



INSTITUTE OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN STUDIES, SINGAPORE

CULTURE AND FERTILITY

The Case of Indonesia

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by

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FOREWORD

It is generally recognized that ethnic diversity is characteristic of Southeast Asian countries. However, very little is known about the relationships between this diversity and other social and behavioural dimensions. In most countries in the region, such relationships have yet to be fully explored, partly because of the sensitivity of the issue and partly because of the dearth of essential data on ethnic behaviour and differentials.

In the case of population behaviour, although several aspects, such as fertility, mortality and a variety of attitudinal dimensions, have been measured successfully in most Southeast Asian countries, they are normally presented as national aggregates, and are often only broken down by rural-urban residence, education, income, household size and ethnic group. Thus, while there is some information available on the relationship between ethnic identity and fertility, the relationship has not been systematically examined in most of the Southeast Asian countries. The lack of this kind of basic data on ethnic differentials in population behaviour in Southeast Asia has definite implications for national population policies and programmes. These policies and programmes are usually implemented or launched on a national level with very little consideration for the ethnic diversity of the country, and are therefore often perceived, on an ethnic group or community level, as being ethnically based, unacceptable or even biased. Perceptions like these certainly have a direct effect on the manner in which such policies and programmes are implemented and received.

With conditions as the foregoing in mind, and in view of the importance of, and the lack of information on, the relationship between dimensions of ethnic identity and population, the Institute in 1975 got together with a group of interested research scholars from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand and began an investigation of such relationships and their implications for population policies and progress. Entitled "Culture and Fertility in Southeast Asia", this investigation consisted of two separate but linked activities, divided into Phase I and Phase II of the project, with the former focused largely on the analysis of secondary data and the latter on material generated by planned fieldwork and the administration of a questionnaire.

The work that follows forms part of the "country monographs" growing out of Phase I of the project. These monographs, like the project itself, have

been made possible through the co-operation and support of a number of individuals and organizations, particularly the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), Ottawa, the various country team leaders and their colleagues, and the two co-ordinators of Phase I, Dr. Rodolfo Bulatao and Dr. Ong Jin Hui. To all of them we say, thank you.

We are also particularly grateful to Dr. Ong Jin Hui who, in addition to general co-ordinative responsibilities, helped to edit the manuscripts on which the country monographs are based.

Whilst thanking all contributors to, and participants in, the project, and wishing the monographs all the best, we hope it is clearly understood that the responsibility for facts and opinions expressed in this publication rests exclusively with the authors and their interpretations do not necessarily reflect the views and policies of the Institute or its supporters.

5 September 1980

Kernal S. Sandhu
Director
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PREFACE

This volume is part of a series of monographs on culture and fertility in Southeast Asia. They arose out of a regional research project, "Culture and Fertility in Southeast Asia", initiated by the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, and involving researchers from Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The first phase of the Culture and Fertility project concentrated on demographic variables and issues in relation to ethnic and other cultural variables.

Each monograph, focusing on a particular country, is developed essentially on the following lines. First, the historical background and the development of the present social structure are detailed. Following this, the patterns of interaction among the various ethnic groups are considered, with particular attention paid to the identification of variables which may influence fertility patterns of the various groups. Against this backdrop, the population policies and family planning programmes are explained. The demographic structure and its changes in tandem with these policies and programmes are then analysed. In order to determine the impact of key variables on fertility patterns, a secondary analysis of available data was carried out, utilizing multiple classification analysis.

There are differences in the substance of the individual country monographs, largely on account of the nature and availability of materials and documentation. All the same, there has been quite an adequate coverage of the areas deemed important in all the volumes. Indeed, the chapters on national population policies and family planning and the ones on demographic structure are almost complete in detail; in addition, they are comparable with one another. On the other hand, the chapters based on secondary analysis have problems of comparability because secondary data were used. Since these data sets were not originally designed to answer to the project's research model, there were difficulties in comparing variable definitions and operationalization. Even more problematic was the fact that some variables were not available in the data sets. Furthermore, the data sets were not comparable in population coverage and time-frame (the target year was 1970). For all these reasons, this chapter in each of the monographs should not be treated as anything more than a preview or pretest of the research model. Seen in this perspective, it not only provides a useful means of identifying relevant explanatory variables but also shows that variations do indeed exist in a number of areas between ethnic groups and between countries.

