

FAMILY PLANNING PROGRAM WITH FOUR CHILDREN CRITICAL STUDIES ON THE NEW FAMILY PLANNING POLICY OF BALI GOVERNOR

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ABSTRACT

This paper tries to examine the policy of the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, in the form of the Governor of Bali's Instruction Number 1545 of 2019 concerning the Promotion of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program. This instruction was made several months after he was appointed as Governor of Bali. Through these instructions he recommended that the people of Bali implement a Family Planning Program with four children. Many of these instructions reap the pros and cons in the Balinese community. Some parties are supportive, because looking at the Krama Bali Family Planning Program with four children in addition to an appreciation of reproductive rights, as well as the preservation of ancestral cultural heritage. While some others opposed, because they considered the instruction to be contrary to the policy of the National Family Planning Program with two children that had been set by the central government since 1970. The birth of the Governor of Bali's Instruction Number 1545 of 2019 on the Promotion of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program was a sufficient phenomenon interesting to study. The results of the analysis of this issue concluded that the instructions of the Governor of Bali regarding the Promotion of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program could be seen as a form of resistance to central hegemony which could threaten the existence of a sociocultural system of Bali as a sociocultural system of minority groups. However, the demographic developments that will occur due to the governor's instructions are also feared to cause changes in the conditions of material infrastructure which are the buffer bases and in turn will cause changes in the structural and superstructure aspects.

Keywords: governor's instructions, family planning, sociocultural system, Krama Bali

INTRODUCTION

Demographic problems have long received the attention of various countries in the world, because they are recognized as a factor that can have a significant influence on people's welfare. Countries that show relatively high population growth rates generally impose policies to control population growth through birth restrictions. In Indonesia this policy is known as the National Family Planning Program. This program has become one of the important national development agendas marked by the formation of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN) through Presidential Decree No. 8/1970.

The implementation of the Family Planning Program in Indonesia shows positive results marked by a decrease in the total fertility rate (total birth rate) from 5.6 children per woman in 1970 to 2.3 children per woman in 2016. Indonesia's success in controlling population growth provides opportunities for Indonesia can experience what is called a demographic bonus (BKKBN, 2017; Media Indonesia, 2019).

In the Province of Bali, the success of the Family Planning Program showed achievements above the national average in terms of both the percentage of the number of acceptors and the total birth rate (Nirawati, 2017a). However, Bali's success in succeeding the National Family Planning Program seems to be only a memory. At the beginning of his term of office, the Governor of Bali, I Wayan Koster, launched a policy that caused polemic among the Balinese people. The intended policy is the Instruction of the Governor of Bali Number 1545 of 2019 concerning the Socialization of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program. This instruction was set for June 14, 2019, a few months after he was appointed Governor of Bali. The governor's instructions contain suggestions that the Balinese implement a Family Planning

Program with four children. Some Balinese consider this instruction contrary to the national policy of the Family Planning Program with two children that has been established by the central government since 1970. While others support the governor's instructions and view the Krama Bali Family Planning Program with four children in addition to being an appreciation of reproductive rights, as well as preserving ancestral cultural heritage.

In the view of traditional Balinese culture, each nuclear family ideally has four children. This is reflected in the individual naming system based on birth order. For example, the first child is given the first name Wayan or Gede or Putu; the second child is given the first name Made or Kadek; the third child is given the first name Nyoman or Komang; and the fourth child is named Ketut. The success of the Family Planning Program in Bali led to each nuclear family generally having two children. The consequence of this is the increasing scarcity of children with the first names Nyoman or Komang and Ketut. This phenomenon is seen as a threat to the cultural heritage of Balinese ancestors.

The issuance of Bali Governor's Instruction Number 1545 of 2019 on the Socialization of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program is an interesting phenomenon to study, because in addition to being seen as resistance to national policies it also has a number of implications for the socio-cultural system of the Balinese people.

