

## **THE DISCOURSE OF BALI'S FAMILY PLANNING: Contestation of Ideology, Politic of Identity, and Cultural Romanticism**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper intends to critically analyze the Bali's family planning discourse that was launched by the Governor of Bali in June 2019, which gave rise to pros and cons in the community. State hegemony through the national KB program 'Two Enough Children' is seen to have weakened the demographic position of the ethnic Balinese on the one hand and the dominance of the migrant population on the other. The purpose of this study is to explain how ideological interests, political interests of identity, and cultural romanticism operate and contest in the discourse of Bali's family planning in Bali. Using the critical discourse analysis method this study found that Bali's family planning discourse involves the contestation of local, national, and global ideologies. His conclusion was that in the contestation the practice of identity politics and the manipulated of cultural romanticism by subjects and actors took place in the dialectics of competition and positioning between Balinese and migrant populations.

Keywords: discourse, Balinese family planning, contestation of ideology, politics of identity, cultural romanticism.

### **INTRODUCTION**

The Balinese people are surprised by the discourse of the Family Planning (KB) Ala Bali ' KB Bali ' which was asked by the governor of Bali around the beginning of 2019. This discourse was even legalized with the publication of the Bali governor's instruction No. 1545 year 2019 on the socialization of the family planning Program (KB) Krama Bali, dated June 14, 2019. This instruction was addressed to the regents and mayors of Bali along with all related ranks in order to stop the campaign and socialize ' KB two children enough ' or ' two better children ', and further campaigned KB Krama Bali (Dhae, 27 June 2019). This discourse invites public and central government reactions as it conflicts with national KB programs, as well as delivered by the holders of public authorities who have intitory power. This is in line with the opinion of Foucault (2002:29) that the discourse of which the basic element is the statement, has institutional power when gaining legitimacy of a form of authority.

According to the governor of Bali – I Wayan Koster – The National KB program is considered to be very unworthy to apply in Bali. "If only two children, the last two names, Nyoman and Ketut will be lost. If Nyoman and Ketut were lost, Bali's generation will run out, Bali's local wisdom will run out, the Balinese population will run out, and so on ", he said (Dhae, 27 June 2019). In this reason it is not even mentioned at all about the rate of growth of the Balinese population that is generally the basis for the implementation of the KB program. This discourse contradictory with the statement Made Mangku Pastika – the governor of Bali before – that the rate of growth of the Balinese population reaches 2.15% and is above the national average so that the number of Balinese people in 2018 penetrate the number of 4.2 million people. This condition is seen as a heavy burden on the nature and environment of Bali forward, and implicates the improvement of social problems, education, health, food fulfillment, and security. If not immediately handled will certainly be a serious challenge for the life of the Balinese Family and society (NusaBali.com, 19 April 2018).

The contradiction confirms that Bali's discourse leaves a scientific problematic for its reasons and purposes contrary to the reality of the empirical population of Bali. However, when this discourse is turned into public space through a political policy, it has become a domain of power. As such, Foucault (in Carette, Ed., 1999:141) asserted that knowledge was not at the moral and scientific level, but at a political level related to power. Language represents the worldview and an explanation of the reality that constitutes the subject in control of power. Language relations, thoughts, knowledge, and actions are called the discretionary practice, which is the operation of power in social practice through discourse (Lubis, 2014:84). On the basis of that, Bali's analysis is interesting to be analyzed critically, not on the validity of the knowledge and logic used, but the power that produces and control it. The analysis focuses on the aspects of ideological contestation, identity politics, and cultural romanticism.

## **METHODOLOGICAL STUDIES**

Bali's KB discourse is revealed with a critical discourse analysis approach. According to Eriyanto (2001:8 — 14), there are five fundamental principles of the critical discourse analysis, namely (1) action that the discourse was created consciously to influence, direct, solicit, or persuade the public; (2) the context (Context) that the discourse is always built in a certain context by involving the text (language), context (background, situation, subject affected), and discourse (text and context relations); (3) Historical that discourse is constructed in the historical context or the dimension of authority; (4) The power that discourse is constructed as control of power so that the discourse is never neutral or natural; and (5) The ideology that discourse is a form, practice, and an ideological representation to seize public consciousness so that all seem natural and feasible (taken for granted).

