

Democratization in Indonesia : A Study of State Hegemony in Implementing Family Planning Policies in Surabaya City

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Abstract

The state entities success in instituting *Keluarga Berencana* (KB = Family Planning) program affirm the state domination towards its people. This matter is identical with the presentation of hegemonic power. This research is aiming to describe the state efforts to establish its hegemony in implementing Family Planning Policies. In addition, it also to identify and formulate the state hegemonic model in implementing the Family Planning Policies. Data is taken by intensive interview, and document study. Data analysis is qualitatively performed. It is comprised of qualitative data supported by quantitative data sourcing from informants and literary. Theories applied are: theory of state and its role, theory of public policies implementation, and theory of hegemony. The research results illustrate 1) the method of state entities to socialize KB program in a relative fine method or without *coersion*, to give more emphasize on efforts to change people awareness on the importance of Family Planning program, or through *consensi* method in which refers to hegemonic character. Though hegemonization is strongly processed, and all developmental discourses cover the Ampel people, social resistance is an unavoidable matter. There are attitudes and behavior differences based on Ampel people comprehension in which basically are divided into three categories, namely those whose attitudes and behavior are fully hegemonized, superficial-, and real-resistances. 2) the more appropriate hegemonic model is the integral hegemonic model applying persuasive approach in socializing the KB program so as it may reach the consensus, in which finally it will change the pattern of people thinking, attitude, and performance on KB policies, changing the opinion Family Planning program from governmental policies to Family Planning as their real required program.

Keywords: State, Policies, Policies Implementation, State Hegemony, Family Planning Program

1. Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

According to Arif Darmawan in his book, entitled, *Demokrasi Kepentingan Siapa? (Democracy for Whose Interest?)*, published by Untag Press Surabaya, presents that ‘... democratic process in Indonesia is inseparable from those elites roles, both elites of national and political leaders, and of wider communities. Elite is the person occupying the commanding center of public main top regulations having the role as the decision maker. The said decision may affect the whole community. The questioned elite power towards its community is supported by its inherited authority. In this case, elite significantly influences the democratic process. (Arif Darmawan, 2005: 22 -63).

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Indonesia, as a democratic-system adopting country faces various issues. Among other, the concern on population issues in which delivering a population-, or sustainable-based developmental concept. This starting point also establishes the world awareness to analyze poverty, and underdeveloped issues through population approaches. State population growing rates shall affect to its national economic dimension, social and cultural conditions, and national stability. Total population growth quantity is used as the main consideration to cause the birth of the *Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning = KB)* Program. There is an assumption that people, as the beneficiary of these Family Planning (KB) Policies, have satisfactorily accepted the same. In case of a few people disagreement or rejection against this KB (Family Planning) Program, it is not considered as a serious matter by the government. So as eventually, the Government with all of its entities are capable of “encouraging” people awareness to accept the national idea on *Keluarga Berencana (KB = Family Planning)* and construct the ideal model of a happy family. Implicitly, the abovementioned description presents State hegemonic elements to its people. Possible interesting condition noticeable in *Ampel Kampung (neighborhood)* of Surabaya City, is that the kampung is not only known by its community heterogeneity, but Ampel people are also known as very faithful to their religious values and informal prominent figure leader. People faith on religious values is estimated to influence their acceptance on KB program, or in other words, faithful people resistance to religious values is higher compared to those of common people.

1.2. Issues of Research

This study focus on the following big questions:

- 1.2.1. How state efforts to establish hegemony in implementing Family Planning Policies in Surabaya City?
- 1.2.2. How is the appropriate state hegemonic model to implement Family Planning Policies in Surabaya City?
- 1.3. Purpose of Research
The purposes to achieve in this research are to:
 - 1.3.1. obtain the description on state efforts to establish hegemony in implementing Family Planning Policies.
 - 1.3.2. analyze and formulate state hegemonic model in implementing the Family Planning Policies.
- 1.4. Benefit of Research

Theoretically, this research is expected to enrich the theoretical discussion on public policies and state hegemony. The practical benefit of this research is that its result is expected to be used as reference for the government to implement the policies on Family Planning Development, specifically to Surabaya City Administration.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Previous Research and Critical Review

The research of Arif Darmawan, in which written in the Journal of Developing Country Studies on Democratization in Indonesia: Developmental Mode to Religious Community (Interconnection Study of ‘Government/Regent, Pesantren/Kiai (Islamic Leader) and Community’ in Bondowoso) presents that ‘...Governmental restructuring with technical and practical reviews are closely related. The review analysis results find the fact that of developmental issues are closely related with the development to modern, rational, and efficient community. The questioned community is not based on primordial interest in an institutional reformative value and ideological order. (Arif Darmawan, 2017: p.25- 29).

In addition to the aforesaid matters, Arif Darmawan also conducts the research and writes in Public Policy and Administration Research on Democratization in Indonesia: Appearance Pattern of “Modern Kiai (Islamic Leaders)” in Moslem Community. It presents that in Moslem community, kiai as the religious leader also serves as the community leader. This research describes the shift on the questioned pattern. In the emerging pattern of “the modern Kiai”, it is found the consistent and opened value order ensuring the circulation. Those consistent and opened values are based on one’s inherited abilities to the following factors:

- 1) Moral and norms based on the local religion, believe, and culture
- 2) Relatively has higher general education than its surrounding people
- 3) Ability to adopt technology and information
- 4) Economic ability in which it does not always source from traditional agricultural land, but also from other non-agricultural jobs.

