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A Rather Benign Sexual Culture: Socio-sexual Lifestyles of Youth in Urban Central Java, Indonesia

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ABSTRACT

Sexuality is clearly a key, if often neglected, dimension for both population and medical geography. The challenge of HIV prevention has given rise to research efforts to understand the pattern and dynamics of sexual lifestyle. This paper reports upon findings from such a study undertaken upon the socio-sexual lifestyle of youth (18-24 years of age) from factory (low-income) and university (middle class) social environments in urban Central Java, Indonesia. The study involved a combination of quantitative (2000 person sample survey) and qualitative (8 focus group discussion and 15 in-depth interviews) methods, with data collected from 2003-2004. Analysis of the basic sexual parameters reveals relatively low levels of pre-marital sexual experience, but (of concern) very low levels of contraceptive precaution within such activity. The main part of the paper concerns a discussion of a range of young men and women's socio-sexual lifestyle (identified by cluster analysis). The core Javanese concept of *gaul* is explored in discriminating different global/traditional orientations. The lifestyles are interpreted in terms of the reflexivity of leisure activities, taste and dress, within the broader contexts of Javanese culture and the social transition occurring in the Republic of Indonesia. Copyright © 2007 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.

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INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

In recent years geographer have begun taking an increasing interest in aspect of sexuality (Bell and Valentine, 1995). However, the bulk of such research has been primarily concerned with the socially marginalized dimensions of gay and lesbian sexuality. Sexuality is clearly a key dimension with relevance to major concerns, such as fertility and gender in population geography, and reproductive and sexual health (SRH), and HIV/AIDS in medical geography. Whilst not in any way denigrating the importance of the study of non-heterosexuality, the forenoted major concerns call for a greater understanding of wider patterns of sexual lifestyle especially in the developing world (Parker et al., 1991; Gould, 1992; Abramson and Pinkerton, 1995; Gagnon, 1995). Indeed, echoing the contribution of the earlier World Fertility Survey and

Demographic and Health Surveys for research into fertility (Cleland and Hobcraft, 1986), the Global Programme on AIDS (GPA) undertook a massive series of standardized Sexual Behaviour and Attitudes Surveys in numerous developing countries in the late 1990s (Cleland and Ferry, 1995). Whilst this programme of surveys provided much needed national-level data to assist the development of HIV prevention programmes, they faced considerable limitations in the light of their fairly basic behavioral and attitudinal measures with respect to their theoretical bases and wider socio-cultural implications (Ford, 1998).

This paper presents similar data to those of the GPA surveys undertaken in other parts of the world on sexual behavior in Central Java, Indonesia, but develops the attitudinal and lifestyle dimensions in greater depth than was possible in the larger-scale GPA surveys programme. This study is part of the global effort to undertake research which seeks to contribute towards the pressing problems of SRH and HIV/AIDS in the developing world (Mann and Tarantola, 1996). However, it seeks to place greater emphasis than is often the case on understanding the specificities of sexual culture within the context of place, in this case Central Java. The study is thus contextualized within health geography's concern with the socio-culturally constructed nature of place (Kearns and Moon, 2002) and the bearing this has upon health vulnerabilities and community response (Wakefield and Elliot, 2000). The emphasis, upon exploring sexuality in terms of Javanese culture and self-awareness, echoes Eyles' (1985) emphasis on perceived place-in-the-world. Sexual health vulnerabilities emerge from complex interaction of sexual culture and socio-health policy response (Ford, 1994) within the specific context of place. Javanese culture and the social changes occurring within Central Java shape both of expression of sexual lifestyle and the contested debates concerning appropriate protective socio-health response.

The aim of the study was to explore the sexual lifestyle of youth (aged 18-24) in Central Java, with particular reference of sexual and reproductive health vulnerabilities and the implications for policies and programmes in the urban health system. Within this broad remit, the more specific research aims addressed in this paper include seeking to understand the nature of sexual behaviours in terms of broader meanings associated with more general social and leisure tendencies. The patterns of findings identified are then discussed and interpreted with reference to wider social and lifestyle theory.

Prior to presenting the detailed methodology and discussing the key findings on the parameters of the youth sexual culture and their association with broader socio-sexual lifestyle in Central Java, some contextual reference is made to prior research into sexuality in Indonesia and some core notions of Javanese culture.

RESEARCH INTO SEXUALITY AND CULTURE IN JAVA

Along with the neighbouring province of East Java, Central Java is the original home territory of the Javanese, who, with a population of around 80 million (approximately 40% of the total)

(Central Bureau of Statistics, 1999),¹ comprise the largest single ethnic group in not only Indonesia, but also in South East Asia as a whole (Hugo et al, 1987). Although over 90% of the Javanese are Muslim today, the culture blends in a syncretism, drawing on historic layers of Hinduism and Buddhism, as well as more ancient animist roots. Javanese mysticism, *Kebatinan*, is a pervasive current within the philosophy of the better-educated urban classes (Mulder, 1998) with links to both Sufi Islam and possibly the earlier Hindu-Buddhist phase. As discussed in the classic work of Geertz (1960), Islam has generally taken a fairly liberal form, termed *Abangan* in Java, although there is also a more 'purist' form known as *Agama Islam Santri*. Whilst there is not the space in this paper to elaborate upon trends in Islam in contemporary Indonesia, it should be noted that this is complex and contested religion-political territory, with implications for views concerning the regulation of sexuality.

Although relatively few people pursue the mystical path of *Kebatinan*, core aspect of the philosophy can easily be seen to pervade aspects of Javanese social life. The core is element an emphasis upon self-control and self-awareness. This is expressed, for instance, in the Javanese notion of *eling*, which is understood intuitively and implicitly by Javanese, but which may be translated as 'to remember', as a concept pertaining to the soul's physical and spiritual experience. *Eling* connects earlier experience to what is being experienced now, seeking to foster an ongoing sense of self-awareness or mindfulness. Thus it has the practical implication of being ever-conscious of the consequences of one's actions and thus taking personal responsibility (Mulder, 1998).

Javanese notions of self-control are related to self-actualisation through maturation. Thus a child or somebody losing self-control will commonly be described as *durung Jawa* meaning 'not yet Javanese', in the sense that to be Javanese is to be civilized. Thus, through gentle reminding, along with the great emphasis placed upon respect for parents and parental authority (continuing well into early adulthood), an individual is socialized into distrusting their impulses, avoiding spontaneity and refraining from exuberant emotional expressions.

