

Opportunities and Barriers of the Balinese Family Planning Program (KB Krama Bali) in Sesetan Village

Putu Diah Wahyuning Pertiwi¹⁾, Wahyu Budi Nugroho²⁾, Gede Kamajaya³⁾
^{1,2,3)} Faculty of Social and Political Science Udayana University.

ABSTRACT: This study analyzes the opportunities and barriers to implementing the Balinese family planning program (KB Krama Bali) in Sesetan Village. Balinese family planning program is a family planning program based on Balinese local wisdom that states Balinese people have the right to have more than two children according to the Balinese naming, namely: Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut with the hope of creating a quality Balinese family. Balinese family planning program has intensified again through Bali Governor Instruction Number 1545 of 2019 with a statement that the names "Nyoman" and "Ketut" had started to become extinct, coupled with the presence of migrants. The method used in this research is a qualitative approach with a descriptive type. The theoretical analysis used as a scalpel in this study is the habitus theory and biological investment strategy from Pierre-Felix Bourdieu. The results of this study revealed that the implementation of the Balinese family planning program in the Sesetan Village was relatively small. Adhering to the patrilineal line, the culture of Balinese people indirectly obliges a family to have sons & the family's economic adequacy shows opportunities for the success of the Balinese family planning program. Consideration of factors that support life in forming a family is an obstacle in carrying out the Balinese family planning program. Other factors is the presence of migrants, in fact, did not provide a stimulus for Balinese people to implement the Balinese family planning program in Sesetan Village, considering that Sesetan Village is the area with the highest number of migrants in Denpasar City. The literacy of the Balinese people of Sesetan Village regarding quality compared to quantity in having offspring makes the concept of family planning that is considered appropriate for the peoples in Sesetan Village is the National Family Planning (KB) program.

Keyword: Balinese family planning, National family planning, Balinese culture, patrilineal system.

I. INTRODUCTION

The significant population growth poses a challenge to Indonesia as a developing nation. The continuous increase in population complicates the government's efforts to improve and evenly distribute the welfare of its citizens. Consequently, the government has initiated the Family Planning Program to control population growth in Indonesia.

One of the projects run by the National Population and Family Planning Board (BKKBN) is the Family Planning Program, which aims to increase public awareness and involvement through initiatives like promoting mature age at marriage, birth control, family resilience, and enhancing family welfare to create smaller, happier, and more prosperous families (Muhathiah, 2012). Political reform and decentralization have had an impact on the family planning program's implementation, shifting the program's execution paradigm and making it reliant on strategic policies set by local authorities. However, the commitment of local governments to managing the family planning program remains insufficient, as evident from the variations in institutional structures and government funding allocation (Munandar, 2017).

Differences in local government policies have a significant impact on the sustainability of the program. Resistance to the government's call to implement family planning programs in various regions is now apparent.

Before the introduction of these values, Indonesia had several family systems with differing assessments in each region regarding the ideal number of male and female children (Sukeni, 2010). The government's population control efforts through the family planning program seek to establish new values regardless of the existing family systems. Initially, society revered the belief that having more children leads to greater prosperity, as it was thought to bolster the family's economy. However, this belief has shifted towards valuing smaller families, seen as conducive to happier and more prosperous lives. The transformation from large families to smaller ones in Indonesia necessitates a shift in livelihoods from agrarian to industrial sectors, requiring adequate human resources (Sukeni, 2010).

In the context of Bali, the family planning program was previously known for having four children, with each child's name based on Balinese culture. The first child is named "Wayan/Putu," the second "Made/Kadek," the third "Nyoman/Komang," and the fourth "Ketut," with the naming sequence repeating for the fifth child and beyond (Sarmita, 2019). The implementation of the national family planning program led to a scarcity of families having a third child (Nyoman) and a fourth child (Ketut) in Bali. This version of the family planning program with four children was known as the "KB Krama Bali" program.

The "KB Krama Bali" program was reintroduced through Governor of Bali Instruction No. 1545 on the Socialization of the Balinese family planning program (KB Krama Bali) on June 14, 2019. Governor I Wayan Koster stated that the campaign for "two children are enough" should be stopped. The underlying reason, well-known to the Balinese community, was the increasing rarity of the names Nyoman and Ketut and the belief that the national Family Planning Program was not in line with Balinese culture. Although the national family planning program was deemed successful in Bali, sentiments began to emerge publicly, suspecting that the program aimed gradually to eradicate the native Balinese (Hindu) population, particularly since the era of the Reform (Suryawan, 2019). This led to the perception that the "KB Krama Bali" with four children was a form of rejection of the national program. The sentiment against migrants started with the influx of migrants into Bali in the late 1990s, transforming the demographics from a small and homogenous province to a heterogeneous space in certain areas (Dwipayana, 2010).

