all right under certain conditions', the percentage increases as the relationship is assumed to be getting to a more serious stage. For example, the lowest percentages agree to a girl 'engaging in premarital sex with a partner on the basis of mutual agreement'. Male respondents (9 per cent) agreed more than female respondents (2 per cent). Non-Moslems (13 per cent) agreed more than Moslem respondents (4 per cent). For a boy to be engaging in premarital sex by mutual agreement, increasing percentages are evident. Significantly more male respondents (17 per cent) agreed to the statement than female respondents (6 per cent). Non-Moslem respondents (19 per cent) also are more in agreement with the statement than Moslem respondents (4 per cent).

Table 5.1 Percentage of respondents with values toward premarital sex by age, sex, and religion, Jakarta, 1995

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
<i>Values on premarital sex for a girl</i>						
It is all right if they use contraception	16.3	18.5	21.3	13.6*	13.0	35.1**
It is all right if based on mutual agreement	5.0	7.6	9.4	2.5**	4.2	12.8**
It is all right if they love each other	19.7	21.7	27.2	14.3**	15.1	43.6**
It is all right if the parents in-law already proposed	12.7	11.5	18.7	6.8**	10.1	22.3**
It is all right if already engaged	21.3	17.2	26.4	14.6**	15.6	40.4**
Premarital sex is never right	81.7	79.0	73.2	87.1**	82.5	73.4*
It is all right if with a male prostitute	4.2	5.7	4.3	5.0	3.3	10.6**
<i>Values on premarital sex for a boy</i>						
It is all right if they use contraception	18.3	21.7	24.3	15.4*	15.8	35.1**
It is all right if based on mutual agreement	10.2	12.1	16.6	5.7**	9.0	19.1**
It is all right if they love each other	19.4	22.3	27.7	13.9**	15.6	41.5**
It is all right if the parents in-law already proposed	13.0	15.3	22.6	6.1**	10.8	26.6**
It is all right if already engaged	22.7	19.1	28.5	15.7**	17.5	40.4**
Premarital sex is never right	79.8	75.2	71.1	84.3**	80.7	68.1**
It is all right if with a prostitute	14.1	14.0	18.3	10.7*	11.1	27.7**

Note:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

If the condition of the situation is changed to: 'premarital sex by a girl or a boy is all right on the basis of love', the percentages of respondents agreeing to the statement increase, with males and non-Moslems being significantly more in agreement than females and Moslems. In Western settings the notion of love is often used to legitimate sexual expression (Rains, 1971: 16). For girls there is a strong relationship between being in love and a shift toward more permissive behaviour and standards (Ehrmann, 1960: 337). Reiss (1967: 114) concluded that 60 per cent of girls who accepted petting and 78 per cent of girls who accepted intercourse had been in love at the time.

Consistently as hypothesised, if a couple is involved in a more serious stage, that is, if a marriage has been proposed by the parents in-law or the marriage date has been fixed, the percentages increase as couples are involved in the later stage. If conditions like using contraceptives or prostitutes are applied in legitimising premarital sex, responses are as follows: if a girl or a boy is having premarital sex protected by contraception, male and non-Moslem respondents are more in agreement than female and Moslem respondents. Very few respondents agreed to the statement on having sex with a male prostitute. But the difference on the statement between non-Moslem (11 per cent) and Moslem respondents (3 per cent) is significant. In the case of a boy having premarital sex with a prostitute, non-Moslem respondents (28 per cent) and male respondents (18 per cent) are significantly more in favour than Moslem (11 per cent) and female respondents (11 per cent).

In conclusion, in regard to values on premarital sex for both sexes, it seems that as hypothesised the patterns consistently show that as the relationship becomes more involved towards marriage, approval of premarital sex rises. Female and Moslem respondents have more conservative values towards premarital sex than male and non-Moslem respondents.

5.2.2 Young people's values and attitudes towards virginity

Virginity still holds a value for one's marriage in Indonesia. The majority of respondents in this survey certainly valued virginity (Table 5.2). Interestingly the adolescent respondents place stronger value than do young adults towards virginity for both females and males. Female respondents significantly value male virginity more

highly than do male respondents. Moslems rather than non-Moslems still believed that virginity is important for both females and males.

An interesting story about a marriage breakdown assumed to be caused by the wife's status of not being virgin when married was related by Moni, a female respondent, 37 years old, married and working.

Moni brought up how valuable is virginity in one's married life. She took an example of her brother-in-law (H) who recently broke up with his wife. H came from a middle-class urban family, had lived in Jakarta ever since he was born, his parents are from North Sumatra and are Moslem. H married a school mate, they went to high school together. But his wife got a scholarship to study in Germany, she is an expert in aeroplane design and has a very prestigious job as a government employee. H works in the private sector. With a 2 years old son, H's marriage lasted only for five years. Even though many factors can contribute to the marriage breakdown, one of the reasons stated by H was having sexual difficulties because he always remembered that his wife was not a virgin when they got married.

The statement above clearly indicated how virginity is highly valued in marriage. Even though the marriage breakdown can be caused by multiple factors, the wife had a better education and job, and Western exposure might have changed her view of the role of a wife that is not compatible with H's view of a traditional wife. But the issue that H married someone who was not a virgin and H perceived it as one of the problems in his sexual relationship with her has to be taken into consideration.

Discussing the issue of virginity in the focus groups raised pros and cons. Among the high school students (FGD 3J) even though one male respondent strongly argued how valuable virginity is in marriage, others agreed that it is important, but the reason why a girl for example is not a virgin any more has to be taken into consideration. A female in this group stated that virginity cannot be noticed unless the girl willingly mentions her condition. Other female respondents commented that if a boy knows that his girlfriend is not virgin after having sexual intercourse it means that the boy must already have lots of sexual experiences as well. Among the university students living with parents (FGD 4J), even though it was not discussed explicitly, both females and males participating in the group discussion agreed that in engaging with the opposite sex, traditional and religious values have to be maintained. Holding hands, hugging, cheek kissing are the appropriate sexual intimacies that could be experienced when someone is dating; if someone is engaged in a premarital sexual relationship then the girl will be the one who experiences the most disadvantage. Among the university students living in boarding houses, the females (FGD 2J) have arguments for and against virginity, while the males (FGD 1J) also have the same arguments but stress

that it is not fair to have a double standard; some males demand a wife that is still virgin while they themselves are not virgin.

Table 5.2 Percentage of respondents' values of virginity by age, sex and religion, Jakarta, 1995

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
A girl must stay virgin until married	83.7	72.0**	76.2	83.2	83.3	66.0**
A boy must stay virgin until married	72.3	59.2**	60.4	74.6**	70.5	58.5**

Note:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

5.2.3 *Appropriateness of premarital sexual intimacy*

From the survey, it is evident that values on appropriateness in premarital sexual intimacy shift to a more intense level of sexual behaviour as the relationship becomes more committed towards marriage.

Appropriateness of premarital sexual intimacy while dating

This study shows that values on appropriateness in premarital sexual intimacy when someone is dating range from holding hands, hugging and cheek kissing (see Table 5.3). More young adults than adolescents and more non-Moslems than Moslems approve of cheek kissing. Furthermore, the percentage of respondents agreeing to more intense premarital sexual intimacy becomes smaller as the intimacy becomes more profound. For example among the female respondents, 95 per cent agreed that holding hands and hugging are appropriate behaviour when someone is dating. The percentage drops to 48 per cent when it comes to kissing on the lips and 24 per cent for breast fondling. As the premarital sexual intimacy becomes more profound for example, genital fondling, petting and intercourse, the number of respondents agreeing decreased dramatically to six per cent, 11 per cent, and two per cent respectively. Young adults, male and non-Moslem respondents seem to have more permissive values on appropriate premarital sexual intimacy when someone is dating.

Appropriateness of premarital sexual intimacy if a couple is engaged

Values on appropriateness of premarital sexual intimacy if someone is already engaged increased some what compared to when someone is only dating for lip kissing, breast fondling, genital fondling, petting and intercourse (see Table 5.4). For example,

while only six per cent of female respondents approve of genital fondling when dating, the number increased to 17 per cent when someone is already engaged. Male and non-Moslem respondents again have more permissive values on premarital sexual intimacy than female and Moslem respondents. While among male respondents agreeing to premarital sexual intercourse when dating is only nine per cent, the percentage increased to 18 per cent when someone is already engaged. Among the non-Moslem respondents, only 10 per cent agreed with engaging in premarital sexual intercourse when someone is dating and the percentage increased to 25 per cent when some one is already engaged.

Table 5.3 Percentage of respondents agreeing with perceived premarital sexual behaviour while dating, by age, sex and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Holding hands and hugging	94.2	94.9	93.2	95.4	93.4	98.8**
Kissing cheeks	73.7	83.4*	74.5	78.2	74.8	85.1*
Lips kissing	45.9	72.0**	63.4	47.9**	52.8	66.0*
Breast fondling	28.0	40.8**	41.3	23.6**	28.8	45.7**
Genital fondling with/ without clothes	11.9	25.5**	27.2	6.4**	13.4	27.7**
Petting	16.1	17.2	22.1	11.1**	14.4	25.5*
Petting with intercourse	3.6	9.6**	8.9	2.5**	4.5	9.6

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Dating in Indonesian is *pacaran*. Before going steady, usually the middle-class young people go on a date, the trends now are going to the movies, hanging around in cafes, shopping malls, eating out, or *jalan-jalan* (going out without any specific destination). The idea for the date is to be able to spend time talking to each other (*Hai*, 1996: 88-89).

Table 5.4 Percentage of respondents agreeing with perceived premarital sexual behaviour while engaged, by age, sex and religion, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable ^b	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Holding hands and hugging	96.7	94.9	96.6	95.7	95.5	98.9
Kissing cheeks	86.4	89.2	86.0	88.2	84.9	97.9**
Lips kissing	69.5	82.8**	80.4	67.5**	71.7	81.9
Breast fondling	49.3	53.5	60.0	42.1**	47.2	66.0**
Genital fondling with/without clothes	26.9	33.8	43.0	16.8**	25.0	46.8**
Petting	27.1	22.3	35.7	16.4**	22.4	40.4**
Petting with intercourse	8.9	12.1	17.9	2.9**	6.4	25.5**

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Based on the question of appropriateness of premarital sexual intimacy if someone is already engaged.

c. Engaged (*tunangan*) in Indonesian means when a couple are formally engaged and the male's parents have proposed to the female's parents. Generally, among the middle-class the engagement is formally announced at an engagement party where the couple exchange engagement rings with each partner's name engraved inside the ring. In some cases, wedding date, wedding party, wedding expenses are also discussed when the male's parents propose to the female's parents.

5.2.4 Values and attitudes towards premarital pregnancy and abortion

The girl who finds herself illegitimately pregnant is faced with a limited number of alternatives-abortion, marriage, or having an illegitimate child she may or may not keep. Because the alternatives are so few and so seemingly obvious, it is tempting to assume that pregnant girls make a choice among these alternatives, a choice which reflects certain preferences, certain values (Rains, 1971: 36).

The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey found that 71 per cent of the adolescents did not know any friend that had experienced premarital pregnancy (see Table 5.5). In contrast to this, 70 per cent of the young adults have known a friend or friends that experienced premarital pregnancy which ended in marriage. More of the male (40 per cent) and non-Moslem (38 per cent) respondents have known a friend or friends that had experienced premarital pregnancy than female (35 per cent) and Moslem (37 per cent) respondents. Ten per cent of young adults, eight per cent of female respondents and seven per cent of the non-Moslem respondents have known someone who had experienced premarital abortion.

A lower incidence of premarital pregnancy was reported for relatives of the respondents. There were almost no premarital abortions reported among relatives of the respondents. This can be explained because premarital pregnancy and premarital abortion among relatives are more of a private issue, secret in families, and the size of the population is smaller, whereas premarital pregnancy or premarital abortion among friends is generally more widespread since a number of respondents may know the same person who had the experience.

Table 5.5 Percentage of respondents knowing of premarital pregnancy among their friends and relatives by age, sex, and religion in Jakarta, 1995

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Knowledge of premarital pregnancy among friends						
Yes, she married the man and had the baby	23.3	68.2**	39.6	34.6	36.6	38.3**
Yes, but she had an abortion	5.5	9.6	5.1	8.2	6.6	7.4
No	71.2	22.3	55.3	57.1	56.8	54.3
Knowledge of premarital pregnancy among relatives						
Yes, she married the man and had the baby	24.7	46.5**	26.4	35.7*	28.5	43.6*
Yes, but she had an abortion	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.0
No	74.8	53.5	73.6	63.6	71.0	56.4

Note:

Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

Table 5.6 Per cent distribution of what a pregnant single woman should do if she cannot marry the man that made her pregnant, Jakarta, 1995

Attitudes toward premarital pregnancy	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Continue her pregnancy even though without a husband	77.6	73.9	73.6	78.9	78.1	69.1
Have an abortion	1.9	3.2	2.6	2.1	2.4	2.1
It is up to her to decide	20.5	22.9	23.8	18.9	19.6	28.7

Note: Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

The majority of respondents strongly disapprove of premarital abortion (Table 5.6). They believe a girl should continue her premarital pregnancy even in the case where the father of the baby does not want to marry her. Only a very small percentage of the respondents agreed to the idea of a premarital abortion. This percentage included those who agreed (2 per cent) on having premarital abortion and those who agreed that the decision to have a premarital abortion should be left to the mother to be. The latter implies that they agreed to premarital abortion.

5.3 Premarital sex among the middle-class Jakarta young people

From the survey, data on premarital sexual experiences showed that the majority of respondents have experienced holding hands and hugging with the opposite sex (see Table 5.7). But young adults and male respondents are more likely to have engaged in holding hands and hugging than adolescents and female respondents. Involvement in more intense premarital sexual intimacy like breast fondling, genital fondling, petting and intercourse are more experienced by the young adults and male respondents than adolescents and female respondents. Premarital sexual intercourse was more prevalent among the young adults (11 per cent), males (7 per cent), and non-Moslems (7 per cent), than adolescents (1 per cent), females (2 per cent), and Moslems (3 per cent).

Further analysis on respondents who have experienced premarital intercourse (7 per cent) shows that the majority (65 per cent) had their first premarital sex with their boyfriend or girlfriend, a friend (15 per cent), prostitute (15 per cent), 'perek' (3 per cent) or fiancée (3 per cent) (see Table 5.8). The majority of respondents had their first premarital intercourse in their house (32 per cent) or their boyfriend's or girlfriend's house (23 per cent). Some had their first premarital sex in a hotel (12 per cent). The rest had their first premarital intercourse in recreational places, boarding houses, a car or

brothel. Seventy six per cent of the respondents did not plan the event, 21 per cent of the respondents did plan their first premarital intercourse, while only three per cent did it because they were motivated by the urge to try.

Regularity of premarital intercourse concentrates in the range from four times a year to once a month (47 per cent). Other respondents have sex weekly or more frequently (26 per cent). The large 'other category (26 per cent), did not answer this question (not stated).

Table 5.7 Percentage of sexual experiences among respondents, Jakarta, 1995

	Age		Sex		Religion	
	15-19	20-24	Male	Female	Moslem	Non-Moslem
Holding hands	7.7	93.3**	83.9	80.4	81.4	84.0
Hugging	57.3	82.3**	68.6	61.8	62.4	76.6*
Intense hugging	44.6	77.8**	59.7	50.7*	52.0	67.0*
Kissing cheeks	46.0	74.1**	55.9	53.6	52.0	66.0**
Lips kissing	23.5	59.5**	41.1	29.3**	33.2	41.4
Breast fondling	18.3	44.9**	33.1	21.1**	25.4	30.9
Genital fondling with/ without clothes	10.8	29.7**	24.6	10.0**	16.0	19.1
Masturbation	9.7	27.8**	28.0	4.3**	14.8	17.0
Petting	3.9	20.9**	16.1	3.2**	8.7	10.6
Petting with intercourse	1.4	10.8**	6.8	2.1	3.5	7.4

Note: Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

Table 5.8 Respondents with sexual experience: circumstances of first premarital sex and frequency of premarital sex, Jakarta, 1995

Variables	Frequency	Per cent
Total	34	7.0
Planning of premarital intercourse		
Yes	7	20.6
No	26	76.5
Motivated by the urge to try	1	2.9
First sexual partner		
A friend	5	14.7
Girlfriend/ boyfriend	22	64.7
Fiance	1	2.9
<i>Perek</i>	1	2.9
Commercial sex worker	5	14.7
Place where first premarital sex happened		
Own house	11	32.4
Boy friend's / Girlfriend's house	5	23.5
Out of town	3	8.8
Recreational places	3	8.8
Hotel	4	11.8
Boarding house	2	5.9
Brothel	1	2.9
Premarital intercourse frequency		
Less than 4 times a year	8	23.5
Once a month	8	23.5
Once a week	5	14.7
Twice a week	2	5.9
Three times a week	1	2.9
Almost everyday	1	2.9
Other	9	26.5

Note: Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey.

5.4 Conclusion

Middle-class Jakarta young people's values and attitudes towards premarital sex seem to be becoming more liberal. Premarital sex is evident from both the survey and in-depth interviews. The data support the hypothesis that the more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more likely that there is a deeper premarital sexual involvement. Values towards premarital sex also become more liberal as the relationship moves further towards marriage. Even though it is difficult to understand the moral jeopardy for someone to engage in premarital sexual intimacy, it can be assumed that the decision to do so is drifted into after a complex phase of moral conflict, from premarital sex being behaviour that was not acceptable to behaviour that can eventually be accepted (Rains, 1971: 10, 12-13).

This chapter suggests that in regard to permissiveness towards premarital sexual values and behaviour, young adults, males and non-Moslem respondents are more permissive. The data also shows that young people living in boarding houses seem to be more liberal than young people living with parents.

In conclusion, even though middle-class Jakarta young people's values and attitudes towards premarital sex seem to be becoming more liberal, the proportion of respondents in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey who have reported that they have had premarital sexual intercourse was only 7 per cent. This is at the low end compared with other studies in Indonesia that found an incidence of premarital sex between two to 26 per cent (see Appendix Table 3.3). The incidence of premarital sex among middle-class Jakarta young people is quite low compared to some developed countries where 75 per cent or more of teenagers have experienced having sex by age 20. This figure increases to 80 per cent of teenagers in Sub-Saharan Africa compared to half of all teenagers in Latin America (Noble, 1996).

Chapter 6

Factor Modelling of Religiosity, Exposure to Media and Western Culture and Marriage Values, a Data Reduction Approach Defining Liberal and Conservative Value Complexes⁴²

...the traditional norms regarding female sexual behaviour have been challenged by western influences, including western religion, mass education, mass media, and modern family legislation. The changes are often believed to have led to a new concept of sexuality based on romantic love and increasing levels of sexual permissiveness. However, while exposure to Western cultures and religions may cause a gradual change in sexual norms and behaviour in this direction, it is necessary to interpret these changes in relation to the social context within which sexual behaviour occurs (Meekers and Ahmed, 1997: 759-760).

6.1 Introduction, evidence from qualitative findings: influences of the media and Western culture towards permissive premarital sexual activity among middle-class young people

In this chapter to define liberal and conservative attitudes, values and behaviour, I will first present qualitative findings and later findings from the survey using factor analysis. The following are results from focus-group discussions and in-depth interviews that I conducted in Jakarta and Yogyakarta. The focus-groups covered male and female high school and university students living with parents or in boarding houses while the in-depth interviews are among non-government staff specialising in family planning and HIV/AIDS issues, and a psychologist. The focus-group discussions gave a description of factors relating to mixing behaviour between the sexes that respondents think causes changes of attitudes and values towards more permissive behaviour, while the in-depth interviews gave evidence about cases of young people who seek counselling related to problems of permissive premarital behaviour.

Focus Group 1J. Male university students living in boarding house

Moderator: How do you think the media affect mixing behaviour among young people? In this case the media includes: news papers, magazines, films, televisions, radio etc.

Ato: Media can have an effect on mixing behaviour (**Andi:** the effect can be very influencing, **Azli:** its really bad..., **Azlam:** the effect can be very fast), but it always comes back to our own personal values, how susceptible the person is to the effect of media. If the person does not have strong personal values, maybe the effect can be very fast, but if the person has strong personal values then the effect can be minimum. It all depends on the person.

Azli: I think the effect is quite dramatic because many young people seeks knowledge from the media and not from their parents...while reading through the media it can have an effect for

⁴² Earlier draft of this chapter was presented at the Summer School for Social Science Research, International health, indigenous health and HIV/AIDS at the Australian Centre for International and Tropical Health and Nutrition, the University of Queensland, Brisbane on the 15-17 March 1996. Based on results from the factor analysis, a joint paper with Peter McDonald entitled 'Religion, culture and sexuality: a study of young people in higher income families in Jakarta' was presented and published in the proceedings of the IUSSP 23rd General Population Conference in Beijing on 11-17 October, 1997.

example if the person cannot handle it he can directly masturbate...for example articles about sex consultation by dr. Naek Tobing in *Pos Kota*...everyone always try to read it first, so we always fight over it.

Moderator: Any other comments ?

Andi: I think the media have a tremendous effect, I think most of us have come to an agreement about this matter. But I am more interested to discuss how the media affect teenagers...because I think we would probably have more control to filter and absorb what ever is good or bad, but the teenagers? But obviously the media have a tremendous effect, that cannot be denied...especially through the availability of various electronic media in Jakarta. In Indonesia I think the effect of media is triggering young people to be wanting to know more (**Azli:** Yes it increases curiosity). Yes people want to try it...it seems very *enak* (tempting) to read books on sex...masturbating seems very tempting...why not try it. If everyone else is doing it why cannot I do it. So if the person can handle the stimulation, it is all right so the person only reads it for his own knowledge. But if the person cannot handle it then the person can become addicted.

Anto: I cannot deny that I know about sex through the media, I think the rest of us also know about sex from the media, about masturbation and all that stuff, we did not know it from our parents or friends, but we know it from the media.

Moderator: What kind of media mostly have an effect on sex ?

Anto: I think it is different for people in different age groups. For example for us, I think the *BF* (Blue Film-X rated Films) have the most effect. And for us we know where to get it and it is very easy to get it...But for children in primary and junior high school, I think *majalah-majalah stensilan* (pornographic magazines) have the most effect because for them it is not easy to get *BF*.

Moderator: Any other comments?

Anto: I think we have come to an agreement that the effect of media in Indonesia, in this case either printed or electronic media mainly has a negative impact for young people . For those who do not have a strong religious background, every time they see the media they always look for information relating to sex. But for those with a strong religious background *Insyah Allah* (with God's blessing) hopefully it does not have any effect.

Ato: If I can add comments to this, I think the media does not only give a negative impact but sometimes it can offer positive knowledge. For example how to overcome problems relating to sex, what are the consequences, how *penyakit-penyakit kelamin* (STDs) is transmitted. So there is a positive and negative side.

Anto: But it all depends on who reads it...for example in an article about sex consultation, we want to know more about the issues that are being raised, but high school students just want to read the part about sexual intercourse.

Adi: Can I just follow up on Anto's statement about religion that can...(Andi: be as a filter)...for those who have a strong background the effect can be like this...for those with medium religious background it can be like this and for those with a weak religious background it can be like this...what do others have to say about this ?

Aii: First of all, we have to know about relationships with parents. Maybe parents think that we are behaving in the right track, but once we are outside the house we behave differently.

Anto: ...I think religious teaching cannot be separated from how parents have brought us up. Parents started to give us religious values, and parents have to also support this idea. I think we cannot be independent totally. Even though we have other influences outside the house, we still asked our parents if we have doubts about something.

Aii: But how about with parents that are very busy ? They are rarely home, and sometimes they leave to go to the office before the children go to school. They expected the children to go to school, but the children decided that they would go elsewhere (Jakarta, 7/9/1994).

The above discussion on how young people think the media has influenced mixing behaviour gives the impression that male respondents living in boarding houses in Jakarta (FGD1J) agree that the media has a negative effect especially on sex related behaviours. Even though the media can provide sex information that is useful, mostly it tends to stimulate young people's sexual drive. Some stated that religious background can be used as a counter to media influences, but others seems to be uncertain about this

matter. Relationships with parents and how parents educated children about religious teaching seem to be another aspect that can be used to balance information from the media. The same issues were also brought up by respondents in focus group 2J (female university students living in boarding house), focus group 3J (male and female high school students living with parents) and focus group 4J (male and female university students living with parents). Different opinions were provided by high school and university students living with parents about the extent to which strong religious and family values, still apparent among them, can counter the negative influences of the media.

The issue of Westernisation as a source of liberal values on mixing behaviour was brought up by focus group discussions with female university students living in a boarding house, male and female, and high school and university students living with parents. The liberal values of the young people participating in the focus group discussions in Jakarta are seen as coming from the media. Respondents living with parents emphasised how family roles, religious values and censorship of programs presented by television can overcome the negative effects of Westernisation (see focus group discussions presented in Chapter 4, Section 4.1).

The following in-depth interviews were used to trace whether liberality towards heterosexual relationships is happening. Even though the focus-group discussion was conducted among young people in Jakarta and the in-depth interviews for this chapter, in Yogyakarta, they give an idea about premarital sex and abortion among young people. Yogyakarta is supposed to have more conservative values and social control compared to Jakarta and yet premarital sex and abortion are occurring.

Case 1: Mita (counsellor in a family planning clinic, female, single, Javanese)

Iwu: What do you think about mixing behaviour among the young people in Yogyakarta ?

Mita: I think we cannot make a generalisation, because there are groups of young people who are very nice, meaning that they do not drink, and when they date they just eat out together or kiss. But there are also other groups who have been engaged with narcotics, sex, and have repeated abortions. From my observation, young people who are having premarital sexual intercourse have increased. Just for a comparison, when I started counselling in 1992, there were only one to three clients who came for counselling relating with abortion. But starting in 1993, every day, on average there were about two clients who came to the clinic for counselling relating to premarital abortion. I also have special clients who have already had an abortion but their parents did not know about this matter, they still come to see me because they cannot stop having sex. So for them I give them condoms and monitor their sexual activities. I am happy because my clients feel close to me so they always come to see me whenever they have problems. One time, my client came to see me because she was in a lot of pain, her partner wanted to have sex directly, several days after her abortion. So I tried to teach them how to say no and learn about the consequences that they have if they cannot say no. It is you who suffer a lot of pain if you cannot say no...this is what I tried to tell them. I try to make them aware also that they should prevent pregnancy. One of my clients who has experienced abortion asked me whether she can use an IUD so she can prevent being pregnant. So

I thought about the idea. Of course I agreed that an IUD is a more stable method to prevent pregnancy. But when I thought that she and her partner are not married yet, the relationship can break up anytime, they will feel more free engaging in sexual activities and her partner would benefit more from the relationship, and she will be the one who experiences the disadvantages, then I decided not to give them an IUD. I have several clients in the same situation.

Iwu: I am quite surprised, because I thought young people in Yogyakarta would not be as free in their sexual behaviour as has been experienced by your clients.

Mita: I think Yogyakarta provided opportunities for these things to happen. Because of globalisation of information related to sexual matters, there are also entertainment places that trigger sexual drive, and also because there are so many students living in boarding houses away from their parents' supervision. It can be understood that these students maybe were being closely supervised by their parents when they were living with their parents, but once they live in boarding houses away from their parents they become wild-out of control. But on the other hand it is quite strange because from studies conducted by *Sahaja*, most premarital sex intercourse happens in the parents' home. So the assumption that students who live in boarding houses are more free is not true. But anyway the ones who came for premarital abortion consultation are mostly students who live in boarding houses, away from their parents.

Iwu: Who are they usually accompanied by when they come for a consultation ?

Mita: Some came by themselves, other came with their partner and some came with their mother. It is a pity that most of the decisions to have an abortion come from the parents, and not from the clients. In this case I'm being painted into a very difficult corner, what can I say if the parents want their daughter to have an abortion ?

Iwu: Can you tell me about the procedure if someone wants to have a premarital abortion ?

Mita: Usually I ask how long have they been pregnant. Because most of them have only experienced it once they usually do not know how long they have been pregnant. I also asked them whether they have taken a pregnancy test. Sometime there are clients who are already six-seven months pregnant....this is because they do not have any knowledge about pregnancy. I usually ask a series of questions, when did you have your last menstruation ? How did you know that you are pregnant ?, who knows about your pregnancy, why haven't you told your parents yet ? And why do you want to have an abortion? Most of them did not let their parents know because they are afraid that their parents would be angry and would not consider them as their daughter any more. Some are afraid that their parents would not support their studies, or their parents would have a heart attack, or the relationship with their parents has not been working, but most of all they are afraid that their parents will be judged by the society as not respectable because of having a pregnant daughter. So I always talked about the consequences if parents have not been notified. I told them about the risk of abortion, and if complication of abortion occurred then....parents would have to be notified. But most of the university students strongly insist that they will not notify their parents whatever the consequences are.

Then I would ask who would pay for the abortion. Because some of the clients did not think that abortion is expensive. They just come to the clinic thinking that they are pregnant and want an abortion. I also asked questions whether they have tried to have an abortion by drinking some kind of traditional herbs, or pills or have tried to have an abortion by asking a traditional birth attendant to give them massage. Because some of these clients who come to see me have tried to abort their pregnancy by having a *dukun* (traditional healer) step on their stomach, but because the pregnancy was quite mature, the attempt did not succeed. And some have tried to drink some kind of medicine, and have experienced bleeding and then came running to our clinic for help. Some have tried drinking a certain kind of pill combined with beer, malaria pills combined with lemonade sodas, traditional herbs and other attempts. But some also came saying that they have not made any kind of attempts to abort their pregnancy and want an abortion done only by a doctor. I try to ask these questions and also give examples of consequences after an abortion.

I often tell my experiences dealing with married couples where the husband wants an abortion but actually the wife does not. So the wife is actually not prepared for the abortion. After the abortion, the wife felt guilty...and this guilty feeling was so strong that she experienced lots of unfinished conflict. Therefore every night she often experienced bad dreams. I always try to stress whether they are ready to face these consequences after having an abortion. Because I'm a woman too, I can feel that the guilty feeling after having an abortion is not easy to deal with. And in some cases we have to deal with it throughout our life. All right if you have an abortion then your parents know about the abortion what will you do. Of course if they do not know then you would not have

to worry, but if they found out ? And if you are still in a relationship with the father of your baby, are you still going to have sex with him after you have your abortion ? Some of my clients promise that they would try to reduce their sexual activities, but then they told me that they could not. I also tried to make them think what if you have your abortion, do you think your partner would stay with you or leave you ? So I gave them a lot of things to think about.

In some cases, the partner insisted on having the abortion. In this case I would ask him to go outside and only talked in more detail with the girl. But in most cases pregnant girls came with their parents or alone. I often suggested to parents that the pregnancy is best to be carried through. But some parents are ashamed with their relatives or extended families, or neighbours and not equipped enough to deal with the consequences of having a daughter who experienced premarital pregnancy. In this case I would let them decide, and tell them the abortion is totally your decision and we cannot help with abortions from out of marriage. Because we only deal with abortion due to family planning failures among married couples, that is why people who asked for abortion would have to be able to show us their marriage certificate. Then I would write a letter of recommendation where they can seek for help. But usually doctors will only help if the pregnancy is less than 10 weeks. If the pregnancy is more than 10 weeks then I would refer them to other agencies that can persuade them not to have an abortion. In Yogyakarta, we do not have any shelters that accommodate young girls with premarital pregnancy. But one institution (*Yayasan Sayap Ibu*), always offers to help if the pregnancy has almost come to term, so about seven or eight months and the pregnant mother has to be a resident of Yogyakarta. *Yayasan Sayap Ibu* is also located in Jakarta.

Sometimes I feel sorry for girls who are four months pregnant and have decided to continue their pregnancy but do not have a place to stay. Some of them have been thrown out of the house and have felt lots of embarrassment but they cannot go to *Yayasan Sayap Ibu* because their pregnancy is less than seven months old. We do not have any kind of shelter for them, so we often send them to a nunnery in Bantul. But it would be a problem for pregnant girls who are Moslems, because maybe they would not want to stay there. Girls who are accepted to stay with *Yayasan Sayap Ibu* would have to go through a lot of counselling and would have to notify their parents. But I felt so sorry for girls who have gone through counselling and have decided that they want to keep the baby but do not have any place to stay because their pregnancy is less than seven months.

Iwu: So *Yayasan Sayap Ibu* also provides counselling ?

Mita: Yes they provide counselling, I usually recommend my clients who are more mature and already working to go for counselling there. In this case they are easier to handle, but sometimes an engaged couple comes in with premarital pregnancy and does not know yet when they will get married, then it will be a problem. This often happens, in a long-term relationship, usually premarital sex occurred. Clients that come to see me often have sex after being in a relationship for a year or two. These couples, have sex three to four times a week. So I always ask my clients how often do they have sex, do they use contraception when they have sex ? But usually they do not use contraception, the main reason for not using contraception is because they feel embarrassed to buy it, they do not know where to buy it and most of all they do not know how to use it. For example they know that you have to take pills, but do not know how the pills function.

Clients who came for abortion also often have a misperception about abortion. They often said 'I want to have an abortion, can I have a pill so the abortion will happen'. Then I would ask them do you mean family planning pills ? 'Yes I thought family planning pills can be used to have an abortion'. So there are so many misperceptions about abortion. They do not understand that abortion is a complicated procedure that has to be conducted by a medical doctor. They often think that when you want to have an abortion then all you need to do is take a pill, then go home. Some of my clients took Gynaecosid pills, this kind of pill are used when your menstruation is delayed, so these pills can trigger the menstruation. So they think Gynaecosid pills can also be used to stop pregnancy. Or some of my clients take traditional pills, *pill tuntas* (*tuntas* means finished), *pill peluntur* (*peluntur* means to cause to fade) (DI. Yogyakarta, 2/2/1995, C87fy).

From Mita's clients it seems that there is an increase in the incidence of premarital pregnancies and abortions. Repeated abortions and unsafe abortion attempts are also evident. The need for family planning services for unmarried couples was also a

problem and young people's knowledge on pregnancy, abortion and family planning is minimal.

Liberality towards premarital sexuality is also evident among young people in Yogyakarta. The same description was given by a psychologist (Tari, female, Javanese, case no. y89fy, Yogyakarta, 15/2,1995) whom I also interviewed. Tari mentioned that besides liberality towards sexuality, marriage under religious law without any formal marriage registration (*kawin siri*) is increasingly happening among university students especially among students that go to religious universities.⁴³ Tari sees these marriages as a form of legalisation of premarital sexuality. These couples still study, live together and received allowances from their parents, some even have children. But usually these marriages only last while they are still students. In some cases their parents do not know that they are married. Tari also observed that students living in boarding houses are becoming more and more liberal because they have nobody to control them. From Tari's observation free sex (*sex bebas*) is becoming a part of the culture among both university and high school students. Girls who live away from their parents sometimes spend a night in their boyfriend's boarding room. Of course, the results of the focus-group discussions and these in-depth interviews cannot be generalised but at least it can be concluded that the phenomenon of liberality towards sex is quite common and even becoming a part of the youth culture. In the next sections, religion, mass-media and marriage values factors that were collected through my survey are further analysed with premarital sexual attitudes and behaviour to see which factors are strong predictors of liberality towards premarital sex.