Variations and shortcomings of the type above notwithstanding, the five monographs on the whole do provide a useful background to the identification of relevant ethnic variables. Moreover, the lack of comparability of data is currently being corrected in the second phase of the project. A standardized core questionnaire with additional peripheral and specific queries has been designed, based on the findings of the country studies of Phase I. Ultimately, it is expected that the analysis of data collected in Phase II will culminate in an in-depth examination of the relationship between ethnicity and fertility.

1 September 1980

Ong Jin Hui
Editor, Country Monographs
Culture and Fertility in
Southeast Asia, Phase I

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I: CULTURAL DIVERSITY

Indonesia has more than 300 ethnic groups but it is difficult to classify them because of the lack of census information on ethnicity. The most recent data available are to be found in the 1930 Census (see its approximation in Table 1). Even here the basis of classification is unclear.

However, the facts of ethnic diversity are readily observable, the most obvious are a person's physical characteristics, name/surname, particular pronunciations of the Indonesian language, native dress, food, music and other forms of artistic expressions. At a deeper level, each group has its distinctive mannerisms, body gestures and styles of behaviour. All these indicators help an Indonesian recognize with some certainty where another belongs ethnically, especially if the person being observed is from a major ethnic group, for example, the Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Ambonese, Acehnese, Menadonese, Macassarese or Buginese, Minangkabau or Malays (Table 2). A Coastal Malay can even be identified by the specific area he comes from. However, there are many others an average Indonesian, albeit aware of their existence, may not even have met, for instance, the Toraja.

All these numerous ethnic groups generally have a cultural identity they call their own. In addition, they are mostly geographically tied in to specific territorial boundaries. It is only in the cities and urban centres that we can find a mixture of different ethnic groups, but it is also here that expression of an Indonesian national culture is apparent. This does not mean that ethnic differences in urban areas are mostly subsumed under a national identity. In fact interaction in the national cultural framework occurs only in terms of official relationships; social interactions continue on specific ethnic-based terms.

Although evidence of an Indonesian national culture is more dominant in the city, the various ethnic groups inherently share certain features which lead to a situation of unity in spite of diversity. The most important of these are language and religion. Except for a few ethnic groups in Indonesia, the languages of the various ethnic groups derive from the Malay-Polynesian linguistic stock. Furthermore, cross-cultural communication, especially in the coastal areas, is facilitated by the use of Malay as a lingua franca.

Table 1: Ethnic Groups of Indonesia (1930)

	Population
I. Sumatra and Adjacent Islands	8,000,000
1. Acehnese	750,000
2. Gayo-Alas	50,000
3. Batak (including Karo, Mandailing, Toba, Pakpak, Timur)	1,000,000
4. Minangkabau	2,000,000
5. Coastal Malays	3,500,000
6. Rejang-Lebong (including Lampung group, Lebong, Pasemah, Rawas, Rejang, Semendo)	500,000
7. Kubu group (including Akit, Kubu, Benua, Lubu, Mamak, Rawas, Sakai, Talang, Tapung, Ulu, Utan)	25,000
8. Niassans	200,000
9. Mentawaians	10,000
10. Engganese	300
11. Orang Laut	10,000
II: Kalimantan (Borneo)	2,500,000
1. Bahau Group (including Kayan, Kenya, Long Glat, Long Wai, Kinjin, Pnihing, Saputan, Segai, Tring, Uma Pagong, Uma Suling)	300,000
2. Ngaju Group (including Biadju, Bukit, Dusun, Kahayan, Katingan, Kotawaringin, Lawangan, Maanyan, Murung, Ot Danum, Patai, Saruyan, Siang, Siong, Tabuyan, Taman, Tamoan)	400,000
3. Land Dyak Group (including Ayau, Bukar, Desa, Lundu, Manyukei, Mualang, Sidin)	200,000
4. Klemantan-Murut-Kelabit Group (including Adang, Batu Belah, Bisaya, Dusun, Kadayan, Kelabit, Kanowit, Long Kiput, Milanau, Murik, Murut, Saban, Sebop, Tagal, Tidong, Tingalan, Treng)	300,000
5. Iban Group	200,000
6. Punan Group (including Aput, Basap, Boh, Bukat, Bukitan, Busang, Kelai, Lisum, Lugat, Ot, Penyabong)	50,000
7. Coastal Malays, Buginese, Banjarese, etc.	1,000,000
III: Java and Madura	40,000,000
1. Javanese	27,000,000
2. Sundanese	8,500,000
3. Madurese	4,500,000
4. Badui	1,200
5. Tenggerese	10,000