Perceiving it as a threat to Bali's culture and existence, many agreed that it led to the marginalization of Balinese people. Bali's dominant population felt that threats would always come from outside (Suryawan, 2019). Based on this narrative, the "KB Krama Bali" program was seen as a means to strengthen Bali's population. Issues such as employment, economics, health, migration, and housing affected by reclamation added to the challenges that prompted Balinese people to reconsider the urgency and effectiveness of the "KB Krama Bali" program. On the other hand, the program seemed to uphold patriarchal values by treating women as objects of experimentation. The slogan "Ajeg Bali," which pertains to preserving the names Nyoman and Ketut, has become deeply ingrained and unintentionally imposes new social pressures on Balinese women. Balinese culture views having children as vital, as they will be responsible for taking over their parents' roles in the household, clan, and society.

This study aims to explore the opportunities and barriers of the "KB Krama Bali" program in the Sesetan Village as a migration hub in Denpasar. Sesetan has the highest number of permanent and temporary migrants compared to other areas in Denpasar. Following the patrilineal kinship system, Sesetan still believes that lineage is traced only through the male line, and thus, male descendants are essential. This belief influences the decisions of the Sesetan community concerning having offspring and choosing the appropriate family planning program. Given this background, the researcher decided to investigate these aspects in the study titled "Opportunities and Barriers of the Balinese family planning program (KB Krama Bali) in Sesetan Village."

II. LITERATURE ANALYSIS

The research on "Opportunities and Barriers of Bali's Krama Family Planning Program in Sesetan Sub-district" requires a thorough review of relevant previous studies. Journals and research works that discuss the subject matter of this research serve as references for this study. The first study, titled "Do I Have to Choose? Two Children vs. Four Children in Bali's Family Planning Program" was authored by Anastasia Septya Titisari et al. (2022). The researchers found that this study highlighted the cultural-based Balinese family planning program's tension with the National Family Planning Program, which emphasizes the sufficiency of having two children.

The second study, "Governmentality and Nativism Practices in Bali's Krama Family Planning Policy," by I Putu Rai Sukmaning Wahyu (2020), begins its argument by discussing the Balinese family planning program in relation to efforts to secure native interests through birth control measures, such as introducing the "four-child norm" and preserving traditional Balinese names. The researchers discovered similarities with the historical discussions on the Balinese family planning program and the various reasons for its reintroduction in the context of family planning in Bali. Among these reasons, the program was claimed to be a solution to the perceived threat of Balinese marginalization due to an increase in newcomers. Additionally, the study delved into the classification that resulted from the Balinese family planning program, distinguishing between native Balinese and newcomers as two distinct groups.

Anak Agung Gede Meditriana Putra et al. (2022) started the third study, titled "Implementation of the Governor of Bali's Instruction on Family Planning in Banjarangkan Sub-district, Klungkung Regency." This research aimed to understand the implementation and effectiveness of the Governor's instruction on family planning in Banjarangkan Sub-district, Klungkung Regency, from an empirical legal perspective. The study clearly presented the results of the implementation of the Balinese family planning program and its effectiveness within the Banjarangkan community.

Published in the Journal of Bali Studies at Udayana University, this research sought to understand netizens' perceptions regarding the discourse on Bali's Krama Family Planning as portrayed on the Facebook social media platform. The researcher found a common theme in the perceptions and responses of the Balinese community toward the implementation of the Balinese family planning program. Most of the Balinese population who embraced technology expressed their support for the implementation of the program, with an indication of preserving Bali's cultural naming conventions.

The Bourdieu concept of habit fits with the scope of this study's analysis of the Balinese family planning program in the Sesetan Subdistrict. In Bourdieu's concept of habitus, he critiques J.L. Austin's theory of speech acts, asserting that Austin overlooks the fact that the effectiveness of an utterance cannot be separated from the institution that authorizes individuals to act performatively (Ningtyas, 2015). Another influential concept in determining habitus is the distribution of capital or modalities, which are categorized into four types: economic capital (wealth, prosperity), cultural capital (skills, intelligence), social capital (networks, business relationships, social connections within the community), and symbolic capital (pride, prestige) (Ningtyas, 2015).