In social interaction, value is placed upon respect, generosity, avoidance of conflict and the practice of empathy (Geertz, 1960); Koentjaraningrat, 1989; Utomo, 1999). Along with *eling*, parents also use the notion of *isin*, which translates directly as 'shaming' but is probably better understood as a sense of 'uneasiness' with respect to behavior and expression which is counter to these values (Koentjaraningrat, 1989). The process of maturation to the Javanese is thus understood as entailing a sense of self-controlled and graceful comportment. Perhaps this reaches its quintessence in traditional Javanese classical dance with its incredible control and seemingly effortless concentration, which for the practiced dancer is experienced as a smooth meditation. As Hefner and Hefner (1997: 64) have put it, in everyday life:

'this pattern of self-control is not one of emotional repression – as a Westerner might expect – it is instead a gentle modulation of self and emotion in personal comportment. Grace and bearing is the key to inner equanimity and proper social interaction.

Thus in childhood a reasonably liberal social climate as easy mixing between the sexes is in fact regulated by a strong sense of appropriate behavior, concern with social image and progressive self-control, such that graceful comportment becomes automatic.

As well as the aforementioned broad aspect of thinking of Javanese culture, it is also useful to consider some of the more general thinking on sexuality and recent empirical research in Indonesia. In terms of the broad sweep of historical perspective, the admittedly fairly limited documentation has identified evidence of fairly liberal sexual climate in South East Asia at least up to the sixteenth century (Schlegel, 1993; cited in Abramson and Pinkerton, 1995). Pre-marital sexual relations were regarded indulgently, with marriage expected if pregnancy resulted from such relations (Utomo, 1999).

With more specific reference to Java, sexual motifs may be observed on some temples (such as *Sukuh* and *Ceto* temples) from the late Hindu-Buddhist period, during which time there was some blending of Indic belief systems with earlier indigenous animist concepts (Soepangat, 1991 in Utomo, 1999; Ongkhokham, 1991) of fertility and sexuality. However, the lack of documentary evidence for such periods (resulting from the texts being written on perishable materials) makes it very difficult to infer actual sexual mores from religio-ritualistic motifs. However, Javanese texts such as *Arjunawijaya* and *Centini* from the early Islamic period have survived. *Centini*, written in 1820 by Javanese Sultan Pakubuwono V, openly and sensually discusses aspects of sexuality as some thing natural. Moreover, in *Centini*, within marriage women were seen as taking an active and positive stance towards sexual pleasure (Utomo, 1999).

A tendency towards a more conservative expression of Javanese sexuality is seen to follow influences from Dutch colonization and its influence on education (Supomo, 1996), along with the reformation of Islam in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ricklefs, 1981; Utomo, 1999). Indeed, the degree to which the reformation of Islam impacted on particular areas has continuing implications for the regulation of youth sexuality across the Indonesian archipelago today. Thus the youth in Java enjoy a much more liberal environment than is found, for instance, in parts of Sumatra, and the extreme case of Aceh in particular. It is worth noting, however, that Muslim Indonesia is in no way 'erotophobic' (Fisher et al, 1983). Sexuality is viewed as positive and natural, but something to be expressed with modesty and according to cultural values contained within marriage.

The recent phase in the general cultural expression of sexuality across Indonesia has been shaped by two main developments (Ford and Siregar, 1998): the continuing contested terrain of liberal and more conservative tendencies of Islam (Masqood, 1994; Bull, 2000; Arkoun, 2003), and the new opportunities concomitant with the fall of Suharto's 'New Order'. The current phase of the (fairly successful) transition to democracy and its attendant relaxation in strict censorship has allowed the flourishing of sexually-related fiction and non-fiction (informational handbooks) literature. Along with the problems of regulating the burgeoning Internet, this trend means that more sexually explicit material is easily accessible to the youth than ever before (Pangkahila and

Pangkahila, 2001). The very considerable demand for such literature, addressing for instance aspects of pre-marital sexuality, reflects the fact that such themes are somewhat novel rather than the norm, within Indonesian culture.

In a broader societal sense there is a general narrative concerning the significance of global trends impacting upon a traditionally-based Indonesian youth (Lent, 1995; Achmad and Westley, 1999; Xenos et al., 1999). The influence of modernising trends such as Westernisation, however, may well be overstated, given the degree to which Javanese culture is very much a world unto itself. The modernising/Westernising narrative is widely considered to be troubling, especially with respect to the fairly widespread notion that it is leading to increasing levels of pre-marital sexual activity or *gampang*, 'promiscuity' in Indonesian parlance. There are frequent alarmist, and often slightly sensationalizing, newspaper, and magazine articles on these supposed trends (e.g. Sukendar et al., 2005). Similarly, television programmes such as *Fenomena* and *Jakarta underground* deal somewhat salaciously with trends in youth culture which are contrary to traditional Indonesia values. Again it is the sheer novelty of such lifestyles (for instance casual sexual) that provides their audience appeal and makes their material newsworthy.

On closer inspection, articles on the supposed *Revolusi seks pelajar* show scant actual evidence for such trends among the youth population (Sukendar et al., 2005). A more stable picture is also provided by the host of surveys which have been undertaken on youth pre-marital sexual behavior (e.g. IDHS, 1997; Situmorang, 1998; Achmad et al., 1999; BKKBN and IPPA, 2000, unpublished; NGO PILAR, 2003, unpublished). In general these studies, from right across the archipelago (with the exception of Irian Jaya/Papua), show that only a small minority of youth report engaging in pre-marital intercourse. As in other Asian countries, the surveys show somewhat higher percentage of males than females reporting such experience, but the gender difference is markedly less than is found in other countries such as Thailand (Ford and Kittisukasathit, 1996). In general, the majority of sexual behaviours surveys in Indonesia show levels of pre-marital intercourse to be within a corridor of 7% to 27% for males, and 2% to 6% for females (Shaluhayah, 2006).

Whilst by international comparison such levels of youth pre-marital experience appear to be relatively low, the point is that to many Indonesians they are a source of concern, linked to a sense that the country is undergoing dramatic social transformation. Of course in Indonesia, as internationally, concerns with youth sexuality are intertwined with concerns for the whole litany of associated social and health consequences such as unwanted pregnancy, abortion, sexually transmitted infections and HIV/AIDS. However, there is serious paucity of reliable data on such health outcomes in Indonesia. It is increasingly recognized that the Republic of Indonesia is facing a rapidly expanding HIV epidemic, although again estimates of its scale vary widely (Ministry of Health, 2005). Within this study's field area of Central Java, only 77 cases of HIV infection have been identified, with public health officials considering the total number to be in the region of 1788 (Central Java Provincial Health Rest of Indonesia) the vast majority have been infected by sharing

needles/syringes in illegal drug use (Semarang City Health Office, 2005). Again there is not the space in this paper to review the politics of HIV prevention in Indonesia (Ford and Siregar, 1988).