6.2 Derivation of factors: religion, mass-media and marriage values

As described in chapter 3, factor analysis has been used in this thesis as a data reduction method to select a number of composite variables from a variety of variables that can be grouped into the three categories of religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage values. Each factor derived from the analysis is scaled on

⁴³ *Kawin* is another word for *nikah* (marriage) and *siri* is originated from an Arabic word meaning a secret or to hide. In other parts of Indonesia the term *kawin bawah tangan* is often used for *kawin siri*. According to Islamic law, *nikah* (marriage) originated from an Arabic word meaning to gather or to unite. *Nikah* is the only legal institution for husbands and wives to engage in sexual relationships and to have children (Abdul Aziz, 1997: 1329). *Nikah* is legal by Islamic standard if there is a man and a woman, a guardian, two witnesses, and a statement of affirmation of *nikah* (Daly, 1988: 74). Thus *kawin siri* is a legal religious marriage, even though by the state law it is not regarded as a legal.

a conservative to liberal dimension. Factors derived from these three categories are further analysed by crosstabulation with demographic variables such as age, sex, religion, types of school, parents' religion, parents' education, parents' jobs, and having experienced living in other provinces or abroad. The results demonstrate whether the respondents are more liberal or conservative in respect of the dimension measured by the factor. Another important aspect of this analysis is to test what factors are good predictors of liberal-conservative values by considering their expected relationship to the demographic variables.

In the next stage, the three factor dimensions are analysed in relation to attitudes towards sexual behaviour perceived as acceptable when a couple is dating, attitudes towards sexual behaviour perceived as acceptable when a couple is already engaged, and personal sexual behaviour with the opposite sex. These sexual attitudes and personal sexual behaviour are then incorporated into three indices of sexual behaviour. In the final stage, multivariate analysis is used to see which of the demographic variables and factors can best explain respondents' sexual attitudes and behaviour.

Variables selected in the *religious dimension* are: frequency of missing prayers due to work schedule or studying, frequency of listening to religious preaching at school or faculty, frequency of listening to religious preaching at the mosque or church, frequency of listening to religious preaching over the radio, frequency of listening to religious preaching elsewhere, frequency of reading religious materials or religious books and how important is religion in one's life.

In the *exposure to media and Western culture dimension*, the variables used focus on what kind of radio programs respondents prefer to listen to : Indonesian popular music, Western popular music, religious songs, religious preaching, news, and reports on science. Variables for preferred television programs included: programs on Indonesian sports, programs on Western sports, programs on Indonesian popular music, programs on Western popular music, programs on religious songs, programs on religious preaching, Indonesian news programs, English news programs, programs on scientific reports, and programs on health and reproductive health. Other variables included in this dimension are the types of movies most frequently watched by the following categories: Indonesian films or Western films. Frequencies of going to discotheques is also included. Watching Western movies and going to discotheques are assumed to have Western value influences that affect respondents.

Additional questions on usefulness of the media in providing knowledge on religion, entertainment, national political conditions, knowledge about the nation, knowledge about other countries, knowledge on health, knowledge on reproductive health-sexuality, and knowledge on family planning were also included.

In the *marriage values dimension* the variables selected are levels of agreement with statements such as: if a woman is already married, then she should not work outside the family circle; a husband has the right to stop his wife from working; education levels of the husband and wife should be equal; the husband is the head of the household who has the power; as the head of the household, the husband has power like a king; family income should totally come from the husband; husband and wife have the same power in family decisions; marriage can give economic security; marriage can bring lots of responsibility, in a successful marriage each couple can actualise themselves; marriage as an institution is not important; marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot actualise themselves.

6.3 Results of the factor analysis

6.3.1 *Factors dimension for religiosity*

Two factors were produced by the religiosity dimension. The first, labelled *Obligation to Religious Performance* combines the following variables: listening to religious preaching at places of worship, leaving obligation to prayers, importance of religion in one's life and listening to religious preaching in school or faculty.⁴⁴ The second factor identified as *Voluntary Religious Performance* is a combination of listening to religious preaching elsewhere, listening to religious preaching over the radio and reading religious materials or books. The percentage of variance accounted for by the two mentioned factors is 43.2 per cent, the first factor accounting for 28.1 per cent of the total variance and the second factor accounting for 15.1 per cent (see Table 6.1).

6.3.2 *Factors dimension of exposure to media and Western culture*

For this dimension, nine factors were produced: the first factor *Media Influence on Broader Knowledge* describes variables relating to foreign political news, internal political news, knowledge about Indonesia, and knowledge of foreign countries. The

⁴⁴ There are only 18.9 per cent of non-Moslem respondents. The question on ever experienced leaving obligation to prayers have to be analyse carefully because with non-Moslem these obligation is not as strict as it is with Moslem.

next factor is a combination of variables that produced the factor *Exposure to Religious Preachings and Songs on Television and Radio* including watching popular religious music on TV, listening to popular religious music on the radio, watching religious preaching on television, listening to religious preaching over the radio. The third factor labelled *Exposure to Western Music and Movies* consists of: watching Western popular music on television, listening to Western popular music on the radio, and watching Western movies. *Media Influence on Reproductive Health Knowledge*, which is the fourth factor, is a combination of media influence on knowledge about family planning, health and sex. *Exposure to Indonesian Popular Music on Television and Radio* constitutes listening to Indonesian popular music on radio and television. The sixth factor *Exposure to Radio Program News and Popular Science Reports* encompasses the variables: listening to news on the radio, watching Indonesian news on television, and listening to news or programs about science on the radio. *Exposure to Science and Health Programs on Television* consists of a combination of variables on watching science and health programs on television. The factor *Exposure to Sports Activities* constitutes variables on watching Indonesian and foreign sport programs on television. Finally, *Exposure to Western Influences* consists of ever experienced going to a discotheque and watching English news programs on television. The total variance accounted for by the nine factors of this model is 64.2 per cent. The first factor accounts for 14.7 per cent and the ninth factor accounted for only 3.8 per cent of the total variance (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.1 Factor matrix of religiosity dimension, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	Factor Loading ^b		Communality
	Factor 1	Factor 2	
Listening to religious preaching at the mosque	0.67	-	0.46
Ever leaves obligation prayers	0.66	-	0.43
Important of religion for one's life	0.53	-	0.27
Listening to religious preaching at school or university	0.52	-	0.31
Listening to religious preaching elsewhere	-	0.76	0.58
Listening to religious preaching on the radio	-	0.70	0.49
Read religious book	-	0.53	0.46
Eigenvalue	1.97	1.06	4.32
Percentage of variance	28.10	15.10	43.20

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; analysis of principal components with varimax rotation and the missing values are substituted with mean scores so all cases can be included in the analysis.

b. Factor loading for religious factors.

Factor 1 Obligation to religious performance

Factor 2 Voluntary religious performance

Table 6.2 Factor matrix of exposure to media and Western culture dimension, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	Factor Loading ^b									Communality
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
Media influence on foreign politics	0.85	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.74
Media influence on internal politics	0.82	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.70
Media influence on knowledge about Indonesia	0.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.66
Media influence on knowledge about foreign countries	0.74	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.64
Watching religious popular music on television	-	0.79	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.68
Listening to religious popular music on the radio	-	0.77	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.66
Watching religious preaching on television	-	0.73	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.60
Listening to religious preaching on the radio	-	0.72	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.61
Watching Western popular music on television	-	-	0.82	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.73
Listening to Western popular music on the radio	-	-	0.80	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.67
Watching Western films	-	-	0.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.49
Influence of media on entertainment knowledge	-	-	0.45	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.45
Influence of the media on family planning knowledge	-	-	-	0.74	-	-	-	-	-	0.59
Influence of the media on health knowledge	-	-	-	0.71	-	-	-	-	-	0.67
Influence of the media on sex knowledge	-	-	-	0.72	-	-	-	-	-	0.64
Listening to Indonesian popular music on the radio	-	-	-	-	0.88	-	-	-	-	0.81
Watching Indonesian popular music on television	-	-	-	-	0.88	-	-	-	-	0.81
Listening to the news on the radio	-	-	-	-	-	0.74	-	-	-	0.63
Watching the news on television	-	-	-	-	-	-0.64	-	-	-	0.48
Listening to news or program about science on the radio	-	-	-	-	-	0.53	-	-	-	0.62
Watching science programs on television	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.76	-	-	0.65
Watching health programs on television	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.62	-	-	0.56
Watching Indonesian sports programs on television	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-0.85	-	0.80
Watching foreign sports programs on television	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.83	-	0.78
Going to discotheque	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.68	0.54
Watching English news programs on television	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.56	0.53
Influence of media on religious knowledge	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.51	0.53
Eigenvalue	3.96	2.82	2.28	2.15	1.46	1.30	1.20	1.11	1.01	6.42
Percentage of variance	14.70	10.50	8.50	8.00	5.40	4.80	4.50	4.10	3.80	64.20

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; analysis of principal components with varimax rotation and the missing values are substituted with mean scores so all cases can be included in the analysis.

b. Factor loading for exposure to media and Western culture factors

1. Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge
2. Factor 2 Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio
3. Factor 3 Exposure to Western music and movies
4. Factor 4 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge
5. Factor 5 Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio
6. Factor 6 Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports
7. Factor 7 Exposure to science and health programs on television
8. Factor 8 Exposure to sport activities programs
9. Factor 9 Exposure to Western influences

6.3.3 Factors dimension of marriage values

For this model four factors were produced, based on the respondents' values as reported by their agreement with a set of statements. The first factor labelled *Traditional Viewpoint on Marriage* is a combination of variables such as: 'after marriage a woman should not work any more', 'a husband has the right to stop his wife from working', 'the husband should provide the economic support for the family', and 'the husband is the head of the household therefore he has power like a king'. The second factor named *Importance of Marriage* constitutes variables such as 'marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot develop themselves' and 'marriage as an institution is not important'. The factor *Power-Authority in Marriage* is a combination of the following variables: 'education levels of the husband and wife should be equal', and 'as the head of the household husband has power over his family'. The final factor describes how

husband and wife should have the same influence on the family decision-making process, and how in a successful marriage each partner must have the same opportunity to develop themselves. This factor is called *Status Equality Between Husband and Wife in Marriage*. The percentage of variance accounted for this model is 54.2 per cent. The first factor accounts for 17.0 per cent of the total variance and the last factor 10.7 per cent (see Table 6.3).

In summary, the factor analysis has reduced 42 variables down to 15 factors.

Table 6.3 Factor matrix of marriage values dimension, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	Factor Loadings				Communality
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	
Married woman cannot work	0.65	-	-	-	0.56
Husband has the power to stop his wife from working	0.59	-	-	-	0.50
Income of the family must come from the husband	0.59	-	-	-	0.35
Husband has power like a king	0.50	-	-	-	0.56
Marriage as an institution is not important	-	0.76	-	-	0.63
Marriage should be ended if each partner cannot develop themselves	-	0.73	-	-	0.58
Husband and wife must have the same level of education	-	-	0.66	-	0.47
Husband has power over his family	-	-	-0.55	-	0.53
Husband and wife have the same power over family decisions	-	-	-	0.76	0.60
In a successful marriage, each partner can develop themselves	-	-	-	0.58	0.61
Eigenvalue	1.70	1.41	1.24	1.06	5.42
Percentage of variance	17.00	14.10	12.40	10.70	54.20

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; analysis of principal components with varimax rotation and the missing values are substituted with mean scores so all cases can be included in the analysis.

b. Factor loading for marriage values factors

Factor 1 Traditional view on marriage

Factor 2 Importance of marriage

Factor 3 Power-authority in marriage

Factor 4 Equality status between husband and wife

6.4 Relationship of factors to respondent characteristics

In the next stage of the analysis, the factor scores have been analysed according to respondent characteristics such as type of school attended, sex, age group, religion, experience of living in other provinces or abroad and parental characteristics such as religion, education and work status. To see whether there is a difference between the

values of two independent means, the test of mean (T test) was employed. If there were more than two groups of means, then the F test was used (Norusis, 1988). By using the T test or the F test, one can differentiate whether respondents having certain characteristics are more conservative or liberal in relation to the dimension measured by the factor. The factors are scaled such that the higher the factor score, the more liberal is the respondent.

6.4.1 Relationship of religiosity factors to respondent characteristics

From the religiosity factors, it can be concluded that in respect to *Obligation to religious performance*, respondents who attended public high school and/ or religious high school were more conservative than respondents who were at university. This corresponds with the results for age groups, whereby younger respondents (15-19 years old) are more conservative than older respondents (20-24 years old). Moslem respondents were more liberal in this aspect. This is understandable as obligations for religious performance are quite demanding for Muslims (eg. people have to pray five times a day). Respondents whose fathers have a bachelor's degree or university background are more liberal than those with a lower educational attainment. The difference by the type of school attended, age group, religious background and father's educational background are statistically significant at less than the one per cent level. Even though not statistically significant, it seems that respondents who have experienced living aboard for more than 3 months are also more liberal. Surprisingly, men were more conservative than women, even though the difference is not statistically significant. In this regard, parental work status and experience of living in other provinces are not good predictors of liberal-conservative attitudes. It is quite hard to predict whether respondents who have experienced living in other provinces will be more conservative or liberal, as every province has a variety of values (see Table 6.4).

Interestingly the results for the *Voluntary religious performance* factor measured against sex and religious beliefs are in the exact opposite direction to the factors of obligation to religious performance. In this case, females were more conservative than males, and non-Moslems more conservative than Moslems (statistically significant at one per cent level). As, expected high school students were more conservative than university students, but surprisingly respondents attending religious high schools were more liberal than respondents attending public high schools (see Table 6.4).

6.4.2 Relationship of exposure to media and Western culture factors to respondent characteristics

For the first factor, the *Media influence on broader knowledge*, high school students, males, non-Moslems (significant at five per cent level) and respondents who have lived abroad are more liberal. The same condition also applies with respect to the second factor *Listening to religious preaching and song on television and the radio*, except that in this case females are more liberal than males. Quite surprisingly high school students (significant at five per cent level) are more liberal with respect to *Western music and movies* than university students, while males are generally more conservative than females (significant at less than one per cent level). Regarding the factor *Exposure to Western influences*, which consists of going out to discotheques and listening to English news program, high school students (significant at less than one per cent level), males, non-Moslems (significant at less than one per cent level), and those who have experienced living abroad (significant at less than one per cent level) are more liberal. Looking at the factor of the *Media influence on reproductive health knowledge*, it is striking to realise that females are more liberal than male respondents (significant at less than one per cent level) (see Table 6.4).

6.4.3 Relationship of marriage values factors to respondent characteristics

Factors on marriage values, which are a good predictor of liberal-conservative attitudes, are: *Traditional views on marriage*, *Power-authority in marriage*, and *Equality between husband and wife*. The *Importance of marriage* factor is not a strong predictor compared to the three factors previously mentioned. High school respondents (significant at less than five per cent level), males (significant at less than one per cent level), Moslems (significant at less than five per cent level) and respondents that never lived abroad were more conservative in regard to *Traditional values on marriage*. This is understandable as traditional views on marriage consist of values on how men are perceived as the sole authority in marital relationships with respect to economic matters, power, and the important decision on whether a wife may work outside the home. The same pattern also emerged for *Equality status between husband and wife*, except that in this case non-Moslem respondents are more conservative than Moslem respondents. With respect to *Power-authority in marriage*, high school students (significant at less than one per cent level), females (significant at less than five per cent level), Moslems,

and respondents who never experienced living abroad were more conservative (see Table 6.4).

6.5 Relationship of factors to sexual behaviour

6.5.1 Religious factors by ever experienced sexual behaviour

As expected the religiosity factors are strong predictors of sexual behaviour. *Obligation to religious performance* is statistically significant at less than one per cent level for all forms of sexual behaviour ranging from holding hands to petting, and significant at the one per cent level for petting with intercourse. This implies that respondents who have experienced sexual behaviour with the opposite sex are less religious than respondents who have not. The same pattern also applies to *Voluntary religious performance*, where respondents who have engaged in sexual behaviour are more liberal than respondents who have not (see Table 6.5).

6.5.2 Exposure to media and Western culture factors by ever experienced sexual behaviour

Factors of the exposure to media and Western culture that seem to be good predictors for conservative-liberal behaviour are: *Exposure to religious preaching and songs on television and radio*, *Exposure to Western music and films*, *Media influence on reproductive health knowledge*, *Exposure to Indonesian popular music in television and radio*, *Exposure to sport activities programs*, and *Exposure to Western influences*. The other three factors: *Media influence on broader knowledge*, *Exposure to radio programs on news and general knowledge*, and *Exposure to science and health programs on television* do not appear to be very good predictors of the liberal-conservative dimension. Consistent with the religiosity factors, the six factors of the exposure to media and Western culture factors mentioned previously correspond with the idea that respondents who have experienced various kinds of sexual behaviour with the opposite sex are more liberal (see Table 6.5).

6.5.3 Marriage value factors by ever experienced sexual behaviour

Marriage value factors are not very good predictors in categorising respondents as liberal-conservative with respect to sexual behaviour compared to religiosity and media -Western exposure factors. From the four marriage value factors, only the *Power-*

authority in marriage factor is quite strong, whilst the other factors, *Traditional view on marriage*, *Importance of marriage*, *Status equality between husband and wife* are not strong. However, these three factors are still quite strong for predicting the most intense sexual behaviour (petting with sexual intercourse). Again in accordance with the religiosity and media-Western exposure factors, respondents who expressed conservative opinions towards marriage values tended to have less experience of premarital sexual behaviour than those respondents who expressed liberal attitudes (see Table 6.5).

Table 6.4 Mean values of factor scores of religious factors, exposure to media and Western culture factors and marriage values factors by respondent characteristics, Jakarta, 1995^a

	Religious factors (b)		Exposure to media and Western culture factors (c)									Marriage values factor (d)				
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8	Factor 9	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	
	Type of school															
Public high school	-.07**	-.07	-.08*	-.05**	-.08**	-.09	-.16	-.03**	.03	.04	-.32**	-.07	-.14	-.15**	.01	
Islamic high school	-.29	.01	.11	.02	.32	.02	.06	.15	-.25	-.25	-.11	.03	.12	-.15	.11	
Protestant high school	-.62	.14	-.23	-.51	.22	.21	.28	-.51	-.01	.19	.13	-.14	.22	.05	-.24	
University	.44	.07	.13	.24	-.12	.02	.06	.16	.07	-.01	.38	.12	.08	.22	.02	
High school vs university																
High school	-.22**	-.04	-.07*	-.12**	.06	-.01	-.03	-.08*	-.31	.01	-.19	-.06*	.04	-.11**	-.01	
University	.44	.07	.13	.24	-.12	.02	.06	.16	.07	-.01	.38	.13	.08	.22	.02	
Sex																
Male	-.06	.03	-.009	.01	-.16**	.13**	.13**	.05	.05	.35	.07	-.24**	.03	.13*	-.20**	
Female	.06	-.02	.001	-.01	.14	-.18	-.12	-.04	-.04	-.30	-.06	.20	-.02	-.11	.18	
Age																
15-19 years old	-.18**	-.04	-.03	-.12**	.08**	-.004	-.04	-.07*	-.04	.02	-.19**	-.06*	.04	-.11**	.005	
20-14 years old	.41	.09	.08	.28	-.18	.01	.09	.15	.08	-.04	.45	.13	-.09	.26	-.01	
Religion of respondent																
Moslem	.09**	-.05*	.03	.02	-.006	-.01	-.06**	.05*	-.01	-.03	-.09**	-.05*	-.03	-.006	.03	
Non-Moslem	-.44	.23	-.15	-.10	.02	.07	.27	-.24	.04	.16	.41	.22	.15	.001	-.14	
Father's religion																
Moslem	.10**	-.04*	.02	.02	-.01	-.02	-.04	.05*	-.003	-.05*	-.09**	-.05*	-.03	.002	.03	
Non-Moslem	-.45	.21	-.12	-.06	.05	.07	.18	-.21	-.001	.21	.36	.22	.12	-.02	-.11	
Mother's religion																
Moslem	.10**	-.05*	.03	.02	-.001	-.02	-.05*	.06**	-.01	-.03	-.07**	-.04*	-.0005	.004	.03	
Non-Moslem	-.49	.22	-.16	-.13	.003	.09	.28	-.30	.04	.16	.33	.21	.002	-.02	-.15	
Father's education																
Bachelor/university	.07**	.11**	.005	.14*	.03	-.06	.06*	.06*	.04	-.03	.09**	.05	.01	.07	-.01	
Non-university	-.17	-.21	.05	-.27	-.11	.08	-.16	-.13	-.06	.02	-.20	-.03	-.04	-.08	.02	
Mother's education																
Bachelor/university	.10	.07	.03	.17	.06	-.10	.04	.14*	-.004	-.05	.24**	.13	.08	.14*	.03	
Non-university	-.05	-.05	-.01	-.08	-.02	.03	-.03	-.06	.02	.02	-.11	-.03	-.06	-.06	-.01	
Father's working status																
Working	-.02	.01	-.02	-.003	.005	.02	-.001	.005	-.04*	-.04	-.04*	-.03	.05**	-.02	.03*	
Not working	.26	-.02	.03	-.08	-.01	-.05	.02	.06	.38	.29	.36	.05	-.54	.12	-.38	

Table 6.4 continued

Mother's working status														
Working	.07	.002	.05	.04	.03	-.02	.005	-.02	-.04	.08	.14*	.04	.0001	.02
Not working	-.03	-.01	-.02	.01	-.04	.01	-.02	.01	.01	-.04	-.07	-.03	-.0004	.01
Ever experienced living in other province since 10 years of age for at least 3 months														
Yes	-.12	.15	-.01	.01	.12	-.08	-.09	.14	.18	.30**	-.06	.09	.06	.17
No	.03	-.02	.001	.005	-.02	.02	.01	-.02	-.02	-.05	.01	-.02	-.007	-.03
Ever experienced living in other country since 10 years of age for at least 3 months														
Yes	.21	.44*	.01	.02	.31	.14	-.11	-.04	.08	.67**	.28	.02	.14	.17
No	-.01	-.01	-.01	-.006	-.03	.004	.002	.002	-.001	-.03	-.004	.005	.007	.01

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on T test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent level, * significant difference at less than five per cent level.

b. Religious factors

- Factor 1 Obligation to religious performance
- Factor 2 Voluntary religious performance

c. Exposure to media and Western culture factors

- Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge
- Factor 2 Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio
- Factor 3 Exposure to Western music and movies
- Factor 4 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge
- Factor 5 Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio
- Factor 6 Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports
- Factor 7 Exposure to health and science programs on television
- Factor 8 Exposure to sport activities programs
- Factor 9 Exposure to Western influences

d. Marriage values factors

- Factor 1 Traditional view on marriage
- Factor 2 Importance of marriage
- Factor 3 Power-authority in marriage
- Factor 4 Equality status between husband and wife

Table 6.5 Mean values of factor scores of religious factors, exposure to media and Western culture factors and marriage values factor scores by ever experienced premarital behaviour, Jakarta, 1995 ^a

Variable	Exposure to media and Western culture factors (c)										Marriage values factors (d)				
	Religious factors (b)		Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5	Factor 6	Factor 7	Factor 8	Factor 9	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
	Factor 1	Factor 2													
Holding hands															
Yes	.06 **	.04 *	-.003	.05 *	.08 **	.05 **	.01	-.001	-.001	.03	.08 **	.03	-.02	.03	.02
No	-.30	-.20	.01	-.23	-.36	-.24	-.04	.004	.006	-.13	-.37	-.13	.09	-.15	-.11
Hugging															
Yes	.13 **	.05	-.002	.06	.17 **	.01	.08 **	-.01	-.03	.06	.21 **	.05	.02	.09 *	.02
No	-.24	-.10	.003	-.11	-.32	-.03	-.15	.02	.06	-.11	-.39	-.10	-.03	-.17	-.04
Intense hugging															
Yes	.15 **	.06	.008	.08 *	.17 **	.05	.13 **	.03	-.02	.08	.30 **	.08 *	.06	.12 **	-.01
No	-.18	-.07	-.01	-.10	-.20	-.06	-.16	-.03	.03	-.09	-.37	-.10	-.07	-.14	.02
Cheek kissing															
Yes	.13 **	.06	-.01	.06	.17 **	.05	.10 **	.01	-.06	.04	.29 **	.09 *	.01	.09 **	.01
No	-.15	-.07	.02	-.08	-.20	-.06	-.12	-.01	.07	-.05	-.31	-.11	-.01	-.12	-.01
Lips kissing															
Yes	.25 **	.16 *	-.03	.17 **	.19 **	.07	.19 **	-.04	-.09	.01	.43 **	-.03	.003	.27 **	.003
No	-.13	-.08	.01	-.09	-.10	-.04	-.10	.02	.04	-.01	-.23	.02	-.001	-.14	-.002
Breast fondling															
Yes	.24 **	.13	-.05	.13	.22 **	.03	.18 **	-.005	-.11	.19 **	.44 **	-.01	-.06	.36 **	-.15 *
No	-.08	-.05	.02	-.05	-.08	-.01	-.06	.002	.04	-.07	-.16	.004	.02	-.13	.05
Genital fondling															
Yes	.40 **	.21 *	-.08	.21 *	.17	.01	.15	-.08	-.11	.18	.45 **	-.02	-.04	.45 **	-.11
No	-.08	-.04	.01	-.04	-.03	-.002	-.03	.01	.02	-.04	-.09	.005	.008	-.09	.02
Masturbation															
Yes	.30 **	.11	.01	.22 *	.04	-.05	.07	-.07	-.16	.21 *	.47 **	.06	-.10	.42 **	-.04
No	-.05	-.02	-.002	-.04	-.01	.01	-.01	.01	.03	-.04	-.08	-.01	.02	-.07	.01
Petting															
Yes	.69 **	.21	-.09	.31 *	-.02	-.15	.04	.08	-.04	.13	.63 **	-.01	.21	.38 *	-.10
No	-.07	-.02	.01	-.03	.002	.01	-.004	-.01	.004	-.01	-.06	.001	-.02	-.04	.01

Table 6.5 continued

Petting with intercourse																				
Yes	.56*	.16	-.02	.24	-.06	-.26	.01	-.09	.10	.16	.95**	.16	.50*	.47*	.22					
No	-.02	-.01	.001	-.01	.002	.01	-.0005	.004	-.005	-.007	.04	-.02	-.02	-.02	-.01					

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on T test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent level, * significant difference at less than five per cent level.

b. Religious factors

Factor 1 Obligation to religious performance

Factor 2 Voluntary religious performance

c. Exposure to media and Western culture factors

Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge

Factor 2 Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio

Factor 3 Exposure to Western music and movies

Factor 4 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge

Factor 5 Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio

Factor 6 Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports

Factor 7 Exposure to health and science programs on television

Factor 8 Exposure to sport activities programs

Factor 9 Exposure to Western influences

d. Marriage values factors

Factor 1 Traditional view on marriage

Factor 2 Importance of marriage

Factor 3 Power-authority in marriage

Factor 4 Equality status between husband and wife

6.6 Sexual behaviour indices

The results of the bivariate analysis of the 15 factors and the three sexual behaviour indices are presented in Table 6.6. *Obligation and voluntary religious performance* are good predictors for all three indices. Respondents who have a low index score are more conservative than respondents with a higher score. This means that respondents who regard more intense sexual behaviour (for example breast fondling, genital fondling, petting and sexual intercourse) between dating couples or engaged couples as being normal, and respondents who are actually engaged in more intense sexual behaviour, are more liberal. In contrast *Voluntary religious performance* is not strongly related to the respondents' personal sexual behaviour but a good predictor of the two sexual attitudes indices, mainly attitude to premarital sexual behaviour when engaged. Hence, the religiosity dimension is clearly an important determinant of sexual attitudes and behaviour.

Based on the analysis of the exposure to media and Western culture factors and the three sexual behaviour indices, factors that are good predictors are *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to health and science programs on television* and *Exposure to radio program news and popular science*. On the other hand *Exposure to Western influences* is only a good predictor for personal sexual behaviour, but not for the two sexual attitudes indices.

With the marriage value factors, the only factor that emerges as a strong predictor for all three sexual indices is *Power-authority in marriage* (see Table 6.6). Thus, those with more liberal sexual behaviour or attitudes are less likely to see the husband in a position of power over the wife and are more likely to believe in greater equity between husband and wife. The other three factors, *Traditional view on marriage*, *Importance of marriage*, *Status equity between husband and wife* were not good predictors for any of the three sexual behaviour indices.

Table 6.6 Mean values of factor scores of religious factors, exposure to media and Western culture factors and marriage values factors by index score of ever experienced premarital sexual behaviour, perceived premarital sexual behaviours while dating and engaged, Jakarta, 1995a

Variable	Religious Factors (b)									Exposure to media and Western culture Factors (c)									Marriage Values Factors (d)			
	Factor1	Factor2	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor5	Factor6	Factor7	Factor8	Factor9	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4			
Index score of experience of premarital sexual behaviours																						
Low	-.27**	-.06	-.11	-.002	-.18**	-.002	-.01	-.13	-.29**	-.08	-.15**	-.11	-.002	-.18**	-.11	-.002	-.18**	-.003				
Medium	.02	.01	.03	.06	.03	.09	.02	.05	.13	.06	.01	.03	.06	.03	.03	.06	.03	.09				
High	.30	.10	.08	-.02	.33	-.12	.01	.14	.13	-.03	.23	.08	-.02	.32	.08	-.02	.32	-.12				
Index score of attitude to premarital sexual behaviours while dating																						
Low	-.39**	-.28	-.26*	-.17	-.07**	-.10	.13	-.27**	-.70**	-.15	-.13	-.26*	-.17	-.07**	-.26*	-.17*	-.07**	-.10				
Medium	.11	.05	.06	.02	-.07	.14	.05	.02	.18	.10	-.07	.06	.02	-.07	.06	.02	-.07	.14				
High	.17	.10	.04	.14	.24	-.07	-.11	.15	.16	-.01	.11	.04	.14	.24	.04	.14	.24	-.06				
Index score of attitude to premarital sexual behaviours when engaged																						
Low	-.24*	-.30**	-.17	-.12	-.12**	.04	.07	-.23*	-.49**	-.10	.03	-.17	-.12	-.12**	-.17	-.12	-.12**	.04				
Medium	.10	.12	.07	.04	-.09	.03	.08	.06	.10	.09	-.08	.07	.04	-.09	.07	.04	-.09	.03				
High	.08	.06	-.04	.05	.26	-.07	-.10	.10	.19	-.03	.13	-.04	.05	.26	-.04	.05	.26	-.07				

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on F test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent level, * significant difference at five per cent level,

b. Religious factors

Factor 1 Obligation to religious performance

Factor 2 Voluntary religious performance

c. Exposure to media and Western culture factors

Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge

Factor 2 Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio

Factor 3 Exposure to Western music and movies

Factor 4 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge

Factor 5 Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio

Factor 6 Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports

Factor 7 Exposure to health and science programs on television

Factor 8 Exposure to sport activities programs

Factor 9 Exposure to Western influences

d. Marriage values factors

Factor 1 Traditional view on marriage

Factor 2 Importance of marriage

Factor 3 Power-authority in marriage

Factor 4 Equality status between husband and wife

6.7 Multivariate analysis

Several multivariate stepwise regression models were examined and the best models based on the criteria of theory, variance explained and being parsimonious are shown in Table 6.7. The results show that relating to sexual behaviour, in this case ever experienced personal sexual behaviour, females have a lower level of experience than males. Respondents attending university and Christian high schools have a higher level of personal sexual experience. Factors that emerged as significant explanatory variables were: *Power-authority within marriage*, *Obligation to religious performance*, *Exposure to Western movies and music*, and *Exposure to Western influences*. Regarding all of these four factors, those with higher scores (more liberal) had higher levels of sexual experience.

With the two sexual attitude indices, again sex of the respondent remains significant as does attendance at a Christian high school. But with the sexual attitude index in regard to engaged couples, it seems that female respondents and respondents attending government high schools are associated with more conservative attitudes. All of the four factors that emerged for the personal sexual behaviour also tended to be important determinants of both of the sexual attitudes indices. Additional factors that emerge for the engaged sexual attitude scale, even though they only have a small impact, are influence of media on broader knowledge, exposure to religious preachings and songs in the radio and television and exposure to sports activities on television. For the dating sexual attitude scale, the only additional factor that emerged as a determinant is exposure to religious preachings and songs in radio and television.

Regarding the effect of attendance at Christian high school, the effect is unlikely to be due to what the student learns at school but, rather, to specific characteristics of students who attend Christian schools which were not measured in the survey such as family income and parental values.

Table 6.7 Multivariate analysis for the three sexual behaviour indices by respondent characteristics, religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values factors, Jakarta, 1995^a

Dependent variable	Independent variables	Beta	Sig. T
Sexual behaviour	Christian high school	.0888	.0411
	University	.2327	.0000
	Female	-.1531	.0002
	Power authority in marriage	.1164	.0053
	Obligatory religious performance	.1329	.0024
	Exposure to Western music and movies	.0819	.0491
	Exposure to Western influences	.2097	.0000
	Constant	10.5145	
	R square	.2363	
Acceptable sexual behaviour while dating	Christian high school	.1417	.0009
	Male	.1937	.0000
	Power authority in marriage	.0977	.0195
	Obligatory religious performance	.1156	.0111
	Exposure to religious preaching and songs on the radio and television	.1185	.0079
	Exposure to Western music and movies	.1394	.0009
	Exposure to Western influences	.2990	.0000
	Constant	7.4963	
	R square	.2408	
Acceptable sexual behaviour for engaged couples	Public high school	-.1071	.0108
	Christian high school	.2158	.0000
	Female	-.1160	.0054
	Power authority in marriage	.1246	.0024
	Influence of media on broader knowledge	-.0866	.0332
	Exposure to religious preaching and songs on the radio and television	.0902	.0275
	Exposure to Western music and movies	.1929	.0000
	Exposure to sport activities	.0914	.0276
	Exposure to Western influences	.2207	.0000
	Constant	10.9036	
	R square	.2473	

Note:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. Stepwise regression method is applied for the analysis.

6.8 Conclusion

By using factor analysis, a large number of variables can be reduced to several factors. Variables that are similar can be grouped together into a factor and the factor can be given an appropriate interpretation. In this chapter, variables are grouped into

three factor dimensions: religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values.