The amount of accumulated capital determines the positions of capital holders, and these modalities of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital influence the development of social structures (Listiani et al., 2013). In addition to modalities, Bourdieu's habitus encompasses the concepts of fields and practices. The field refers to the arena where "games" take place, in which different individuals' modalities interact, adjust, and collide with other individuals' modalities or the social environment they are in (Nugroho & Kamajaya, 2022).

Habitus is a relationship between the Balinese family planning program (acting as an objective or pale social structure) and the native Balinese families in Sesetan Sub-district (acting as individuals with subjective or language experiences). Furthermore, the Balinese family planning program can be examined through Bourdieu's four modalities: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic, which are dominant within its society. These four

modalities influence the implementation of the Balinese family planning program, forming the basis for the researcher's study within the research area of the Sesetan Sub-district.

The establishment of the Balinese family planning program has transformed into a norm that marginalizes anyone who does not adhere to it. This aligns with the concept of *doxa*, which tends to support the dominant social order and leads to debates between two factions: the orthodox (pro) and heterodox (contra). The practices of the Balinese family planning program indicate the existence of diverse "trajectories" and "strategies" involving the accumulation of various modalities and habits.

The understanding of the arena as a battleground for individuals to maintain their positions and legitimacy, with each individual possessing different accumulations of modalities and habits, is closely related to trajectories and strategies. Based on Bourdieu's concept of investment strategies, the biological investment strategy correlates with this research. This concept could serve as an additional reference for researchers to strengthen their analysis of the opportunities and barriers of the Balinese family planning program in Sesetan Sub-district.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The methodology employed in this research entails a qualitative approach with a descriptive research design. The chosen location for the study is Sesetan Village. The choice of this location is justifiable because it is the most densely populated area in the South Denpasar District, making it a focal point for migration and increasing competition between the local Balinese population and migrants. Consequently, this phenomenon stimulates the need for the Balinese community to adopt the Family Planning Program (KB), known as *Krama Bali*.

In terms of data types, qualitative data serve as the primary source for this study, with quantitative data serving as a supplement to offer comprehensive insights. The data sources are classified into two categories: primary and secondary data. The selection of informants for this research is carried out using purposive sampling, involving three types of informants: key informants, primary informants, and supplementary informants. The data collection techniques utilized by the researcher encompass observation, interviews, and documentation.

The data analysis technique employed in this study is the Miles and Huberman data model, which involves four main stages: data collection, data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. Through these systematic procedures, the research aims to provide a thorough and insightful investigation into the phenomenon under study, shedding light on the intricacies of the Balinese population's engagement with the Family Planning Program in the context of migration and population dynamics.

IV. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Overview of the Research Location

Kelurahan Sesetan is located in the South Denpasar District and is part of the southern part of Denpasar City, with a total area of 739 hectares. According to the Kelurahan Sesetan profile (2018), Sesetan has the largest area compared to other areas in Denpasar City. Sesetan is associated with a social structure known as "*pakraman*," which is now a customary system, just like other traditional villages. Being a residential area and part of *Pedungan*, the population of Sesetan is diverse.

People with various *terah* or *gotra* come together to form the community, which is based on genealogical lineage (Wirawan, 2019). The social structure of Sesetan society is divided into two groups: *Krama Pengarep*

and Krama Tamiu. Krama Pengarep refers to the established community in Seseetan, including those who are part of the traditional "mebanjar" system. Krama Tamiu, on the other hand, comprises the largest number of people in Kelurahan Seseetan compared to other areas in Denpasar. According to the Awig-Awig of Desa Adat Seseetan, krama tamiu consists of newcomers who have become part of the mebanjar adat system in Seseetan. It can be understood that Krama Tamiu are not original residents of Seseetan; they are immigrants who have settled and live temporarily in specific areas within the Banjar or Desa Adat (Wirawan, 2019).

4.2 Governor of Bali Instruction No. 1545 Regarding the Socialization of Balinese family planning program (KB Krama Bali)

Governor of Bali Instruction No. 1545 of 2019 concerning the Socialization of the Balinese Family Planning (KB Krama Bali) Program urges all relevant authorities handling family planning affairs to conduct campaigns and socialization of the Balinese family planning program based on local wisdom and aimed at achieving an excellent Balinese community and high-quality families.