The purpose of this section has been to place the following study findings within a broad cultural context. The main limitation of much of the prior research into youth sexuality in Indonesia has been that the studies have not generally gone beyond basic behavioural parameter (of sexual activity and contraceptive use) except for some additional findings on knowledge of HIV/AIDS and reproductive and sexual health. The first section of findings reported here briefly summarises these basic findings for Central Java. However, this study is primarily designed to explore youth sexuality within the broader context of values, lifestyles and socio-sexual relationships, which form the main body of the paper and the following interpretation.

RESEARCH CONTEXT AND METHODOLOGY

The broad interdisciplinary field of sexuality studies is characterized by a high degree of theoretical pluralism, whilst much of the analysis of sexuality within geography has been based upon feminist and 'queer theory' (Bell and Valentine, 1995). By contrast, most research into sexual and reproductive health and HIV prevention has been (often implicitly) grounded in social learning theory (Bandura, 1986; Hagenhoff et al, 1987; Hogben and Byrne, 1998). Social learning theory employs quantitative methodologies to explore (e.g. health) behaviours in terms of knowledge, attitudes, perceived vulnerabilities, social norms and modeling of the behavior of significant others. This study in Java has explicitly sought to explore the strengths and limitations of both social learning and symbolic interactionist (Longmore, 1998; Sandstrom et al., 2001) perspective. Symbolic interactionism is premised on the notion that, in social interaction, human 'response' is not made directly to the action of another, but instead is based on the meaning that they attach to such actions (Longmore, 1998). Such meaning are viewed as based upon the interpretation of the symbols (Turners, 1982). As such, a symbolic interactionist perspective places greater emphasis upon the meaning conveyed within culture and the process of socialization within the face-to-face settings of place. Much of the analysis in this particular paper may be viewed as drawing upon the structural side of symbolic interactionism (Gecas and Burke, 1995), but also using insights gained from its more situational side (Blumer, 1998).

The field area of urban Central Java compares the three main cities of Semarang (population 1.5 million), Solo (750,000) and Purwokerto (1 million) (Central Java Provincial Health Office, 2004), which fall within the policy and programme remit of the Faculty of Public Health of the University of Diponegoro (UNDIP). The study utilised a combination of a quantitative (2000 cases) sample surveys and qualitative methods (8 focus group discussion (FGDs) and 15 in-depth interviews). Respondents were in the range of 18-24 years of age, with quota sampling in the surveys allowing comparative analysis. Furthermore, in order to expand the detail of data collected, respondents in the surveys were randomly allocated to complete either of two components, the social components, which focused in greater depth upon sexual

philosophy, leisure behavior, relationship experience and sexual interaction, and a public health components, which focused in greater detail upon SRH and HIV-related risk perception, knowledge and attitudes, preventative behavior and self-efficacy, including access to, and use of, relevant health service. Much of this paper draws especially upon the data from the social component.

Central Java has long been, and continues to be today, a province with a high degree of social inequality and hierarchy. Thus from the outset an important aim was to seek to explore the sexual health vulnerabilities of youth from different strata of Javanese society. This comparison was addressed by sampling in two settings. Firstly, to identify low-income youth, half of the surveys was undertaken in a range of (six) factories across the three cities. Secondly, to identify middle-class youth, the other half of the surveys was undertaken in a range of eight universities in the same cities. The explicit logic of this comparative component in the study was that, although living in the same cities, youth in such divergent social situations may be expected to pursue divergent sexual lifestyles and face different forms of risk. This rationale of the potential relevance of social for sexual lifestyle derives from two main sources. Firstly, much research on sexual health and HIV vulnerability ability highlights links with poverty and other marginalisations, for instance, pushing some young people towards commercial sex and exploitation, and limiting access to protective knowledge and services (Mann and Tarantola, 1996). Secondly, and more anecdotally, within the highly hierarchical and unequal society of Indonesia, the middle classes often express an assumption that lower income groups pursue more open sexual lifestyles.

The first comparative phase of data analysis revealed that the low-income youth expressed slightly more gender-traditional attitudes and reported lower levels of SRH and HIV-related knowledge than their university student counterparts, as may be expected. However, and contrary to prior anecdotal evidence, in terms of the patterns of sexual lifestyles and sexual philosophies, there were no significant differences between the youth from these two very different social situations. Clearly, sexual lifestyles of youth in these cities vary according to personal preferences within the common Central Java cultural context, rather than being determined by social situation. Thus, the two samples are combined in most of the presentation of the findings. It should also be noted here that there is a high degree of coherence across the total sample, with 93% self-identifying as Javanese, and 90% as Muslim.

The common sexual behaviours and attitudes of the two groups of youth and the recognition that (as elaborated below) this is a rather distinctive sexual culture on a number of counts, highlighted the centrality of both Central Javanese culture and place for the understanding of the pattern and dynamics of the sexual lifestyles. Given the centrality of the notion of Javanese culture, it is perhaps important to reflect briefly on the nature of the research team in this 'encounter'.

The research team comprised five members; firstly, four Indonesian researchers, two of whom were Javanese and the others, although non-Javanese Indonesians, had worked in Central Java for some years. The fifth member of the research team was from the UK, but had undertaken research in Indonesia for about 12 years, and took a more comparative perspective, analysing the findings in relation to prior studies in Brazil, Ghana, Thailand and the UK. One of the greatest challenges in sexuality research is the identification of subtle values and behaviours that are crucial for the (often non-verbal) performativities of sexual encounters and relationship development. The notion of being Javanese is rather more than merely an ethnic self-identity, as it encompasses a sense of personal refinement and self-actualisation with deep roots in the region's history and successive religious layers. For reasons that there is not the space to discuss here, Javanese culture and values have had a core positioning (if latterly challenged) within the unfolding politico-cultural project that is the Republic of Indonesia (Kontjaraningrat, 1989; Vatikiotis, 1994; Mulder, 1998). The various positionalities *vis-à-vis* Javanese culture of the different members of the research team assisted in fostering a certain reflexivity and diversity of experience in interpreting the findings.

Given the potential sensitivities of research into sexuality, careful attention was paid to methodological matters as noted above. The study utilized a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The surveys generated data to enable an overview of the youth population's lifestyle and statistical analysis of attitudes, values and behaviours. The qualitative methods enabled the customary more in-depth analysis of discourse and relationship dynamics. This section discusses the surveys component of the study given that the following findings are primarily derived from that part of the study.