The five principles are applied to analyze the discourse of Bali KB which is legalized by the governor of Bali through the governor instruction No. 1545 year 2019. In particular, the instruction was aimed at all the regents and mayors of Bali so as to trust the practice of operating power to the bottom. It is there are with Foucault's opinion (1990:93 – 93) that, "The power must be understood. And lastly, as the strategy in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the State apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemony. The intention of the statement that power strategy through state apparatus, legal formulation, and other social hegemony is the form of general patterns or institutional crystallization. This means that through these three channels the discourse functions institutionally to direct Community action.

The mass Media also became the dominant channel in operating the Bali's discourse into public awareness because the discourse became the topic of news of print, electronic, and online media. Most of the Balinese people also tend to get such information from the mass media, rather than reading the document of Governor's instruction No. 1545 year 2019. Therefore, this study focused on the discourse of Bali KB framed (framing) in news media. One of the analytical models of discourse critical to media discourse to detect the positioning of social actors in the preaching was delivered Theo van Leeuwen. According to Van Leeuwen, language is a reflection of ideology so by learning the language that is reflected in the text (including the media text), ideology can be dismantled. The positioning of social actors can be seen from the way the actor was shown in media coverage, either through an exclusion strategy or expelled from the talks, as well as an inclusion strategy or displayed in talks (Eriyanto, 2001:171 – 173).

In the analysis of critical discourse on media text, the positioning of actors has an important role to understand the operation of power in the statements submitted. This is in line with Foucault's opinion (in Barker, 2005:105) that discourse is a unified language with practice. Discourse becomes a node encounter between knowledge, power, and the social practices of loot that can be traced *Jejak-jejaknya*. Every actor presented in the media coverage is not only for his statement, but also the background of the power and authority that is possessed in a discourse. The exclusion and inclusion strategy is the way the mass media are framing the actors according to their authority in the context of a preached discourse. Therefore, the authority of actors and statements is conveyed to be the subject of major studies. When the positioning of the actors on the exclusion and inclusion in the media became the realm of the analysis of Discourse van Leeuwen, the statements of actors can be analyzed Semiotik.

Through the work of these two theories undoubtedly found a relationship between power, statement, and various contexts that envelop the discourse of Bali KB on a number of media texts.

## DISCUSSION

### A. Ideological contestation

Family planning (KB) is in principle a family planning pattern for the realization of a prosperous and happy family. Although in its development, the KB tends to be defined as a restriction on the number of children as indicated by the campaign of 'two children enough', 'two better children', as well as sexual regulation through contraceptives in a national KB program. With the issuance of Presidential decree No. 8 of 1970 on the establishment of the National Planning Coordinating Board, then the entire narrative of the 'good' family planning should refer to the policies and programs established by the institution. Here, ideologization of family planning takes place institutionally through state apparatus, legal formulation, and various forms of social hegemony, such as awarding awards to individuals, families, or institutions that are deemed successful implementing a national KB program. Referring to the view of Barthes (2004), this is where the national KB program manages to build the myth that the prosperous and happy families may only be embodied in a small family of fathers, mothers, and two children.

The myth recounts the entire 'local myth' of prosperous and happy families, without the restriction of the number of children. In Bali, for example, there is a myth telling *Men Brayut*, a mother of 18 (eighteen) children. Despite the lack of life, it turns out that *Men Brayut* can raise and educate his children so that it becomes a useful human being. This myth seems to legitimize the ideology of 'many children, many sustenance' that once evolved in society. This myth could potentially bounce back when the governor of Bali preached the KB *Krama Bali* with 4 (four) children. In this regard, the media [www.idn.balitimes.com](http://www.idn.balitimes.com) (01 July 2019) attempted to excavate the philosophical reasons of four children in Bali with the display of Jero Gede Suwena, as *Bendesa Agung* [chairman] of the main assembly village Pakraman (MUDP) Province of Bali, as a resource. In his statement, Jero Gede Suwena conveyed the following. "If we look at philosophy, it's this life of '*nyatur warna*' or four casts. Let there be completeness, a harmony in every activity done in the house."