The questioned value order consistency does exist and is valid in the community, and is also opened for each person to secure the circulation. Though slowly applied, but it is significantly conducive in democratic process. (Arif Darmawan, 2017, p 131- 135)

Meanwhile, the research of Merrynce and Ahmad Hidir on Effectiveness of Family Planning Program found that KB program implementation has already quite effective, where its program implementor have already had higher compliance level in performing their duties, and in complying the relevant procedures. This research tests its implementing effectiveness, and not its Policies. Akhmad Zaeni (2013) in its research on KB program policies implementation (Case Study on Male KB Participants Increase) found that the increase of male KB participants were influenced by 4 large dimensions, including communication, resources, disposition, and organization structures. The difference of Akhmad Zaeni research with this paper is that, Akhmad Zaeni focused on male KB participation, though both have applied the qualitative approach. Ni Nyoman Sukeni SH. MSi. in its research on State hegemony and Female Resistance in Family Planning Program Implementation found that state hegemony has successfully introduced the Family Planning program to gradually lessen the total population, and to change people attitude, and opinion from "the more children the more prosperous family" to a "quality resources-oriented small family". In addition to its only focus on Female resistance, where this is the differentiating factor of this family level analyzing paper, this research also focused on political section, with its political approaches

In general speaking, the abovementioned researches identify KB (Family Planning) Program as a "mandatory" community adopted policy. Some researches focused on reviews that ignoring socialization aspects in general KB policies implementation (give more focus on certain genre), or on the utilization of certain contraceptive devices, and not focusing on socio-cultural approaches.

2.2.Theories

2.2.1.State and its Role

A State in Administrative Science refers to one of the most important and central review focuses, as state is a 'body' with higher authority in all types of communities. In this case, state is the political power determining social cultural dynamic of a community and state. This matter is in line with the opinion of Poulantzas who considers that a state is an active, dominant, hegemonic body.

Hegel opinion is in line with of Poulantzas' on state description. It perceives that a state is an active, dominant, hegemonic, and independent body in making policies. The state establishes itself in that way, to achieve its long term purpose, namely to protect the capitalist production system.

2.2.2.Public Policies Implementation

Thomas R. Dye formulates public policies as "governmental choice to perform or not to perform any action" (Joko, 2006: p.12). In this definition, the focus of public policies are not only to what performance have been done, but also what performance have not been done by the government.

Applying the aforesaid definition, the Family Planning (KB) Policies are clearly categorized as governmental choice public policies to control the population number. Policy implementation significantly depends on actors playing the non policy roles. The success of a program shall also emerge upon its result consistency with the target needs, program job description with the implementor organization capability, and also the decision making process of implementor organization with the means of target need disclosure.

In this case, there are 2 (two) possibilities on people attitude towards policies implementation, namely to comply with or be adaptive, and be resistant to the state policies. The same shall also apply to KB policy implementation, if all people comply with the questioned KB invitation, it is assumed that it will change people thinking, attitude, and behavioral patterns, especially in comprehending KB policies. Though in fact, not all people comply with KB policies, but the empiric data also presents that the current families seem to change to the state-intended family model.

2.2.3. Hegemonic Theory

It is explained by Gramsci, that hegemony is more like winning through *consensus* of a social class suppression to others. This matter is achieved through various ways, for example through community institutions who directly or indirectly determine people cognitive and affective structures. In this case, people is "directed" to assess and identify social problem within a specified framework.

Hegemony concept (dominant ideology), state hegemonic power may be analogized using the method applied by Indonesian government in implementing KB policies. Using its adopted developmental ideology, the state establishes itself as a dominant power, dominating people to comply with the questioned policies. State directs people to follow its idea by propaganda that the national idea on the questioned Small Family concept gives benefit to all. Gramsci Hegemonic models and Categories, First Model. The first hegemonic model stated that conformity is achieved through scary pressures and sanctions. Second Model. The second model stated that conformity is a non reflected participation of permanent activity, as people is rarely possible to refuse. Third Model. The third model stated that hegemony is categorized at a conformity situation emerging from behavior having levels of consciousness, and approval with certain social elements. Thus in implementing KB (Family Planning) Program, no coercion is applied, but gives more efforts to change people awareness and thinking pattern by encouraging all authorities, and social agencies networking.

3. Research Procedures

3.1. Basic Philosophy and Research Approaches

Research method applied in this research is the qualitative method. With this method, it is expected to find the hidden meaning of both object and subject examined. In other words, this research does not only record those visual matters explicitly, but also observes the whole social phenomena established (Nawawi, 1994 ; 75).

Using this qualitative research method, it is expected to find the intensive illustration and comprehension on research target object. Basically, this qualitative research method is aiming to inductively obtain holistic, and intensive natural data sources. Thus in accordance with the research purpose, namely to comprehend people comprehension on KB policies, the questioned method is relevant to be used.

The definition of state hegemony in implementing policies is all efforts and strategies of KB policy implementation. State hegemony on people to implement KB policies shall be reviewed from: the program content, governmental decisions and actions, and also the roles of religious, educational, cultural, and media agencies. In addition, it shall also be reviewed people motivation, attitude, and behavior reflecting their comprehension on KB policies, and which components are hegemonically acceptable and non acceptable.