Within this instruction, there are implicit meanings in several points, stating that the Balinese have the right to have more than two or even four children, namely: Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut, in accordance with the local wisdom passed down by the ancestors. The Balinese family planning program is managed by the Dinas Pemberdayaan Masyarakat, Desa, Kependudukan, and Catatan Sipil Provinsi Bali in the field of Population and Family planning.

The Balinese family planning program has been running since the issuance of Governor's Instruction No. 1545 of 2019 until the present. As defined, the Balinese family planning program is a form of respecting the reproductive rights of Balinese people based on local wisdom, with the hope of achieving an excellent Balinese community and high-quality families. The Provincial Government of Bali has promoted the Balinese family planning program through a variety of media, including regional radio and television broadcasts as well as local news media.

However, it can be said that the socialization of the Balinese family planning program has not been evenly implemented, leading to misconceptions between the government and the public about the program outlined in Governor's Instruction No. 1545 of 2019. Some members of the community believe that the Provincial Government of Bali encourages the Balinese to have four children in a family under the banner of "Ajeg Bali," aiming to preserve the culture associated with the name 'Bali' itself. So far, the public's understanding remains rooted in the knowledge passed down through generations, namely the idea of Bali Family Planning with four children, corresponding to the names Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut.

The demand of the Balinese people, still deeply entwined with their culture and customs, has brought this program back into focus. Having four children with the names Wayan, Made, Nyoman, and Ketut seems to be a cultural requirement for the Balinese. The revival of the Balinese family planning program is not coercive, and the entire Balinese family is not obligated to participate in it. The focus on "families that feel capable" under the direction of The Provincial Government of Bali emphasizes the significance of economic factors in determining the success of the Balinese family planning program's implementation.

4.3 Opportunities and Barriers in Implementing the Balinese Family Planning Program (KB Krama Bali) in Seseetan Village

The resurgence of the KB Krama Bali program has been primarily driven by the need to preserve local wisdom and the relatively low adoption of family planning among Balinese families. Additionally, the presence of migrants has further contributed to the complexity of cultural integration and economic competition, particularly within the professional workforce. The unique cultural richness of Bali has sometimes clashed with the demands of the modern job market, leading to instances of cultural insensitivity and discrimination in the hiring process, often placing non-Balinese individuals in prominent positions.

This situation has created a sense of injustice among the Balinese community, as their traditional values and rituals conflict with workplace expectations. The concept of "menyama braya," a practice that emphasizes community solidarity and religious rituals, has led companies to reconsider hiring Balinese individuals due to concerns about accommodating these cultural obligations.

Moreover, the substantial presence of migrants, particularly in areas like Sesetan, Denpasar, has raised cultural and economic sensitivities. Amidst these dynamics, the promotion of the KB Krama Bali program faces challenges. The intense job competition between Balinese locals and migrants has deterred many Balinese families from adopting the program, as their focus has shifted towards improving their quality of life rather than simply increasing family size.

The debate over whether to prioritize the national family planning program or the KB Krama Bali program has given rise to differing viewpoints. Some advocate for the national program, aiming to reduce quantity for the sake of quality offspring, while others support the KB Krama Bali program, which promotes having more than two children while ensuring their quality upbringing. Implementing the KB Krama Bali program in Sesetan is influenced by various factors related to livelihood, including economic conditions, healthcare, education, and social environment. Families carefully consider these factors to ensure their offspring's well-being and quality of life. The importance of these considerations aligns with the principles outlined in the Population and Family Development Act of 2009.

The process of internalization is prominently observed within families, as individuals acquire knowledge and attitudes from their immediate environment. This aligns with Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus, where cultural norms and practices are internalized through social interactions. In the context of the KB Krama Bali program, habitus is shaped by the interaction between the program's objective social structure and individual experiences within Balinese families.

Economic capital plays a significant role in the adoption of the KB Krama Bali program. Families with moderate economic means tend to focus on improving their living standards and quality of life, rather than merely increasing family size. Education is another form of capital that influences family decisions. Parents prioritize their children's education and prepare them for a successful future, thereby contributing to the overall quality of life within the family. Cultural capital, which encompasses cultural practices and values, also affects family decisions. While traditional beliefs may have initially hindered the KB Krama Bali program due to its association with having four children, the program's evolving definition now emphasizes the freedom for Balinese families to choose to have more than two children. However, proper dissemination and communication of this updated definition are lacking, leading to limited understanding and uptake of the program.