Sampling was undertaken within six selected factories and eight universities within the three cities of Semarang, Solo and Purwokerto. Within each category there was a three-stage sample design; firstly, a quota total was calculated according to the number of eligible respondents in each setting (factory/university); secondly, lists were obtained from departments; and thirdly, a random sample selection of respondents was taken from each list, with interviewing then being undertaken until the identified quota size was met. The refusal rate to be interviewed was extremely low—only three (female) factory workers refused, and none of the university students refused. Given the very different levels of reading ability between the two groups, the main part of the questionnaire administration was undertaken by interview in the factories, but self-completion in the universities.

The questionnaire drew where possible upon prior tried and tested question formulation and scales and indexes used in sexuality research. Particular sources included Derogatis and Melisaratos (1979) and Ford and Kittisuksathit (1996) for sexual attitudes, Hendrick and Hendrick (1992) for love styles, and Sprecher (1998) and the Amore scale in Hill and Preston (1996) for sexual relationships development. Where analysis involved the use of scales, the level of unidimensionality was checked by using Cronbach's Alpha, which indeed showed high levels of

correlation (0,70—0,89). Pilot testing of the questionnaire (obviously translated into Bahasa Indonesia) was undertaken with 30 respondents from universities and another 30 respondents from the factories, and some minor revisions were made. In fact, young people in Java are fairly open and candid in discussing sexuality, as long as the interview is conducted with modesty and there is a clear assurance of anonymity and confidentiality. Whilst there are negative views on, for instance, casual sexual activity, the topic in general is not one of taboo or embarrassment. The pilot testing also showed that whilst male respondents had no reservations in being interviewed by either males or females, the female respondents preferred female interviewers.

Fifteen interviewers (12 females and 3 males) were trained, being of a similar (if a little older) age group to the respondents, and drawn from personnel in a non-governmental organization, PILAR (Information Centre and Services for Youth), which works in the sector of sexual and reproductive health services for youth. Selected interviewers were not drawn from the specific locations of the respondents to ensure confidentiality. The interview took between 40-50 minutes to complete and was generally well received by respondents, who found the topics interesting. On completion of the questionnaire, respondents were given contact numbers and addresses from which they could, if they wished, receive further information about SRH and HIV/AIDS matters.

¹ **THE BASIC PARAMETERS OF SEXUAL HEALTH RISK**

The basic pattern of level of sexual experience of the sample is very low in comparison with some other cultures ² (Ford, 1992; Ford and Kittisuksathit, 1996; Ford and Vieira, 2003), with only 18% of males and 6% of females reporting ever engaging in pre-marital sexual intercourse (Table 1). Moreover, there is no significant different in these levels of sexual experience between the student and factory worker samples, indicating that this is a basic Javanese cultural pattern rather than being related to social situation. By comparison, a study of the sexual lifestyle of factory workers in neighbouring Thailand showed much higher levels of pre-marital sexual experience, especially for males (63%), but also for females (9%) (Ford and Kittisuksathit, 1996).

Furthermore, considering the sexually experienced respondents only and reinforcing the pictures of an overall low pattern of risk, overwhelmingly (for 62% of males and ² 75% of females) such intercourse took place within a steady relationship, and only 33% of males and 13% of females reported engaging in intercourse with more than one partner in the past 12 months. The reported case of sexual contact, for instance with a '*perek*' or sex worker, was also

correspondingly very low (8% of sexually experienced males). In terms of sexual orientation, practically the whole sample (97%) identified themselves as heterosexual.

² Table 1. Frequency distribution of actual sexual experience by sex (n=2000)

Actual sexual experience	Male (%)	Female (%)
Pre-marital sexual intercourse	18	6
Marital sexual intercourse	2	9
Never	80	85

Chi-Square = 0.000 is highly statistically significant at $P < 0.05$

² Given that such behaviours as sex before marriage, casual sex and homosexuality are seriously counter to Javanese socio-cultural norms, such a low level may be expected to reflect some underreporting. However, there is confidence in the broad validity of the findings based upon the following:

- Detailed cross-checking of variables and indicators revealed an extremely high level of consistency.
- The behavioural findings of individuals consistently linked with attitudinal findings, for instance, reported non-pre-marital sex linked with a belief in 'no sex before marriage', whilst sexual experience was linked with an ambivalent or more relationship-romantic attitude regarding sex before marriage.
- The findings lie within the corridor of findings of Indonesian youth sexual behavior surveys based upon rigorous sampling strategies.
- These findings were presented and discussed with a range of personnel working on youth sexual and reproductive health matters in Central Java, including NGO youth workers, sexuality media specialist (columns in local papers, radio programme slots) and public health academics. All agreed that these findings concur with their own more anecdotal, but working knowledge and familiarity with Javanese youth.

² On a second level, however, of precautions taken relative to sexual experience, the findings indicate the picture of greater risk. We found that just under a quarter of male and females, student and factory-working respondents reported condom use during their last intercourse, with the remainder using no other effective contraceptive method: withdrawal (37% of males and

54% of females) or using no method at all (31% of males and 29% of females) were the most common (table 2). There is not the space in this paper to explore these matters in detail. Suffice to say that contraceptive services are not provided for the unmarried in Indonesia.

Sexual Attitudes

As noted above, the overwhelming majority of both males and female respondents considered sexual intercourse before marriage, for both males and females, to be unacceptable to them personally (Table 3). In most studies of sexual norms in Asian countries there is a marked 'double standard' which accepts (but does not necessarily condone) sex before marriage for young men but not for women. These findings show that only very slightly higher percentages accept pre-marital intercourse for males compared with females (Table 4). Clearly in Javanese youth culture there is no pronounced sexual 'double standard'; the same social sanctions apply to both sexes, which may well help to partly explain the low level of pre-marital and casual sexual experience among youth.

Table 2. Type of contraception use at last intercourse, by sex (n = 196)

Type of contraception use at last intercourse	Male (%)	Female (%)
Condom	26	9
Withdrawal	37	54
Nothing	31	28
Calender	6	5
Depo provera	0	2
Other	0	2

Chi-Square = 0.003 is highly statistically significant at $P < 0.05$

Table 3. Attitudes to pre-marital sexual intercourse, by sex (n = 1000)

Attitudes to pre-marital sex	Male (%)	Female (%)
Agree	9	1
Neutral	50	36

Disagree	41	63
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Table 4. Acceptability of pre-marital sexual intercourse for males and females, by sex

Stage of relationship	Attitude to acceptability of pre-marital sexual intercourse for males		Attitude to acceptability of pre-marital sexual intercourse for females	
	Male (%)	Female (%)	Male (%)	Female (%)
First dating	0	0	0	0
Casually dating	1	0	0	0
Seriously dating	1	0	1	0
Engaged to be married	14	12	13	6
Formal commitment (marriage)	84	88	86	94

² A further related factor which may be gainfully considered here is that although a family would be (extremely) disappointed by a daughter's engagement in pre-marital intercourse, and this is predominantly a Muslim population, the disappointment does not extend to the extreme punishments incurred by such women in some other Muslim cultures.