In general, the religiosity factors, *Obligation to religious performance* and *Voluntary religious performance*, are good predictors of all forms of premarital sexual conduct. Respondents who have experienced premarital sexual behaviour ranging through holding hands, hugging, kissing, masturbating, petting and having sexual intercourse are more liberal on these dimensions of religiosity than those who have not experienced these activities. From the exposure to media and Western culture factors, *Exposures to Western influences*, *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to religious preachings and songs*, and *Exposure to sport activities and programs* are good predictors of premarital sexual conduct. In contrast, among the four marriage values factors, only the *Power-authority in marriage* factor emerged as a prominent factor in predicting premarital sexual behaviour. The other three factors were not good predictors.

Both of the religiosity factors were also good predictors for all three sexual indices. Respondents who have a high score on the sexual indices are more liberal on the dimensions measured by the factors than respondents with a lower score. Also consistent with the previous results, the *Power-authority in marriage* factor was a strong predictor for all three sexual indices, meaning that more egalitarian attitudes towards marriage were linked with more premarital sexual activity and more liberal attitudes to sexual matters. With regard to the exposure to media and Western culture factors, factors that are good predictors for all three sexual indices are *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to health and science programs on television*, and *Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports*. On the other hand, *Exposure to Western influences* is only strongly related to respondent's personal sexual experience.

In summary, respondent characteristics such as type of school, age, sex, religion and parents' background are strongly related to factors produced by the three factor analysis dimensions. Some of these factors were strong predictors of sexual behaviour and attitudes to sexual behaviour. The result from factor analysis and multivariate analysis shows that Western influence through the media is quite strong and the adaptation of Western values demonstrated. This trend can affect the sexual attitudes and behaviour of Indonesian young people, making them more liberal, and yet they are not equipped with proper knowledge of sex and reproductive processes. Western young

people are more prepared and aware of what they are facing when engaging in premarital sexual behaviour. Indonesian young people, in contrast, are increasingly engaging in premarital sexual behaviour without considering the risks of STDs and AIDS (Chapter 4). The notion that Indonesian young people are increasingly acting like Western young people has to be given more consideration by the Indonesian policy makers so the importance of young people's reproductive health program can be identified and designed which are not offensive to the cultural constraints of religion, ethnicity and the Indonesian state.

In Chapter 1, Section 1.2, the conceptual framework of idealised morality, the state, and modernity was used to explain how young Indonesians develop new values towards mixing between the sexes on a conservatism-liberalism scale. New values coming from the Western world or those developed through the modernisation process can run counter to the idealised morality. The extent to which the new values are accepted or accommodated depends upon the level at which the idealised morality is policed by the strong, formal institutions of the society and the state. A powerful alliance of the state and religious institutions can prevent the adoption of new attitudes and behaviours as has been the case, for example, in some Middle Eastern countries, Iran being the clearest example.

In Indonesia, the relation between state and religious institutions is dialectic, at once supporting and conflicting but in total trying to form an uneasy alliance in support of 'traditional Indonesian' values. Needing the support of young people and recognising that change is often in its own interest, the state on occasions does not stand in the way of social change or, indeed, promotes it. The analysis in this chapter provides strong support to the hypothesis that middle class young people in Jakarta are subject to two powerful, opposing influences of idealised morality and Western influences in determining their sexuality.

Chapter 7

Intergenerational changes in marriage values, premarital sexual attitudes and behaviour⁴⁵

Because my wife and I lived in the same town, so we already knew each other. During that time for a single young man and woman to talk and have conversation alone was not possible. My dating process is as follows: at that time my wife like to read Dutch romance novels, I told one of my wife's family that I liked her, so this person was the mediator of our love. So I wrote a lot of letters to her...and after three months I came to see her father and proposed. Her parents said to me if you like my daughter, then your parents have to come here, see us and propose. My parents did not have any objection to her family so they came and proposed. At that time I was unemployed and I only had a motor bike. So for the wedding I contributed in some part by selling my motor bike. My parents contributed a lot for my wedding.

At that time I was only 26 years old and my wife was 20 years old. For the wedding party and the dowry it cost about 1000 gulden, I sold my motor bike for 200 gulden. My wedding party was quite big because for entertainment we had *wayang* (Achdiat, male, 83 years old, Jakarta, 24/8/1994, case no. w35mj).

7.1 Introduction

There are strongly apparent intergenerational changes in marriage values and premarital sexual attitudes and values in Indonesia. Even though the older generation (30 years and older and married) express more conservative attitudes and values towards premarital sex, the premarital sexual behaviour of the two generations appears to have been similar.⁴⁶ Young and older women seem to have similar values, attitudes and behaviour; in contrast, young men compared to older ones have significantly different values and attitudes but very similar behaviour. Reiss (1980) stated that females tend to be less sexually permissive than males because the former traditionally have been more closely attached to the family than the latter, although Reiss is aware that this orientation is changing rapidly. The primary goal for most females was to be good wives and mothers; the society also perceived women as the principal socialisation agents for children. These traditional attitudes and values, Reiss stated, can account for women's less permissive attitudes towards sex. On the other hand, the phenomenon of more conservative attitudes towards premarital sexual behaviour among the older generation

⁴⁵ Part of the data from this chapter (premarital sexual attitudes and behaviour) was used in a joint paper with Peter McDonald entitled 'Middle-class young people and their parents in Jakarta: generational differences in sexual attitudes and behaviour'. It was presented at the Eight National Conference of the Australian Population Association, at the University of Adelaide on the 3-6 December, 1996 and was published in the *Journal of Population* Vol.2/No.2, 1996.

⁴⁶ In this chapter young people or the young generation refers to never married respondents aged 15-24 and older respondents or the older generation are those ever married respondents aged 30 years and older.

than among young people, while both groups have had similar experience of premarital sexual activity can be understood in terms of theory about the public and private persona (Goffman, 1956). For the young people, the gap between their private (behaviour) and public (expressed attitudes) persona is not as great as it is in the older generation.

In analysis of two generations showing how each generation has its own stereotype of behaviour and how this stereotype has changed, consideration can be given to the concept of 'mental cohort' introduced by Van de Kaa (1996: 3). This theory was developed from the concept of 'average man' which was explained by Quetelet (1835, cited in Van de Kaa, 1996: 2) in his book *A Treatise on Man* two hundred years ago.

...the average man of any one period represents the type of development of human nature for that period; I have...said that the average man was always such as was conformable to and necessitated by time and place...(Quetelet, 1968: 100, cited in Van de Kaa, 1996: 2).

Hence Quetelet sees adjustment occurring over time and sees the 'average man' as dynamic. Van de Kaa stated that the 'average' changes due to the influence of changes in the composition of a population by groups displaying different types of behaviour. Thus it is not exceptionally revolutionary to observe that individuals behave to conform to the 'average man', the prototypic member of their group in a specific period (Van de Kaa, 1996:2).

Ryder defined cohorts as groups of people who have a certain vital event in common, who also have similar behaviour when other vital choices have to be made, such that their behaviour is also stereotypical. Ryder argued (1970: 91-2) 'Each new cohort makes fresh contact with the contemporary social heritage and carries the impress of the encounter through life. Cohorts...do not cause change; they permit it...'. To understand why typical behaviour changes from cohort to cohort Van de Kaa (1996: 3) introduced the concept of 'mental cohort':

...I shall argue that Ryder's approach to the study of the role of the cohort in social change is dangerously narrow. Cohorts do not only permit change; they actively create the options succeeding cohorts have to choose from. Through its own choice each cohort both limits and enriches the options of the next. ...Members of succeeding cohorts appear to be well aware of the acceptability of different alternatives. They know which choice would defy standard thinking, which choice would be deviant but non-controversial, and what the choice is they should make as a member of a specific sub-group within a cohort. In fact I should like to argue that it is precisely through the choice that people make with regard to such life shaping events as marriage, having a child, and method of contraception, that people express their sense of belonging to a certain sub-group. Through choice in issues dealing with the meaning of life people group themselves in what I would like to call 'mental cohorts'. Such mental cohorts may straddle a series of birth cohorts. By the same token, birth cohorts are likely to comprise varying proportions of members of a given mental cohort. The vital event mental cohorts have in common is that they have acquired a similar approach to life. They share a common outlook and tend to make choices (stereo) typical for that mental cohort.

Thus it can be understood why the younger and older generations have stereotypical values, attitudes and behaviour relating to marriage and premarital sex. Using Van de Kaa's concept of mental cohorts can also explain why the younger generation in some aspects still holds the values and attitudes of the previous generation and how changes have occurred between these generations.

Besides covering young people, as mentioned briefly in Chapter 3, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey included married couples aged 30 years and older. The objective of this chapter is to see whether there are intergenerational differences in marriage values and premarital sexual values, attitudes and behaviour. Marriage values in this context include the importance of marriage, criteria for spouse selection, roles of husband and wife in marriage and the idea of combining marriage and career. Sexual values and attitudes are defined as values about what is appropriate sexual behaviour when someone is dating and if a couple are already engaged. Sexual behaviour for the older generation refers to their own personal behaviour prior to marriage. These issues are analysed in more detail in this chapter by using bivariate analysis, factor analysis and multivariate regression. But before analysis of the survey data, the following in-depth interviews with middle-class educated members of the two generations give an idea of differences, and of attitudes and values that are still similar.

Case 1: Achdiat (male, 83 years old, married, Moslem, was born and raised in Garut, West Java, had 4 children).

When I was young I did not know many people that experienced premarital pregnancy, but if premarital pregnancy occurred, then it would be considered as a very sinful thing that degraded the family status. In those days, the risk of getting pregnant was higher, because people were not as aware about knowledge and methods of prevention compared with recent times. But some, especially men who had lots of experience, already practised condom use so premarital pregnancy did not happen. In the past condoms could be bought, well...whether the society wants to accept it or not, sex is a natural drive...so people always look for ways of engaging in sexual relationships. But in that time it was more common to engage in sexual relationships with prostitutes compared with girlfriends.

Having sex with one's girlfriend was considered as very sinful but when you have it with a prostitute, it is just like drinking water, after you drink the water there is no attachment, it is just for the sake of getting the sperm out without any emotional feeling. The involvement only took place for half an hour or an hour. Going to a prostitute was quite common in my time. So I think there is no difference between the young people in my generation and young people nowadays, because sex is a natural thing...except that today young people are more free to express their sexual behaviour.

I knew about sex because I read lots of books on sex. I knew some of my friends who had contracted syphilis and some gonorrhoea. I usually purchased books on sex from the book stores. Sex education was not given in school, but my friends knew about sex from their peer group and from books. If we knew someone who was still a virgin, then we would drag him to a brothel. We would feel embarrassed if we had not experienced having sex yet, they thought that we had not grown up yet, they thought that we were just like a small boy...(Lebak Bulus, Jakarta, 24/8/94, case no. w35mj).

Case 2: Tita (female, single, third year in Mulo, 4 months pregnant, engaged for one year)

The following case is an extract from a newspaper (*Tjaja Timur*) published in Batavia Centrum on 8 February 1939. An unmarried girl who was in her third year in Mulo became pregnant. The following conversation between the girl and her doctor took place when she visited the doctor because she was always feeling sick:

'Do you have a fiance ?'

She answered: 'Not yet !'

Not long after that the doctor asked her again:

'Is your fiance here in Surabaya ?'

Then the girl was honest with the doctor and said that she already had a 'fiance'

The doctor continued to ask: 'How long have you been engaged?'

She answered: 'One year...'

Then the doctor said: 'Why don't you get married soon ? You should mention this to your parents, so they could arrange your marriage as soon as possible. And you must force your fiance also to marry you as soon as possible. Because ...you are four months pregnant!'

In his book on *Nilai Wanita (The Value of Women)*, Chalil (1969: 186-87) stated that numerous incidents of premarital pregnancy had been reported as early as the late 1930s. The two cases of older generations, Achdiat and Tita, illustrate how young people in the past dealt with their sexuality. The following cases are examples of what young people of today are going through with regard to their sexuality problems. The following cases describe how middle-class educated young people are more permissive in their sexual attitudes, values and behaviour which are consistent with other cases presented in Chapters 1, 4, 5 and 6.

Case 3⁴⁷: Ani (female, single, Moslem, 19 years old, year 12, pregnant, well-off family, ran away from home)

Ani came from a well-off family and both her parents were employed. Ani described her family as very religious Moslems. Her parents often held religious services in their home. Ani ran away from home after being pregnant for four months in order to protect her family's reputation.

Ani's dating career started when she was in Year 10. She has always had boyfriends who were older than her, and most of them were university students. Her first sexual experience was with A, her third boyfriend (21 years old) after dating A for 2 months. Ani became pregnant by B - her seventh boyfriend. He was 35 years old and worked as a manager in a private company (but later Ani found out that he was lying). He always tried to convince Ani that he would marry her, but Ani did not want to get married yet. Ani planned to get married at 25. After engaging in several sexual acts in B's boarding room and once at Ani's house while her parents were away, Ani noticed that she had missed her period. Ani told B about this and he promised to take her to a doctor. At first Ani thought it would be best to have an abortion, but B did not like the idea and suggested that they should keep the baby as he wanted to marry her. B asked Ani's permission to go to North Sumatra to visit his parents, but he never returned. Not knowing what to do, Ani ran away from home and lived through prostitution with men that she met in shopping malls. After 'dating' her, they usually gave her money. Ani called these men her 'donator', some even offering to help with funding and a place to stay when she delivered her baby (Depok, 29/7/1994, case no. P17fj).

Case 4: Andri (male, single, college educated, from a well-off family)

Andri goes to a private school where there are only 200 students. Most of the students are from well-off families and according to Andri, they are very free when engaging with the opposite sex. The teachers do not worry about the students' attitudes and behaviour towards the opposite sex and also students' involvement in drugs and alcohol, because most of the students are very serious about their academic achievement. The teachers are proud because every year almost all of the

⁴⁷ The detailed story of Ani was presented in Chapter 1, this is just a summary of Ani's story that is relevant for this chapter.

students are accepted in the government universities⁴⁸. Andri is one of the students that have been trained by *Yayasan Pelita Ilmu*⁴⁹ to disseminate information on HIV/AIDS among his peers in school. I talked to Andri with two others female students who also have been trained at *Yayasan Pelita Ilmu*. The following is Andri's story about his friends in school.

Almost everybody in my school expressed their sexual behaviour towards the opposite sex quite openly. Among us, touching each other and kissing even though we are not boyfriend-girlfriend is quite common. Expressing our feelings openly is also common, for example a boy would say to a girl, 'I like your lips and I would like to have it...'. My friends often engage in a sexual relationship even though they are not going steady...as long as they like each other (*suka sama suka*) there is no attachment...just do it for fun. In my school we have a philosophy that the guys should be like brothers towards the girls, so we often 'abuse' the girls by hugging, kissing or exchanging candy directly from each other's mouth. We often do this in class when the teacher is absent. I think that we are quite 'free sexually', girls want to engage in these activities because they know who we are...for example they know even though X is not good looking, he is clever...or maybe because X uses a car to go to school, so the girls seem to judge the guys almost from the economic well being of a guy (*cewek-cewek agak 'matre'*). The girls think that if someone is economically secure then he would be more responsible when something happens (for example if the girl got pregnant), even though that is not always the case.

After school a group of friends sometimes eat out or go to the movies. Usually we (both guys and girls) ended up in getting drunk. Or sometimes we go to *Fantastis* or *Matra*, discotheques located in Salemba. The latter is for the 'high class'. There is a disco labelled as 'intercourse disco' (*disco tunge*), in these discos, when a guy who is dancing with a girl said *tunge*, then the girl would press her genitals against the guy's genitals while dancing. If they like each other...who knows they might go further...⁵⁰

I think young people are more free sexually because economically they are well-off. They think because they are well-off, they can do what ever they want too, so for example if they made someone pregnant, they can replace their responsibility by using their money. So I think young people who tend to be free sexually are from the higher economic class. In my school most of us are in this category so they are very individualistic, 'do not mind my affairs and I will not mind yours', so they are very free. For the girls, their parents are mostly busy, so they seek attention from us...their 'brothers' (Jakarta, 6/8/1994, s22mjc).

The above cases suggest that young people of today and those of the past generation have experienced the same kinds of sexual behaviour patterns. Young men of both generations have been engaged in sexual relations, even though the patterns of sexual partners were quite different for the older generation compared to the young generation. Young men from the older generation mainly went to prostitutes, while the young men from the younger generation are more likely to be sexually active with their girlfriend or friends. Some young women of both generations have experienced premarital pregnancy and the proportion has almost certainly been increasing in the younger generation. Ani did not end her pregnancy by marrying her boyfriend while it seems that Tita probably would marry her fiance. In Andri's case, one cannot generalise the sexual freedom that

⁴⁸ To be accepted in the government university is very hard. College graduates would have take a very competitive preliminary test. It is also regarded as having very high prestige if one can be accepted at the government university because beside the high quality, people also assume that graduates from the government university are more able to find a good job easily.

⁴⁹ Yayasan Pelita Ilmu is an NGO which focuses its activities on HIV/AIDS related issues.

⁵⁰ In the Bahasa Prokem Dictionary, *tunge* is defined as sex maniac (*gila seks*) (Rahardja and Chambert-Loir, 1990: 110).

his private school and peers have, as this kind of environment is not common in other secondary schools in Jakarta, not to mention Indonesia.

I would like to stress again that my in-depth interviews are related mainly to the educated middle-class groups, but from these in-depth interviews and my field observation it seems that among this class, sexual freedom has certainly increased. Comparing the two generations from the cases, it seems that young people are more free in expressing their sexual behaviour publicly compared to the older generation. Even though the cases illustrated previously cannot be generalised, cases of premarital pregnancies, young men going to prostitutes for sexual fulfilment and young men and women expressing their sexual behaviour quite openly is reflecting what young people are experiencing in the Indonesian society. In the following cases, even though I have only interviewed women, one can examine how marriage values have changed over time.

Case 5: Moni (female, 37 years old, Moslem, has a permanent job, married with two children, Moni is from Palembang and her husband is from North Sumatra)

I have a very strong traditional view about marriage. I think that a successful marriage will depend on the wife's roles. A wife should always devote herself to her family, sacrifice is also important...a wife has to have the trait of '*mengabdikan*' (serving) towards her husband. Even though I am busy with my job, I always take time to tutor my children with their school work, do the grocery shopping, cook special dishes for my husband and children every Saturday. So even though I am busy with my job, I never forget my role as a wife and mother, unlike my sister-in-law (A) who is so career-oriented and does not like to do household chores. A is my brother-in-law's wife, she got her master degree in Germany and worked with one of the government offices in Jakarta. Even though she has a three-year-old daughter, A never takes care of her, A has a baby sitter who looks after her daughter.

Sacrificing for the family is a must for a wife. I have to sacrifice and not be involved with tennis any more because if I played tennis with my friends, especially when we have tennis competitions, then we would have to play until almost 11.00-12.00 pm. My husband does not like this idea even though he never expressed it. That is why I gave up playing tennis. I think a wife has to be very understanding, to easily give in and forgive, and motivate her husband to do their obligatory religious duties. My marriage almost ended, but when we were about to go to the religious court, I realised that we should not do it...and it would not be good for the children. So I make a lot of effort to make my marriage work (Jakarta, 16/7/1994, case no. M9fj).

Case 6: Mrs Hendrik (40 years old, married, 15 years younger than husband, father from North Sumatra and mother from Yogyakarta, husband's father Chinese and mother from West Java, husband has a company, she often helps with her husband's business).

Even though Mrs Hendrik is quite modern (from the way she dresses, talks and expresses her ideas) her perspective about women's role in marriage is still very traditional. Mrs Hendrik finished her bachelor degree in management from one of the universities in Melbourne, Australia and enjoys travelling (a very different hobby compared to other Indonesian women). She stated that she learnt about 'obedient roles of wife' from her mother who is very loyal, serving and obedient to her father (a lawyer). Mrs Hendrik mentioned that her mother always walks very quietly (*jinjit-jinjit*) when her father is asleep so she does not wake him up. Mrs Hendrik's father always gave all of his income to her mother who manages all the household finance and savings. Mrs. Hendrik's mother managed to buy many hectares of land in various places from the savings. The following is Mrs Hendrik's story about the 'wife's role' in marriage.

I believe that a wife should be very 'serving' and fulfil all of her husband's needs, that is why my husband is willing to give me everything, understands and loves me very dearly. I think in every household there should be only one captain. Even though my husband also involved me in his business and gave a lot of independence, still for important decisions he is the one who decides. Sometimes I heard rumours about my husband being involved with other women. I often also receive phone calls from women wanting to speak to my husband and they never want to leave their names. But for me, I think if my husband is outside the house it is up to him what he wants to be involved with as long as I do not know. If I knew, I would be very upset. So even though I heard rumours about my husband's affairs, I do not care because he still loves me and chose me to be his wife (Jakarta, 20/7/1994, case no. M11fj).

Case 7: Isti (female, early 30s, single, working, Christian)

Isti is the eldest among seven siblings; three of Isti's younger sisters have already been married. Because Isti is Javanese, her younger sisters have to ask permission from Isti before they get married, they also have to give a present of Isti's choice. In Javanese tradition this event is called *nglangkahi gunung* which takes place before the marriage ceremony. The following is Isti's feeling about her status of being single:

Even though I feel quite independent, because I am still single I do not feel comfortable if I have to go to a function (party-social gathering) alone. My office has lots of functions and I also have to attend lots of parties related to my job. I feel comfortable to go to movies or other places alone, but to attend a social function alone seems awkward. Because three of my younger sisters have married and have babies, my friends often tease me....'you like to collect souvenirs from your sisters, but do not make that into a habit'. I think married women in our society have a more favoured status compared to a single women. Because people always judge me from the perspective of 'my status of still being single'. For example if I act too aggressively then people will say: 'ah...she really wants to get married soon'. If I treat someone nicely then my friends will say: 'she is nice to him because she has a certain intention', on the other hand if I behave rudely then my friend will comment: 'no wonder she has not found a partner yet'. So everything that I do is always judged in regard to my status of being single.

Sometimes my friends try to find a partner for me. At one stage a friend of mine introduced me to someone. I tried to like him and also be nice to him, but I had to sacrifice and suppress a lot of my feelings, so I gave up the relationship. For single young professionals my best friend told me that sometimes the five-star hotels in Jakarta would arrange some kind of 'lunch' (Meet at Lunch), so it is like a dating arena where single young people can meet. But the organiser sometimes overbooks participants so there are more females than males, this makes it very uncomfortable for the females and it also makes them feel 'why am I still single?' (Jakarta, 25/8/1995, case no. s36fj).

Case 8: Annur (female, single, Moslem, bachelor degree, to be married soon, has a good position with the bank, promising promotion in her job)

Annur is going to get married soon. Annur and her boyfriend (Amir) are planning their wedding party. This is very different from past generations when parents usually planned and financed their children's wedding party. Even though Annur and Amir are from well-off families, they still have to contribute to their wedding party. Annur and Amir work in the same bank but at different branches, they met each other when they were in the same training program. The following are Annur views about the 'wife's role':

We will need a lot of money for our wedding party. Just for Amir's family and their accommodation while they stay in Medan will cost about five million rupiahs, not to mention for printing our invitations. We have to print about 2000 invitations to be distributed to the guests in Medan and also for our office friends in Jakarta. Even though I have a very promising job at my office I would have to resign if Amir is transferred to another province. I think a women should sacrifice and obey what the husband says. I am willing to resign from my job if my husband wants me to (Jakarta, 6/12/1994, case no s73fj).

Case 9: Yana (female, 24 years old, single, Moslem, very strong religious belief and practises her religious obligations regularly, bachelor in economics, West Sumatra, migrated to Jakarta to work, parents still very conservative about marriage arrangement)

Yana on the other hand has a time limit to get married given by her parents. Yana is from a very religious Padang family with four children. She is the second in her family and migrated to Jakarta to work. Her parents said that if within two years she could not find a husband then they would arrange her marriage. Her mother especially believes that she has to get married before her

younger sister or brother, or else she could become an old maid. Yana's younger sister already has a boyfriend, but they cannot get married yet before Yana marries. But Yana's mother told Yana that if her younger sister already reaches her 28th birthday and Yana has not found a partner yet, then her sister can marry first. For Yana the concept of her parents' arrangement of marriage is different from those in the olden days. Even though it is an arranged marriage, her parents would want her to meet the man and get acquainted before the marriage. If she does not like him then her parents would look for another one. This concept of an arranged marriage is different from '*Siti Nurbaya's* time'.⁵¹ At that time children could not refuse their parents' choice, but with her parents even though they choose the man, Yana will still have the freedom to agree or disagree with her parents' choice. The following is Yana's story:

I want to find a husband who adheres to the same religion and can guide me through his religious knowledge on how to conduct our life. I prefer to marry someone that is older than me and for me marriage is a commitment for life and not just to fulfil my sexual needs. I have experienced going steady twice. I knew these men from my parents. But then after knowing them I found out that I am not compatible with these men. For me, I would never marry someone if my parents did not agree with my choice. I want my marriage to be blessed by my parents, that is why I do not mind if my parents arrange for me to meet someone, because the decision to choose my spouse is still my decision (Jakarta, 25/7/1994, case no. S15fj).

The three cases (Moni, Mrs Hendrik and Annur) compared to Isti illustrate how these women have a very different perspective on women's role in marriage. Moni, Mrs Hendrik and Annur see it as being able to sacrifice, serving the husband's needs and making the effort for the marriage to work, while Isti does not want to sacrifice in order to keep her relationship. So for Moni, Mrs Hendrik and Annur, it seems that in order to make the marriage work the 'wife's role' is crucial. Hence partnership in marriage is not being considered. Even though Moni, Mrs Hendrik and Annur can be economically independent, their traditional roles as mother and wife, or wife-to-be for Annur, are still strongly being preserved. In the case of Isti, her independence and still being single often put her in a very difficult position because the Indonesian culture moulds women to get married and be mothers. If a woman does not get married and have children it seems that many Indonesians will see them as not having completed their life. Although Yana is independent (working, economically looking after herself and quite firm in choosing her husband-to-be), she still respects her parents' viewpoint on marriage arrangement-values. Even though Yana's parents still hold traditional marriage values their values are changing in that even though they still arrange their children's match making, and think that marriage is necessary in order to complete one's life, they leave all the decisions about choice of spouse to their children.

For most Indonesian women, culture pressures them to accept a stereotyped role in marriage. Among the Javanese, for example, to some extent women have major

⁵¹ *Siti Nurbaya* is the title of a famous novel about a young girl who had to marry someone as old as her father because her family was in great debt. This novel was first published in 1922 (Rusli, 1992).

power and independence. Javanese women are able to participate in the economy, have relatively equal property rights, matrilineal bias in relationships and residence and daughters are given considerable rights and importance in their natal families both before and after marriage. But this type of autonomy is not extended to participation in marriage decisions. Parents restrict marriage decisions for daughters compared to sons (Geertz, 1961; Jay, 1969; Peacock, 1973). This can be understood because Javanese parents are more concerned about a daughter's sexuality and a Javanese daughter's marriage is important in demonstrating the parental status. A daughter's marriage is usually celebrated with large and elaborate celebration. A big wedding celebration for a daughter is very important for parents because it can expand and consolidate their social ties and validate their social rank in the community (Geertz, 1961).

The overall marriage pattern in Indonesia is changing to later age at marriage and self-choice marriages (Hull and Hull, 1985; Jones, 1994a; Malhotra, 1991; McDonald, 1995; National Research Council, 1987). But Malhotra's (1991) study about gender and changing generational relations in spouse choice in Indonesia argued that Javanese women have had, and continue to have, considerably less power in the process of mate selection than Javanese men. Family class background and education are important in relation to the amount of say that women in Java have in choosing a husband, while these factors are not critical determinants for men (Malhotra, 1991: 564). The effect of living away from home before marriage plays a significant role in male independence in marriage decisions but is not a significant factor for women (Malhotra, 1991: 564). Thus even though women live away from home, indicating a sense of independence, parents still have control over their marriage decisions. Therefore it seems that daughters and sons are acquiring very different types of independence from parents in that men seem to have a much more spatial basis for their autonomy and women's self-choice seems to be based on new ideas and concepts about marriage and family acquired through exposure to schooling (Malhotra, 1991: 566).

In a marriage relationship, the male breadwinner model, in which the husband works and the wife looks after the children and family, still persists even though it is fading, meaning both husband and wife are working, especially in the urban areas of Indonesia. Sociologists' and psychologists' theories on the male breadwinner model argued as follows:

...Throughout this century until the 1970s, the assumed institutional form of the family in all currently advanced countries was the male breadwinner model under which the father goes out to work while the mother stays home to look after the children. The model reached its zenith in the 1950s when Parsons described it as being ideally suited to advanced capitalist societies and Bowlby referred to the father's role in regard to the children as one of keeping the mother in a contented mood. Academic psychologists deemed all those who did not want to live in this family form as being socially deviant (McDonald, 1996: 2).

In the case of Indonesia, social and cultural values also strongly respect the male breadwinner model. Working conditions both in the government and the private sector, as in the Western societies, favour the male breadwinner model (McDonald, 1996). Even though the education level (Jones, 1994b, 1996; Oey-Gardiner, 1997) and labour force participation of Indonesian women (CBS, 1974, 1983, 1992; Jones, 1994b) are rising, the traditional role of the wife and marriage values are still strongly preserved. Thus Indonesian women have a double burden: even though they are working and face all the constraints of a male breadwinner model environment, at home they also have to be subservient, obedient and pleasing to their husband and family. A similar male-breadwinner-model is evident in Western society in the past as McDonald (1996: 2) stated:

All social and economic institutions assumed the male breadwinner model. While women might be educated for reasons of gentility or to be better mothers, the primary purpose of the education system was to reproduce the next generation of male breadwinners. Men were paid higher wages than women for the same work and employers were to favour men over women in the job selection process. In Australia, the great symbol of the hegemony of the male breadwinner model was the Basic Wage, a wage sufficient for a man to support a wife and three children. Industrial relations was about jobs and wages for men not working conditions for parents. There were no transfer systems with allowances for children being directed to the wallet rather than to the purse. There were no benefits for sole mothers unless they had proven themselves deserving by being deserted by their male breadwinner.

The similarity between the Western and the Indonesian stereotypes of women's role still exists in the workplace where in both societies the male breadwinner model is still quite evident, but in the home environment, 'equity status between husband-wife' (McDonald, 1996) is more advanced in the West than in Indonesia. In Indonesia, the family institution where traditional values are preserved is very strong. Even though Indonesian women are more and more involved in the work force and in their traditional role of domestic duties they are being replaced by other family members in the rural areas, or by baby sitters, *pramu wisma* (housekeeper) in the urban areas, as soon as they get home from work the family expect them to do their domestic duties (Ginano, 1996; Hendarso, 1996).

In a study of 300 women in East Java it is stated that most of their husbands do not agree to their working full-time, not to mention overtime (Hendarso, 1996). Most

husbands prefer their wives to work part-time so their domestic responsibility is not disrupted. Husbands still prefer their wives to do the domestic duties. Even though Indonesian husbands appreciate and acknowledge their wives' economic contribution to the household, it is very difficult for men, especially husbands, to avoid their patriarchal values related to the roles of wife, mother and woman. So the double burden that Indonesian women carry still puts working mothers in a subordinate position.

7.2 Changes in marriage values

7.2.1 *The importance of marriage*

The concept of marriage as an institution and as something that is essential in one's life (see Chapter 1) is still very strong for both sexes and generations. The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey strongly supports this finding (Table 7.1, 81.1 per cent and higher). But interestingly more males of both generations (66.1 per cent of young people and 81.5 per cent of older respondents) still believe that divorce is strongly against the Indonesian cultural values compared to females (54.4 per cent of young people and 58.1 per cent of older respondents), and the difference is statistically significant. Similar results were also revealed by the 1978 Indonesian Marriage Survey for the case of Jakarta. Even though a high level of divorce is commonly practised among the Betawi society, only one fourth of the respondents stated that divorce is all right (*biasa*) and more males compared to females agreed that divorce is disgraceful (Muliakusuma, 1982: 80).

In her study on marriage and divorce in Indonesia based on the 1973 Indonesian Fertility and Mortality Survey, Al Hadar (1977: 72-73) stated that there are different views on values relating to divorce by ethnicity. Among the Sundanese, Javanese and Minangkabau, divorce is not seen as something that is ignominious. In several areas of West Java and among the Minangkabau, the number of times of that a woman has divorced, will determine her status. The more divorces she has experienced the more prestigious it is for her. But a very contrasting situation applies to Batak, Minahasan, Balinese, and Bugis-Makasarese. In these ethnic groups, divorced people will be treated with ridicule by the society.

The notion of males compared to females who see divorce as something that is against cultural values is consistent with the notion of male power in marriage and maybe the male view of the double standard. Sexual affairs outside marriage have long

been apparent and to some extent institutionalised, especially among high-level bureaucrats. Thus, as mentioned in Chapter 1, the marriage institution in Indonesia is highly valued and seen as giving social status, but whether the marriage really works or not is another question. Thus even though the marriage is not working many couples will stay married just for the sake of their social status.

Another indicator of the importance of marriage is whether the respondents have ever been pressed either by family or society to get married. The results show that only a small percentage of respondents report feeling pressed to get married. As expected the percentage is higher for the older generation of both sexes (12.5 per cent males and 22.2 per cent females) compared to young people (3.3 per cent males and 4.5 per cent females). The data for the older generation refer to the time before they married. It must be remembered that young people in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey are aged 15-24 years old so many of them may still be too young to be candidates for pressure to get married. But in the cases mentioned earlier in this chapter, both Isti (in her early thirties) and Yana (late twenties) were pressured to get married: in Yana's case by family and in Isti's case by friends and work colleagues. Yana's parents even gave her a time limit of two years to get married; if by then she does not have someone, her parents will look for a husband. But of course the decision in choosing a spouse would have to be made by Yana.

Other respondents who have experienced pressure to get married, specially from family, are Bianti and Nadira. The following are Bianti's and Nadira's stories:

Case 9: Bianti (30 years old, female, single, Javanese, Protestant, very active attending church and other activities related to her church, hairdresser)

Bianti is a hairdresser and throughout her dating career she has dated five men. Her dating career started when she was in high school when someone from the same school but in a higher year asked her to come to his house. He said that he would like to introduce her to his parents so Bianti thought it would be all right to come to his house. The Indonesian culture still believes that girls and women should not go to men's houses but the opposite would be all right. So if a girl goes to a boy's house then it is regarded as not appropriate. After he introduced her to his mother and his mother went upstairs, he grasped Bianti and asked her to come to his room because he wanted to make love to her. Bianti was shocked and after the incident she did not want to have any relationship with him. Bianti then met a university student (B) from a very nice family. B asked Bianti to marry him, but she was not ready yet for marriage, so B ended up marrying someone else. The following is Bianti's story:

After these experiences, when I was 22 years old, I started dating C who already had a steady job with the government. We often went to movies and eat out. C likes to kiss me but I never respond because it is against my religion to do things that can arouse someone. Even though I love him, it does not mean that we can be engaged sexually. One day I decided to visit him at his place, I knocked at the door but there was no answer, after a while a high school girl came out and her hair was a bit messy. C then came out with his shirt unbuttoned. After this incident I was very disappointed and decided to break off with C even though C tried to explain that the girl was someone who sleeps around easily (*gampang dibawa-bawa*).