3.2. Objects and Informants

The location of this research is in Administrative Area of Ampel, where it is comprised of 17 RW (*Rukun Warga*) and 86 RT (*Rukun Tetangga*) (*neighborhood organizations*). This location is intentionally selected under the consideration that in addition to its naming *santri* (*religious*) area, it is also well known of its heterogeneous multi-ethnic dwellers. The subject research is *purposively* selected. The subjects selected are Moslem housewives, both of KB program participants and non participants, and mainly those classified as *Wanita Usia Subur* (*WUS – Women of Reproductive Age*) between 15-44 years old. Subjects activeness in religious / social organization are also concerned for their selection.

Besides excavating data from subjects, this research also tracks data from *informants* or *keyperson* expected to provide meaningful input. Some of those *informants* or *keyperson* are involved in KB supporting social agencies, and officer of the BKKBN (*Coordination Board of National Family Planning*) and also various agencies, or governmental entities from Administrative Areas, Districts, and service levels (*Dinas Pengendalian Kependudukan, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak Pemerintah Kota Surabaya* (= *Population Controlling, Women Empowerment, and Child Protection Services of Surabaya City Administration*).

3.3 Data Collection Method

Some technical data collections are conducted to obtain the expected data and information. Primary Data is collected through intensive interview and observation. To avoid interview rigidity, and data shallowness, the interview is freely and easily performed, or usually called as the non-structured interview (Faisal: 1990: 62).

The obtained data processing process moves between four coil axis, namely reciprocally moves between data acquisition, reduction, presentation, and conclusion / verification, meaning the *field noted* data comprised of descriptive part and its reflection are the collected data, they are composed to have their comprehension called as data reduction, then followed by data presentation in systematically story, next process is to draw the conclusion with their verification based on all matters contained in data reduction and presentation.

3.4 Data Analysis Technique

Intensive analysis shall be performed to all data, both primary and secondary collected data. Following the data collection, the next step is to deliver the abstract. In this research, before abstract delivery, it will firstly be delivered the transcript of interview results with informants. The next step is making the coding after the categorization (moleong, 1990: 190)

Qualitative research requires assurance, that the research is thoroughly natural. Therefore, it is required to increase the degree of data accurateness or validity. To determine data validity, it is required inspection technique called as triangulation. The researcher applied the triangulation of data resources, method, and theory.

4. Description of Family Planning Policies

4.1. Background of Family Planning Policies

In 1970, it was established the *Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (BKKBN = National Family Planning Coordination Board)* through *Keputusan Presiden (Kepres = Presidential Decree)* Number 8 of 1970 as a Non Departmental agency having responsibility to control the population in Indonesia. Based on this matter, it is announced the big national scale project of population rate control, in which still currently operate, named the National Family Planning Program. The Program and its agency are then completed through Presidential Decrees Number 33 of 1972, Number 38 of 1978, and Number 109 of 1993 on Establishment of the Ministry of Population and BKKBN.

KB (Family Planning) Program is one of governmental programs in which initially arranged based on Laws Number 10 of 1992 on Population Growth and Prosperous Family Development, however, it is further completed under the issuance of Laws Number 52 of 2009 on Population Growth and Family Development. Moreover, the definition of *Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning)* has already been determined in Laws Number 10 of 1992, in which read as the increase of concern and people role through Marriage Age Maturing, Pregnancy Arrangement, Increase of Family Endurance and Prosperity to establish Small, Happy, and Prosperous Family. This law is amended to Laws Number 52 of 2009 stating that KB is an effort to arrange child birth, ideal pregnancy interval and age, pregnancy control, performed through promotion, protection, and aids in accordance with the reproductive rights to establish a qualified family.

Based on the *Rakernas (National Operational Meeting)* on KB program of 2000 mandating the necessary of male role participation in the Family Planning, it is followed up under the Decree of the State Minister of Woman Empowerment / Head of National Family Planning Coordination Board Number 10/HK-010/B5/2001 dated 17th January 2001 on Organization and Working Order of National Family Planning Coordination Board, namely by establishing the Directorate of Male Participation under the Deputy of Family Planning and Reproductive Health Division having duty to formulate operational policies on the increase of Male Participation. It is further concluded the necessity of special intervention of male participation encouragement program having final purpose to "establish qualified family through service quality efforts, KB promotion, and gender reproductive health concept in 2015". Upon the issuance of Laws Number 52 of 2009 on Population Growth and Family Development, it changes the BKKBN from *Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional (National Family Planning Coordination Board)* to *Badan Kependudukan and Keluarga Berencana Nasional (BKKBN = National Population and Family Planning Coordination Board)*.

4.2. Area Profile and Ampel Community

Arabic residential location, in which frequently called as Ampel Arabic "kampong" in this research is located in Northern part of Surabaya and is considered as having a certain Islamic characteristic culture manifested in various economic, political, social, and cultural livings.

