

**LEARNING FROM THE WEST:
SEXUALITY EDUCATION IN TABOO JAVANESE SOCIETY**

By

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ENGLISH ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine the issues of sex education in Western and Javanese society using a conceptual-comparative approach. My main goal is to highlight the importance of sex education for young people in Javanese society. Research foci and discoveries include: how the notions of conservatism with regards to sexuality are rooted in Javanese culture and social values; the definitions, history, components, methods and principles of Western sex education (particularly Canadian); the measures of success for sex education programs in the West, and to what extent Western sex education can be applied to Javanese society. In the final chapter I offer recommendations for Javanese educational authorities on the need to create a new terminology of sex education.

FRENCH ABSTRACT

Dans cette thèse j'examine les approches d'éducation à la sexualité dans les sociétés de l'Ouest et Javanaise en utilisant une approche comparative-conceptuelle. Mon but principal est de faire valoir l'importance de l'éducation à la sexualité des jeunes dans la société javanaise. Les points principaux incluent : comment les notions de conservatisme dans les égards de la sexualité sont enracinés dans la culture javanaise et ces valeurs sociales; les définitions, l'histoire, les composantes, les méthodes et les principes d'éducation à la sexualité de l'Ouest (surtout le Canada); les mesures du succès des programmes; et comment l'éducation à la sexualité pourrait s'intégrer dans la société Javanaise. Dans le dernier chapitre je souligne l'importance de créer une nouvelle terminologie qui permettrait aux sociétés et aux autorités Javanaises de mettre en place des programmes appropriés.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

Personally, I came to understand the importance of exploring Javanese sex education and practices on my trip to Yogyakarta (Central of Java) three years ago. My brother who lived there showed me around the city. Along a street near the Tugu Railway station I came upon a sight that surprised and shocked me. I saw female prostitutes offering their services in the dark of night, more than twenty congregated along the street soliciting them. They were very young; I thought they were certainly under twenty. I couldn't believe they were for real. Were they here every night? Are these the same Javanese I know who treat sexuality with caution and concern?

This image is a stark contrast to the Javanese who are very conservative. Marriage is considered necessary for procreation, sexual relationships outside marriage are condemned, abortion prohibited and prostitution banned. There are students living together with their partners outside marriage, housewives living with HIV/AIDS (infected by their husbands), and young women who die in illegal abortions. According to UNAIDS report (2000) the total number of people living with AIDS in Indonesia is estimated at 110, 000 as of December 2003. Many of those living with HIV/AIDS were infected during their late teens or early 20s.

There are consistently high rates of unprotected sex and needle sharing among young injecting drug users. Consistent condom use is also low, averaging below 6% (UNAIDS, 2003). UNPFA (2000) reports abortion is increasingly emerging as a serious reproductive problem in Indonesia. The association estimates abortion cases ranging from 1 to 2 million annually, accounting for 25 to 30 percent of maternal deaths.

In spite of these realities, issues around sexuality are difficult to discuss in Javanese society. They remain taboo. However, they have a great impact upon public health. This thesis is born of the necessity to initiate a mature and thoughtful discussion about sexuality. The Javanese need to understand that problems related to sexuality do exist: sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, unintended pregnancies, sexual abuse, sexual dysfunction, divorce case, and many other issues. It is also important to acknowledge the many positive aspects of sexuality. The public should understand that sexuality encompasses more than just sexual behavior; sexuality entails not simply the physical, but also mental and spiritual aspects. It plays an important role in each individual's life. Sexuality is an essential part of human existence and a foundational element of personality. Satcher (2001) observes that:

Sexuality is an integral part of human life. It carries the awesome potential to create new life. It can foster intimacy and bonding as well as shared pleasure in our relationships. It fulfills a number of personal and social needs, and we value that sexual part of our being for the pleasures and benefits it afford us. Yet when exercised irresponsibly it can also have negative aspects such as sexually transmitted diseases—including HIV/AIDS—unintended pregnancy, and coercive or violent behavior. To enjoy the important benefits of sexuality while avoiding negative consequences, some of which may have long term or even life time implications, it is necessary for individuals to be sexually healthy, to behave responsibly, and to have a supportive environment—to protect their own sexual health, as well as that of others (P. 1).

Research Framework and Methodology

My goal in this thesis is to start an open discussion regarding the importance of school-based sexuality education program to the young people in Javanese society. I believe, Javanese can learn from the Western sexuality education which has considerable experiences in developing principles, methods and components of programs.

I will examine the issues of sex education in Western and Javanese society by using comparative study methods, exploring demographics, religious, and socio-cultural determination of sexual expression, attitudes and behavior. I will rely on documents as information resources and no interviews or other data collection methods will be used. The study asks the following questions: (1) how do values relating to sex change over time? (2) Has notions of conservatism in regards to sexuality always been rooted in Javanese cultural and social values? (3) Or are there other forces either from religion or westernization that also have influenced our values toward sex? (4) What are the definitions, components, methods and principles of Western sex education? (5) How successful is the teaching of sexuality in the West? (5) What can Javanese society learn from the West's sex education programs?

To explore these questions I will use the conceptual comparative approach that centers on the oral and written culture found in both societies. I will also use historical accounts

in order to answer the questions related to the evolution of sexual ethics. I will employ Javanese literature that has been translated into Indonesian or English, as well as other documentation from the early part of this century to map out the notion of conservatism towards sexuality in Javanese society, and to provide an overview of the issues. This is not an easy task considering the lack of Javanese written material. Most of the literature dating from the tenth to the eighteenth centuries was written in Javanese. This creates difficulties for scholars like me who do not read and understand Javanese, and who rely on translations. Nevertheless, sexual and other aspects of life can be examined through written literature. According to Barbara MacDonald:

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 categorized 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. (Cited in Utomo, 1999, p. 12)

The study is organized in three descriptive parts, followed by a conclusion and an appendix. The first chapter explains the research background, framework and methodology as well as introduces Java, its location, total area, population, religion, and culture. The second chapter provides an analytical description of sexuality and its practices in Javanese society. Here, I will describe sexuality in Java in three phases: pre-Islamic and pre-Dutch colonization, in early Islam, and in modern Islam and post- Dutch colonization. Chapter III investigates Western sex education; its definition, components, principles, and methods. For the

conclusion in chapter IV, I shall integrate the various key elements that have emerged from the descriptive chapters and evaluate the two kinds of sexuality education: in Javanese society and the West. I hope that by learning from the West experience, the Javanese can create a new terminology of sexuality health education.

Demography and History of Java

Java Island is the homeland of the Javanese. Java is a moderate-sized island over 130,000 square km, the fifth largest island, and the most heavily populated of Indonesia (Lee, 1999). This island is overcrowded with many immigrants from all over the country. They believe Java offers a better life and job opportunities. Java constitutes only one seventh of the country's total landmass, yet it contains two thirds of the country's population. It is one of the most densely populated regions in the world (Columbia Encyclopedia Online, 2004). The climate is tropical, with a dry season from March to September and a wet season from September to March (Martin, 1993).

British Governor General Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who governed Java from September 1811 until March 1816 attempted to trace the roots of the term of Java. He came to the conclusion that:

"To what cause the island is indebted for its present name of Java (or Jawa as it is pronounced by the natives) is uncertain. Among the traditions of the country (which are more particularly mentioned in another place) there is one, which relates, that it was so termed by the first colonists from the continent of India, in consequences of the discovery

of a certain grain, called *jawa-wut* (barley, gray), on which the inhabitants are supposed to have subsisted at that early period" (Raffles, 1830, p.2).

Java has been the cultural, political, and economic centre of the archipelago for centuries. In Java is the republic's capital and largest city, Jakarta. Java was a home to early humans. The fossilized remains of Java man (*Pithecanthropus Erectus*) were discovered in 1891 (Columbia Encyclopaedia, 2004). Inhabitants of the island of Java are divided into six major ethnic groups: the Javanese of Central and East Java whose main cities are Yogyakarta and Solo, the Sundanese of West Java with Bandung as their Capital; the Baduis who live on an isolated mountain of Banten; the Tenggerese from East Java around Gunung Bromo; and the Madurese inhabiting the Madura island (Lee, 1999). Of these, the Javanese are numerically the largest group and the most influential culturally and politically (Martin, 1993). As well, many Chinese and Arabs live in the cities.

East Indians began colonizing Java in the early Christian era, and by the 7th century "indianized" kingdoms were dominant in both Java and Sumatra. The Sailendra dynasty (760-860 in Java) unified the Sumatran and Javan Kingdoms and built in Java the magnificent Buddhist temple Borobudur. East Java was the centre of the Hindu-Javanese state of Majapahit. This state extended its rule over much of Indonesia and the Malay Peninsula from the 10th to the 15th century. Islam, which had been introduced in the 13th century, peacefully spread its influence, and the new Muslim state of Mataram emerged in the 16th century (Columbia Encyclopaedia, 2004).

The Dutch made initial contact with the inhabitants of Java in the late 16th century. They arrived in 1596, and in 1619 the Dutch East India Company established its chief post in Batavia (now Jakarta), and then gradually it absorbed the native states of the once-powerful Javanese empire (Encyclopaedia of Columbia, 2004). Sir Thomas S. Raffles ruled Java from 1811-1816 and instituted several reforms (Raffles, 1890). The Dutch ignored these when they returned to power, resorting to a system of forced labour and harsh methods of exploitation. This led to a native uprising (1825-30) under Prince Diponegoro and the Dutch subsequently adopted a more humane approach (Encyclopaedia of Columbia, 2004).

The Japanese invaded Java in the early stages of World War II and occupied it until the end of the war (Herusatoto, 1984). After the war the island was the scene of much fighting between the Dutch and Indonesian forces, with the Indonesians declaring independence in 1945. In 1946 the Dutch occupied many of the key cities, and Yogyakarta was the provisional capital of the Republic Indonesia from 1949 to 1950 (Encyclopaedia of Columbia, 2004). Java now constitutes four provinces of Indonesia—West, Central, East Java, and Banten—as well the autonomous districts of Yogyakarta and Jakarta.

Javanese People

According to Martin (1993), the Javanese are Indonesia's largest ethnic group and the world's third-largest Muslim ethnic group, following Arabs and Bengalis. "*Wong Djawa*" or "*Tijang Djawi*" are the names that the Javanese use to refer to themselves. The Indonesian term for the Javanese is "*Orang Djawa*".

Javanese are brought up to speak softly, behave properly, and told never to raise their voice and never to lose their temper or provoke others (Lee, 1999). They are proud of being one of the most refined, polite, cultured people on earth. The Javanese control their emotions in public; they are extremely polite and well mannered. The cultivation of self-control stems from the old Hindu Javanese aristocratic tradition, who guarded and upheld values and such extreme politeness, proper conduct, sophistication, social etiquette, good social graces and the development of arts and artistic skills such as dance, drama, music and verbal eloquence (Lee, 1999).

It is a desirable quality to speak "like the Javanese" and not to state what you really mean. Lee (1999) gives an illustration of how extremely polite Javanese people are:

Whenever a Javanese suitor goes to the house of his prospective father-in-law to ask for the hand of his daughter, he would immediately know when he is not welcome if he is served a cup of bitter coffee. No Javanese family would chase you away when they dislike you. However, if you are served coffee without sugar, you should know that you are not welcome (p.49).

Javanese etiquette is very rigid and formal. Complicated Javanese etiquette dictates eye direction, the position of people's hands and the way they sit, stand, point, greet people, laugh, walk, and dress (Lee, 1999). Javanese have different expressions of smile for rage, grief, pain, and sorrow.

Javanese Culture and Values

To understand Javanese Sex Education we need to understand the culture behind it. Culture tends to structure life around meaningful paradigms and rituals creating accepted normative behaviour. To have culture means to make order out of chaos, and it is the most distinctive human quality (Geertz, 1973).

The Javanese are very conscious of their culture and how it is associated with their way of life. As stated by Mulder (1983): "One of the most interesting qualities of the Javanese is that they are very conscious of what culture means to social life" (p. 99). A child is considered not yet Javanese until he/she is a cultured person who knows manners, place, and appropriate speech; in short a person who knows order (Mulder, 1983). Parents have the responsibility of educating their child in Javanese *tata-krama* (etiquette) and *adat* (custom).

Individual expression does occupy an important position in the Javanese value system. Javanese society relegates the individual under the expectation of *sungkan*, or the graceful constraint of the personality out of respect of others

(Geertz, 1991, p.152). People by themselves are not very important. Community is the smallest unit of society, not the individual. If needed, the individual should sacrifice himself/herself for the community. The individual is considered weak and unable to stand on his own feet (Herusatoto, 1984). Community is his/her sanctuary. To be accepted in the community, one needs to conform to expectations, to co-operate, to share, and to be respectable (Mulder, 1983). The moral task of the individual members lies in the safeguarding of the harmonious order by faithfully carrying out their social obligations (Mulder, 1983).