After I moved to Jakarta, I started dating with someone (D) who also already had a steady job with the government and was going to the university as well. We were dating for almost two years, this time I felt happy and I actually enjoy it when he kisses me and touches me. I was very in love with him, but D's parents think that I have a low status because of my job as a hairdresser. I broke up with him even though I still love him, I felt hurt because he already kissed me and touched my body. Then one of my male clients who was middle-aged (E), married but had no children, told me that his marriage was arranged and proposed to me to become his second wife. E would buy a salon for me and provide all my needs. I went out with him once but after he knew that someone else was also interested in me he backed off. Then one time one of my brother's friends who was working as the security guard in a hotel proposed to me, but I did not like him so I did not want to marry him.

Now I feel that I am ready for marriage and I want to get married but nobody has proposed yet. I think my dating career was not so successful because my family really controlled and dominated my choice of spouse. If my family does not agree with my relationship then I would not continue my relationship. My dating experiences were with people of different religions, so this also can create problems (Jakarta, 26/7/94, case number S16fj).

Case 10: Nadira (female, 32 years old, single, Javanese, Moslem, bachelor degree in economics, hairdresser)

Nadira is the fourth in a family of seven brothers and sisters. All of her brothers and sisters are married and have children. She really wants to get married, but has not found anyone yet. Following is Nadira's story:

If somebody proposed and asked me to be his wife, I would directly take the proposal. I will not worry whether I love him or not, I will adjust to this during our marriage. I just really want to get married. Even though I am very conservative and believe strongly in Allah, I will even marry someone if that person is a foreigner and he propose to me. My brothers and sisters all want me to get married. My father and my mother have passed away, I also think that they would want me to get married and I assume that if they were still alive they would have worried about my single status (Jakarta, 22/8/94, case number S34afj).

Even though the survey data do not show evidence of young people being pressed to get married, in-depth interviews with female respondents in their late twenties and older showed that at some stage they have experienced pressure or have been asked about their status of being single. If they have not been pressed by their family, their friends or work colleagues would ask about their single status. From my observations, the older a young woman gets the more she worries about not being married. These women ask friends or relatives to find them a spouse or to introduce them to someone they know that is still single. Perhaps in desperation, they sometimes turn to foreigners if they cannot find an Indonesian partner. They assume that foreigners will be more tolerant of their age. In my interviews I found at least six women who would not mind marrying foreigners.

During my fieldwork I met several women who asked me to introduce someone to them because they wanted to get married; these women are in their thirties and one is in her late thirties. These women have high education, have challenging jobs, some permanent, and seem to be very independent but still they are not confident because they are still single.

Table 7.1 Percentage of respondents agreeing to statements of importance of marriage by sex, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables ^b	Males		Females	
	Young People	Older resp.	Young People	Older resp.
Marriage is a must	81.1	86.8	83.9	90.5
In our society divorce is still seen as some thing against our cultural values	66.1	81.5*	54.4	58.1*
Ever been pressed to get married	3.3	12.5**	4.5	22.2**

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, **significant different at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. For the parents, the question on ever been pressed to get married is asked in relation to their status when they were young and not married yet

7.2.2 *Mate selection: ideal criteria for a spouse*

Mate selection theories developed in Western settings would not be ideal to evaluate the mate selection process in Indonesia, which has a very different cultural setting, norms and values, but they can be useful in understanding how a person selects a mate. In his theory of mate selection, Rice (1990: 181) developed a filtering process of mate selection in several phases: propinquity filter, attraction filter, homogamy filter, compatibility filter, trial filter, decision filter, and marriage. Propinquity can be defined as physical proximity: people tend to choose someone that lives near them. Included in the attraction stage is physical attraction and personality. The homogamy filter takes into account age, race, education, socio-economic class, and religion. The attraction and homogamy stages play a significant role in the beginning of a relationship to sort out social and cultural factors. The next stage being evaluated in a relationship is the compatibility filter which consists of temperament, attitudes and values, needs, roles and habit systems. The following stage is a trial stage in which someone decides to cohabit. The decision stage follows when someone decides to get married. Of course in the Indonesian setting a trial stage where a couple cohabits would be impossible because of the prevailing strong social control, traditional and religious values.

In this thesis only the attraction and homogamy stages are evaluated. Interestingly when ideal criteria for spouse selection are compared between the young generation and the older generation, it is evident that lots of changes have been happening. But religion and religiosity as important criteria in looking for a spouse have not changed between generations (Table 7.2, 89.0 per cent and higher). Religiosity in this case is defined as strong religious belief and practice. The changes of spouse criteria

that have occurred are related to education level, ethnicity, citizenship and social-economic background of the family of the spouse-to-be (Table 7.2). Young people of both sexes (51.6 per cent for males and 83.0 per cent for females) compared to older respondents (26.8 per cent for males and 63.5 per cent for females) prefer to have a spouse with an equivalent education level. Females of both generations were consistent in wanting the same education level as their spouse. In this case, the difference between young and older males and also between young and older females are statistically significant at less than one per cent. Other criteria that have changed include ethnicity and nationality: young people tend to think that these issues are not important, unlike the older respondents. For both generations, having the same nationality is more important than coming from the same ethnicity and the difference is significant at less than one per cent. More of the young generation of both sexes (12.2 per cent for males and 26.9 per cent for females) think that having a spouse with high socio-economic status is important, compared to the older generation (5.4 per cent for males and 11.1 per cent for females), and the difference is statistically significant at one per cent for females respondents.

When comparing males with females of both generations, it seems that males are more interested in having a spouse who is physically attractive, and do not really care whether she has the same education level as their own, or whether she is working. Females are more interested in having a spouse at the same education level (presumably high), with a job and high socio-economic status. For males of both generations, the ideal criteria for a spouse are consistent with the notion of the breadwinner model and male power over women. But for the females of both generations, the equity status model is preferred: the females would like to be recognised also.

The age difference between husband and wife can also be used as an indicator of whether the relationship between husband and wife is more on an equity basis or more towards the male dominant model. It is assumed that if age difference between husband and wife is not an issue then the relationship is more towards the equity model. In contrast, if couples still believe that the husband should be older than the wife, then the relationship is based on the male dominant model. The survey data show (Table 7.2) that there is a generational difference. The young generation of both sexes seems to be increasingly less caring about age difference between husband and wife. Males of both generations (31.9 per cent of young people and 29.8 per cent of older respondents) seem

to not really care about age difference, compared to females (16.2 per cent for young people and 15.9 per cent for older respondents). The young generation of both sexes also prefer the husband to be one to four years older than the wife, while the older generation of both sexes prefer the husband to be five or more years older than the wife. Thus, the older generation of both sexes prefer the husband and wife to have a wider age gap. The age gap issue can be used as an indicator that the older generation prefer the breadwinner-model, while the young generation prefer the equity relationship between husband and wife. This finding is similar with other surveys on age differences between spouses in South-East Asia. Casterline, Williams and McDonald (1986) did a study on this issue in developing countries. The study revealed that in South-East Asia, the age differences between husband and wife tend to be four years, but closer to five years for Indonesia. Reasons for the age differences can vary between countries, but the study concluded that relatively large age differences are usually evident in patriarchal societies and those characterised by patrilineal kinship organisation, and also in societies where women's status is low.

In his book on *Marriage and Divorce in Islamic South-East Asia*, Jones (1994a: 103-107) stated that in these countries there has been a clear tendency for the age difference to narrow over time. Indonesian data from 1970 and 1980 have shown a steady narrowing of age differences between spouses.

Based on her study, Muliakusuma (1976) revealed that more than half of all women in urban and rural areas of West Java, Central Java, East Java, Sumatra and Sulawesi (and over 60 per cent in East Java) married a husband at least 5 years older than themselves. Further analysis of this study revealed that there are no clear time trends towards wider or narrower age differences between husband and wife, but there was an inverse relationship between age of the women at first marriage and the age difference between spouses. In conclusion, one has to remember that most women in Muliakusuma's study were only in their teens when they married a husband five or ten years older. Therefore power-authority in the marriage relationships is easier to impose by husbands who are more mature and experienced than their wives.

Even though the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey supports the idea that the young generation tends to have a more liberal view of spouse selection than the older generation, the former still appears to agree to parental agreement to a self-choice spouse (74.3 per cent of males and 90.1 per cent of males

among young people). This finding also accords with findings from the in-depth interviews, for example Yana who would not marry anyone that her parents do not approve of. Interestingly Malhotra (1991: 566) reported similar observations:

...two types of control at the opposite ends of a continuum may not necessarily fit the facts of social change in a society like Java. Although younger men and women are increasingly taking the initiative in spouse choice, parents continue to play an important role in the marriage process. Not only are parental approved self-choice marriages the most popular new form, but this type of marriage also may be emerging as the normative ideal, as suggested by the fact that young people most likely to be leaders of new trends-educated men (and sometimes women)- are often more likely to involve parents in marriage decisions. These results suggest that given a long tradition of parental control of marriages in Java, the issue at hand may not be one of displacing the authority of parents, but rather one of accommodating it.

Table 7.2 Percentage of respondents stating ideal criteria for a spouse by sex, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables ^b	Males		Females	
	Young People	Older resp.	Young People	Older resp.
Spouse criteria				
Must have the same religion	88.9	96.4	96.3	96.8
Obedient to religious teachings and practices	91.1	91.1	96.6	96.8
Must have equivalent education	51.6	26.8**	83.0	63.5**
Same ethnicity	10.8	35.7**	8.8	41.3**
Indonesian citizen	36.5	83.9**	45.8	84.1**
Parent's agreement	74.3	70.9	90.1	88.7
High socio-economic background	12.2	5.4	26.9	11.1**
Parents have formal or informal leadership position	4.9	1.8	9.6	7.9
Has a job	39.4	26.8	93.3	88.9
Physically attractive	84.9	83.9	73.0	77.4
Age difference between husband and wife				
- Age difference does not really	31.9	29.8*	16.2	15.9**
- Prefer husband 1-2 years older than wife	16.2	7.0	19.1	11.1
- Prefer husband 3-4 years older than wife	23.8	28.1	34.2	27.0
- Prefer husband that is 5 or more years older than wife	18.3	33.3	22.7	44.4
- Do not know	9.8	1.8	7.9	1.6

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significance difference is based on Chi Square, ** significant different at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Question for the young people: if you were looking for a spouse what criteria are you looking for ?. For the older respondents the question was formulated: when you were not yet married and young, what criteria did you look for when you were trying to find a spouse ?

7.2.3 *Roles of husband and wife in marriage*

In Chapter 3, (Section 3.8, Table 3.3), it was found that more older generation than young people expressed values related to status equity between husband and wife. On the other hand, the older generation seem to have maintained traditional views about marriage. These views are related to the roles of husband and wife and are further analysed bivariately by generation and sex and using factor analysis (Table 7.3).

Several conclusions can be drawn from Table 7.3. First, the majority of both generations did not agree that women should not work after marriage, and fewer young people of both sexes (only 13.7 per cent males and 4.7 per cent female) thought that women should not be working outside the family circle after marriage. The table also shows that fewer females than males of both generations agreed to this notion, whereas the females of the young generation have the most liberal view on this aspect. Second, older males were more likely than either older females or the young generation of both sexes to express agreement that women should not work after marriage outside the family circle (33.9 per cent). Third, though the majority of both generations regardless of their sex did not agree that women should not work after marriage, most still acknowledge the traditional power of husbands to stop the wife from working. Both generations regardless of sex (70 per cent-89 per cent) agree with the statement that the husband is the sole source of power in the household. Consistent with the other statements relating to the authority of the husband, the traditional breadwinner model is still strongly advocated by males of both generations.

Further analysis using factor analysis on variables of roles of husband and wife in marriage produced two factors. This analysis reveals important gender and generational differences in the perceived roles of husband and wife in marriage. Young women are much more liberal than other groups in their views of the roles of the husband and wife. Older males hold the most conservative views on roles of husband and wife. Thus young women can be the agents in breaking through the traditional beliefs concerning roles of husband and wife in marriage.

Table 7.3 Percentage and factor scores of respondents agreeing to statements of roles of husband and wife in marriage by sex, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables ^b	Males		Females	
	Young People	Older resp.	Young Peopl	Older resp.
Roles of husband and wife in marriage				
If a woman is already married, then she should not work outside the family circle	13.7	33.9**	4.7	17.5**
Husband has the right to stop wife from working	52.9	62.5	56.2	68.3
Husband is the head of the household who has the power	81.3	89.1	69.6	74.2
As the head of the household husband has power like a king	14.5	7.1	6.2	19.0**
Family income should totally come from the husband	31.9	51.8**	22.2	33.3*
Husband and wife have the same power in family decisions	76.2	89.3	85.0	87.3
Factor scores (mean values)				
Factor 1 (variance explained 28.7 per cent) General roles of husband and wife in marriage	-.21	-.36	.29	-.14**
Factor 2 (variance explained 17.5 per cent) Equity power between husband and wife in family decisions	-.21	-.05	.22	-.10*

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference for the percentage is based on Chi Square and for the mean of factor scores is based on T-test, ** significant different at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Variables of roles of husband and wife in marriage were asked in a scale of five: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), do not know (3), agree (4) and strongly agree (5). Two factors were derived from the six variables of roles of husband and wife. General roles of husband and wife in marriage factor consists of five from the six variables of roles of husband and wife whereas the variable on husband and wife have the same power in family decisions is not included. Equity power between husband and wife in family decisions consists of only one variable that was not included in the other factor. A higher factor score indicates values towards liberalness about roles of husband and wife in marriage.

7.2.4 *Idea of combining marriage and career*

Table 7.4 presents percentages and factor scores of respondents to statements relating to combining marriage and career. This issue is important as increasing numbers of women are involved in the labour force. More women are also pursuing higher education and developing professional careers. The phenomenon of working mothers is becoming more common. This is very different from the situation several decades ago when middle-class women were still tied up with domestic work and being housewives.

While Indonesian economic and social development gives more opportunities for women to participate in the labour force, the state also emphasises the important roles of 'ibu' (mother) which is integrated in the administrative bureaucracy. For example the governor's, district's, subdistrict's and head of village's wife are given the opportunity to coordinate programs related to women's affairs (Oey-Gardiner and Sulastri, 1996: 14). In the 1993 National Guidelines (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara* 1993) the description of women as '*mitra sejajar pria*' (man's colleague) whose functions are not just as a wife and mother, but also as someone who can work side by side with husband was introduced. Thus '*peran ganda wanita*' (women's double roles) as the manager of the domestic duties and as worker in her work place is often stressed.

As mentioned in the previous section, young women are becoming the agents of change because of their more liberal views on the roles of husband and wife in marriage. Here again the bivariate analysis by generation and sex shows that the majority of respondents of both generations regardless of sex believe strongly that they could combine marriage, career and children (74 per cent-98 per cent). But young males seem to think that developing a career is far more important than combining it with raising a family and children (74.2 per cent of young males and 98.2 per cent of fathers), and the difference between males of both generations is statistically significant at less than one per cent.

When the percentage who would like to develop a career, marry and have children is compared with those wishing only to develop a career (see Table 7.4), the percentages for these two variables almost add up to 100 per cent. This is a good indicator that the respondents were consistent in answering the questions. Finally even though only a small percentage of males of both generations and females of the younger generation agreed with just concentrating on marriage without developing a career, one third of females in the older generation agreed on this issue. A summary of these findings can be seen through the factors produced by factor analysis. Relating to combining career and marriage, males of the older generation are more likely than males of the young generation to disagree with combining career and marriage without children, statistically significant at less than one per cent, while in contrast, females of the older generation did not agree with pursuing a career, also statistically significant at less than one per cent. This means that females of the older generation expressed their strong preference towards having a family compared to career.

Table 7.4 Percentage and factor scores of respondents agreeing to statements relating to combining marriage and career by sex, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables ^b	Males		Females	
	Young People	Older resp.	Young People	Older resp.
Combining marriage and career				
I would like to develop a career and marry, but delay having children	38.3	23.2**	33.3	39.7*
I would like to develop a career, marry, and have children	74.2	98.2**	85.1	82.5
I would like to only develop a career	26.1	8.9**	22.6	17.5
I would like to marry without developing a career	7.2	7.1*	6.6	30.2**
Factor scores (mean values)^c				
Factor 1 (variance explained 38.4 per cent) Combining career and marriage	.12	-.45	.04	-.22**
Factor 2 (variance explained 19.9 per cent) Marriage without a career	.12	.13	.004	-.54**

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference for the percentage is based on Chi Square and for the mean of factor scores is based on T-test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Variables of combining marriage and career were asked in a scale of five: strongly disagree (1), disagree (2), do not know (3), agree (4) and strongly agree (5). Three factors were derived from the four variables of combining marriage and career. To make a contrast between combining marriage and career or only pursuing married life, only the two factors were used in this analysis. The first factor consists of variables related to career, marriage and delaying having children and the second factor consists of the variable of pursuing married life without a career. A higher factor score indicates values towards liberalness about combining marriage and career.

c. Factor analysis using the principal components method with varimax rotation was used.

7.3 Changes in premarital sexual behaviour

7.3.1 Factor analysis for older respondents and combined group⁵²

The same procedure using factor analysis and sexual behaviour indices that was adopted for the young people (Chapter 6) is also applied here for the older generation. In this chapter, two approaches have been applied in the factor analysis. In the first approach, all age groups (15-19, 20-24, and 30 years and older) were combined into one analysis. In the second approach, the older generation were analysed as a separate group. The same questions were used in both analyses with the exception that 'listening to religious preaching in school' for the young people was replaced by 'listening to religious preaching at work' for the older group. Factor scores from the first analysis are

⁵² Combined group is a combination of young people and older respondents.

used to see whether there are significant differences between the mean factor scores for the young people and for the older respondents. Factor scores from the second analysis where the older group is analysed separately are used to examine the relationships between the factor score and sexuality indices. The factors derived from the analysis are shown in Table 7.5 and the individual questions which make up each factor are set out in Appendix 7.1. Factor scores, sexual indices scores and demographic characteristics of parents are analysed further in a multivariate analysis using stepwise regression methods. This regression model is chosen based on the criteria of theory, variance explained and being parsimonious.

Table 7.5 compares the factor scores for the young and older groups. The differences confirm the hypothesis that young people are influenced more by the world outside Indonesia and older respondents more by the Indonesian world. For the two factor dimensions relating to religion, there was no difference between the two groups in relation to *Obligation to religious performance*, but older respondents were significantly more likely than young people to engage in different forms of *Voluntary religious performance*. Among the eight media factors, older respondents were significantly more likely than young people to listen to or to watch religious programs and Indonesian news. Their reproductive knowledge was also more likely to have been influenced by media than was the case for young people. On the other hand, young people were considerably more likely to listen to or to watch Western music and their broader knowledge of the world was more influenced by media than was the case for older respondents. The only ^{significant} difference among the four factors relating to marriage values was for the factor, *Traditional viewpoint on marriage*, for which older respondents had more conservative values than young people.

Table 7.5 Mean factor scores of young people and older respondents, Jakarta, 1995^a

Factors ^b	Young People N=519	Older resp. N=120
Religious factors		
Obligation to religious performance	-.005	.02
Voluntary religious performance	.10	-.45**
Media factors		
Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio	.11	-.46**
Media influence on broader knowledge	.06	-.28**
Exposure to Western music on television and radio	.25	-1.10**
Media influence on reproductive knowledge	-.07	.29**
Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio	-.04	.16*
Exposure to broader knowledge	-.01	.04
Exposure to Indonesian news on television and radio	-.10	.42**
Exposure to sport activities	.03	-.13
Marriage values factors		
Traditional viewpoint on marriage	.06	-.25**
Importance of marriage	.03	.13
Status equality between husband and wife in marriage	-.005	.02
Power-authority in marriage	.003	-.01

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on T test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent level, *significant difference at less than five per cent level.

b. Religious, media and Western values and marriage values variables were used in factor analysis using the principal components method with varimax rotation. These are the results of factors from the three groups of variables.

7.3.2 Differences in sexual behaviour between young people and older generation

The same questions of personal sexual experiences and forms of sexual behaviour that can be considered acceptable when a couple are dating or when they are engaged (see Table 7.6), were also asked of the older generation. Table 7.6 presents different attitudes and behaviour toward premarital sexual activities among young people and older respondents. In regard to acceptable behaviour for both dating and engaged couples, the study shows that young men have more liberal attitudes towards premarital sexual intimacy than older men, but there are very few significant differences between the views of young and older women. Older women usually held more liberal attitudes than older men, especially for less advanced forms of behaviour. Young women had similar attitudes to young men, except for the more advanced forms of behaviour. As hypothesised (see Chapter 1), for both groups, the data show that as a relationship becomes more committed towards marriage (in this case, engagement),

attitudes towards premarital sexual intimacy become more liberal. For example while only five per cent of young people agreed that sexual intercourse can happen while dating, the percentage increased to ten per cent when the couple is already engaged. However, the difference is quite substantial between young females (2.5 per cent) and young males (8.9 per cent) while dating, and even more so when the couple is already engaged (2.9 per cent for females and 17.9 per cent for males).

The third block of results in Table 7.6 indicates for young people and older respondents whether or not they had personally experienced the various forms of sexual behaviour with a member of the opposite sex. Older respondents were asked whether they had experienced each of the activities when they were young, that is, before they were married. The table shows a high degree of similarity between the reported premarital sexual experiences of the young people and the older generation, especially for the more advanced forms of behaviour (petting is 9.1 per cent for young people and 9.2 per cent for older respondents and petting with intercourse is 4.2 per cent for both groups). However, the differences between males and females in both groups are quite substantial for the more advanced forms of behaviour.

Some caution must be exercised when interpreting responses on older respondents' premarital sexual behaviour because questions were asked in regard to their behaviour when they were still young and not yet married. There may be problems of recall, and many women of the older generation married at an early age which may have precluded opportunities for premarital sexual activity. Nevertheless, Table 7.6 gives the strong impression that the experiences of young people today are very similar to the experiences of the older respondents. That is, the intergenerational gap in experience seems to be small. In regard to current attitudes, there is no gap between older and younger females, but older males express significantly more conservative attitudes than do younger males. Thus it can be concluded, that for the young people and the older women, the gap between their expressed attitudes (public persona) and their behaviour (private persona) is not as great as it is for older males.

The difference between the public and private persona can also be related to the presence of strong idealised morality (McDonald, 1994: 2) about sexual behaviour; those who behave in ways which are contrary to the idealised morality will be reluctant to admit their behaviour publicly. That is, the public expression of behaviour will be different from private behaviour. Westernisation by providing a challenge to the

idealised morality, will tend to reduce this gap between the public and the private persona. The effect of Westernisation tends to be cross-sectional, that is, it affects different generations during the same time period. This means that the publicly-expressed attitudes of the older generation will change at the same time as changes occur for young people. Thus, with Westernisation, we would expect a greater level of congruity between public attitudes and private behaviour and between generations.

Table 7.6 Percentage of respondents agreeing with premarital sexual behaviour among dating and engaged couples and reported premarital sexual behaviour among young people and older respondents, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variable	SEXUAL ATTITUDE			DATING COUPLE			ENGAGED COUPLE			REPORTED PREMARITAL BEHAVIOUR EVER EXPERIENCED (b)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
YOUNG PEOPLE (N=519)												
Holding hands	93.6	94.6	94.2	97.0	96.7	96.8	83.9	80.4	81.9			
Embracing	81.5	80.4	81.1	91.5	92.0	91.8	68.6	61.8	64.9			
Hugging	74.1	69.9	72.0	88.0	88.0	88.1	59.7	50.7	54.7			
Kissing cheek	74.5	78.2	76.6	86.0	88.2	87.3	55.9	53.6	54.5			
Lips kissing	63.4	47.9	55.2	80.4	67.5	73.6	41.1	29.3	34.5			
Breast fondling	41.3	23.6	31.9	60.0	42.1	50.6	33.1	21.8	26.4			
Genital fondling with/without clothes	27.2	6.4	16.0	43.0	16.8	29.0	24.6	10.0	16.6			
Petting	22.1	11.1	16.4	35.7	16.4	25.7	16.1	3.2	9.1			
Petting with intercourse	8.9	2.5	5.4	17.9	2.9	9.8	6.8	2.1	4.2			
OLDER RESPONDENTS (N=120)												
Holding hands	82.1*	98.4	90.8	87.5**	100.0	94.1	76.8	93.7*	85.7			
Embracing	60.7**	79.4	70.6*	76.8**	85.7	81.5**	62.5	74.6	68.9			
Hugging	45.5**	69.8	58.5**	67.9**	79.4	73.9**	53.6	69.8**	62.2			
Kissing cheek	41.8**	61.9*	52.5**	55.4**	71.4**	63.9**	46.4	65.1	56.3			
Lips kissing	27.3**	38.1	33.1**	33.9**	57.1	46.2**	37.5	47.6**	42.9			
Breast fondling	12.7**	17.5	15.3**	21.4**	19.0**	20.2**	21.4	15.9	18.5			
Genital fondling with/without clothes	3.6**	4.8	4.2**	10.7**	7.9	9.2**	10.7*	6.3	8.4*			
Petting	7.3*	4.8	5.9**	12.5**	7.9	10.1**	12.5	6.3	9.2			
Petting with intercourse	3.6	-	1.7	7.1*	3.2	5.0	7.3	1.6	4.2			

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. For the older respondents reported premarital behaviour was asked in relation to their experience when they were still young and not yet married. Hence during the older respondents youth, age at marriage was much lower than today. The test of significant difference between the young people and the equivalent cell for older respondents is based on Chi Square, **significant difference at less than one per cent, * significant difference at less than five per cent.

b. Ever experienced premarital sexual behaviour with the opposite sex.

Table 7.7 Mean of factor scores of religious factors, exposure to media and Western culture factors and marriage values factors by index score of attitudes to premarital sexual behaviour while dating and engaged among older respondents, Jakarta, 1995^a

Variables	Religious Factors(b)		Media and Western Values Factors(c)								Marriage values factors(d)		
	Factor1	Factor2	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3	Factor4	Factor5	Factor6	Factor7	Factor8	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3
Index score of attitudes to premarital sexual behaviour while dating													
Low	-.30	-.28	-.16	-.69**	-.22	-.30*	.08	-.17	.04	-.25	-.36**	-.34*	-.33*
Medium	.05	.14	.05	.13	.001	-.005	.03	.07	-.07	.05	-.05	.04	.15
High	.35	.16	.07	.48	.32	.49	.001	.04	.21	.05	.32	.25	.08
Index score of attitudes to premarital sexual behaviour when engaged													
Low	-.12	-.19	-.07	-.52**	-.31*	-.28*	.09	-.16	-.03	-.19	-.28*	-.26	-.11
Medium	-.05	.11	.01	.24	.23	.19	-.12	.15	-.05	.24	-.02	.17	.09
High	.37	.12	.08	.49	.06	.15	-.02	-.02	.12	-.10	.22	.15	.03

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey; test of significant difference is based on F test, ** significant difference at less than one per cent level, * significant difference at less than five per cent level.

b. Religious factors

- Factor 1 Obligation to religious performance
- Factor 2 Voluntary religious performance

c. Exposure to media and Western culture factors

- Factor 1 Media influence on broader knowledge
- Factor 2 Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio
- Factor 3 Media influence on reproductive health knowledge
- Factor 4 Exposure to Western music in television and radio
- Factor 5 Exposure to sport activities programs
- Factor 6 Exposure to radio news programs and popular science reports
- Factor 7 Exposure to Indonesian music in television and radio
- Factor 8 Exposure to science and health programs on television

d. Marriage values factors

- Factor 1 Status equality between husband and wife in marriage
- Factor 2 Power-authority in marriage

7.3.3 *Sexual behaviour indices: differences between young people and older generation*

Results of the factor analysis from the older respondents' data are as follows. In relation to religious variables two factors, the same as for the young people, emerge for older respondents. These factors which constitute 52.3 per cent of the variance explained consist of *Obligation to religious performance* (38.0 per cent of variance explained) and *Voluntary religious performance* (14.3 per cent of variance explained). But only eight factors for older respondents emerge from the exposure to media and culture Western variables, while there were nine factors for the young people. The ninth factor for the young people, *Exposure to Western influences*, could not emerge as a factor for the older respondents because the variable on going to discotheques was not included. Therefore the eight factors produced by the older respondents' data were: *Media influence on broader knowledge*, *Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio*, *Media influence on reproductive health knowledge*, *Exposure to Western music in television and radio*, *Exposure to sport activities*, *Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports*, *Exposure to Indonesian popular music on television and radio*, and *Exposure to science and health programs on television*.

From the older respondents' data relating to marriage values, only three factors emerge compared to four factors for the young people. Effectively, the two factors for young people, *Equality status between husband and wife*, and *Importance of marriage* were merged into a single factor called *Equality status between husband and wife* for the older respondents. This first factor for the older respondents constitutes 24.0 per cent of the variance explained, whereas the second factor *Power authority* constitutes 18.9 per cent of the variance explained and the last factor *Traditional view on marriage* constitutes 12.5 per cent of the variance explained. Variables of all the factors are explained in detail in Appendix 7.1.

The bivariate relationship between the sexuality indices and the factor scores for older respondents is examined in Table 7.7. In the bivariate analysis for the older generation, the sexual behaviour index was not included because the factor scores refer to current values and practices while the sexual behaviour index refers to their behaviour in the past when they were young. The results for young people (Chapter 6) showed that *Obligation to religious performance* is strongly related to all three sexuality indices, whilst *Voluntary religious performance* is not significantly related to the young

people's own sexual behaviour but is a good predictor of the other two indices. Thus for young people, the religious performance dimension is clearly an important determinant of sexual behaviour and attitudes to sexual behaviour, with those having higher sexuality indices being more liberal about religious performance (see Table 6.6 in Chapter 6, Section 6.6). For the older generation, however, the religious performance dimension did not emerge as a statistically reliable predictor of the two attitudinal sexuality indices, but the results show that those of the older generation who have a high index score for both indices, hence agreeing to more intimate premarital sexual behaviour, are more liberal on religious performance than those who have a lower index score.

In the exposure to media and Western culture dimension, the factors that appeared as strong predictors of the behaviour and attitudes of young people were *Exposure to Western music on television and radio*, *Exposure to radio program news and popular science reports* and *Exposure to science and health programs on television*. *Exposure to Western influences* was a strong predictor of sexual behaviour among young people, but not of their attitudes. Media predictors of the attitudes of the older generation were different. *Exposure to religious preachings and songs on television and radio*, *Media influence on reproductive knowledge* and *exposure to Western music in the radio and television* were the only three media factors which had a significant effect on the older generation's attitudes.

Finally, in the dimension of marriage values, as mentioned above, it should be noted that the factor analysis produced one less factor for the older generation than for young people. The factor entitled *Equality between husband and wife* did not emerge as a strong predictor for the young people but appeared to be the strongest predictor for the older generation for both of the attitudinal sexual indices, perhaps reflecting its different meaning for older people. The factor *Power-authority in marriage* emerged as strongly related to all three sexual behaviour indices for young people and one of the two sexual attitudinal indices for the older generation. Thus, those with more liberal sexual behaviour or attitudes are less likely to see the husband in a position of power over the wife.

In summary, the bivariate analysis confirms that liberal sexual attitudes and behaviour are associated with lower levels of religiosity and with higher levels of Western influence through media and more Western attitudes towards marriage.

7.3.4 *Multivariate analysis: differences between the young people and older generation*

Using the three sexual behaviour indices (ungrouped) as the dependent variables, I examined numerous multivariate stepwise regression models with all the factors and a large number of respondent characteristics as potential explanatory variables. Respondent characteristics for both groups included in the regression model are: age, sex, religion, ever lived in another province, and ever lived in another country. For the young people, variables such as type of school and parents' religion, education and working status were also included. For the older generation, variables also included in the regression model are: respondent's marital status, and respondent's and spouse's education, working status and average income, spouse's age and religion. Children's religion is also included as an older respondents' characteristic. The best models for older respondents (based on theory, variance explained and parsimony) are shown in Table 7.8.

As observed in chapter 6, gender is strongly associated with sexual behaviour among young people, with males being more sexually active than females. Type of school also emerged with those at university and those at Christian schools being more liberal. Three of the derived factors emerged as having a strong relationship with the sexual behaviour of young people. They were *Exposure to Western influences*, *Exposure to Western music and movies* and *Power-authority in marriage*. Those who were more liberal on these factors had higher levels of sexual experience.

Factors measuring Western influences were again evident as having a liberalising effect upon the attitudinal indices for young people, but factor measures of religiosity were also important determinants in a counter direction. Among the respondent characteristics, being male and attending a Christian school were also significant determinants of liberal attitudes. Among the marriage values factors, *Power-authority in marriage* was related to the index while dating but no marriage values factor was related to the index for engaged couples.

To summarise, factors measuring Western influences are important determinants of all three sexuality indices, with the more Western being more liberal in their attitudes and their behaviour. Those who disagreed with the view that husbands have the power and authority in marriage were also more liberal in both their behaviour and their

attitudes about sexuality. Factors measuring religiosity were important determinants of the attitudes of young people, but did not have a significant impact on their behaviour.

Few variables were strong predictors of attitudes about sexuality among older respondents. The factors, *Equity status between husband and wife* and *obligation to religious performance* were both predictors of attitudes to sexuality while dating, while the factor, *Exposure to religious preaching and songs on television and radio*, was a predictor of attitudes when engaged. Marital status was a predictor of both indices with the unmarried being more liberal than the married. As the sample of older respondents is relatively small, statistical significance is less likely to be obtained.

Table 7.8 Multivariate analysis for the two sexual behaviour indices by characteristics of older respondents, religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values factors, Jakarta, 1995.^a

Dependent variable	Independent variables	Beta	Sig. T
Acceptable sexual behaviour while dating	Respondent marital status	-.3429	.0002
	Non university education level	-.2283	.0106
	Equity status between husband and wife	.2236	.0093
	Obligation to religious performance	.2291	.0077
	Constant	43.5386	
	R square	.2318	
Acceptable sexual behaviour for engaged couples	Husband-wife marital status	-.3593	.0000
	Exposure to religious preaching and song on television and the radio	.3150	.0002
	Constant	29.2856	
	R square	.2449	

Note:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey. Stepwise regression method is applied for the analysis.