Administrative Area of Ampel is one of five Administrative Areas in District of Semampir, Surabaya City. Occupying in a location of 38 Ha width, Ampel area has its Northern part of Administrative Area of Ujung, Eastern part of District of Simokerto, and Western part of District of Pabean Cantikan. District of Semampir has five Administrative Areas, namely Ampel, Sidotopo, Pegirian, Wonokusumo and Ujung. The last third mentioned Administrative Areas are mostly occupied by the Maduranese ethnic. While Administrative Area of Ampel itself is divided into 17 RW and 86 RT (neighborhood organizations) and mostly occupied by Arabic ethnic, mainly in RW 1, RW 2 and RW 4 areas.

Ampel Kampong occupied by approximately of 6,558 KKs (*Heads of Family*) or about 21,892 people is located in a space area of three and a half to four hectares, so as this settlement may be categorized as crowded area. Buildings are closely adjacent to each other, and have no yard, or it may be said that the houses' terraces are directly bordered with their front alley road. Ampel Arabic Settlement is occupied by various ethnics, namely: the Arabic, some Medang Maduranese (Javanese – Maduranese mixture hereditary), and some of Javanese, Bugis Makasar, and Padang, besides those of Indian, Pakistan, Bangladesh and China hereditary.

The exclusive nuance of the settlement itself is intentionally formatted by the Dutch colonialism, in addition to other various ethical kampongs. Though currently such exclusivism is gradually disappear, mainly as the consequence of Foreign Citizen dweller assimilation in the questioned area. Ampel area dwellers are mostly Islam. The religion has affected various people thinking pattern, and behavior in the questioned area. As the adopted religion is relatively strong, they always put the norms, values, and behaviors based on *sharia* (*Islamic faith*).

5.State Hegemony Establishment In Implementing Family Planning Policies

5.1.Family Planning Policies Implementation in Administrative Area of Ampel

The regulation of the Mayor of Surabaya City Number 55 of 2016 on Capacity, Organization Structure, Job Description, Function, and also Working Order of Population Controlling, Women Empowerment and Child Protection Services of Surabaya City of Population Controlling and Family Planning Division has to perform some duties of Population Controlling and Family Planning Division Services, including composing and implementing the program planning and technical instruction, coordinating, and cooperating with other agencies and institutions, supervising and controlling, evaluating and reporting, and performing other duties given by the Head Service as per its job and function.

Basically, the Population Controlling, Women Empowerment and Child Protection Services of Surabaya City has to coordinate the institutionalization of *Keluarga Kecil Bahagia and Sejahtera* (KKBS = *Happy and Prosperous Small Family*) development in Surabaya City, including in the Administrative Area of Ampel. Therefore, its organizer, the *Penyuluh Keluarga Berencana* (PKB = *Family Planning Elucidator*) shall inform, motivate, provide service, and guidance to people and social agencies to allow their support and participation in this Family Planning movement. As the success illustration, in 2016 Surabaya City growth rate was 0,63, while TFR was 1,73. The usage of MKJP of Surabaya City was very good up to the end of October 2016 from the fourth methods, such as IUD (473,8%), MOW (594,5%), MOP (171,2%), and Implant (91,8%). Almost all of them are realized above 100%, unless for the Implant method. Only such duties have different emphasize. The current duties carried out are mostly on providing consultation services, and no longer people motivation.

Though no more emphasizing in people motivation duties should be delivered by the *Penyuluh Keluarga Berencana* (PKB Family Planning Elucidator), this does not mean that they stop to motivate. As actually, not all *Pasangan Usia Subur* (PUS = *Productive Age Couples*) in Administrative Area of Ampel join the Family Planning program. In addition, the number of young families or the newly PUS always increase in numbers. They are, among others, the target of the *Penyuluh Keluarga Berencana* (PKB = *Family Planning Elucidator*) guidance. In addition, the *Penyuluh Keluarga Berencana* (PKB = *Family Planning Elucidator*) shall also maintain people who has joined the Family Planning program not to *drop out* (given up) from the Family Planning program, unless for certain reasons.

In addition, the *Badan Kependudukan and Keluarga Berencana Nasional* (BKKBN = *National Population and Family Planning Coordination Board*) in performing its duties is also supported by Administrative Area officers in KB (Family Planning) Program, as observed from the existence of agencies under the Administrative Area administration supporting the Family Planning (KB) Policies. The questioned agencies among others are: the *Lembaga Pemberdayaan Masyarakat Kecamatan* (LPMK = *Administrative Area Social Empowering Agencies*), *PKK* (*Family Prosperous Guidance*), *Kader Peduli Keluarga Berencana* (*Family Planning Concerned Cadres*).

The involvement of other Head of Administrative Areas of Ampel in implementing the Family Planning (KB) Policies is in the matter of decision making. The issued decision of Head of Administrative Area, among other is the establishment of the *Kader Peduli Keluarga Berencana (Family Planning Concerned Cadres)* of Administrative Area of Ampel signed in December 2016.

5.2 .People comprehension on Family Planning Policies

Field finding on people knowledge on Family Planning (KB) Policies evidently present in their acceptance towards the same. The interview results with subjects of research basically have 3 (three) response categories. First, subjects who are fully familiar with the Family Planning (KB) Policies, or in other words the questioned subjects are fully and unconditionally accept the Family Planning (KB) Policies. Secondly, subjects who accept the Family Planning (KB) Policies but under certain condition, for example, depends on the contraceptive devices used, medical practitioner to implant the contraceptive device, etc. Third, subjects who totally refuse the program.