In public, the individual is not allowed to express his or her feelings, opinions, and passions because this is seen as impolite and embarrassing. Husbands and wives are to show affection and love (*tresna*) only in private, not in public. Any open display of affection is disapproved of at all levels of Javanese culture (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

The individual should share with others, and avoid ambition and competition. He should not pride himself in personal accomplishment; he should be focused on material achievement but should not make himself important, unless he is able to establish himself as a leader and a patron (Mulders, 1983). Mulder (1983) adds that the individual should avoid the overt expression of emotions and the intrusion upon the privacy of others and hide behind formality and politeness. Good manners are ambiguous manners; one should say "yes", which sometimes means "no", because it is impolite to say "no" to others.

Socially, the individual should be aware of the customs and culture that his community represents. It is important to know how people should live in public (Mulder, 1983). Javanese society also interprets individual's acts within presupposition that are sometimes fallacious. For example if a girl and a boy are out of public sight it has certain sexual connotations; this creates gossip because it is assumed that the behaviour breaks the norms of good conduct. This kind of behaviour causes shame and loss of face. Therefore, one should be careful how one acts. One is basically free to do whatever one likes when out of sight (Mulder, 1983). Parents strictly control their children's behaviour. Children are considered mature when they get married. Age is not a parameter of maturity.

A person who knows his manners and who *rasa malu* (feels ashamed) is a good person because he/she is living according to the rules. He/she feels ashamed when others note his transgression (Mulder, 1983). One should be conservative and live according to the principles of solidarity (Geertz, 1960). Many Javanese parents send their children to big cities, like Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Surabaya or Bandung for continuing their education (mostly for university degree). The children usually rent a room and live alone (but the parents support all their expenses still). They will act nicely and follow the norms when they are in their hometown. When they are out of their parents' sight they will do whatever they want, even it is not accepted by the norms and good conduct.

For Javanese, life is serious business. The rewards of life are not postponed to the after life, but should be achieved in the course of it. Educate children, marry them, have grandchildren, die of the old age in the consciousness that one has fulfilled one's task (Mulder, 1989). The Javanese are highly conscious of the significance of the circle of life; to get married, to have children, and to die at an old age. Consequently the importance of getting married and having children can hardly be exaggerated.

Javanese consider marriage and parenthood as an obligation of life. Not to meet this obligations is considered strange and unjavanese (Mulder, 1989). It is reprehensible for a man not to marry; for a woman it is even worse and considered to be shameful for the family. Marriage signifies the completion of the parental task. Most marriages are monogamous. Polygyny is practiced only among the urban lower class, orthodox high-ranking *priyayi* (aristocrat), and the nobility (Martin, 1993).

A child is essential in a marriage. A child brings not only happiness but also prestige. The child derives its identity from its parents and parents derive a part of their prestige from the result of the education and the success in life of their children (Herusatoto, 1989). The lack of children can be an adequate reason for a man to divorce his wife. Many Javanese blame the woman for sterility. A childless couple usually adopts a child, sometimes one from outside the group of relatives, but most commonly a nephew or a niece, from either the husband's or

the wife's side (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Javanese parents in practice and society are superior to their children; a child is not just dependent on their material care but also on their forgiveness and blessings. rental satisfaction is spelled out by the obedience of their children and their compliance with their wishes and guidance (Mulder, 1989).

Javanese Religion and Beliefs

Java has been a meeting place of four major world faiths, which are: Theravada Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity (Martin, 1993). For centuries, Hindu culture dominated Java as the Hindu rulers brought with them their Hindu culture and civilization (Lee, 1999). The Hindu influence became widespread in Java in the second or third century A.D., but later Islam displaced the power of medieval Hinduism, and at present Hinduism scarcely exists in the region outside of Bali and Lombok (Martin, 1993).

Islam arrived in Indonesia by several methods. Degraaf (1970) identifies three common mediums for the propagation of Islam in South-East Asia: Muslim traders, preachers and holy men who arrived from India and Arabia specifically to convert and increase the knowledge of the faithful; and war against irreligious states. Ricklefs (1981) identifies 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, and Chinese) settled

permanently in Indonesia, married local people, adopted the local lifestyle and became Javanese or Malay. The role of Muslim traders was very important as the region consists of a number of strongly interrelated trade routes:

...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 (Desgraaf, 1970, pp.123-124).

Cultural practices surrounding weddings, funerals, and the birth of children are influenced by the Hindu heritage. Although the country is the largest Islamic nation in the world, local traditions have made Javanese Islamic culture distinct from that of the Middle Eastern Muslims. Islam blends with local cultures and other religions. 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 modern Western societies, where religion is seen more as separated (De Casparis & Mabbet, cited in Utomo, 1999). Gardet (cited in Utomo, 1999) describes how Islam blends with the existing culture but still gives a firm understanding of God, man and life. Islam mixes with spiritual and temporal beliefs and even with “secular” culture. Martin (1993) writes that “virtually all Javanese are Muslims, but in reality, the religion of the Javanese is syncretic, with Islam being laid over spiritual and mystical beliefs of Hindu-Budhist indigenous origins” (p.113).

Many Javanese Muslims adhere to Islam by confessions, but do not closely practice Islamic rituals and regulations. This group is called *abangan*. A smaller percentage of Javanese Muslims adhere to a rather purist form of Islam, which is

called the *santri* (people who follow Islamic principles seriously). Bachtiar (1973)

clearly made a distinction between these two groups as follow:

The distinction between abangan and santri is made when people are classified with reference to religious behavior. A santri person is more religious than an abangan person. The term priyayi, on the other hand, cannot be regarded as a category of the same classification, since there are definitely priyayi people who are religious, and thus santri, and those who have no interest in religious affair and, accordingly, are considered to be abangan. The term priyayi refers to social class, to the traditional legitimate elite; it refers to those who by right are considered to be different from the commoners, called...wong cilik (little men, peasant). (Bachtiar, 1973, p. 120)

The difference in degrees of adherence to the doctrines of Islam constitutes a dichotomy of *santri* and *abangan*. Social classes are divided in society according to *priyayi* (aristocrats) and *wong cilik* (little men, peasants).

Abangan people see little benefit in serving the God of the Koran or the Bible and following the rules of formal, institutionalized religion. To them God is in the heart, it is the "God" they feel, it is in every beat of the heart that they feel "God".

Martin (1993) clearly defines *priyayi* and peasant *abangan*, and *santri* based on the religious adherence as follows:

The peasant abangan knows the general structure of Islam but does not follow it to the letter. The abangan religion is a blend of indigenous beliefs, Hinduism-Buddhism, and Islam. In addition to Allah, abangan believe in several Hindu deities and numerous spirits that inhabit the environment. The priyayi abangan religious practice is similar to that of the peasant abangan but it is somewhat more sophisticated. It has an elaborate philosophy of fate and is quite mystical.

The santri are present among all social levels but they predominate in the commercial classes. The santri diligently comply with Islamic doctrine. They perform the required prayers five times a day, attend communal prayers at the mosque every Friday, fast during the month of Ramadan (puasa), do not eat pork, and make every effort to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once (p.113)

Although many Javanese profess to one religion, they still practice contemporary Javanese mysticism, which is known as *kebatinan*. *Kebatinan* means "to search

for the inner self", it is not a religion like Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism or Christianity. It has no specific praying place, scriptures and prophets, and it is not concerned with life after death (Lee, 1993). This syncretism of religion happened because Javanese absorbed the different religions or cultures that arrived on their shore and the Javanese accepted those aspects that were in keeping with the Javanese character (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

Javanese spirituality is individualistic in approach. The individual does not need an intermediary to communicate with God. God is in the heart of man and woman and life should be a continuous prayer to the Almighty. The Javanese concept of God is not the same as the concept of God of the Middle-Eastern monotheistic religions (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Javanese do not see why one should pray to God five times a day, or in church, or why such prayers should be blared from loudspeakers on mosques. God is not an unapproachable distant judge; on the contrary, 'God' is closer to man than anything else, because man is fundamentally part of Divine Essence. However, they identify the ritual expressions of the Middle-Eastern religions as useful, they can neither accept Mohammed as the ultimate prophet nor Christ as the ultimate saviour, yet their mystical leanings do not promise life after death or heaven and hell (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

Kebatinan is a metaphysical quest for harmony within one's inner self, nature, universe and God (Lee, 1993). It is combination of different teachings from

different religions which focus on peace of mind. It has a touch of Confucianism in trying to harmonise one's behaviour with an orderly society and in the practice of ancestor worship; a little bit of Taoism in the belief in supernatural powers and communication of the soul with the deceased; a little of Buddhism in the philosophy of contentment and renunciation of one's ego and ambitions; a touch of Hinduism in the belief in reincarnation; as well as the Islam faith in surrendering oneself to God (Lee 1993).

According to Mulder (1983), the core element in the *Kebatinan* philosophy of life is to achieve unity with the cosmic purpose by overcoming the self, and that very act denies worldly purpose. Personal liberation and not the salvation of the world is important. Liberation may begin with the worldly steps of honouring parents and kings, and respecting the social order. The mystical practice of *Kebatinan* aims at giving up selfness. The good person is somebody who is in step with 'God' and the god-given order of society (Mulder, 1989). The mystical ideal of unity and harmony between man and 'God' stands as the model for the relationship between man and society (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). The quest for unity and the maintenance of order are the predominant elements. Mulder (1983) explains unity to the Javanese means order—that is, quietness, equilibrium, predictability, appropriateness and harmony between parts—all these at both the individual and social levels of existence.

Javanese teachings are full of symbolism and secret wisdom that stimulate fantasy and reflection (Mulder, 1989). Symbols are used in daily life, ceremonies, and also in cultural ceremonies (like puppet show of wayang). Mulder (1989) explained, "a Javanese who learnt to be a Christian, he will not be interested and impressed by the history of Jesus but he is more interested in the mystical significance of Christ" (p. 34).

Javanese ways of thinking are unlike Western thinking systems and social order. Many Javanese intellectuals and mystics are quite emphatic in pointing out that Western (scientific) knowledge only deals with reality by the use of rational modes of thinking. On the contrary, Javanese understanding grasps the essence of reality directly through the feeling "*rasa*" (Mulder, 1983). In their view, the rational scientific way of understanding demonstrates its impotence by the fact that yesterday's theories are rejected today and that today's knowledge will be invalidated tomorrow. "*Rasa*" understanding, however, penetrates directly into the heart of the matter and reveals the truth (Bonneff, cited in Koentjaraningrat, 1985). In Javanese thinking *rasa* is often contrasted with *rasio*, *nalar*, or *akal* that all stand for common sense. This is the instrument for understanding the phenomenal world and its everyday affairs.

CHAPTER II

SEXUALITY AND ITS PRACTICES IN JAVANESE SOCIETY: PRE-ISLAM AND PRE-DUTCH COLONIALISM, EARLY ISLAM AND DUTCH COLONIALISM, MODERN ISLAM AND POST-DUTCH COLONIALISM

It is not easy to have an open discussion on sexuality in modern Javanese society. Sexuality is confined to the domestic arena, at home, between a husband and a wife, not even to be discussed between parents and their children. When people talk about sex, they try to avoid the term “sex” instead preferring to use other terms like: “*hubungan seksual*” (sexual relationship), “*seksualitas*” (sexuality), or “*seksologi*” (sexology). The Javanese add the word ‘*tas*’ and ‘*logi*’ to make it more polite and scientific. According to Gunawan (1997) sex is a personal matter and should not be discussed in public. Sexuality and sexology can be discussed in public.

Sexuality as discussed in the domestic sphere involves all types of rules, moral regimes, languages, and values to be applied by the individual. The degree of affection and the emotive significance of sexuality are based on the needs of the individual, and in this sphere, people act based on their instinct not on rational principles (Sukatno, 2003). Kuntowijoyo, a famous Javanese writer, says that in the domestic sphere humans are able to transcend reality, time and space. Sex which is practiced and discussed in the home is rich with expression, symbols and imagination (cited in Utomo, 1999).

This delineation between the private and the public is evident in the other facets of Javanese life, for instance how Javanese build a house. Budi Santosa (2000) notes, in Javanese society there are spatial rules for building a home. There are two minimum spaces of the house, which are "*kamar tidur*" the bedroom and "*kamar duduk*" the living room or sitting room. The Bedroom is an expression of the domesticity of the homeowner and the living room is a public area. This spatial rule is also used in complex ways for the "*kraton*" Javanese palace. "*Kraton*" was built in two divided spaces based on the function of the rooms. "*Dhatulaya*" is the royal family domestic area used for personal activities like sleeping and "*Siti Hinggil*" is a public area used as a meeting room. Most of the public and personal problems of the king/queen and kingdom are solved in *Dhatulaya*. That is why the spouse of the king or the queen has an important role in making decisions and is instrumental in the political deals. In *Siti Hinggil* the words and the acts of the King or Queen are dramatized and full of ceremonies.