7.4 Conclusion and discussion

The findings suggested that there are changes in marriage values between the young and older generation but there are also values that are still preserved by both generations. Therefore, Van de Kaa's concept of mental cohort is also observed in this study. Regarding the importance of marriage, both generations still think that marriage is a must and divorce is seen as something against Indonesian cultural values. Findings from the survey data do not support the notion that the young generation of both sexes are being pressured to get married. But this fact has to be treated carefully because to

some extent the young generation is still too young to experience such pressure to get married. But from in-depth interviews with respondents in their mid twenties or older, the pressure to get married is evident.

With regard to criteria for spouse selection, males of both generations choose criteria related to the notion of a male-dominant model, whereas education and working status of wife does not really matter. This is in contrast with the females of both generations, where equivalent level of education between husband and wife and the working status of husband is quite important. In regard to age difference between husband and wife, the young generation prefer the husband to have a smaller age gap with the wife compared to the older generation. But females of both generations disagree more with having a husband who is much older than the wife compared to males of both generations.

When dealing with roles of husband and wife in marriage, the majority of respondents of both generations do not agree that women should not work after marriage but husbands still have the traditional power to stop the wife from working and the husband should be the sole source of income in the household.

Further analysis shows that young women are more liberal than other groups in their views of the roles of husband and wife and for equity power between husband and wife in marriage. When it comes to combining career and family, males of the older generation compared to males of the young generation do not agree with the notion of developing a career without having children, while in contrast females of the older generation do not agree with pursuing a career.

The study suggests that changes in attitudes to sex occur cross-sectionally, that is, the attitudes of older respondents change at the same time as do the attitudes of young people. Patterns of sexual behaviour, however, do not appear to have changed dramatically over time despite the contrary impression given by newspaper reports. Males of the older generation seem to continue to have both a public and a private persona, that is, they express relatively conservative attitudes compared to males of the younger generation, but their own behaviour was similar to that of the males of the younger generation. In contrast, females of both generations have very similar current attitudes and their sexual experiences when young are also similar. With the exception of the relatively conservative public persona of older males, the gap between young people and the older respondents in sexual attitudes and experience appears to be small.

Liberal sexual attitudes and behaviour tend to correlate with other forms of liberality such as lower levels of religiosity, exposure to Western influences and more modern marriage values. Jakarta middle-class young people are exposed to a duality of values. In general, they report a strong attachment to a religious perspective which is conservative in regard to sex while at the same time, large proportions are subjected to sensationalised reports of sexual behaviour in the Indonesian press and to Western influences which are more liberal about sex. There is a corresponding duality in policy towards young people and sex. Sex education is not ^{uniformly} provided in schools and contraception is not made available to young, single people, yet abortion is readily accessible and marriages forced by pregnancy are common. The approach is one in which the health and the futures of young people are compromised in order to preserve an idealised image of sexual purity in Indonesian society; something which has never existed in reality. This study suggests that older men are least honest about sex, with a large discrepancy between their public attitudes and their private behaviour. Older men are also in the forefront of opposition to the provision of sex education in schools. Their hypocrisy puts their own children at risk of unwanted pregnancy and disease.

Contrary to the conventional view expressed mainly by older men in Indonesia, international evidence (Baldo et al., 1993; Grunseit and Kippax, 1993) show clearly that young people who have received good sex education⁵³ are less likely to be engaged in advanced sexual behaviour than those who do not fully understand what they are doing.⁵⁴ After the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo, the Government of Iran increased its budget for activities related to reproductive health programs. Included in this program were 305 pre-marriage counselling centres established by the government to provide young couples with reproductive health and family planning information (Xu, 1996: 4). If Iran can provide pre-marriage counselling centres which presumably including dissemination of information on reproductive health, why not Indonesia ?

⁵³ To have a different connotation sex education can be included in reproductive health education or human relations. The latter term is used in Australia. Sex education can be given integrated with other subjects such as religion, biology, physical education and *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education). The materials and contents of such an integration would have to be studied further.

⁵⁴ Grunseit and Kippax (1993) reviewed more than 1,000 reports on sex education worldwide and concluded that sex education courses did not lead to earlier sexual intercourse.

Chapter 8

The Importance of Reproductive Health Education and Services for Young People

Sex is not just another research topic. Many researchers told us that they paid both a professional and a personal price for concentrating on sex. Anyone undertaking such research must assume that it is going to be politicized. Results will be used by others both friendly and unfriendly to the intent of the research. It is therefore important to take special care to manage the research process-including the presentation of the results-to ensure that an accurate and intended message is conveyed, and that one's findings can hold up under scrutiny (Erickson and Steffen, 1996: 74).

8.1 Summary

The main objective of this thesis is to elaborate the notion that middle-class young people in Jakarta are behaving in a more liberal way than previous generations especially in their attitudes and behaviour regarding marriage and premarital sex. This thesis focuses on how middle-class young people in Jakarta develop new values towards mixing between the sexes on a conservative-liberal scale which can be explained by the conceptual framework that I have developed called *idealised morality, the state, modernisation and mixing between the sexes*. To operationalise this conceptual framework, several stages were conducted. In the first stage, from interview data from the *1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey*, factor scales were developed within three broad conservative-liberal dimensions: religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage values. Then the scales were validated by examining whether or not they displayed the expected relationships with the characteristics of the respondents. In the final stage using both bivariate and multivariate approaches, I examined the extent to which sexual behaviour and attitudes related to the scales considered to be valid. Qualitative data were obtained from in-depth interviews with the target group, and with related people such as policy makers, NGO personnel, a psychologist, a psychiatrist, counsellors, teachers, historians, and the older generation; focus-group discussions also produced data to illustrate and support the survey. With this combined method, a more complete and in-depth understanding of sexual values, attitudes and behaviour of middle-class young people in Jakarta was obtained.

The middle class was specifically chosen because in the urban areas of Indonesia, and in other parts of Asia, this newly affluent group has emerged and set

trends in consumer behaviour, political ideology, social values and lifestyles. This was made possible through a dramatic change in social and economic development. The emerging middle class is seen as a potential market by Western countries to promote and sell their products. While some Western countries are suffering from economic problems and unemployment, Indonesia like other countries in Asia is seen as an important emerging participant in a global market place. The New Order government has permitted both the cultural values promoted through tradition and religion, and Western values promoted by the globalisation of Western information through the media and Internet, to play major roles in the development of Indonesia. These two conflicting forces have created a new set of values that is ambivalent, consisting of both conservative and liberal values.

The result of these two strong forces is a synthesis of values that are not too threatening to or different from the existing idealised morality, but in some ways have a Western influence. In sum, middle-class young people in Jakarta adopt Western culture only in so far as they think it is relevant to them and coherent with the existing national and cultural values. Characteristics of materialism, consumerism, individualism and Westernism can be associated with this emerging young Indonesian urban middle class. The middle class, specifically the young people, has been a major forces energising the process of modernisation.

The Indonesian middle class generation of today grew up in very different surroundings from those of their parents or grandparents. Today's generation has more freedom because of the political-economic situation of Indonesia. It was not until recently that Indonesian young people had space and freedom to develop their own individuality. This was not evident in the past, especially during the colonial era when social values of the elite were still very strict, conservative, and family oriented. In the past, young peoples' frame of reference did not extend far beyond their immediate family and ethnicity, but today young people are more exposed to education, mass media and government programs. Thus they have new points of reference that extend beyond their family: their peers, their counterparts in the Western world, their school, their teacher, national identities, globalisation of information, and computer networks. This is why they are more free in the way they express themselves than were their parents or grandparents.

Examples of existing values and norms among Jakarta middle-class young people that have both Western and cultural values are as follows: young people have developed their own popular culture in which they use slang, loiter at popular meeting places, and try to wear expensive clothes, use mobile phones and drive cars. These young people are liberal in values, attitudes and behaviour related to sex and marriage. They express affection in public. At the extreme are a small minority of urban middle-class young women who engage in recreational sex and amateur prostitution. This has culminated in the newly emerging phenomenon of junior high school (*ABG*), high school (*perek*) and university students engaging in sex for pleasure and money. These junior high, high school and university students are easily accessible and categorised by various slang terms.

There is enormous and sometimes unfair publicity in the media describing the phenomenon of young girls involved in sex for fun and money. Much media attention puts the blame on these girls who are seen as aggressors who look for their prey in shopping malls and discotheques. The media describes these young girls as very consumerist and materialistic, so they are willing to exchange sex for material return. But the media never describe the men as transgressors who exploit these young girls as sex objects. In Western settings, such relationships are referred to as child sexual abuse, and men who have sex with junior high school students can be arrested.

In extreme cases of sexual harassment, sexual violence and murder related to sexual affairs, the media consistently treat women who are victims as transgressors, who initiated sexual arousal and who deserved to be murdered or tortured by the man, who is portrayed as the victim. The woman is seen as someone who has destroyed the family of her lover, and the man is seen as somehow justified if he tortured or murdered his lover because he wants to save his family. Sometimes the media portray women victims as not playing their expected roles as Indonesian women, serving, obedient, pleasing their husband, and being good mother-homemakers. Much publicity on prostitution and pornography and film, radio and television programs with sex themes obviously can affect the sexual attitudes and values of young people.

Several important issues can be explored from this study. Increasing premarital sex, pregnancy and abortion are evident in urban areas of Indonesia. This study supports the hypothesis that the more committed a heterosexual relationship is towards marriage, the more likely it is that there is a deep premarital sexual involvement.

Attitudes toward premarital sex appear to become more liberal as a relationship moves closer toward marriage, from dating to being engaged. In terms of permissiveness towards premarital sexual values and behaviour, it seems that young adults (20-24 years old) compared to adolescents (15-19), males, non-Moslems and young people living in boarding houses are more permissive.

Regarding marriage values, owing to the enormous social change there is a shift to later age at first marriage, more freedom of spousal choice, an increasing number of love-marriages, delayed birth of first child, and increasing freedom for daughters especially to get higher education and a career. Although high values are still attached to parenthood and marriage, today's parents encourage their children to attend higher education, develop a broad perspective on knowledge and to have a career. That is why among the middle and upper class, investing in education by sending children to expensive schools or by sending them abroad to study is becoming an increasingly common practice. These social changes are interrelated and affect the nature of mixing behaviour before marriage towards a more liberal ends. Problems occur because, although young Indonesians are more free to mix with the opposite sex, they still have to cope with a prolonged period of strong sexual drives before marriage to meet the value of 'staying a virgin until marriage'.

In the area of sex, young Indonesians face a situation of conflict. Young people's knowledge of sex is very limited because sex education is generally not formally given at school and parents are reluctant to talk about sex with their children because of cultural, psychological and communication problems. Talking about sex in public is still taboo, and at the state level there is a strong belief that sex should be treated as a private matter and not a public concern. This is why policies related to sex are not designed to suit health or educational concerns. In contrast with this condition, information on the 'Western' way of life, specifically sexually related information, is quite extensive. Therefore, there is a gap between the correct knowledge of sex and the colossal provocation from the media. With the rising incidence of STDs and especially AIDS (Brotowarsito and Roesmin, 1994; Utomo, 1995; Utomo et al., 1997a, 1997b), young Indonesians face a bleak future because they do not have sufficient understanding of the nature of sex, not to mention 'safe sex' and contraception. Therefore, young Indonesians are increasingly being exposed to the risks of reproductive behaviour such as sexually transmitted diseases or teenage pregnancies,

leading to teenage marriages, and the medical and economic problems of teenage childbearing, which may affect the health of both the teenage mother and her offspring.

Despite this reality and risks not just to young people but also at the national level which can cause the more rapid spread of STDs including HIV, young people are not even recognised by the government as potentially sexually active beings needing information, counselling, and health services related to reproductive health issues.

Statements relating to the need for sex education were strongly expressed by many respondents in the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, in-depth interviews, and focus-group discussions. Respondents of both sexes expressed their view that sex education must be given at school and of course also preferably given by parents, although the respondents of both sexes recognised that parents would have difficulties discussing sex-related issues with their children. Other studies also confirmed that parents, even those with adequate knowledge of issues surrounding sexuality, would feel uncomfortable to talk about sex with their children. Cultural barriers are still quite strong on this issue even among members of the educated middle class.

Factor analysis was successfully used to identify factors underlying the three broad dimensions of religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values. The results indicate that both of the factors produced by religiosity variables (*Obligation to religious performance* and *Voluntary religious performance*) are good predictors of all forms of premarital sexual conduct. Respondents who have experienced premarital sexual behaviour are more liberal on these dimensions of religiosity than those who have not had such experience. Four factors from the exposure to media and Western culture variables emerge as prominent factors for predicting premarital sexual conduct. These are: *Exposure to Western influences*, *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to religious preachings and songs*, and *Exposure to sport activities and programs*. In contrast, among the four factors produced by marriage values variables, only one factor, *Power-authority in marriage* emerged as an outstanding factor in predicting premarital sexual behaviour.

Three sexual indices were designed in this thesis: sexual behaviour index and attitude indices of level of acceptance of premarital sexual behaviour while dating and if a couple is already engaged. The indices were constructed by combining responses about experiences of ten forms of sexual behaviour into a single index calculated as the

sum of a series of weights. The ten behaviours were holding hands, hugging, intense hugging, kissing cheeks, kissing lips, breast fondling, genital fondling, masturbation (only for sexual behaviour index), petting and petting with intercourse. In this case if a respondent is engaged in more intense sexual behaviour, for example premarital sexual intercourse, then the score would be high compared to respondents who have only engaged in holding hands or hugging. For the two sexual attitude indices, the level of acceptance or approval of sexual behaviour is calculated in a similar fashion.

Further bivariate analysis of the 15 factors and the three sexual indices indicate that almost the same pattern emerges as in the previous analysis. Both religious factors emerge as prominent predictors of the three sexual indices. The religiosity dimension is an important determinant of sexual behaviour and attitudes. In the exposure to media and Western culture dimension, *Exposure to Western music and movies*, *Exposure to health and science programs on television* and *Exposure to radio programs news and popular science reports* which reflect engagement with the modern world, were strong forecasters of the sexual indices, while *Exposure to Western influences* is again prominently related to the respondent's own sexual behaviour. Thus, it can be argued that liberal sexual behaviour and attitudes are related to exposure to Western music, movies, and other influences as well as to engagement with the modern world. *Power-authority in marriage* consistently emerges as the only strong factor related to all three sexual behaviour indices. This makes it clear that those with more liberal sexual behaviour and attitudes are less likely to see the husband in a position of power over the wife and are more likely to believe in greater equality between the husband and wife.

As for sources and usefulness of information on sexuality, middle-class young people in Jakarta depend more on media, school and peers compared to family members, and find media and school to be the most useful sources. But in evaluating usefulness of information on sexuality, what is regarded as useful by the middle-class young people can have a different meaning from one respondent to the other. Thus it is doubtful that the media should be seen as one of the sources that is useful because much of the sexual information from the media can be misleading. The most important finding regarding information on sexuality is that respondents' level of knowledge on sexuality is associated with their sexual attitudes and behaviour. Respondents who have a higher level of knowledge on sexuality are less likely to have liberal sexual attitudes

or to be involved in sexual activities. This is a strong argument for giving sex education to young people in Indonesia.

When comparing marriage concepts and values and premarital attitudes and behaviour among young people and the older generation, there are both similarities and differences. For example, both generations still see marriage as essential and divorce as something frowned on by Indonesian cultural values. But when it comes to criteria of spouse selection, males of both generations choose criteria related to male-dominant models in contrast to females of both generations who prefer criteria more related to equity status between husband and wife. The young generation prefer a smaller age gap between husband and wife compared with older generations. But consistently females of both generations agreed more on this aspect than males of the same generation. A mix of traditional and modern views on the roles of husband and wife is demonstrated by the majority of respondents of both generations disagreeing with the statements that women should not work after marriage and that the husband should be the sole source of income in the household, but still agreeing that the husband has the traditional power to stop the wife from working and that the husband is the head of the household who has the power.

Another interesting aspect that emerges is the attitude to combining career and family. Females of the older generation are much less likely than females of the young generation to agree with the notion of women combining a career and marriage. Further analysis indicated that young women are likely to influence social change because in promoting the idea of equal status between husband and wife, they demonstrate a more liberal view than other groups.

In analysing attitudes and behaviour towards premarital sex across the two generations, it seems that males of the older generation have both a public and a private persona, thus being more hypocritical about their sexual behaviour than younger males. Males of the older generation express relatively conservative attitudes (public persona) compared to males of the younger generation, but their behaviour (private personal) when young was similar to that of the younger generation. This is very different from females of both generations, who demonstrate similar attitudes and behaviour regarding premarital sex. With the exception of the relatively conservative public persona of males from the older generation, the attitude gap between young people and the older generation appears to be small.

The phenomenon of whether a person will be demonstrating a sincere or hypocritical sexual attitude and behaviour can be related to idealised morality and Westernisation. Idealised morality will safeguard more conservative attitudes and behaviour towards sexuality while on the other hand, Westernisation will have an affect in challenging the existing idealised morality and making the gap between the private and public persona smaller (Utomo and McDonald, 1966: 185).

In identifying the determinants of personal sexual experience and attitudes towards premarital sex for both generations, the results show that for young people there was a higher level of sexual experience among those attending university and those attending Christian high schools. Young women have a lower level of sexual experience than young men. Factors that emerge as prominent determinants in the order of importance are *Power-authority in marriage*, *Obligatory religious performance*, *Exposure to Western movies and music* and *Exposure to Western influences*. Multivariate analysis of personal sexual experience for the older generation was not possible because questions on the dimensions of religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values are associated with present attitudes and values, while any premarital sex behaviour would have happened when they were young, and possibly exposed to different influences.

In regard to the sexual attitudinal indices for young people, similar determinants emerge. Sex of the respondents remains significant and so does attendance at a Christian high school. Attendance at a government high school is associated with more conservative attitudes in relation to engaged couples. The four factors which were determinants of sexual behaviour also tend to be prominent determinants of attitudes, even though other factors like *Influence of media on broader knowledge*, *Exposure to religious preaching and songs on television and radio* and *Exposure to sports activities on television* emerge as well. For the older generation, marital status and factors such as *Equity status between husband and wife* and *Obligatory religious performance* (only for dating) and *Exposure to religious preaching and songs on television and radio* (only for engaged) were strong predictors for both of the attitudinal indices. Because the sample of older respondents is relatively small, statistical significance is less likely to be obtained.

In summary, the social forces affecting the development of premarital sex values, attitudes and behaviour are complex. International traders' and travellers' tales,

Javanese literature, the Javanese court lifestyle, and Indonesian history have demonstrated that the traditional notions of sexuality were open and permissive. The autonomous power of women over sexual pleasure in Indonesia and Southeast Asia can be traced back to as early as 1450-1680 AD. After the coming of Islam mostly, and partly through the Dutch colonialism, Indonesian sexual behaviour and to some extent the system for arrangement of marriage became very conservative, especially among the elite groups. In recent times, Western influences and values have been strongly exposed through the media and marketing of Western products. Information from the media on Western values does not always portray an accurate or admirable image of Western lifestyle. Promiscuity, the use of alcohol and drugs, rebelling against family and authorities, and violence are often the themes of Western films and media images that Indonesian young people receive, thus a false impression of Western culture can easily be adopted. Specifically these values influence young people's values on sexuality, gender roles, material aspiration and relationship with their peers, their families and their community. All of these religious and social forces which have both conservative and liberal values have been adapted and assimilated by Indonesians through a filtering process of the existing idealised morality. This process of social change is a continuing process and is always in a state of renewal because social forces and values coming from the East and West are evolving as well. In some countries, particularly Moslem and Asian countries, young people's access to information and services on reproductive health is limited. Young people are not identified as sexual beings who have biological needs. Government officials in some of these countries are in a state of denial about the reproductive health problems that young people have.

8.2 Policy implications

It was strongly advised throughout the workshop that counselling and education services must also be sure that they can meet the demand that they are creating, and that it is unethical to educate young people about the risks of HIV and unwanted pregnancy without then providing them with the means to protect themselves (Brandrup-Lukanow, Mansour and Hawkins, 1991: 19).

Policies and programs related to young people should receive top priority, especially policies and programs related to young people's reproductive health (Brandrup-Lukanow, Mansour and Hawkins, 1991; Johnson, 1995; Friedman, 1992; De Silva, 1997: 46; Mundigo, 1997: 329) because of the large proportion of young people, who constitute one-fifth of the world population (Population Reports, 1995: 3). Eighty

three per cent of these young people live in developing countries of Africa, Asia (Japan not included), and Latin America (Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3). In Indonesia young people constitute 20 per cent of the total population (Chapter 1, Section 1.1.5) and the young people of today will be involved in future national and international development. In the era of rapidly changing demographic, social and economic environment (Jones, 1997: 1), with the emerging AIDS pandemic and other consequences of sexual activity, investing in policies for young people, especially their reproductive health, will make a difference. Educating young people on sexuality and reproductive health will have a long-term effect not just in saving young people from sexually transmitted disease, unwanted pregnancy, maternal morbidity and mortality, abortion, and early marriages, but also in investing in the future so that young people will become knowledgeable parents who can inform and educate their children on reproductive health issues.

In addition to the significant proportion of young people in the population, the number of sexually active young people is clearly substantial and probably growing rapidly. Survey data and qualitative findings have indicated that young people around the world are more and more likely to be sexually active outside marriage (Friedman, 1992; Hawkins and Mashsha, 1994; Maher, 1994 cited in Johnson, 1995; Population Reports, 1995; De Silva, 1997; Meekers and Ahmed, 1997).⁵⁵ Hawkins and Mashsha (1994: 212) argued that this is a consequence of economic conditions, peer pressure and mass media influences, migration, and other forces of social change. Earlier age of menarche and maturity, increasing age at marriage, higher educational attainment and increased gender equality in education, and decline of parental authority can also be some of the causes (De Silva, 1997: 43), although there are still many girls and young women who marry or enter consensual unions at a very early age (United Nations, 1989: 34; Friedman, 1992: 278) and are exposed to sexual relations before they are physically and emotionally mature (Hawkins and Mashsha, 1994: 212).

Studies show that young adults and children throughout the world suffer the physical and emotional traumas of sexual assault and rape (Heise, 1994; Heise et al., 1995; Nowrojee, 1993; Stewart et al., 1995). What is worse, the perpetrators of sexual violence and coercion against children and young people are generally not strangers;

⁵⁵ Dr Halfdan Maher, IPPF Secretary General, in his plenary speech at the ICPD made a clear statement about the growing number of young people and the failure to support young people's sexuality that have resulted in high incidence of pregnancies, STDs and abortion among teenagers world-wide (Johnson, 1995: 152).

they are relatives, neighbours, or acquaintances (Boyer and Fine, 1992; Nyonyintono and Yiga, 1994). A study in Lima, Peru at a maternity hospital reported that 90 per cent of young mothers aged 12 to 16 were victims of rape: the majority by their father, stepfather or other male relative (Rosas, 1992 cited in Heise et al., 1995: 9). The fact that sexual violence goes unreported makes it difficult to estimate how many young people suffer from sexual abuse, sexual coercion, incest, or violence (Population Reports, 1995: 14). For young people living in poverty or deteriorating economic conditions in many countries, the increased risk of abusive, exploitative, and unsafe sexual encounters is greater. Economic distress is often a direct cause of prostitution among young people, some of whom are sold by their families (Pyne, 1992; Koentjoro, 1995). In the Asia-Pacific regions, child labour relating to domestic service, bonded labour, commercial sexual exploitation, hazardous industrial plantation work or street work are usually linked to sexual or physical violence (De Silva, 1997: 41). Although there are no comprehensive studies on the prevalence of sexual abuse of young people in Indonesia, the media report numerous incidents of sexual molestation, sexual crime and paedophilia (Darwin, 1996: 14; Sunindyo, 1996; Palguna, 1997:8; Sudarsono, 1997: 2; Utomo, I., 1997: 5).

Living in a rapidly changing social environment with simultaneous exposure to conflicting traditional and modern values on sexuality, young Indonesians who are not seen or identified as sexual beings by the government and society are left alone to decide their sexually related behaviour. This situation is made worse by the globalisation of information and the mass media images of sexuality, violence, and gender roles that influence young people's values and material aspiration. In Indonesia the printed media exploit young girls and give images of a sexual double standard (Chapter 4, Section 4.1.5); the situation is implicitly supported by the cultural values and conventional gender roles (Chapter 1, Section 1.2.2 and 1.2.3; Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1, 7.2.2, 7.2.3, 7.2.4). With very limited knowledge of the nature of sex and no access to reproductive health counselling and services, young people are 'trapped' in ignorance if confronted with problems related to relationships with the opposite sex, sexual activity and reproductive health.

Problems relating to young people in Indonesia, especially those living in urban areas, are not only centred on their sexuality and reproductive health. Young people also have problems of identity crisis, feeling of isolation and loss, peer pressure,

relationships with teachers as well as parents, competitive education pressure and lifestyle, pressure towards the use of drugs and alcohol, gangs and violence. With parents spending more time working outside the home, and frequently no support from the extended family or other social institutions, young people spend most of their time and also cope with their problems with their peers (Lestari, 1997). With the psychological and social burdens that young people have, family and institutional supports are essential. In Japan because of the pressing need to provide appropriate information and services for young people, the Japanese have established the Japan Society of 'Adolescentology' (JOICPF News, 1997: 2).

In the area of sexuality specifically, the government has tried to encode the conservative idealised morality including prohibition of abortion and provision of family planning services only for married couples (Population Development and Development of Prosperous Family Act no. 10/1992). Marriages are regulated by Marriage Act no. 1/1974, married life of government employees is regulated by *Peraturan Pemerintah no. 10/1984*, sexual activity outside marriage is frowned upon and virginity of brides is highly valued. But the behavioural reality is somewhat different. The sexual double standard for men is common, there are sexual affairs outside marriage among high-level government officials, abortion services can be easily found in urban areas, as can semi-official brothels and other types of sex industries both in rural and urban areas, and sexual services to bribe mega projects are also commonly available (Suryakusuma, 1996; Singarimbun, 1997; Chapter 1).

At the international level, even though the importance of population issues has been discussed since the first World Population Conference in Rome in 1954, then in Belgrade in 1965, in Bucharest in 1974 (United Nations, 1974) and in Mexico in 1984 (United Nations, 1984; Berquo, 1997: 341), it was not until 1994 at the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) that issues related to reproductive health and young people's reproductive health were emphasised (Johnson, 1995). Over the last two decades population policies and programs have evolved from macro level phenomena focusing mainly on demographic growth and high fertility to micro level concerns, especially those of individual women and their immediate family and communities. The Program of Action from the Cairo agenda does not only emphasise the need to provide comprehensive reproductive health services but also

made the shift from macro level to micro level policy and program possible (Berquo`, 1997: 344; Mundigo, 1997: 338; Satia, 1997: 357; Zurayk, 1997: 381).

Rapid changes in population structure and the growing number of children and youth in the developing countries were recognised at the Mexico conference. Policies and programs to respond to their needs and aspirations, including productive employment, were identified. Aspects of human rights for all couples and individuals regarding family planning and access to information and education were also emphasised (United Nations, 1984), but the importance of reproductive health rights for young people was not yet identified.

The acceptance of the reproductive health approach at the Cairo ICPD was a breakthrough in population policy. For the first time, the right to sexual and reproductive health was established beyond the simple right to family planning or contraception (Family Care International, 1994: i; Berquo`, 1997: 345; USAID, 1997:1). More than 180 governments agreed to the principles of informed free choice, respect for physical integrity and freedom from discrimination or coercion in sexual and reproductive life (Family Care International, 1994: i). But whether the Plan of Action is fully implemented in a particular country is another story.

Before the Cairo conference, in 1989 increasing priority to adolescent health was given by the World Health Organization, United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), UNICEF Joint Statement on the Reproductive Health of Adolescents (WHO, 1989), the Technical Discussions on the Health of Youth during the 1989 World Health Assembly, the endowment of the Adolescent Health program in WHO in 1990, and a series of resolutions on the health of youth and the prevention of pregnancy before maturity. The number of governments formulating adolescent health policy, NGOs, professional and scientific associations activities related to this issue is also increasing (Friedman, 1992: 277).

Of course, the political will and increasing priority on young people's reproductive health need to be supported by financing programs. Even though governments and donors usually classify services that constitute reproductive and sexual health under various budgetary categories like health and population (Zeitlin, Govindaraj, and Chen, 1994: 236), it is hard to say whether funding for young people's reproductive health has been made a priority. In 1990, from the total of \$4.8 billion allocated for health and population assistance, 46 per cent (\$2.2 billion) was allocated

for reproductive health programs. From this budget allocation, the majority (41.9 per cent) is for population, nutrition (21 per cent), maternal and child health (16 per cent), child survival (13 per cent) and safe motherhood (0.2 per cent). IPPF has allocated substantial funding for young people's reproductive health, as have USAID through POLICY Project global research programs, and the Population Council. But funding for young people's reproductive health ideally should not come only from external assistance but from governments as well.

The Plan of Action from the ICPD 1994 formulated in Cairo stressed the importance of reproductive health, reproductive rights, sexual health and family planning. The implementation of this Plan of Action in Indonesia is not a problem as long as it is related to the mandate of the Guidelines of State Policy (GBHN) 1993, Population Development and Development of Prosperous Family Act Number 10, 1992 and the Second Long-Term Development Plan (PJP II). Professor Haryono Suyono, the State Minister for Population and Head of the National Family Planning Board, has argued that most of the Plan of Action has been implemented in Indonesia, that is why his contribution at the Cairo conference on these issues was significant (Suyono, 1997: 1). Nevertheless the formulation and implementation of the Plan of Action cannot be isolated from the cultural, religious and political values in every country. Abortion and the definition of family, the use of the terms individuals and couples, as well as the sexual rights of individuals, including homosexuals, were among topics which were highly debated (Johnson, 1995) because of conflicting national, cultural, religious and political values.

Issues that caused much controversy among the Islamic nations and the Vatican delegation were marriage and the family and the possibilities for individuals not living in the married state, including for example young people, to have access to reproductive health information and services. Countries in favour of giving them access included those of Scandinavia, and India, South Africa and Brazil (Johnson, 1995). Several NGOs were more liberal than government delegations, especially the European NGOs which issued a collective statement:

European NGOs also want to draw urgent attention to adolescents' reproductive and sexual health. As early as possible young women and men should receive information and education on reproductive and sexual health. Young women should gain skills in order to recognise and prevent sexual abuse and unsafe sex, especially to prevent STDs..., including HIV/AIDS, and to protect themselves against rape, incest and genital mutilations (Johnson, 1995: 154-155).

But Indonesia opposed this position. The State Minister for Population asserted the responsibility of the family for decisions concerning sexual and reproductive matters. Owing to its socio-cultural traditions and national laws, Indonesia only recognises families which are legally and/or religiously formed between men and women. In his speech, the Minister described Indonesian policy related to young people's reproductive rights:

...This is fundamental, and it is upon such a premise that various related notions contained in the Programme of Action should take into account the religion, culture, norms and values, cultures and stages of development of each country. Needless to say that the involvement of the family, particularly the parent, is of critical importance in the provision of such services... Furthermore, it is also our conviction that decisions concerning sexual and reproductive matters are family decisions and therefore are not solely the exclusive rights of an individual. Instead, the exercise of these rights should, to a certain degree, be carried out in consultation with other relevant family members (Johnson, 1994: 156-157).

By the end of the debate and discussion on adolescent sexuality and reproductive rights, disagreement between the delegations was entrenched. As Johnson (1995: 164) concluded: 'Only semantic hair-splitting permitted agreement and the statements made for the record indicated clearly that this was where the same set of words could be made to have very different meanings with, in turn, drastically different implications for social policy.' Thus, even though the following recommendation is for reproductive health education and services for adolescents, related to the human rights agreement, its implementation strictly depends on a country's socio-cultural, religious and political conditions.

Reproductive rights embrace certain human rights that are already recognized in national laws, international human rights documents and other UN consensus documents. These rights rest on the recognition of the basic rights of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children and to have the information and means to do so, and the right to attain the highest standards of sexual and reproductive health. They also include the right of all to make decisions concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence. Full attention should be given to promoting mutually respectful and equitable gender relations and particularly to meeting the education and service needs of adolescents to enable them to deal in a positive and responsible way with their sexuality (ICPD, 1994, Chapter 7: Reproductive Rights and Reproductive Health in IPPF 1995: 20).

In regards to the implementation of young people's reproductive health policy and program, Satia (1997: 358-359) concluded that almost all programs are initiating reproductive health activities for young people. But in Asia, generally such activities are limited to information, education and communication, while in contrast in Africa and Latin America they also include services. In general these programs have one or more of the following activities: reproductive health education for in-school and out of school adolescents, training and supporting a network of peer group educators,

establishing youth centers, and activating a service delivery network. Satia further criticised these programs as too 'activity-oriented' and not considering using a 'public health approach'. The coverage of these programs in the community is also not comprehensive so it is often difficult to have an impact on young people's responsibility and safe sexual behaviour and on reducing teenage pregnancies.

In identifying young people's need for information and services relating to reproductive health it is necessary to be specific, because needs vary according to age, sex, class, religion and culture, urban or rural residence, school enrolment status, marital status, and whether or not the person is sexually active (Ford et al, 1992b); whether young people suffer from sexual abuse, whether they have access to information and services, and whether they talk about sex with their parents. Thus policy and program design have to be tailored specifically for each group. Implementing reproductive health education, services and programs for young people is more difficult for Indonesia and other Moslem countries because of strong opposition both from the state and from religious leaders.

To overcome this problem, much can be learned from developed countries' reproductive health education, programs and services for young people. Studies in Western settings have demonstrated that sex education does not lead to more frequent or earlier sex (Baldo et al., 1993; Population Report, 1995: 2). A review commissioned by the World Health Organization analysing more than 1,000 reports on sex education programs worldwide also supported this finding and showed that in some cases sex education even delayed sexual intercourse (Grunseit and Kippax, 1993). Baldo et al. (1993) suggested that school-based sex education is more effective if given before young people become sexually active. Thus the fear of the opponents of sex education programs that sex education causes promiscuity, arouses young people's curiosity, reduces young people's reticence about sexual matters, and encourages sexual activity (Clark, 1985; Grunseit, 1994; Sathe, 1994; Whitehead, 1994) is based on myth (Friedman, 1992: 280). More important, this study has shown that Jakarta middle-class young people who have a higher level of knowledge on sexuality are less likely to be involved in sexual activities compared to those with lower level of knowledge (Chapter 4, Table 4.8).