Family Planning Program in Bali

Historically, the birthstone of the Family Planning Program was inseparable from Marie Stoppes concern for the suffering of the workers families in England in the early nineteenth century. The low labor costs and the high dependency of the child are considered as contributing factors to the families of the workers. Stoppes concerns finally led to thoughts about the efforts that must be made to improve the living conditions of the families of workers through birth arrangements. In the United States, the population control program was first conceived by Margareth Sanger in 1912 to address maternal health problems through birth control programs. Although initially faced with many challenges, in the end Sanger's idea received appreciation from the international community which was marked by the formation of the International Federation of Birth Control Leagues in 1925. In subsequent developments Sanger actively spearheaded the formation of the International Committee on Family Planning (1952) and became its chairman at the same time. Since then, family planning federations have been formed in various countries including Indonesia (Amalia, 2019).

In Indonesia a similar federation was only formed in 1957 under the name Indonesian Family Planning Association. In line with this, the government's attention to the importance of family planning has increased marked by the establishment of the National Family Planning Institute in 1968. In subsequent developments, the Family Planning Program became one of the important national development agendas marked by the establishment of the National Family Planning Coordinating Board through Presidential Decree No. 8 of 1970 (Amalia, 2019).

The implementation of the Family Planning Program in Indonesia is carried out through various approaches. In Bali, the implementation of the Family Planning Program was carried out by involving the role of traditional institutions better known as the *Keluarga Berencana Sistem Banjar*. The success of this program was felt to be quite effective in controlling population growth in Bali. Even the success of the *Keluarga Berencana Sistem Banjar* had led the Province of Bali to be ranked highest at the national level both in terms of the percentage of the number of acceptors and the total birth rate.

Head of Bali Province Population and Family Planning Agency, Ida Bagus Wirama, on the sidelines of the evaluation of the implementation of the Population Family Planning and Family Development program in Bali Province in the first half of 2017 Tuesday, (01/08/2017), said family planning participation in Bali reached 68 percent more than the national percentage which only reached 59 percent. While the total fertility rate (TFR) or the average rate of child birth for each woman during fertility is also relatively small at 2.21 children, while the national average is 2.4 children (Nirawati, 2017).

This achievement received a lot of appreciation from the international community, so that Bali is often used as a model for the successful implementation of the Family Planning

Program in Indonesia. Related to this, Bali was once the target of a study visit for family planning officers from 89 countries in the world (Antaraneews.com, 20 April 2008).

The above facts prove that the Province of Bali is relatively successful in the implementation of the National Family Planning Program. This success is inseparable from the concept of *Guru Bhakti* in the teachings of Hinduism which is embraced by most Balinese residents. The concept, among others, teaches everyone to always be a role model, respectful, and obedient to *guru wisesa* (government). This was also recognized by Governor Koster, as reported by one of the media as follows.

I convey what it is, the conditions in Bali are apparently fast-paced KB programs are very successful in Bali. Because Balinese are educated by *catur guru bakti*. One of the values, must respect the government, including its policies. So, the Balinese are very loyal to run it and really succeed with two children. Nyoman, Komang is rare, especially Ketut. So, this (four children) is our true heritage (Kumparan News, 28 June 2019).

When viewed in terms of the level of participation between men and women, the success of the Family Planning Program in Bali is more influenced by the participation of women. As stated by Kurniawati (2011), that the majority of the community still positions their wives as objects in sexual and reproductive problems. This is based on the view that pregnancy and childbirth are the nature of women, therefore it is the wife who should be more involved in carrying out the Family Planning Program. The implementation of the Family Planning Program which is mostly done by women according to Krisna (2017) is the implication of a patriarchal culture that reflects the strong power relations between men and women in Balinese society. He further stated that in the implementation of the Family Planning Program, the influence of the extended family on the part of the husband is more dominant in determining who and what type of contraception used tends to position women as a subordinated party.

Social Engineering and Resistance

The instruction on Krama Bali Family Planning with four children can be understood as a form of social engineering to maintain the existence of a socio-cultural system, namely Balinese society and culture as an integral part of the various effects of globalization. According to Appadurai (1996), globalization is influenced by the movement of five global currents, namely ethnoscape, technoscape, finanscape, mediascapes, and ideoscape. In some respects, what Appadurai conveyed above is not much different from the view of Kellner (2002), namely that globalization involves the capitalist market and a set of social relations and the flow of commodities, capital, technology, ideas, forms of culture, and population which crosses national boundaries through global community networks.