These findings are presented as an outline of the most basic parameters of Javanese youth sexual cultures. The paper next turns to findings which seek to address the core theme of the paper, notably, in what ways are there identifiable socio-sexual lifestyles among youth in Central Java, and how may these be related to wider socio-cultural tendencies and theory?

BROAD TYPES OF SOCIO-SEXUAL LIFESTYLES AND PHILOSOPHIES OF UNMARRIED CENTRAL JAVANESE YOUTH

Previous cross-tabulation and multivariate analysis, which there is not space to report here, revealed strong correlations between sexual behavior and general lifestyles, leisure behaviours, religiosity, gender attitudes and, of course, sexual philosophies. Thus these sets of variables (Tables 5) were entered into a cluster analysis in order to examine whether there are identifiably coherent types of socio-sexual lifestyles across the study sample of Javanese youth. The small percentage (4%) of married youth were excluded from the analysis, as their lifestyle and sexual behavior (in a society where pre-marital sexual intercourse is fairly rare) would be quite different

to those of the majority of the sample. Using SPSS 10 (Bryman and Cramer, 2001), the k-mean clustering method was used to classify respondents into group. The purpose of the cluster analysis is to construct group mathematically, within a sample, in such a way that the respondents in a single cluster have 'great' similarity with each other but show 'little' similarity with respondents outside that cluster (Bijnen, 1973; Lawson and Todd, 2002). The limitation of k-means clustering is that the method requires ratio or interval-scaled data. This procedure also requires a researcher to specify a desired number of clusters in advance, and rerun the analysis for each different number of clusters to obtain solutions for a range of cluster number. One strength of this method is the identification of discrete group within a large sample size (>250). It enables the rigorously mathematical identification of a range of type, derived from a (potentially) wide range of variables, thus avoiding the researcher 'artificially' imposing their own prediction on the data. The identification of cluster enables researchers to identify group of cases, rather than just exploring the statistical relationships between different variables. When applied to youth lifestyle-related data, cluster analysis yields the possibility of identifying the kind of social grouping within which youth people's social and leisure live develop. In this particular analysis the pattern of finding were explored in terms of a maximum of six and a minimum of three cluster. On balance, the four-cluster results produced the clearest distinguishable young people's sexual lifestyle segments, displaying optimal homogeneity among young people within each cluster and no evidence of extreme outlier that could distort the findings. The four cluster had a good distribution of the number of young people in each cluster. Finally, this clusters may be selected for description and interpretation, and it is customary to select a relatively small number of final clusters for interpretation. The clustering package may commence with a very large number of distinct clusters, many of which will contain very few cases. These then progressively coalesce into a smaller number of clusters, each with a large number of cases. In this particular analysis, having considered the characteristics of both larger and smaller number of clusters, the level of four clusters was here selected for detailed description and interpretation.

Cluster analysis were undertaken separately for males and females, as each yielded a series of highly distinct clusters, yet each contained sufficient number of cases for further cross-tabulation and multivariate analysis.

The rationale for examining population in terms of clusters is that these sets of social dimensions (study variables) clearly 'hang together', cohering around distinct lifestyle groups. Thus cluster

analysis enables discussion of the sample in terms of social grouping that have influence upon behavior and values, as opposed to merely individuals with various characteristics. The application of the statistical procedure of cluster analysis itself, of course, ensure that clusters of groupings are derived mathematically, rather than merely by some more general social impression. However, it is also important in assessing the validity and utility of clusters that they appear plausible in terms of a more general understanding of the particular social climate. Furthermore, it is important that the clusters or groupings identified have some kind of currency within the discourses of the population being studied. The following core section of the paper comprises an outline of the four sets of male and female clusters, and a discussion of their interpretation with respect to various important dimensions in lifestyle theory. It should be stressed from the outset that these clusters are not viewed here as some kind of fixed categories or typology. Rather, these clusters are used as working groupings to facilitate social analysis and interpretation of the way in which a whole series of dimension interrelate, reflexively, in the youth lifestyles of Central Java. Their significance is not considered here in terms of the relative sizes of the different clusters, but in terms of their social and cultural ramifications.

Description of Socio-sexual Lifestyle cluster characteristics

From the outset it should be noted that overall the respondents were not fundamentally clustered according to sample group (students/factory workers). Whilst, as would be expected, factory working youth were more gender-conservative and traditional in their lifestyles tastes, their cluster assortment according to social activity, religiosity and, above all, sexual philosophy, was compatible with that of the variation among the students. However, sex was a significant, although not an absolute, discriminant. Therefore the final cluster framework provided here separate the sexes but combines students/factory-working status. Females are shown in Tables 6 and 7 and males in Tables 8 and 9. The individual percentages shown in Tables 6-9 are drawn from a wider set of statistical tables of Likert-scale variables not presented in this paper, but originally scored as percentages on a five point scale.

Essentially, the use of cluster analysis in this study seeks, firstly, to identify a range of socio-sexual lifestyle type within the sample, and secondly, to explore how a related set of attitudinal and leisure variables cohere within these groups. In particular the study seeks to understand how sexual lifestyle are related within the clusters to general lifestyle, religiosity and

sexual and gender attitudes. In this way, it hoped to go beyond the customary outlines of sexual behaviours in isolation (Cleland and Ferry, 1995) to explore their relationship the wider social trends. Following the descriptions of the characteristics of the clusters in this section, the subsequent section discusses the interpretation of these patterns in terms of selected wider social theory

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Across the overall clustering, the scale which most sharply discriminated between the different clusters was the series of items pertaining to level of social activity (which may pertain to socio-sexual interaction) including going to parties, nightclubs, dating, staying away overnight and alcohol consumption (Table 6). This dimension relates in Indonesia culture to the concept of *gaul*, which correspondent to a sense of young people who pursue a more open, socially active lifestyle, as against as opposite who lead more closed, restricted, introverted lifestyle who are termed *kurang gaul*. For examples, Table 6 indicates that 97% of cluster 1 (females) are engaged in low levels of social activity, compared with 63% in cluster 4. Thus this key dimensions serves to discriminate, for both females and males, between the fourth (most sexually and socially active) cluster, here labelled as *gaul*, and the first and second (least sexually and socially active) clusters, here labelled as *kurang gaul*. The first and second female, *kurang gaul*, clusters, although sharing a low level of social activity, are fundamentally distinguished from one another in that cluster 1 (predominantly workers) is highly traditional in terms of lifestyle tastes (in clothing, the media, food, etc) and gender attitudes (Table 7), whilst cluster 2 (predominantly students) contains nearly 60% who have more modern tastes and highly egalitarian gender attitudes (Table 7). For the males clusters, both clusters 1 and 2 contain a majority with traditional lifestyles tastes (Table 8). For example, in cluster 1 some 75% would be described as traditional. Most importantly for this analysis, the level of social activity correspondents strongly to the different clusters' overall sexual philosophy and sexual predispositions. For example, 81% of men in cluster 1 did not believe in sex before marriage and 87% held a negative view towards homosexuality (Table 8). For cluster 4, 65% were neutral in their attitude towards pre-marital sex and 58% were neutral in their position on homosexuality. In terms of sexual philosophy, for both females and males, the more *kurang gaul* clusters hold traditional-restrictive ('no sex before marriage') values (Table 6 and 8), with cluster 1 expressing almost 'erotophobic' (Fisher et al., 1983) tendencies in their negative attitudes towards sexual practices, pornography, and homosexuality. The *gaul*, and to lesser extent the 'intermediate' clusters, express what may be