Meanwhile, people comprehension on ideal family standard is as such campaigned standard for so long, namely “Happy and Prosperous Small Family”, meaning that ideal family is comprised of one mother, one father, and two children, and satisfied all of their physical and mental needs.

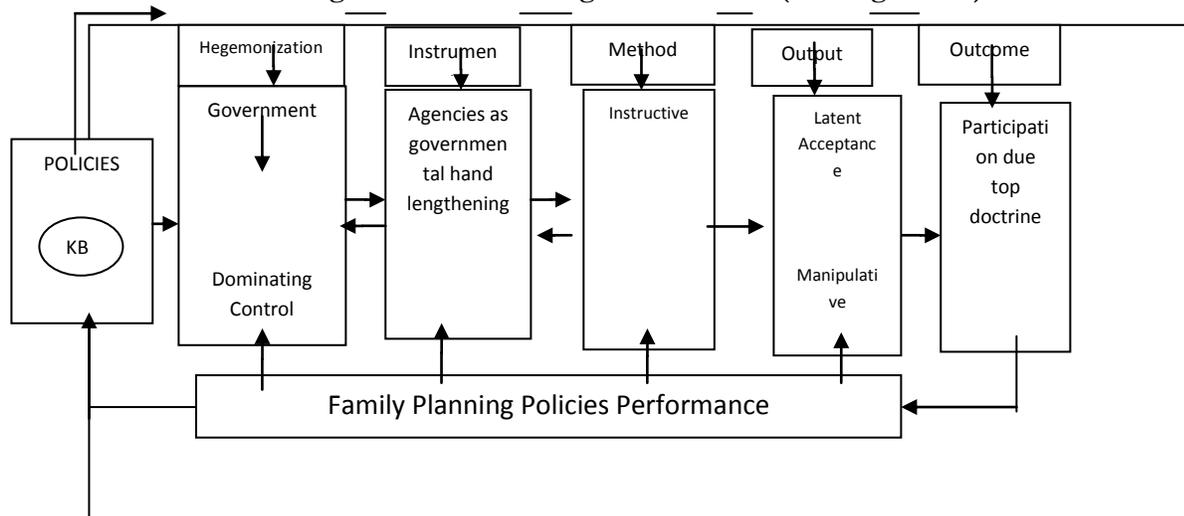
6.State Hegemonic Model In Implementing Family Planning Policies

6.1.State hegemonic model in implementing Family Planning policies in Surabaya.

The government fully realizes the social agencies role because of its significant limited ability. Therefore, the government tries to grow, and guide social agencies to have higher role, and is willing to take over the responsibility as the National policy Family Planning organizer. The questioned guidance including among others, the establishment of Urban Social agencies and Family Planning cadres. The current duties of Family Planning cadres are to give more focus on the effort to preserve Family Planning participants, to prevent Family Planning participants from *dropping out* the program, besides to direct participants to increase their Family Planning program quality, namely by using long term effective contraceptive devices, such as IUD.

These Family Planning cadres spread to RWs and RTs. Basically, their duties in these RTs are to elucidate and guide of individual, group, and common people on Family Planning. Cognitive establisher institution in delivering the KKBS developmental messages use two channels, namely the interpersonal and mass media channels. Interpersonal channel involves face to face meeting sources, and beneficiaries, between two or more person, such as meeting, group discussion, direct conversation. This format complies with Gramsci hegemonic model illustrated below:

Figure 6.1 : Current hegemonic model (existing Model)



Source: Researcher Analysis based on Gramscihegemonic model

The current applied hegemonic model categorizes hegemony in situation where people adapt themselves as possibly accustomed to follows purposes under certain methods. This matter is possible to occur because of the entering educational substances and confirmed legal enforcement. Conformity in this case is a non-reflected participating matters in term of permanent activities, as the consequence of people adopting certain behavioral pattern, and rarely possible to refuse. With this *top-down* model, the governmental control absorbs to all community living. Applying the existing agencies, the government tries to grow, and guide social agencies to have higher role, and be willing to take over the responsibility as the organizer of the National Family Planning Policies. Basically, Family Planning cadres duties in these RTs are to elucidate, and guide of individual, group, and common people on Family Planning. In addition, the role of informal leader, mainly those Kyaisare entrusted to deliver the KKBS developmental messages. This kind of media is quite effective, moreover in the *santri (faithful believer)* area, such as in Ampel, where generally *santri* people still has higher compliance to kyai leadership.