Likewise, the popularity of Bali as a tourism destination is like a magnetic force that not only attracts tourists from various parts of the world, but also attracts capitalists to invest their capital. The increase in tourist arrivals coupled with the massive investment of capitalists in Bali has led to the development of the tourism industry which has increasingly accelerated leaving other regions in Indonesia. This fact positions Bali as a target for the diaspora to try their luck in Bali. The growing development of the tourism sector in Bali which is marked by the increasing presence of tourists, capitalists, diaspora, and even terrorists, is part of the globalization process that is being faced by the Balinese people.

The increasing influence of globalization in line with the development of the tourism sector in Bali by a number of parties in addition to being seen as a blessing carrier, is also feared to bring disaster. Pujaastawa (2017) states that the rolling of the "Ajeg Bali" discourse reflects the deep concern among Balinese about the impact of globalization and tourism as follows.

The rolling of the "Ajeg Bali" discourse can be seen as a reflection of a very deep sense of concern about the increasingly threatened resilience of Balinese cultural, economic and ecological identity. This concern is not unreasonable, considering that Bali's position as an international tourist destination is increasingly strengthening the acceleration of the entry of various global influences, including terrorism as in the tragedies of the Bali Bombings I and II ago. In addition, a sense of concern also arises related to the increasing facilities and opportunities for expansion from outside interest

groups. Moreover, the policies that exist at the meso and macro level do not provide a real guarantee of protection against the existence of regional culture as a minority group culture, so it is not surprising that instinctively various forms of resistance are nativistic as well as a defense mechanism against regional culture.

The increasing presence of diaspora into the Province of Bali is a phenomenon in itself for this area. Now their presence is not only concentrated in urban areas, but also in tourist areas, even to remote rural areas. Migrant workers who were previously limited to certain business sectors, are now beginning to expand into business sectors which have so far been the dominance of the local population. This brought them trapped in the competition for the same sources of sustenance. Relationships that were more mutual each other at any time can turn into relationships that are not mutually beneficial. The stereotype between the two groups that could have been neutralized by the relationship of mutual need, is now increasingly surfacing. Moreover, the lack of symbols that are able to foster the same emotional bond between the two groups is feared to increase the potential for conflict between groups. As stated by Huntington (2003), in the XXI century macro conflicts were no longer dominated by ideological differences, but by cultural differences or cultural identities. In the arena of global competition, traditional societies will return to their local traditions to be used as an uncompromising means of struggle or legitimacy against various pressures experienced (see also Naisbitt, 1994).

So far the policies that lead to population control in Bali are more targeted at local communities, especially through the Family Planning and transmigration program. The success of the Balinese people in the implementation of the Family Planning and Transmigration program which has received awards at both the national and international levels is an achievement to be proud of. But ironically, Bali's population growth actually shows an increasing number from year to year due to the incessant flow of arrivals. This phenomenon can be interpreted as the impact of unfair policies which in turn can cause social jealousy and distrust of the community towards the government in anticipating and overcoming population problems, particularly the problem of regulating migrant populations (Pujaastawa, 2017). The same thing also stated Haviland (1988), related to the forms of challenges to family planning policies in various countries where minorities often see family planning programs as a cunning trick from the majority to reduce their population.

The Dynamics of the Sociocultural System

The Bali Governor's instructions regarding the Krama Bali Family Planning Program with four children, are reminiscent of the traditional cultural view of "many children, many sustenance" The formation of such cultural views is influenced by the material infrastructure factors which form the basis of a sociocultural system. According to Sanderson (1993: 21), cultural views that are part of the ideological superstructure component are influenced by material infrastructure conditions such as technological development, economic life patterns, demographics, and natural or ecological environmental characteristics.

Families with many children are generally found in poor countries with subsistence economies that rely on traditional farming systems. In societies with traditional agrarian economies, generally using bioenergy technology, especially human and animal labor. Therefore, to cultivate large tracts of land requires a lot of labor. Thus the cultural view of "many children, many sustenance" becomes relevant.

