New Approaches to Studying Young People’s Sexuality and Reproductive Health Behaviour: A Case Study of Indonesia

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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).

Introduction

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 From historical documents, it is clear that this was the case among Indonesians, and women had more power than men did over their sexual activity.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 talk openly about sex. Virginity is regarded as crucial for marriage and sex outside marriage is regarded as immoral. State regulation, the political environment, religious beliefs and traditional norms and values influence sexual activity. Yet double standards exist, as shown by young men having sexual intercourse with prostitutes but wanting to find virgin wives. Despite the availability of literature regarding this historical perspective of sexuality, it is quite difficult to study sexual activity using historical accounts. This is mainly due to their dispersion and because literature dating from the tenth to the
eighteenth centuries was written in Javanese script which is now only able to be read by a small number of experts.

Scholars agree that sexuality is biologically and socially constructed. In Indonesia, the social and political construct surrounding sexuality is very complex. Many social and religious forces have influenced Indonesia: Hinduism and Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. These influences were pioneered by international traders from India, Portugal and China, and through the international traders’ 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 towns and cities. At each stage, these social and religious forces have influenced and assimilated with the existing culture of Indonesia and have influenced notions of sex and marriage.

The study of young people’s sexuality and reproductive health behaviour in Indonesia is a challenge. This is due to the political, religious and socio-cultural environment surrounding sexuality research. In Indonesia, sex is regarded as a private and not a public matter, and in some parts of the society is still taboo in discussion. Besides the 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 use of eclectic approaches to data gathering. These will be addressed in the next section.

Even without the burden of the social and political construct in studying sexuality, the sensitivity of studying this issue even in a Western setting causes methodological problems. 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 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).

The objective of this paper is to examine the research design, methodology and classifications used in studying young people’s sexuality and reproductive health behaviour and the changes over time in the approaches used. A diverse array of qualitative and quantitative methods and techniques will be addressed. Ways of minimising the gaps in studying and presenting research results on this issue between policy makers, politician, religious leaders, journalists and researchers will also be examined. In this regard, the focus will be on the creation of a quality research environment in studying sexuality and reproductive health in Indonesia.

Data used in this study are surveys and small-scale studies conducted in Indonesia since the 1960s. In this time, there have been more than 100 small-scale studies and case studies conducted in Indonesia regarding young people’s sexual attitudes, values and behaviour. The most recent studies also include investigation of STDs/HIV/AIDS among youth, child prostitution, sexuality among street children, sexual abuse and violence, and premarital abortion. Study design, methodology, representativeness, validity and classifications used in these studies will be evaluated. New approaches to studying young people’s sexuality and reproductive health behaviour will be explored further in the paper.

Studying young people’s sexuality-reproductive health is important as one fifth of the world’s population are those aged 10-19 years and more than one fourth of the world’s population are aged 10-24 years. Most of these young people reside in the developing countries. In Asia, young people are experiencing a demographic youth transition which involves very large increases in their numbers, earlier onset of puberty and changes in other indicators of the sexual system, rapid changes in nuptiality, increases in educational aspirations and achievement, and changes in labour force participation and patterns of migration (Xenos and Kabamalan 1998). Rindfuss (1991) noted that these ages are characterised by a very ‘demographically dense phase’. The density of events during these years is even more dramatic during periods of rapid social change because ‘young people are typically the engines
of social change’. Young people are the trend-setters for the next generation. Despite the high proportion of young people in the population, the significant psychological meaning of this stage in the life cycle and the potential of reproduction, the sexual and reproductive health of young people remains a neglected area of public health and research in many countries.

In 1990 in Indonesia, there were 35.5 million young people aged 15-24 years constituting 19.2 per cent of the total population. This number is projected to increase to 43.6 million by the year 2000 (Table 1).