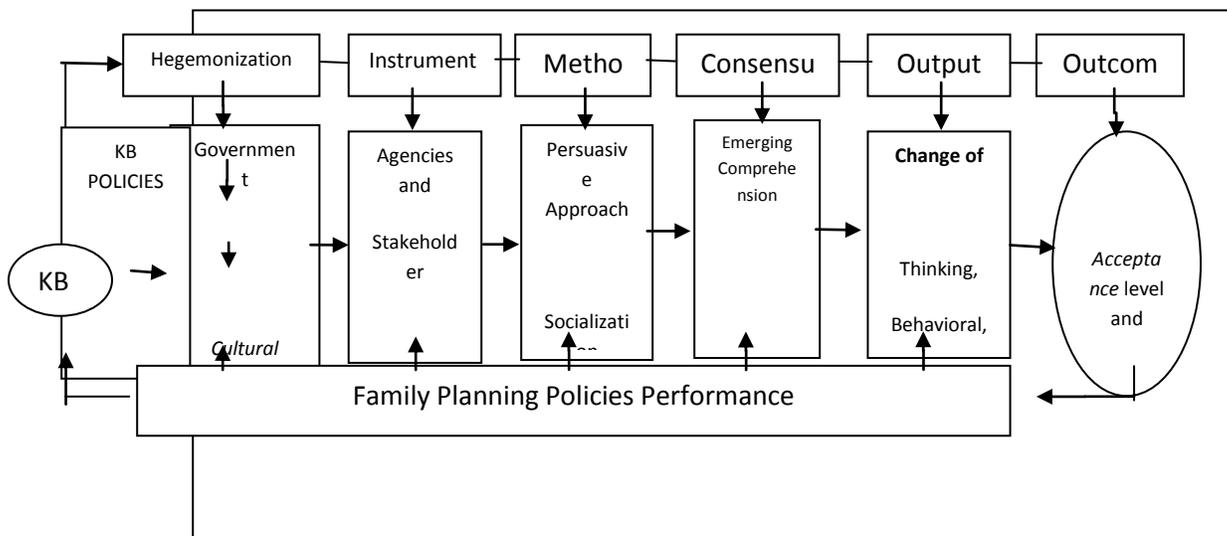
By using the instructive method, the cadres shall direct Family Planning participants to increase their Family Planning quality. This hegemonic model is success indeed, but consequently it will emerge the latent compliance level, and cause a contrary condition occurrence one day, as the *babyboom* concern in 2025. This matter is caused by people compliance only on doctrine and acceptor performance figure target, thus not closing the possibilities, that the real condition in Administrative Area of Ampel is the manipulation of Family Planning acceptor performance figures.

6.2 Appropriate state hegemonic model for KB policies implementation in Surabaya City (Integral Model)

Though Family Planning Policies implementation has been considered as successfully achieved by most people, but the messages inviting people to join the Family Planning program is still continued by the government with its agencies up to this day. The Government, in this case the BKKBN (central government) and the *Dinas Pengendalian Kependudukan, Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (DP5A = Population Controlling, Women Empowerment, and Child Protection Services)* Surabaya City with their agencies, such as public / religious figures, PKK, Family Planning cadres, RW, RT, *Muslimat (Women Islamic Organization of NU)*, *Aisyiah (Women Islamic Organization of Mohammedanism)*.

Messages informed basically invite all people to establish a *keluarga kecil bahagia and sejahtera (KKBS = happy and prosperous small family)*, namely a family in which comprised of one mother, one father, and two children by joining the Family Planning program. In other words, the message on Family Planning awareness is addressed to all classes of people, with the analysis unit of family level. More specifically, the KB program target is the *Pasangan Usia Subur (PUS = Productive Age Couples)*. However, Family Planning program awareness should be planted since the pre-marriage level. The establishment of this kind of hegemony is in accordance with the hegemonic model illustrated by the researcher in the following figure:

Figure 6.2 : Appropriate Hegemonic model (Total/Integral Hegemony)



In this model proposed by the researcher, Family Planning policies are instituted and cultivated by the government with all of its supporting agencies and socialized to the community (*target group*) using *cultural approach*. Various instruments are used in encouraging people hegemonization, among others by using social agencies, and also various media. In broad outline, there are two methods, firstly through mass media, and secondly by interpersonal channel. KKBS messages socialized under the first method, among others by radio broadcasting, poster, and billboard. The second method is socialized by interpersonal channel, among other through elucidation /guidance by the *Penyuluh Keluarga Berencana (PKB = Family Planning Elucidator)*. Another interpersonal channel is by using Islamic preaching forums, both publicly instituted in the *pondok pesantren (Islamic boarding school)*, and those held by PKK, or common people. KB program messages are also always socialized by the government through cadres guidance. One of the questioned activities is the integrated elucidating and guidance of PKK/KB and prosperous family cadres of BKKBN. This agenda is quite formal, it is led by a cadre, and attended by the Heads of Administrative Areas and the core elucidators of BKKBN. This elucidation invites female cadres to keep motivating the community to establish the KKBS. In addition, those cadres are technically elucidated to complete so many family data forms.

In addition to formal message on Family Planning comprehension in the aforesaid events, informal messages are frequently socialized by Family Planning officers / cadres, for example by in-house visit, and during baby weighing at *posyandu (maternal and child health services)* activities. Basically, persuasive methods mostly used in Ampel people hegemony with good and directed target socialization, and effective communication strategy.

In addition to the questioned social agencies, religious institution /public figures have also had significant attention, as they are requested by the government to also participate in the said Family Planning program socialization since in the beginning of Family Planning program. There are pro and contra amongst the *ulama (Islamic Leaders)* in the first Family Planning program launching. Facing this problem, BKKBN cooperates with the Department of Religious Affairs (at that time) to have support from those religious leaders.

The involvement of religious public figures, at least refers to the psychological support for the implementation of Family Planning program. However, the more strategic benefit from their support in the early program period is the opened concept of Islamic community on Family Planning. Since that time Family Planning issues are frequently discussed amongst the religious leaders, both of the *Muhammadiyah* and *NU*, whom made KB as one of their preaching themes observed from religious point of view.