The view of "many children, many sustenance" in traditional agrarian societies can also be seen as a model of adaptation to the availability of vast agricultural land with traditional agriculture technology based on bioenergy. In other words, the cultural view of "many children, many sustenance" is adaptive in traditional agrarian societies. However, culture is not adaptive in all dimensions of space and time. Culture can be adaptive at one time, but not necessarily adaptive at another. Likewise culture can be adaptive in one place, but not necessarily adaptive in another place.

Likewise, the traditional culture of Balinese views about the number of children in the family, where each nuclear family ideally has four children. This is reflected in the individual naming system based on birth order. The existence of such a cultural view can be understood,

given the sociocultural system of Balinese society in the past reflects the traditional agrarian socio-cultural system where a relatively large number of workers is needed to cultivate agricultural land. But in the long run, in line with the process of cultural transformation, that is, from traditional agrarian culture to industrial culture, the view of "many children, many sustenance" is not adaptive.

For the Province of Bali, tourism is a major revenue contributor sector outperforming other sectors. The rapid development of the tourism industry is a determinant factor that affects the transformation of Balinese culture from agrarian to industrial, especially the service industry. The development of the tourism industry is also accompanied by an increasingly shrinking of agricultural land due to uncontrolled land use change for the construction of infrastructure facilities supporting tourism, settlements, and others. In line with this, the development of modern nonbioenergy-based technology has caused the human role to be replaced by machine technology. In addition, the development of industrial culture has also resulted in more intensive use of time and energy, so that people no longer have free time to care for children as in the days of traditional agrarian culture. This phenomenon naturally causes the cultural view of "many children, many sustenance" to be no longer adaptive.

The non-adaptive cultural view of "many children, many sustenance" in industrial societies is evidenced from the results of recent research conducted by the Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) which states an explosion in population in developing countries, on the contrary the number of births has dropped dramatically in countries developed industrial countries. In connection with this phenomenon, a number of developed industrial countries whose demographic structure of the population shows the pyramid of old populations such as Sweden, Spain, Singapore, Japan, South Korea, Russia, Germany, and Romania began to develop specific policies to maintain their population (Rahayu, [www. hipwee.com](http://www.hipwee.com)).

The problem now, is Bali in the same condition? Like the saying "there is sugar there are ants", the existence of Bali as a popular tourism destination has invited the arrival of the unstoppable diaspora. This certainly contributes to the growth of the population of Bali caused by migration factors. As stated by Chairman of the Indonesian Coalition for Population and Development, Sonny Harry B. Harmadi (in Nirawati, 2017), that the population growth rate of the Province of Bali is relatively high. But this is not due to the high birth rate, but migration of people who enter Bali is difficult to stem.

If this phenomenon continues, coupled with the governor's instructions on the Krama Bali Family Planning Program with Four Children, it is feared that it will affect the quality of life of its inhabitants. This concern is reminiscent of the article *The Tragedy of the Commons* (1968) written by Garret Hardin, an ecologist who said that natural resources in the world will experience destruction. It was further stated that the population explosion would cause an economic crisis and degradation of natural resources, because natural resources were limited and human needs were increasingly unlimited. The *Tragedy of the Commons* is an expression of concern about a shared disaster or tragedy in developing countries experiencing a population explosion.

CLOSING

Bali Governor's Instructions on the Socialization of the Krama Bali Family Planning Program with four children, on one hand can be seen as social engineering to maintain the existence of Bali's sociocultural system (community and culture) in facing the globalization process, which among others is marked by the increasing presence of diaspora with a background diverse sociocultural background. Their presence was felt to have a significant effect on the population growth of Bali which was more due to migration factors. Meanwhile, the Balinese themselves are very compliant in running a family planning program with two children and following the transmigration program since the New Order era. This is felt by a number of parties to be unfair, because it is feared that it could threaten the existence of the socio-cultural system of the Balinese people who gradually became a minority group in their own homeland. To anticipate this, the family planning policy with four children is expected to increase the population of Balinese as a material infrastructure supporting the socio-cultural system of Balinese people which in turn will increase the existence of Balinese society and culture.

However, on the other hand, the policy which is nuanced with resistance to the hegemony of central government is feared to cause new problems that stem from demographic factors for Bali itself which is already overcrowded.

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