Table 1. Total number and proportion of population age 15-19 and 20-24 in Indonesia, 1980, 1990, 1998 and 2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of population (000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1980 a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>15,283.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>13,001.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-24</td>
<td>28,284.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent to total pop.</td>
<td>19.27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total population 146,776.5 179,829.8 204,423.4 210,438.6

Note: a) 1980 Population Census. b) 1990 Population Census. c) Projection

The justification for this paper is that the Government of Indonesia still does not see young people as sexual beings who need information and services related to reproductive health. The result is that their reproductive health needs are under-served and they remain under-informed, marginalised and disadvantaged in this area of their lives. 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 young people in Indonesia are experiencing, their lack of knowledge on sexual and reproductive health issues puts them at risk of STDs including HIV/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. As early childbearing frequently leads to higher fertility, the neglect of this aspect of the lives of young people may also be counter to the population policy aims of Indonesia.

Another important issue in Indonesia is the difficult research and political environment surrounding sexuality research. This is crucial especially when one wants to evaluate reproductive health behaviour among single young people. Most international and national demographic surveys include only married women of reproductive age. In the Demographic and Health Surveys for example, only countries in Latin America and Africa include single women in the survey. Mainly as a consequence, the important question on whether a woman has ever had sex is only asked in the Demographic and Health Survey in sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America and the Philippines (Blanc and Way 1998, Table 1).

This paper strongly argues that the inclusion of single young women and questions related to sexual behaviour should be a priority for the Indonesian Demographic and Health Survey as there are very limited data available on this issue. The availability of data on single young people in the reproductive ages is crucial for policy formulation. How can the issues of premarital sex, abortion and premarital birth be addressed if there is no data base on these issues? Furthermore how can adolescent reproductive health programs, IEC on reproductive health, services and counselling on reproductive health related problems be addressed if we do not have the basic data on this issue, not to mention the mapping of the situation nationwide. Ideally both men and women regardless of their marital status should be included in
surveys related to demography, fertility and reproductive health. Decisions on reproductive health matters, fertility and sexual activity involve both men and women.

The Political and Socio-Cultural Setting Surrounding Sexuality Research in Indonesia: A Government Taboo

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 Indonesia, because of a conservative research environment set by the government, community and religious leaders or groups, many who have researched sexual issues have had difficulties in processing permits and even publishing their results. Whenever studies on sex are published in the mass media, the standard official approach is to reject the findings and to attempt to discredit the research. Community alarm about the publication of research on dating behaviour and sexuality began in 1981 when Wimpie Pangkahila, a medical practitioner, conducted a study among 863 high school students in Denpasar. Pangkahila did the study to confirm his experience of teenagers coming to his clinic, many of whom stated that they had had premarital sexual 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, sources that can be misleading (Tempo 1981).

In 1983, Eko Sulistyo, 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 student discussion group at Gadjah Mada University 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’ 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.

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 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 Ullama 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, Gadjah Mada University, 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 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 the value 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 establishment. 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 Anggraini, 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.

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 they (the students) had never been 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 were 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, the Education and Culture Office and the 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 considers young people’s sexuality in the broader context of changing social values, marriage patterns, increasing age at marriage and freer opportunity to mix with the opposite sex.

**Idealised Morality, the State and Westernisation: A Conceptual Framework in Studying Young People’s Sexuality**

A conceptual framework of idealised morality; the state and Westernisation can be used to explain how young Indonesians develop new values towards mixing between the sexes on a conservatism-liberalism scale. Idealised morality which can be defined as belief structures that have developed over a long time in a society’s history (McDonald, 1994: 22) include traditional values, norms and religious teachings. 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 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. An example of this phenomenon in the Indonesian setting is the value attached to an arranged marriage. In the past, Indonesian families married their daughters off as young as nine or ten years of age (Geertz, 1961: 56, McDonald and Abdurachman, 1974: 3) to save parents the embarrassment of having an old maid in the family or worse, the embarrassment of an ex-nuptial pregnancy. Religious and state organisations combined with parents to enforce this value orientation. Nowadays arranged marriages have become uncommon and parents encourage their daughters as well as their sons to obtain higher education and develop a career. In order to promote economic development, the state has an interest in advancing education and, hence, later marriage and has changed the law accordingly.