Government intensive invitation through the questioned messages sources, and channels did not rarely impressed the coercion in KB implementation. According to Wirosuhardjo (1995) “coercion means that those not joining the KB program shall be punished as not existed, only a kind of “*social control*”. Further, it is explained that “coercion” in Family Planning implementation is more emphasized to persuasive action.

Under the government approaches and methods of Family Planning as described in the abovementioned, people are constructed to accept the KKBS idea. So as consciously or unconsciously, people believe are implanted with this idea or value on Small Family, as finally to be followed by their behavior to make small family as the way of life. People finally shall “voluntarily” support and justify the governmental program on Family Planning, though not fully give them benefit. People agreement on Family Planning program and their compliance with these Family Planning policies within the questioned context are categorized as the consequence of state hegemony.

Though seems no government “coercion” method in instituting the Family Planning program, it is actually has occur the “coercion” but only in another way, namely the emphasizing to thinking pattern or fine coercion, as may be called as the hegemonic power. However, in the other side, namely the people themselves are evidently not all of them could be constructed as intended by the state. In facing the questioned state hegemonization there are social processes in which always left resistance behind. The questioned social processes at least deliver people categorization, namely those completely, non-completely hegemonized, or in other words (superficial resistance), and those totally non hegemonized (real resistance). This condition shall become the *feedback* for the next Family Planning implementing performance in the total/integral hegemonic model process. The considered more appropriate hegemonic model by the researcher is such hegemony in conformity situation emerging from people behavior containing awareness levels, and agreement of certain elements.

This is what is called as the total (*integral*) hegemonic model. Integral hegemony is marked by the nearly totality mass affiliation. People present firm moral and intellectual unity level. This matter is observable within the organic relation between the government (orderer) and the orderer. The said relation is not covered with contradiction and antagonism, both in social, and ethical manner.

Mass media and electronic media have the sound role to establish the consensus in which eventually establish the change of the pattern of people thinking, attitude, and performance. People are constructed to accept the KKBS idea. So as consciously or unconsciously, people believe are implanted with this idea or value on Small Family, as finally to be followed by their behavior to make small family as the way of life. People finally shall “voluntarily” support and justify the governmental program on Family Planning, though not fully give them benefit.

In this case, no coercion is applied by the state, in implementing the KB (Family Planning) Program, but gives more efforts to change people awareness and thinking pattern by encouraging all authorities, and social agencies networking. Thus basically, the government used *consensio* method, the passive agreement where people “shall” accept the questioned state policies, to “direct” people awareness on KB (Family Planning) Program

7. Research Finding, Implication And Proposition

7.1 Research Finding

State hegemony in implementing KB policies among others comprising of socialization of Family Planning technical guidance, controlling, and services in which basically irrespective of the messages promoted by the state in the beginning program of Family Planning to establish the similar comprehension between people and the state. The messages socialized by the state are the process to change and make people believe on the benefits of joining the Family Planning program. Through its stakeholders, the state socializes Family Planning messages using economic reasons, namely for the sake of family prosperity, student educational continuity, also mother and child health.

Under the aforesaid reasons, people are constructed in such a way, so as they may agree or approve the questioned state policies. Messages socialization with those kind of reasons, are essentially put the state in dominant position, in which called by Gramsci as the hegemonic power, meaning that state power is validly accepted and considered. Though following its tracing, not all people agree with the questioned KB policies. In this case, it is interpretable that state hegemony is occur on Ampel people in one side, but in the other side, people resistance are also observed.

Basically, there are 3 attitude and behavior categories of Ampel people in responding the questioned KB policies components, as previously mentioned that some people are hegemonized, superficially-, and real resistances.

Hegemonized people consider that all state messages or propaganda on Family Planning are acceptable. Superficially resistance people basically accept KB policies only limited to thin out birth, and only certain contraceptive devices are applicable as not against the religion. Real resistance people totally refuse the Family Planning idea. Though a simply matter, both of those superficial and real resistances, they have knowledge, comprehension, believe, and rational reasons in which not just in such a way constructed by other power. The abovementioned findings may be observed in the following table:

Tabel 7.1 Tabel Research Finding

Findings	Characteristics	Acceptance and refusal form	Percentage (%)	Researcher notes
Hegemonized	People are fully aware to accept the policies	Small, Happy, and Prosperous Family is accepted by some of Ampel people.	31,13	All state messages or propaganda on Family Planning are socially acceptable
Superficial Resistance	People accept KB policies only to thin out, and not to constrain the birth	Only certain contraceptive devices are used as they are not against the religion.	32,20	Mostly Ampel people accept KB policies if using rational reasons and touch their needs
Real Resistance	People totally refuse KB idea	People totally refuse KB idea	36,67	People have knowledge, comprehension, believe, and rational reasons in which not just in such a way constructed by other power.

Source: Researcher analysis based on primary and secondary data

7.1.2 Appropriate model for KB policies hegemony

The considered more appropriate hegemonic model by the researcher is such hegemony in conformity situation emerging from people behavior containing awareness levels, and agreement of certain elements. This is what is called as the total (*integral*) hegemonic model. Integral hegemony is marked by the nearly totality mass affiliation. People present firm moral and intellectual unity level. This matter is observable within the organic relation between the government (orderer) and the orderer. The said relation is not covered with contradiction and antagonism, both in social, and ethical manner.