described as more 'relationship-romantic' sexual philosophies, with the females 'intermediate' being more ambivalent towards, than accepting, the possibility of intercourse before marriage. As discussed above, this dimension has long been recognized as the single most diagnostic variable of overall sexual philosophy. It is very important to emphasize that these are most definitely not 'casual-liberal' sexual attitudes, which are more common in the West and among male youth in some other cultures. Even the gaul clusters are only generally predisposed to intercourse before marriage, within a deeply committed, long-term (indeed perceived as permanent) loving relationship.

Along with the key importance of level of social activity, the clusters are also distinguished by a decreasing sense of religiosity and increasing level of 'modern' lifestyle tastes with movement from *kurang gaul* to *gaul*. Having briefly attempted to provide an outline description of clusters, it now follows to explore meanings of the patterns in relation to aspects of wider lifestyle theory. Of course it is likely that these patternings of social and sexual lifestyles are found in many other societies. The following discussion seeks to interpret these patterns and linkages in terms of the ways in which more general and global tendencies are being expressed within the particularity of place of the Central Javanese situation.

Table 6. Female socio-sexual lifestyle clusters (key dimension with some indicative percentages)

Label	'Kurang Gaul' - traditional	'Kurang Gaul' - egalitarian	'Intermediate'	'Gaul'
% of sample	20%	27%	41%	12%
% student/worker	34% students 66% workers	77% students 33% workers	29% students 71% workers	84% students 16% workers
<i>Lifestyle dimensions</i>				
Low level of social activity	97%	92%	85%	63%
Traditional tastes	71%	42%	58%	16%
Religious	30%	31%	21%	17%
<i>Sexual dimensions</i>				
'No sex before marriage' (attitude)	87%	74%	52%	36%
Negative attitude to other sexual practices (oral sex and masturbation)	71%	45%	26%	6%
Negative attitude to pornography	60%	50%	15%	3%
Negative attitude to homosexuality	75%	55%	38%	23%
Overall sexual philosophy (traditional-restrictive (TR)/relationship-romantic (RR))	TR (89%)	Half TR (49%) half mixed (47%)	Two-thirds mixed (67%), RR (23%)	RR (70%)

Negative attitude to contraception	41%	25%	9%	5%
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Table 7. Female socio-sexual lifestyle clusters by gender dimensions (some indicative percentages)

Label	'Kurang Gaul' - traditional	'Kurang Gaul' - egalitarian	'Intermediate'	'Gaul'
Conservative gender role	54%	2%	46%	8%
Conservative gender-sexuality (double standard for female sexuality)	34%	5%	59%	12%
Overall for female sexuality	35%	0%	44%	0%

Table 8. Male socio-sexual lifestyle clusters (key dimension with some indicative percentages)

Label	'Kurang Gaul' - traditional	'Kurang Gaul' - egalitarian	'Intermediate'	'Gaul'
% of sample	43%	16%	18%	23%
% student/worker	51% students 49% workers	67% students 33% workers	57% students 43% workers	31% students 69% workers
<i>Lifestyle dimensions</i>				
Low level of social activity	89%	60%	37%	10%
Traditional tastes	76%	56%	37%	38%
Religious	55%	34%	26%	15%
<i>Sexual dimensions</i>				
'No sex before marriage' (attitude)	81%	54%	27%	11%
Negative attitude to other sexual practices (oral sex and masturbation)	70%	21%	6%	1%
Negative attitude to pornography	51%	11%	7%	0
Negative attitude to homosexuality	87%	60%	34%	20%
Overall sexual philosophy (traditional-restrictive (TR)/ relationship-romantic (RR))	TR (87%)	Mixed (58%)	RR (69%)	RR (86%)
Attitude to contraception	42%	16%	4%	1%

Table 9. Male socio-sexual lifestyle clusters by gender dimensions (some indicative percentages)

Label	'Kurang Gaul' - traditional	'Kurang Gaul' - egalitarian	'Intermediate'	'Gaul'
Conservative gender role	27%	62%	7%	58%
Conservative gender-sexuality (double standard for female sexuality)	23%	56%	22%	73%
Overall conservative gender attitudes	15%	53%	0%	66%

DISCUSSION OF SOCIO-SEXUAL LIFESTYLES OF JAVANESE YOUTH

As noted above, the concept of *gaul* has strong currency in the Indonesia sense of the characterization of different types of youth. Indeed, some modern, 'Indie' (as in 'independent') pop music in Indonesia is labelled *anak gaul*. It connotes more than just extroversion, having many friends in an active social life, to allude to an openness to diverse, global social trends and currents. By contrast, a *kurang gaul* lifestyle refers not so much to introversion as focusing around a small group of friends and not tending to go out to socialize, preferring to stay in to study or perhaps watch TV or read.

It is perhaps useful to explore this diversity of Javanese youth clusters in relation to creating or appropriating lifestyles, the notion of 'surface' and iconography (with particular reference to dress), identity and positionality in relation to global trends, and the special complexity of the nature of toleration and sanction in Javanese culture. The discussion of lifestyle concepts draws particularly upon Chaney's (1996) theoretical synthesis. From the outset it is important to acknowledge that this pattern of lifestyle is set within a Javanese way of life or culture. Given that the sample self-identifies ethnically as 93% Javanese, and is 90% Muslim, all respondents share a vast wealth of cultural resources and sensibilities related to social (including sexual) norms, courtship expectations and rituals, and a distinctive language (Kontjaraningrat, 1989; Mulder, 1998). Javanese culture is also often discussed in terms of a hierarchical social order, in turn related to the use of different levels of Javanese language. However, these findings indicate that the pattern of sexual lifestyle transcends such hierarchy, and besides the cultural, but not economic, sense of social status has been declining in Central Java. These norms and expectations found in the study provided the basis by which different lifestyles may develop and become expressed as forms of local knowledge, within a specific setting of place.