The statement shows that the concept of four children is considered to be in line with the tradition and philosophical value of Balinese people. Regardless of the true-absence of the statement, the authority of the actor stating it is important analyzed critically. In its position and authority as the chairman of the MUDP Province of Bali, the informant is directly or not the supporting actor of the government. In all cultural discourse in Bali, the legitimacy of customary institutions plays an important role because the majority of Balinese are tied to indigenous institutions. This legitimacy is apparently presented by the media with a strategy of inclusion-determinations, i.e. actors are shown determinant in the proclamation for certain ideological purposes (Eriyanto, 2001:178). The mention of actors clearly – name, position, and authority – can be viewed as a media strategy so that the Balinese people receive a Bali KB discourse because indigenous institutions (MUDP) also support it. Here, the dominant actor is positioned in a discourse to support the government-backed ideology (governor of Bali). Moreover, the media also initiated the news with the sentence, "Bali belongs to the government-compliant province" which is accompanied by a success review of the National KB program in Bali. The sentence seems to evocative memory about the loudness of the Balinese attitude that is responsive and respectful to the government program so that this attitude is expected to appear in response to the Bali KB program.

In addition, the ideological position of the group is to be opposed or excreted in the Bali KB program found in the News [www.liputan6.com](http://www.liputan6.com) (July 3, 2019) which will prompt the response of the head of BKKBN Center – Hasto Wardoyo – against KB Bali, as Following. "If suppose I have four children can overcome all, not necessarily a poor person or an underprivileged can solve all the problems in the family," said Hasto... "So we hold the assumption, I report to Governor of Bali firstly", he continued (inscription, 3 July 2019).

In the analysis of discourse van Leeuwen can be understood that the news apply exclusion strategy and inclusion at once. The exclusion strategy is characterized by a group

that seeks to be issued in the news as seen in the phrase ' poor or underprivileged '. This phrase refers to a potential group marginalized due to the implementation of Bali's KB, but actors precisely does not appear to be specific in preaching. This group is excreted by nominalization ' nominal subject ' in the context of a wider discourse, the response Hasto Wardoyo as head of BKKBN against KB Bali. The strategy of inclusion-determination of the media by displaying Hasto Wardoyo as the dominant actor who did counter ideology over KB Bali, although not expressly stated rejection. In his position and authority, Hasto Wardoyo represents a group interested in perpetuate the country's hegemony through the national KB program in Bali. This interest is framed with a statement that seems to represent an exhorted group, i.e. poor families or underprivileged, that the implementation of Bali's KB could potentially cause problems for the group.

The positioning of social actors in the coverage of the mass media related to KB Bali above has the aroma of contestation of ideology between local, national, and global power. The creator of Bali KB discourse, in this case the governor of Bali, utilizing the ideology of local wisdom ' KB 4 children ' as a strategy counter hegemony to the national KB program representing the power of the center. Instead, the center also seeks to maintain its hegemicization by implementing a strategy of ' defence ' discourse on potentially marginalized groups when KB Bali is applied. The contestation at this local and national level actually also involves global power in particular in the context of ethno-nationalism that gives greater opportunities to ethnic, regional, and cultural to conduct political representation more In the era of regional autonomy. The ideological contestation in this Bali KB discourse can also be expanded in meaning not limited to the KB problem, but rather the form of resistance to various central policies (nation-state) that is considered detrimental to Bali. A ethno-nationalism revival that marks the influence of global ideology has the potential to weaken nation-state authority, when the consciousness of locality grows to counter central policy.

## **B. Political Identity**

The Bali KB discourse, both mentioned in the governor instruction No. 1545 year 2019 and the mass media are almost entirely built in cultural narrative. Barely mentioned the problem of residence that empirically faced Bali, except that is related to ethnic Balinese. One of them is in the news released by [www.beritabali.com](http://www.beritabali.com) (June 27, 2019) about the explanation of several related officials in the Bali provincial government environment, as follows.

"Respect for the right of reproductive rights has the meaning that Krama Bali reserves the right to have a descent of more than 2 (two) people even up to 4 (four) people, which is called Wayan, Made, Nyoman and Ketut," Papar Agung Sutha – Head of Public relations Bureau and Bali provincial protocol.