There are also other myths relating to young people's sex education, for example, the myth that most adults have sufficient knowledge and skill to help young

people to understand sex, pregnancy and STDs prevention. On the contrary, few people have had education on sexual subjects and fewer still are especially trained to have interactive discussions with young people on this matter (Friedman, 1992: 281). Hawkins and Meshesha (1994) showed how parents and other social institutions have failed to provide young people with information and services related to sexual activity; this failure may endanger their health and indeed their lives, and also transgresses basic principles of human rights. In Indonesia in general, parents and other social institutions do not provide young people with information on sex let alone reproductive health services, even though the government strongly promotes the family as responsible for providing reproductive health information and access to services. As noted earlier, the government stressed that decisions concerning sexual and reproductive matters are family decisions and not the exclusive rights of an individual (see also Ichlas, 1997; Suyono, 1997: 14).

In designing materials for young people, many think that providing sound information on human biology and the reproductive system, stressing that sexual intercourse before marriage is immoral and advising young people about the dangers of overpopulation, will cause young people to delay sexual initiation and pregnancy. Of course this information is important but not sufficient to change young people's behaviour (Friedman, 1992: 281). The design and implementation of programs for young people in many countries have been obstructed by the norms of parents, educators, religious leaders, family planning professionals, policy makers, and politicians. Traditional population and family planning programs only focus on consequences of unprotected adolescent sex, and rarely include information on sexuality and gender relations, sexual feelings, attitudes, and behaviour, or on gender roles and expectations, and also rarely provide young people with contraceptive and other reproductive health services (Dixon-Mueller, 1993).

Another common myth related to young people's sexual activity is that young people are generally promiscuous. The reality is that in countries where sexual behaviour before and outside marriage is relatively common, adults are more promiscuous than young people. Young people tend to be more faithful to an individual partner, thus having multiple partners is very uncommon, even though they may change partners over time. Another myth is that young people have very different value systems to those of their parents. Even though it is true that patterns of behaviour are beginning to

change, research findings suggest that most young people hold similar values to their parents (Friedman, 1992: 281).

Other countries that have implemented reproductive health programs and services for young people have included parents and worked within community norms in designing the programs (Population Reports, 1995). This approach has appeal in Indonesia because the government is promoting the family as the agent responsible for educating and 'guarding' their children on reproductive health matters. The main objective of the policy is to empower the family in sustaining the correct information, religious values and resilience of their children to safeguard their exposure to sexual matters. Not least important is to develop the awareness, knowledge and guiding skills of mothers who can act as 'advisors' or 'resource person' (Ichlas, 1997: 2). However, targeting mothers has many disadvantages as well. First, it is not gender sensitive and seems to put the responsibility and burden for reproductive health matters only on mothers. Second, if the aim is to educate mothers so they can become advisors or resource persons, then the gap between mothers and their children will be wider. Third, although mothers would probably feel comfortable talking to their daughter about reproductive health issues, I do not think they would feel the same with their sons. As this study has shown, young people prefer to have sex education at school because they usually do not talk about sex with their parents. Parents also feel uncomfortable talking about sex with their children (Chapter 4, Section 4.3.1).

IPPA Bali designed an integrated program to educate both family members and teenagers. For family members the program aims at teaching how sex education can be brought to the family. For teenagers, training in sex education is given through school once a week. Students involved in this training then become trainers for other students (Adnyani, 1996: 5). However, published material on NGO activities, program monitoring and evaluation relating to reproductive health is limited, thus it is difficult to evaluate the existing programs.

Listening to young people's concerns and understanding how they perceive their own needs is an ideal approach that can be included at all levels of program design, implementation and evaluation (Brandrup-Lukanow et al., 1991: 21; Hawkins and Meshesha, 1994: 215; Djaelani, 1997: 43). After all, young people are the most competent persons to talk about their problems. This approach has been used in Mexico with the *Gente Joven* programs, by recruiting 'peer promoters' through community

surveys to identify interested and responsible young people (Aguilar, 1992). The 'peer promoters' or 'youth promoters' provide sex education and distribution of condoms to their peers. In Senegal a part of the IPPF Youth-for-Youth program, and also the Ethiopia program, used a similar approach. The Senegal program used young people to replicate workshops on sexuality and the Ethiopia program used a combination of service delivery and counselling centres with the training of peer promoters to replicate education in the community (Brandrup-Lukanow et al., 1991: 21).

In Indonesia a type of youth-to-youth program, *Sahabat Remaja* (SAHAJA) was established in 1984 under the initiative and supervision of IPPA, the Indonesian Psychologists Association and the Indonesian Guidance Counsellors Association.⁵⁶ First the program was designed for urban youth and it has branches in the major cities of Indonesia: Jakarta, Surabaya, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Medan, and Kupang. As SAHAJA developed, it targeted young people from lower socio-economic and educational backgrounds. Types of programs that SAHAJA provides are: counselling services, free telephone hotline services, consultation by mail, radio, and newspaper, 'Rubic's Corner' for youth, bulletins, school visits, 'mini-workshops', and group discussions. Radio stations that have worked with SAHAJA are Radio Queen and Radio Prambors in Jakarta, Radio 99 in Semarang and Radio Echo Lima in Medan (Lestari, 1997). SAHAJA is quite popular among young people and should be maintained and routinely evaluated for future development.

Similar youth-to-youth programs have been developed by Yayasan Pelita Ilmu in Jakarta and Lentera in Yogyakarta; both are NGOs specialising in HIV/AIDS. Besides speeches and talks given by Yayasan Pelita Ilmu's and Lentera's personnel about sexuality to high school students, both NGOs also trained university students to be trainers on HIV/AIDS prevention. Yayasan Pelita Ilmu also trained high school students and teachers. With support from their teachers, high school students who have been trained, then become trainers for their peers (In-depth interviews and field observation, 1994/1995).

Advocating new social norms that protect the health of young people can also be promoted and attempts to change norms related to sexuality must be encouraged (Population Reports, 1995: 2), though this can be a very complex process since the foundations for sexual and reproductive health and gender relations are cultivated early

⁵⁶ *Sahabat Remaja* means Teenagers' Best Friend.

in life through the interaction of familial, social, economic, and cultural forces (Hawkins and Meshesha, 1994: 211). For example, current norms reward boys but punish girls for having sex; the media glamorise irresponsible sex but reject young people's natural interest in sexuality (Population Reports, 1995: 2). Conventional population education and family life education projects generally ignore sexuality and gender relations issues and strongly promote sex within marriage and responsible parenthood (Hawkins and Meshesha, 1994: 211); this does not meet the existing reality where premarital sex and extramarital sex are increasing. In Indonesia, messages of gender inequality and sexual taboos have been cultivated early in life through family traditions and have become deeply rooted social norms (Rahardjo, 1997). Attempts to change the existing norms and idealised morality would be very difficult in Indonesia, but new norms that do not endanger the existing idealised morality related to sexuality and gender relations can be adopted through training and educating the society. Families can educate their sons and daughters with a new gender-balance perspective. The media can be used to form public opinion relating to reproductive health and gender relations; implementations of the existing policies can also support the new social construction of reproductive health and gender relations (Rahardjo, 1997: 61).

After evaluation of different types of programs around the world, the type of program suitable for young people identified by the Population Information Program, Center for Communication Programs, The Johns Hopkins School of Hygiene and Public Health (Population Reports, 1995: 2) is as follows:

Young adults need programs that learn and respond to their needs, earn their trust, go where they are, and speak their language. Experience is limited, but programs have done best when they:

- Win support by working with parents and local leaders;
- Remove policy barriers and change providers' prejudices;
- Enlist young adults in program design and delivery;
- Tell young adults specifically what they need to do;
- Help them rehearse the interpersonal skills to avoid risks;
- Link information and advice with services;
- Offer role models that make safer behavior attractive; and
- Invest enough-for long enough-to make a difference.

To adopt this approach in Indonesia with the existing social norms, values and idealised morality would be a challenging task.

This study attempts to provoke Indonesian policy makers, religious leaders, community activists, educators and parents to understand that their attitudes of denial and beliefs towards young people's reproductive behaviour and problems are misguided. They have to acknowledge that there is a serious problem with young

people's sexuality and reproductive health. This is crucial because young people are still regarded as non-sexual beings with the result that their reproductive health needs are under-served, and they remain under-informed, marginalised and disadvantaged. Government officials in some countries, especially Indonesia, simply deny the reproductive health problems and rights of young people, even though social research routinely indicates increases in premarital pregnancies, abortions, and STDs among unmarried young people. Numerous small-scale studies on reproductive health of young people have been conducted since the 1970s in Asia but data on these issues are very limited (Sittitrai and Barry, 1989: 174; De Silva, 1997: 26) owing to political policies, socio-cultural and religious reactions toward research on sexuality. This is why I have critically studied young people's sexual values, attitudes and behaviour, especially in the environments of moral sensitivity and widespread public uncertainty over matters of sex and reproduction among Indonesian young people.

While some young people in developed countries are turning to a more traditional and conservative approach towards sex (Roche, 1986) by delaying premarital sexual intercourse, practising abstinence, saying 'NO' to sex, minimising the number of sexual partners, being afraid of acquiring STDs including AIDS, and practising safe sex, young Indonesians are following Western young people's path in the early stage of the sexual revolution. Today, however, knowledge of campaigns, sex education through school, health and social services relating to sexuality and reproductive health issues are given by developed countries to their adolescents. Thus if the Indonesian government does not become more liberal in reproductive health policies for young people, this can become an alarming issue with life-threatening effects for young people.

This study has shown that students across the nation in various ways have had access to information on sex from subjects in school such as biology, geography, and Indonesian language, even though these subjects only explain very basic concepts of sexuality and in an abstract matter (Table 4.9). Information about family planning and contraceptive methods is also given in population education which in some schools is given integrated with geography, while in others it is given as a separate subject. From the policy perspective, sex education should be standardised so that students can get uniform knowledge. The state should also specify in what subjects sex education should be integrated or if it should be a separate subject. Materials for sex education should be

designed in accordance with class level and students' age. Not getting accurate knowledge of sex stimulates the students to get information elsewhere, from friends, the media, and even from pornography.

Even though NGOs and some government institutions have discussed the importance of sex education, for example the Department of Education and Cultural Affairs, Department of Health, National Family Planning Coordinating Board, and NGOs working with HIV/AIDS, the discussions stop without any co-ordination between the institutions so there is no program action or follow-up. Materials and methods in teaching sex education have not been established and curricula suitable for primary, secondary or tertiary education have not been discussed.

Another important issue that should be considered is who would be a competent teacher to teach the subject ? If reproductive health education is to be integrated into other subjects, the government would have to make large investment of time and money for training teachers from different disciplines. However this study shows that from the standpoint of middle-class Jakarta young people, some prefer to have a teacher of the same sex as the students. The teacher should also understand youth culture so he/she does not have difficulties in communicating with their students (see Chapter 4, Table 4.9).

Another important issue that has to be considered is, how can we change the reluctance to talk about sex ? In general Indonesian people find it difficult to communicate and speak about sex, for example, to use words such as sex, intercourse, vagina, penis, prostitution and syphilis. This stigma is due to the perception that these words are pornographic, *jorok* or vulgar. Thus most people try to use words related to sex in an indirect way which can actually make it more complicated and cannot convey the message (Darwin, 1996a: 8). Most importantly, how can we change the public impression of sex education ? Public understanding of sex education is that it teaches students about sex and various intercourse methods, not about sexuality and relationships. Dissemination of information on the appropriate scope and content of sex education or reproductive health education to parents, religious leaders, community activists and policy makers is needed so that the image of sex education can be changed.

The Indonesian government is undecided whether to give sex education through schools. If it is given through schools, it is claimed that religious leaders would be

strongly opposed (Widyantoro, 1996: 166-67). If it is not given through formal education, will the family be competent in educating children about sex ? From the focus-group discussions in Jakarta, Yogyakarta and Palembang, it is evident that adolescents and young adults prefer to have formal education about sex in addition to explanations given by parents. Indeed, it can be argued that education given at school can promote discussion of sexual matters between parents and their children.

To overcome this problem, the government could use the existing population education channels that have been implemented in high schools integrated with subjects like geography, home economics, science, or mathematics courses ever since the late 1960s and early 1970s. Even though population education was designed to explain the relationship between population growth and development and to promote small-family norms (Sherris, 1982), this subject can be elaborated and cover reproductive health education Dixon-Mueller (1993) have viewed population education as a precursor to sex education. The new version of population education with an integrated reproductive health education can be given integrated with other subjects such as religion, biology, physical education and *Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* (Family Welfare Education). The materials and contents of such an integration would have to be studied further.

If the government strongly wishes to maintain the idealised morality and have less conflict with the religious leaders and the community, then the integration of reproductive health education in existing subjects would be an alternative. Another option is to imbed sex education into 'reproductive health education', 'family life education' or 'human relations education'. The latter term is used by some programs in Australia.

The proposed approach was also discussed in an in-depth interview that I conducted with a government official (Ardi) responsible for school health programs. He strongly thinks that we cannot use the term sex education and need a sugar coating to camouflage it. Ardi thinks that family and school can be used to give sex education. His concern was that it will take more than *satu Pelita* (one five years development plan) to implement sex education in school. The following is a part of the in-depth interview:

Iwu: In the seminar on Sex education and HIV/AIDS prevention yesterday, it seems that you strongly approved of sex education given through school, can you elaborate this view and what kind of obstacles are you facing ?

Ardi: In the near future...probably it is still dangerous to give sex education in school, I think the government feel that they have a limited capacity in this regard. The government would have to change their perspective...The government should let the private sector and non government

agencies participate...For example the government wants to make slides and books on sex education, it will take a long time, because the government does not have this expertise. There are others who are experts in this area, so they know the issue in a very detailed manner and of course they have a very focused perspective. So the government actually has to accommodate these people and use them...the cost would be less expensive and it will be more efficient...

Iwu: It seems that you strongly believe in applying sex education in the school program, how would you deal with the obstacles that might occur ?

Ardi: Mrs. X failed to put sex education in school when she was responsible for this matter. Especially trying to use the term sex education, it did not work. Because of the term sex education, people are afraid...because they do not understand... We have the same belief that sex education should be given through school.

I think evidence from several studies showed that health education is the most important subject in the curriculum even compared to mathematics, arithmetic and language. Health education is the most important, because health education has to evaluate education relating to humans...how does a human live...health education subjects will be ideal to cover topics on health and reproductive issues...and sex education. This becomes more important because now we are facing STDs and AIDS.

I also observed that sexual behaviour has changed, some children do not live with their parents any more... control is more loose, because the children want to live near campus and the traffic jam is horrible in Jakarta. I think this is an early indication. But we have to be careful because we have a very religious society but they are not all well educated, so we have to be very careful when we want to incorporate sex education. I think almost everybody rejected that term (sex education), so we have to camouflage it, give the term a sugar coating... so sex education does not appear like sex education.

...The problem that we are facing is that we cannot change the hours in the curriculum because every government institution wants to put their curriculum in the school program. The Ministry of Environment wants to put environment issues in the curriculum, the Ministry of Population wants to put population issues in the curriculum, so everybody wants to put their education material in the curriculum. The school curriculum cannot accommodate everything...and most of all the student ability will not accommodate it as well.

To overcome this problem I think the efficiency on how to present the material is very important.

Iwu: How do you promote your ideas on sex education ?

The minister of culture and education is so supportive but some of his staff are not supportive. As long as I can give a strong argument and I can show the minister the data, he will agree. For example it came as a shock to me because I am given the responsibility to develop AIDS prevention education. The first reaction from my colleagues '...Why do you make such a big issue about AIDS ? That is a problem among the prostitutes'. But...about one year later their ideas changed...we cannot force anything on our policy makers. We have to persuade them stage by stage in a slow manner.

I had organised several meetings and discussions, I invited one of the director from the Department of Health, Mrs. Y (a medical doctor working as one of the People's Representatives) and other experts to talk about AIDS issues, how does it spread from all aspects, medical, social and cultural. After they know...then they understand and are more aware. This discussion was conducted for all the Deputies in the Ministry of Cultural and Education. So now all the policy makers in my department are aware...and I have often been asked to give a talk in many places. So now I feel confident that I can go on with my plans.

Iwu : So when are you going to include sex education in the school curriculum ?

Ardi: It is not yet in the school curriculum, but actually sex education has been given in school but the structure is still vague and it is integrated into other subjects. So because it is integrated with other subjects the sequences are not perfect. I want it to be integrated with other subjects but it has to have clear sequences... Sex education should be given sequentially, I want it to be like that. When someone is learning arithmetic for example, the students have to learn about adding and subtracting first before they learn about times tables or division, this is a sequence that one has to follow, so never teach someone about the times tables before introducing that person to adding and subtracting, he or she can be confused. If we teach someone in a sequential manner, then the results will be much better.

Iwu: To incorporate sex education in the school curriculum is a very big task, do you think it could be implemented in five years ?

Ardi: I think in five years time (*satu Pelita* /five years development plan) is not enough. It will take time...it will take a long time not because of the materials that should be included, but implementing it. The problem is with the teachers, because we cannot teach them ourselves. The teachers have various formal training...this is our problem.

Iwu: Do you think sex education should be given through family or through school ?

Ardi: I think it could be given through both, family and school, but who has the most time and which can do it most efficiently ? In educating someone there is one law that we can fight against, that is it is easier to start teaching someone when they are still at an early age compared to when they are already old. But sometimes we perceive that this child is still too young to know about these things. When we give sex education it would have to be very organised, and given in a sequential manner. It is going to be very hard because we have to involve many experts...(Jakarta, 6/4/1995, case no.062mj).

Ideally the government should educate adult family members on reproductive health issues and equip them with strategies and methods on how to deliver the message to children. Adult family members would be targeted in this program and not just mothers who are aimed at in the present program. Night classes can be designed for this program and can be located in the district offices. When both the adult family members and young people have been educated, the reconstruction of reproductive health understanding, awareness and responsibility can be generated to the whole community and to the future generation. The next step would be to design reproductive health services for young people who need them. The proposed programs will need political commitment, funding, effort and co-ordination between the government, religious leaders, parents and NGOs. A government institution, for example, the Department of Culture and Education and the State Ministry of Population, should be appointed to co-ordinate the proposed programs, which would need substantial investment over a long period of time if the government wants to make a difference.

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Appendices

Appendix 3.1

The Australian National University
Research School of Social Sciences
Demography Program
Questionnaire

Marriage values, mixing behaviours and sexuality among the middle-class young people in Jakarta

Research : PhD research
Principal Investigator : Iwu Utomo
Research Site : Southern part of Jakarta
Research objective :

The objective of this research is to collect information on mixing behaviour before marriage among middle-class young people. This research is conducted for a PhD degree in the Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences, at the Australian National University. Beside the stated objectives, this research will be used to plan related youth programs and to identify youth needs in relation with reproductive health services.

Questions that I asked in this questionnaire are related to mixing behaviour before marriage among young people, criteria when looking for a spouse, stages experienced in relationships before marriage, values, attitude and practice of premarital sexual behaviour, knowledge on sex education and family planning methods, values on abortion and values on marriage. The end section of this questionnaire will deal with a very sensitive issue, but your participation and honesty is appreciated in anticipation of the success of this study.

I would like to inform you that all of your responses are confidential and I do not ask you to put your name in the questionnaire. After answering all the questions, please put the questionnaire back in the envelope, seal it and hand it to the research assistant or myself. Thank you very much for your co-operation.

I. Questionnaire Identity (to be filled by interviewer)

Questionnaire number :
Interviewer :
Date Month/Year Starting Time Finishing Time Result

Result Code :

1. The interview went well
2. The respondent refused to be interviewed
3. The respondent did not want to continue with the interview
4. The respondent did not show up on the schedule that had been agreed upon
5. Other reasons, please specify:

Please explain why the respondent refused to be interviewed:

II. Respondent and parents' characteristics

With the open-end questions, please write your response in the space available. For the multiple choice question please circle the answer of your response.

1. Your age:----- years
2. Sex
 0. Male
 1. Female
3. School
 0. High school, please state the name of your high school:
_____.
 1. University, please state the name of your university:
_____.
4. At present what year are you in ?-----.
5. What is your religion ?
 0. Moslem
 1. Catholic
 2. Protestant
 3. Hindu
 4. Buddhist
 5. Others, please state:-----.
6. How old is your father ?
 0. ----- years.
 98. My father is dead.
7. How old is your mother ?
 0. ----- years.
 98. My mother is dead.
8. What is your father's religion ?
 0. Moslem
 1. Catholic
 2. Protestant
 3. Hindu
 4. Buddhist
 5. Others, please state :-----.
9. What is your mother's religion ?
 0. Moslem
 1. Catholic
 2. Protestant
 3. Hindu
 4. Buddhist
 5. Others, please state:-----.

10. The following questions are related to your religious practices. Please give a score for every question according to the score given in the key below.

KEY

- 1 = Never
 2 = Occasionally
 3 = Do not know
 4 = Frequently
 5 = Very frequent

- | | Score |
|--|-------|
| 0. Sometimes someone neglects their obligatory prayer duties because they are very busy with their work or study. Have you ever experienced the same situation ? | ----- |
| 1. Have you ever listened to religious preaching conducted in your school or faculty, at the mosque or church, in the radio or other places ? | |
| - School/faculty | ----- |
| - Mosque/church | ----- |
| - Radio | ----- |
| - Other places | ----- |
| 2. Have you ever read books or material on religion ? | ----- |
| 11. From your perspective, how important is religion to your life ? | |
| 1. Not important at all | |
| 2. Not important | |
| 3. Do not know | |
| 4. Important | |
| 5. Very important | |
| 12. What is your father's ethnicity, please specify -----. | |
| 13. What is your mother's ethnicity, please specify -----. | |
| 14. Your parents' marital status ? | |
| 0. Married | |
| 1. In the process of getting a divorce | |
| 2. Divorced | |
| 3. Others, please specify-----. | |
| 15. What is your father's highest education ? | |
| 0. Never went to school | |
| 1. Primary school | |
| 2. Junior high school | |
| 3. Senior high school | |
| 4. Diploma program | |
| 5. University | |
| 6. Other, please specify-----. | |
| 7. Do not know | |

16. What is your mother's highest education ?
0. Never went to school
 1. Primary school
 2. Junior high school
 3. Senior high school
 4. Diploma program
 5. University
 6. Other, please specify-----
 7. Do not know
17. What is your father's main occupation ?
0. Working
Please describe your father's occupation in detail-----

 1. Not working
 98. My father is dead.
18. What is your mother's main occupation ?
0. Working
Please describe your mother's occupation in detail-----

 1. Not working
Please describe how your mother passes her time in detail-----

 98. My mother is dead.
19. How much does your father earn every month ?
0. < Rp. 200.000,-
 1. Rp.200.000,- - <Rp. 500.000,-
 2. Rp.500.000,- - <Rp. 1.000.000,-
 3. Rp.1.000.000,- - <Rp. 3.000.000,-
 4. Rp.3.000.000,- - <Rp. 5.000.000,-
 5. Rp.5.000.000,- - >Rp.5.000.000,-
 6. Retired
20. How much does your mother earn every month ?
0. < Rp. 200.000,-
 1. Rp.200.000,- - <Rp. 500.000,-
 2. Rp.500.000,- - <Rp. 1.000.000,-
 3. Rp.1.000.000,- - <Rp. 3.000.000,-
 4. Rp.3.000.000,- - <Rp. 5.000.000,-
 5. Rp.5.000.000,- - >Rp.5.000.000,-
 6. Retired

III. Your activities, mass media exposure

1. Since you were 10 years old, have you ever experienced living in other province-provinces for one year or more ?
0. Yes, specify the name of province-provinces-----

1. Never (go to no. 3)
2. Others, please describe-----

2. Were you living with your parents at that time ?
 0. Yes
 1. No, please describe where were you staying and with whom-----

3. Since you were 10 years old, have you ever experienced living in another country-countries for three months or more ?
 0. Yes, where, please specify the name of country-countries-----

 1. Never (go to no. 3)
 2. Others, please describe-----

4. Were you living with your parents at that time ?
 0. Yes
 1. No, please describe where were you staying and with whom-----

5. How often do you read newspapers ?
 0. Every day
 1. Several times a week
 2. Once a week
 3. Occasionally
 4. I never read newspapers
 5. Others, please describe-----

6. Please write two types of newspaper you often read.

7. How often do you read magazines ?
 0. Every day
 1. Several times a week
 2. Once a week
 3. Occasionally
 4. I never read magazines
 5. Others, please describe-----

8. Please write two types of magazines you often read.

9. How often do you listen to the radio ?
 0. Every day
 1. Several times a week
 2. Once a week
 3. Occasionally
 4. I never listen to the radio
 5. Others, please describe-----

10. What is your favourite radio program and the most often listened to? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

1= Never

2= Occasionally

3= Do not know

4= Often

5= Very often

	Score
Indonesian popular music	-----
Western popular music	-----
Religious songs	-----
Religious preaching	-----
News	-----
Science reports	-----
Sports	-----
Others, please specify-----	

11. How often do you watch television ?

0. Every day

1. Several times a week

2. Once a week

3. Occasionally

4. I never watch television

5. Others, please describe-----

12. What television channel do you like, please specify ? (for example: TVRI, RCTI, TPI, SCTV, ANTV, cable television, please specify the type of program and the country of origin).

0. -----

1. -----

13. What is your favourite television program and the most often watched ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

- 1= Never
- 2= Occasionally
- 3= Do not know
- 4= Often
- 5= Very often

	Score
Indonesian sports	-----
Foreign sports	-----
Indonesian popular music	-----
Western popular music	-----
Religious songs	-----
Religious preachings	-----
Indonesian news programs	-----
Western news programs	-----
Science programs	-----
Health programs	-----
Women's programs	-----
Other please specify-----	

14. Do you ever find information from the media that is useful for your knowledge ?

- 0. Yes
- 1. No (go to no.16)

15. How important is the media in enriching your knowledge in each of the following field ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

- 1= Never
- 2= Occasionally
- 3= Do not know
- 4= Often
- 5= Very often

	Score
Knowledge about entertainment (music, soap opera, films, sports)	-----
knowledge on religion	-----
News on national politics	-----
News on foreign politics	-----
Knowledge on health (healthy life, healthy food, first aid)	-----
Knowledge on family planning	-----
Knowledge on family affairs and household chores (cooking, shopping, house appliances, how to raise children)	-----
General knowledge	-----
Others, please specify -----	-----

16. How often do you go to the movies ?

- 0. Once a week
- 1. Once a month
- 2. Occasionally
- 3. Never

4. Others, please specify-----

17. What kind of movies do you often watch ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

- 1= Never
- 2= Occasionally
- 3= Do not know
- 4= Often
- 5= Very often

	Score
Indonesian films	-----
Western films	-----
Chinese/Hongkong/Taiwan/Kung Fu films	-----
Indian Films	-----

18. With whom do you usually go to the movies ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

- 1= Never
- 2= Occasionally
- 3= Do not know
- 4= Often
- 5= Very often

	Score
A group of female friends	-----
A group of male friends	-----
A mixed group of friends, males and females	-----
A close girlfriend	-----
A close boyfriend	-----
A boyfriend/girlfriend whom I have been going steady with	-----
Fiance/fiancee	-----
Husband/wife-to-be	-----
Family members	-----
Alone	-----
Others, please specify	-----

19. How often do you go to a discotheque ?

- 0. Once a week
- 1. Once a month
- 2. Occasionally
- 3. Never
- 4. Other, please specify-----.

20. With whom do you usually go to the discotheque ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

- 1= Never
- 2= Occasionally
- 3= Do not know
- 4= Often
- 5= Very often

	Score
A group of female friends	-----
A group of male friends	-----
A mixed group of friends, males and females	-----
A close girlfriend	-----
A close boyfriend	-----
A boyfriend/girlfriend whom I have been going steady with	-----
Fiance/fiancee	-----
Husband/wife to be	-----
Family members	-----
Alone	-----
Others, please specify	-----

21. What kind of organisation-group activity do you follow ? Please put a tick (V) for item/items that you are involved in and state your role in that particular item/items.

	Yes	No	Role in the organisation
Religious organisation	-----	-----	-----
<i>OSIS</i>	-----	-----	-----
University students ass. *	-----	-----	-----
<i>Kanrantaruna</i>	-----	-----	-----
Girl-Boy Scouts	-----	-----	-----
Arts	-----	-----	-----
Sports	-----	-----	-----
Handicrafts	-----	-----	-----
Others, please specify	-----	-----	-----

Note * If you are involved in more than one organisation-club in your university, please specify your organisations/clubs and your role in that organisations/clubs.

Name of the organisation-club	Role in the organisation-club
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----
-----	-----

IV. Mixing behaviour among the sexes before marriage

1. How old is someone categorised as an adolescent and how old is someone categorised as young adult ?

Adolescent ----- years

Young adult----- years

2. Can you give a brief description of adolescent and young adult ?

Adolescent-----

Young adult-----

3. What is the difference between adolescents and young adults , can you write a brief description ?

4. Can you describe what dating is ?

5. What kind of activities can be categorised as dating ? Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

1 = yes

2 = no

	Score
Going out with <i>si doi</i> '	-----
Playing sport with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Going to the movies with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Going out to eat with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Going on a picnic with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Going to a concert with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Studying together with <i>si doi</i>	-----
Going out with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Playing sports with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Going to the movies with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Going out to eat with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Going on a picnic with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Going to a concert with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Studying together with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----
Going to a discotheque with <i>si doi</i> and other friends	-----

6. Who can ask someone for a date ?

0. Male

1. Female

3. Both male and female have the same power

7. Who can you categorise as someone who can ask you to go for a date ?

Please give each item a score stated in the key below and write the score in the available space.

Key

1 = yes

2 = no

	Score
0. Friends of the opposite sex	-----
1. Girlfriend/boyfriend	-----
2. Fiance/fiancee	-----
3. Husband/wife-to-be	-----
4. Others, please specify	-----

8. Who can you categorise as your girlfriend/boyfriend ? Please give a brief description :

⁵⁷ *Si doi* is a popular term used by young people in Jakarta for boyfriend or girlfriend.

9. If someone is dating, what do you think is proper sexual behaviours that the dating couple can engage in ? Please tick (V) the following of each item.

	Yes	No
0. Holding hands	-----	-----
1. Hugging	-----	-----
2. Intense hugging	-----	-----
3. Cheek kissing	-----	-----
4. Lips kissing	-----	-----
5. Breast fondling	-----	-----
6. Genital fondling	-----	-----
7. Petting	-----	-----
8. Petting with intercourse	-----	-----

10. Can you please briefly define what an engagement is ?

9. If someone was already engaged, what do you think is proper sexual behaviour that the engaged couple can be involved in ? Please tick (V) the following for each item.

	Yes	No
0. Holding hands	-----	-----
1. Hugging	-----	-----
2. Intense hugging	-----	-----
3. Cheek kissing	-----	-----
4. Lips kissing	-----	-----
5. Breast fondling	-----	-----
6. Genital fondling	-----	-----
7. Petting	-----	-----
8. Petting with intercourse	-----	-----

12. At what age do you think a girl should start dating?

-----years, please describe your reason briefly: -----

13. At what age do you think a girl should get engaged ?

0. -----years, please describe your reason briefly -----

 1. Others, please describe your reason briefly -----

14. At what age do you think a girl should get married ?

0. -----years, please describe your reason briefly -----

 1. Others, please describe your reason briefly -----

15. Do you think a girl should still be a virgin when she gets married ?

- 0. Yes
- 1. No
- 2. Do not know

16. At what age do you think a boy should start dating for the first time ?
0. -----years, please describe your reason briefly -----

1. Others, please describe your reason briefly -----

17. At what age do you think a boy should get engaged ?
0. -----years, please describe your reason briefly -----

1. Others, please describe your reason briefly -----

18. At what age do you think a boy should get married ?
0. -----years, please describe your reason briefly -----

1. Others, please describe your reason briefly -----

19. Do you think a boy should still be a virgin when he gets married ?
0. Yes
1. No
2. Do not know

20. I want to know whether a girl can engage in premarital sexual intercourse? Please tick (V) for each item in the appropriate space.

	Yes	No
1. Premarital sex is all right if you are using contraceptives	-----	-----
2. Premarital sex is all right based on mutual agreement, even though they do not love each other	-----	-----
3. Premarital sex is all right as long as it is based on love	-----	-----
4. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents have been made	-----	-----
5. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents has been made and a date for the engagement have been set	-----	-----
6. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents have been made, the couple are engaged and marriage date has been set	-----	-----
7. Premarital sex is never right	-----	-----
8. Premarital sex is all right if you do it with a male prostitute	-----	-----

21. I want to know whether a boy can engage in premarital sexual intercourse ? Please tick (V) for each item in the appropriate space.

	Yes	No
1. Premarital sex is all right if you are using contraceptives	-----	-----
2. Premarital sex is all right based on mutual agreement, even though they do not love each other	-----	-----
3. Premarital sex is all right as long as it is based on love	-----	-----
4. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents have been made	-----	-----

5. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents has been made and a date for the engagement have been set -----
6. Premarital sex is all right as long as a marriage proposal from parents have been made, the couple are engaged and marriage date has been set -----
7. Premarital sex is never right -----
8. Premarital sex is all right if you do it with a prostitute -----
22. What do you think a woman should do if she experiences premarital pregnancy but cannot marry the father of her baby ?
0. Have the baby even with out a father
 1. Have the baby and relative adopt the baby
 2. Have the baby and give the baby for adoption
 3. Have an abortion
 4. It is up to her what she decides
 5. Others, please specify-----
23. Do you have any friend-friends that ever experienced premarital pregnancy ?
0. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby and had the baby
 1. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby, but the baby was adopted by relative
 2. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby, but the baby was given for adoption
 3. Yes, but she had an abortion
 4. No
 5. Others, please specify-----
24. Do you have any relative that ever experienced premarital pregnancy ?
0. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby and had the baby
 1. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby, but the baby was adopted by relative
 2. Yes, she got married to the father of the baby, but the baby was given for adoption
 3. Yes, but she had an abortion
 4. No
 5. Others, please specify-----
25. Do you have any friends who are still single who ever experienced premarital intercourse ?
0. Yes
 1. No
 2. Do not know
26. Have you ever received information or services on family planning ?
0. Yes, from where or from whom did you get the information, please specify-----
 1. No (go to no.28)

27. What kind of information or services did you receive ? Please give a score for every item from the key below.

Key
1=Yes
2=No

	Score
0. Education on family relationships	-----
1. Counselling and guidance on family planning	-----
2. Family planning service	-----
3. Medication for STDs	-----
4. Others, please specify	----- -----

28. Have you ever given any kind of information stated below to any of your friends ? Please give a score for every item from the key below.