Young Indonesians have developed a specific 'national identity and ideology' that has become a frame of reference in addition to their community, family and ethnicity (McDonald, 1984:8). This frame of reference is based on the nation state, education, media exposure and 'Westernisation' and serves to legitimate new behaviour. The role of the family for many young
Indonesians is not as powerful as it was in the past because the values of other reference groups provide alternatives to the values of or decisions made by parents. Hence, the younger generation is starting to have more control over their own lives and have the opportunity to make more independent decisions on relationships prior to marriage, mate selection and sexuality. As a result, love-marriage is more common and there is greater freedom in engaging with the opposite sex prior to marriage. Hence young Indonesians are acting toward the more liberal end of the liberalism-conservatism scale in regard to attitudes and behaviours related to sexual intimacy with the opposite sex.

**Study of Young People’s Sexual Behaviour: From the West to the Rest of the World**

**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 brought respondents to the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University and studied their sexual behaviour (Kinsey et al. 1948; Kinsey et al. 1953). Kinsey and his associates studied a variety of individuals, interviewed them face-to-face and statistically analysed the data on ‘what people did sexually’ (Pomeroy 1972, 4).

Before Kinsey, Sigmund Freud had studied sexuality through psychoanalysis. This work 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).

Other earlier studies are presented in Table 2. 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 and Dr. Chesser (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, the use of a statistically representative samples has been rare. As the field developed, surveys on sex using a structured questionnaire became more common but usually among a limited range of respondents especially college or school students.
From the 1960s through to the early 1990s, sexuality surveys in the United States focussed only on premarital sex, contraception, fertility (both planned and unplanned) and vaginal intercourse. These studies were conducted among limited samples mostly college students and younger women (Gagnon and Simon 1974; Jessor and Jessor 1975; Bell and Weinberg 1978; Zelnik and Kantner 1982, 1980; Zelnik, Kanter and Ford 1981; Blumstein and Schwartz, 1983; Tanfer and Horn 1985; Tanfer 1987; Forrest and Singh 1990; Mosher 1990; Mosher and McNally 1991). In 1991, Laumann et al. (1994) conducted a National Health and Social Life Survey (NHLS) in the United States covering socio-economic aspects, sexuality, masturbation, lifetime sexual experiences and AIDS-risk behaviour.

Basic measures of premarital sexual intimacy behaviour were developed at an early stage of the research by Ehrmann (1960) who used an eight-stage scale ranging from no contact or holding hands, through intercourse (stage 7). Some of Ehrmann’s stages consist of the same

### Table 2. Early research on sex behaviour in the United States

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

Source: Schofield 1965, Table 2.1, 16.
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) asked 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 behaviours identified in the past scales, and distinguished, where relevant, whether the male or the female is active. 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 ‘partners’ 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, 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 and expect to marry, and engaged. Reiss’s emotional aspect of relationship theory ‘partners’ 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’. It is also important to note that his classifications are based on a linear progression of a relationship, with marriage as the end point.

Research on Indonesian Young People’s Sexual Behaviour

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 and they have only been conducted for the last 20 years (Sittitrai and Barry, 1989: 174). In Asia, as in most developing countries, the world-wide 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), Thailand (Chompoonutaweep 1988; Knodel and Pramualratana 1995; Knodel et al. 1995; VanLandingham et al. 1996; Knodel et al. 1996a, 1996b; Im-Em 1996), Sri Lanka (Silva et al. 1998) and India (Ramasubbana 1996, 185).