When analyzing the traditional Indonesian outlook on sexuality it is necessary to place the concept of sexuality before the arrival of Islam and colonialism (Onglokham 1991). In this chapter I will argue that the coming of Islam and Dutch colonialism helped shape Javanese conservatism towards sexuality. This chapter is divided into three parts: Sexuality in the era of pre-Islam and Dutch colonialism, the period of early Islam and Dutch colonialism, and modern Islam and post-Dutch colonialism. To understand the practice of sexuality in Indonesia today, we need to examine its history, myths and concepts.

PRE-ISLAM AND PRE-DUTCH COLONIALISM

In Javanese society, sexuality and mysticism are closely related. Sexuality and mysticism have deeply influenced the experiences of the society and affected the ways people act and make decisions (Sukatno, 2003). The vast majority of Javanese concepts about sex came from India and is steeped in the values of the traditional ancient agricultural community. In ancient India, especially among the noble classes, sex was not regarded as an issue of morality, rather it was viewed as a natural function and as a basic need. Evidence of the openness towards sexuality can be seen in various explicit carvings found in many of India's temples (Onglokham, 1991). In Hindu literature the freedom of sexual expression is often described as "*Basham*." This literature, both religious and secular, is full of sexual allusion, sexual symbolism, and passages of frank eroticism. The erotic preoccupation of ancient India is very evident in art and literature. The Indian ideal (of feminine beauty), thick-thighs, broad hip, a slender waist, and with large breasts, seems evidently chosen for physical satisfaction (Supomo, 1988).

The culture of Java was heavily influenced by the Hindu experience. Twenty percent of "*kakawin*" (a type of Javanese literature) contains sexual allusions, sexual symbolism, and passages of frank eroticism while in other parts of the "*kakawin*" lovemaking is explicitly described (supomo, 1997). Mpu Tantular can

see one example of openness towards sexuality in the verses of Arjunawijaya

"kakawin":

Canto 32:

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 sarong, 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.

O you, who came to me in my dream and took me on your lap, and held me round the waist while untying the knot of my sarong;

Who sought for my love, which 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:

Her sweet-scented sarong was seductively transparent as clouds after rain;

(The curve of) her hip was like that of a tender young branch, matching beautifully with her slowly heaving breast.

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. (cited and translated by Utomo, 1999, p. 4)

Clearly these verses of the Arjunawijaya describe sexuality very openly, romantically and erotically. Master and Johnson note that in a society which accepts and freely discusses sex, sexuality is shown in its arts, dances, literature and other venues of public expression (1989).

Sexual myths also occur repeatedly in the Ramayana (an ancient collection of Hindu Religious myths and stories which are also important to the Javanese) 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 having physical contact. This gift can only be attained after someone has reached a high stage of mystical ability. In the Ramayana, Satria Pandawa Arjuna possesses 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 is often away on journeys or meditating. Yudhistira, Arjuna's eldest brother, offered his wife Dewi Durpadi as a wager when gambling with Kurawa; he lost the game and his wife was stripped naked 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 the Ramayana explains conception from a mythological viewpoint. In a battle over 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. The God Siva, 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, cited in Utomo, 1999).

Queen Kalimanyat performed another act of nude meditation because Aria Penangsang killed her husband. Queen Kalimanyat made a vow that she would meditate naked until Arya Penangsang's head was chopped off his head and gave it to Kalimanyat 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 in the royal court. One time Ken Arok saw her genital when she was stepping down from a carriage because her sarong was lifted up. Ken Arok thought it was very strange because Ken Dedes's genital was shining, so he asked his spiritual teacher, Pendeta Lohgawe, what this meant. Pendeta Lohgawe told him that a woman with a shining vagina would 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 (Permadi, cited in Utomo, 1999).

Besides of literature there are other forms of art that express sexuality—traditional dance and theatre performances, which are popular 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 Betawi, "*dombret*" in north Karawang and Indramayu, and "*jaipongan*" in West Java. These traditional performances are mostly erotic dances, performed at traditional ceremonies, rites-of-passage celebrations "*slametan*" or public occasions (Budianta, 2003). The dancers usually wear a traditional Javanese

dress “*kebaya*” and are accompanied by traditional music performing erotic movements of the hips, breasts and buttocks. The dancers receive money from the members of the audience who dance with them or others who enjoy their erotic movements (Anoegrajekti, 2003). 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. The audience can touch the dancers' buttocks, hold their hands while handling them money or even take them to a nice quiet spot away from the group (Probonegoro, 1991; Hersilang: 1996).

These dancers are often regarded as prostitutes by society. The dancers deny this because there are rules for their protection, which they are supposed to obey. Some of these rules include: they cannot date while performing, and they must say no when a member of the audience wants to buy something for them while performing (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 Tajubans at all. Organizations like Perwari, the main priyayi women's club, hate the tajuban and are dead set against it) (Geertz, 1960, p. 299).

Some of these performances are still regularly performed in certain parts of Java, usually for entertaining guests at a wedding, circumcision or Independence Day celebrations.

Other examples of Ancient Javanese public expression of sexuality can be found in the fine arts. In the elephant museum of Jakarta, many statues express open sexuality and in Suku and Ceto temples of central Java, human genitals of both sexes are carved on the temple walls (Endraswara, 2002).

For the noble classes and the agricultural community, sexual intercourse and genitals are symbols of heredity. This ideology was still very prevalent when Islam arrived in Java. In the Solo kingdom, the male genitals (the king) and the female genitals (the queen) were carved in the main entrance gate (Sukatno, 2003). According to traditional Javanese concepts, the sexual ability of the king is related to the well being of the kingdom: the greater sexual ability the king has, the more prosperous the kingdom will be (Sukatno, 2003). Another myth related to the king is that he is the reincarnation of God. So kings or queens 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 concubines "*selirs*". The "*selirs*" often had sexual relationship with other members of the court or with other members of the family because their sexual needs were not fulfilled (Permadi, 1991). When Islam arrived the Muslim kings followed the religion and the teaching of Islam that limited husbands to four wives.

EARLY ISLAM AND DUTCH COLONIALISM

“... 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 151811: 176; Eredia 1613:31), while Javanese, like Burmese, Thais, and Filipinos, were characterized as ‘very lasciviously given, both men and women’ (Scott 1606: 173). What this meant was the pre-marital sexual relations were regarded indulgently, and virginity at the marriage was not expected of either party. If pregnancy resulted from these premarital activities, the couple was expected to marry, and failing that, resort might be had to abortion (at least in Philippines) to infanticide (Dasmarinas, cited in Utomo, 1999, p. 2).

This quotation indicates the openness of sexual activity in the “age of commerce” (1450-1680 AD) throughout Southeast Asia. From historical documents it is clear that this was the case among Indonesians as well. It is interesting to note that women had more power than men over their sexual activity. Women initiated sexual intercourse and men sometimes underwent very painful surgery to insert tiny balls under the skin of their genital with the aim of pleasing women. This is in contradiction to contemporary Indonesians attitudes on sex. Even though premarital sexual activity is increasingly evident, people do not talk about sex. Virginity is regarded as crucial for marriage and sex outside marriage is regarded immoral. Sexual activity is influenced by state regulation, the political environment, religious beliefs and traditional norms and values.

There is an abundance of Javanese literature written in the early Islamic era, between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of the stories discuss the relationship between the family, king and God. The relationship between men and women and vice versa are also described, including sexual relationships. Javanese 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 (Endraswara, 2002). The autonomous sexual power of women is clearly demonstrated by the sexual pleasure they could demand.

One ancient Javanese story, Babad Tanah Jawi (History of the Land of Java), relates how the kings, princes and “*walis*” (Muslim preachers), for example Joko Tarub and Senopati, had sexual intercourse in a natural way without any kind of formality. Sexual intercourse might occur out of marriage. In that era, the community did not regard sex outside social formalities as promiscuous (Onglokham, 1991).

Early Islam: The Teaching of Sexuality in the book of Centhini

One of the most famous books in this era is the “Serat Centhini” which was written by the Javanese sultan Pakubuwana the fifth, Ngabei Ranggasutrasna, at the beginning of the nineteenth century. These books were written in a palace environment during the process of Islamisation but before the Islamic reformation. Syncretism of Islamic teaching demonstrated in stories from the Centhini highlighted the open expression of the Muslim faith and sexual attitudes. Hindu and Buddhist thought had still a strong influence on the Javanese at that time; despite the arrival of Islam they maintained liberal attitudes towards sex. The Centhini 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 woman were 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.

One example of an erotic story in the book of Centhini (Ranggasutrasna, 1992) is the story of three sisters who 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 the women have power over their sexual behavior. 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 (man on the bottom) "*walik dadah*" to the youngest sister the two older sisters did not understand what he meant.

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 sarong 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 step, which she passed on to Baniken 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 Baniken 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 Baniken 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 Baniken behind to argue because they both failed to reach an orgasm (Suhatmaka, 1981: 110-113).

Sexuality Myths and Concepts in the book of Centhini

The book of Centhini relates myths and superstitions about sexuality. Most Javanese followed and accepted these. Some contemporary Javanese still observe these myths and superstitions. Here are a few examples of the myths and concepts of sexuality in the book of Centhini (Ranggasutrasna, 1992):

1. The myth of the tombs of Kyai and Nyai Gamprang. The sculptures of a man, a woman and a male genital mark the Tombs of these two people. These tombs are the place for childless couples to pray for having a baby. The couples should burn incense and then sit on top of the male genital sculpture. Hopefully God will answer their wishes.
2. There is a common belief among Javanese that if a woman eats male woodpecker genital her husband will love her. If the heart of the bird is hanged on top of the bed or rubbed on the man's genital it will boost the man's sex drive.
3. The concept of the best and bad time for sexual intercourse as told by Dathuk Bahni to Jayengresmi. The teachings are rooted on the counsels of the prophet Muhammad to his daughter and son in law about the obligation of husband and wife. Here are some of the teachings:
 - Do not have sex on the first day or the last day of the month otherwise your child will be small.
 - Do not have sex in the dark without a light otherwise your child will be dull and lack manners.

- Do not have sex on the day and night of Sunday otherwise your child will be a villain.
- Do not have sex on the day and night of Wednesday; it is not good, because your child will be ill fated.
- Do not have sex at the dawn, it is not good, otherwise your child will be despicable, and do not do it also in the middle of the day because it will make your child a sorcerer.
- Do not have sex on the night of religious festive day otherwise your child will be a disobedient.
- Do not have sex in a place which has direct sunlight otherwise your child will not be prosperous.
- Do not have sex in the standing position otherwise the child will have problems with his/her urination.
- Do not rub the male or female genitals of your spouse with your hand but use fabric otherwise your child will be blind.
- Do not have sex under the fruit tree otherwise the child will have a propensity for molestation.
- Do not have sex in rented accommodations otherwise your child will be accursed.
- Do not have sex when your female partner is on her period otherwise the child will be a leper.
- Do not have sex with prostitutes and female singers otherwise you will be infected with sexual transmitted diseases.

- Do not overplay when you have sex otherwise the child will be a "hyperactive."
- Do not talk and joke badly when you have sex otherwise your child will be talkative.
- Do not have sex when you just wake up and have not cleaned yourself otherwise the child will be dirty and ugly.
- Have sex on Monday and the child will love to recite the Holy book.
- Have sex on Tuesday and the child will be loveable.
- Have sex on Thursday and the child will be prosperous.
- Have sex on Friday and the child would be the religious leader.
- Recite the prayer '*bismillahirrahmanirrahim*' (in the name of Allah) before your sexual contact otherwise your child will be dull and ill mannered.
- Do clean your body and use perfume when you have sex it will make the child good looking.

4. The teaching of Ki Amongraga to Mas Cebolang on foreplay is based on Javanese dates. If a man applies this technique, the woman will have the ultimate orgasm:

- Day 1, start with kissing the forehead.
- Day 2, start with kissing the navel.
- Day 3, start with rubbing the leg.
- Day 4, start with rubbing both arms.
- Day 5, start with kissing both breasts

- Day 6, start with kissing the center of forehead.
- Day 7, start with kissing between two breasts.
- Day 8, start with kissing the upper and bottom lips.
- Day 9, start with rubbing both thighs.
- Day 10, start with rubbing stomach.
- Day 11, start with kissing the nose.
- Day 12, start with kissing the shoulder blade.
- Day 13, start with kissing both breasts.
- Day 14, start with kissing the lips.
- Day 15, start with rubbing the face.
- Day 16 to 30 are comparable to date 1 to 15.

It can be observed from the above story of the three sisters and the notes of Javanese sexual concepts and myths 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 Javanese concept of sexuality, where women are meant to suppress their sexuality and never ask for or initiate sexual intercourse. Were the above stories 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. The difference between

Islamic beliefs in the recent era and in the past is in the attitudes towards sex outside marriage.