Key
1=Yes
2=No

	Score
0. Methods to prevent pregnancy	-----
1. Methods of family planning	-----
2. Places for family planning services	-----
3. Places to get condoms/pills	-----
4. Others, please specify	----- -----

V. Knowledge on reproductive health

1. Have you ever received information on sexuality ?
0. Yes
1. No (go to question no. 3)

2. The statements below mention several sources of information that you might have used to get information on sexuality. Please tick (V) for the sources that you have used and also give a score for those sources you have answered on their usefulness of information that they give on sexuality according to the key scores mentioned below.

Key

- 1 = Not useful at all
- 2 = Not useful
- 3 = Do not know
- 4 = Useful
- 5 = Very useful

	Source of knowledge (V)	Usefulness of information (Score)
0. Girlfriend/boyfriend	-----	-----
1. Mother	-----	-----
2. Father	-----	-----
3. Other family members	-----	-----
4. Friends	-----	-----
5. Counsellor/teacher	-----	-----
6. Newspapers/magazines/novels/books	-----	-----
7. Radio	-----	-----
8. TV/film	-----	-----
9. School, please specify in what subject -----	-----	-----
10. Others, please specify----- -----	-----	-----
99. Do not know		

3. Have you ever heard about STDs mentioned below ? Please tick (V) each item in the appropriate space.

	Yes	No
0. Syphilis	-----	-----
1. Gonorrhoea	-----	-----
2. Herpes	-----	-----
3. Chlamydia	-----	-----
4. HIV/AIDS	-----	-----

Note: for those who answer yes....for a certain item, please continue to the next questions, for those who answer no for all items please go directly to partVI.

4. Do you know how the following kinds of STDs spread ? Please tick (V) for each item in the appropriate space, for items that have a tick please state how it is being transmitted.

	Yes	No	Please state how it is being transmitted
0. Syphilis	-----	-----	-----
1. Gonorrhoea	-----	-----	-----
2. Herpes	-----	-----	-----
3. Chlamydia	-----	-----	-----
4. HIV/AIDS	-----	-----	-----

VI. Knowledge on family planning

1. Do you think that young people need to have information or knowledge on family planning ?
 0. Yes
 1. No

2. Why, please describe your reason briefly.

3. Do you agree that contraceptives should be sold also to unmarried young people?
 0. Yes, I agree
 1. No, I do not agree
 2. I do not have any opinion on this issue (please go to question no.5).

4. Why, please describe your reason briefly.

5. What kind of contraception do you know ? Please specify.

6. What kind of contraceptive method/methods do you think is best to use for young people in your age group who are sexually active and want to use contraception ? Please specify.

7. Why do you think that the method that you have stated in question no.6 is the best ?
 0. There is no side effect and if there is side effect it is minimum
 1. Effective
 2. Easily available
 3. Easy to use
 4. Cheap, or even without any cost
 5. Protects against STDs
 6. It does not affect sexual satisfaction
 7. Others, please specify -----
 8. Do not know

VII. Dating and respondent status

1. Have you had any girlfriend/boyfriend in the past?
 0. Yes
 1. No (go to part VIII, page 22)

2. How old were you when you started dating ?

----- years

3. Do you currently have a boyfriend/girlfriend ?
 0. Yes
 1. No (go to part VIII, page 22)
4. How old is your girlfriend/boyfriend ?
 ----- years
5. How long have you been dating your girlfriend/boyfriend ?
 ----- months ----- years
6. Have you introduced your girlfriend/boyfriend to your parents ?
 0. Yes
 1. No
7. Are you already formally engaged ?
 0. Yes
 1. No
8. At the moment, have you and your girlfriend/boyfriend any plans to get married ?
 0. We have never talked about getting married (go to part VIII)
 1. Yes
 2. No
 3. I have tried to talk about it but my girlfriend/boyfriend was not interested.
 4. My girlfriend/boyfriend has talked about it but I am not interested
 5. Others, please specify-----

9. When are you planning to get married ?
 0. We do not have plans about getting married
 1. Maybe in the coming year
 2. Maybe in more than one year after this year
 3. Others, please specify-----

10. Do you live with your girlfriend/boyfriend ?
 0. Yes
 1. No (go to part VIII)
11. When did you start living together ?
 ----- months ----- years

VIII. Individual experiences

In this section, I would like to know about your personal experiences, please give your honest answers for each item stated below, please remember that your confidentiality is safe.

1. Have you experienced any of the following activities with a member of the opposite sex who is not a member of your family? Please tick (V) for each item in the available space.

	Yes	No
0. Holding hands	-----	-----
1. Hugging	-----	-----
2. Intense hugging	-----	-----
3. Cheek kissing	-----	-----
4. Lips kissing	-----	-----
5. Breast fondling	-----	-----
6. Genital fondling with clothes	-----	-----
7. Genital fondling without clothes	-----	-----
8. Masturbation	-----	-----
9. Petting	-----	-----
10. Petting with intercourse	-----	-----

(Note: For items that have a tick for yes....., please continue to question no.2, for items with no as an answer, go to part IX).

2. At what age and with whom (for example, friend, girlfriend/boyfriend, fiance/fiancee) did you engage in the stated behaviours?

	Age (years)	With whom
0. Holding hands	-----	-----
1. Hugging	-----	-----
2. Intense hugging	-----	-----
3. Cheek kissing	-----	-----
4. Lips kissing	-----	-----
5. Breast fondling	-----	-----
6. Genital fondling with clothes	-----	-----
7. Genital fondling without clothes	-----	-----
8. Masturbation	-----	-----
9. Petting	-----	-----
10. Petting with intercourse	-----	-----

For those of you who have experienced premarital intercourse, please continue to the next questions, please be honest and remember that your confidentiality is safe.

For those of you who have not yet experienced any premarital intercourse, please go to part XI on page 26.

IX. First Memory

Listed below are questions about your first premarital intercourse experience and other premarital intercourse experiences with your partner. Once again please remember that your confidentiality is safe.

1. What motivated you to have premarital sex for the first time ? Please give a brief description ?

2. Where did you have your first premarital sex ? Please specify.

3. How old was you at that time ? Please specify ----- years.
4. How old were your girlfriend/boyfriend at that time ?
Please specify ----- years.
5. With whom did you have your first sexual intercourse ?
 0. Friend
 1. Girlfriend/boyfriend
 2. Fiance
 3. Husband/wife to be
 4. *Perek*
 5. Others, please specify -----
6. How did you feel after having sex for the first time ? Please describe briefly:

7. How did your girlfriend/boyfriend feel after having sex for the first time ? Please describe briefly:

8. Did you and your girlfriend/boyfriend ever plan for the first sexual intercourse to happen ? Please describe briefly:

9. At that time did you or your girlfriend/boyfriend use any kind of contraceptive method, please specify the kind of contraceptive method used when you had your first sexual intercourse ?

----- (If you or your girlfriend/boyfriend did not use any please go to part X, page 25)
10. Who prepared the contraception ? Please specify.

11. Where did you or your girlfriend/boyfriend get the contraception ? Please specify -----

If you have had experience of premarital sex more than one time, please be honest and answer the following questions. I would like to remind you again that your confidentiality is safe. For those of you who have not experienced premarital sex more than once, please continue to part XI, page 27.

X. Other experiences

1. How often do you usually have sexual intercourse ?
 0. Less than four times a year
 1. On average maybe once a month
 2. On average maybe once a week
 3. On average maybe twice a week
 4. On average maybe three times a week
 5. On average maybe almost every day
 6. Others, please specify-----

2. With whom do you usually have sexual intercourse ?
 0. Friend
 1. Girlfriend/boyfriend
 2. Fiance/fiancee
 3. Husband/wife to be
 3. *Perek*
 4. Prostitute
 5. Others, please specify-----

3. When did you have sexual intercourse without using any contraception?
 0. I/my girlfriend/boyfriend always use contraception
(please go to part XI, page 27)
 1. One week ago
 2. One month ago
 3. One year ago
 4. More than one year ago

4. The last time when you had sexual intercourse without any kind of contraception, were you worried about getting pregnant ?
 0. I was not worried
 1. I was a little bit worried
 2. I was definitely worried
 99. Do not know

5. Did your partner worry about getting pregnant ?
 0. He/she was not worried
 1. He/she was a little bit worried
 2. He/she was definitely worried
 99. Do not know

6. The last time when you had sexual intercourse without any kind of contraception, did you worried about getting STDs ?
 0. I was not worried
 1. I was a little bit worried
 2. I was definitely worried
 99. Do not know

- 7. Did your partner worry about getting STDs ?
 - 0. He/she was not worried
 - 1. He/she was a little bit worried
 - 2. He/she was definitely worried
 - 99. Do not know

XI. Stages in marriage and marriage values

1. If you are ever going to get married, what do you expect from marriage ? Please describe it briefly.

2. Do you think someone has to get married ?

0. Yes, please describe your reason briefly

1. No, please describe your reason briefly

2. Do not know

3. Listed below are statements about values and opinions on marriage, what do you think about it, please give a score for each item using the score in the given key.

Key

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Do not know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

	Score
0. If a woman is already married, then she should not work outside the family circle	-----
1. Husband has the right to stop wife from working	-----
2. Education levels between husband and wife should be equal	-----
3. Husband is the head of the household who has the power	-----
4. As the head of the household husband has the power like a king	-----
5. Family income should totally come from the husband	-----
6. Husband and wife have the same power in family decisions	-----
7. I want to develop a career, get married, but delay having children	-----
8. I want to develop a career, get married and have children	-----
9. I want to only develop my career	-----
10. I want to get married, without developing my career	-----
11. Marriage can give economic security	-----
12. Marriage can bring lots of responsibility	-----
13. In a successful marriage each partner can actualise themselves	-----
14. Marriage as an institution is not important	-----
15. Marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot actualise	-----

themselves

4. If you were looking for a husband/wife what kinds of characteristics would you be looking for ? Please tick (V) for each item below.

	Yes	No	Not important
0. Have the same beliefs/religion	-----	-----	-----
1. Have high education	-----	-----	-----
2. Practise all religious values and teaching	-----	-----	-----
3. From the same ethnic group	-----	-----	-----
4. Indonesian citizenship	-----	-----	-----
5. Approval from parent	-----	-----	-----
6. Have a high socio-economic status	-----	-----	-----
7. Son/daughter of an informal leader	-----	-----	-----
8. Have a job	-----	-----	-----
9. Physically attractive	-----	-----	-----
10. Others, please specify-----			

5. What do you think about an arranged marriage made by parents or other relatives ?

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Do not know
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

6. Who do you think has more power in choosing a husband/wife to be ?

0. Father
 1. Mother
 2. Father and mother
 3. Family member
 4. Myself
 5. Others, please specify -----
-
-

7. Before entering a marriage union, do you think that there are stages of adaptation in a relationship between a husband and wife to be ?

0. Yes
1. No
2. Do not know

8. How important are the stages of relationship-adaptation stated below before one's marriage ? Please give a score as stated in the key for each items listed below.

Key

- 1 = Not important at all
- 2 = Not important
- 3 = Do not know
- 4 = Important
- 5 = Very important

	Score
0. Getting to know each other	-----
1. Dating	-----

- 2. Going steady -----
- 3. Introduce to girlfriend's/boyfriend's parents and to my parents -----
- 4. Marriage proposal -----
- 5. Formal engagement -----
- 6. Financial planning for marriage -----
- 7. Planning the date for the wedding -----
- 8. The wedding religious ceremony -----
- 9. The wedding party -----

9. Who do you think should finance your wedding party ? Please give a score as stated in the key for each items listed below.

Key

- 1 = Strongly disagree
- 2 = Disagree
- 3 = Do not know
- 4 = Agree
- 5 = Strongly agree

Score

- 0. Bridegroom -----
- 1. Parents of the bride -----
- 2. Parents of the groom -----
- 3. Relatives of the bride -----
- 4. Relatives of the groom -----
- 5. Others, please specify-----

10. When you are planning to get married, what would you prefer :

- 0. Have a big wedding party, but still do not have a house to live in
- 1. Have a big wedding party, and also already have a house to live in
- 2. Have a small wedding party, but still do not have a house to live in
- 3. Have a small wedding party, and also already have a house to live in
- 4. Have a religious thanksgiving meal, and also already have a house to live in
- 5. Other, please specify-----

11. How many years of age difference, if any should husband and wife have ?

- 0. Age difference between husband and wife does not matter
- 1. Husband should be younger than wife
- 2. Husband and wife should be of the same age
- 3. Husband should be 1-2 years older than wife
- 4. Husband should be 2-3 years older than wife
- 5. Husband should be 5 years older than wife
- 6. Husband should be 6 or more years older than wife
- 7. Do not know

12. Have you ever thought about what age you would get married ?

- 0. ----- years
- 1. Never thought about it.

13. Have you have any kind of pressure to get married ?
(For answers code from 0-4 you can have more that one answer)
0. Yes, from friends
 1. Yes, from parents (but not because of younger sister/brother who is getting married)
 2. Yes, from grandparents
 3. Yes, from family members-relatives (because younger sister/brother just got married)
 4. Yes, from the society
 5. Never experienced any kind of pressure to get married (go to question no. 15)
14. From whom did you mostly get the pressure to get married ? Please specify

15. In our society what do people think about divorce, is it something that is normal or opposing thing to do ?
0. Normal thing to happen
 1. Not good to happen
 2. Opposing thing to happen
 3. Do not know
 4. Did not want to answer

Thank you so much for your participation, please insert the questionnaire in the envelope, and seal it. Please give the envelope to the researchers or research assistants. Once again thank you kindly for your time and participation.

Appendix 3.2

**The Australian National University
Research School of Social Sciences
Department of Demography**

Focus Group Guidelines

Marriage values, mixing behaviours and sexuality among middle-class young people in Jakarta

PhD Research

Principal investigator: Iwu Utomo

Research Sites : Jakarta, DI Yogyakarta, Palembang

Introduction and objective of the focus group discussions

1. Thank you for coming and being willing to participate in this focus group discussion.
2. Your willingness to come and participate in the discussion is highly appreciated and important for the success of my study.
3. My name is Iwu Utomo, I am a student at the Australian National University, Research School of Social Sciences, Demography Program. The ANU is located in Canberra. At the moment I am collecting data for my PhD thesis about marriage values, mixing behaviours and sexuality among the young people in Indonesia. I am conducting my studies in three urban areas, Jakarta, DI Yogyakarta and Indonesia. Beside focus group discussions, I also collected data from in-depth interviews and survey.
4. For those of you who have never experienced participating in a focus group discussion, I just want to introduce briefly what a focus group discussion is. Focus group discussion is a method to gather information through a discussion. This method is often used for market research. In the discussion, I will raise several questions or issues and any of you are welcome to respond or comment. Your participation in the discussion is strongly expected.
5. In this discussion, we will discuss marriage values, mixing behaviours and sexuality among the young people in Indonesia. I am really interested to hear your opinion, comments or any experiences you have relating to this issue.
6. In the discussion there is no right or wrong answer, any kind of response whether it has a positive or negative connotation is welcome. You can also criticise any issues that are being discussed.
7. Feel free to have a different opinion from the rest of the group, I would like to hear as many comments, opinions and criticisms as possible.

8. This discussion will be recorded, but your confidentiality is safe, so do not feel threatened by the recording. The recording is necessary for my research so I can transcribe the discussion and make a detailed report on it. This is essential for later analysis.
9. I would like this to be a group discussion, so do not wait for me to asked each of you to comment. You are all free make comments, but please remember that when someone is speaking others who would like to make comments will have to wait until the first person has finished talking.
10. But anytime when I am talking and you want to comment just remind me that you want to say something. Once again feel free to make any kind of remarks or comments and remember that your confidentiality is safe.

Objective of the study

As I have mentioned earlier the objective of this study is to gather information on mixing behaviours, marriage values and sexuality among the young people in Jakarta, DI Yogyakarta and Palembang. This study is for my PhD thesis. The result of this study will be useful for identifying young people's needs in regard to mixing behaviour, sexuality and reproductive health services and for policies relating to young people's programs.

Questions that will be raised in our discussion are related to mixing behaviours prior to marriage, criteria when looking for a husband/wife, stages of relationships prior to marriage, attitudes and values relating to premarital sex, knowledge on contraception methods, sexuality and abortion. Some of these issues are very sensitive but I would appreciate highly if all of you can be honest and participate in the discussion. I just want to remind you once again that your confidentiality is safe and we can have the discussion in a relaxed and informal way. Thank you once again for your willingness to participate.

I. Mixing behaviour among the young people

1. What do you think about mixing behaviour among young people nowadays ?
2. What do think about the effect of mass media on young people's mixing behaviour ? (Mass media : news papers, magazines, radio, television, movies ect).
3. In your opinion in a relationships before marriage, what kind of sexual activities can a couple be engaged in ?
4. Where does or from whom does someone learn about premarital sexual behaviour that is proper and not proper when a couple is not married yet?
5. Do you think virginity (for both male and female) is important in marriage ?
6. What do you think about premarital sexual intercourse ?
7. What do you think about the availability of contraception and use of contraception among young people ?
8. From whom or where do young people receive information or knowledge about sexuality-sex education ?

II. Marital concepts and understanding

1. What do you think about arranged marriage ?
2. What kind of criteria or aspects do young people look for when they are looking for a husband/wife ?
3. Who do you think has more power in deciding on choosing one's marriage partner ?
4. Do you think there are stages of relationships that have to be experienced before someone gets married ?
5. Nowadays, do you think that a big and luxurious wedding party is still appropriate?
6. Who do you think should finance a wedding party ?
7. What does marriage mean to you ?
8. In our society, do you think marriage is more important than career development, please discuss your reasons? development, please discuss your reasons?

Table A.3.3 Adolescent sexuality research in Indonesia, 1960-1990

Author	Date	Settings	Source of sample	Size of sample	Premarital sex			Premarital pregnancy (N cases)
					Female (6)	Male (7)	Total (8)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Gille and Pardoko	1961	Tjermee and Dududk, East Java	Male and female, single and married. Selected through household	3215	-	13	-	-
Sadli and Biran ^a	1976	Jakarta	Male and female high school students	1156	-	-	-	-
Sarwono ^a	1978	Indonesia	Male and female Gadis's readers	282	-	-	-	-
Hadi	1978	DI. Yogyakarta	Housewives who came to the clinic for maternal health and family planning services	280	-	-	-	59
Sarwono	1981	Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, Medan	Tempo's readers	283	-	17 % have sex with prost.	2.48 % have sex with girl/ boy friend	-
Sarwono ^b	1981	Jakarta	Male and female <i>Prambos</i> listeners or participants attending speeches held by the Youth Population Movement club	417	1	27	-	-
Wowor	1977 - 1981	Manado	Married and single women who came to deliver at the General Hospital Manado	160	-	-	-	80
Angsar Dikmono	1976 - 1979	Surabaya	Clients with premarital pregnancy who came to Dr. Sutomo General Hospital	158	-	-	-	158 in which 55.4 % are adolescent girls
Sarwono ^c	1981	Jakarta	Single, male and female Faculty of Psychology UI students (18-24 years old)	84	-	-	-	-
Pangkahila	1981	Denpasar	Male and female high school students	633	-	-	23	-
Eko in Minggu Pagi 8 January, 1983	1983	Yogyakarta	Male and female high school students	461	-	-	8.53	-

Table A.3.3		continued						
Angsar Dikmono	1983 - 1984	Surabaya	Clients with premarital pregnancy who came to Dr. Sutomo General Hospital	547	-	-	-	547 in which 243 cases were adolescent girls aged 18-19 years
Dasakung Group ^c	1984	Yogyakarta	Male and female, single, university students	29	-	-	-	
University Islam Indonesia	1984	Yogyakarta	Brides and grooms in religious administrative office	846	-	-	3.79	111
Putra et al.	1984 - 1985	Jakarta	Clients 14-27 years old who came for abortion, 170 were still single	200	-	-	-	200 preg., 168 went for abortion and 4 cases have already experienced premarital abortion
Hadi	1984 - 1990	Yogyakarta	Single women who came to consult about their premarital pregnancy	693	-	-	-	693
Warouw and Wowor	1987	Manado	Clients who came for menstrual regulation	77	-	-	-	77 premarital pregnancies in which 48% were university students and 33 % were high school students
Sarwono et al.	1987	Medan	Single males and females	2053	-	-	-	-
		Kupang	aged 15-25 years, high school students and	478				3.6
		Surabaya	drop-outs	530				13.1
		Yogyakarta		489				3.4
				556				8.5

Table A.3.3		continued						
SAHAJA in Sarwono et al., 1987.	1985	Java Tengah	Single males and females 15-27 years	342	-	-	1.53	-
SAHAJA in Sarwono et al., 1987.	1985	Medan	Single male and female 14-22 years	257	5.91	11.14	7.48	-
Faculty of Psychology UI.	1987	Jakarta	Male and female young people aged 16-20 years	800	-	-	651 reported knowing friends who had had sex	-
Widyantoro	1989	Jakarta and Bali	Single females who came for menstrual regulation	65	-	-	-	65
Widyantoro	1989	Jakarta	Single females aged 15-25 who came for menstrual regulation	405	-	-	-	405
Waraouw	1989	Manado	Clients who came for menstrual regulation of whom 28.7 % were married and 71.3 % single.	663	-	-	-	663
Population Studies Center University of Gadjah Mada	1989	Anonymous, one province in Java and another one from outer Java	Single males and females 15-24 years old	1435	1.7	18.1	10.0	-
Sudhana et al.	1991	Towns and villages located in Bandung regency, Bali	15 young couples of whom the women were seeking menstrual regulation	30	-	-	-	15
Suparman and Loho	1991	Manado	Married and single women <16-19 years old who came to the clinic to seek menstrual regulation. Only 4.22% were married women.	166	-	-	-	166
Surapaty et al.	1991	Palembang	University of Sriwijaya male and female students	320	2.0 ever used pills	4.1 ever used condom	1.8 ever used calender system	-

Table A.3.3		continued						
Haryadi ¹	1991		Male and female junior and high school students	(1122)				
		Bandung		666			12.3	-
		Cirebon		173			-	-
		Sukabumi		96			1.6	-
		Bogor		187			1.8	-
Djuarsa and Tirtahusada	1991	Surabaya	Clients who came for menstrual regulation to Indrapura clinic	418	-	-	-	418
								255 (61 %) is 13-10 years old
State Ministry of Population and Environment and Population Studies Centre University of Gadjah Mada	1991 / 1992	Manado	Male and female single young people aged 14-24 years	296	11.7	40.4	26.3	3 (2.1) females 8 (5.3) males
Purwanto and Harmudya	1992	Bengkulu	Male and female high school students	118	-	-	27.4	
Faturochman	1992	Yogyakarta	Single males and females from rural and urban areas aged 15-24 years	701	-	-	<5	-
Yayasan Kusuma Buana	1993	Jakarta Bandung Semarang DI. Yogyakarta Surabaya Denpasar Kupang Ambon Menado Ujung Pandang Balikpapan Medan	Single, males and females young people aged 15-24 years, selected through household and Indonesian citizens. 300 cases were selected in each province, 30 cases were randomly selected for second in-depth interview	3594				-
Demography Institute Faculty of Economics UI ^a	1993	North Sumatra West Sumatra South Sumatra Lampung DKI. Jakarta West Java Central Java DI. Yogyakarta East Java Bali West Nusa Tenggara South Kalimantan South Sulawesi	Single male and female aged 15-25 years, selected through household	2994	-	-	-	-
Muninjaya	1993	Denpasar	Single, male and female young people aged 15-24 years	300	-	-	7	-
Ramli and Maidin	1993	Ujungpandang	Single, male and female young people aged 15-24 years in rural and urban areas, selected through household	210	18	28	-	-
National Family Planning Board	1993	(Total) Medan	Single, male and female young people selected	1038 291	- -	- 3.4	- -	- -

Table A.3.3 continued

		Palembang	through household	255	-	1.6	-	-
		Ujung pandang		256	.4	4.7	-	-
		Manado		236	1.7	5.9	-	-
Hadisaputro	1994	(Central Java)	Junior high and high school students aged <12->19 years old, male and female	2788	-	-	2.1	-
		Japara						
		Blora						
		Surakarta						
		Banyumas						
		Semarang						
		Brebes						
		Purbalinga						
		Wonosobo						
		Batana						
		Sukoharjo						
Faculty of Psychology	1995	Jakarta	Male and female, Moslem, University of Indonesia students	234	-	-	3.4	-
Moslem Students Discussion group								

Notes: various sources.

a. These studies only cover attitude towards sex.

b. *Prambos* is a radio station famous among the young people in Jakarta. The Youth Population Movement Club (*Gerakan remaja kependudukan*) is a club in collaboration with the Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association.

c. Given the instruction to write an essay 60 per cent of males and 47 per cent of females chose a topic on premarital sex.

d. Sixty two per cent of these students were living together and there were 3 cases of premarital pregnancy.

e. This study did not directly ask about premarital sex behaviour but only about knowledge, attitude and practice of family planning. Thus, it is assumed that respondents who have used a family planning method had experienced premarital sex.

f. Columns six, seven and eight for premarital sex are each divided into two columns, the first consists of premarital sex among junior high school students and the second among high school students.

Table Appendices 7.1 Variables for the factors of religion, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values of young people, older respondents and the combined group, Jakarta, 1995

Factors-Variables	Young people	Older respondent	Combined group
Religion			
Variance explained (percentage)	43.2	57.3	50.3
Obligation to Religious Performance			
Neglects prayers	X	X	X
Listens to religious preaching at school-faculty	X		
Listens to religious preaching at the mosque or church	X	X	X
Listens to religious preaching over the radio		X	
Reads religious books and or materials		X	
Importance of religion on one's life	X	X	X
Voluntary Religious Performance			
Listens to religious preaching at the office ^b		X	
Listens to religious preaching over the radio	X		X
Listens to religious preaching elsewhere	X	X	X
Reads religious books/materials	X		X
Exposure to media and Western culture			
Variance explained (percentage)	64.2	70.7	64.6
Media Influence on Broader Knowledge			
Usefulness of the media for knowledge of national political condition	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for knowledge of other countries' political condition	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for general knowledge about the nation	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for general knowledge about other countries	X	X	X
Watches English news programs		X	
Exposure to Religious Preachings and Songs on Television and Radio			
Listens to religious songs on the radio	X	X	X
Listens to religious preaching on the radio	X	X	X
Watches programs on religious songs on television	X	X	X
Watches programs on religious preaching on television	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for knowledge of religion	X	X	
Exposure to Western Music			
Listens to Western popular music on the radio	X	X	X
Watches programs on Western popular music on television	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for entertainment	X		X
Usefulness of the media for reproductive health-sexuality knowledge		X	
Watches Western movies ^b	X		
Media Influence on Reproductive Health Knowledge			
Usefulness of the media for health knowledge	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for reproductive health-sexuality knowledge	X		X
Usefulness of the media for family planning knowledge	X	X	X
Usefulness of the media for entertainment		X	
Usefulness of the media for knowledge on religion			X
Exposure to Indonesian Popular Music on Television and Radio			
Listens to Indonesian popular music on the radio	X	X	X
Watches programs on Indonesian popular music on television	X	X	X

Table Appendix 7.1 continued

Exposure to Radio News Programs and Popular Science Reports

Listens to news programs on the radio	X	X	X
Listens to reports on science on the radio	X	X	
Watches Indonesian news programs on television	X		X
Exposure to Science and Health Programs on Television			
Watches programs on scientific reports on television	X	X	X
Watches programs on health and reproductive health on television	X	X	X
Watches English news programs			X
Listens to reports on science on the radio			X
Exposure to Sport Activities			
Watches programs on Indonesian sports on television	X	X	X
Watches programs on Western sports on television	X	X	X
Exposure to Western Influences			
Experience in going to a discotheque ^b	X		
Watches English news programs	X		

Marriage Values			
Variance explained (percentage)	54.2	55.4	53.7
Traditional Viewpoint on Marriage			
If a women is already married, then she should not work outside the family circle	X	X	X
Family income should totally come from the husband	X	X	X
Husband has the right to stop wife from working	X		X
As the head of the household husband has power like a king	X		X
Husband is the head of the household who has the power			X
Importance of Marriage			
Marriage as an institution is not important	X		X
Marriage should be terminated if partners cannot develop themselves	X		X
Power Authority in Marriage			
Education levels of the husband and wife should be equal	X		X
Husband is the head of the household who has the power	X	X	
As the head of the household husband has power like a king		X	
In a successful marriage each couple can develop themselves			X
Equality Status Between Husband and Wife			
Husband and wife have the same power in family decisions	X	X	X
In a successful marriage each couple can develop themselves	X	X	
Marriage as an institution is not important		X	
Marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot develop themselves		X	
Education levels of the husband and wife should be equal		X	

Notes:

a. Data are from the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey.

b. For the factor analysis, listening to religious preaching at school or faculty were only applied to the young people, while listening to religious preaching at the office was only applied to the parents. Variables of going to a discotheque and watching Western movies were only included for the young people, because for the parents these questions were asked relating to their experiences when they were still young and not yet married. For the combined group, the same variables for young people and parents were selected. The principal components method with varimax rotation was applied in the factor analysis for all of the three groups.

Derivation of factors: religion, exposure to media and Western culture and marriage values for young people, parents and combined group

Two almost similar factors were produced from the seven religiosity variables for young people and parents and six variables (excluding one variable of listening to religious preaching at school or faculty-office) for the combined group (see Appendix Table 7.1). The first factor derives from three questions which are the same for all of the three groups (young people, parents and combined group) relating to religious obligations including adherence to prayer obligations, listening to religious preaching at the mosque or church and importance of religion in one's life. In this first factor listening to religious preaching at school or university was an additional variable for the young people, while reading religious books and listening to religious preaching on the radio was also included for the parents (*Obligation to Religious Performance*).

The second factor identified derives from three questions which are the same for the young people and the combined group. The three variables relating to voluntary religious performance are listening to religious preaching on the radio, listening to religious preaching in other places and reading religious books. For parents, this factor includes the additional variables: listening to religious preaching elsewhere and listening to religious preaching at the office (*Voluntary Religious Performance*). The percentage of variance accounted for by the two religious performance factors is 43.2 per cent for the young people, 57.5 per cent for parents, and 50.3 per cent for the combined group.

Eight factors for parents and the combined group were produced from the 25 questions relating to media usage and Western exposure. For the young people nine factors were produced from the 27 questions. The first factor, *Media Influence on Broader Knowledge*, derives from questions relating to foreign political news, internal political news, knowledge about Indonesia, and knowledge of foreign countries. The next factor *Exposure to Religious Preachings and Songs on Television and Radio* includes watching popular religious music on TV, listening to popular religious music on the radio, watching religious preaching on television, listening to religious preaching over the radio and usefulness of the media on knowledge on religion. For the combined group, the last variable was not included in the factor. The third media factor for the young people and the combined group, but the fourth factor for the parents is *Exposure to Western Music*. This factor consists of watching Western popular music on television and listening to Western popular music on the radio for all three groups. An additional variable was also included in this factor that is very different for each group, that is, usefulness of the media for entertainment for the young people and the combined group, watching Western movies for the young people and influence of the media on knowledge about sex for the parents. *Media Influence on Reproductive Health Knowledge*, for young people and parents came as the fourth factor but came as the third factor for the combined group. This factor is a combination of media influence on knowledge about family planning and health for all of the three groups with an additional variable of media influence on knowledge about sex for the young people and combined group. For the combined group another variable is added to this factor (influence of the media on knowledge on religion), while for the parents influence of the media on entertainment is added. The following factor *Exposure to Indonesian Popular Music on Television and Radio* came as the fifth factor for the young people and the combined group and the seventh factor for the parents constitutes listening to Indonesian popular music on radio and television. *Exposure to Radio News Programs and Popular Science Reports* was the sixth factor for the young people and parents and the seventh factor for the combined group, and encompasses such variables as listening to news on the radio, watching Indonesian news on television (only for the young people and the combined group), and listening to news or programs about science on the radio (only for the young people and the parents). The seventh factor for the young people, *Exposure to Science and Health Programs on Television*, was the sixth factor for the combined group and the eighth factor for the parents; it consists of a combination of variables on watching science and health programs on television. This variable is added with watches English news programs on

television for the young people and the combined group, and with an addition of listens to science reports on the radio for the latter group. *Exposure to Sport Activities*, which came as the eighth factor for the young people and the combined group and the fifth factor for the parents, constitutes variables on watching Indonesian and foreign sport programs on television. Finally, *Exposure to Western Influences* which came as the ninth factor for the young people consists of variables on going to discotheques and watching English news programs on television. This last factor did not come as a factor for the parents and combined group because the variable on going to discotheques was not included. The total variance accounted for by the nine factors of this model for the young people is 64.2 per cent. The first factor accounts for 14.7 per cent and the eighth factor accounted for 3.8 per cent of the total variance. For the parents the total variance accounted for by the eight factors is 70.7 per cent. The first factors account for 20.2 per cent and the ninth factor accounted for 4.4 per cent, while for the combined group the total variance accounted for by the eight factors is 64.6 per cent. The first factors accounted for 16.1 per cent and the eighth factor accounted for 4.1 per cent of the total variance.

Finally, four factors were produced from 10 questions relating to marriage values for the young people and combined group whereas for the parents there were only three factors. The first factor for young people and combined group is *Traditional Viewpoint on Marriage* which is a combination of variables such as: after marriage a woman should not work any more, a husband can have the power to stop a wife from working, husband should provide the economic support for the family, and husband is the head of the household therefore he has power like a king. For the combined group, the variable 'as the head of the household does the husband have control over his family ?' is also included in this factor. For parents this factor came as the third factor and only included two variables, after marriage a woman should not work any more and husband should provide the economic support for the family. The second factor *Importance of Marriage* for the young people and combined group constitutes variables such as marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot develop themselves and marriage as an institution is not important. For the parents the factor analysis did not produce this factor because the variables included in this factor are combined with other variables to produce the status equity between husband and wife factor discussed latter. The following factor *Power-Authority in Marriage* for the young is a combination of the following variables: should education between husband and wife be the same ? and as the head of the household husband has the power. For the parents this factor came as the second factor and consists of two variables, as the head of the household husband has the power and as the head of the household husband has power like a king. For the combined group this factor consists of two variables, education between husband and wife should be equal and in a successful marriage each couple can actualise themselves. The final factor for the young people describes how husband and wife should have the same influence on the family decision-making process, and how in a successful marriage each partner must have the same opportunity to develop themselves. For the combined group this factor only consists of the first variable mentioned above. This factor is called *Status Equality Between Husband and Wife in Marriage*. This factor came as the first factor for the parents with the addition of four variables: education levels of husband and wife should be equal, marriage as an institution is not important and marriage should be terminated if each partner cannot actualise themselves. The percentage of variance accounted for by these factors for the young people is 54.2 per cent with the first factor accounting for 17.0 per cent of the total variance and the last factor 10.7 per cent. For the parents the total variance for these factors is 55.4 per cent with the first factor accounting for 24.0 per cent and the third factor 12.5 per cent, whereas for the combined group the total variance is 53.7 per cent with the first factor accounting for 17.5 per cent and the fourth factor 10.6 per cent of the total variance.