Table 1 cont'd

	Population
IV. Sulawesi (Celebes) and Adjacent Islands	4,000,000
1. Macassarese-Buginese	2,500,000
2. Toraja Group (including Ampana, Bada Baku, Banasu, Besoa, Buyu, Gimpu, Kadombuku, Kulawi, Lage, Lalaeo, Lampu, Leboni, Lindu, Muton, Napu, Onda'e, Pada, Pakambia, Pakawa, Palu, Parigi, Pebato, Poso, Pu'u mBoto, Rampi, Rato, Salu Maoge, Sigi, Tawaelia, Tojo, Toli-toli)	200,000
3. Sadang Group (including Mamasa, Mamuju, Mangki, Masen-Rempulu, Pada, Rongkong, Sadang, Seko)	500,000
4. Mori-Laki Group (including Bela, Bungku, Butonese, Kabaena, Kinadu, Laki, Lambatu, Maronene, Matano, Mekongga, Mori, Mowewe, Muna, Tambe'e, Wanji, Wawoni)	200,000
5. Loinang Group (including Belantak, Banggai, Bobongko, Loinang, Saluan, Wana)	100,000
6. Minahasa Group (including Bantik, Bolaang-Mongondow, Bentanan, Bulang, Buolese, Gorotalese, Nanusa, Ponosokan, Sangir, Talaud, Tolour, Tombulu, Tompakewa, Tondano, Tonsawang, Tonse, Tonsini, Tontemboan)	500,000
7. Toala	100
V. Nusa Tenggara (Lesser Sunda Islands)	3,500,000
1. Bali (Balinese, Bali Agha)	1,200,000
2. Lombok (Balinese, Bodha, Sasak)	600,000
3. Sumbawa (Bimanese, Do-Donggo, Domp, Sanggau, Sumbawanese)	300,000
4. Sumba	100,000
5. Savu	27,000
6. Roti	60,000
7. Timor (including Atoni, Belu, Kupangese)	700,000
8. Flores (including Ende, Larantuka, Ngada, Manggarai, Sikka)	500,000
9. Alor-Solor islands (including Adonara, Alor, Lomblem, Pantar, Solor)	150,000
VI. Maluku (Moluccas)	425,000
1. Southwestern Islands (including Wetar, Kisar, Leti-Lakor-Moa-Luang-Sermata, Roma-Damar)	39,500
2. Southeastern Islands (including Babar, Nila-Teun-Serua)	13,000
3. Tanimbar Islands	25,000
4. Koi Islands (including Arunese, Gungai, Tungu)	30,000
5. Aru Islands (including Arunese, Gungai, Tungu)	20,000
6. Banda Islands	6,000
7. Ambon Islands	60,000

Table 1 cont'd

	Population
VI. Maluku (Moluccas) cont'd	
8. Ceram (including Bonfia, Pattalima, Pattasiwa-Hitam, Pattasiwa Putih, Seti)	60,000
9. Ceramlaut-Goram-Watubola	14,500
10. Buru	20,000
11. Halmakera (including Galela, Tobaru, Tobelo)	50,000
12. Ternate-Tidore	35,000
13. Bacan Islands	10,000
14. Obi Islands	--
15. Sula Islands	15,000

Source: R. Kennedy, *The Ageless Indies* (New York: John Day, 1942), pp. 23-26.

Table 2: Major Ethnic Groups of Indonesia (Based on 1930 Census)

	Population (in thousands)	% of Total Population
1. Javanese	27,000	45.0
2. Sundanese	8,500	14.2
3. Madurese	4,500	7.5
4. Coastal Malays (Sumatra and Kalimantan)	4,500	7.5
5. Macassarese-Buginese	2,500	4.2
6. Minangkabau	2,000	3.3
7. Balinese	1,200	2.0
8. Batak	1,000	1.7
Total	51,200	85.4

Source: Kennedy, op.cit., pp. 23-26.

Religion, where shared, tends to reduce the strength of ethnic boundaries. The majority of the Indonesian population practise the Islamic faith, but there are also relatively large groups of Christians, Hindus and Pagans (see Table 3). The social structure of some Islamic groups in Indonesia -- particularly the Javanese Muslims -- includes, briefly, a system of dividing the Muslims into *santri* and *abangan* types. The *santri* of one group can readily interact with a *santri* of another. The same holds for cross-ethnic *abangan* relationships. However, easy interaction along these lines is mostly confined to religious matters.