"Meanwhile, the head of Dinas Dukcapil-KB Bali I Gusti Agung Ketut Kartika Jaya Seputra, which has been found to mention the condition of the growth of native Bali in recent years has decreased." We know together at this time the population of ' Nyoman ' and ' Ketut ' has begun to be rare, therefore according to the direction of Mr. Governor we arrange a program to return to the concepts and guidelines of our ancestral heritage family in Bali, namely the recommendation for 4 children, "said Seputra.

Both of the state apparatus displayed in the media above are clearly a supporting organ of the Governor of Bali. Instead, the media excommunicated a social group outside the ' Manners Bali ' because it only targeted Bali residents or Balinese people. The marginalization of the social group appears in the expression 'the reproductive rights of Krama Bali ', ' The name of Wayan, Made, Nyoman, Ketut ', ' The original Balinese people ', and ' the inheritance of our ancestors in Bali '. This discourse specifically shows that the Bali KB program is only targeting the ethnic Balinese, as well as the other ethnic. This demonstrates the pattern of differentiation that is potentially to tame the non-ethnic Balinese citizen in the Balinese settlement discourse. While the population of Balinese ethnic groups seeks to be upgraded through KB Bali, it is precisely that non-Balinese ethnic residents are not covered by the instructions and imply that they are still enforced by national KB programs to suppress the rate of Growth. On the other side, the interests of the poor group or the underprivileged that are revealed in other media are also disadvantaged because they are not mentioned at all.

Similarly, other social groups have been affected by the implementation of the Bali KB, such as millennials who will be overwhelmed if they have to take care of 4 children.

The discourse is certainly not ideologically neutral and seems to have a strong relationship with identity politics that the governor of Bali seeks to play to evoke ethnicity sentiment. The threat of lack of population due to the scarcity of Nyoman and Ketut, obviously charged ethnicity. In this discourse, it appears that the one who is actually threatened is the ethnic population of Bali and is easier to understand in its position with ethnic immigrants. Moreover, see the pace of growth of migrant population in Bali so fast. Concern about the indigenous peoples of Bali due to the domination of migrants is a reasonable phobias ethnistry. Some of the main areas of migrant destinations are also experiencing similar things, such as ethnic Betawi's insitities in Jakarta. For local leaders, evoke sentiment of ethnicity to a certain extent legitimate. At least, this strategy is a potential to build the government's alignments image to local communities in order to seize mass sympathy through hegemonic consensus. Moreover, this discourse was raised in the early days of the governor of Bali – I Wayan Koster – who certainly needs sympathy and public support in the future.

The political Aroma of identity in the Bali KB discourse can also be attributed to the previous Bali governor's policy, i.e. the use of language, characters, and traditional Balinese clothing as a series of discourse. In the context of identity politics, the establishment of a Balinese identity in the context of its opposition with other ethnicities has actually built its own historical path (trace). Picard (1997:186) shows how Bali's identity as ' a Hindu island surrounded by Islamic seas ' is closely related to the colonial interests to construct the ' Bali-Hindu ' image in its opposition to Islam, while providing a framework for the Balinese To define itself. Although not expressly stated, but it is clear that the ethnic concern of Bali to the dominance of migrants who generally represent non-Hindu people, especially Islam, has become a framework historically formed in Balinese people.

According to Lukmantoro (2008:2), identity politics is a political act to promote the interests of the members of a group because they have common identities or characteristics, whether racial, ethnic, gender, or religious. . Maarif (2012:4) asserted that substantively, the identity of politics was attributed to the interests of members of a social group who felt squeezed and knocked out by the dominance of great currents in a nation-state. The rise of the ethnicity of the Balinese community amid the domination of immigrants and the policy of the country representing the dominance of ' Islam ', can be suspected as a collective memory of his own identity, according to Picard (1997) was constructed so much in history. Moreover responding to the political symptoms of ethnicity in a number of areas that also show the rise of ethnic and religious aspirations in various policies of local government, such as the birth of Regional regulation of *Syar'ah*, as if stirring awareness of the political community of Bali to perform the same movements. In this context, the issue of injustice received by Bali for various state policies intertwined with the strengthening of the political movement of identity in Bali, and apparently, the governor of Bali has played it by constructing a discourse of alignments towards the local interests, including through Balinese KB discourse.