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 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 the United States, stigma associated with 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. These studies were conducted mainly 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 needs assessment study of sex education (Warnaen 1976), a professional research body, the Faculty of Psychology, University of Indonesia, has also conducted 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 Tirathusada 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 has been 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). Some of these clinics also provided abortions for unwanted pregnancy due to contraceptive failure or as a result of premarital pregnancy consultations. Cases recorded are only patients who came to the clinic to seek advice or abortion because of unwanted pregnancy. To obtain access to 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; Widyantoro 1981, 113; Warouw cited in Manado Post 1989; Tari (a psychologist), personal communication, case no. y89ly, 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; Faturuchman 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 fieldwork. 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).

There have been more than 100 recorded research studies on young people’s sexual behaviour including risky sexual behaviour related to HIV/AIDS in Indonesia from the 1960s until recently. Most of these studies were conducted in big cities in Java such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya, and some in other cities outside Java such as Medan, Denpasar, Ujung Pandang and Manado. Most studies involved both male and female respondents selected either by household survey or school-based surveys or through 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 range of incidence of premarital sex in those studies is from two per cent to 26 per cent. The wide range of the reported incidence of premarital sex can have several meanings. First, it can be assumed that, in most general 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. On the other hand, 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 because of differences in culture. This also seems to have been the case among young people living in Manado (Dwiyanto et al. 1991/1992).

The 1987 National Indonesian Contraceptive 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 rose 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). 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 Mandiangin 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 similar to the experience of 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 entertainment industry are much greater in urban areas.

Transdisciplinary Approaches in Studying Young People Sexuality


In this paper, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, designed and developed by Utomo (1997) for her PhD study, will be used as a model in studying young people’s sexuality. The model could be replicated in similar cultural, religious, political and socio-economic settings.

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. A total of 639 respondents from the middle-class, living or going to school in the southern part of Jakarta, were selected in this case study. The southern part of Jakarta was chosen as the study area because the majority of the middle-class resides in this area. The numbers of respondent are shown by age and sex in Table 3.
Table 3. Number of respondents by age and sex, Jakarta, 1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 19</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 24</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30+</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>346</td>
<td>639</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:


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. The respondents aged 30 years and older and ever married were selected through a household survey.

Besides the survey, 12 focus-group discussions and 93 in-depth interviews were conducted. 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. These groups were chosen for the focus-group discussions so 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 males and young adult females. Each focus group contained eight to ten respondents and the discussion took about two hours. Of the twelve focus groups, Utomo was the moderator for six groups. Especially 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.

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 gathered 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 phenomena 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. Another advantage of
combined methods is that if one approach meets bureaucratic difficulty, the other can enhance successful completion of the project. In the past ten years, the combination of ethnographic and survey methods has become increasingly popular in the social sciences (Yodhummer-Attig et al, 1993: 2-3). The combined data collection technique has been referred to by many demographers as the micro-demographic community-study approach (Axinn et al. 1991, 187; Caldwell 1988; Hull et al. 1988).

In designing studies on sexuality, the most important issue that has to be addressed is the ethical aspect of the study. The participants in the study should participate on a voluntary basis and be well informed of the objectives of the study, the researcher’s name, and the purpose of the respondent’s participation in answering the questions. To secure the respondents’ confidentiality, the survey respondents should not be asked to put their names on the questionnaire and the confidentiality of the respondents’ answers should be strongly emphasised. In this regard, photographs should not be taken during the questionnaire administration interviews, in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions.

**Questionnaire Design: The 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey**

The questionnaire developed for the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey consisted of eleven sections as follows:

- Questionnaire identity
- Respondent and parent characteristics
- Respondent activities and exposure to mass media
- Mixing between the sexes before marriage
- Knowledge on reproductive health
- Knowledge on family planning
- Dating status
- Premarital sexual experience (if any)
- First premarital intercourse (if any)
- Other experiences of premarital intercourse (if any)
- Stages of relationships prior to marriage and marriage values.

Only respondents who had experienced sexual intercourse were asked to complete 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 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 dimension in mind. Questions designed for religion were aimed to measure obligatory 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.