Table 3: Religions of Indonesia

Religion	Population	%
Islam	103,580,000	87.5
Christianity		
Catholic	2,692,000	2.3
Protestant	5,152,000	4.4
Others	898,000	0.8
Hinduism	2,296,000	1.9
Buddhism	1,092,000	0.9
Konghucu	972,000	0.8
Others	1,686,000	1.4
Total	118,368,000	100.0

Source: Indonesia, 1971 Census.

One other important fact that can assist unity among the various native ethnic groups is the threat of the Chinese, especially in cases of serious economic competition. The highly visible symbols of success used by the Chinese to express their wealth are a further point of contention. Native groups often identify themselves as one group in a class framework in opposition to the Chinese. The fact that the religion and language of the Chinese are alien to the majority of the Indonesian native ethnic groups serves to accentuate communalism amongst the latter, especially during a crisis.

II: INTERGROUP BEHAVIOUR

Basically, intergroup behaviour in the Indonesian context can be viewed as comprising two types, viz., that among the various native ethnic groups and that between the former and the Indonesian-Chinese.

As we have already seen, intergroup relations amongst the various ethnic groups are enhanced by the fact of language and religion related variables. Simultaneously, a particular ethnic group's tendency to ethnocentrism has enabled the creation of much ethnic stereotyping. Stereotypes, albeit influential in hampering interethnic marriages, are often obscured when actual intergroup relationships are carried out. Thus, a relatively smooth situation is prevalent because of a common valuation accorded to social order. Adaptability becomes the rule of such interactions. This adaptability is also very much influenced by place and situation. Thus Bruner has shown the importance of the urban structure complex -- viz., the absence or presence of a dominant majority culture -- as a strong factor determining interethnic behaviour.¹ A dominant culture results in that culture's standards becoming the pattern upon which the majority of the local populations base their public behaviour. A case in point is Bandung, where public behaviour is oriented by the dominant Sundanese culture pattern. Where -- as in Medan -- there is no major ethnic group, each ethnic minority maintains its own culture patterns, even in public places.

Despres calls attention to the different spheres in which interaction takes place.² He distinguishes three such spheres: (i) ethnic sphere, (ii) public or market sphere, and (iii) national sphere. Quite obviously, in the ethnic sphere, ethnic culture predominates. In the market sphere, it is a buyer-seller relationship that matters. Role relations in offices, schools and universities in urban centres move in accordance with the official and formal status of the actors concerned.

As mentioned, interethnic behaviour among the various native groups often proceeds smoothly. However, as expected, conflicts do occur -- especially where there is competition for resources and position. Past ethnic conflicts in

1 E.M. Bruner, "The Expression of Ethnicity in Indonesia," in *Urban Ethnicity*, ed. A. Cohen, ASA Monograph, No. 12 (London, N.Y.: Tavistock Publications), pp. 251-280.

2 L. Despres, "Anthropological Theory, Cultural Pluralism, and the Study of Complex Societies," *Current Anthropology* 9 (1968): 3-26.

some Indonesian cities seem to indicate that conflict usually expands from the circle of immediate actors to involve members of two or more ethnic categories as a whole. For example, in 1962, a fight between an individual Macassarese and a Bantanese in Tanjong Priok of Jakarta soon led to fights between the members of these two ethnic groups. In other words, manipulation of ethnic awareness among members of the same group in times of competition is not uncommon.

Conflicts, however, are a more common feature in intergroup relations between the Chinese and the various native ethnic groups. The intensity of conflict in this area is quite often tied in to economic differences. Thus, in places where the economic superiority of the Chinese dominates to the extent that possibilities for native participation in this sphere are minimized seriously, potential widespread anti-Chinese conflicts are, indeed, very great. West and East Java, where several anti-Chinese riots have erupted in the last decade, are two significant cases. Here social boundaries between Chinese and local natives are highly persistent and all intergroup relations are formally defined. Where the emergent native entrepreneur is not seriously hampered by Chinese predominance -- as in Central Java -- conflicts are limited. Further, there is a tendency for Chinese-native ethnic relations to be defined in more informal terms.

Marriages between members of different Indonesian ethnic groups are not uncommon now, but marriages between Chinese and native Indonesians are still rare. Where the latter does occur -- for example, in Timor, among the Atoni and the Chinese -- it is the Atoni female who marries out.

Children of interethnic marriages in the two cases do not lose ethnic identities and get submerged in a national identity. Instead, they either identify themselves with one or both of their parents' ethnic groups. Even in such cases, the label "Indonesian" is a second level of identification.

No data is available on the identification process of local-born Chinese.