The lifestyle patterns identified in the clusters may appear to share certain characteristic with the notion of subculture (Gelder and Thornton, 1997). For instance, given that the *gaul* clusters may share a sense of identity and direction, their practices (enactment) and values may well have implications (social response) for social inclusion and exclusion in friendship groups, and are expressed in certain styles of clothing and deportment. However, the clusters fall short of a subculture designation in that the grouping are much more informal, and lack the clear focus of subcultures.

Lifestyles are primarily expressed in the realm of leisure consumption, beyond occupational distinctions. As Chaney has commented, part of the reflexivity of lifestyles pertains to the ways 'that social entities such as actors and styles are given distinctive character by the manner of their performance' (or enactment) (1996:13). Elias' (1978) figurational sociology enabled the situating of contemporary lifestyles within a broader historical perspective, stemming from the 'increased tendency of people to observe themselves and other... (with) people mould(ing) themselves and others more deliberately than in the middle ages' (Elias, 1978:79). The notion of people watching themselves will be discussed below with specific reference to Javanese culture. However, at this point it is useful to make the connection between the reflexivity of lifestyles and modernity. Indeed, the unfolding project of modernization in Indonesia in recent decades has been accompanied by this growing differentiation of youth lifestyles beyond social status commonalities. As Giddens has noted: 'modernity is a post-traditional order in which the question "how shall I live" has to be answered by day-to-day decisions about 'how to behave, what to wear and what to eat" Giddens, 1991: 14). The Giddens under modernity, the self becomes a 'reflexive project'. The expression and enactment of lifestyles becomes a sphere of creative appropriation. Thus the clusters of Javanese youth lifestyles may gainfully be viewed as reflecting personal choices based upon values and experience, which inform a desired sense of identity.

As the findings on traditional and modern cultural tastes highlight, the range of lifestyle clusters is clearly expressed in a diverse but fairly coherent set of preferences according to food, mass media (e.g films) and above all, for young women, in dress. As Chaney notes, such 'surfaces' comprise 'an iconography of a distinctive way of both picturing and seeing' (1996:99). Both the traditional and more modern youth lifestyle clusters express their sense of identity in terms of dress. This is most evident among young women, not so much in terms of revealing fashions (in Central Java young women's dress is almost universally that of the modest skirt/jeans and shirt), but in the increasing trend of a minority of young women to wear the *jilbab* (Muslim headdress). The emphatic 'making of a statement' in wearing the *jilbab* is further indicated in that once worn, a young woman would be heavily criticised if she later decided not to wear it. The wearing of *jilbab* is not a trivial decision. The cluster (and other multivariate) analysis indicates that traditional dress is strongly related to not only, obviously, conservative religiosity (*alim*), but also and more strongly, a 'traditional-restrictive' sexual philosophy.

Giddens has discussed the reflexivity of lifestyles in the West as relating to sensibilities of global independence. In Indonesia, reflecting the much lower general level of affluence, notions of frugality and sustainability in lifestyles are not widespread. Nevertheless, the foregoing discussion of the differentiation of youth lifestyles in terms of identity and religiosity, as expressed in dress, reflects broad variations in the ways in which different groups of young people (at least in the polar clusters – the most traditional and most *gaul*) relate to the globalisation context. *Alim* (conservative Muslim) youth are expressing a sense of self in solidarity with the wider Muslim world, and possibly an antipathy to consumerism and the wider liberal trends which are associated with the West. By contrast, *gaul* signifies not only a social openness on a personal level, but an interest in a whole range of globalising cultural trends are not limited to those emanating from the West, but reflect an interest in fashion, music and other cultural resources from various culture regions. Indeed, research on recent developments in youth performances culture in Central Java highlights the increasing and vibrant trends towards culturally hybrid forms. The two polar cluster lifestyle patterns express not only a different sense of self-identity and global orientations, but also a different idealisation of the kind of Indonesia which they would like to see develop.

With respect to lifestyle analysis it is important not to make ‘a principled distinction between the performance of lifestyles and the interpretive ability that informs those choices’ (Chaney, 1996: 47). As the clusters indicate, youth patterns of levels of social activity, dress and leisure behaviours, cohere with religiosity, traditional and modern values and a sense of self-identity. With respect to sexuality, all of the clusters are informed by a Javanese sensibility which views sexual interaction in terms of relationship development towards marriage and life’s future. As noted above, the quantitative (survey) and qualitative (FGD) findings found practically no evidence of a casual-recreational approach to sex, as was repeatedly mentioned in both the female and male focus group discussions:

‘Among young friends, ... it must be negative, having sexual intercourse before getting married is negative and we will get a bad image. But if it is unknown by others it’s no matter.’ (Male student, 20 years old)

‘Basically, here in Javanese culture, particularly young women should always keep their good image.’ (Female student, 20 years old)

‘Although I have a committed relationship with my partner, I have never had sexual intercourse during courting, because having sex before marriage is bad for a girl’s reputation/prestige.’ (Female factory worker, 22 years old)

‘Women have no maintain their prestige by restraining their sexual feelings (to not having sex before married). If not, people may assume that they are easy women.’ (Female factory worker, 21 years old)

The crucial factor shaping sexual conduct and deportment was a concern with what the young people referred to in the more modern term of *jaim* (*Jaga imej*) and the factory workers as *jaga gengsi*. Although *jaim* is partly drawn from the English word ‘image’ (*imej*), the terms translate more accurately from Indonesian idiom as prestige or social worth. To Javanese people to behave in ways which seem vulgar, and to treat sexual intercourse as casual rather than something of absolute significance in relationship development towards marriage, is to show a lack of sensibility. The display of vulgar behaviour lacking Javanese sensibilities has a social impact in Central Java which corresponds with what Bourdieu (1991) has described within Western culture as a loss of cultural capital, with negative implications for social worth and potential relationship development.

It is useful to consider the diversity of Javanese youth sexual lifestyles in terms of a broader overview of socio-cultural developments in Indonesia. A massive sprawling archipelago of enormous ethnic diversity, which has been independent for just over 60 years, the Republic of Indonesia is often viewed as an unfolding project (Vatikiotis, 1994). The ideology of *Pancasila*, which seeks to foster national integration, explicitly express the goal of toleration of diversity. Furthermore, although the bulk (85%) of the Indonesian population is Muslim, as noted above, it is a much more tolerant, even liberal, form of Islam than is found in many other parts of the world. Indeed, Muslim Javanese culture is conscious of and takes pride in the diverse Hindu-Buddhist (pre-Islamic) heritage which is considered to have shaped facets of its cultural expression (Hefner, 1985).