Dutch Colonialism

Dutch colonialism helped shape Javanese conservatism towards sexuality through its education system. In this case the English may have influenced the Dutch, 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 (Andaya, 1992). 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. This assertion is also confirmed by Hull (1999) in 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.

Before the sixteenth century, Westerners had this perception of sexuality among the Southeast Asian people (including Javanese) as more relaxed or loose compared to Westerners' morality on sex (Andaya, 1992). The period between 1550 to 1650 was a crucial period of Islamisation and urbanization in Indonesia. The urban areas stricter Islam was apparent. The urban bourgeois pattern

(pattern of Puritanism) was more conspicuous in the city whereas the rural areas tended to be more liberal. The peak of orthodox Islam was in the seventeenth century.

In addition to the Dutch influence on the middle class, the reformation of Islam in the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century brought about major social changes in Indonesia. Sexual conservatism can also be linked with the spread of Islam. For example, sexual conservatism was dominant in Sumatra where the Islamic reformation movement was the strongest. Whereas in regions such as East Timor, where the Islamic reformation movement was weak a liberal attitude towards sexuality prevails (Ricklefs, 1981). Hesselink (1987) says, "in areas of the archipelago with strong Islamic values there were fewer prostitutes and concubines" (p. 212).

Andaya (1992) describes how European influences have changed the Southeast Asia inhabitants' ideas and the way they live. The interaction between foreigners and local inhabitants of Southeast Asia has brought innovation and adaptation. According to Andaya (1992) the Southeast Asians received foreign groups with their new ideas, and 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.

Indonesians adapted Western ideas and values as long as they were in accordance with the existing idealized morality and did not threaten the idealized morality. Indonesians adapted Western influences and assimilated them in such a way that the result was a mixture of Western ideas and values with an Indonesian style.

The adaptation to the outside world or westernization in Southeast Asia started between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. This exposure to new Western ideas brought innovation and adaptation to the royal society. 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 (Utomo, 1999).

The mixed-blood phenomenon became common in the city as foreign men rarely brought their womenfolk to Southeast Asia. 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 (Utomo, 1999). As a result by 1652 the Dutch had established a policy, which persisted for the next 200 years to restrict the immigration of white women. Another policy that developed relating to intermarriage was the 1617 Hereen XVII decree that marriage for free burghers (Dutchmen in Indonesia at that time) could only be legal with the Dutch East India Company's agreement (Andaya, 1992). These free burghers could only marry Asian and Eurasian women if these women became Christian and raised

their children and their slaves as Christians. Then in 1639 to fulfill the objective of constituting a colony, the company forbade them to return to Europe while still married (Andaya, 1992). Another policy that supported this colonial structure was the injunction against Asian or Eurasian women to go to Europe. However the offspring of these mixed marriages 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.

Later, the Dutch restricted intermarriage especially by the Indonesian elite social class, in this case nobility and official regent families (Onghokham, 1991). Mixed marriages between regency officials and non-natives like Chinese, Dutch-native mixed-bloods, and Dutch were strongly discouraged. 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). Hence, strictness and repressive attitudes towards sex, and limitations on choosing a spouse began to be imposed by the colonial power.

On the other hand, concubinage ("*nyai-selir*") was commonly practiced 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 (Onghokham, 1991). Anyone found in a homosexual relationship could face the

death penalty. But after Coen's regime, concubinage between Dutch officials and native women was encouraged. The status of the concubine was more like that of a slave because the Dutch officials or other rich Dutch entrepreneurs maintained them. 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 concubine *nyai* so they could quickly learn the language, the culture and other 'mysteries of the East' (Onghokham, 1991). The practice of temporary marriage or concubinage was also common among Javanese traders in Banda during the nutmeg season (Tweede Boek 1601, cited in Reid, 1988). Concubinage among traders was also allowed in Islam.

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 (Ingleson, 1986) and because European women usually did not follow their husband 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 (Hirschfield, 1935, p. 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.

MODERN ISLAM AND POST-DUTCH COLONIALISM

The practice of concubinage continued until the Independence of Indonesia.

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 globalization 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 (Achdiyat, case no. w35mj, cited in Utomo, 1999, p. 13).

Until recently, having sexual affairs and mistresses were still widely practiced 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 few 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 & Kustiati, 1994).

As mentioned before that the coming of Islam and Dutch colonialization created sexual conservatism in Javanese society. In pre-Islamic and colonialization period, premarital sexuality, fidelity within marriage, temporary marriage or concubinage, women's autonomy and sexuality were less restricted. Islam through the application of strict moral laws regulating the mixing with the opposite sex, marriage, polygamy and divorce and Dutch through the imposition of strict education and family system, influenced the notion of conservatism towards sexuality.

Modern Islam

To preserve Islamic values, in the first decade of the twentieth century, Muhammadiyah (the largest modern Islamic movement group in Indonesia) instituted the reformation of Islamic education. During that time, Muhammadiyah realized 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 Dutch secular schools and establishing schools in which both religion and the sciences were taught (Mukti, 1969). At the present time, the

government of Indonesia enforces religion as one of the compulsory subjects within the school system. Besides government schools, numerous religious schools that incorporate religion and science have been developed throughout the region. Among the famous and elite are Muhammadiyah and Al-Azhar. In Indonesia various channels are used to preserve Islamic values, government initiatives center on the education system, easy access to religious establishment throughout the regions, religious preaching, parents and family members maintain religious values through the upbringing of children, and religious clubs. Hence Islamic teaching and values are in this case, conservative notions on sexuality, are strongly preserved and passed from generation to generation. Most of the Javanese refer to their religion when they face a moral crisis or problems. It happens also when they have questions or problems about sexuality. Since the majority of Javanese is Muslim; Islam with its Holy Book the *Qur'an* are the main political and social anchors. In Islam no one has authority except Allah: Do not (falsely) declare: "That is lawful and that is forbidden, in order to invent falsehood about Allah. These who invent falsehood about Allah shall never prosper." (Qur'an, sura 16, verse: 116).

Criminalizing (making something illegal) or decriminalizing (making it legal, or at least tolerated) is the prerogative of Allah. When the text of the Qur'an (the words of God) and the Sunnah (the words and acts of the Prophet Muhammad) are authentic in their authority and clear in their meaning then no one has the authority to over rule them. The legality or illegality of a practice should follow the

Qur'anic maxim: "To make lawful to them what is good and forbid them what is evil" (Qur'an sura 7, verse: 157).

Islamic Concepts on Sexuality

The beginning of sexual life in Islamic legal definition is determined by one of the following (Madani, 2003):

1. Age: fifteen lunar years for boys and nine lunar years for girls.
2. Internal change (in boys only). The first nocturnal emission.
3. Physical change: Growth of coarse hair on the lower part of the abdomen.

Since sexual urges begin at puberty and as Islam says that sexual urges should be fulfilled only through marriage, it follows that marriage should occur soon as the boy and the girl reach the age of puberty (Madani, 2003). In the case of girls, it not only allows them to be married as soon as they become mature, but also recommends such marriage. It is based on such teachings that Islam discourages girls from postponing their marriage because of education; instead, it says that girls should get married and then continue their education if they wish to do so. These theories are relevant to the phenomenon that happens in Javanese society (especially in rural areas), where girls are married in early age. Most of girls go to religious schools and parents expect the religious school will prepare their daughters for marriage.

If a Muslim cannot marry soon after puberty, then he or she has two options: temporary abstinence or temporary marriage. Abstinence from all the forbidden ways of fulfilling the sexual urge is not easy. Therefore, a few guidelines would not be out of place. Once a man came to the prophet and said, "I do not have the (financial) ability to marry; therefore, I have come to complain about my singleness." The Prophet advised him to control his sexual urge by saying, "leave hair of your body and fast continuously." By saying that "leaves the hair of your body," the Prophet ask him not to remove the hair which grows in the pubic area, chest, etc. by shaving or using lotion or wax; rather one should trim the hair. This hadith indicates that removing the excessive hair increases one's sexual urge (Madani, 2003).

The main difference between permanent and temporary marriage is that in permanent marriage, Islam has clearly defined the duties and obligations between the spouses (Madani, 2003). For example, it is the duty of the husband to provide the basic necessities of life for his wife and his wife is expected to not refuse sexual relations except for religious or medical reasons. But in a temporary marriage, Islam has given the prospective spouses the right of working out their duties and expectation plans. For example, the husband is not obliged to maintain the wife unless it has been so stipulated in the marriage contract. Likewise, the wife can put a condition in the marriage contract that there will be no sexual relations such condition are invalid in a permanent marriage but allowed in a temporary marriage.

Islam teaches and discusses sex with exquisite delicacy. In Islam the most sensuous matters are discussed frankly, and immediately taken up in the loftiest regions of spiritual fulfillment.

Forbidden sexual acts in Islam

1. Sexual Penetration during menstruation

Sexual penetration during menstruation is forbidden. A man asked a question concerning menstruation to the Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet Said: “it is an illness. So let the women alone at such illness and do not approach them until they are cleansed. And when they have purified themselves, then go into them as Allah has enjoined on you. Truly Allah loves those who repent and he loves those who keep themselves clean” (Madani, 2003).

2. Sexual penetration in the anus/anal sex

All Muslim jurists agree that anal sex is haram (forbidden), based on the hadith of the Prophet: “Do not have anal sex with women” (reported by Ahmad, At-Tirmidhi, An_Nasai, and Ibn Majah, cited in: The Islamic Sexual Morality, 2004). However, it is allowed to caress the wife and stimulate her around the anus, without having sex in this area.

3. Zina (fornication/adultery)—a major sin

“Do not come near *Zina*, for it is a shameful deed and an evil path” (Qur’an, sura 17, verse: 32). “The male and female who commit fornication—flog each one of them with one hundred lashes, and do not let compassion for the two of them keep you from (complying with) Allah’s religion, if you believe in Allah and

the last day. And let a group of believers witness their punishment” (Qur’an, sura 24, verse: 22). The jurists say that the last verse quoted above is the punishment for fornicators who have never been married. If a person was married before committing the crime of Zina he or she to be punished by stoning to death. This is established by the practice of the Prophet. If they are not punished in this world and die without repentance (by regretting, leaving the sin, and so forth), they will be punished in the hell with whips of fire.

4. Homosexuality

Homosexuality and lesbianism have been dubbed ‘alternative life styles’, ‘personal preference’, ‘and a natural variation’ in the West today. Islam and Muslims are considered intolerant and biased due to their continued opposition. Arguments in favor of tolerance to homosexuals are based on the assumption that homosexual behavior is biologically based and not merely learned behavior. Islam considers homosexuality to be the result of a choice (Madani, 2003). It is inconceivable that God made people homosexuals then declared it a crime and prescribed punishments for it in both this life and the next. To accept such a proposition is to accept that God is unjust. Inclinations can exist within humans for a variety of natural and unnatural acts, from fornication to rape and from necrophilia to bestiality. Humans choose and God holds them responsible for their choices. Islam considers homosexuality to be a sexual deviation leading to a perverted act which goes against the natural order Allah intended for mankind. It is a corruption of the man’s sexuality and a crime against the opposite sex. Therefore, the Islamic law strictly prohibits the

practice of this act. This is mentioned in many places in the holy *Qur'an*. The story of the people of the prophet Lot who were addicted to this practice, is the best example. Prophet Lot said to his people: "Verily, you do sodomy with men, and rob the wayfarer! And practice all wickedness in your meetings," (Qur'an sura 29, verse:29). And he said to them: "Of all the creatures of the world, will you approach males, and leave those whom Allah has created for you to be your wives? Nay, you are a trespassing people!" (Qur'an, sura 26, verse: 165-166) but their answer to prophet Lut was: "Bring us the wrath of Allah if you are telling us the truth." (Qur'an, sura 29, verse: 29). Allah brought forth punishment: "And we rained on them rain of torment. And how evil was the rain of those who had been warned" (Qur'an, sura 27, verse:173). Just as a person who has a sexual urge should not satisfy it by committing *zina*, a person who has such thoughts should not act upon. In order to maintain the purity of the Muslim society, most Muslim scholars have ruled that the punishment for this act should be the same as *zina* (i.e. one hundred whiplashes for the man who has never married, and death by stoning for the married men).

5. Prostitution

Prostitution, it is argued, is not worse than homosexuality which is accepted, legalized and tolerated in many societies. Those who argue in favor of decriminalization of prostitution say this is an activity deemed to entertain the paying partner, as a dancer or actor entertains those who watch them act. After all, legislation is responding to the notion of personal freedom and the absence of coercion in the profession of prostitution.