Appendix 8.1

Case 1 In-depth interview Changes on mixing behaviour: youth, sex and prostitution

Achdiat (male, 83 years old, married, 4 children, famous writer) analyses how mixing behaviour has changed over time and how 'Western' slants have influenced young Indonesians since the Dutch colonialism. His focus in the interview is on the theme of how modernisation and social change have influenced mixing behaviour among young Indonesians. He also observes how problems related to prostitution cannot be separated from social, economic, political and cultural aspects of a country. It is quite interesting to analyse Achdiat's interview on the above aspects because he grew up in Garut, a small town in West Java. Coming from an elite family, Achdiat had the opportunity to go to HMS and HBS which only a few of the inlanders could afford.¹ He has witnessed how changes in mixing behaviour have occurred in three generations. Below is the interview with Achdiat:

We cannot deny that there is a major social change occurring in Indonesia, what do you think about this ?

In evaluating social change, it cannot be separated from political, economical and cultural changes. For example, in political change, in my opinion because we were used to being colonised for hundreds of years, the Indonesians like to use the feudal system. In Indonesia the philosophy of power still strongly exists, that is why the democratic system is less fully implemented and corruption is widely practised. This power authority was explicitly observed when the government took the action of closing *Tempo*. The government did not take into consideration that so many lives depend upon this company. In my time if a reporter made a mistake, then he would go to trial and be dragged through court, but the government did not close down the entire company.

In the arena of politics there is not much change because up to this moment, democracy has not been fully practised yet. Collaboration between the government and its people also have not exist. The form of power authority that is being practised now is similar to those in the past, in the era of feudalism, this process is added with the bureaucracy stages that is so complicated. There is no or very limited rule of laws here. In the colonial era rule of law did exist. If a person made a mistake, then that person would be dragged to court, not the whole company where he or she worked.

The economic system in Indonesia favours the gap between the rich and the very poor, the rich can become richer and the poor even poorer. I know someone who celebrated his birthday at Jakarta Hilton Hotel, it cost four million rupiahs to rent the room. This did not include food and drink. And yet he is only the son of a government employee. Where did he get the money? So in a moral sense it is not right, because economic power can influence one's moral judgement.

Relating to sexual behaviour, economic aspects can influence sexual behaviour in addition to influences from the West. For example free sex, changing partners from the US. In Indonesia the condition is worsened because the economy permits immoral events to happen. The economic system does not just affect the higher class but also the lower class.

¹ HMS and HBS were only for the Dutch or elite inlanders. The elite inlanders in this period can be defined as people who had an income about 200 gulden, for comparison the average population only earned about two and a half cents per day. One gulden is equal to 100 cents. Or people who had feudal attributes like *Raden* or *Raden Mas*. People who had an income of 200 gulden or more were people who worked with the government or native traders-business men. But native traders-business men were not the elite, because they were only elite in terms of income, but socially they were called *santana*. During the Dutch colonisation there was also racial class, the rankings were Dutch-European, Dutch-Indonesian, Asian origin-Chinese and Indian, and Indonesian. So the Indonesians had the lowest racial rank even though they were living in their own country. Discrimination in wages was quite evident. Even though an inlander had the same education and other qualifications as the other ethnicity, still the inlander would receive a smaller income.

The higher class, or people that have power, like to engage in adultery and the lower classes serve them as prostitutes. Of course the lower classes need this for the economic reason to survive. I have observed in a cigarette company, the workers only receive five hundred rupiahs and lunch per day. The female workers have to prostitute themselves in order to survive.

What do you think of the increasing mischief among the young Indonesians ?

The young Indonesian does not only deal with drugs, but village youngsters have also been drinking alcohol. Sexual crimes among young Indonesians have also tended to increase, for example a young girl is forced to drink and become drunk, then 6-7 young males rape her, it is so immoral, in my years those things did not happen.

In your opinion do you think that all the mischievous behaviour among the young Indonesians is influenced by the West ? Or is it we that always want to look for a scape-goat in explaining their bad behaviour. Take sexual behaviour for example, in the past keeping mistresses has been evident and widely practised.

But it is so different, because in the past even though there are mistresses and *nyai*, we know the owner of the mistresses or *nyai* and they have a sexual relationship only with their master. This condition has been happening ever since before I was born up until the Indonesian independence era. These *nyai-nyai* were not married by their master who were Chinese or Dutch, but Arab masters always married their *nyai*. This is like what I wrote in my book *Atheist*, where Kartini's marriage was arranged by her mother to an old rich Arab man so she could have land and a house.

Is this kind of marriage arrangement the same as a marriage contract ?

Mistresses or *nyai* arrangement are not the same. In a certain way the Western influences have invaded us. But among the lower class engaging in prostitution or being a mistress or *nyai* is more common because of economic conditions, the economic effect is greater than the globalisation of information, because television programs have reached villages. It is not that they want to have a luxurious life, but they prostitute themselves to have an additional income, that's common.

How can you define modernisation ?

Modernisation is Westernisation based on materialistic values. It does have an effect and the influence can be very damaging in a certain way. For example among the educated they feel so prestigious and yet their soul is empty. They know how to live in a Western way like eating with spoon and fork and have a car, but their soul is empty because they do not have moral principles. So Western ways of doing things are easily absorbed, but what does this mean ? So modernisation is just like a magic word. But of course among the educated, some people also have a good soul.

It seems that even though your book was written in 1940, the ideology being battled in your book is still being battled nowadays.

Yes... in this case much is still the same. That is why I am invited to give a talk this coming September, on the 22, in relation to *Balai Pustaka's* 70th anniversary. What I have written in *Atheist* is still a recent phenomenon, especially now, when new religious beliefs are emerging. I have been interviewed by a reporter from a Moslem magazine and an Australian reporter regarding my book. The Australian reporter asked me, 'you believe in God now, so what is next, what does it mean ?'. So they force me to think that now that I believe in God, what does it mean ? What does religion mean to my life, I will speak on this matter at the seminar. As a Moslem, I cannot depart from Islamic religious teaching and God in Islam is very well defined.

Yes...in Atheist, besides defining religious values, you also discuss women's status, and about how women should not have lower status, and should not be discriminated against.

Until this period women's rights are still being fought for. In your story about arranged marriage, in this modern era arrangement of marriage also still happens, for instance because of business or social status reasons.

That is right, the moral values do not change, but the application of those moral values have changed.

That's right, in your book Kartini and Hassan also kissed when they were dating, just like young Indonesians of today.

Yes it is still the same, but the application is different. In my days, kissing rarely happened, nowadays people kiss every where..., in the street...especially in Australia.

How has mixing behaviour between the sexes changed ?

The difference exists in the behaviour, young Indonesians of today do not consider others, because their sense of individualism is stronger compared with previous generations. In the past we still thought about what others would say, but nowadays the young Indonesians do not care any more what others will say. So the social control in the past was quite strong compared to the recent situation.

At this point, Donny (male, single, 24 years old, musician, born from Indonesian-Australian mixed marriage), Achdiat's grandson entered the living room and joined in the conversation.

When you were young, what kind of activities were you engaged in?

In my time, there were no activities organised by the school. I usually played tennis and soccer. We did not have any kind of activities like putting the Indonesian flag on stand or singing the national anthem, at that time it was against the law. I went to school from 7.00 in the morning till 1.00 in the afternoon.

Who went to school ?

In my time, only the elite went to school. In those days there were no universities yet, there were literature-linguistic faculties, the faculty of law, medicine, agriculture, zoology and engineering. These faculties were spread out and did not exist under one university. In Bandung there are HBS and HMS and these schools were only for the Dutch or elite inlanders.

Who could be defined as elite ?

The elite were those with an income of 200 gulden. In general, the average income was two and a half cents per day. One gulden is 100 cents. Can you image the big gap between the elite and the poor, whereas the rich can earned 7 gulden per day or 700 cents, and yet the poor only had two and a half cents or five cents.

Who could earn 200 gulden ?

My father can be categorised into this category. My father because of his education could make 200 gulden, others who were *Raden* or *Raden Mas* can also be included in this group. Usually they worked with the government. They were called *priyayi*. This system of *priyayi* existed since way back and this *priyayi* group were called the elite. There was a division between high middle class and low middle class. Included in the low middle class were administrators or teachers, in their villages they also had an elite status.

There was also racial difference: Dutch-European, Dutch-Indonesian, other Asian origin (Chinese, India ect.), and inlander-Indonesian who had the lowest racial rank.

In my case, even though I graduated from the same school with other Dutch children, and even though the Indonesians may have been more capable than the Dutch, we still had lower incomes. Recently, this racial difference does not exist any more but other types of discrimination still exist. For example familial connections when seeking a job.

In my time there were only a few entrepreneurs. Nini's parents (Achdiat's wife) were entrepreneurs. They had a *batik* factory and also produced perfume oil that was

exported to France. They also had rice fields. In that time they were called the *santana*, they were middle class but they were not elite. So the *santana* who were traders and entrepreneurs were not socially elite...in this regard they were considered as the second class. So the *santana* were elite economically but not socially. My wife always teased me about the way that the *priyayi* often borrowed money from the *santana*, who were considered as having lower status. My in-laws also had hotels...but still even though they were considered as economically elite, they were not socially elite. But because my in-laws had an income of more than 200 gulden, it was not a problem for their children to go to school. Recently 'rich entrepreneurs' are considered as both economically and socially elite.

For example I have been invited to some very big wedding parties, one invited about three thousand guests and the other invited four thousand guests. One was held at the Sahid Jaya Hotel and the other at Jakarta Hilton Hotel, it was incredible. For a comparison, when I made a wedding party for my daughter in Canberra, we only invited 50 guests, and many Indonesians contributed to the event. I did not have to spend any money. When Mr Gorton, the Prime Minister of Australia had a wedding party for his daughter in 1968/69, the party was held in the backyard of his garden, and only 50 guests were invited. Of course in Australia there are also people who have a luxurious wedding party, but not as luxurious as the Indonesians. Well this phenomenon of big wedding parties has only emerged recently. In my time the rich Indonesians were not as many as today.

When we talk about marriage, in the past parents used to marry their children for reasons relating to their social status. For example if we are middle class than we would want to have wedding party to show that we are from the middle class. But actually the wedding party was the parents' wish, and maybe not what the children wanted. Because usually the children did not have money after the wedding and still had to live with their parents. So are the wedding parties that have become a cultural event, a parental wish or the children's wish ?

In my opinion, it is because of the parents' wish in relation to their social prestige. So there is no change, in the past someone could be categorised as elite when their income reached 100 thousand rupiahs and now someone is considered elite when they have an income of one million rupiahs, people of today are very 'gengsi' (classy).

Donny : the prestigious feeling is not just for the parents of the bride and groom, but also for the invited guests.

The guests have a prestigious feeling because they are invited by the important host.

Donny if you were able to choose, what would you prefer ? a big wedding party or your parents to just give you the money for the wedding party ?

Young Indonesians of today sometimes do that, they do not want their wedding to be celebrated.

But will their parents permit that ?

No, they will not permit that because they would feel ashamed if they could not give a big wedding party for their children.

Donny : not my parents, they will not feel ashamed if they do not give me a wedding party.

To feel ashamed for unnecessary things is quite common nowadays. People feel ashamed if others think that they do not have money. This is not being real, Western people will not feel embarrassed about not having money. Indonesian parents will sell their things or property to have a big wedding party for their children. This is because they do not want to feel ashamed, it is better for them to borrow money so they can have a prestigious wedding party than not to have a wedding party.

In your opinion Donny, do you think that most of your friends will prefer to have the money or the wedding party ?

Donny: I think my friends will prefer to have the money.

So would you agree if I said that in Indonesia, wedding parties are more parents' parties, not the bride's and groom's parties. Because the reason for the party is more related to parents' status and prestige.

Donny: it all depends on the parents.

Yes the party is for the parental concerns, especially relating to their social standing, not for the children's concerns.

Recently a new phenomenon developed where people ask for money as their wedding gifts, the notice on the wedding invitation is very explicit...saying we would appreciate it highly if the gift that we receive is not in the form of items-things or flowers. Did this also happen in the past ?

In celebrating a wedding party, of course it is expensive because parents want to make the wedding party luxurious. Even though the bride and groom receive lots of presents, still the expenditure for the party itself costs a fortune.

In the past, were there people who gave money as wedding presents ?

Yes, but most of the guests in the past gave presents. People who gave money were usually relatives, who usually understood the financial situation of the parents who gave the wedding party. It is customary to give the money to the parents of the bride and the presents to the newly weds. In my opinion today's condition is so immoral, because the host asks for money as the gift. All this is based on their materialistic feelings which have dominated a lot of people. All they think about is just the money..., all that matters is money...they are so immoral. Usually they get their money from corruption, then they like to show it to their friends that they are rich. They like to talk to their friends about their property, their five Mercedes-Benz, their houses and land, but they do not think that people will also judge where they get their money from. Their salary is only a couple of hundred rupiahs, how do they manage to buy all that ? But they do not care, that is why they are so immoral.

How many guests were invited in your wedding party ?

Because my parents were categorised as elite...they invited relatives and close friends. In my village if someone got married, the invitation was not as formal as today, usually people were invited verbally, passing the invitation from one person to the other. Formal invitations were only given to older couples (*orang yang dituakan*), my parents would visit each of the houses to invite them formally.² In that time, relatives and family felt that they were all invited, because there were no written invitations. Not like nowadays, if we do not get a written invitation to a wedding party then we feel that we should not come to the party. In the past, formal invitations had started but were not as common as today, when people also judge weddings by their invitation, that is why some use a very big and luxurious invitation with gold writing.³ But because my wedding was in a village where the total population are only 20,000, the wedding was quite outstanding.

² In Indonesia, older people are respected highly and always placed in first priority. People come to see older people to seek advice.

³ During my 9 months field work I collected wedding invitations, just those that my mother and brothers got, I also collected souvenirs that were given at the wedding. One time I visited a company that makes all varieties of invitations, the price could range from Rp. 3000 to Rp. 25.000, and the size and design also varies from a very simple to a big and luxurious design. One could imagine how expensive it is to have a big wedding party in Indonesia, just to make the invitation and souvenirs for every guest (at least 400-3000 guests) would cost a fortune. Not to mention expenses for *perias penganten* (someone who dresses the bride and groom and related family members and responsible for the traditional ceremony. *Perias penganten* can cost about one million to five millions depending on how famous she is), the venue, the catering, the entertainment, the costumes for the whole extended family etc.

In your time were there any stages of relationship that one would experience before to marriage ?

In my time, people usually got engaged first, but the engagement could not be more than six months. If the engagement period was more than six months, then people would start asking questions, when are you getting married ? Usually after five months engaged people got married.

How long did people in your time usually date ?

Duration of dating depended on the person, I only dated my wife for one or two months, but when I was dating my other girlfriends, it was longer. Dating in my time was not as open, they still did it secretly.

Donny: so where did they usually date ?

Because it is a small town, people dated anywhere if there was an opportunity. In my case I wrote letters and love letters, but my wife could not write love letters. So even though I wrote long letters to her...she never replied in writing and only mentioned the answer when we saw each other. I love writing love letters, because I am a writer and I am a romantic person, it is the opposite with my wife, she is not a romantic person.

Is it all right if you share your dating experiences with us ?

Because my wife and I lived in the same town, so we already knew each other. During that time for a single young man and woman to talk and have conversation alone was not possible. My dating process is as follows: at that time my wife like to read Dutch romance novels, I told one of my wife's family that I liked her, so this person was the mediator of our love. So I wrote a lot of letters to her...and after three months I came to see her father and proposed. Her parents said to me if you like my daughter, then your parents have to come here, see us and propose. My parents did not have any objection to her family so they came and proposed. At that time I was unemployed and I only had a motor bike. So for the wedding I contributed in some part by selling my motor bike. My parents contributed a lot for my wedding.

At that time I was only 26 years old and my wife was 20 years old. For the wedding party and the dowry it cost about 1000 gulden, I sold my motor bike for 200 gulden. My wedding party was quite big because for entertainment we had *wayang*.

For the younger generation, what other entertainment were available ?

At that time we played sports ...there was no dancing, it is so funny how we could survive without entertainment. The only entertainment available was watching shadow puppets or Western (American or Dutch) movies. At that time the movies had no sound yet...there were subtitles and also Indonesian translations so the people in my village could follow.

Besides watching movies, were birthday parties among the teenagers of that time common?

Oh...relating to that...birthday parties were influenced by the Dutch presence so we did not have them until the 1930s. During that time it was not your birthday that was being celebrated but *wedalan* (the day when you were born using the Javanese calendar), I think this was influenced by Javanese-Hinduism. But in my case my mother only celebrated it when she remembered it...it is like what I have written in my book, *Atheist*. So for the celebration it was usually related to a religious ceremony and the history of Sjech Abdul Kadir Jaelani was read, then we had a small feast. This event was included as entertainment.

So in your teen time, the teenagers did not often hang around together.

During my primary school years, my friends usually played soccer or ate *rujak* (Indonesian style mixed fruit salad eaten with brown sugar salad dressing) together. So we just spent time talking without any kind of special event. After the Dutch influence, people often celebrated birthdays.

So what did the teenagers do on New Years Eve ?

Yes, sometimes we gathered and talked, but there was no food or drink and no dancing.

What kind of activities were the young Indonesians involved in during that period ?

When I was young I joined the boys scouts, I was also a member of the Young Indonesian Association, Amir Hamzah and Armin Pane also were also involved in this association which dealt with political issues. One of my neighbours was a foreigner, so I was often invited to dancing parties. But usually I did not dance much, because I was not a good dancer. Dancing emerged after the 1930s, there were dancing schools as well. At that time people really danced, the waltz or tango, so they did not just dance and move their body like nowadays. So if you could not dance properly, you would feel embarrassed.

Were there many incidents of premarital pregnancy ?

Not that many, but if premarital pregnancy occurred, then it would be considered as a very sinful thing that degraded the family status. In those days the risk of getting pregnant was higher, because in those days people were not as aware about knowledge and methods of prevention compared with recent times. But some, especially men who had lots of experience already practised condom use so premarital pregnancy did not happen.

Could someone that was still single get condoms ?

There were lots and you could buy them.

Could teenagers and young adults have access to condoms ?

Well whether the society wants to accept it or not, sex is a natural drive...so people always look for a way for engaging in sexual relationships. But in that time it was more common to engage in sexual relationships with prostitutes compared with girlfriends.

Several recent studies done in the urban areas of Indonesia also had similar findings, that teenage boys like to engage in sexual relationships with prostitutes rather than their girlfriends. Their reason was that they love their girlfriends, and they want to save the sexual relationships until they get married.

Yes having sex with one's girlfriend is considered as very sinful but when you have it with a prostitute, it is just like drinking water, after you drink the water there is no attachment, it is just for the sake of getting the sperm out without any emotional feeling. The involvement only took place for half an hour or an hour. Going to a prostitute was quite common in my time. So I think there is no difference between the young people in my generation and young people nowadays, because sex is a natural thing...except that today young people are more free to express their sexual behaviour.

When you were young did you know anybody who had experienced premarital pregnancy?

I did not know anybody who experienced premarital pregnancy, but I knew someone who had lost her virginity, the man was very careful so she did not get pregnant.

In that time where did young people get information on sex ?

I knew about sex because I read lots of books on sex. I knew some of my friends who had contracted syphilis and some gonorrhoea, it was scary was it not ? I usually purchased books on sex from the book stores.

Was sex education given in schools ?

Sex education was not given in school, but my friends knew about sex from their peer group and from books. If we knew someone who was still a virgin, then we would initiate him and drag him to a brothel.

At what age did they usually drag someone to a brothel ?

Yes, I think about the age of 16-17, yes...sex drive is increasingly apparent when one reaches the age of puberty at about 12-14 years old.

If your friends could drag you to a brothel, that means that peer pressure was quite strong ?

Yes..., we would feel embarrassed if we had not experienced having sex yet, they would think that we had not grown up yet, they thought that we were just like a small boy...It is just like in Australia if you do not drink beer yet, then they think you are still a baby, a milk baby. It is the same with sex in Indonesia.

Do you think peer pressure exists among today's generation ?

I do not think so...young people of today just do it..., in my time there was a barrier which restricted mixing with the opposite sex, but today's young people of the opposite sex mix freely. I wish I was still young.

Even though you lived in a small town, there were prostitutes, how much did a prostitute usually charge her client ?

Oh I do not know, but in my time they could go to a prostitute with their pocket money, so it was affordable. But the worst thing was when you got a disease, then you had to stay home and could not go to school, and you also had to go to a doctor. It could be embarrassing. Usually when one got this kind of a disease then they would go to a doctor and get injected.

Was this common among the middle and upper class?

Yes...maybe, because prostitutes need money, and the lower class cannot afford to pay...so the lower class in this case can be more pure...but it can also be that among the lower class marriages occurred at a much younger age. Usually in the villages, girls in their teen years were arranged to be married by their parents. Because the parents were afraid that their daughters would get pregnant before marriage. For the middle class they had to postpone their marriage because they had to study and continue on to a higher education. So usually they got married after they finished their high school, at about 18-20 years old. But for village girls, marrying at that age was already considered as being late.

For the village girls, usually they got married at about the age of 13 and for the boys at the age of 14-16 years old. So in dealing with sex they were more pure...because they did not look for sex outside of marriage. In my time there were also dancers-singers who were also prostitutes (*ronggeng doger*). *Ronggeng doger* were usually are about 17-30 years old, they prostituted for anybody who wanted to have sex with them.

What do you think about the young Indonesians of today ?

Donny: among today's young Indonesians, usually they do not have sex with prostitutes because their girlfriends are willing to engage in sexual intimacy. Most of the 16-17 year-olds have experienced sex.

The difference between the young Indonesians in my generation, and the young Indonesians in today's generation, is that in my time there were no means of prevention. Nowadays, contraceptive devices are easily accessible. In Australia you can get it easily, usually the girls get it from the health centre. The girls try to prevent pregnancy, because premarital pregnancy is embarrassing. In Australia condoms can also be easily got from vending machines.

Well in Indonesia, in the Population and Family Welfare Law no 10./1992, it is stated that contraceptive devices and services are only for married couples.

Donny: If I go to a chemist I can get it...In my opinion, Jakarta is experiencing a sexual revolution like in America in the 60s. At an early age of high school, the young Jakartan usually has experienced sexual intimacy. This happens because they often see

movies with sex themes, so they also want to experience it. In Sabang street, it is a famous place for high school and university female students to hang around who can be used to have sex. When I arrived in Jakarta two years ago, my friends told me that the condition is different now, girls' views on sex have changed. Before one-night stands did not exist, but now they do exist. They are more open now in dealing with their sexuality.

But maybe this kind of phenomenon only happens in a certain social class ?

Donny: Yes...mainly among the middle and upper class.

Yes this happens because there are means of prevention, so they are more free. Yes today's generation I think is more experienced in sex compared with my generation.

You have mentioned that young Indonesians of today are more free, what factors do you think contribute to their freedom of expression?

First of all we cannot assume that sexual drive is an easy thing to deal with...because sexual drive is natural for both men and women. Secondly, because there are means of prevention so they feel more free...because they can prevent pregnancy. Thirdly, films and the media also made them feel more free compared to my generation.

Have you been following the news lately about banning of national film posters that have sex themes ? Lots of reactions were made by the society, religious leaders and the government. This condition is worsened by the facts of policing brothels, and the arrest of a well known pimp. The policing was widened to all entertainment sectors, discotheques, bars, message places, book stores that sell erotic books and magazines as well as sex stores and sex stalls in the streets that sell traditional herbs and other medicine related to sexuality.

Yes...I did read it in *Forum*. But to deal with the problem is not that easy, we have to remember that the sexual drive cannot be killed because it is a natural instinct, and prostitution is the oldest profession that has ever existed since the Greek age. Prostitution is the oldest profession of mankind. The government is put in a difficult position, if the government wants to close the brothels it is not right, but to not close them also has other consequences. The government gets lots of income from the entertainment sector. So I think, prostitution cannot be abolished, so we have to find a way to deal with it.

There are many people who work in the entertainment sector, they earn their living from it. So if we want to deal with prostitution, we have to look for substitutes for their income. I think those prostitutes do not enjoy being prostitutes, but they do it because of economic conditions. I even read in *Tempo* that in Indramayu (a village in West Java), parents allow their daughters to prostitute because of economic conditions. So it is so tragic that these parents would let their daughters turn to prostitution because they do not have enough money to survive. If we want to abolish prostitution then we would have to think about all this, if we cannot overcome the problem then we should have a policy regulating prostitution like when Ali Sadikin was the governor of Jakarta. This is an interesting topic to discuss.

This problem is also related to the pimps, because all the pimps care about is the money, and the pimps are exploiting the prostitutes. One time I went to observe a brothel with a friend who is an anthropologist, and one of the prostitutes told us that their pimp was being protected by the police, so the pimp paid bribes the police. Can you image that all this depends on the prostitutes, because the pimp gets his money from the prostitutes. And the police do not feel ashamed to get money from the pimp...this is related to their moral principles (Jakarta, 24/8/1994, case no. w35mj and s35amj).

Glossary

Adat	Tradition
Adat Timur	Asian values
Anak Baru Gede (ABG)	Precocious adolescent
ANTV	<i>Andalas Televisi</i> (Indonesian privately-owned television station)
Arjunawijaya	Javanese poem written in the middle of the Fourteenth Century by MPH Tantular
Ayam kampung	Literally means village chicken-village girls who prostitute
Babad Tanah Jawi	History of the Land of Java
Badai Pasti Berlalu	The Storm Will Pass (Indonesian novel)
Bahasa Prokem	A contemporary form of slang that is used among young people
BF	Blue film-x rated films
Biasa	Common-ordinary
Biasa banget	Normal things
Borju	Bourgeois
Buah Terlarang	The Forbidden Fruit (Indonesian film)
Budaya Timur	Asian values
Calo	Mediator
Centini	A great Javanese literary work in the new era of Javanese literature. Centini is reported to have been written in Surakarta palace in 1820
Cewek-cewek agak matre	<i>Cewek-cewek</i> means girls. <i>Matre</i> means materialistic. The term means lots of girls are materialistic.
CFC	Campus fried chicken
Cuci mata	Girl-boy watching
Cumbu-cumbu besar	Petting
Dar al-Islam	World of Islam
Dayang	Lady-in-waiting
Dilamar	Proposed by parent
Dipakai	Used
Disco tunge'	Intercourse disco
Duduk berdua	Sitting side by side with the opposite sex
Dukun	Traditional healer
Enak	Good-tempting
ESCAP	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific
Gadis Maraton	The Marathon Girl (Indonesian film)
Gadis Penakluk	Girl's Power of Subjection (Indonesian film)
Gampang dibawa-bawa	Someone who sleeps around easily.
Gaya pacaran masa kini	Recent dating behaviour
GBHN	<i>Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara</i> -national guidelines
Gemblak	Boys who are maintained by <i>warok</i> for companionship
Gengsi	Classy
Gita Cinta dari SMA	Love Mode from High School (Indonesian film)
GRK	<i>Gerakan Remaja Kependudukan</i> . Population NGO youth club in collaboration with the Indonesian Planned Parenthood

	Association.
Hikayat Raja-raja Pasai	Story of the Kings of Pasai
Hura-hura	Having fun and having lots of excitement
IDHS	International Demographic and Health Survey
Ini gua ngomong sebagai cowok	I am saying this in regard to being male
Insyallah	With God's blessing
IPPA	Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association
Isteri simpanan	Mistress
Jail deh...	Mischievous
Jaipong	Performance by female dancers accompanied by traditional Sundanese music
Jalan-jalan	Strolling about
Jin	Evil spirit
Jinjit-jinjit	Walk very quietly on one's toes
JJS	<i>Jalan-jalan sore</i> -strolling in the afternoon
Kabut Sutra Ungu	A Purple Mist (Indonesian novel)
Kain	Cloth usually made from Batik
Kakawin	A form of old Javanese literature
Kampung	Village
Kanwil Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan	Education and Cultural Office at provincial level
Karis	<i>Kartu Isteri</i> -wife card
Karsu	<i>Kartu suami</i> -husband card
Karya sastra	Literary work
Kaula muda	Youth
Kawin siri	<i>Kawin</i> means married and <i>siri</i> originates from an Arabic word meaning a secret or to hide. <i>Kawin siri</i> is a legal religious marriage, even though by the state law it is not regarded as a legal marriage.
Kecamatan	District
Kelompok pengajian	Religious group
Kelurahan	Subdistrict
Kenek	Assistant to bus driver who collects money from passengers
Kita jadi bebas	We can be more free
Kraton	Palace especially of a Javanese ruler
KUHP	<i>Kitap Undang-Undang Hukum Pidana</i> -criminal Code
Kumpul kebo	Living together out of matrimony
Kupu-kupu kampus	Literary means campus butterfly- campus prostitutes
Larek	<i>Laki-laki eskperimental</i> , promiscuous young men
Ludruk	Traditional folk theater from East Java in which all parts are played by men
Mahluk halus	Supernatural creatures
Majalh-majalah stensilan	Pornographic magazines
Malam bidadari	Bridal shower
Malu	Ashamed
MBA	Slang word meaning <i>Married by Accident</i> . This implies that the

	marriage occurred because the bride-to-be was already pregnant.
Mejeng	Hang around
Melodi Cinta	Love Melody (Indonesian film)
Mengabdikan	Serving
Menjemput	In a matrilineal kinship structure and matrilocal marriage relationship found in Minangkabau society the initiative for a marriage often comes from the woman's family, which traditionally 'invites' a man (Teeuw, 1967:1-2).
Merantau	Leave one's home area to make one's way in life
Mimi-momo	A term popularly used for junior high school girls who are said to look for their potential sexual customers in pairs and are willing to sell their virginity for a very high price.
Mimpi basah	Wet dream
Mitra sejajar pria	Women as men's colleague
Muda-mudi or pemuda-pemudi	Male and female young people.
Musim Bercinta	Season of Romance (Indonesian film)
Musyawat	Discussion and consultation
Nggak biasa	Things that are considered as deviant
Nglangkahi gunung	Literary means stepping-jumping over a hill. In Javanese tradition where younger brother-sister have to asked permission from his/her older brother-sister if he/she wants to get married before their older brother/sister by giving them a gift.
Nyai	Concubine
Orang yang dituakan	Older respectable people
Pacar	Boyfriend-girlfriend
Pacaran	Going steady
Pada Sebuah Kapal	A Ship (Indonesian novel)
Pangreh Praja/Keluarga Bupati	Official regent families
Pas Photo	Literary means a passport size photo. A term used by young people for kissing and breast fondling (activity above the waist)
Pekcum	<i>Perek cuma-cuma</i> -free perek
Pelecehan seksual	Sexual harassment
Pelita	<i>Pembangunan Lima Tahun</i> -Five years development plan
Pendidikan Kesejahteraan Keluarga	Family Welfare Education
Penyakit-penyakit kelamin	Sexually transmitted diseases
Peran ganda wanita	Woman's double roles
Perantara	Mediator
Perek	Perempuan eksperimental defined by Murray (1991:xv) as trendy or promiscuous young women.
Pergaulan muda-mudi 3 zaman	Three generation patterns of mixing behaviour among young people
Peri	Fairies
Perias penganten	Someone who dresses the bride and the groom and related family members and is responsible for the traditional wedding ceremony.

Pesantren	School of Koranic studies for children and young people, most of whom provide a broader education as well.
PIL	<i>Pria Idaman Lain</i> - admiration of the other man
Pil Peluntur	Literally <i>peluntur</i> means to cause to fade. Traditional pill to stop pregnancy.
Pill tuntas	Literally <i>tuntas</i> means finished. Traditional pill to stop pregnancy.
PP10/1983	Peraturan Pemerintah no.10/1983-Indonesian Government Law no.10/1983
Pramu wisma	Housekeeper
Priyayi	Elite group (Javanese)
Puspa Indah Taman Hati	Beautiful Flower-Garden of Love (Indonesian film)
Putauw	A kind of heroin
Raden or Raden Mas	Javanese nobleman
RCTI	<i>Rajawali Citra Televisi</i> (Indonesian privately-owned television station)
Remaja	Teenager
Remaja Idaman	Ideal Figure of Youth (Indonesian film)
Ronggeng	Paid dancing or singing girl sometimes also available for sex
Ronggeng doger	Dancers-singers who are also prostitutes
Sampai bebas kecuali yang satu itu	Any sexual activity is OK except for sexual intercourse
Santana	Native traders-business men
Sate	Small pieces of meat roasted on skewer
SCTV	<i>Surya Citra Televisi</i> (Indonesian private-owned television station)
Sejarah Banten	History of Banten
Seks bebas	Free sex
Selamatan	Feast
Selir	Mistress, concubine
Semau Gue	Dare to be Different (Indonesia film)
Senam Kesegaran Jasmani	Physical exercises
Sepakat	An unanimous solution
Setetes Kasih di Padang Gersang	A Drop of Love in a Deserted Area (Indonesian film)
Si doi	A popular term used by young people in Jakarta for boyfriend or girlfriend
Sikap keserbabolehan	Permissiveness
Sinden	Woman singer with <i>gamelan</i> orchestra
Suka sama suka	By mutual agreement
Surau	Prayer-house
Swargo nunut, neraka katut	Javanese saying meaning that a woman will be raised to heaven or dragged to hell by her husband
Tajuban	Dance in which male members of audience are invited to join female professional dancers
Ternodai	Literally means being stained. Term used for a girl who has had sexual intercourse.

TPI	<i>Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Education Television-Indonesian government television station)
Tunangan	Engaged
Tunge'	Sex maniac
TVRI	<i>Televisi Republik Indonesia</i> (Indonesian Republic Television-Indonesian government television station)
Ustad	Religious preacher
UU Perkawinan tahun 1974 (UU no1/1974)	1974 Indonesian Marriage Law
Wali	Religious leader
Walik dadah	Having sexual intercourse where the man is on top
Wanita sembarangan	Bad woman
Wanita tuna susila	Prostitute
Warok	Ascetic expert of martial arts, often homosexual
Warung	Stall
Wayang	Traditional shadow puppet show with leather puppets often dramatising themes from Hindu epics.
Wedalan	The day when someone was born using the Javanese calendar
WIL	<i>Wanita Idaman Lain</i> - admiration of the other woman
Yang biasa	Ordinary
YARHS	Young Adult Reproductive Health Survey
Zina	Adultery