Within such a context of acknowledge diversity in an unfolding national project, Javanese youth appropriate and express personal lifestyle choices, whilst sharing a basic of Javanese sensibilities, regarding sexuality, interaction and bodily deportment. The tendency for the expression of a measure of plurality in lifestyles has been amplified and facilitated by the

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tumultuous changes towards greater social openness and debate, concomitant to the fall of the authoritarian 'New Order' in 1997, and thankfully, largely peaceful transition towards both democracy and decentralisation. Giddens (1991) explicitly articulated the rise of lifestyle diversity to the openness of social life. One effect of the removal of the strong control and censorship of the 'New Order' has been the more open expression of both conservative Islamic and more open liberal tendencies in a contestation of sexuality. At times 'islam-extrem' (the term used in Indonesian for hard-line, militant Islamic groups) vigilante groups have sought to take the law into the own hands in seeking to destroy sexual expressions considered an affront to Islam (Hefner, 2002), as in, for instance, the burning down of the brothels and karaoke bars in the Puncak Pass of West Java.

On a more official level, in the most conservative Muslim area of Indonesia, such as in Aceh and Palembang, youth sexual behaviour is actively policed by the officers of *sharia* law, which operates in parallel with the national law in such area. Unmarried couples caught engaging in sexual activity in hotels, for instance, are described as being 'busted' when apprehended and hence humiliated by the *sharia* police. Central Java has not generally witnessed such extreme expression of anti-liberal sentiments. Furthermore, since the shock of the Bali bombing in 2002 (which was in point justified as an attack on 'depraved' Western behaviour), 'Islam-extrem' groups have been considerably reigned in by the security forces. Even in Semarang (in Central Java) for example, there are no longer collections for 'Jihad' at traffic lights in the city.

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The contestation of sexuality continues, for instance, in criticism of supposedly erotic dance/music forms such as that some *dangdut* performers. In general, such 'Islam-extrem' criticisms are often trivialised and ridiculed in Indonesia. However, as emphasised above, youth lifestyles are important expression of 'the importance people attach to their own and other lifestyles in a negotiation of a social order' (Chaney, 1996:55). In Central Java, at least (in an archipelago which contains several flashpoint of serious ethnic conflict), there is a more benign contestation of sexuality, as expressed on a day-to-day basis in socio-sexual lifestyles. Javanese culture has a value *nerimo* of tolerating others, even if their behaviour is not necessarily culturally acceptable, as long as it does not harm anyone. Furthermore, with modernisation this interlinks with the term *cuek*, which has more of a connotation of 'not caring' about what others do, corresponding perhaps to a sense of growing individuality in an urbanising society.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, this paper has sought to consider the general pattern of youth sexual culture and its underlying range of socio-sexual lifestyles in relation to pertinent strands of social theory. The overall pattern of Javanese youth sexual lifestyles shares some characteristics with broader Asian culture such as lower levels of (especially female) pre-marital intercourse (Cleland and Ferry, 1995) than is the case in most other culture regions. Nevertheless, it is argued that from a symbolic interactionist perspective it is important to view sexual behaviours in terms of the particular meanings that are accorded to sexuality and relationship development by any specific culture. Furthermore, linking a symbolic interactionist framework with a geographical concern, these sexual meanings are reproduced within the process of social interaction occurring within the distinctive setting of Central Java.

As its starting point this paper outlined the basic parameters of youth sexual behaviour in urban Central Java. Whilst these findings raise concern (*vis-à-vis* sexual and reproductive health) in terms of low levels of contraceptive (including condom) use, the basic sexual culture would appear to be relatively benign in terms of low levels of pre-marital sexual activity and only limited gender 'double standards' (especially by South East Asian sexual standard). Furthermore, the pattern of sexual lifestyles is common across Javanese youth from the very different social situation of low income and middle class groups. This commonality across quite different social backgrounds highlights the overriding importance of Javanese culture in shaping matters of sexuality.

The main part of this analysis has been to explore sexuality in relation to the wider social lifestyles of youth in urban Central Java. Cluster analysis was able to identify clearly distinctive grouping that were here selected for elucidation at the level of four clusters, separately for males and females. The single most important variable that distinguished most sharply between the clusters was the level of social activity. Within the parlance of Indonesian society, this is expressed in terms of the concept of *gaul* which corresponds to a sense of young people who pursue a more open, socially active lifestyle, as against the *kurang gaul* who lead a more closed, restricted and introverted lifestyle.

The reflexivity of Javanese youth lifestyles was discussed in terms of the reflexivity of choice and appropriation of tastes and activities within the increasingly pluralistic context of the contemporary Republic of Indonesia. The integrity of the sets of clusters of lifestyles identified

was supported by their coherence, especially in the connections between *gaul* propensities and lower levels of religiosity. The one dimension which did not cohere in a wholly direct way with the *gaul*/modern congeries of preferences was that of gender. As discussed above, the egalitarian rather than conservative gender attitudes further subdivided the main *gaul* and *kurang gaul* clusters. The *gaul* social tendency was seen to be related to less traditional sexual lifestyles, although it should be emphasised that these are certainly not the liberal-recreational sexual lifestyles found among some youth in many other parts of the world.

A symbolic interactionist approach focusing upon the meanings surrounding sexuality has been especially useful in both selecting the variable sets to be used in the study, and in interpreting the patterns of sexual lifestyles. The interpretation of the character and diversity of Javanese youth sexual lifestyles drew upon theory concerning the reflexivity of lifestyles in relation to global modernity and the traditional bases which form the link between culture and place.

The broader social lifestyles within which sexual predispositions are embedded are associated respectively with global/Western and Islamic orientations. However, all of the sexual lifestyle types can be seen as being fundamentally grounded in values of Javanese culture. Such values and standards of youth comportment shape both the overriding emphasis upon both the relegation of sexual pleasure, in favour of long-term, stable relationship development towards marriage, and the manner of interaction in which such relationship are conducted. Core Javanese values of *eling* (being mindful of one's actions), distrusting impulses, and acting with respect towards a sexual partner so as to maintain good *jaim* (image/cultural capital), are the key factors which explain sexual culture in the locality of Central Java. A major weakness of the Republic of Indonesia's health service is the unavailability of contraceptive services for young people. The reasons for this lack of progress are complex (Ford and Siregar, 1998). A major factor has been the conservative religious arguments that to make such services easily available to the young and unmarried is to condone and promote 'promiscuous' behaviour. However, this study's findings suggest that there is a cultural robustness in Javanese values, self-control and respectful interaction that should continue to maintain this rather benign sexual culture, even if contraceptive education and services were provided for youth.

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