Method of Analysis

The conceptual framework of idealised morality, the state and Westernisation is operationalised in the following ways. First, from interview data, factor scales are developed within three, broad liberal-conservative dimensions. The three dimensions are religiosity, exposure to media and Western culture, and marriage values (see diagram 2). Second, the scales are validated by examining whether or not they display expected relationships with characteristics of the respondents. Then, using both bivariate and multivariate approaches, we examine the extent to which sexual behaviour and attitudes to sexual behaviour are related to the scales considered to be valid (see diagram 1).

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).
Diagram 2

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

- **Society Level**
  - Idealised morality
  - Cultural-Political settings

- **Individual Level**
  - Personal characteristics
  - Religious factors
  - Exposure to media and Western culture factors
  - Marriage Values factors

- **Factor analysis**
  - Sexuality indices
  - Reproductive health knowledge

- **Bivariate analysis**
  - Liberal-conservative values, attitudes and behaviour on sexuality

**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 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.
Diagram 2 continued

4. Variables used in the religious dimension, media and Western values dimension and marriage values dimension

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 programmes 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.

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 paper: 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.

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 level of sex education is obtained 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 responses on sources and usefulness of information on sex are 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= Newspaper/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 six 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 a high level of knowledge and respondents with a low level of knowledge. Respondents who had received useful information from one or more
of the grouped sources were grouped into the high category. The remainder was grouped into the low category.

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 characteristic 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 were: 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 were used (see diagram1).

Methods and Analysis of Qualitative Data

Scholars mostly agree that quantitative survey methods have been developed more than qualitative survey methods. The former are more developed in the procedures of questionnaire design, data collection procedures and analysis. Computer packages developed for quantitative data analysis are also more advanced. In addition, handling of qualitative, textual data can be time consuming, tedious and to some extent difficult, as there is no set of rules or procedures that a researcher can follow. Thus the most important rule is to organise and file the textual data so that it is easy to locate and more systematic to analyse. Another key rule to follow is that during the process of writing field notes (ideally done on a daily basis), transcribing in-depth interviews and focus group discussion, the researcher must try to differentiate between facts, impressions and interpretations.

Different from the quantitative method, where data analysis can only start after the data from the questionnaire have been coded, entered and cleaned, analysis for the qualitative method starts in the field when the researcher begins to collect data. During the process of conducting the in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and field observations, and also in a later stage of transcribing interviews and focus group discussions, analysis of the qualitative data can also be undertaken. Throughout these processes the researcher can be inspired on themes related to the hypothesis and research questions that can be included in the analysis and further in the final writing of the research results. Another advantage of using qualitative methods is that because the analysis has already started in the field and can be evaluated on a daily basis, the researcher gains a more holistic perspective of the topic being studied and even can gather more information if the researcher notices that he/she requires more information on a certain issue.

The in-depth interviews should be conducted not just with the target group, but also with respondents who have dealings with the target groups. For example, to understand the sexuality of young people, parents, teachers, counsellors, psychologists, social workers, NGO personnel and policy makers that deal with problems related to young people should be included in the in-depth interviews. The wide range of respondents interviewed will gave a diversity of views on sexuality, so that a holistic description and understanding of attitudes, values, behaviour, policy and programmes related to sexuality can be obtained.

The conventional view that sexuality would be difficult to discuss in a group, not to mention in a group consisting of both sexes is not correct in our experience. In a social, religious and cultural setting like Indonesia, focus group discussions on issues related to sexuality are able to be conducted (Yayasan Kusuma Buana 1996; Utomo 1997; Situmorang 1998). Indonesian young men and women were comfortable to discuss issues related to sexuality 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, usually participants are more relaxed and active in
participating in the discussion. The moderator for the focus group discussion plays a major role in the success of the discussion. The moderator needs to have knowledge of the popular culture and language of young people. If the focus group discussion consists of one sex then the moderator should be of the same sex as the participants.