In conclusion, the revitalization of the KB Krama Bali program is driven by the dual goals of preserving local culture and addressing demographic challenges. The complex interplay of economic, cultural, and social factors shapes family decisions regarding family planning. While the program has evolved to provide more flexibility, effective communication and education remain crucial to encourage Balinese families to consider the KB Krama Bali program as a viable option for achieving both quality and quantity in their offspring.

4.4 Appropriate Family Planning Concepts for the Community in Sesetan Village

When comparing the implementation of the National Family Planning program, known for its slogan "Two Children Are Enough," which has evolved into "Family Planning Is Cool," with the local Balinese family planning program in Sesetan Village, a noticeable trend emerges. The adoption of the Balinese family planning program still struggles to attract participants and is predominantly overshadowed by the users of the National family planning program. This contrast in participation highlights the complexity of family planning choices within this community.

The primary focus of the Balinese family planning program is on couples of reproductive age. I Gede Bagus Raditya Surya Dharma, expressing his concerns, opposes the idea of having more than two children. He cites

economic challenges as one of the reasons, and he also references medical data suggesting higher risks for maternal mortality in pregnancies beyond the third child. These risks are often accompanied by increased risks of infant mortality and other related issues. It's important to note that his views are not uncommon and echo concerns that extend beyond his personal perspective.

Contemporary financial constraints associated with child-rearing, intensified competition, a challenging job market, and the inability of all individuals to create their own job opportunities collectively weigh against the decision to have more than two children. The presence of additional family members, such as "Nyoman" and "Ketut," compounds these challenges. This is particularly pertinent in Bali, where ongoing issues encompass education, employment, poverty, health, environmental reclamation, and the complexities brought by migration.

In light of these pressing concerns, the Provincial Government of Bali could allocate more attention and resources towards addressing these issues rather than emphasizing the Balinese family planning program. The scarcity of available land for housing compounds the situation, affecting the comfort and productivity of families. Furthermore, the Balinese architectural layout, known as *asta kosala kosali*, influences living conditions.

Human resource development should prioritize enhancing quality over quantity. The decision regarding family size ultimately rests with each individual family, guided by beliefs, preferences, livelihood factors, and other variables unique to Sasetan Village. However, in a broader context, the prevailing preference for the National family planning program among the majority of Sasetan's residents indicates that the appropriate conception of family planning aligns more with the principles of the national program.

In conclusion, the intricate interplay between economic, cultural, and social factors influences family planning decisions in Sasetan Village. A comprehensive approach to addressing the community's immediate challenges is crucial, and this includes recognizing the significance of economic stability, healthcare, and education in shaping family planning choices.

V. CONCLUSION

Research conducted on the Opportunities and Challenges of the Bali Family Planning (KB Krama Bali) Program in Sasetan Village has yielded insightful conclusions based on the previously formulated issues. The analysis takes into account the patriarchal culture and the traditional societal obligation for Balinese families to have male children, which still exerts a significant influence. This dynamic provides a window of opportunity for the implementation of the KB Krama Bali program, although the available opportunities might be somewhat limited due to various considerations and barriers within the Sasetan Balinese community.

Interestingly, the arrival and presence of migrants have contributed to economic and employment concerns among Balinese families, particularly those participating in the KB Krama Bali program in Sasetan Village. The intensified competition in the job market due to migration has led these families to prioritize enhancing the quality of their offspring, with the aim of preparing them for future career competitiveness. In light of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, the implementation of the KB Krama Bali program in Sasetan Village showcases varying degrees of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic modalities. Cultural capital seems to be prominent, given the linguistic proficiency and educational attainment demonstrated by the informants and their families. Alongside economic factors, Balinese families in Sasetan Village who engage with the KB Krama Bali program fall within the middle-income bracket, indicating sufficient resources to meet family needs.

Moreover, the social dimension is evident in the intergenerational transmission of the KB Krama Bali program, aimed at preserving local wisdom and the unique Balinese naming conventions such as "Nyoman" and "Ketut." A subtle touch of symbolic capital is present, as there is an encouragement for repeated engagement with the KB Krama Bali program (albeit not coercively). The awareness of the Sasetan Village community

favors quality over quantity in terms of progeny, aligning with the concept of family planning, particularly the National Family Planning Program.

In conclusion, the research underscores the intricate interplay between cultural norms, economic realities, and social dynamics within the context of the KB Krama Bali program in Sesetan Village. The presence of migrant influences and evolving societal perspectives has added complexity to the traditional family planning landscape, paving the way for a nuanced understanding of how to effectively implement and adapt family planning initiatives in the Balinese community.

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