From Islamic point of view: Some other Issues on Sexuality

1. Oral sex

It is permissible for the husband to enjoy or savor with his wife however he wishes and to come to her in the genital from any position he wishes. "Your wives are a tilt for you (to cultivate) so go to your tilt as you wish" (Qur'an, sura 2, verse: 223). There is no clear prohibition about oral sex in the Qur'an or the sunnah of the Prophet. However according to many jurists, the fluids that the male or female organs emit during the time of sexual excitement are all considered impure and they should not touch the mouth of the man or the woman. It is for this reason many scholars do not recommend this practice and consider it frowned upon. Since Islam is a culture of transcendental values calculated to ensure maximum remembrance of Allah, a Muslim should not debase himself to a sub-animal level by resorting to the practice of oral sex. The mouth is the pathway of the Qur'an, his tongue has been commanded to remain fresh with the remembrance of Allah; his mouth is situated in the noblest part of his body; the functions of his mouth are noble and lofty; his mouth is a passageway for transference of the recited Qur'an into the mouth of a listening angel.

2. Masturbation

There is no explicit directive in the *shari'ah* (Islamic Law), which forbids masturbation. In other words, it is silent on this issue. Consequently, it cannot be regarded as a sin. The verses, which prohibit it usually, are derived and may

have another meaning than that is commonly ascribed. The majority of scholars consider it forbidden. Imam Malik bases his judgment on the verse: “those who guard their sexual organs except with their spouses or those whom their right hands possess, for (with regard to them) they are without blame. But those who crave something beyond that are transgressors” (Qur’an, sura 23, verse: 5-7) arguing that the masturbation is one of those who ‘crave something beyond that’. On the other hand, it is reported that Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal regarded semen as an excretion of the body like other excrete and permitted its expulsion as blood letting was permitted (Madani, 2003). Ibn Hazm holds the same view. However the Hanbali jurists permit masturbation only under two conditions: first, the fear of committing fornication or adultery, and second, not having the means to marry. Yet better than this is the Prophet Muhammad’s advice to the Muslim Youth who is unable to marry namely, that he seek help through frequent fasting, for fasting nurtures will-power, teaches control desires, and strengthens the fear of Allah (Madani, 2003).

3. Sexual Techniques

Islam emphasizes foreplay. Imam Ali says, “When you intend to have sex with your wife, do not rush because woman (also) has needs (which you should be fulfill)” (Wasa’il, vol 14, p. 40, cited in: The Islamic Sexual Morality, 2004).

Another *hadith* equates sex without foreplay to animal behavior: “When anyone of you has sex with his wife like animals; rather there should be a messenger between them.” When asked about the messenger, he said, “it means kissing and talking” (Tahzibu’l-Ilya, vol.3, p. 110, cited in The Islamic Sexual Morality,

2004). Imam Jafar As-Sadiq has been quoted as follows: "...there should be mutual foreplay between them because it is better to for sex." (Wasa'il, vol. 14, p. 82, cited in: The Islamic Sexual Morality, 2004) The Prophet said, "...every play of a believer is a void except in there cases: horse riding, archery, and mutual foreplay with his wife these are haqq" (Wasa'il, vol. 14. p. 83, cited in: The Islamic Sexual Morality, 2004). As for the role of a woman in sexual foreplay, the Imams have praised a wife who discards shyness when she is with her husband. A hadith was quoted earlier from Imam 'Ali which said that women have been given nine-tenths of sexual desire but Allah has also given them nine-tenths of shyness. The sexual desire is to be unleashed when a woman is with her husband, but it must be shielded with shyness when she is with other people. This has been very eloquently explained by Imam Muhammad al-Baqir when he said, "The best woman among you is the one who discards the armor of shyness when she undresses for her husband, and puts the armor of shyness when she dresses up again" (Wasa'il, vol. 14, p. 14-15, cited in: The Islamic Sexual Morality, 2004). Modesty and chastity in public is the hallmark of a good Muslim lady.

Modern Indonesia: Sexual Realities and Values

With globalization and modernization, sexual attitudes and behaviors are changing rapidly in all the cultures of Indonesia (including Javanese). Premarital sex, for example, is now common among adolescents. Traditionally, Javanese women connected sexuality with love, and engaged in sexual activities only with the male they loved, i.e. their husbands (Hawati, 2001). Women, it was believed, were not able to have sex with a male unless she loved him. In contrast, the traditional view held that males were allowed to have sex with any female. In essence, females were only sexual objects, designed for male pleasure.

This traditional view is changing in modern Java. For many, sex and love are easy to separate and are frequently viewed as two different things. Many females, especially among the young, want to engage in sexual intercourse with anybody they like without the necessity an emotional investment. This concept, of course, is not well received by the older generations.

In the past, conservative religious and cultural values had a strong influence on sexual attitudes and behaviors. For instance, it was taboo for male and female adolescents to walk together in public. A daughter who became pregnant out of marriage posed a moral and social disaster for her whole family. Premarital sexual activities are considered taboo. In general, older persons and parents oppose all sexual activities outside marriage. However, during the past decade,

there has been a change in sexual attitudes and behavior among adolescents. Some studies in the cities of Indonesian reveal a growing trend among adolescents to engage in premarital sexual activities such as necking, heavy petting, or even intercourse (Budiman, 1999). However the influence of religious and traditional cultural values has decreased in recent decades, most noticeably since 1980. This is evident in the fantastic changes in the sexual attitudes and behaviors of the people, especially among the young.

Dating and premarital sexual relations among adults are very common in modern Javanese society. The culture requires a particular kind of courtship when a couple wants to marry. In this courtship, the parents and family of the male approach the parents of the female to make the arrangements. For certain ethnic groups, a courtship document is signed when presents, such as cattle, gold, and jewelry, are given. For many people in these groups, this custom is very expensive, because they have to collect enough money to buy the present for courtship.

Self-pleasuring is a common sexual behavior among single adults, even though it is not allowed by religious and moral values (Budiman, 1999). Many single adult males have sexual contact with prostitutes. Prostitution exists in many places in Java, whether it is legal or illegal. The range of services comes in various classes from low to high end. Extramarital intercourse is common, especially among males. Many married men seek prostitutes or have sexual relations with single or

married women. Extramarital intercourse is also found among married women, but in lower incidence rates than among the husbands. Although married women do have sexual relations with single and married men, most people consider this unacceptable behavior. In a typical, double moral standard, extramarital sex by males is considered something usual, even though it is forbidden by religion, morality, and law. Prostitution is widespread and occurs in many locations from small to large cities. In certain jurisdictions and cities, where prostitution is illegal, the law may prosecute either the prostitutes or those who manage the business of prostitution (Budiman, 2000). Childhood prostitution is supported by flourishing sex tourism from the Middle East, Europe, Japan, and other countries, but it is not as extensive as in neighboring nations, like Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Vietnam (Kristof 1996).

Child prostitution is increasing and seems to be widespread. In Java, child prostitution is endemic in the entire island from east to west, from the metropolitan areas to peripheral towns. Child prostitution is evident in some public parks, streets, plazas, cafes, and discotheques, as in certain brothels within the authorized red light district and in some hotels. The involvement of girls of elementary or junior high school age in covert prostitution is also identified.

The extent of child prostitution in Java is often underestimated, because of a number of factors. Firstly there is confusion with the definitions of a 'child' and 'prostitution'. In Javanese society, a married person or whatever age is

considered-legally and culturally—to be no longer a child (Christomy, 2003). This has resulted in much confusion as authorities, parents and society in general do not consider the prostitution of wives or widows aged below 18 in anyway a manifestation of child prostitution.

Examining and addressing adolescent prostitution requires concerted efforts. The child and adolescent prostitution phenomenon in Indonesia should be seen from two categories. First, parents who force their children and adolescents into prostitution (directly or indirectly). In this case, girls, after their first menstruation and usually uneducated, are sold at a high price to the agents in big cities such as Jakarta. In some cases, their fathers bring them to the agents. According to Hull (1999), this practice is rooted in poor villages; the financial rewards have ensured the continuance of this practice in economically depressed regions. Another factor that plays a role in pushing adolescents into this sex industry is that young prostitutes can often claim themselves as virgins. Further, young prostitutes are considered free from diseases such as HIV/AIDS. There are also children/adolescents who are forced to be sex workers because they have lost their virginity as a result of rape by their own fathers or close relatives.

Second, children/adolescent who have been driven into prostitution are influenced mostly by the life style (consumer goods that are offered through media), and known as ABG '*Anak Baru Gede* (young teenagers who are becoming prostitutes for buying goods). As it has been mentioned earlier,

underage prostitution is caused by misperceptions or lack of information about sex, a lack of control from parents or educators, the influence of peers, and the provision of facility to imitate what they see on the movies (Lumoidong, 1996). In Indonesia, the ABG phenomenon is common in urban areas. They solicit their services in the discotheques/hotels, on the streets or in the malls.

The practice of early marriage is certainly another important factor contributing to commercial sexual exploitation of children. In Java, marriages can be arranged when the girls are at very young age. Early marriage generally carries a high risk of separation while the young divorced female lose the social and economic legitimacy to go back and live with their parents. Given their minimal education, the lack of alternative job opportunities, prostitution may become their only alternatives.

Generally Javanese do not accept fellatio, cunnilingus, and anal sex as foreplay or sexual outlets. Most people consider these behaviors as abnormal or sinful (Budiman, 1999). On the other hand, many people do engage in fellatio and cunnilingus. Many men seek out prostitutes only for fellatio, because they enjoy that outlet, but their wives refuse to engage in it. Some women do like cunnilingus, but refuse to perform fellatio for their husbands. Still, many couples enjoy both fellatio and cunnilingus as a part of their sexual activities. Fellatio and cunnilingus are becoming popular among young people as a sexual alternative to vaginal intercourse. Cunnilingus is preferred especially by and for females

because it does not tear the hymen, which many still believe, is a mark of virginity (Budiman, 1999).

Homoerotic or homosexual activities are not common among the Javanese. But still there are some who engage in homosexual activities. In one Javanese group of traditional artists, known as '*reog ponorogo*', some adolescents engage in homosexual activities to serve adult males who are believed to have supernatural powers (Budianta, 2003). It is believed that having boy concubines is necessary to sustain and increase the magical power of *warok* (supernatural performer), and having more *gemblak* (boy concubines) gives a *Warok* more power and the boy will get a higher social status (Budianta, 2003).

In general Javanese consider homosexuality and bisexuality as abnormal acts forbidden by morality and religions (Budiman, 1999). Despite this taboo, thousands of adults engage in homosexual and bisexual relationships. A functional group for gays and lesbians exists with branches in large cities. Most gays and lesbians, however, hide their orientation and activities because they know that most people oppose homosexual behavior. In keeping with the conservative tradition, pornography is illegal throughout Indonesia. However, it is not difficult to find blue or hard-core video materials.

Indonesia has a national program promoting contraception to help married couples plan their families. This program addresses only married people, and

does not advise adolescents or unmarried adults. Information on contraception is provided through women's social organizations, newspapers, radio, and television. In the early 1980s, the government provided free contraceptives at public health centers. In 1988, with an improving economic situation and people recognizing the need for family planning, the government gradually began reducing its support, encouraging people who could not afford them to obtain contraceptives from physicians in private practice or midwives with reasonable price (Budiman, 1999).

The most popular contraceptive is the oral hormonal pill. Women have to be examined by a physician before they can obtain a prescription for it, but renewal of such prescriptions is not limited. Intrauterine contraceptive devices are also popular, followed by hormonal implants.

Despite this limitation of contraceptive information for only married women, some adolescents and unmarried adults also use contraceptives (Budiman, 1999).

They are available in pharmacies, and include the condom and vaginal film (tissue). Often the hormonal pill can be obtained without a physician's prescription. In general, the people do not agree that unmarried people should have access to and use contraceptives. Thus, there is no formal education in the schools about contraceptives for adolescents. Sexually active adolescents and single adults have only informal sources of information about contraceptives:

newspapers, television, radio programs, and seminars sponsored by interested social groups.

Sex education is not a priority in government programs. School curricula do not offer education on sexual topics or issues. However, the Department of Education and Culture has recommended a book, *About the Sexual Problem in the Family*, by Wimpie Pangkahila, as a source of sexual information for high school students. This 1988 book discusses many sexual problems that occur in Indonesian families as a result of misinformation, misunderstanding, and myths, such as the belief in harmful consequences of self-pleasuring or the impossibility of pregnancy if sexual intercourse occurs once a month. This 152-page book is available in many bookstores and some libraries.

The Indonesian Health Department and the National Coordinating Board of Family Planning have a program for Reproductive Health Education. This program, designed for young people, provides seminars on topics of reproductive and sexual health. In recent years, some secondary high schools have introduced lessons in sex education as part of their extracurricular offerings. Outside experts are invited to talk about sexuality in these seminars.