Beside the above methods, newspaper and magazine clippings, especially clippings from teenage popular magazines could also be very useful in understanding the sexuality of young people. Listening to radio stations favoured by teenagers and also observing places like shopping malls, pubs, discotheques and cafés frequented by young people would also be complementary to the above methods. Checking Website frequently used by young people in the given society would also be useful.

The indexing system used in organising and storing textual data from our qualitative study is presented in Table 4, 5 and 6. With the indexing system, the location of the textual data can be easily found making it more manageable for analysis.

Table 4. Cassettes location of in-depth interviews and focus-group discussions, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey, Jakarta

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

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.
Table 5. Index of in-depth interviews, the 1994/1995 Jakarta Marriage Values and Sexuality Survey

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

Notes:

a. 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).

b. Location where the interview was conducted. NGO 1 is a pseudonym.
c. I stands for interviewer.
d. 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 6 Focus-group discussions, Jakarta, DI. Yogyakarta and Palembang, 1994/1995

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Setting a</th>
<th>Type of Focus group</th>
<th>Moderator (M) /Observer (O)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FGD 1J</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7/9/94</td>
<td>Male boarding house</td>
<td>Male university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Novai (M), Jin (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 2J</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3/8/94</td>
<td>Female boarding house</td>
<td>Female university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Titin (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 3J</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12/7/94</td>
<td>Jakarta high school</td>
<td>Male and female high school students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Novai (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 4J</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10/7/94</td>
<td>Jakarta university</td>
<td>Male and female university students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Novai (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 5J</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15/7/94</td>
<td>Jakarta high school</td>
<td>Female high school students</td>
<td>Iwu (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 6J</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6/8/94</td>
<td>Jakarta NGO 1</td>
<td>Female and male high school teachers</td>
<td>Teguh (M), Iwu (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 1Y</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5/2/95</td>
<td>Jakarta high school</td>
<td>Male university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Made (M), Tanto (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 2Y</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3/2/95</td>
<td>PSC UGM</td>
<td>Female university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Iwu &amp; Sukamti (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 3Y</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2/2/1995</td>
<td>PSC UGM</td>
<td>Male and female high school students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (O), Sukamti (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 4Y</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4/2/1995</td>
<td>PSC UGM</td>
<td>Male and female university students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Sukamti (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 1P</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22/12/1994</td>
<td>Research assistant’s house</td>
<td>Male university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Iwu (O), Irdianto (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 2P</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15/12/1994</td>
<td>Research assistant’s house</td>
<td>Female university students living in boarding house</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Kartini (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 3P</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18/12/1994</td>
<td>Palembang high school</td>
<td>Male and female high school students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (M), Kartini (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FGD 4P</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19/12/1994</td>
<td>Research assistant’s house</td>
<td>Male and female university students living with parents</td>
<td>Iwu (O), Kartini (O)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

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.

Conclusion and Discussion

By combining the survey data and qualitative data materials, a more complete view of sexual values, attitudes and behaviour can be obtained. The greatest advantage in collecting the qualitative data was that the researchers could understand the phenomena in context while still collecting data. The other advantage was that issues that had not been explored in-depth or still needed more information could be detected and corrected while still in the field.

With the survey data, factor analysis proved to be a useful approach. Factors produced by the analysis were able to be linked to the conceptual framework of the study, in this paper to the liberal-conservative dimension.

The attitudinal and behaviour indices of sexual behaviour and sources and usefulness of information on sex education and family planning knowledge that were developed for the study proved to be useful. These indices can also be linked to the theoretical framework of idealized morality, the state and modernity in a liberal-conservative dimension.

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

- 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.
Fieldnotes can help develop a thorough understanding of the phenomenon that one is studying.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Male focus-group discussions were more open in talking about sexuality compared to female focus groups or focus groups of both sexes. For male focus groups, a male moderator and observer was required in order to stimulate the openness of the discussion.
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Endnotes

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