### **C. Romanticism of Culture and Utopia**

The Bali KB discourse suggests the cultural pride that the Balinese people have the wisdom and its own policies in the planning efforts of the family without having to depend on the policy of the center. Cultural romanticism was unwrapped in the statement of the governor of Bali in Bali Express (Suyatra, 27 November 2018), as follows.

"He also said, do not be afraid of the number of children four or more. She modeled her old age a lot, but just relied on selling flowers, even her son was a doctor. "Selling flowers only, old days. But the will is, even his son's doctor all, "he explained. This statement was submitted long before the Bali governor instruction 1545/2019 was issued so that it showed that the Bali KB program had been planned maturely. By modeled many Balinese who managed to make his son doctor, although only selling flowers, replacing the narrative traces that the success of parents in making his son a successful person not only because of economic factors. With such examples, the jargon of ' small family happy and prosperous ' that has been in the community's consciousness has become irrelevant. As a form of cultural romanticism, the statement

there are with the myth of *Men Brayut* is so popular in Balinese society, although not fully grateful to the condition of the contemporary. This is seen from the Balinese response to KB Bali which is in the News page [www.kumparan.com](http://www.kumparan.com) (1 June 2019), such as Kadek Fitri who stated that to raise all three children who still school is already draining and cost. Similarly, the IB Mahadana that says, "Two alone are quite heavy, tuition costs are now expensive. Nothing is now expensive too. It takes responsibility to raise children. "

Both actors represent the response of a number of Balinese who disagree with the Bali's KB program, although many also agree. The two actors' statements are primarily associated with economic issues and contemporary conditions. This confirms that the problem is not less important in the transformation of the Bali KB discourse is how the policy is applied. Since each policy requires structural support, both the superstructure and infrastructure are real-productive for the community. The penetration of modern and global cultures that make up the human minimalism offers minimalist challenges, could this discourse seize awareness of future generations of Bali? When taking care of one child only considered overwhelmed', let alone four or more. This kind of expression may take the minds of millennials, when they are forced to follow KB Bali. The next question is, "What is the Bali government's strategy to support this policy, especially the provision of residential, economic, and educational infrastructure?"

There is also a utopish question that must be answered, "Does by increasing the number of Balinese ethnic population in Bali, the welfare will actually be achieved by the people of Bali in its own land?" In view of the global currents through Ethnoscape, Financescape, Technoscape, Mediascape, and Ideoscape delivered by Appadurai (2006), it suggests a greater opportunity for the formation of multicultural societies in Bali. The idea that Bali will be ruled by its own 'Balinese', amid the global currents, so far can be interpreted by utopia and phobia. Instead of providing solutions to the issue of Bali's population in sociocultural changes occurring, cultural romanticism and future utopian framing the ideology of contestation as well as identity politics played by the governor of Bali in the overall discourse KB Bali.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation above, it is concluded that the Bali KB discourse in the media text involves an ideological contestation at the local, national, and global levels as a symptom of ethno-nationalism as the political dynamics of regional autonomy. The political identity of Bali is played through exclusion and inclusion to grow the significance of ethnicity by accentuating the ethnic interests of Bali as the dominant group. In contrast, the ethnic non-Balinese, even nation-state constructed as a marginal group that is to be crossed by the hegemics through the discourse. Inaccuracies of reasons and objectives behind the application of KB Bali except cultural narrative built, demonstrated strong aroma of cultural romanticism and utopia, behind the solution to the implementation of the Bali's population.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

The critical attitude towards this Bali KB discourse is not a representation of acceptance or rejection of the instructions of the Governor of Bali, but rather intellectual and moral calling for the sustainability of Bali's future development. The threat of residence in Bali forwards requires holistic thinking by taking into consideration the various potentials and resources it has. The function of land, residential area, tourism investment, poverty, education, health, and other social issues, requires more serious attention from the government. Bali's important KB discourse is interpreted as a leverage of Balinese consciousness that the most prominent threat in the region itself is being haunting the future of Bali. Happy families are not about the quantity of children, but the quality of life.

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