Despite the public reticence about sexuality, the Indonesian people are eager for and need more information about the subject. Hence the popularity of public and semiprivate seminars on sexual topics, many social organizations for young

people, and women's organizations, sponsor seminars for their members with outside experts invited to speak about sexuality.

Some magazines, newspapers, and radio broadcasts also have columns or programs in which sexuality and sexual problems are discussed. Readers and listeners write or call in asking about some issues or problems they face. Many people however still express a negative reaction to these forms of informal sexual education.

CHAPTER III

WESTERN EDUCATION ON HUMAN SEXUALITY: CONCEPTS, HISTORY, PRINCIPLES, STRATEGIES, APPROACHES, AND COMPONENTS

The term *Western world* or *Western Society* can have multiple meanings depending on its context. Western society is “originally defined as Europe, most modern uses of the term refer to the societies of Europe and their genealogical, colonial, and philosophical descendants, typically also including those countries whose ethnic identity and their dominant culture derive from European culture” (Wikipedia, 2004). Canada and United States whose ethnic and dominant cultures derive from European roots are considered as part of this society. “Western countries have in common a high (relative) standard of living for most citizens - compared to the rest of the world. They may also have democratic, (mostly) secular governments, rule of law and developed bodies of laws that have some expression of rights (for its own citizens) in law. Also, high levels of education, and a similar, "modern" popular culture may reflect the Western or Westernized society “ (Wikipedia, 2004).

Western culture is deeply divided in its moral perspectives of human sexuality (McKay, 1997). The biggest differences are between Restrictive and Permissive moral perspectives on sexuality. Sexuality has an important position in the belief systems of Western culture. As Mosher (1989) writes “Given the centrality of

sexuality in human affairs in both the public and private spheres, it is not surprising that convictions about the nature and purpose of human sexuality have a prominent place in the major belief systems of Western culture. Moral convictions related to sexuality are part and parcel of fundamental ideological presuppositions about human nature” (cited in McKay, 1997). An examination of western education on human sexuality would be too broad in scope and lack definitive depth to satisfy the research questions. For that reason, I will focus my study on one society—Canada.

In Canada the first organized campaign for school-based education on human sexuality began in the 1900s (Morris, 1994). Currently, all provinces and territories include sexual health education as one component in the school curricula. The Government of Canada offers educators, local and national groups, organizations and government bodies *Guidelines on Sexual Health Education*. The newest edition of the guidelines was published in 2003. Experts in various areas of sexual health education, women’s issues, health promotion, medicine, nursing, social work, and psychology developed these guidelines.

The guidelines are not intended to provide specific curricula or teaching strategies. However, they do provide the framework for evaluating existing sexual health education programs, policies, and related services available to Canadians. The guidelines are intended to unite and guide individuals and professionals working in the area of sexual health education and promotion, in particular,

curriculum and program planners, educators in and out of a school setting, policy makers, and health care practitioners (Health Canada, 2003).

The discussion of western approaches to human sexuality education necessitates the definition of relevant terms to establish a basic framework within which the examination can be structured. A brief overview of the history of education programs on human sexuality will provide the context for this framework. It is from this point that the exploration of how western society (especially Canadians) envisages health; sexual health and sexual health education can commence. An explanation of the principles of sexual health education within the Canadian educational system will highlight both the educational methodologies and the underlying value systems for disseminating and promoting sexual health for the general public.

History of Sexuality Education in Western Society

The history of education on human sexuality is reflective of the changing attitudes and approaches to sexuality. Morris (1994) explains that by examining the history of sexuality we learn how sexual information, attitudes, values and behaviors have been taught and learned from time to time. These historical developments are linked to the changes (or lack of change) in the status of men and women, economic conditions and ethos, the growing influence of the mass media, literacy, urbanization, and the impact of social and political movements

like feminism (Morris, 1994). "Sexuality education is as old as the species" (Morris, 1994, p. 13). The complete history of educational approaches to human sexuality will not be presented in this chapter, rather I will outline the history of educational approaches to the subject in three major periods: the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the 1960s and early 70s, and from the 1970s to the present.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries

Between the late 19th century and the great depression of 1929, health education was an integral part of the personal health services that comprised public health. The first organized campaign for school-based sexuality education was initiated in the 1890s in the United States (Morris, 1994). "This campaign was rooted in two movements of the progressive era: the scientific social hygiene and the purity movements" (Trudel, 1985, cited in Morris, 1994, p.3). The scientific hygiene movement's major goal was to promote and develop an educational campaign that would curb the rate of sexually transmitted diseases and address sexual moral problems (Morris, 1994). The central issue of the purity movement was to focus on the role of sexuality in procreation. These movements condemned sexual commerce and sex before or out of marriage. These movements represented a return to the Victorian middle class morality of temperance, chastity and thrift.

In America, a physician named Prince Morrow developed a scientific social hygiene movement in 1905 (Morris, 1994). Similar programs in other western

countries followed this movement. In Canada, Arthur Beall was hired by the Ontario Ministry of education to give lectures on eugenics and personal hygiene (Barrett, 1990, cited in Morris, 1994). In England, local authorities issued the Handbook of Suggestions on Health Education which offered an explicit moral code for schools and teachers for reinforcing the Victorian values on sexuality (Harrison, 2000). In this period, the goals of the sexuality education movements were to inform people about the danger of non-marital and non-procreative sexual behavior. Until 1960, health education in schools was largely limited to personal hygiene issues based on simplistic medical models of health education. The sexuality education movements in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were highly prescriptive and moralistic (Morris, 1994).

The 1960s and early 1970s

Social and political developments in Western society in the 1960s created new controversial issues in Sexuality education. The development and increased availability of the birth control pill has been described as the 'defining event' of the second half of the twentieth century (Gelles, 1995, cited in Halstead & Reiss, 2003). The developments brought new scientific concepts of sexuality and a new political agenda initiated by feminists and sexual minorities. Many people postponed having a family and young people tended to become sexually active at an earlier age. There have been changing expectations of marriage and partnerships. One result in this shift has been an increase in divorce rates as these highly personalized expectations have not been achieved or maintained.

Under the influence of feminism, gender roles have become less precise as many women have attained a degree of economic independence, and the traditional breadwinner-homemaker deal between men and women is in rapid decline (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Most forms of legal discrimination against children born outside wedlock have been abandoned in most western countries. Gay and lesbian sexuality has become much more visible and much more widely accepted.

Consequently, health education in schools was transformed during the 1960s and early 1970s to become more centered on individual development, holistic health approaches and choices through individual decision-making (Harrison, 2000). Schools developed a new sexuality and health education curriculum. The curriculum established was based on the need for coordination of health education and provided a framework based on an educational model that encouraged teachers to explore young people's feelings, attitudes, and experiences of health issues before imparting health knowledge. The Sex Information and Education Council of the United States (SIECUS) was founded in 1964 to ensure that all citizens had access to information about sexuality. In the four decades that followed, SIECUS continued to promote sexuality education for people of all ages, protect sexual rights, and expand access to sexual health. The first issue of the Sex Information and Education Council of Canada (SIECCAN) was published in 1966 (Barret, 1990, cited in Morris 1994).

From the 1970s to the Present

The rapid spread of HIV and AIDS in many countries of the world since the late 1980s has led to significant changes in both public health policy and sex education, and has brought lasting changes in sexual behavior and attitudes of 'unprotected sex' (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). The practice of sexuality and health education in schools increased, to include a wider definition of health, sexual behavior and attitudes. Surveys in Canada (Gallup, 1984; Lawlor & Purcell, 1989a, 1989b; Marsman & Herold, 1986; Monk, 1984; Nolte, 1984; Lawlor, Morris, McKay, Purcell & Comeau, 1990) and in the United States (Alexander, 1984; Kenney & Orr, 1984; Sexuality Education, 1990)"all indicate that most parents, students, and teachers see sexuality education as both valid and necessary" (Morris, 1994, p.8)

In this period a growing consensus on the need to address values in sexual education at school became evident. From the 1980s to the present, Values Clarification has been the most popular approach to examining and imparting values concerning sexual education. Within these movements a new focus on the relationship between values and sex education and its educational implications for sexual beliefs and values of religious and ethnic groups (Halstead & Reiss, 2003) have become an area of investigation.

Key Concepts (Health, Sexuality, Health Education and Sexuality Health Education)

Health

Health should not only be defined by the nonexistence of specific health problems. Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (World Health Organization, cited in Health Canada, 2003, p. 3). Canadians view health as “a positive aspect of well-being, and not simply as the absence of illness or disease. There is a growing awareness that when individuals act on their knowledge about health-related issues, such as healthy eating and active living, they can improve the quality of their lives and avoid potential health problems” (Health Canada, 2003, p. 1).

Sexuality

“Sexuality is a central aspect of being human throughout life and encompasses biological sex, gender identities and roles, sexual orientation, eroticism, pleasure, intimacy and reproduction” (Health Canada, 2003, p.4). Sexuality is a fundamental part of the personality of everyone; an essential need and cannot be separated from other aspects of life. The World Health Organization (WHO) argues that “Sexuality influences thoughts, feelings, actions and interactions and thereby our mental and physical health. Since health is a fundamental human

right, so must sexual health also be a basic human right” (WHO, cited in Health Canada, p. 7).

Sexual Health

“Sexual health is a state of physical, emotional, mental and societal well-being related to sexuality. It is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity” (Health Canada, 2003, p.5).

Sexual Health Education

Within the scope of these definitions, we can conclude that sexual health education is a specific program that encompasses the physical, mental and social aspects related to sexuality. It is an important facet of health promotion and public health management. The main concern of Sexual Health Education is the well being of individuals. The Guidelines of Sexuality Education in Canada (Health Canada, 2003) explains:

Sexual health education promotes behaviors that help individuals to achieve positive results and avoid negative outcomes. It employs a combination of learning experiences including access to age-appropriate information, motivational supports, and opportunities to develop the skills needed for individual's sexual adjustment and for satisfying interpersonal relationships.

It enables individuals, couples, families and communities to develop the knowledge, motivation and behavioral skills needed to enhance sexual health-related problems. Sexual health education that integrates these components in program development can have positive effects on an individual's sexual health choices and practices.

Effective sexual health education maintains an open dialogue that respects individual beliefs. It is sensitive to diverse needs of Canadians irrespective of their gender, sexual orientation, ethnicity, culture and religious backgrounds. (p.5)

Principles

Sex education has become one of the most contentious areas of the curriculum. Disagreements surface at the most fundamental level. For some people, sex education is primarily about safer sex, and the effectiveness of a sex education program may be judged in terms of the extent to which it leads to increased condom use (Harvey 1993, cited in Harrison, 2000). For others, it is about empowering young people by increasing their freedom to make competent choices about their own sexual behavior (Archard 2000: 45, cited in Harrison, 2000). Liberal values permeate the philosophical thinking about sex and sex education in the West. They influence the policy guidelines and the practical approach to the topic. These values influence both the way people think about sex and the way they think about education, and so it is inevitable that they permeate the theory and practice of sex education (Halstead and Reiss, 2003).

The *Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health Education* proposes philosophical and guiding principles for the development of Sexual Education program in schools. The basic principles provide direction for current and future program planning and policy development. It is stated in the *Guidelines* (Health Canada, 2003) that the expression of human sexuality and its integration in an individual's life involves the interplay between: personal desires, the needs and rights of others, and the requirements and expectations of society. Schools need to ensure that students are educated about their rights and responsibilities to the society, the value of gender equality, the need to respect cultural and religious

differences, and the need for children to develop a critical response to the sexual attitudes and values they encounter every day. “Effective sexual health education should be provided in an age-appropriate, culturally sensitive manner that is respectful individual choices” (Health Canada, 2003, p.8).

Sexuality education helps pupils to become more sensitive and aware of their behavior. It integrates the positive aspects of human sexuality and also reduces and prevents sexual health problems (Health Canada, 2003). The program should not discriminate and should provide accurate information. It encourages critical thinking about controversial issues and encourages pupils to make responsible decisions.

The philosophy of sexual health education in the *Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health Education* offers five principles that characterize effective sexual health education. The principles of sexual health education (Health Canada, 2003) are:

- Accessibility—it should be accessible to all people. The program is based on a life span approach that provides information, motivational support and skill-building opportunities that are relevant to people at different ages and stages in their lives. It recognizes and responds to the specific sexual health education needs of particular groups, such as people who are physically or developmentally disabled, homosexuals and lesbians, and other minorities.

- Comprehensiveness—it is shared social responsibility that requires the coordinated effort of individuals, organizations, agencies and governments.
- Effectiveness of educational approaches and methods—it incorporates the key components of knowledge acquisition, development of motivation and personal insight, development of skills that support sexual health, and development of the critical awareness and skills needed to create an environment conducive to sexual health.
- Training and administrative support—it is presented by well-trained individuals who receive strong administrative support from their agency or organization.
- Planning, evaluation, updating and social development—it achieves maximum impact when it is planned carefully, evaluated on program outcomes and participant feedback, updated regularly, reinforced by an environment that is favorable to sexual health (Health Canada, 2003).