Mass media and electronic media have the sound role to establish the consensus in which eventually establish the change of the pattern of people thinking, attitude, and performance. People are constructed to accept the KKBS idea. So as consciously or unconsciously, people believe are implanted with this idea or value on Small Family, as finally to be followed by their behavior to make small family as the way of life. People finally shall “voluntarily” support and justify the governmental program on Family Planning, though not fully give them benefit.

7.2. Research Implication

Theoretically, this research emerges the finding that state hegemony may relate to state policies problems, as in KB policies. This research theoretical implication, in addition to complete the previous researches, also covers the deficiency of those past researches by offering the new perspective, namely the state hegemony in describing the KB policies implementation in which not mentioned before in the past researches. Though this research has explained the social processes marking the state hegemony in implementing KB policies, however reviews on social agencies involvement of KB supporter are still limited to general matters, or less focused on certain institutions.

7.3. Proposition

Based on the aforesaid theories, and its explanation, this research emerges a thesis that state hegemony may relate technical state policies such as KB policies. 7.3.1. State hegemonic power in implementing KB policies may change people attitude and behavior or comprehension on Family Planning. However, hegemony may also socially leave resistance behind, or in other words how strong the state hegemonic power is towards the people, it shall not always deliver the same comprehension between the two of them. 7.3.2. Appropriate hegemonic model shall minimize the existing resistance. Hegemonic model may be in conformity situation from people behavior.

8. Closing

8.1. Conclusion

Based on the previously analysis result described, it may be concluded the following response of problem formulation, and the intended research achievement. Below is the conclusion obtained : 8.1.1. Hegemony establishment in implementing Family Planning Policies in Surabaya City Under the coordination of BKKBN, the government and all available community potencies institute the KB program, in which irrespective to the developmental discourses. In instituting this KB program, the state with its entities, in one side, is success to hold its domination towards the people, where it is called as hegemonic power by Gramsci. The state is able to influence and control people to follow the state idea.

Method applied by state entities in socializing the questioned KB program is relatively fine or without *coersion*. It is more emphasized to the effort in changing people awareness on the importance of KB program or through *consensio* method, in which refers to hegemonic characteristic, where people are “forced” to passively accept the dominant idea. The state, through some religious, educational, cultural and educational agencies, is success to change people thinking pattern in valuing KB policies.

Non “coercion” KB institution model using the said entities are directly assessed to “touch” people needs, so as people are made to comply with and obey the method as the state hegemonic form. Though Gramsci concept applied as the reference is originated from the existing capital state hegemonic concept, however, there are model similarities with the current state performance in instituting the KKBS policies, unconditionally in Administrative Area of Ampel.

On the other side, it is not easy to say that all Ampel people have been hegemonized by the state. Though hegemonization has strongly been processed, and all developmental discourses cover the Ampel people, however, the social resistance is unavoidable. This resistance group is not just easily constructed by external power, including the state. They have rational comprehension, believe, and knowledge. They could not be assessed as a know nothing group, and easily adapt with the encountered value system.

8.1.2. Appropriate state hegemonic model in implementing Family Planning Policies in Surabaya City

Based on the Ampel people comprehension, it emerges diversities, and behaviors, in which basically are divided in three categories, namely those people with fully hegemonized, superficial-, and real resistances attitude and behavior. Ampel people different comprehension in addressing these KB policies among others are influenced by religious comprehension, educational, occupational, social economic levels, and personal experiences.

Therefore, the current existing hegemonic model should be adjusted with the Ampel people condition. The more appropriate hegemonic model is by opening the communication channel and encouraging more the role of religious and public figures, mass media, private, and governmental party involvement by using persuasive approach in socializing the KB program. Effective message socialization shall comprehensively provide people awareness, as it may minimize the existing resistance, and shall achieve the consensus in which finally it will change the pattern of people thinking, attitude, and performance on KB policies in Administrative Area of Ampel, that is KB program from governmental policies to Family Planning as their real required program. Unconsciously, they will not follow the questioned KB program, but need it to improve family living quality. It is indeed known that this model requires more space and time to be able to build a perfect social construction.

In this case, this research result proves that Gramsci hegemony concept seems applicable in Administrative Area of Ampel, though not in quite similar context. But this describes that hegemony is not only happened in capitalist country. Empirically, hegemony may occur in various sections, as the case in KB policies implementation.

8,2, Recommendation

8.2.1 Though this research explained social processes marking the state hegemony in implementing KB policies and criticized the theory to deliver a considered appropriate hegemonic model with Ampel people condition, but the review on social agencies involvement of KB supporter is still limited to general matters, or the performed review is less focused to certain agencies. This is important to have attention from KB program agencies in order to optimize public agencies roles. In addition, no subject religious categorization is performed in this research, or in other words subject religious comprehension in this research is still assessed the same.

8.2.2 Therefore, any other researchers to review the similar issues may give more focus on the intensive institution review, and sort subject religious comprehension to deeper comprehend the state hegemony. So as the model presented in this research may become the reference of well-performed hegemony process.

8.2.3 Finally, this research result is expected to give input in policies implementation on Family Planning development.

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