Strategies and Approaches

Strategies

Theoretical models are vital for the determination of the teaching methods that most effectively encourage behaviors that will enhance sexual health. It is important for program planners and policy-makers to rely on well-tested, empirically supported theoretical models as a foundation for program

development. Several theoretical models meet these standards and can be used to develop programs consistent with the *Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health education*: the Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), Transtheoretical Model (TM) Theory of Reasoned Action (TRA), and Information, Motivation and Behavioral Skills (IMB). However, the components of sexual health education proposed by the guidelines are based on the IMB models

“IMB-based interventions have been shown to significantly reduce HIV/AIDS sexual risk behavior in heterosexual college students, low income women, minority men and minority youth in high school settings” (Health Canada, 2003, p. 34). The program had a positive impact on behavior (Weinhardt, cited in Health Canada, 2003). This model focuses specifically on contraception among young adults. “The IMB model can help individuals to reduce risk behaviors, prevent sexual health-related problems and guide individuals in enhancing sexual health” (Health Canada, 2003, p. 35). Programs based on the three components of the model provide theory-based learning experiences: Information, Motivation and Behavior.

Approach

The arguments over sexual education approaches are closely related with the conflict between divergent moral visions for humanity (McKay, 1997). The approaches are Restrictive (abstinence-only), Permissive (safer-sex/comprehensive), and the Democratic ideological approach.

The Restrictive approach tends to view human sexuality from a negative perspective. This approach suggests that sexuality should be controlled morally and socially. Procreative intercourse within a mature monogamous marital relationship is the most valid sexual expression. The approach denounces masturbation, homosexuality and pre/extra marital sexual relationships (McKay, 1997). It teaches that the abstinence from sexual activity is the only certain way to avoid out-of-wedlock pregnancy, sexually transmitted diseases and other associated health problems (Halstead and Reiss, 2003). In its more extreme elements, this approach disapproves of contraception and safe sex practices. It also tends to promote traditional gender roles and they are typically presented in an entirely heterosexual context (Sanderson & Wilson, 1991; Trudell & Whatley, 1991, cited in McKay, 1997).

The Permissive approach is usually called the safer-sex or comprehensive approach. The basic principle of this approach is sexuality education should prepare adolescents for the healthy expression of their sexuality. This approach does not only focus on the negative aspects of sexuality but also deals with other issues: reproductive biology and puberty, dating, marriage and STD, sexual pleasure; non-coital sexual expression, sexuality and society, and homosexuality (Yarber, 1994, cited in McKay, 1997).

A democratic philosophy of sexuality education stands not on theory about the nature and purpose of human sexuality but rather, on assumptions about the

nature of education appropriate to pluralistic democracies (McKay, 1997). It is not based on the correctness or superiority of either Restrictive or Permissive sexual ideology (McKay, 1997). The approach promotes democratic values, moral pluralism, and the freedom of belief. The *Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health Education* (Health Canada, 2003) is an example of democratic philosophy of sexuality education.

Another issue that also creates differences in sexuality education approach is the question about the need (or lack of need) to teach values in sexuality education. The Value-free sex education assumes that “facts” can and should be separated from “values”. Facts on sexuality should be taught by the school nurse or biology teacher while values on it are the responsibility of the parents, or the place of the worship, or the children themselves (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Harrison (2003) observed two main problems with this approach. First, as we have seen, it is impossible to impart knowledge derived from values. And second, if children are not given direct guidance and help in school they may pick up their values from those less concerned or informed.

The Value-based sex education addresses the need of combining facts and values in the sexuality education program. The program is ideally based on clearly identifiable values. Values Clarification is one of the most popular approaches to values in sexuality education. The proponents of this approach argue that values are personal and subjective. Teachers should refrain from

value-judgments and stay neutral (Morris, 1994). This approach however, is very controversial and subject to several critiques. Morris (1994), for example, argues that values clarification fails to distinguish subjectivity from subjectivism, integrity from validity, pluralism from relativism.

Components

As previously mentioned, Sexuality education as prescribed by *the Canadian Guideline for Sexual Health Education* is based on the Information, Motivation and Behavior skills (IMB) theoretical model. Information will help individuals to be better informed; motivation will motivate individuals to use their knowledge to change negative risk behaviors and maintain consistent, healthy practices; and behavioral skills, which will help individuals, acquire the relevant behavioral skills that will likely reduce negative outcomes and enhance sexual health.

Information

Sexual health education program must provide information that is relevant and easy to translate into behavior that can help individuals to enhance sexual health and avoid sexual health problems. For example: information about how specific forms of birth control work, and information for preventing pregnancy.

Motivation

Motivation is needed to transform the information into the desired sexual health behaviors. Motivation here, takes three forms: Emotional motivation, personal motivation, and social motivation. Emotional motivation is a person's emotional responses to sexuality and to specific sexual health-related behaviors. Personal motivation is a person's attitudes and beliefs in relation to a specific sexual and reproductive health behavior. "Social motivation is a person's beliefs regarding social norms of social support pertaining to relevant sexual and reproductive health behaviors are also likely to influence behavioral change" (Health Canada, 2003, p. 37).

Behavioral Skills

Behavioral skills are needed to help the individuals adopt and employ behaviors that support sexual health. The Behavioral skills consist of: the objective skills for behavior, and the self-efficacy to do the act. Individuals should have these skills. These skills help them adopt and perform behaviors that support sexual health (Health Canada, 2003).

CHAPTER IV

LEARNING FROM THE WEST: CREATING A NEW TERMINOLOGY OF SEX EDUCATION IN JAVANESE SOCIETY

In Western societies, the debate over the necessity of teaching values in sex education has changed with the shift in societal normative attitudes. This discussion has primarily focused on the different kinds of approaches, methodologies, principles, and the purpose and components of this education deemed necessary to cultivate a healthy life style while respecting individual and cultural choices. However, in Javanese Society people still do not openly discuss sexuality in public. Their attitudes towards sex and sex education are complicated and often ambiguous. On the one hand, there is a generalized social perception that sex and sexual education are personal and taboo. On the other hand, problems related to sexuality do exist: sexuality transmitted diseases, HIV/AIDS, unintended pregnancies, sexual abuse, sexual dysfunction, and many others. In this thesis, Javanese society will be compared with Canadian society on the issue of sex education. This examination will be framed by comparative study methods, exploring demographics, religious, and socio-cultural determination of sexual expression, attitudes and behavior.

By identifying the sexual practices and principles in Javanese society, and the sex education programs in Canadian society, the study will provide baseline information on the subject. It is also designed to determine the gaps in the sex

education programs and the need for improvement within the Javanese context. This thesis will attempt to convince Javanese society and authorities that education for sexual and reproductive health is very important, particularly in terms of the 'non-biological aspects' of reproduction.

DISCUSSIONS

Two Sides of the Same Coin: Comparing Two-different Societies

In comparing Western and Eastern sex education a number of points are immediately evident: sex education in Canadian society is based on liberal and Christian values while sex education in Javanese society is based on religious and Islamic values.

There was a time when Christian ethics were regarded as the norm for Western society. Biblical teachings provided the moral framework by which sexuality and social norms were judged. In today's society, ethics based on biblical teachings no longer hold a sacrosanct position. Yet, the majority of people when questioned still affirm a belief in God even when the national significance of religion is in decline. A stated belief in God may not translate into any overt religious activity, such as communal worship, it often connects with what people feel about important issues in life and occasionally manifests itself in rites of

passage, for example in wishing to get married in a church (e.g. Davie 1994, cited in Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Many people are still, consciously or not, influenced by religious perspectives on sexual values, even if they have no obvious religious commitment. Presently, the dominant conceptions of sex education in the west reflect a commitment to liberal values. While in Javanese society, religion (Islam) is still a major influence on many people's thinking about sex. Religion is their main resource and answer for problems or questions that they face in life. Religion is woven into the cultural fabric of Javanese society *adat* (social norm) is strongly interrelated and affects the way people live, talk and act.

Liberal VS Religious

This shift of values from Christianity to Liberalism has changed sexual values and attitudes in Western society. There has been a growing openness about sexuality, particularly in the media. Sex has been demystified; the romanticisation of sexuality is in decline while sex has become more closely linked with entertainment. Sex is increasingly viewed as an important part of human life and as an important component of self-identity; culture more generally has been sexualized; pornography has become more widely available; and there is an increased sophistication in the sexual knowledge of children and young people, with television in particular making accessible the secrets that adults used to keep to themselves to children (Halstead & Reiss, 2003).

For the Javanese people, their religious (Islam as the majority faith) faith is absolutely the core of their being (until now): they could no more feel comfortable acting or thinking in a way that conflicted with their religious values than they could feel comfortable not breathing. Sexuality cannot be discussed in public. The government controls the media and its various distribution channels, sexually explicit material is banned (however, there is a thriving black market), virginity is very important within the culture, sexual relationship pre/extra marriage is condemned and a child born out of wedlock is considered unclean. Even within the traditional religious belief system problems related to sexuality do occur.

Christian VS Islam

Christian views about virtually everything derive from perhaps five main sources: first, the bible, containing both the Jewish and New Testament scriptures; second, the teachings of the Church; third, the conscience of individuals informed, they believe, by the Holy spirit; fourth, their God-given, though imperfect, powers of reason; fifth, the particular cultural milieu they inhabit (Halstead & Reiss, 2003).

The basic source of Islamic law is the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* or the teachings of the Prophet Muhammad. The Qur'an is the primary source containing all the fundamental directives and instructions of Allah. Herein are found not only the

directives relating to individual conduct but also the principles relating to all the aspects of social and cultural life of human beings. The *Sunnah* constitutes the second source of Islamic law. *Sunnah* is an Arabic word which means "Method or path". It was applied by the Prophet Muhammad as a legal term to represent what he said, did and agreed to. Its authority is derived from the text of the Qur'an. The Qur'an and the *Sunnah* are the primary sources of Islamic law. *Ijma* (that is consensus of opinion of scholars) and *Qiyas* (that is laws derived through analogical deduction) are the secondary or dependent sources of Islamic law or *Shari'ah*. *Ijma* and *Qiyas* derive their value or authority from the Qur'an and the *Sunnah*. Therefore, they are called dependent sources (Khan, 2004).

To illustrate Christian and Islam views on sex, we will examine marriage and homosexuality. Traditional Christian understandings of marriage are outlined in the marriage services of the various Christian denominations. Marriage is something that two adults, a man and a woman, choose to go through. It is a lifetime commitment, exclusive and the only proper place for sexual contact. Further, it has a mystical element to it; the relationship Christ has with his Church is represented by the exchange of vows. Indeed, in the Roman Catholic tradition marriage is one of the sacraments (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Currently, there has been a significant shift in Christian views about marriage; it is in the attitude taken towards people who live together (cohabit) before marriage. Although many Christians still see this as a second-best option, cohabitation is increasingly being accepted.

An Islamic marriage is: an act of piety, a form of worship of Allah and submission to His messenger, the only valid means of emotional and sexual fulfillment, a means of valid procreation, and an approach to inter-family alliances and group solidarity (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Early marriage is encouraged and marriages may be arranged but should not be forced. Islam takes very seriously both fornication and adultery. Women are to avoid displaying their beauty and using strong smelling perfumes to tempt male strangers. It is forbidden for women to conduct themselves in a seductive manner when in the presence of men other than their husbands (or other relatives).

The relative degree of consensus that exists among Christians about marriage does not exist among them about homosexuality. The traditional view is that homosexuality is, at best, a sin that can be cured by repentance, prayer and Christian counseling; at worst, it is a scandal, and an instance of human corruption. Since the later 1970s, however, a tremendous amount of scholarship has questioned this traditional view. It has been argued that some of the classic 'proof' texts have been over interpreted. The basic scriptural reference on homosexuality is the story of Sodom in Genesis 19; however, scholars have argued that the principal sin of the men of that city was their inhospitality and their range of religious and social sins (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). Contemporary Christian views about homosexuality have been predisposed by the individual testimonies of many gay and lesbian Christians. For all these reasons a consensus among Christians about homosexuality currently does not exist. Some Christians are moving towards an official position in which communal

faithful homosexual relationships are considered acceptable. Yet, this situation exists only among the laity rather than among the clergy (Halstead & Reiss, 2003).

Homosexuality is prohibited in Islam. The reason is because it is considered unnatural and morally repugnant. The Muslim view of homosexuality is therefore closer to the earlier Christian perspective based on natural law: that God created an order in the World which was designed to bring everything to fulfillment and that to understand the natural purpose and function of something is to understand God's will for it (Halstead & Lewicka, cited in Halstead & Reiss, 2003). From an Islamic perspective there is no such thing as a homosexual orientation, just homosexual acts (Halstead & Lewicka, cited in Halstead, 1997).

These differences in values on sexuality between the two societies are manifested in the respective attitudes towards sexuality and sex education. There are number of competing frameworks for school sex education within the western educational approach. Halstead and Reiss (2003) identify these as follows:

- School sex education should not occur—the simplest point to take in respect to sex education in schools is that it should not occur. Sex education is the responsibility of parents, and schools should not teach it. Schools, it may be argued, do not have the right to deal with such matters.

Nor do they have the abilities. Childhood is a time of innocence and that time should not be shortened through a premature exposure to the world of adults. Further, teachers may lack the skills and abilities needed to teach sex education and may hold very different beliefs and values from those held by the parents. In some countries, including England, Wales and New Zealand, parents have the right to withdraw their children from the public school's sex education programs and small minorities of parents do exercise this right. The Javanese people hold a similar belief (though for slightly different reasons), that a school is not a place for learning about sexuality. They believe that humans have an innate instinct to learn about it naturally. Schools only need to teach the negative aspects of sexuality from a religious viewpoint. This subject should be addressed through the religious sciences using implicit and polite language.

- School Sex education should promote physical health—school sex education should simply promote physical health. This means that schools should teach factually about such matters as conception, contraception, pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections.
- School sex education should promote autonomy—one of the roles of schools in sex education is to help pupils make sense of the diversity of sexual values which they acquire from a variety of sources and gradually, through a process of critical reflection, begin to shape, construct and develop their own values.

- School sex education should promote responsible sexual behavior—promoting autonomy is about enabling individuals to put their rational decisions into effect and promoting responsible behavior. Sex education policies and guidelines focus on the promotion or enabling of responsible behavior, or respecting others. As the Canadian Guidelines for Sexual Health Education (1995, as well in 2003 edition) put it: Sexual Health education is concerned with the well-being of the individual while recognizing that individuals have responsibilities to, and are affected by, each other and by the social environment in which they live.

The Success and Failure of the West

The measure of success or failure of school-based sex education programs have been the increasing or decreasing rate of teenage pregnancies, HIV/AIDS and STIs. Accordingly, the significance of school programs has been calculated by their capacity to reduce the rates of pregnancy and disease among young people (Kirby, 1983; Barrett, 1990 cited in Morris, 1994).

If the rates of HIV/AIDS and teenager's pregnancy are the parameters of success, we can conclude that Sexuality Education in Canada has been relatively successful. The number of people infected with HIV has significantly dropped in one decade. The Centre for Infectious Disease Prevention and Control (CIDPC), Health Canada (2003) reported that in 1995, there were 2,990

people reported HIV positive (in that year) and in June 2003 only 1,207 cases (in that year, total number of people HIV positive in Canada was 53,887, see table 1). The rate of new AIDS cases has also declined (Health Canada, 2003). In 1993 there were 1,823 new cases, by the year 2003, the number dropped to 71 new cases (Total people having AIDS in Canada by June 2003: 18,934. See table 2). At the same time, the teenage pregnancy rate dropped, and by 1997, it stood at 42.7 pregnancies per 1,000 women aged 15 to 19 (see table 3).

Table 1. Number of positive HIV test reports by year of test (all ages)

Year of Test	Number reported to CIDPC*
1985-1994	32,985
1995	2,990
1996	2,792
1997	2,518
1998	2,342
1999	2,245
2000	2,124
2001	2,185
2002	2,499
June 2003	1,207
Total	53,887

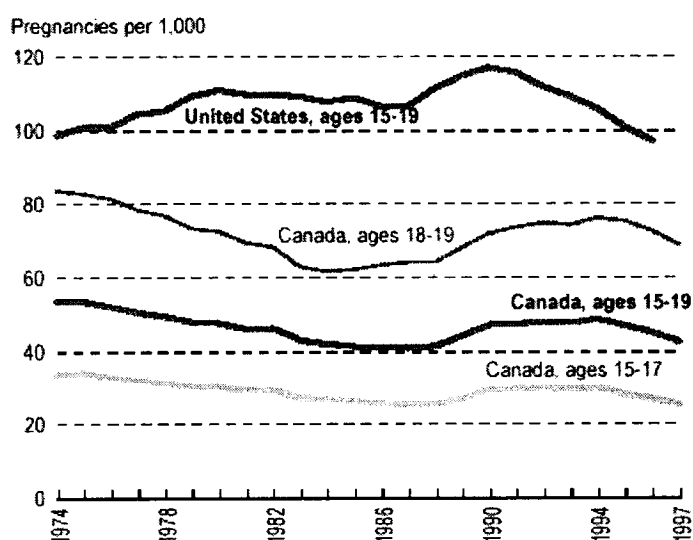
* Centre for Infectious Disease Prevention and Control (CIDPC), Health Canada

Table 2. Number of reported AIDS cases by year of diagnosis (all ages)

Year of diagnosis of AIDS	Number of cases reported to CIDPC*
1979	1
1980	3
1981	8
1982	26
1983	63
1984	160
1985	384
1986	649
1987	991
1988	1,165
1989	1,380
1990	1,446
1991	1,518
1992	1,750
1993	1,823
1994	1,773
1995	1,638
1996	1,146
1997	719
1998	625
1999	509
2000	456
2001	347
2002	283
June/juin 2003	71
Total	18,934

- Centre for Infectious Disease Prevention and Control (CIDPC), Health Canada

Table 3. Teenage pregnancy rates, by age of women at end of pregnancy, women aged 15 to 19, Canada and United States, 1974 to 1997



Data sources: References 5,6,7; Health Statistics Division; Canadian Vital Statistics Data Base; Canadian Institute for Health Information; Alan Guttmacher Institute

The success of school programs promoting the positive aspects of sexuality, however, remains unquantifiable. The problem of adolescent sexuality is not necessarily limited to rates of pregnancy and STDs (Morris, 1994). Rather, issues of relationships, love, development of self-esteem, decreasing guilt and anxiety of sexual matters, preventing sexual abuse and the role of women and men in society are fundamental aspects to a healthy lifestyle. Not all of the outcomes of the program will be achieved instantly. It might be possible to obtain some evidence of the effects of sex education in terms of specific curriculum objectives. However, many of these effects can only be observed over the long term and only monitorable with respect to individuals after ten or even twenty years (Harrison, 2003). Presently, a number of experts on sex education in Canada and other western countries are not satisfied with the results of the programs. Sex education fails to take in account the non-biological aspects of sexuality (Morris, 1997). Morris (1997) states that a major paradigm shift is necessary for sexuality education: He adds that sexual-values education will continuously inadequate as long as the program holds ceaselessly its epistemological theory on the nature of values and valuing, and education is persistently to be defined and organized according to purely instrumental criteria (Morris, 1994).

CONCLUSIONS

East meets West: the agreement and disagreement

There are three different categories of values in the sexual domain that give rise to agreement and disagreement between the East and the West (Halstead & Reiss, 2003). The first is a set of fundamental sexual values that can understandably be perceived through universal principles, such as the unacceptability of rape, child abuse or exploitation. These values are shared by nearly everyone, and are often set in law. Fundamentally, the principles are based on core liberal values such as freedom, human rights, equality and respect for persons. The second is a much larger set which we may call 'common values'. In a monocultural society these may be merely taken for granted as applicable to all, but in a multicultural society they can be arrived at only through a process of reflection and discussion in the light of the democratic values which are actually shared by all citizens. These values may not command a full consensus, but represent a working agreement which satisfies most people most of the time. The third category consists of controversial values, where there is a fundamental and irreconcilable disagreement between groups. This occurs, for example, on the issue of the moral acceptability of homosexual acts (Halstead & Reiss, 2003).

The East and West share agreement on the values of freedom, equality and respect for persons. Sexual abuse and rape violates universal values. Both

societies condemn these acts. Canada and Javanese societies both are multicultural societies so that not all values are universally accepted. The unaccepted values become common values through a process of reflection and discussion. In common values the consensus is not one hundred percent, there is both agreement and disagreement. The disagreement appears in the case of controversial values. There are things which Javanese may not like in the sex education programs in Canada: some material may offend the Islamic principles of decency and modesty; sex education has a tendency to present certain behaviors as acceptable which Muslim and Javanese consider sinful; and sex education is perceived as undermining the Islamic and Javanese concept of family life.

Pre-marital, extra-marital and same-sex relationships are all forbidden in Javanese society, socially and morally. It is intolerable from a Javanese point of view that children should be taught that such relationships are equally valid alternative lifestyles or forms of behavior, or that it is entirely a matter of personal choice. There should be a way to teach these issues in a morally and socially acceptable manner. Javanese parents have a duty to offer guidance to their children on all aspects of their behavior and to encourage their children to live in accordance with religious and social principles.

Certain materials currently in use in sex education programs for Canadian schools, most obviously videos showing fully naked bodies or the explicit

enactment of sexual relations, offend the principles of modesty and are unacceptable from a Javanese point of view. The co-educational classroom is also a problem. Teaching sexuality in mixed gender classrooms will present problems for Javanese society, as social etiquette is very rigid and formal. Talking about sexuality across genders is considered unmannered and inappropriate.

IMPLICATIONS

Lesson from the West: What should be done?

Western methodologies can provide inspiration for Javanese society in regards to approaches in sex education. Javanese should realize the importance of sex education. From the Western experience, we learn that: Sex education is providing many opportunities for students to become informed about reproductive and sexual matters, and to exercise their will to resist temptation, to build self-respect and respect for others, and to engage in moral reasoning to decide what is right or wrong (Harrison, 2000). From these experiences, we notice sex education is different from biology, autonomy or physiology. Sex education should provide a knowledge and understanding of traditional moral rules by allowing pupils to reflect on them, to create a general propensity to obey these

rules, with a belief that others should obey these rules, together with an understanding of the limitations of such rules.

Javanese (especially Javanese Muslims) avoid the controversial issues of sexuality. By examining the Western experiences, we learn that sexuality education should enable students to develop sexual autonomy. They should be taught about homosexuality, contraception, abortion, and pre-extra marital sexual relationships. In Canada, the teaching approach is balanced in the sense that the teacher neither favors nor disfavors that which is controversial. By teaching these controversial issues, students can learn about the effects of all types of stereotyping, prejudice, bullying, racism, and discrimination and how to challenge them assertively; how to deal with people different from themselves; about the nature of friendship and how to make and keep friends (Halstead & Reiss, 2003).

There are two western approaches that might have an initial appeal for Javanese society: A value-free approach and a faith-based approach. Javanese have never objected to learning about reproduction and health within a science curriculum, for this reason, Javanese can accept a value-free approach to sex education. However, as Reiss (cited in Halstead and Reiss, 2003) points out, sex educators are increasingly recognizing that sex education (like most, perhaps all, other subjects) is not and cannot be value-free. A value-free education will fail to take in to account personal responsibility, management of feelings and relationships, and the development of self-esteem. This kind of approach may

reduce HIV/AIDS and the early-pregnancy rate. A faith-based approach to sex education has been advanced as a methodology which is compatible with the religious beliefs and cultural norms of the society. However, the main problem with this approach, as Reiss (cited in Halstead and Reiss, 2003) points out, is the difficulty of achieving a consensus on sexual values even within a single religious tradition. As explained in the previous chapter, Javanese society is composed of many different Islamic traditions and practices. A consensus between these traditional groups will be difficult to attain on certain issues, such as: polygamy, abortion, oral sex and many others.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis is non-judgmental on issue of which society is having better sexuality education program. I do not recommend that the Javanese society should have the same sexuality education program like its western counterpart nor I judge that the West sexuality education is misguided.

There are two points that I will recommend. First, Javanese people and the authorities should create a new terminology for sexuality education. Sexuality should be taught in formal and informal situations. Sex education at school is necessary. It is not sufficient to rely on the parents or the traditional family structure to educate their children about sexuality (even I accept the debatable point that children should be protected from exposure to values different from

those of their parents, there is no point in abandoning school-based sex education). Though parents are normally the most natural and most important sex educators of their children, they generally lack the specialist resources and training to adequately educate their children in this complex world. Hiding behind the reason of protecting children purity and that sexuality is a human instinct; Javanese parents and educators have avoided teaching subjects related to sexuality. As Collier (cited in Halstead, 1997) points out, the quality of innocence should not be confused with ignorance. The sexual abuse of children is more likely to thrive where there is ignorance about sexual matters. Sex education develops pupils' ability to reflect critically on the sexual values to which they are exposed in the broader society.

Second, there should be further study and writing on sex education in Javanese society, focusing on: the developing of principles, approaches, methods, and components. Javanese should not totally duplicate the Western sex education program. They need to examine and arrive at concepts steeped in their own culture and values. The lessons from the West should be considered but not copied. Sexuality education should meet pupils, parents and society needs. This is a complex task.

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